

PW sends
message to
wise men

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group was last night examining a message from President Botha to decide if it was constructive enough to warrant another visit to South Africa.

None of the EPG members would comment on the content of the message, but it is understood to include a repeat of the Government's offer to release Nelson Mandela if he and his movement renounced violence.

The ANC's Ruth Mompati in London said the ANC refused to be sidetracked by "window dressing".

The EPG is committed to a reasonably wide-ranging package of reforms as a basis for dialogue in South Africa.

● See Page 15.



● LE GRANGE

Le Grange not suitable says PFP

MINISTER of Law and Order Louis le Grange is temperamentally unsuited to handling his portfolio, Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Greenpoint) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Law and Order vote, he said Le Grange seemed to treat every PFP criticism of the police as a sort of personal accusation.

The PFP did not raise these issues out of malice, he said, but to prevent further improper conduct. It was not desirable to have a minister who saw criticism as a reflection on himself.

No other department in the state needed as cool-headed, sensible and objective an attitude as did Law and Order, Van der Merwe said.

He also referred to the Media Council complaint brought against *The Star* by the police last year after the newspaper named the police as being behind a smear pamphlet directed at Dr Alan Boesak.

The finding of the council that members of the police did take part in a smear campaign against Boesak was important.

Whether the minister accepted this finding or not, Van der Merwe asked whether he was prepared to investigate the matter.

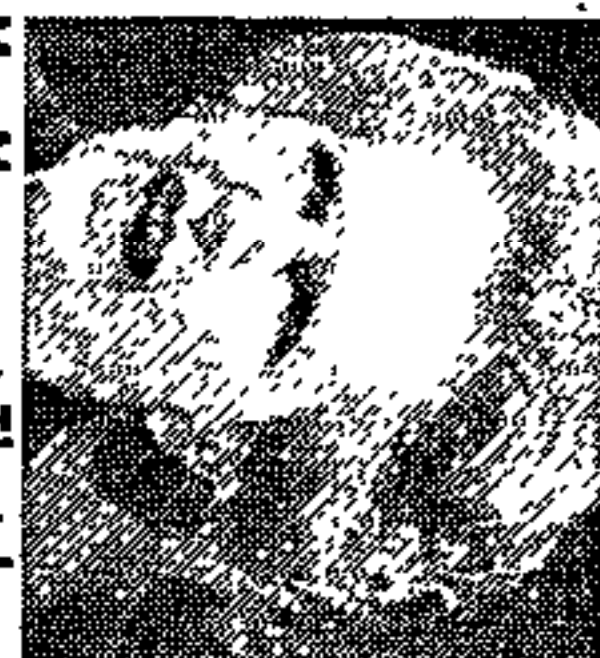
— Sapa.



Mr Bob Hawke

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

'The only game in town' moves into the international spotlight



Mrs Margaret Thatcher

CAPE TOWN — As the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group moves more and more into the spotlight numerous secretive plots are being played out in the wings of the stage of international diplomacy.

The South African Government is trying for a breakthrough to reverse the campaign of international isolation, the Commonwealth is trying to get rid of apartheid and the ANC wants to be the winner.

After hardly causing a ripple since it was appointed at the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Nassau in November last year, the Eminent Persons Group has suddenly shot into prominence. There is a general air of optimism being expressed about it making progress in initiating dialogue towards establishing a non-racial and representative government.

Until Australian premier Mr Bob Hawke made the first public remarks on the progress of the group in London last week, only hints of the success of the group were leaking out. South Africa, obviously not wanting another Kennedy circus trooping through the country, had insisted from the start on a low profile.

While not all that keen on some members of the group, the Government agreed to talk for two reasons: Mrs Margaret Thatcher had gone out on a limb to stop immediate strict sanctions

and because of the threat of sanctions.

Initially the group was divided on whether it should even come to South Africa before certain conditions were met, such as an undertaking they would be able to meet jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela. Although there has been no official confirmation it appears the success or failure of the group now hinges on the South African Government agreeing to the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC in return for a ceasefire from the ANC.

WORKING FOR BREAKTHROUGH

A number of proposals were made to South Africa and the ANC in Lusaka. South Africa recently replied but the reply was not as firm as had been hoped. The problem facing the group is the enormous amount of distrust on both sides.

However, the South African Government appears, from recent developments, to be serious about working for a breakthrough to get negotiations underway with any blacks, including the ANC, on condition they renounce violence.

Since November there have been perceptible shifts in Government statements making the starting point for negotiations easier.

The position on Mr Mandela has changed from possible release at the beginning of the year, with numerous qualifications including the release of dissident leaders in Russia and the release of

Captain Wynand du Toit from Angola, to a simple call for the renunciation of violence.

President Botha has already announced he is willing to release Mr Mandela and this week publicly called for ANC members, with particular reference to the non-communists, to renounce violence and return to South Africa.

This is likely to be the stance spelt out to the group, with a firm commitment to the sharing of power and negotiations to achieve it. However, South Africa would require firm guarantees of an ANC ceasefire.

The ANC has apparently indicated it would be prepared to stop operations but would want a total scrapping of apartheid and the release of political prisoners first.

The group must now decide, in reporting back to the Commonwealth states, whether it has made sufficient ground in initiating real dialogue and whether South Africa is genuine in its commitment.

If South Africa fails the test, tough sanctions will result. Many of the Commonwealth countries, particularly those with strong trade links with South Africa, will be looking for a way to avoid sanctions.

Governments of numerous countries, including the United States, are keeping a close watch on the process, now being referred to as the "only game in town".

-34.4%	Current Real Weekly Wage: R 41.26
+16.3%	Current Real Weekly Wage: R 24.19
-1.2%	Current Real Weekly Wage: R 23.34
+23.2%	Current Real Weekly Wage: R 25.61
-17.3%	Current Real Weekly Wage: R 31.02

Hitches in South Africa's reform process

By Malcolm Fothergill

South Africa seems to be heading neither towards revolution and collapse nor towards effective negotiation and reform, says social scientist Professor Lawrence Schlemmer.

Instead, he says, it seems more likely the country will see in the immediate future either "sham" reforms or genuine but only partially effective reforms.

In each of these cases unrest will probably continue.

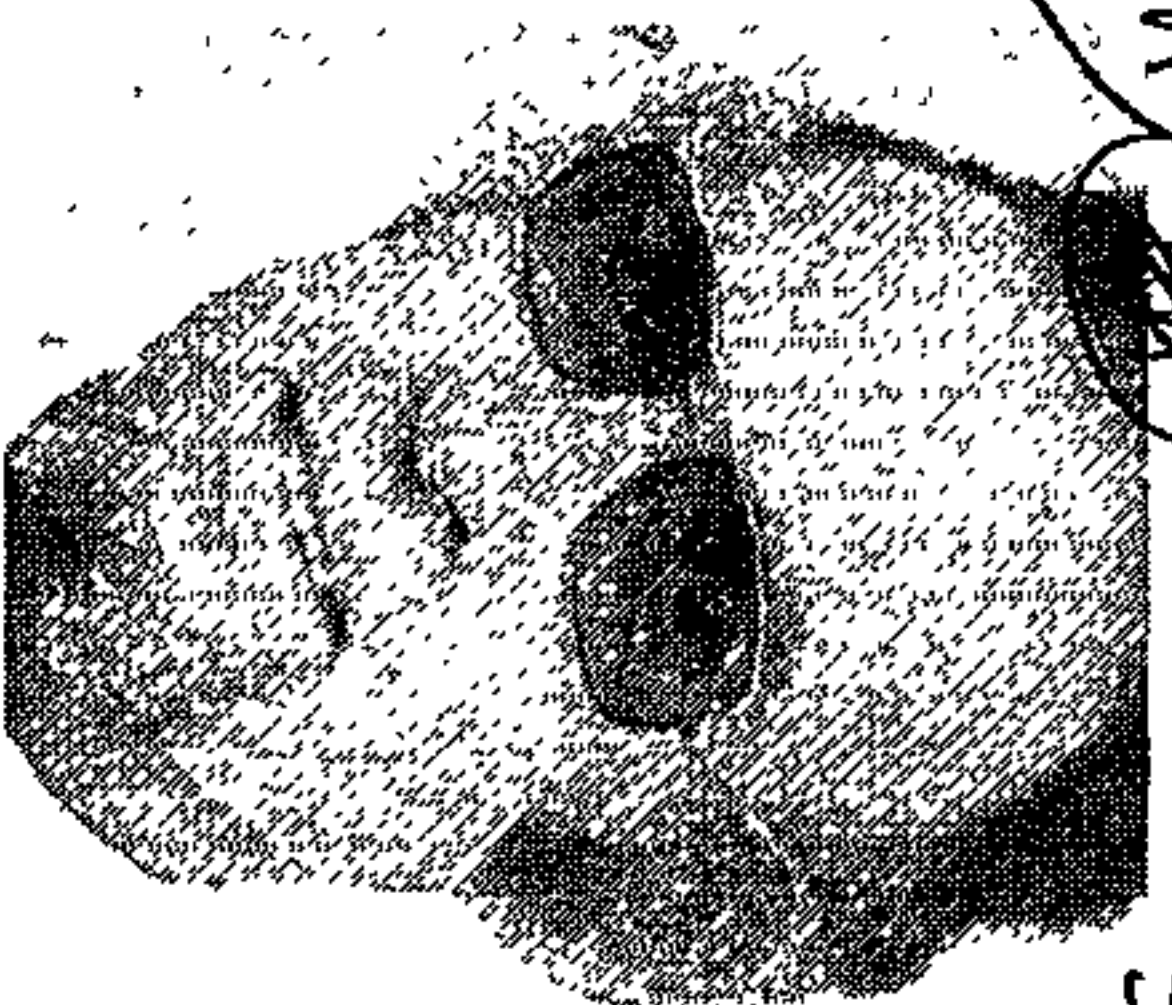
Professor Schlemmer told a meeting in Johannesburg organised by the South African Institute of Management that successful anti-government violence would provoke massive counter-violence.

He also said the Government had a much higher capacity to suppress unrest than it had used so far.

Dealing first with the "doomsday scenario" of collapse and slow reconstruction under majority rule, he said that although the wage gap between black and white had been closing in the past five years, the perception of inequality had probably widened rather than narrowed in that time.

As inequality had been reduced hopes had risen, only to be frustrated by the recession.

In addition, wings of political



Professor Schlemmer

organisations were committed to revolutionary transformation and a number of popular spokesmen at least condoned violence.

Unemployment in the black community was above 30 percent — and unemployment was a key factor in revolutions. "You won't get it from workers or housewives."

Another key factor in revolutions was a perception that the system was wobbling. Sustained promises of reform by the Government had contributed to such a perception.

Against the "doomsday scenario" were factors such as the fact that security forces had a much higher capacity to suppress unrest

than had been used so far and that even people who accepted violence morally did not generally expect it to succeed.

Also, "disorganised elements" had taken over the control of actions such as consumer boycotts. "This kind of thing eats into morale."

In addition, the more cohesive black organisations such as Inkatha and the trade unions were either against violence or took a cautious attitude towards it.

On the chances of negotiation and effective reform, Professor Schlemmer said the Government was committed to group self-determination and thus found it difficult to move away from race classification as the basis of its reforms.

Those reforms, once introduced, tended to seem less impressive than they had done before the event.

"People are saying that getting rid of the pass laws is no great shakes. Three years ago people were saying it would be a significant reform."

External organisations did not want reform because they could not afford at this stage to negotiate without losing some of their leverage.

Also, many of the organisations involved in the "liberation struggle" had a colonial model of liberation

which involved a total displacement of the present order — the old civil servants walked out and the new walked in, to be helped by Swedish and Dutch volunteers.

This notion made it seem less important to negotiate with the present order.

Professor Schlemmer said the disinvestment campaign could lead at best to a siege economy.

"Pressure can't push us through to a new paradigm. It can only cripple the present one. It can only half-kick the mule to death."

Disinvestment would increase the economic importance of the Government, which would become the major investor.

"This means all of you will be very chary of what you say about the Governor of the Reserve Bank and the Minister of Finance."

For these reasons, and because it was difficult to expect any government to negotiate when it was faced with widespread riots, negotiation in South Africa in the immediate future was unlikely.

What was left was reform in which the whites did not get their own way all the time, or "sham" reform that left the final control of power in white hands.

Each of these scenarios would be associated with a continuing degree of instability.

1/3/86. BU DAY.



● SUZMAN

Detained children abused — Suzman

CHILDREN detained under the emergency regulations were exposed to abuse because the emergency powers superseded provisions of the Childrens Act, which would have protected them, Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) said yesterday.

Suzman was starting debate in the House of Assembly on Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange's budget vote.

She said more than 2 000 of the 7 777 people detained during the state of emergency were children under the age of 16 and many more were under 20.

"There are hair-raising stories of children being subjected to all forms of violent treatment — mainly in police cells — and many were held in solitary confinement."

Suzman cited the example of an 11-year-old boy, Ranie Kuduka, who, according to a report by the Child Welfare Society, was arrested, charged with public violence, refused bail and kept in jail for two months.

"He was a psychological wreck when he was finally released to his

anxious parents."

She appealed to the minister to take steps against the abuse of children in detention and those about to be charged.

Also, Le Grange should ensure any future emergency regulations would not exclude the protection of the Children's Act.

Suzman said earlier it was "common cause" that a very bad relationship existed between the police and the black community.

"Instead of being considered protectors, the police are regarded by blacks as the symbol of oppression."

One of the factors which had led to this was that, over the years, the police had had to enforce highly unpopular legislation such as the pass laws, and curfews.

"Now that this major

source of racial friction is destined at long last for the scrap heap, the relationship between police and blacks should improve."

However, this would be hindered by other factors, such as the role police had to play in enforcing "totally unacceptable and ridiculous instructions and conditions" for the holding of funerals as well as police participation in forced removals.

"But the main stumbling block is obviously the behaviour of police during the past 19 months, since September 1984 when the first outbreaks of unrest in Sebokeng took place."

Since then there had been "report after report" of police excesses in black and coloured townships throughout the Republic.

— Sapa.

AWB: Govt out of touch with Afrikaner people

AKG 15/86
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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Unless the Government returned to the fold of the Afrikaner people it would trigger a revolution, according to Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Mr Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), was addressing about 6 000 people inside and outside the Pretoria City Hall as the AWB launched its "Brandwag" last night.

Loudspeakers brought his message to the hundreds listening outside the hall.

"I'm not a terrorist"

He said he was not a terrorist and did not endorse violence, but that he would do everything in his power to prevent the Afrikaner people from being destroyed by communists and the ANC.

Mr Terre'Blanche said that the Government referendum promises had not been kept.

"You have scrapped law after law that you promised to keep and now even white political parties can be taken over by people of other races."

He warned the Government to "behave" or face the consequences.

"Come back to your people, come back to reality and start to rule in a responsible manner again or you will trigger the biggest hell of a revolution you have yet encountered," Mr Terre'Blanche warned.

He said that the Government had completely lost touch with the Afrikaner people. It was time that government was returned to the people instead of being used to create power-bases for other races.

"We do not want this three chamber (parliamentary) system — all we want is that that which is rightfully ours be returned. We do not wish to oppress anyone or trample on their rights or take from them anything that belongs to them. But we demand our land and our rights — our Boer republics."

He said he could not understand why the unrest could not be brought to heel and stability be returned to the lives of white South Africans.

"If they were allowed to do so, the police and the defence force could restore peace in three or four days," he added.

"But you (the Government) have allowed them to become a political football and rendered them practically impotent," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

He said it was a disgrace that the short-staffed police force was prevented from accepting volunteers who were members of the AWB.

UK has chilly April showers

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — April showers were not sweet ... they were wintry in Britain this year.

It was the coldest April since 1922 and the fourth coldest this century.

The central England mean temperature for the month, at just over 6 deg C, was almost two degrees below normal.

The first third of the month was characterised by wintry showers with easterly gales and the rest by wintry showers interrupted chiefly by longer periods of rain, sleet or snow.

Indian troops raid Sikh shrine

AMRITSAR. — Security forces led by crack commandos have ended a raid on the Golden Temple after a 10-hour operation to capture separatists in the Sikhs' holiest shrine left one person dead and three wounded.

A Punjab state government spokesman told reporters up to 350 extremist suspects were arrested in sweeps through the sprawling temple complex.

The final act in the drama came when about 150 people in the temple's inner precincts surrendered.

The thrust into the most hallowed parts of the temple began five hours after 200 separatists were arrested. — Sapa-Reuters.

PW is walking in Ian Smith's footsteps

By Roger Huiley MP
PFP Cape Provincial leader

Mr P W Botha's opening speech in the debate on his Vote was reminiscent of the kind of speech Mr Ian Smith of Rhodesia was making some 10 years ago.

In 1976 Mr Smith and most of the white Rhodesians still mistread the war — seeing it not as a nationalist liberation struggle, but rather as a fight against communist-inspired terrorism led by agitators.

There are at least six important parallels between the policies of the Smith regime in Rhodesia and the National Party Government here in South Africa.

First, there is the underlying commitment of both regimes to the doctrine of white supremacy in central government, whether or not members of other race groups are co-opted for multiracial window-dressing.

Second, there is the commitment to racial segregation in political institutions and also to a degree in social institutions.

Third, there is the commitment to land segregation. In this respect our Group Areas Act is comparable to Rhodesia's Land

Tenure Act.

Fourth, there is the commitment to a homeland policy in respect of many blacks — in Rhodesia it was called "provincialisation".

Fifth, there is a heavy reliance on security legislation and tough-arm tactics.

Sixth, there is a reliance on constitutional manipulation in an attempt to prop up the regime.

Grave danger

The 1983 tricameral Constitution which was approved by the South African white electorate with a "yes" vote of some 66 percent is comparable to Mr Smith's 1969 "parity" constitution which was approved by the Rhodesian white electorate with a "yes" vote of nearly 75 percent in a referendum.

We in the PFP warned that the tricameral Constitution would face the same grave danger which was faced by Mr Smith's parity constitution — namely that it would risk triggering a black rage which would not be able to be controlled.

I wonder if this Government imagined the extent of the black resistance which has been set in motion by the new Constitution.

This happened to the Smith Government in Rhodesia. It lost control of many tribal villages. The punishment of the "necklace" which is meted out in South Africa's townships for collaborating is reminiscent of similar treatment meted out in the Rhodesian tribal villages by the Patriotic Front in its efforts to gain control over those areas.

It is interesting to note that Rhodesia's Quenet Commission, which was presided over by a former High Court Judge, Sir Vincent Quenet, reported on April 23 1976, at a time when the border war had spread across the country like a cancer.

It identified the Land Tenure Act as a key source of race conflict, it called for a common voters roll, for a justifiable Bill of Rights and some petty reforms. It was generally regarded as mild in the circumstances, but the Rhodesian Front nevertheless rejected it.

Mr Smith responded to the Quenet Commission's findings with the comment "blatant discrimination is out, but it is possible for discrimination to continue as long as this is justifiable and reasonable".

This type of gobbledygook is disturbingly similar to present-day Government responses to appeals for the scrapping of apartheid.

I do not relish the role of a Cassandra, but I do believe it is essential to draw attention to the lessons for South Africa which are contained in the Rhodesian experience.)

The Smith Government continued to walk down the road of diminishing options until it had no more bargaining power left.

Less offered

When the security situation in Rhodesia had gone completely out of control, when the subsequent client government of Abel Muzorewa was on its knees, Mr Smith was forced into signing a treaty at Lancaster House which offered less for the white minority than any previous British package deal had offered.

Can this Government not see it is walking down the same road? Are its members like duffers who must wait for events to overtake them and wreak havoc in their lives before they know their policy is bad?

EPG peace mission talks held in secret

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The Commonwealth yesterday declared a news blackout on the meeting of its peace mission on South Africa, which starts in London today.

Commonwealth Secretariat information director Patsy Robertson said no statements were expected.

Sources close to the initiative believe President P.W. Botha could be planning to lift the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to allow genuine African nationalists to return to SA, while maintaining the ban on the SA Communist Party (SACP) and denouncing the "communist and terrorist" activities of the ANC's mission-in-exile.

Today's meeting of the so-called Eminent Person's Group (EPG) follows five months of intense diplomatic activity culminating in a peace package presented to Botha last month.

The group has received Botha's reply to a set of specific proposals, but no details have been released either by the Commonwealth or government.

The SA Embassy in London confirmed yesterday that government's reply had been passed to the Commonwealth last Friday, but would not disclose details.

It is understood, however, that the re-

● To Page 2

EPG holds secret peace talks

sponse goes far enough in accommodating Commonwealth proposals to keep the initiative alive.

Pretoria's reticence to go all the way in agreeing to the proposals appears to be based on the need for a Western-backed guarantee that full responsibility for law and order would remain firmly in government's hands.

Diplomatic sources said yesterday the EPG was likely to visit SA again — probably later this month.

It was not clear whether the group would meet jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela for a second time.

● From Page 1

AWB — keeping the Nats ahead

IF you think the National Party's leaders were genuinely upset by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging breaking up their public meeting in Brits last weekend, you've been conned. All the signs suggest that they were secretly delighted and that they actually would welcome more of the same.

The far right, in fact, has become the NP's new hope for survival and if that sounds like an absurd contradiction, there are a few simple realities to consider.

The first is that in its attempts to modernise apartheid the NP leadership has been faced by the inconvenient problem that this cannot be done without losing significant support from its right wing. In order to remain powerful, therefore, it has had to find a means of replacing that lost support.

The second reality is that only one alternative source of support exists — the perennial sucker of the South African political scene, the uncommitted English-speaking voter.

And how best can this supine species be roused and herded into the NP laager? Why, by creating alarm at the threat which the thugs and



ISSUES

By Hugh Robertson

political pterodactyls of the far right supposedly represent.

IT worked like a charm during the last referendum campaign. There you had the NP purporting to be the champions of change, up against their far-right progeny who wanted to maintain a status quo at any cost. The result was a massive Yes majority.

But it was not a majority in favour of the new constitution. Everyone in politics knows that. It was a majority made possible by English-speaking voters who normally vote against the NP being persuaded to overlook their misgivings about the new constitution in order to "encourage" P W Botha, who had so bravely confronted the far right in trying to bring about "reform".

The biggest problem the PFP faced in the referendum was not the new constitution — they were confident that it would in a short time prove to be a disaster, as it has — but the fact that they were on the same side of the simplistic Yes-No equation as the CP, the HNP, the AWB and the Kappiekommando.

SOME NP spokesmen have come close to giving the game away. Take Louis Nel, the Deputy Minister of Information (a euphemism, if ever there was one), and his performance at the Brits meeting.

How often do Deputy Ministers get massive television coverage of their public meetings in the deep platteland — even in election campaigns? Very rarely. But the junior boss of the NP's electronic mouthpiece was given the full treatment in Brits, with more TV time being devoted to his meeting than was given a few days later to President P W Botha's meeting in Vereeniging.

We were even treated to an interview with Mr Nel, who declared that we had just witnessed "the ugly face of the Afrikaner". He is guilty of an inexactitude. The NP holds the copyright on the ugly face of the Afrikaner. Its thugs moved around the country for years breaking up public meet-

ings of opponents with precisely the same methods which the AWB used against Mr Nel. Indeed, some NP specialists in this dubious art punched and kicked their way to high office.

In those days the victims were opposition voters who were horrified by the violence. Their horror is being counted on again, this time by the party which introduced political violence, and so many other offensive things, to South African public life.

But Mr Nel came even closer to giving the game away. How often does a Deputy Minister, who rarely says anything of world-shattering importance, get all three national American TV networks, plus the British and a host of freelancers, at a meeting in a modest dorp like Brits?

IS it unreasonable to have just a wisp of suspicion that it did not happen without the NP and the Ministry of Information having done their little bit to help? But why would they have done so? Television viewers in America and Europe do not, after all, have the vote in South Africa.

No, but public opinion in the US and Western Europe has a direct bearing on issues like sanctions, disinvestment and the pressure which governments such as President Reagan's place on Pretoria.

So, it is most useful to be able to demonstrate to foreign public opinion just how "brave" the South African Government is in undertaking its "reforms" and what an awesome problem it faces from the wild and woolly creatures of the far right.

The far right is a danger, of course. But at this stage their usefulness to the NP still outweighs their menace. And even if they were to win power in an election (not an immediate prospect) the thought of them actually trying to impose their bigoted will on a South Africa already in ferment, is almost ludicrously improbable. They would simply not be able to ride the tiger.

But for the time being at least, more unites them with the NP than separates them. Both still agree on the fundamental issue of white hegemony. And so long as their usefulness to the NP outweighs their capacity for creating problems, they will be allowed to function. But you can be sure that when they have outgrown their usefulness, something will be done about them. The NP simply handles its really troublesome opponents that way. It is the nature of the beast.

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HNP revives 'days of NP bully boys'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The government should not complain about having its meetings disrupted because President P W Botha and nominated Nationalist MP Mr Koot van Staden were once the biggest "bully boys", Mr Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg) charged yesterday.

Speaking during the Law and Order budget debate, Mr Stofberg warned the National Party of more disruptions to come and said: "You ain't seen nothing yet, friend."

He questioned whether it was justifiable for a dominee to preach against the breaking up of the NP meeting in Brits as though it was un-Christian.

He drew howls of protest, and laughter, as he described how Nationalist supporters broke up one of the HNP's early meetings in Paarl in November 1969.

The chairman had been thrown off the stage three times before the police stepped in.

"Treat us now in the same way as you treated the NP back in November 1969," he said.

Mr Stofberg smiled broadly as Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Helderkruijn), replied that circumstances had changed since those days.

"What happened in the past took place in different circumstances," he said.

He attacked Mr Stofberg for saying that the right wing was not radical and was not trying to overthrow the State, but the government.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was not a registered political party. It wanted a one-party state which was nothing else but radicalism, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe said "mob rule" would replace democracy if incidents such as the disruption of the Brits meeting were allowed to continue.

The CP and HNP should condemn the disruption unconditionally.

Mr Stofberg interjected: "Then you must condemn the NP and the State President as well." — Political Staff and Sapa

NON - WHITE TRADE

Parties Employer Organisations: South African Association for

Non-White Trade (inc. the Witwatersrand Chamber of Reef Trade); Reef (Non-White Trade) Employers' Association

Trade Union: Concession Stores and Allied Trades

Assistants' Union

Area

In shops in the Magisterial Districts of Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Highveld Ridge Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Potchefstroom, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vereeniging and Westonia

Footnotes

1.Overtime - No overtime work is allowed

Botha hints at amnesty for ANC 'nationalists'

11/5/86
30/6/86

By IOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent
PRESIDENT P W BOTHA indicated today that a form of amnesty would be allowed for African National Congress members outside the country who were willing to take part in constitutional negotiations.

He stipulated that these individual members of the ANC must not be communists and that they must renounce violence. They would then be welcome to return to South Africa.

Mr Botha made these remarks in a Nationalist Press interview to mark the occasion 50 years ago when he started working for the National Party as an organiser.

Mr Botha's reference to the ANC is the latest in a series recently in which he has indicated that the Government regards a section of the ANC as true nationalists who sometimes did not realise that they were being manipulated by communists.

While strongly attacking what he described as the communist-dominated leadership of the movement he has left the door ajar for negotiations with the non-communist section.

He said today that the way should be clear to these people: it was to reject violence, to take part in constitutional discussions and then no action would be taken against them.

"A bloodbath"

There could, however, not be talks with perpetrators of violence and Marxists who wanted to overthrow the Government and wanted to turn South Africa into a bloodbath.

Referring to the August federal congress of the National Party Mr Botha said there would be discussion about future actions which affected group relations.

Measures to try to ensure South Africa's progress and stability would also be considered.

Mr Botha also appeared to reject, for the present at least, recent suggestions that blacks may be appointed to the Cabinet as the start of attempts to accommodate them at the highest level of government.

He said that the constitution did not make provision for blacks in the Cabinet but he had no objection to negotiate at a meeting with decent and civilised black leaders.

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Footnotes

1. Overtime - No overtime

NON - WHITE TRADE

AWB chief warns Govt of 'hell of a revolution'

By Gary van Staden
Political Reporter

Unless the Government returned to the fold of the Afrikaner people it would trigger a "hell of a revolution" — the biggest in its history — Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), was addressing thousands of people inside and outside the Pretoria City Hall as the AWB launched its "Brandwag" Loudspeakers brought his message to the hundreds outside the city hall. He said he would do everything in his power to prevent the Afrikaner people from being destroyed by communists and the ANC. Mr. Terre'Blanche said that the Government had lied during the referendum campaign and all the promises it had made had not been kept. "You have scrapped law after law that you promised to keep and now even white political parties can be taken over by people of other races," he told the Government.

'REALITY'

It was time the Government started to "behave" or face the consequences, he warned. "Come back to reality and start to rule in a responsible manner again or you will trigger the biggest hell of a revolution you have ever encountered," Mr. Terre'Blanche warned. He added that the Government had lost touch with the Afrikaner people completely and that it was time that government was returned to the people and not used to create power bases for coloureds, Indians and blacks. "We do not want this three-chamber (Parliament) system all we want is that which is rightfully ours to be returned. We do not wish to oppress anyone or trample on their rights or take from them anything that belongs to them. But we demand our land and our rights — our Boer republics — South Africa, he said, had been bought and paid for with the blood of the Afrikaner and the AWB was not able to prevent the wrath of the people from descending on a government that gave it away."

PFP to highlight provincial confusion

THE spread of bureaucracy and the high costs involved in the break-up of the provincial council system and the establishment of regional services councils will be highlighted by the PFP at next week's Transvaal Provincial Council budget session.

This will be the last budget session before the abolition of provincial councils. It will be held in Pretoria's old Raadsaal and an atmosphere of confusion is expected to surround the distribution of former council functions.

It is not yet known whether all or some of the four members of the executive committee (MECs) will be reappointed. Their term of office expires on June 30.

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GERALD REILLY

It is also not known what their functions will be, should they be retained.

One of Exco's main functions, education, was transferred to Education and Culture (Own Affairs) Minister Piet Clase in April.

Another, hospitals administration, will become the responsibility of the ministers of health in the three Houses of Parliament.

Progressive Federal Party leader in the council, Douglas Gibson, said yesterday Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis had so far failed to explain how the new system would function.

"The lack of information on how the remaining provincial functions are to be divided and administered is causing great confusion," Gibson said.

The PFP, he added, would oppose the RSCs on two grounds — they would further entrench apartheid; and they would lead to a multiplication of unproductive and costly bureaucracy.

The session itself will be a quiet one.

Most important piece of legislation to be tabled is the amended Townships and Town-planning Ordinance, which will slash time-wasting and costly procedures.

A last formal sitting of the council is scheduled for June 12.

cont. from p. 1
Breytenbach
'blasphemous'
30/11

POTCHEFSTROOM. — Seventy Potchefstroom educationists yesterday "indignantly" rejected what they called poet Breyten Breytenbach's "blasphemous remarks" when he received the Rapport literature prize in Pretoria last month.

The statement, drawn up by Potchefstroom University's Prof Hendrik van der Wateren and Prof S C Jacobs, said Breytenbach had abused his platform when he spoke at the State Theatre.

"That a person like Breytenbach, who had associated himself in the past with terror and who had busied himself over a long period with anti-South African propaganda, presumes to criticize South Africa, the Afrikaner, the Afrikaans churches and the authorities with nationally-defamatory (volks-lasterlike) and blasphemous remarks is rejected with the contempt it deserves," the statement said. — Sapa

Cape Times 2/5/86
 50 years
 in politics

Political Correspondent

MR P W Botha celebrated 50 years in active politics yesterday.

He started his political career as the secretary of the National Party in Caledon when he quit his university studies in Bloemfontein. Mr Botha, now 70, has been a full-time politician ever since.

He became MP for George in 1948 and held that position until he became South Africa's first executive State President in September 1984.

Mr Botha first became a minister in 1961. During the next 20 years he held seven ministerial portfolios: Housing, Community Development, Coloured Affairs, Public Works, Defence, National Security and National Intelligence Service.

Mr Botha held the position of Leader of the House from 1975 to 1978. On September 28 of that year he became Prime Minister.

He gained the leadership of the NP in the Cape in 1966 — a position he still holds, in spite of being State President.



Mr P W Botha on the steps of Parliament after his election by the Nationalist caucus as Prime Minister in September 1978. Behind Mr Botha (from left) are the Minister of Health, the late Dr Nak van der Merwe, the former Minister of Water Affairs, Mr Braam Raubenheimer, the current Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and the former Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger.

Relly: political solutions a must if economy's to grow

2/5/86 STARR 3041A

While the South African Government's decision to remove pass control and the pass system is to be welcomed, there is no doubt that the country will have an inadequate per capita growth rate unless solutions are found to political problems.

This is the view of Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, who addressed the University of Bophuthatswana's graduation ceremony at the weekend.

"The situation is serious. In 1985 South Africa experienced a negative per capita growth rate of 3.5 percent.

"This figure merely emphasises that real economic growth has been unable to keep up with population growth. Put quite simply, South Africa is growing in terms of numbers of people who have to be fed, housed, educated and employed, at a faster rate than we are able to provide these basic needs of life.

Problems

"I do not have to emphasise what enormous socio-political problems are introduced if the economy continues to fail to provide these basic necessities," Mr Relly said.

"It is hoped in the current year to reverse this trend and to achieve a positive three percent growth rate. With our annual population growth rate of 2.5 percent we cannot afford anything less and we must strive to do everything possible to improve our teaching and training so as to prepare people to play their role in this important growth process.

"Economists are at one that perhaps the most important component in reaching this goal is the development of industry. To achieve this we must make the best use of all our resources and, of course, the most critical resource here is labour.

"Engineering is a discipline in which greater participation by black people is essential. It is important to note that there is not a faculty of engineering at a



Mr Gavin Relly

black university in our region. However, it is encouraging that Unibo has already started planning for such an important faculty.

"For too long black people have been encouraged to pursue studies in areas which, while important, have excluded disciplines of a technical nature. In this regard, I do not include only the pure sciences and engineering but also other advanced areas such as accountancy, actuarial science and quantity surveying.

"With our huge manpower resources there can be no excuse for having to import skills from abroad if we want to have a strong and rich economy.

"It is most encouraging that developments have taken place to encourage children at an early age

to consider the possibilities of pursuing technical careers, but I must stress that a great deal more must be done in terms of career training and guidance.

"While the South African Government's practice of racial discrimination has impeded the education process in South Africa, industry and commerce have likewise been very slow to realise the enormous potential that exists in terms of the numbers of school-leavers and those qualified at the tertiary level who enter the labour market each year.

"In 1973 there were 5 492 black matriculation candidates in greater South Africa. In 1980 this figure had risen to 43 237 and in 1984 had almost doubled to 82 442. Indeed, the number of black schoolchildren has increased from some 800 000 in the

1950s to more than five million today.

"Similarly, in 1980 there were just over 10 000 blacks studying at universities in greater South Africa. This year the figure is expected to be well in excess of 30 000."

Mr Relly said that 10 years ago there was no provision for technical education of blacks, and the emphasis was still influenced by the Verwoerdian idea of trying to prevent blacks from acquiring hard-core professional qualifications.

"We know that 50 percent of the black population in greater South Africa is under 15. While many people view this figure with trepidation, it does show the enormous potential that we have in our region for the creation of wealth and prosperity for all.

"What is needed, though, is a greater commitment by commerce and industry to support the training and education of young school-leavers," Mr Relly said.

Bursaries

"Fortunately there are an ever-increasing number of schemes launched by the private sector, and I am glad to say also by the public sector, to assist with scholarships and bursaries to help not only with costs of study but also to help in terms of vacation employment and exposure to the various professions.

"If in our post-apartheid society in South Africa which is rapidly emerging, and in which racial discrimination will be expunged, we manage to preserve the free-market system, further lift many of the existing economic controls and make optimal use of our manpower resources, there is no reason why Southern Africa, of which Bophuthatswana is a significant part, should not within our lifetimes join the ranks of the richer countries of the world.

"In such a country there is opportunity, if not absolutely for everybody, for most people, and no real poverty," said Mr Relly.

PRETORIA AND THE ANC

A little detente

304A FIN MAIL 2/5/86

There are indications of an imminent breakthrough by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) in moves towards peace in SA. And the African National Congress (ANC) has stated its willingness, in principle, to negotiate with government and participate in a National Convention. Still, face-to-face talks are probably still a long way off. Up to now Pretoria has insisted that the ANC renounce violence as a precondition to being legalised and having its leaders released from jail. In response, the ANC has vowed to escalate its attempts to overthrow the State by violence, or to push it into negotiating only "the transfer of power to the people."

But there are now clear indications that the EPG, which visited the country last month, is attempting to set up a shuttle diplomacy initiative between Pretoria and Lusaka in an effort to establish a basis for talks. President P W Botha indicated briefly in parliament last week that the EPG effort had reached a "delicate" stage, adding fuel to speculation that a major breakthrough is on the cards.

In London, a co-chairman of the EPG, Malcolm Fraser, said the group's task has reached an "encouraging" stage. It is known that the EPG — set up at last year's Com-

monwealth heads of state conference in the Bahamas and charged, inter alia, with assisting towards peace in SA — has made certain proposals to Pretoria to which a response has now been given.

The latest developments have been linked to clear details of the ANC's attitude to negotiations, which emerged during three days of talks between ANC leaders and a National Union of Students (Nusas) delegation in Harare from March 31 to April 2.

The ANC's views are set out in an as-yet unpublished Nusas report on the talks, a copy of which has been obtained by the FM. The eight-member ANC delegation included two National Executive Committee members, Mac Maharaj and James Stewart. The Nusas team, headed by national president Brendan Barry, was told the ANC is prepared to take part in talks aimed at "the total abolition of apartheid and the democratic transfer of power to the majority."

Nusas was told that the ANC regards the question of "genuine negotiations" seriously,



Tambo



Fraser



Botha

but is concerned that President Botha has not done enough to show his bona fides.

The ANC wants the total dismantling of apartheid and not merely a statement of intent. According to the report, the ANC places no preconditions on negotiations, but insists that a "viable climate" be created before talks can start. This includes the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners (both issues are understood to be key proposals in the EPG package). The ANC delegates said the concept of a national convention is not new to the organisation. The jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, called for one in 1960.

The ANC's framework for a national convention as outlined to the Nusas members is:

- ☐ It must be sovereign and not subject to higher political or military power;
- ☐ Delegates must be elected. It must not be a "gathering of interest groups." President Botha will not be allowed to attend as State President, but will be welcome as an elected representative of the people; and
- ☐ The convention must be able to draw up a constitution without outside interference.

The Nusas report states that the ANC delegates said they believed negotiations would come about when the State was "pressured into genuine negotiation." It indicates that the ANC is suspicious that government is trying to use negotiation "as a strategy to disarm and demobilise the people."

It is understood that the urgency of achieving a breakthrough towards peace is accepted by both government and ANC leaders in the light of the escalation of barbarism and mindless violence in some townships — over which neither the security forces nor the ANC has much control. ■

FIN MAY 2/5/86 MAY DAY IT IS

Members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) are legally entitled to strike on May Day — and that's official. The Supreme Court made this ruling on Monday when it rejected an urgent application by the Chamber of Mines to interdict the union from instigating a strike over demands that May 1 be regarded as a paid holiday.

The judgment comes at a time of high expectations that thousands of workers around the country will take the day off.

Mr Justice A J Vermooten held that the dispute between the NUM and the chamber over the issue dated back to last year's wage negotiations and had not been resolved. The union was therefore entitled to call a strike. "The right to

gaining practice. The court said the minister had exceeded his powers by appointing the board to consider a demand for a paid May Day.

As the FM went to press, the NUM was expecting the majority of its 250 000 members to heed the strike call.

The chamber has declined to comment on the judgment, saying it is "complex" and requires careful study. But it has stated its member mines will follow a policy of "no work, no pay." The chamber has stressed that it does not regard a May Day holiday as a "holy cow."

A May Day strike by black mineworkers could, however, cause major headaches for the chamber. Last week the Council of Mining Unions — an um-

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2586- 3044 WEEKLY M.

Peace in our time: Stand by for a rush of mirages

DIPLOMATS have cautioned against the sudden flush of optimism that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group has devised a workable formula for bringing South Africa's white governors to the negotiating table with the African National Congress.

Their counsel of caution that major obstacles still lie ahead came in the wake of a spate of reports in the press about an imminent breakthrough in the quest by peace-makers at home and honest brokers abroad to resolve the escalating South African conflict.

Reports in the Sunday Times and the Star—puffing the idea of a breakthrough—were followed by a front page report in Beeld, headlined: "Peace hopes flame strongly again".

Beeld said of the initiative of the seven-member Eminent Persons Group or EPG: "During and after its visit to South Africa the group avoided the limelight as much as possible, but behind the scenes it made important inputs which could create a new foundation for dialogue."

The EPG team, co-chaired by the former Australian prime minister, Malcolm Fraser, and the former Nigerian president, Olusegun Obasango, did notch up at least one major success during its visit to South Africa. It succeeded in seeing the two most powerful men in the country: President PW Botha and his jailed adversary, ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The EPG plan is to try to persuade the South African government to release Mandela and to lift the ban on the ANC and the smaller, rival Pan-Africanist Congress in return for persuading the ANC to abandon its growing guerrilla war for the overthrow of the established order. These moves would set the scene for direct or indirect negotiations between the government and the ANC.

To the extent that the EPG was acting as an intermediary between Botha and Mandela it was, as it were, rehearsing for playing a similar role it hopes to play in setting up negotiations between the SA government and the ANC. But there is a long way to go before that becomes a reality.

The Star reflected what one diplomat described as an "optimistic glow" when it concluded in a front page report: "Negotiation with the ANC may be closer." In similar vein the Sunday Times proclaimed: "Peace: It's looking good." Both reports referred to the EPG plan as critical to breaking the growing spiral of violence.

The Sunday Times laid great emphasis on a speech in parliament last week by Botha, in which he drew a distinction between nationalists and communists in the ANC and implied that a *modus vivendi* could be reached with the nationalists.

A later article in the Star on Tuesday noted portentously: "For the third time in two weeks, President PW Botha yesterday distinguished between communists and non-communist members of the ANC. He made an indirect appeal to the non-communists to renounce violence and to return to South Africa to join him at the conference table."

But there was nothing particularly significant in Botha's speech making the same speech. He was repeating the

Peace is a fine idea, but there are better ways to achieve it than by conjuring up mirages. PATRICK LAURENCE argues that the 'peace breakthroughs' which have been front page news in several newspapers, are at best premature



President PW Botha

same speech to parliament's three chambers.

Botha said in a speech last week: "I think it is opportune and the duty of the nationalist members of the ANC to sever their relations with the Marxists ... If they come forward and say they want to return to South Africa and take part in constitutional, evolutionary processes, and if they renounce violence, they will be welcome. They can come back tomorrow."

But Botha's distinction between nationalists and communists in the ANC is not new and does not in itself herald a new attitude. He made the distinction last September, when he publicly adopted a hard line against talks with the ANC, labelling them an "act of disloyalty to young men serving on the border in the Security Forces".

There is no clear evidence that Botha's position has changed. On the contrary his Home Affairs minister, Stoffel Botha, recently reiterated the official view that it would be morally wrong and politically naive to hold talks with the ANC as long as it was engaged in guerrilla war or, as he preferred to put it, a campaign of murder and destruction.

The disruption and takeover of a National Party meeting last week by members of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging can hardly be an encouraging omen for the Botha administration. The breakup of the meeting, and growing support for the ultra-rightist Conservative Party, are a reminder that even the limited reforms so far have lost the NP support from large numbers of Afrikaners.

A commitment to negotiations with the ANC could easily cause the conservative revolt to grow like a wildfire. As Botha himself observed in a speech in the "coloured" chamber "When you ... try to hurry me on, you must remember that I must take the

Afrikaner along, without giving him the feeling that he has been discarded."

From the ANC side of the spectrum, there is no evidence that it has shifted in the slightest from its stance that the guerrilla war should continue during any potential talks with South Africa. Its public stance, at any rate, remains one of militancy.

Botha himself has quoted ANC president Oliver Tambo as saying "If we thought the time had come for talks with Pretoria, we would not abandon the armed struggle. We would simply carry on."

More recently Law and Order minister Louis Le Grange gave the press permission to quote a statement by Tambo, in which the ANC leader accused the "apartheid regime" of being "intent on maintaining itself in power at all costs", and concluded that the "fascist regime must be swept off the face of the earth".

Botha's stress on the difference between nationalists and communists in the ANC appears to spring from hopes of driving a wedge between the two factions. But they have little chance of success.

The aversion to communism and communists felt by Botha and his lieutenants is not shared by nationalists in the ANC, of whom Tambo is perhaps the pre-eminent example.

As Mandela has noted: "From its inception the ANC was formed and built up, not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a parliament of African people, accommodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation."

Those views were expressed more than 20 years ago, but they are still representative of the ANC view of itself. As Mandela has observed "African communists could, and did, become members of the ANC, and some served on the national, provincial and local committees."

Any bid by nationalists to purge the ANC of communists would seriously weaken, if not destroy, the ANC at a critical juncture in its struggle to overthrow apartheid. To quote Mandela again: "Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage."

Botha remains convinced that the ANC is under communist control. By his count 63 percent of the ANC national executive are members of the clandestine SA Communist Party.

He is furthermore determined not to talk to the ANC while it is under communist control.

"You can't expect me, while the ANC is under control of the Communist Party and still openly advocates violence, to deal with them," he told parliament after his as yet unpublished response to the EPG peace plan had already been sent to London.

The negotiations may be "in an encouraging stage", as Fraser remarked last week. But there is still a long, hard road ahead.

Even if the EPG does succeed in persuading the ANC to abandon its guerrilla war, its chances of either persuading the ANC to expel its communist members or of convincing Botha that he must deal with the ANC, communists and all, remain negligible.



A member of the AWB attacks a foreign television crew, ITN, during a meeting in Pretoria

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL, AP

AWB rally warns of 'violence'

25/86 WEEKLY MAIL 304

EUGENE Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, has threatened that should the government capitulate to "black communism" or withhold elections, the AWB will take with violence "that which belongs to the volk".

Speaking at a mass rally in Pretoria, Terre'Blanche also announced that he is to seek a meeting with the State President, to put to him the volk's rejection of the tricameral system, described as an "Egyptian samoosa".

More than 3 000 supporters — some of them clad in the khaki of the AWB's "civil defence" organisation, the Boere Brandwag — were on hand to hear these words, boomed via powerful loudspeakers through the jam-packed City Hall and out through the windows to those outside. For blocks around, the streets reverberated to the sound of Terre'Blanche.

Almost everything he said was greeted with a tumultuous approval. The Afrikaner, he prophesied, would go so far and no further. If the government continued on its present course, South Africa would suffer the "biggest hell-revolution ever".

He himself was neither a terrorist

By NORMAN GREENBERG

nor did he support violence. But he would not allow his people to be destroyed by the ANC.

The ultimate choice in South Africa, he told his audience, was between the AWB and the ANC. That organisation, he declared, was a "product of international communism". It should beware: the Afrikaner was forming the laager; and since the whites had God on their side, it they who had the majority in Africa.

For the National Party, Terre'Blanche had the warning that the AWB would not much longer be able to contain the fury of the whites.

Afrikaners he demanded, should be given the same opportunity as (Bophuthatswana president) Lucas Mangope, "to have our own state ruled by ourselves and not together with coloureds and Indians".

Once the Right had secured the majority of Parliamentary seats in the Transvaal, the Free State and Northern Natal, it would approach the President and demand secession to form a "boere people's state". Whites from

the Cape who wished to join would have to move into an area in the northern Cape adjoining the Transvaal.

Though much of his address was devoted to vilification of the tricameral system, Terre'Blanche had positive mention for both the CP and the HNP. CP leader Andries Treurnicht, he revealed, had told him the Brandwag was "essential" and had encouraged him to further its development.

On the receiving end of lavish praise were the SAP and the SADF. These forces, said Terre'Blanche, were "the finest in the world", and if unshackled would bring township unrest to an end "within two or three days".

Repeating his offer (thus far rejected) to have his supporters join the police reserve, Terre'Blanche went on to say that there could never be any conflict between the AWB on the one hand and the SAP and the SADF on the other. The oath taken by members of the SAP and the SADF embodied the very same principles of the AWB. He himself, as a former policeman, had taken this oath and

could never renounce it.

Outside the meeting, pamphlets were distributed from the "Movement for the Freedom and Preservation of White South Africa" calling on whites to "arm themselves, stay armed and make sure you know how to use your weapons."

"If you are attacked, shoot to kill. We can talk later. People who want our land can take it over our dead bodies."

"Beware of your servants. Remember ... the tame dog is the one that bites hardest".

For Terre'Blanche, the rally was perhaps the high point of his political career to date. That can no doubt be said: the Right is on the march, and that is its natural leader.

Positioned as he is in extra-parliamentary politics, he seems to be setting himself up as the holy guru of conservative Afrikanerdom. While the CP and the HNP fight the grubby tricameral battle for him, he can build up huge populist support and heartily woo the SAP and the SADF.

And with his talk of violence, he may have crossed an important new boundary.

Botha falls to Buthelezi

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is more popular with Pretoria's Afrikaans businessmen than President P W Botha, according to a survey by Unisa's School of Business Leadership.

A total of 83 percent of Afrikaans-speaking respondents rated KwaZulu's Chief Minister a good leader compared with President Botha's 67 percent.

Among English-speaking respondents, 63 percent rated President Botha and Chief Buthelezi as good.

Former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert received the highest rating from English-speaking respondents — 66 percent.

President Botha's drop in popularity "can almost certainly be ascribed to his 'Rubicon' speech on August 15 1985," the report on the survey, conducted late last year, said.

Sixty-nine percent of respondents were against the Government negotiating unconditionally with the ANC, 15 percent said perhaps and 16 percent said yes.
— SAPA.

We'd like blacks to replace us, say two Cabinet Ministers

Verwoerd's ideas out

Political Staff

Dr H F Verwoerd's oft-quoted adages on black education have been repudiated by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Both Dr Viljoen and his deputy minister, Mr Sam de Beer, said they would be delighted to be replaced by blacks.

Dr Viljoen, a former Broedebond chief, made a policy statement in the House of Representatives yesterday in which he completely dissociated his department from the Verwoerd policy that black education should not give blacks "white-collar aspirations" which could not be fulfilled.

Black education, under his department, was based on the needs of a modern industrialised urban society, Dr Viljoen said.

There was no ceiling to the upward mobility of blacks in his department. Black candidates were being trained to fill several assistant directorships and planning posts.

Number of pupils growing

Dr Viljoen said the number of black pupils had grown from 600 000 in 1953 to 6.2 million this year.

The population increased by 250 000 every year, for which 300 new schools and 8 000 new teachers had to be provided annually.

Since 1974 the number of secondary school pupils had increased from 147 000 to 625 000.

He conceded that there was a high drop-out rate, a high pupil-to-teacher ratio and that teachers' qualifications were too low.

But, through a national plan involving increased funds, in-service teacher training and bridging classes, the department aimed to overcome the backlogs by the year 2000.

In an interview on television Dr Viljoen said he hoped a black person would take the political decisions on black education one day, but was not willing to say whether this meant a black appointment to the cabinet was imminent.



Bishop Desmond Tutu (left) with Bishop M S Ndwandwe addresses yesterday's lunch-time crowds at St Peter's Church, in Leask Street, after Bishop Ndwandwe had been released from prison in Klerksdorp. Bishop Tutu had planned to march on the local police station to secure his release. Bishop Ndwandwe, however, was released before the march could take place.

Picture: Herbert Mabuzo.

Pik's ready for the AWB

By David Braun,
Political
Correspondent

STINGING ATTACK

Earlier this week on TV Mr Botha delivered a stinging attack on the AWB.

It is understood that the National Party is determined to teach unruly AWB and CP elements a lesson at Mr Botha's meeting.

President Botha set the tone this week when he told members of the House of Representatives not to concern themselves about the AWB.

"The Nationalists will sort them out," he said in response to calls that the organisation be banned.

The AWB has assumed an increasingly high profile in recent months.

At a meeting in Johannesburg this week, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche told thousands of people that if the Government withheld the right of protest and election from its members, the AWB was ready to take on the black revolution itself.

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will take on militant, white, hard-liners at a public meeting in the Northern Transvaal later this month — defying warnings that such meetings will be disrupted.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has vowed, after breaking up two cabinet ministers' meetings last month, that never again will a Nationalist Minister be able to hold a public meeting in the Transvaal.

But Mr Botha, the most visible liberal symbol of the National Party, plans to address a meeting in the heart of Conservative Party (CP) territory in the next three weeks.

One of the Government's most effective public speakers, Mr Botha is a special target for attack by the CP and AWB because of his liberal views, particularly his admission earlier this year that he would be prepared to serve under a black president.

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CITY P.

CP Correspondent

SA President PW Botha went off in search of his own Ndabiningi Sithole last week when he appealed to ANC members in exile to return to South Africa and become part of what he called the "reform" process.

Botha hopes he can, if not split the ANC, then at least cause it serious and embarrassing defections. He remembers that Ian Smith's Rhodesian government succeeded in winning over one-time Zanu president Sithole and others from the nationalist movement in the 70s, causing temporary - but serious - problems within what is now Zimbabwe's ruling party.

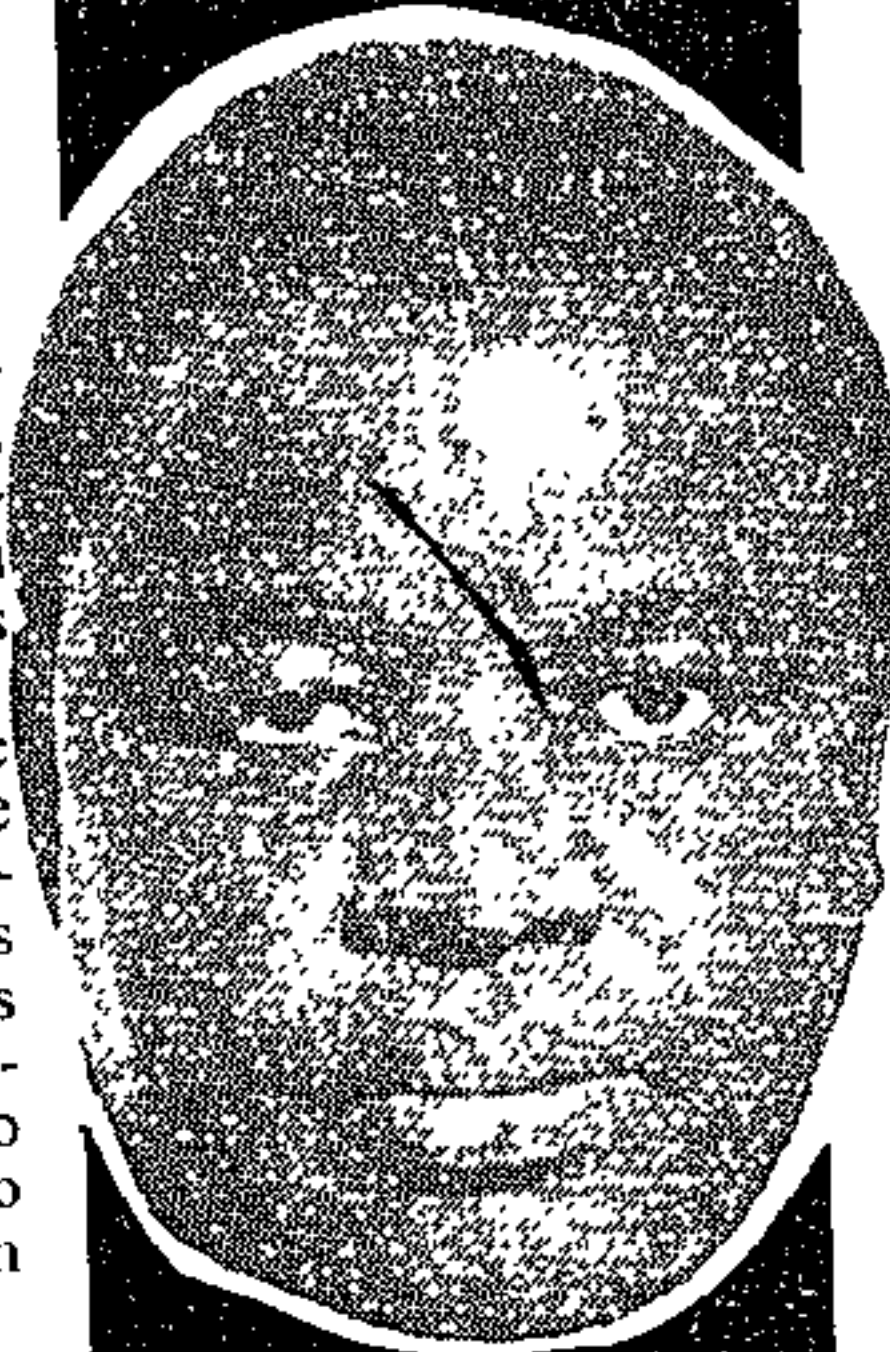
Botha hopes there are ANC members who share his virulent anti-communism, who might believe as he does that the ANC is dominated by the SA Communist Party, and who would therefore prefer to join his government system than remain in the ANC.

For a long time, Botha has used the communist bogey as a tool on the international scene - to try to increase his support in the west.

But Botha has never so brazenly attempted to use it in relation to the outlawed ANC itself. So his bid is, in itself, important.

For some years now,

WHO IS THIS MAN



And what's he doing on PW's mind?

and has come so crudely, according to one ANC source this week.

It is possible Botha is making his offer on the basis of information that he will have some takers in the ANC. But available information indicates his prospects are not good.

The record of previous splits from the ANC is not promising. The Pan-Africanist Congress, which broke away in 1958-9, is limping along on crutches. And the breakaway of eight senior ANC members in 1975 to form the ANC (African Nationalist) came to nothing.

But what underlies Botha's search for his Ndabiningi Sithole?

There are good grounds for thinking that he is now joining battle with the ANC in an arena of struggle in which, over the past two years, the ANC has almost had it all its own way.

That arena is: *If* - and one must repeat - *if* negotiations come, what will be the shape of the negotiating table? And who will define that SA shape?

Over the past two years, the ANC has been moving quite cleverly to ensure that it and what it calls "the broad democratic movement" not only fight apartheid together but, if it comes to negotiations, that they sit together as a united delegation on one side of the

table.

Moreover, the ANC wants Botha and his supporters, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and others, including any Ndabiningi Sitholes, to sit on the other side.

The ANC is, according to top sources, committed to this. And its "broad front" would have to include the Communist Party, with whom it shares a number of perspectives and with whom it has fought side by side in many battles.

The official ANC position is that, while the majority of its members are not communists, it will not indulge in divisive anti-communism.

In other words, from the ANC perspective, any negotiating table must be two-sided. The ANC sees the conflict in the country as basically between two sets of forces. And, if this conflict - which is about political power and reshaping South Africa - is continued at some point at the negotiating table, the shape of that table must reflect those two sides.

The ANC rejects the notion that any negotiating table should be round and consist of a whole range of little delegations, bickering among each other about how much support they have and their constitutional models for the future.

On the other hand that is,

logically, exactly what Botha must want. His intention must be to bury the ANC, UDF, Cosatu, Azapo, Inkatha, the Sebes and any Ndabiningi Sitholes in a multi-party mish-mash of posturing - while he still controls military security and economic power.

In terms of this outlook, the more Ndabiningi Sitholes the better.

Word in exile sources is that a number of individuals have already started trying to set themselves up as mediators in the event of any future two - or more - sided negotiations.

Because the colony of Southern Rhodesia had never formally been given its independence by Britain, the British government could reclaim its rights as colonial power and mediate between the Patriotic Front and the Smith-Muzorewa ruling group. But no such ready mediator exists for SA.

According to the ANC, South Africa is in a situation of "internal colonialism". And therefore, it would be a "distortion of the fundamental reality of our country" to have some outside mediator, according to one senior ANC source.

Instead, the two sides must face each other directly - with any Ndabiningi Sitholes on Botha's side.

"No mediator comes to the table with disinterested hands," the ANC source added.

STARS/5/86

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P W to discuss freeing of Mandela

LONDON — A plan to free black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela will be discussed this month between President P.W. Botha and the Commonwealth group set up to promote black-white dialogue, a British Sunday newspaper reported.

The plan, which could also legalize the African National Congress (ANC), was worked out at a London meeting this week between the group and a top South African Foreign Ministry official, *The Observer* said.

According to diplomatic sources, the Commonwealth group, which presented proposals to Mr Botha when visiting South Africa in March, will return there in two weeks after getting an encouraging message from him.

During the March visit the group also held talks with Mandela, jailed leader of the ANC.

The mission of "Eminent Persons" headed by former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian leader Mr Ulusegun Ubasanjo is due to report to the 49-nation Commonwealth by June.

If the bid for full-scale negotiations fails, the group will advise the Commonwealth to impose mandatory economic sanctions, which are strongly opposed by Britain at present, *The Observer* said.

On Saturday *The New York Times*, in a report from London, said that South Africa was prepared to hold talks on the unbanning of the ANC.

The newspaper said Mr Carl von Hirschberg, a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, had gone to London to clarify South Africa's position.

His message was designed to "encourage" the Eminent Persons Group to make another visit to South Africa, the newspaper said. — Sapa-Reuter.

PEP intervenes in Paarl funeral crisis

CAPE TOWN — A delegation of Progressive Federal Party MPs held a meeting at the weekend with the family of Mr Sammy Mjobo, the alleged African National Congress member whose funeral was banned in Mbekweni, Paarl, at the weekend.

The funeral was to have taken place yesterday, but it was banned by the Chief Magistrate, Mr J T P Swart, on Friday.

Mr Mjobo is the last of the seven alleged ANC members, killed in a shootout in Guguletu by police on March 3, to be buried.

Yesterday, Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, and Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, also met the Paarl Civic Association "to prevent further bloodshed in the area," Mrs Suzman said.

The Paarl Civic Association and family asked Mrs Suzman and Mr van der Merwe to intervene to renegotiate and alter the stringent restriction order placed on the funeral.

Mr van der Merwe said he would set up a meeting tomorrow or on Tuesday with representatives from the civic association, the family and the Commissioner of Police or Chief Magistrate of Paarl. — Sapa.

CITY

No winners — only survivors if violence continues, says Mobil

Staff Reporter

MOBIL, the largest United States investor in South Africa, is running an advertising campaign to distance free enterprise from apartheid and to promote the view that the violence spiral can have "no winners, only survivors".

The campaign follows the creation last month by the oil giant of a R40-million black development foundation.

"Business in general and Mobil in particular are normally disinclined to involve themselves in the political arena — but we believe things have gone beyond that," Mobil Oil Southern Africa chairman Mr Georges Racine said.

Explain

Acknowledging that the advertisements showed business in a higher political profile than before, he said: "We wanted to explain our position. We would welcome others saying the same thing because it would strengthen our position."

The advertisements, which appeared in newspapers last week, appealed for an end to violence, saying failure would end further investment, new jobs and social improvement; financial chaos and a flight of capital from the country would follow.

"We believe there is little point in arguing about who is most responsible for the violence which is threatening to engulf our country. The crucial challenge is to break this spiral with justice," the advertisers said.

Unadorned

Presented in the same unadorned style as the Government's "this is the reality" advertisements, they expressed the belief that "the next few months" would offer the country a "unique opportunity to launch a new dialogue for political and social change".

Mr Racine said this was a reference to the reform undertakings of President P W Botha, the work of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and other, similar matters.

Mobil's sales were "not so much" directly affected by the upheaval in South Africa — but "... our business is closely-related to the general prosperity of the country," he said.

Mr Racine dismissed criticism of "window-dressing" for a favourable image.

It was inevitable, he said, that sectors of opinion would be alienated. "But it must be recognised that we are acting in good faith."

Talks on urbanisation

SPAK 5/5/86

By Colleen Ryan

An emergency meeting of major business organisations has been called to consider the Government's new urbanisation policy.

It will also try to decide on steps to resolve the problems surrounding the black citizenship issue and the land shortage.

The Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, which includes representatives of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Urban Foundation as well as individuals and trade unions, meets tomorrow to consider the State's White Paper on Urbanisation.

Many businessmen are worried unresolved issues, such as citizenship and the lack of land, could negate the lifting of the pass laws.

● See Page 12.

THE man who started the Afrikaner academic revolt against the NP — in those days public denunciation of the party was considered on a par with heresy and treason, if not worse — is soon to retire from his position as head of Unisa's department of Political Science and Public Administration. But his has not been an easy life.

Willem Kleynhans — the man who spoke his mind

By HUGH ROBERTON

WHEN he walks out of his office at the University of South Africa for the last time at the end of this year, Professor Willem Kleynhans, the longest serving member of the university's academic staff, will not be retiring. He will be starting a new phase in what has been one of the most politically controversial academic careers in South Africa.

"At last I will be able to get down to sorting through my documents and doing the writing I have been meaning to do for years. You will not have heard the last of me," he says. "In fact, I think my major work in political science is still ahead of me."

Prof Kleynhans, head of Unisa's Department of Political Science and Public Administration, joined the university's administrative staff in April, 1947, the first year of student enrolment, and shortly afterwards added a second assignment when he was asked to write lectures in public administration.

At that stage there were only 700 students and Willem Kleynhans was an ardent Nationalist, yet to become Transvaal chairman of the Nasionale Jeugbond and a member of the NP's Transvaal *dagbestuur*, attending open and closed party meetings with the likes of former Prime Ministers Hans Strydom and Hendrik Verwoerd.

When he leaves, Unisa will have an enrolment of some 85 000 and Willem Kleynhans will be remembered as the man who started the Afrikaner academic revolt against the NP, a man who remains today politically unaffiliated but who has no hesitation in making known his antipathy to the NP and its policies.

HIS first big academic opportunity came in July, 1950, when he was asked to replace the departing senior lecturer in Unisa's one-man department of Political Science. It might seem a minor triumph by today's standards, but for the young Tukkies graduate — he completed all his degrees at Pretoria University extra-murally — it was a godsend.

But in 1955, at the height of the furore over the NP's decision to remove the coloured people from the common voters' roll, Willem Kleynhans took a stand which was destined to dramatically change his life and the whole complexion of politics at Afrikaner universities.

He initiated a petition, ultimately signed by 13 leading Afrikaner academics (only

one of them from Stellenbosch, in those days a far cry from being a centre of *verligtheid*) denouncing the NP's decision on coloured voters and, in effect, inviting an academic insurrection.

"I had long been unhappy as a Nationalist, but I had kept my feelings out of the public domain," he says. "In fact, so critical had I become inside the party organs, among other things about the influence of the Broederbond, that Mr Strydom invited me to his home to try to persuade me that I had the wrong idea about the Broederbond and that I was wrong about party policies."

"It was to no avail, I'm glad to say. But our petition had a really dramatic effect. You must remember that in those days public denuncia-

tion of the party was considered on a par with heresy and treason, if not worse. It was a bombshell, but although I had an immediate feeling of tremendous relief that I had at last spoken my conscience and broken with the NP, I did pay a heavy price."

THE major part of the price was 17 years without a promotion at Unisa, a period in which others were appointed as head of the department and men junior to him got professorships. "I got the message, but quite honestly I didn't look back. You can have no idea how free I felt. After all, I grew up in a staunch purified Nationalist home. Apartheid and white supremacy had been my mother's milk."

"But I don't think there is a truly happy man who does

not live in harmony with his conscience. I was a happy man for those 17 years. It became easier and easier to take a stand. They tried to move me out, of course, and they made life very difficult at times. But I knew I was right, that I had no choice but to stay on and speak my mind."

Another part of the price was the abusive telephone calls, the threatening letters. "This was really trying for my wife and it went on for years, but eventually we got used to it."

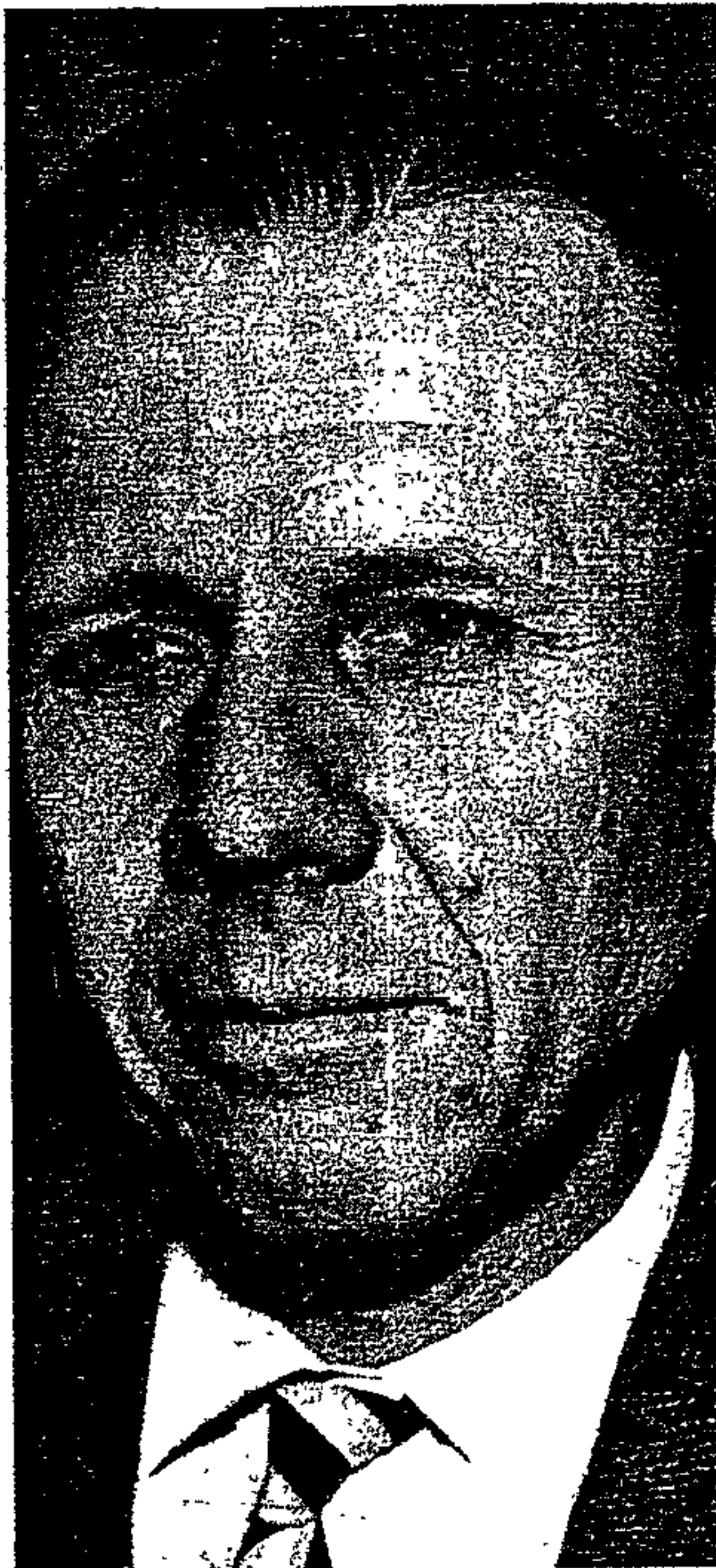
"I remember in 1961, in an interview with *The Star*, I called for full municipal rights and freehold property ownership to be granted to blacks. That started a whole string of poison-pen letters and telephone calls. I was called a communist and a *kafferboetie*, and suchlike. But I was determined that this sort of thing would not silence me or hold me back."

"In 1965, when hundreds of homes were searched by the security police, we also got an early morning knock on our door and they came in a spent some hours going through my documents and books. Finally they took away 20 documents, including one entitled *The Road to a New South Africa* which, believe it or not, was an English translation of the NP's Cape constitution! This was all part of the pattern of intimidation. I have the security police receipt of what they took away as part of my collection of documents and political memorabilia."

IN 1970 a lecturer, Mr BJ Roux, was promoted as a professor and made head of Unisa's Department of Political Science, but he committed suicide two years later.

"It was then, at long last, that I got my professorship and was appointed head of the department. They announced my appointment before the tea break, and immediately after the tea break the principal, Professor S Pauw, who had always been very strongly opposed to me, suddenly announced his retirement. I can assure you that it wasn't a coincidence."

The one-man department which Willem Kleynhans took over in 1950 will have an academic staff of 30 at the end of this year, with a student enrolment of more than 1 000. It will be a department free of political sectionalism. "You can find people from the far right and the far left at Unisa today, and there is an atmosphere in which each feels free to speak openly. I am determined to see to it that nobody goes through what I had to. That is the legacy I would like to leave."



Professor Willem Kleynhans.

MAGUS 5/5/86

Big business in urgent talks on black citizenship

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An emergency meeting of major business organisations has been called to consider the Government's new urbanisation policy and to decide on steps to resolve problems about black citizenship and the land shortage.

The Private Sector Council on Urbanisation, which includes representatives of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Urban Foundation as well as individuals and trade unions, meets tomorrow to consider the State's White Paper on urbanisation.

The council has already welcomed the abolition of influx control and the plan to end related discriminatory laws, but many businessmen are worried that unresolved issues, such as citizenship and the lack of land, could negate the positive impact of abolishing the pass laws.

Squatters

Another serious issue which the council is likely to address is the Government's intention of applying the slums and squatter laws to prevent illegal land occupation.

A statement released by the council has emphasised that people should not be evicted or removed from illegal homes unless they are given other affordable accommodation in an urban area.

Lawyers have pointed out that the lifting of influx control would not relieve the plight of residents of the independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) who will be treated like any alien in South Africa.

They will need a valid passport or travel document to enter the country and will not be allowed to work or live permanently in the country without work and residence permits.

"Approved"

So far the Government has promised only to restore citizenship to TBVC residents who live permanently in South Africa.

While millions of black South Africans will have freedom of movement in theory, they will not be able to stay in an area unless they occupy "approved housing".

The black housing shortage has already reached crisis proportions with 420 000 units in "white" areas, according to official figures.

The Urban Foundation has warned that the Government must give urgent attention to the land and housing shortage by providing large areas of land in urban areas.

Equal say 'the only possible way'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, says white domination is no longer possible in South Africa, only an equal say with other population groups.

Addressing the 40th annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer here on Friday night, he said that if there were people who did not support the government's reforms they should leave South Africa and find a country where there was white domination.

Mr Botha said the government understood the suspicion in which it was held by blacks as a result of years of unfulfilled aspirations, but the State President, Mr P W Botha, was sincere in his wish to negotiate a new constitution for a "new South Africa".

He said even moderate black leaders who did not support the African National Congress agreed that the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was a prerequisite for negotiations.

Mr Botha said Mr Mandela should be made to face the scrutiny of the press as other leaders do.

"Let me tell you that a martyr is far more dangerous than a fanatic," he said.

Mr Botha repeated the government's appeal for nationalist members of the ANC to enter into negotiations with the rest of the country, and to abandon their "communist colleagues" who were interested only in totalitarian power in a single-party state designed to withhold all the individual's fundamental rights.

Mr Botha said the last thing the ANC and some elements of the United Democratic Front could afford was a successful meeting of minds among the moderate people of South Africa.

"It's also not good enough to say the government has done too little too late. Rather ask yourself what you have done to promote negotiation in this country. The government cannot do everything. We must all negotiate with each other." — Sapa

Dr his

Drop apartheid, summit seven urge SA Govt

TOKYO. — Foreign Ministers of seven nations meeting in Tokyo called in a joint statement today for South Africa to abolish apartheid and take further steps toward social and political reform.

British and West German officials, asking not to be named, said the Ministers agreed that a final "summing up" statement should express "support for dialogue between parties" in South Africa, including the outlawed African National Congress.

While the Ministers agreed changes implemented by Pretoria in racial policy had not gone far enough, they were willing to include an "acknowledgement" of those reforms in their final document, an official said.

He said the South African Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, had asked, in a confidential letter to his counterparts attending the summit, that such a statement be included.

MANDELA

Mr. Botha's letter, the existence of which had not previously been disclosed, listed recent moves by his Government to soften its racial policies.

West German Foreign Minister Mr. Hans-Dietrich Genscher was quoted by an official as saying he found strong backing for his views that tensions in South Africa could be reduced only by "more substantive actions" to include freedom for Mr. Nelson Mandela and lifting the ban on the ANC.

Meanwhile the British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, pushed through agreement at the summit today on a tough declaration for action against states supporting international terrorism.

A British delegation spokesman said they "had to beef it up still more" adding that Mrs. Thatcher had insisted the drafts were not strong enough. President Reagan backed her.

The final draft on terrorism named Libya and said the seven nations would intensify their efforts to clearly identify culprit states and penalise them.

DISASTER

The leaders agreed to refuse to sell arms to states acting as havens for terrorists and to strictly limit any diplomatic representation by those states, if necessary closing their embassies and missions.

The United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan also agreed on a declaration criticising the Soviet Union for failing to warn the world about the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. — Sapa-Reuters-AP.

● Thatcher unruffled by rockets — Page 2

SA Govt 6/5/86 lauded for dealings with EPG 304A The Star Bureau

LONDON — The fact that the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group has come so far without unravelling indicates an unexpected flexibility on all sides, says *The Times* in a leading article today.

"It has certainly required a degree of statesmanship for the South African Government to swallow its pride and accept the Group's mediation," it adds.

"Equally important has been the Group's skill at silent diplomacy as well as the exhortations and encouragement which have certainly flowed from Downing Street."

But if the auguries remain good, says the paper, nobody should doubt difficulties that lie ahead.

IMPATIENCE

"International impatience with South Africa, the looming mid-June deadline for the report, the constant cry for sanctions, and the pressures on the Group to move out of the shadows and into the arena of public diplomacy could all torpedo this initiative. It is to be hoped they do not."

"As an American official remarked recently, it is the only game in town."

The Times also notes that there is in South African Government circles today "a real and urgent desire to defuse the rising tide of violence and initiate negotiations with the country's black leaders."

"And in this at least, the interests of Pretoria and the EPG coincide."

Mandela promises a truce: PFP MPs

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — If the ANC is unbanned it will lay down its arms and call a truce, Nelson Mandela confirmed to two members of the Progressive Federal Party yesterday.

And negotiations on South Africa's future must include all the country's groups, especially the Government, he said to MPs Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Tiaan van der Merwe at Pollsmoor Prison.

He and the ANC were committed to helping create a climate of negotiation, he said.

However, he was determined to accept nothing less than unconditional release.

It was the first time Mrs Suzman had been able to visit Mandela in three years. The prisoner met the MPs in the presence of the commanding officer of the prison, Brigadier Fred Munro, for more than two hours.

In a statement after the meeting, Mrs Suzman said Mandela was in good health. "When I commented that he had lost

weight he told me that he had done so by design.

Mrs Suzman said she found Mandela extremely well-informed. It was amazing that a man who had not been "outside" for 24 years should be so conversant with both South African and international affairs, and with the issues at stake.

"He is committed to help create a climate of negotiation and assured us that the ANC shares this commitment.

"The Government can satisfy itself about the sincerity of this commitment by unbanning the ANC and releasing Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoners.

"Indeed I would say he is our last hope. He is the only man who can still make it work," she said.

Mrs Suzman said Mandela found recent attempts to bring the country's various groups together very interesting.

His approach was very realistic and somewhat different to the more radical views of people who believed that victory was just around the corner," she said.

C. 1 6/5/86
A From page 304A

whole political scene was extremely realistic and down to earth.

"That includes every aspect of politics in South Africa—the latest movements within the governing party and developments in the townships."

Mrs Suzman said Mr Mandela reiterated his determination to accept "nothing less than unconditional release". She said he made it clear that his fellow prisoners should be released with him.

Mr Van der Merwe said he was left with the impression that Mr Mandela was "almost insulted" that his release should have been linked (by President Botha) to the freeing of Soviet dissidents.

Recent government statements emphasizing its differing attitudes towards "African Nationalist" and "communist" components of ANC were also raised during yesterday's prison meeting.

Statements by President Botha and senior ministers have been interpreted in political circles as a softening of the government's stance on dealing with the "nationalists", with the possible goal of getting negotiations started and splitting the organization.

Mrs Suzman said Mr Mandela made it clear that both he and the ANC's external leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, were members of the nationalist camp.

However, Mr Van der Merwe cautioned: "I hope the government does not get too set in its thinking that it would require the organization to split before talks can begin, because that is not going to happen."

He said Mr Mandela had given the impression that the government's assessment of the dominant Marxist influence on the ANC was "off the mark".

Mrs Suzman said Mr Mandela was in good health and fully recovered from a recent operation.

"He had no complaints at all about the treatment he was receiving at Pollsmoor, except that he was having difficulties with his correspondence in and out of prison," she said.

PFP visit Mandela: 'New SA' discussed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Nelson Mandela and the ANC are prepared to negotiate with the government over a new South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Mrs Suzman and her fellow PFP spokesman, on 12th and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe, spent more than two hours in "intensive political discussion" with the jailed ANC leader in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday, in the presence of Brigadier Fred Munro, the commanding officer of Pollsmoor.

"He is committed to help create a climate for negotiations and assured us that the ANC shares this commitment," Mrs Suzman said after her first meeting with Mr Mandela in three years.

"The government can satisfy itself about the sincerity of this commitment by unbanning the ANC and releasing Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoners," she said. "We firmly believe that this would put South Africa on the road to a peaceful solution."

On the question of power-sharing, Mrs Suzman said Mr Mandela had noted that "all groups across the political spectrum" should be included in negotiations.

Significantly, Mr Mandela felt that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and

his Inkatha movement should also be involved in this. "He had no hard things to say about Inkatha."

She said that "we have no doubt that when Mr Mandela and other African nationalists of his generation are not around to conduct negotiations any prospect of our becoming a non-racial democracy will be infinitely more remote."

"I hope that President P W Botha will visit him. It would be a revelation to Mr Botha if he sat down and talked with Mr Mandela. It might totally alter his concept of the person with whom he should be dealing."

"It would be of enormous benefit to South Africa if this man, with his exceptional understanding of the South African dilemma, were to be given the opportunity to use his talents. Indeed, I would say he is our last hope."

Mr Van der Merwe, who met Mr Mandela for the first time yesterday, said he "came away feeling that this is a man that must inevitably play an enormous role in creating a new South Africa."

"Given the opportunity to function normally as a political leader, whites would have nothing to fear from him," he said.

'Well-informed'
"It is a pity that for the last 24 years a man like this has not been seen by the general public, and in particular by political leaders in the white community."

Mrs Suzman said the jailed leader was "extremely well-informed".

"It is amazing that a man who has not been 'outside', as he put it, for 24 years should be so conversant with both South African and international affairs, and with the issues at stake."

Mr Van der Merwe agreed, saying "What impressed me was that his assessment of the

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A

English-speaking persons: income tax

*7. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Finance:†

Whether he or his Department has made a calculation of the amounts paid into the Treasury by English-speaking persons in South Africa over the years by way of income tax; if so, (a) in respect of what periods and (b) what procedure was followed in this connection?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

No.

6/5/86 GC 1599
Mr and Mrs Breytenbach: travel documents
HANSARD 3044
8. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

Whether an official or officials of the South African Transport Services recently handed over travel documents to an Afrikaans author and his wife, whose names have been furnished to the South African Transport Services for the purposes of the Minister's reply; if so, (a)(i) when, (ii) on what occasion and (iii) why and (b) what are the names of the author concerned and his wife?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) (i) 12 April 1986.

(ii) During the presentation of the Rapport Literary Award.

(iii) A transaction was concluded with Rapport to present the Rapport prize winner with two overseas economy class return air tickets. SA Airways did not know beforehand who the winner would be and a letter was handed to the "winner" in which authority was granted for the issue of the tickets.

(b) Mr Breyten Breytenbach and Mrs Yolande Breytenbach.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would it not have been reasonable if the departmental official had first established to whom such a prize would be given before the official and thus the department became involved in such a matter? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, this is out and out advertising, in conjunction with Rapport, to promote the South African Airways. It was arranged months before the time. Firstly, our condition was that it would only be valid for seats in the economy class and only if there were empty seats. In any case Breyten Breytenbach did not travel by SAA; he travelled KLM. We cannot make it a condition in advance that we will not award the prize if Breyten Breytenbach gets it. Nobody could have foreseen that he would get it. [Interjections.] Academics such as the hon members award such silly prizes. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, would he still have agreed to the awarding of the prize if he had known that Breyten Breytenbach would get it?

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That is a hypothetical question and is not allowed. [Interjections.]

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, how many days after the prize was awarded to Breyten Breytenbach, did he leave the country? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I do not know, but Breyten Breytenbach came to receive the prize and has returned. The hon member can make inquiries at the Department of Home Affairs, but I do not know how long he stayed here.

†Mr S P BARNARD: Mr Chairman, the hon Minister is giving us an evasive answer. Surely he should know... [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The purpose of questions is to elicit information and not to evoke an argument. The hon member may put his question, but speeches or arguments are not permitted under Questions. That is part of debating. The hon member may proceed, but then he must ask a question.

6/5/86 GC 1601
Pay matters
9. Mr W V RAW asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:
HANSARD 3045
Whether a committee has been appointed to negotiate with South African Transport Services staff associations on pay matters and/or increases; if so, (a) what are its terms of reference, (b)(i) what are the names of the chairman, members and secretary of this committee and (ii) what are their qualifications for this task in each case and (c) to whom will the committee report its recommendations for final decision?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a) to (b)(ii) Although I have already decided to appoint such a committee, the composition thereof and its terms of reference have not as yet been finalised.

(c) To me personally.

6/5/86 GC 1601 UDF
HANSARD 3046
10. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether members of the United Democratic Front are allowed to be Police reservists?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

6/5/86 GC 1601
HANSARD 3047
Group Areas Act
11. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

(1) Whether the South African Police recently received complaints and/or representations about a certain person from Benoni, whose name and address have been furnished to the South African Police for the purposes of the Minister's reply, in connection with a contravention of the provisions of the Group Areas Act; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the (i) nature of the complaints and/or representations and (ii) response to them and (c) what is the name of the person concerned;

(2) whether a charge against the above-mentioned person has at any time been laid with the South African Police in connection with alleged membership of a banned organisation or political party; if so, (a) when, (b) what is the name of the banned organisation or political party and (c) what steps have been taken in this connection?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(2) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

6/5/86 GC 1601 UDF
HANSARD 3048
Pass laws/influx control
12. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any persons awaiting trial for offences relating to pass laws and influx control have been released in consequence of a White Paper on urbanisation, the tabling of which was announced on 18 April 1986; if not, why not; if so, what total number of (a) males and (b) females was released?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Justice):

Yes. (a) and (b) A total of 188 persons

MARGARET SMITH

LONDON — The SA government has taken advantage of the Tokyo summit to propose a new initiative aimed at ending unrest in the black townships.

Pretoria is understood to have sent a confidential message to leaders of each of the seven industrial nations meeting in Tokyo, suggesting that jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela could be released in return for assurances from the international community about its future policy towards SA.

This dramatic new move was disclosed in London last night in the main BBC radio news programme.

The BBC bulletin said the plan was drawn up by the Eminent Persons Group, set up by last year's Commonwealth conference.

After discussions in Pretoria and Lusaka — and with Mandela in his prison cell — the Commonwealth mission had proposed that government released Mandela and lifted the ban on the outlawed ANC.

This would be in return for a simultaneous announcement of a cessation of hostilities by the ANC.

Government was understood to regard the plan favourably, but was anxious to obtain wider international back-

SA unrest plan put to Tokyo summit

ing, the BBC said.

It added that the confidential message to the seven Western governments proposed they should use their influence to ensure that, if Mandela were freed, he would not break the law.

The message also expressed concern about possible widespread unrest in the wake of any release, which security forces would have to suppress.

The BBC added: "South Africa is looking for assurances that it would not then face economic sanctions."

The message also urged the seven nations to acknowledge publicly that significant reform moves had occurred.

● See Page 4

2nd DAY 6/5/86 (HHS) 304A

THE time has come for government and the ANC to talk, and not only to talk but reach an early understanding about the unbanning of the organisation and its return to the arena of lawful competitive politics.

Common sense demands it, economic considerations demand it and, indeed, even the requirements of national security demand it.

This statement may appear almost a contradiction in terms, because, from government's point of view, the ANC has been the main threat to national security until now, but such is the greater threat of uncontrolled black violence that looms in the background of present government-ANC differences that such a view can no longer be sustained.

There will be a temptation for the ANC to feel that time is on its side and that it need not make the effort at reaching an accommodation with government.

Black majority rule — given the prospective increase in population — it must surely see as inevitable, and it will, therefore, be tempted to conclude that it is just a matter of time before its ambitions are realised.

This could be a dangerous illusion, for, quite apart from the fact that other groups exist in SA which have it in their power to use violence also, the exponential radicalisation of black township youth promises ultimately to erode the ANC's own authority.

Today, the ANC doubtless still commands sufficient authority through hundreds of black communities to impose an agreement it was able to reach with government and other parties, such as Inkatha, but the likelihood must be that in five years' time, perhaps even sooner, that will no longer be possible.

Today, it is still within the power of government and the ANC, acting jointly, to determine outcomes. In five years, such an opportunity is likely to be lost altogether.

But time is not only running out in this sense. It is running out also for the economy and its ability to match demographic change.

During the first half of the Eighties, economic growth in SA (measured by increases in real GDP) averaged only 1% per annum. This compared with an average growth in population of about 2.5% per annum and a rate of growth of the black population of more than 3% per annum.

No one should be under any illusion as to what the compound effect a continuation of such disparities would involve for the country over an extended period.

The increase that has occurred in poverty over the past five years would be extended. Living stan-

Why government and ANC must talk — and soon

Dr R W BETHLEHEM

dards in all communities would drop further. Unemployment, which is already at a dangerously high level, would continue to rise and — perhaps most seriously of all — the country would finally reach the point where the consumption of its capital stock was threatened.

This is already too close for comfort after four years of decline in real fixed capital formation.

For an industrial community, the stock of capital goods is comparable to the seed corn of a tribal community. A tribal community, driven through drought to eat its seed corn, must know that disaster, in a short time, is unavoidable even if it does eventually rain.

Nor should it be thought that the economy will be the only casualty of a continued escalation of violence. The probability is that that will lead also — sooner perhaps rather than later — to a suspension of Parliament itself.

Already the reasons for such a suspension exist. The tricameral system is discredited and rejected totally by blacks. White Right-wing violence has begun to show its ugly head. It is inevitable, if events continue along their present path, that it will become a logical alternative to an embattled Executive, determined to assuage black hostility and desperate to head off a threatening erosion of support within its own constituency.

However, even a suspension of Parliament, in circumstances such as those that are likely to unfold, could only be a holding operation.

At a stroke, it would reduce all South Africans to political equality (though the emphasis would have to be on the word "reduce," not the word "equality" in that case), but it would not address the problem of black poverty.

Gone, perhaps forever, would be the checks and balances of parlia-

mentary-type democracy and in their place would be a state power, answerable to no-one, attempting to assert a monopoly of authority in conditions of countrywide fragmentation and internecine strife. But black poverty would continue, and would increase until even a dictatorship would collapse under its weight.

Economic growth, made possible through an expeditious resolution of political differences, is the only means by which the challenge of such a possible future can be met.

The choice is between a modernising, industrialised SA with gradually-increasing opportunities for all, notwithstanding inherited disparities of income, wealth and education (which growth and fiscal measures would deal with in time anyway), or a SA driven into the disaster of Third World impoverishment, inefficiency and corruption.

A comment on the issue of legitimacy is necessary when considering the government-ANC divide. Both see each other as without standing in law.

Government's view of the ANC is that of a terrorist organisation whose criminality derives from its cold-blooded assault on civilians, as well as its violation of statute, and is, therefore, without question.

The ANC's view of government is that of a perpetrator of state terror whose criminality derives from its violation of basic human rights and has been accepted widely in the international community.

Whatever the merits of these opposing standpoints, they should not preclude either communication or the reaching of understanding between the parties.

Both know that there is nothing particularly unique in the structure of their conflict. Conflicts of a similar nature have existed before in history and are to be found today

in Northern Ireland, Spain, Cyprus, the Middle East, the Punjab, the Philippines and elsewhere.

Legitimacy in all these — and legitimacy in SA, too — has no objective criteria for evaluation. However, conflicts left unresolved breed terrible consequences for all concerned; if not immediately, then in the long-term.

The conflict in SA has a potential to exceed in dreadfulness even that of Lebanon because of its complexity and its special strategic dimensions. But it remains sufficiently limited in its scale still to justify the hope that statesmanship and compromise have a role to play.

A tragedy of SA is the confusion apartheid generates in the consideration of moral and pragmatic issues. So abhorrent is it that for many — both within the country and abroad — there can be no formal dealing with white SA as long as it remains policy.

This is understandable, but it is also lamentable. Real solutions to complex political problems are rarely found by addressing moral issues exclusively.

It can never make straightforward sense appealing to a man's conscience when his self-interest appears, at least to him, to lie firmly in an opposite direction. Far better to show him that morality and self-interest coincide.

SA has got to the point in its history when both morality and self-interest — in the broader, long-term meaning of the term — do coincide both for government and the ANC, and time cannot be lost in the exercise by them of a mutual, patriotic and historic responsibility.

□ Dr Bethlehem is the group economics consultant of a leading mining finance house. The views expressed here, however, are his own, not those of his company.

Business Day

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Mandela our last hope, says Suzman after visit



JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was determined to create a climate for negotiation and he believed this commitment was shared by the ANC, said Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman.

Suzman and PFP MP for Green Point Thaan van der Merwe met Mandela for two hours at Robben Island in the Cape yesterday.

She said it was amazing how informed he was for a man who had not been "outside"

for 24 years.

He was determined to "accept nothing less than unconditional release", she said.

"He is committed to help create a climate for negotiation and assured us that the ANC shared this commitment.

"Government can satisfy itself about the sincerity of this commitment by unbanning the ANC and releasing Mandela and his fellow prisoners.

"We firmly believe this would put South Africa on the road to peaceful solution."

Suzman said.

She had no doubt that when Mandela and other African nationalists of his generation were no longer around to conduct negotiations, "any prospect of our becoming a non-racial democracy, will be infinitely more remote".

"Mr Mandela reiterated his determination to accepting nothing less than unconditional release. It would be of enormous benefit to South Africa if this man, with his exceptional understanding of South Africa's dilemma

were to be given the opportunity to use his talents.

"Indeed I would say he is our last hope," she said.

She had found the ANC leader in good health and having lost some weight since she last met him.

Thus, he told her, was by design. He had no complaints about the treatment he was receiving except that he had some difficulties

'Mandela is our last hope'

with his correspondence in and out of prison.

He asked Suzman to assist with some family matters before they discussed politics.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS reports that barring any last minute hitches the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) will almost certainly visit SA again later this month, according to diplomatic sources in Cape Town.

The pending visit is seen as a sure sign the EPG has been encouraged and heart-

ened by the responses they have been getting from President P W Botha.

These are reported to concern the freeing of Nelson Mandela, some of his fellow ANC prisoners, and the unbanning of the ANC.

No confirmation of the visit could be obtained from the Department of Foreign Affairs or the State President's office yesterday.

From Page 1

To Page 2

impressive under-the-skin engineering about the new CLi now?

"I think she's going to go New Passat CLi. Still a Passat

Isn't that what you'd expect

New fuel inject

CAPT Trott
6/8/88 (304A)

Plans for new institute for 'alternatives'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Plans for a new institute for political alternatives will be completed in the next few weeks by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine — but its formation could spell the end of the National Convention Movement.

The two former Progressive Federal Party MPs, who resigned from parliamentary politics earlier this year, have been canvassing opinions on the idea among prominent black, white, coloured and Indian leaders and they have found considerable support for it.

But at the same time it has raised doubts about the future viability of the NCM, a movement Dr Slabbert played a major role in launching.

NCM chairman Mr Jules Browde said yesterday the future of the NCM was being investigated, and that an announcement would be made within two weeks.

Dr Boraine was offered the post of executive director with the NCM but turned it down.

The NCM has failed to gain public approval from blacks, and a source close to the organization said its launch, with the PFP and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as central characters,

was the reason.

Mr Browde said earlier this year that there was widespread suspicion and distrust of the NCM, and there were many who incorrectly believed the NCM was calling for an immediate national convention.

The NCM believes a number of preconditions must be met before a convention can be held.

Dr Slabbert left on a visit to the US and Europe at the weekend, where he will have discussions with influential US foundations with a view to raising money for the institute.

Dr Boraine leaves for New York on Friday to join Dr Slabbert.

Part of the aim of the institute will be to act as a "think tank" on various democratic alternatives available to SA, and to promote peaceful dialogue.

Dr Boraine said yesterday reactions to the idea had been "extremely encouraging" in various circles and that he and Dr Slabbert had been urged to go ahead.

A number of alternatives had been explored in discussions with black and white leaders. As soon as the investigations and discussions were completed a further announcement would be made.

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Botha sends message to Western leaders

New initiative by Govt to end unrest

6/5/86
STAR
304A

Political Staff and
The Star Bureau, London

Hopes of a rapid end to township violence in South Africa are rising as major behind-the-scenes moves are being made to end the stalemate between the ANC and the Government.

The South African Government has taken advantage of the Western summit in Tokyo to propose a new initiative aimed at ending unrest in black townships, a BBC radio report said yesterday.

The State President's office confirmed today that a message had been sent to the summit.

FFP MP Mrs Helen Suzman, who interviewed Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday, takes the view that recent statements of Presi-

dent Botha and Mandela indicate a settlement between the two could be tantalisingly close.

Mr Botha has said in the last few weeks that if nationalist members of the ANC renounced violence they could "come home tomorrow" and begin negotiations with the Government.

Mandela, for his part, has said violence would end if the ANC were unbanned and its leaders released from jail.

Mrs Suzman today said it would be a tragedy for the Government to lose the opportunity offered by Mandela's statements, particularly if common ground could be found between the two sides.

South Africa could at one stroke restore some sort of normality to the country and regain the friendship and support of its Western trading partners.

The Star Bureau in London, reports that Mr Botha was understood to have sent a confidential message to each of the seven Western leaders in Tokyo.

The message suggested Mandela could be released from prison in return for assurances from the international community about its future policy towards South Africa.

The plan had been drawn up by the Eminent Persons' Group set up by last year's Commonwealth conference, said the report.

Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, added "After discussions in Pretoria and Lusaka and with Mandela in his prison cell, the Commonwealth mission has proposed that the South African Government should release Mandela and lift the ban on the ANC in return for the simultaneous announcement of a cessation of hostilities by the ANC."

The Government here is understood to regard the plan favourably, but is anxious to obtain wider international backing.

The Star's Political Correspondent reports that initial reaction from senior Government officials to Mandela's statements to Mrs Suzman have been negative.

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said Mrs Suzman's statement was full of contradictions when seen in the light of Mrs Winnie Mandela's statements and the acts of violence committed by people who say they support her.

● See Page 3

Summit leaders pledge to fight world terrorism

The Star's Foreign News Service

TOKYO — Leaders of the seven largest industrial countries, whipped into action by Mrs Margaret Thatcher, have pledged to make "maximum efforts" to fight international terrorism.

But they stopped short of agreeing on the total economic isolation of Libya, as some Americans had wanted.

Their declaration yesterday, on the first full day of the Tokyo summit, identified Libya by name as a supporter and sponsor of terrorism, despite initial reservations by some of the allies.

It laid out six actions which the summit nations could take and was hailed by the US and Britain as the strongest Western stand so far.

US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz said the message to Colonel Gaddafi was "You've had it, pal. You are isolated. You are recognised as a terrorist."

LIMIT ON CONSULAR MISSIONS

The six specific measures are:

- A refusal to export arms to terrorist states
 - Strict limits on diplomatic and consular missions
 - Denial of entry to suspected people expelled from another summit country
 - Improved extradition procedures
 - Stricter immigration and visa requirements
 - "Closest possible" police and security co-operation
- The seven countries agreed to apply the measures "within the framework of international law and within our own jurisdictions".

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said the declaration demonstrated the extent to which it had been possible to "mobilise collective courage".

The seven countries — the US, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan — also called for a new international convention requiring information exchanges on nuclear accidents.

They lamented the Soviet Union's failure to provide such information after the Chernobyl disaster.

● See Page 17.

Slabbert, Boraine plan new institute

304A
PETER WALLINGTON and Sapa

PLANS for a new institute for political options will be completed in the next few weeks by former PFP MPs Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine.

But its formation could spell the end of the National Convention Movement (NCM).

Boraine and Slabbert, who resigned from parliamentary politics earlier this year, have been canvassing opinions on the idea of an institute among prominent black, white, coloured and Indian leaders, and have found some support.

At the same time it has raised doubts about the viability of the NCM — ironically, a movement which Slabbert played a major role in launching.

NCM chairman Jules Browde said yesterday the movement's future was being investigated, and that an announcement would be made within two weeks.

The NCM has failed to gain public approval from black leaders, largely as a result of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's participation.

Slabbert left at the weekend on a visit to the US and Europe, where he will have discussions with influential US foundations, with a view to raising money for the proposed new institute.

Boraine, who recently turned down the post of NCM executive director, leaves for New York on Friday to join Slabbert.

Part of the aim of the new institute will be to act as a think tank on various democratic options available and to promote peaceful internal dialogue.

Boraine said yesterday reactions to the idea had been extremely encouraging in various circles.

State Prison to State Theatre

BREYTEN Breytenbach slowly raised a fist in defiant farewell as he walked through passport control at Jan Smuts Airport last week. Accompanied by his wife Yolande, the "greatest" living self-exiled Afrikaner was returning to France after a low-key, but successful visit to South Africa.

Eleven years ago he was arrested at that very passport control while trying to leave the country after a secret visit under a false name. He was convicted as a "terrorist", sentenced to nine years' imprisonment and released after serving seven years.

When he left Jan Smuts Airport in December 1982 it was an embittered, angry Breytenbach who made scathing remarks about Afrikaners and the Afrikaner, and few expected him to return — at least not so soon.

But this time his departure in many ways represented a triumph, not only for Breytenbach the man, but also for other Afrikaner "pioneers" — popularly called "rebels" — who have until now been fighting the Afrikaner Broederbond pro-apartheid Nationalist establishment for more than two decades with little success.

Set foot in SA

This was only the fourth visit by Breytenbach to South Africa since he left to study in Paris in 1960; in 1964 he was refused permission to bring his "non-white" wife to South Africa.

His first visit home was in 1968, when he was given permission to set foot with Yolande in Cape Town for a mere eight hours as passengers on a tourist ship.

The end of 1972 he came for three months with his wife, travelling all over South Africa. Speaking as a biblical prophet, he addressed the meeting of Sestigers

CMC Tuf
6/5/86

By J H P SERFONTEIN 3024



Breyten Breytenbach with Bishop Desmond Tutu . . . the poet's fourth visit to South Africa reflects the crisis and self doubt of Afrikanerdom at the highest levels.

writers at the University of Cape Town in February 1973. He warned the Afrikaner about imminent disaster unless he abandoned apartheid. Like the prophets of old, his advice was rejected.

In 1975, on his third visit, he came "traveling invisible in my own country", as a political activist on a secret mission. In the Supreme Court in Pretoria he was convicted as a "terrorist".

But his fourth visit differs in every respect from the other three. Most important, it reflects and symbolizes the inner crisis and self-doubt of Afrikanerdom as experienced at the highest levels.

It seems as if the enormity of the significance of his speech in the State Theatre in Pretoria and its consequences have not been fully understood in most quarters in and outside South Africa.

It was an Afrikaner "traitor", a convicted "terrorist" speaking, not to other "outcast reb-

els", but addressing the Afrikaner Nationalist Broederbond establishment in the bastion of Afrikaner nationalism, only a kilometre away from the Supreme Court where he was sentenced 11 years ago, and sent to the Central Prison, another two kilometres away.

These 11 years span the Breytenbach odyssey "from State Prison to State Theatre", as one Afrikaner remarked.

Even a year ago such an event was unthinkable — the Afrikaner establishment listening to somebody like Breytenbach denouncing apartheid with a force and a controlled emotion they had never heard before. Let alone hearing it in Afrikaans, and an Afrikaans of beautiful poetic prose.

While many fumed, they listened in silence as he warned, in his soft voice.

Pleaded

Revealing his own paradox as a writer, using the language of the "oppressor" to oppose apartheid, he admitted his deep bondage with his land, the Afrikaner and Afrikaans when he declared: "I came because I am irrevocably tied to Africa, because I identify with the liberation struggle of the South Africans... I too drag my little dark brother with me, my Afrikaner wherever I go."

And then he passionately pleaded: "And without any doubt the Afrikaners, this whitish and bloody-minded tribe of Africans, and Afrikaans, our lovely bastard language, our supple tongue of love, can play an important role. Don't turn your backs on the future. Don't make it too late."

After his speech he

most terrible things. But he is saying it in such beautiful Afrikaans and in such a beautiful manner."

For me the crux of the difference in Afrikaner response between his 1973 and 1986 speeches is this: in 1973 they did not understand the dangers he was talking about. But in 1986 they are feeling the heat of the flames behind, although they still dislike his recipe and what he says.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert observed wryly: "The Afrikaner Nationalists are in two minds. Will they die from the flames behind, or from the medicine Breyten is prescribing."

Breytenbach explained at the end of his visit: "I came to South Africa to make a contribution to break the bondage of the Afrikaner, to free him from the chains fettering him. I hoped that my visit could act as a catalyst to the present debate inside Afrikaner ranks."

He was astonished and encouraged by the widespread doubts and questioning of existing values and formulas among Afrikaners. His assessment of a new crisis of confidence among Afrikaners was endorsed by other "pioneer" Afrikaners such as Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and the writers and publishers of Taurus Publications.

They all welcomed his visit and regarded it as of the utmost significance at this time.

He addressed nearly 2 000 students at the University of Stellenbosch. Only a handful applauded his message which must have been in shocking conflict with all the values these young Afrikaners have been indo-

He sarcastically observed: "Perhaps as an Afrikaner I stink too much of dassie... or perhaps my record is not Red enough. Or is it perhaps that they must maintain a 'blacker-than-thou attitude?'"

His visit has been privately welcomed by top black political, church and education leaders in and outside South Africa.

At the University of the Western Cape (UWC) — which now has the biggest Afrikaans-language faculty in South Africa — he spoke to a large audience, and read many of his outspoken political poems, while being challenged on the role of a writer at the present time.

Winnie Mandela

Now a French citizen, he met at a dinner at the French embassy in Cape Town, prominent personalities such as Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and a UDF patron, and Professor Jakes Gerwel, new rector of the University of the Western Cape and former dean of the Afrikaans department.

In Johannesburg he had a private discussion with Mrs Winnie Mandela. She made time in a period of great personal anguish, because of a serious motor accident involving her son-in-law. A planned 20-minute talk eventually lasted 150 minutes.

A few hours before his departure, Breytenbach was one of the lunch guests invited by Bishop Desmond Tutu to meet former French prime minister Mr Laurent Fabius and former French cultural affairs minister Mr Jack Lang, an old friend of Breytenbach.

'No subtlety'

Bishop Tutu introduced Breytenbach to Mr Fabius as one of the Afrikaners who had changed. And when discussing the issue with Breytenbach, Bishop Tutu observed: "You know if Afrikaners finally realize that apartheid is wrong, they not only change, they go the whole way. There are no halfway measures. Take people like Beyers Naude and yourself." With a laugh, Bishop Tutu added: "You see, the point is you Afrikaners have no subtlety."

Breytenbach has now gone back to France. But that is not the end of his visit. Short- and long-term developments involving him and other "pioneer" Afrikaners will reflect the importance of this latest Breytenbach mission.

was furiously confronted in private by Broederbonders such as Professor Johan Heyns, of the Ned Geref Kerk, who challenged his remarks about the NGK. "You were insulting my church and God," Prof Heyns told him.

Breyten replied drily: "I have too much respect for the Oubaas (old man) above. My concern is what your church is doing to God."

At the end of his visit Breyten responded to the barrage of criticism by Afrikaner churchmen against him stating: "There is a line of cause and effect between the white collars and the black necklaces. Your blessing hands, dear dominee, are also smeared with blood, and you know it just as well as I."

In a TV debate one minister admitted: "Breyten is saying the

trinated" with under Christian national education.

Breytenbach spent considerable time talking to men such as Dr Naude and Dr Slabbert, discussing a "new mobilization" of anti-apartheid Afrikaners. This at a time when Dr Naude regularly talks at Afrikaans campuses, and Dr Slabbert received standing ovations at the University of Potchefstroom and from more than 1000 students at Pretoria.

For Breyten the only "false note" to his visit was the fact that young English-speaking radicals of Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC) and the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) rejected his offer to participate in a public reading of poetry with black poets to raise funds for the UDF.

Govt has 'neglected to improve its image'

By Estelle Tchengove

The Government's efforts to improve its image abroad were so poor that in retrospect maybe Dr Eschel Rhoodie and his methods were not so wrong, a Potchefstroom academic has said.

South Africa was being bombarded with the propaganda of the foreign media. At the same time, however, the Government's expenditure on counter-propaganda was so ridiculous that it amounted to a mere drop against the storm of anti-South African criticism, Professor Jacques van der Elst said in an editorial in *Woord en Daad*, the monthly magazine of Rebsa (Reformatory Movement of South Africa).

"The Rhoodie era is long past, but with hindsight we can ask ourselves today: Were Rhoodie and his methods really so wrong?" the professor said.

Seen from abroad, South African politicians sometimes looked so awkward and tactless, he said.

Politicians often seemed to "think with their emotions and not with their brains".

"Is it really so unrealistic, for example, that Government leaders might speak to the ANC? Could dialogue not perhaps clear up some misunderstandings? Or do the men at the helm believe that above all else they must maintain an image of strength?"

It would be decades before white South Africans would be able to rid themselves of the apartheid stigma, he said.

"Even if Minister Pik Botha's realistic prediction that South Africa will one day have a black president comes true, the stigma attached to this country will not disappear and white South Africans will continue to suffer under this stigma for decades."

Summit silence may upset SA peace plan

Political Staff

AKG:US 7/5/86 (18) (3048)
THE fragile peace negotiations taking place covertly at home and abroad may have been dealt a blow by Western failure to give even minimum assurances to the South African Government.

Diplomatic and South African sources were cautious today about the failure of the Western summit in Tokyo to make a firm public statement on South Africa.

Overseas speculation has it that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher failed to win the support of the seven major Western powers for a move to boost the Commonwealth's peace initiatives in South Africa.

She had apparently tried to insert some clause referring to the protection of minorities in South Africa in the final communique of the summit.

The absence of any reference to South Africa in the communique has been interpreted as a setback for Mrs Thatcher, President Botha and the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

Seeking assurances

President Botha had sent letters to each of the leaders at the summit seeking, it is believed, broader Western assurances on future policy towards South Africa if he decided to accept the EPG's proposals.

These proposals are understood to include the unbanning of the ANC and the release of political prisoners in exchange for the ANC declaring a moratorium on violence.

South African Government sources believe that if the West will provide assurances that it will not be penalised if it has to act to quell any violence following the meeting of the proposals, then the plan could go ahead.

Jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has meanwhile confirmed, through Mrs Helen Suzman of the Progressive Federal Party, that if the ANC is unbanned it will lay down its arms and call a truce.

South Africa was today studying the implications of the Western summit's reaction, or non-reaction, to President Botha's letters.

Out time 7/5/86 (300A)
SAA didn't pick winner poet

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Poet Breyten Breytenbach, who recently won the Rapport Literary Award, also won two international air tickets from SAA as part of his prize.

This emerged at question time in Parliament yesterday when two Conservative Party members — Mr Frank le Roux (Brakpan) and Mr Daan van der Merwe (Rissik) — taxed the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, on the issue.

Mr Schoeman said: "A transaction was concluded with Rapport to present the literary prize winner with two overseas economy class return air tickets.

"SAA did not know beforehand who the winner would be and a letter was handed to the winner in which authority was granted for the issue of the tickets."

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STAR
304A 4/5/86

Govt may have got summit sympathy

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An attempt by the South African Government to lobby for sympathy at the Tokyo economic summit appears to have been partially successful.

Diplomats in Washington are still awaiting full details of the discussions between the leaders of the Free World's top seven industrialised nations — but some analysts here see significance in the absence of ringing condemnations of the Government's policies in the leaders' final communiques.

Instead, some of the comments indicate the seven — the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Canada, Italy and Japan — are ready to let their present approach continue.

This is largely a matter of continuing to condemn apartheid while trying to promote a peaceful internal solution to the country's race problems.

According to informed sources in Tokyo, the message of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to the Tokyo summit included an appeal that world recognition be given to the efforts South Africa has made in dismantling apartheid.

TOPIC

It is understood South Africa wanted the top seven leaders to focus specifically on the harm that could be caused by further international sanctions, and the urgent need for a strong economy to make the introduction of reforms easier.

Informed sources in Washington say the Americans and the British were ready to raise the issue of South Africa as a main topic during the general discussions at the summit.

They would have pursued the line that economic sanctions would not only create the wrong climate for reform but also damage the economies of surrounding countries.

However, after pre-summit consultations, the two allies — South Africa's leading trading partners — decided to take a different tack in Tokyo.

Fearing such discussions might have negative repercussions for their own policies and take a tougher anti-Pretoria direction than the approach favoured in Washington and London, the Americans and the British decided instead to raise the issue in informal discussions between smaller groups of leaders.

SUPPORT

"There were specific ideas that President Reagan conveyed to his fellow leaders," one informed source said.

These have not been disclosed, but it is thought they may have been some form of support for President Botha's apparent willingness to come to terms with non-communist and non-violent elements within the African National Congress.

It is known that Mrs Margaret Thatcher discussed South Africa on a number of occasions.

One American official who attended a meeting between President Reagan and President François Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac of France said afterwards: "They discussed South Africa briefly, and they agreed on the evils of apartheid and indicated that they should work together and with other nations for a solution to the problems that exist in South Africa."

A similar comment was made after President Reagan's private meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Slabbert, 304A
Boraine plan
7/5/86
new institute

Political Staff

Plans for a new institute for political alternatives will be finalised in the next few weeks by two former key Progressive Federal Party members, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine.

The two men have been canvassing opinions on the idea among prominent black, white, coloured and Indian leaders and have found considerable support for it.

Dr Slabbert left on a visit to the United States and Europe at the weekend where he will explore the idea in various quarters.

He will also have talks with some influential US foundations with a view to raising money for the institute.

Dr Boraine will join him there on Friday.

Slabbert Boraine group may oust NCM

By Mike Cadman

The National Convention Movement will hold a meeting later this month to decide the future of the organisation.

Chairman of the movement Mr Jules Browde said yesterday a new political grouping to be formed by Dr van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, could "be an alternative to the NCM".

It is believed the new grouping will be called the Institute for Democracy.

"If they are to be an alternative to the NCM and manage to attract those with whom we have had no success, it may be that the NCM has no part to play in the present situation in the country," Mr Browde said.

"The NCM has met with little success in attracting the support of what might be called the left — the United Democratic Front, the black trade unions and black leaders in general."

Mr Browde said the NCM steering committee would seriously consider the movement's future at a meeting planned for May 17. He said he had discussed the situation with Dr Slabbert.

"At one stage we thought Dr Boraine might participate (and help attract more people from the left), but he has now decided to co-operate with Dr Slabbert," Mr Browde said.

Mr Browde said he went to see the African National Congress during January with the hope that they might give the green light for people to join the NCM.

He was given a friendly reception, but the ANC saw the NCM as creating an alternative to the UDF, which they felt was not a good idea.

SACC funds case against security forces

AM TWP 8/5/86

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JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic Church's Justice and Reconciliation Commission are funding the Krugersdorp Residents' Organization's (KRO) application to the Supreme Court to have an order granted restraining security forces from committing alleged unlawful acts in two townships.

The townships are Kagiso I and II and Munsieville.

The action was brought last February against the Minister of Defence, the Minister of Law and Order and the District Commissioner of Police for the West Rand.

The KRO application is supported by

114 affidavits containing allegations which include the killing of innocent people, assault and damage to property, entering homes without a warrant and harassment and intimidation.

The respondents have claimed that the KRO statement is either wilfully false, made in furtherance of the aims of the ANC, or made to undermine the authorities and to create "liberated areas" in the townships.

The secretary of KRO, Mr Lawrence Ntlokoa, said in court yesterday the SACC and Catholic Church had helped to pay the legal costs.

The court was told of the funding after Mr Bruce Berman, for the Minis-

ter of Law and Order, asked if the KRO had funds to continue the case.

Asked about the KRO's aims, Mr Ntlokoa said the KRO was trying to get some order in Kagiso and Munsieville.

"We are doing things that they (the Community Council) are not doing," he said. "If these things were done, we would not have to do them ourselves."

Mr Ntlokoa agreed with Mr Berman that KRO's objectives were to fight the black local authorities, the huge profits made from residents by employers and to fight apartheid and capitalism at local level.

If any of these aims were the same as the aims of the ANC, he said, it was

simply a coincidence.

Mr Ntlokoa said it was untrue that he was given R18 000 by the South African Breweries and that he bought a car with the money.

Mr Berman on Tuesday asked Mr Ntlokoa to bring knives, confiscated during a KRO crime-prevention drive, to court, and yesterday 20 knives, a homemade hatchet and a large panga were shown to the judge.

Mr Ntlokoa said he had encouraged the building of parks in Kagiso and Munsieville by young people because it beautified the township.

The hearing will resume on Monday. — Sapa

PARLIAMENT

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Ideology cripples education, says PFP

GOVERNMENT had no right to claim it was doing everything possible for black education as long as the demands of racial ideology were placed before the needs of black pupils, Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens) said yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the Education and Development Aid budget vote, he said separate education would be unequal and black education would remain inferior as long as there was no freedom of choice. "The government should remove its

apartheid blinkers and stop wasting valuable time and money that South Africa can ill afford."

Andrew questioned the unequal allocation of money for white and black education, and the government's statements that a single education department would be an administrative "monstrosity".

He also asked why Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen had not used a surplus of white teachers to help meet the shortage in

black schools, or filled vacancies in white colleges of education with black students.

"Does that show a commitment to equal education, or a commitment to a racial ideology?" he asked.

To achieve parity in education funding in the 1985/86 financial year, black education should have received about five times more money or whites 80% less, he added. An extra R318m should have been made available for black education. — Sapa.



● ANDREW

Whites urged to join struggle

Business Day Reporter

THE UDF affiliated Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) called for whites to stand together with oppressed blacks in South Africa by joining in the struggle against apartheid.

Speakers at a meeting held at St Martins-in-the-Veld, Dunkeld, called for apartheid to be dismantled by whites joining organisations that would replace the present unjust regime.

Albert Nolan, a Catholic priest, asked whites to understand the reasons for violence in black townships.

"For people who have been fighting for just rule with their lives as their only weapon, it is hard to see a brother informing the oppressors and crippling their efforts."

More data-based graphics in PWV

Industrial staff

THE signwriting industry is being invaded by graphic computers which can reduce costs and production time dramatically on selective contracts.

Major signage companies in the PWV area have already installed graphic computers which can design and cut self-adhesive signs to desired specification.

The introduction of data-based signwriting systems does not endanger the future of signwriters, whose artistic flair and skill still form the integral part of the profession, says Natanya Signs MD David van der Knaap. He says the system's main advantages are its speed and accuracy, although it's uneconomical for large-scale work.

New rents Bill comes in for flak

ORGANISED industry and commerce have petitioned government to scrap the new, controversial Local Authorities Amendment Bill.

The Bill could force employers to pay their black employees' rents to local authorities.

Assocom manpower secretary Vincent Brett says government should face political problems with political solutions. "The Bill will

BEULAH BROWN

have a very detrimental effect on industrial relations between employer and employees," he told *Business Day*.

The Federated Chamber of Industries says it believes the Bill could open employers to attack from the international trade union movement, thus aggravating the threat of international sanctions.

CHERN

'NSC will not work without Mandela'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha's National Statutory Council would not work unless ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was freed and black political organizations were unbanned, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi declared yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi's remarks — to a Business International conference in Cape Town — represent a major setback to the body President Botha hopes to use as a forum for drafting a new constitution.

The Inkatha leader is seen by the government as a key player on the proposed council and his dismissal of the body under a system "where there is no political freedom of association" comes as a blow to the government's latest "reform" initiative.

President Botha's reaction to Chief Buthelezi's rebuttal of the National Statutory Council was a terse "no comment" last night.

'Claim'

Chief Buthelezi said successive National Party governments had attempted to destroy the emergence of black democratic forces and had made it impossible for many black organizations and leaders to seek public support.

In a situation where blacks were not free to endorse or reject specific leaders or organizations "claim and counter-claim are made by blacks as to who represented the masses".

Chief Buthelezi said that against this kind of background "I have to say to Mr P W Botha that his National Statutory



Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi

Council will not work unless and until Nelson Mandela and other political leaders are released from jail, and unless and until bans on black political organizations are lifted.

Chief Buthelezi said it was the South African Government which created the circumstances in which those committed to violence were intransigent.

"It is politically unrealistic to expect the ANC mission in exile to declare a moratorium on violence for political purposes while Mr Mandela remains in jail, and

while the ANC in South Africa remains banned."

In his speech dealing with the strategies deployed by non-parliamentary opposition groups in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi was also critical of the current reform methods used by President Botha and his government.

"I am correct in my perception that Mr P W Botha is running after changes born out of necessity and is not leading his commitment to reform up-front.

"He may yet do that, but he certainly has not done so thus far."

Chief Buthelezi also launched a scathing attack on the new constitution which he described as "a political thunderbolt striking at the very heart of the politics of reconciliation".

"It has radicalized black politics, it greatly deepened black anger and it very decidedly further polarized the country," he said.

The constitution could not be reformed but had to be scrapped.

"Unless Mr P W Botha pronounces the death sentence on the tricameral Parliament, there is just no hope whatsoever that the politics of negotiation can proceed to determine the future of this country," he said.

'Pernicious'

Chief Buthelezi acknowledged that the government now perceived the need for a new constitution but the challenge facing the country was to move the government away from "its insistence on race classification as the cornerstone for constitutional developments".

"We can talk about federalism in its many and varied forms. We can talk about Swiss-type canton system but there is nothing to talk about while the South African Government retains its pernicious dichotomy between 'own affairs' and 'general affairs' where own and general affairs are race-bound."

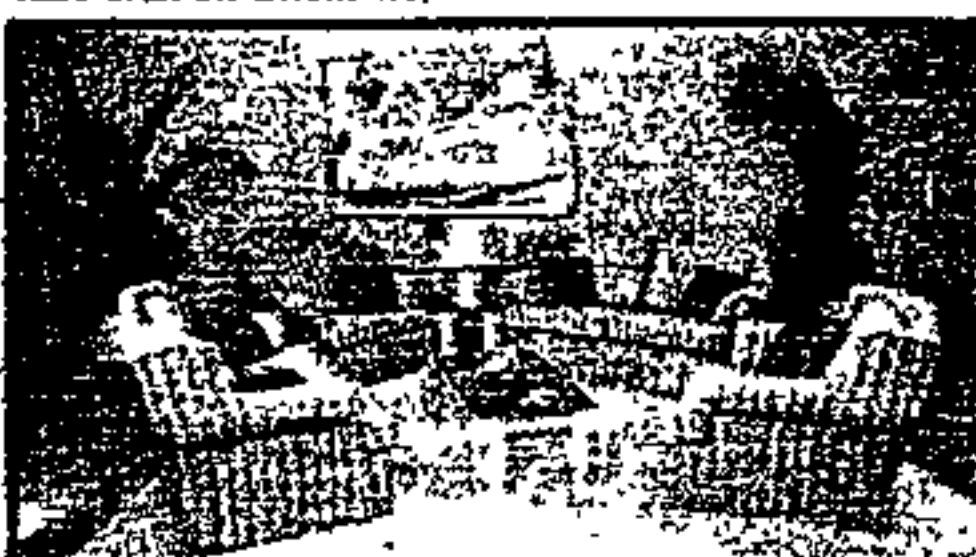
Chief Buthelezi also slammed the ANC commitment to armed struggle and black-on black violence in the townships.

However, he added "Having said these harsh things about armed struggle and political violence, I must lay them ultimately at the feet of the National Party."

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Ndebele plan angers PFP

8/5/86 Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Government's decision to proceed with independence for kwaNdebele was greeted with anger by the Progressive Federal Party today.

Mr Peter Soal, PFP spokesman on Transvaal homelands affairs, said yesterday's announcements on the issue were incredible.

The Government was proceeding with independence despite intense domestic and international pressure and a court case which still had to decide on the legality of the transfer of Moutse to kwaNdebele.

Mandela, ANC question may cause division in the Cabinet

Political Staff

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THE growing pressure to unban the African National Congress and release its leader, Nelson Mandela, shows signs of sparking division in the Cabinet.

The pressure includes the imminent threat of tough sanctions and the possible failure to get the proposed national statutory council (NSC) off the ground.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, announced yesterday that the Commonwealth Eminent Person's Group would return to South Africa on Tuesday next week for more talks with the Government.

"A CHANCE"

He said: "There is a potential chance that we can make headway towards an end to violence in South Africa."

The central issue in these talks is expected to be the release of political prisoners, including Mr Mandela, and the unbanning of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

And the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is seen as the key internal leader in any negotiated settlement, has virtually refused to take part in the NSC unless Mr Mandela is there and the ANC is unbanned.

HOSPITAL SNATCH

Some members of the Cabinet, such as Mr Pik Botha, are understood to be favour of these two measures, while others, such as Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, are said not to be happy about them.

After the bloody ANC rescue of one of its alleged members from Edendale Hospital in Maritzburg this week Mr le Grange said a responsible government could "not be expected to negotiate reform with people such as these".

And when President P W Botha initially mooted the release of Mr Mandela there was widespread talk of lack of agreement within the Cabinet on the conditions of release.

PEACE

In a speech in Parliament yesterday Mr Pik Botha emphasised that President Botha had given his support to the ideas that were exchanged "between us and the EPG".

It has become clear that the EPG, which has been secretive in its dealings, sees these issues as central to creating peace. If it does not achieve results the EPG could recommend sanctions when it submits its report to the Commonwealth countries next month.

Asked about Chief Buthelezi's statement's yesterday about the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, a spokesman for President Botha's office said there was "no comment".



● TERRE'BLANCHE

ANN PALMER

AWB is prepared to employ force to regain 'stolen' territory

CHEERS and applause thundered as Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche told a Carletonville audience of 1 500 this week that his organisation was prepared to use violence to win back land "stolen from the volk".

For more than 45 minutes, the audience of farmers and miners listened to Terre'Blanche speak in emotive terms of how they were cheated out of their land, how their culture was disintegrating and their language being defiled.

And when Terre'Blanche finished his speech at the Carletonville Civic Centre on Tuesday — with a threat that if the organisation did not get its way, it would use force — the audience gave him a standing ovation.

"We want the land that the volk won with blood and tears. We have a right to this land in the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal," Terre'Blanche said.

"We will not have the coloureds and Indians vote for our future in a referendum. More than 68% of coloureds live in the Cape; they have their country."

Another speaker at the meeting, Jan Groenewald, urged the audience to buy the AWB newspaper *Die Stem* and not *Beeld* or *Rapport*.

"We can bring pressure for our cause through the money you spend. For example, no longer buy *Beeld* and *Rapport*, but the AWB newspaper *Die Stem*."

Groenewald also told the audience that Terre'Blanche would only be able to speak for 10 minutes because if he continued talking a specialist had warned him he would do irreparable damage to his throat. Terre'Blanche spoke for at least 45 minutes.

□ A police spokesman said yesterday that the law applied to everyone and violence was not an accepted society norm.

TJAART VAN DER WALT

Tapping a depth of hurt

Tjaart van der Walt was appointed deputy chairman of Sanlam the day the results of his inquiry into the Vaal Triangle unrest of 1984 were tabled in parliament. It was apparently pure coincidence, since the report had been gathering dust in government offices for over a year.

Van der Walt found a direct link between education and socio-economic conditions, emphasising real grievances rather than relying on the popular "agitator" thesis. Many found his conclusions surprising, since he's a staunch NP supporter and rector of Potchefstroom, probably SA's most conservative university.

On paper, Van der Walt is an unlikely figure to inspire confidence in the young radicals he set out to interview; yet he succeeded remarkably. A minister of the Gereformeerde Kerk for the past seven years, it was probably his profound religiosity, sympathetic pastoral manner and sincerity that won the trust of groups as diverse as Cosas, the ANC, vigilantes and community leaders.

A one-man commission, he interviewed 137 people making notes or using a tape-recorder — only with an interviewee's consent. His brief was to investigate educational problems, but it didn't take long to discover that the root of the problem went way beyond the educational system.

"I'm convinced the direct cause of the unrest was local conditions — lack of sensitivity, lack of communication, corruption and ignorance of the workings of the local authority system." People paid municipal fees, for example, and saw no improvement. "I couldn't understand municipal accounts myself," he says, "and recommended a comprehensible system so that people would know what they were paying for."

To the surprise of his detractors, he also recommended a declaration of intent, the abolition of influx control and the Immorality Act. His discoveries of corruption at local authority level have already resulted in 55 court cases.

As rector of Potchefstroom University's 1 700-student Vanderbijlpark campus, Van der Walt was recommended to government by local community leaders to investigate the area's educational problems. "My approach

was to listen, try to understand and let government know the facts — whether I agreed or not. I wanted to breach the communication gap between government and the people."

He started his investigation on December 4 1984, handing in his final report, supported by 1 000 pages of documentation, on January 18. His objective was to get the children back to school — and he succeeded. Meeting this goal meant interviewing from 7am till 11pm every day and sending his wife and children on an overseas holiday.



Van der Walt ... winning the radicals' trust

The inquiry wasn't all he had on his plate. He is chairman of the SA Universities Sports Council, on the boards of Trustbank, Sanlam, Sankorp and Perskor, and a member of the Media Council. He's an honorary colonel of the Potchefstroom University Regiment and author of a number of theological books on practical Christianity. His car registration is KLM: students joke that the only difference between him and the airline is altitude.

How does he manage all his activities? "I like to be captain of a strong team, to build up trust and delegate. I like to be informed, but subordinates are free to act and this gives me freedom to move around."

Van der Walt has served on the Sanlam board since 1981 and was a student friend of Sanlam chief Fred du Plessis. Although he's 52, Van der Walt probably represents an infusion of young blood on the board. "My intention isn't to meddle in Sanlam's affairs, rather to assist where I can," he says. "I'm no economic wizard, I'm a theologian."

Learning business

Luckily, after nine years as rector, his long leave began last week. He intends using this time to brush up on business management techniques and economics. Van der Walt matriculated at Helpmekaar Hoërskool — where his father was headmaster — with seven distinctions. This was followed by a Wits honours degree in classics, theology honours in Semitic languages, and a doctorate in eschatology of the gospels from Kampen University in Holland.

"Today, people call me a verligte liberal. I call myself a progressive nationalist. I'm not for the status quo nor revolution, but evolution is too slow. A radical, though peaceful, transformation is required. The inquiry made me more aware of what was going on in SA, of the depth of human feelings, the depth of injury and hurt. It's made me more conscious of the need for outspokenness by business and community leaders and strengthened my desire to tell government to hurry up, they have to act now ..."

NEILL MILLER

A big byte

In less than a month, Eurefin's share price has doubled. The reason is simple: Computermatic (C-Matic), a Eurefin subsidiary, is to be listed via a rights issue to Eurefin shareholders. The human centre to the story is Neill Miller. Although Eurefin is associated with chairman Ronnie Price, it is Miller, now CEO of C-Matic, and MD of Eurefin, who built up the original, highly successful C-Matic operation.

C-Matic was founded in 1971, when Miller, a B Comm CA, completed a post-graduate course with ICL — and realised he was one of a few who understood both accounting and computers. Accordingly, he set up a bureau with a programmer and partner and, for the next six years, often worked through the night. It was tough, but it paid off. North City Brokers bought shares, so giving C-Matic valuable respectability at a time when computer bureaux as a whole had attracted a bad name.

But the really big breakthrough came

9/15/88 BUS DAY
Poll 'shows whites are receptive'

Whites equally divided on 'free Mandela' issue

AN OPINION poll released yesterday indicated that urban whites in SA were almost equally divided on the issue of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela's release.

A "face-to-face" poll carried out by Omnichek in March and April in all the major cities asked: "Do you accept the proposition that the government will sooner or later have to release Nelson Mandela?"

Forty percent answered "yes" and 43% "no", with 17% saying they did not know.

The poll was conducted in two phases: Field work among 800 women was completed in early April, and among 506 men two weeks later.

Research Surveys joint MD John Rice said there was a "remarkable correlation" between the two polls which he claimed indicated an accurate picture of white views towards the release of the ANC leader.

Among the women, 39% appeared to accept that government would release Mandela, against 40% saying "no" and 21% saying they "didn't know".

Of the men, 42% said they accepted the proposition, compared with 48% saying they did not. Ten percent said they "didn't know".

Rice said: "The division between those who accept that the government will have to release Nelson Mandela and those who don't is quite narrow, with a

very high percentage of whites unwilling or unable ... to express a view.

"If there was a belief in any quarter that whites were universally opposed to the release of Mandela, the results of these two polls go a long way towards dispelling that view.

"It seems reasonable to assume that within the white constituency the government has a much more receptive climate within which to move than might have been supposed."

By language group, English-speaking whites appeared to feel more positive about the prospect of release than did their Afrikaans counterparts.

More than half the English-speaking respondents (52%) said they accepted the proposition, compared with 32% who responded negatively and 16% who were undecided.

More than half the Afrikaans community, 55%, said "no" to the question, with 27% saying "yes" and 17% saying they didn't know.

Fifty-one percent of both English-speaking men and women said they accepted the proposition, but more men (36%) than women (30%) gave a "no" answer, Rice said in his statement.

Among Afrikaans-speaking respondents there was a much sharper division of opinion: 51% of women and 63% of men replied in the negative, compared with 25% of women and 31% of men answering "yes." Twenty-four percent of women and 7% of men said they didn't know. — Sapa.

CHRIS RENCKEN

The Nationalists today



Chris Rencken, MP for Benoni, is Chief Information Officer of the ruling National Party (NP) and editor of its mouthpiece, *The Nationalist*.

FM: Rightwing opponents allege the NP does not have a mandate for the changes government is making.

Rencken: That's absolute nonsense. The 1983 referendum gave us a two-thirds majority to implement a new constitution to share power between whites, coloureds and Indians. What is true is that we don't have a mandate to share power with blacks. But we are not doing so. We are merely negotiating the sharing of power with blacks and we don't need a mandate to do so. We need a mandate to implement the results of the negotiations and the State President has indicated that when we reach that stage, we will have a referendum or general election to get the necessary mandate.

What are the prospects of a general election or a referendum in the near future?

It depends on when we are ready to implement a new constitution which will include blacks at the highest level of government; and that is something that does not depend on the NP alone, it depends on all other parties to the negotiation who at this stage are the retarding factor.

Do you believe the NP would accept the scrapping of the Group Areas Act?

I can only repeat what the State President said in this regard. Individual Acts are not holy cows. In fact, for the past few years this Act has been amended in some way or another every year. Therefore, I am not going to say we won't scrap Group Areas. But the NP stands for the right of every population group to maintain its own community life which includes its own residential areas and schools. The Group Areas Act per se could very well be scrapped or amended.

The NP's federal congress in Durban in August looks like being a crucial event.

There is a tendency of late to typify everything the NP does as a crucial event for SA. While this is flattering in one sense, it is far from flattering when it raises unrealistic expectations which do neither the country nor

anyone else any good. It is obvious that negotiations towards a new constitution to include blacks at the highest level have not progressed much beyond the confidential and bilateral phase.

The legislation to bring about the National Council in which these negotiations will take on a more visible and multilateral form has not even been tabled in parliament, and is not likely to be passed until the second session, which will be after the federal congress.

It therefore stands to reason that the congress cannot produce guidelines for a new constitution as did the federal congress in Bloemfontein before the implementation of the current constitution. Many people don't realise that federal congresses are not only held for constitutional issues. It is necessary, particularly in times of dynamic reform, to communicate with the grassroots and to get sanction for things already announced and for the direction in which the party is going. **The NP has always debated and approved major policy decisions at its congresses. In recent years, the leadership seems to have moved away from this.**

That is incorrect. If anything, the NP under P W Botha is more democratic than it has ever been. People tend to confuse principles and policy. Changes to the principles of the party have to be sanctioned by the provincial congresses and are co-ordinated by a federal congress. But the implementation of those principles, the day-to-day policy changes, have never been subject to congressional approval, but are left to the party leadership.

The NP appears to be under heavier siege from both the Left and Right than at any time since it won power in 1948. There are suggestions that it is crumbling internally the way the old United Party did.

That is completely wrong. I have never known the NP to be more dynamic within its ranks. There is great freedom of discussion and enthusiasm. It is a natural phenomenon in a period of dynamic reform for the NP to be attacked very rigorously by the Left and Right. By its very nature, reform brings about uncertainty in the electorate and the population at large, which is compounded by the fact that reforms have to be negotiated with various population groups and the negotiations can very often not be held publicly. In other words, the reform process and where

we are going is not particularly visible, which gives the impression to some people that government does not know what it is doing or where it is going.

There have been many reports this year of a group of disillusioned verligtes in the NP caucus who are ready to break away.

I have seen no signs of anyone wanting to break away. Nor are there any signs of disillusionment with our leadership. There is a degree of frustration that we are not getting ahead in our reform plans as quickly as we would like to. But this is not attributed within the NP — as suggested in reports — to a lack of dynamism within the party, but rather to the reluctance of reasonable South Africans of other political persuasions and population groups to come to the conference table.

To what extent is the reform initiative being retarded by resistance from conservative NP MPs?

The reform initiative is not being retarded by anyone in the NP. It is being retarded by people outside the NP who are reluctant to co-operate.

A number of NP MPs have expressed concern privately about the significant swing away from the party in many areas; far better turnouts have been recorded at rightwing meetings than those of the NP.

I do not believe those supporters are lost to us. The appearance of lost support is caused by the uncertainty I mentioned earlier. But once we succeed with our reform initiatives and can announce something definite, this temporary lack of enthusiasm will end. **The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its associates have clearly become a major force in white politics. How much of a threat are they to the NP?**

I do not think they are a real threat to the NP. It is not a new manifestation in SA. We had it in the late Thirties and early Forties, with groups such as the Grey Shirts, the New Order and the Ossewabrandwag. That was also a period of uncertainty preceding World War 2 and following an economic depression. We have just gone through a period of deep economic depression and a protracted drought, and in a certain sense we are in a state of war, although of a different kind. Therefore these upstart groupings have manifested themselves now for the same reason as in the early Forties, but they will die the same natural death as their predecessors.

Leaving the House?

A debate on whether or not to remain in parliament is understood to be raging in the Conservative Party's (CP) leadership ranks.

While there are not yet firm indications that the party is about to withdraw, the matter is being discussed intensely in some CP circles. The debate centres around the fear that the CP will be sucked, unwillingly, into the next phase of constitutional reform which, according to government, will mean power-sharing with blacks.

Senior CP officials outside parliament, apparently influenced by former Broederbond chief Carel Boshoff, argue that if the party is opposed to the tricameral system, it should not participate in parliament.

The debate is expected to intensify following the participation last week by the Indian Cabinet Minister, Amichand Rajbansi, in a debate in the (white) House of Assembly. He was the first "non-white" to do so. After initially appearing confused at Rajbansi's unexpected appearance, the CP and lone HNP MP, Louis Stofberg, actively engaged him in debate by shouting interjections and trying to ask him questions.

A compromise to total withdrawal at this stage appears to have been achieved within the CP. Its MPs have been asked to engage government in even more rigorous debate and to challenge NP leaders at every opportunity to call a General Election in which the CP hopes to win enough seats to either take over government or, at least, form a powerful official opposition which could effectively put the brake on further change.

The CP appears to be opposed to a referendum because of the likelihood that President P W Botha will again be given a fairly substantial mandate to proceed with further constitutional reform, thus dragging the CP into a "power-sharing" system.

Indications of the tougher line the CP will take in parliament included the defiant statement by Daan van der Merwe (Rissik) that the CP would not honour a proposed new measure to allow Indians to live in the Free State and northern Natal. ■

Poll finds urban whites split on release of Mandela

9/5/86 STAT 3044

An opinion poll released in Johannesburg yesterday said urban whites in South Africa were almost equally divided on the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

A "face-to-face" poll carried out by Omnichek — in March and April in all the major cities — asked: "Do you accept the proposition that the Government will sooner or later have to release Nelson Mandela?"

Forty percent answered "Yes", 43 percent replied "No" and 17 percent said they "didn't know."

The poll was conducted in two phases — fieldwork among a sample of 800 women was completed in early April and a sample of 506 men two weeks later.

Research Surveys' joint managing director, Mr John Rice, said there was a "remarkable correlation" between responses of the two polls and he claimed this indicated an accurate picture of white views on Mandela's release.

Among the women, 39 percent accepted the Government would release Mandela against 40 percent who said "No" and 21 percent who "didn't know."

Of the male respondents, 42 percent said "Yes" against 48 percent saying "No" and 10 percent saying they "didn't know".

On balance, by age group, language, income and geography, nearly one-fifth of women polled appeared undecided about the proposition, compared with 10 percent of male respondents.

Mr Rice added: "The division between those who accept that the Government will have to release Nelson Mandela and those who don't is quite narrow, with a very high percentage of whites unwilling or unable ... to express a view.

"If there is a belief in any quarter that whites were universally opposed to the release of Mandela, the results of these two polls go a long way towards dispelling that view.

"It seems reasonable to assume that within the white constituency the Government has a much more receptive climate within which to move than might have been supposed," he said.

English-speaking whites appeared more positive on the prospect of release than Afrikaners.

More than half the English-speaking respondents (52 percent) said they accepted the proposition, compared with 32 percent who responded negatively and 16 percent who were undecided.

More than half of the Afrikaans community, 55 percent, said "No" to the question, with 27 percent saying "Yes".

More English-speaking men (36 percent) gave a "No" answer than the women (30 percent).

More women (19 percent) also gave "don't know" answers than men (13 percent).

Among Afrikaans-speaking respondents, there was a much sharper division of opinion — 51 percent of the women and 63 percent of the men said "No" against 25 percent of the women and 31 percent of the men answering "Yes."

Many more women (24 percent) than men (seven percent) said they "didn't know."

By age group the polls revealed conservative areas at opposite ends of the age scales.

More people in the 18-24 age group — 48 percent — appeared unwilling to accept the proposition, compared with 36 percent who said they went along with it.

There was an almost identical response among people older than 50, with 49 percent replying "No" to the question and 37 percent saying "Yes".

— Sapa.

Parliament and Politics

Heunis backs 'forceful action'

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — State security forces had a responsibility to maintain a climate in which the government could introduce reforms, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said yesterday.

Speaking during the budget debate on his department, Mr Heunis also reiterated that the government "does not allow the international community to prescribe to it".

He said it was axiomatic that reform and stability should go hand in hand.

'Feel safe'

"Reform succeeds only to the degree that it promotes greater stability in society.

"Reform succeeds only if the systems in which people must function, the systems which must regulate conflict, are maintained so that people feel safe. It will not succeed if people no longer recognize legal authority and no longer function within legal systems."

It would not succeed if alternative systems were established in place of legal ones.

"Therefore the State's security component has a responsibility to visibly enforce the State's authority so that the reform process can be implemented, so that the system being estab-

lished can be seen to function," said Mr Heunis.

"I want to emphasize, violence is not the answer to violence.

"Violence per se cannot support reform.

"But, if the communities who seek peace do not find that the systems in which we want them to live function properly, then the security forces must create a situation in which this is possible

Mr Heunis: "What we do, we do out of conviction. If it attracts a positive reaction from the outside world it is a bonus, but that is not the motivation for our actions."

"Therefore, in the current circumstances, the State must in the interest of reform resort to forceful action

"If the State does not succeed in this, the people who want peace will not participate in negotiations with each other

"Security action is therefore aimed at making it possible for those who want to participate to do so"

There would be no "Lancaster House" in South Africa's political future, Mr Heunis also said.

The Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group, due here on Tuesday, was free to seek out facts and encourage dialogue, but the negotiators for solutions to South Africa's problems and the people who would reach agreements would be South Africans.

Mr Heunis rejected suggestions that the government was buckling to outside pressures in introducing reform measures in the country.

'Committed'

"We support the standpoints we do because we believe in them. We are walking the road of reform because we are committed to it.

"What we do, we do out of conviction. If it attracts a positive reaction from the outside world it is a bonus, but that is not the motivation for our actions."

Mobilization of Christians would release a powerful force for peace and reconciliation in South Africa, Sapa reports Mr Heunis as saying as it appeared "we are now realizing increasingly that Christ is the most important binding factor".

Christianity opened up a "horizontal dimension" between people — Sapa



Mr Roelf Meyer



Prof Nic Olivier

Jailing people not solution, says Nat MP

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The situation in South Africa could not be brought under control simply by jailing people, Mr Roelf Meyer (NP Johannesburg West) said yesterday.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development and Planning vote, he said it was clear the unrest could not be brought under control by the methods used after Sharpeville and the events in Soweto in 1976.

Even if the SA Communist Party, the UDF and the ANC were dealt with, new organizations with new names would spring up under new banners.

ANC and violence

Law and order had to be maintained, but unless political and social conditions were addressed at the same time, the government's reform programme would not succeed.

The ANC's assertion that their violence was to counter the government's violence was no longer justifiable, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Heidekruijn) said during the debate. He said the ANC's commitment to violence in the late 1950s and early 60s could have been justifiable.

However, in the light of the government's commitment to negotiation, their stand was no longer justified.

A coalition of moderates had to be formed to prevent the escalation of violence in South Africa, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said during the debate.

Mr Badenhorst also said the society

economic problems in the country's townships "cry out" for attention.

Referring to his constituency of Oudtshoorn, he said conditions in its black township were "an indictment against us".

South Africans were not prepared to negotiate a takeover of power by black militants, Professor Nic Olivier (PFP Nominated) said during the debate.

The Opposition member said militants did not know the people of South Africa if they believed the point had been reached where this was all that was left to be discussed.

"It must be brought home to them that we are not prepared to negotiate about the takeover of power."

'Emperor Heunis'

As long as militants continued demands for a hand-over of power and said they were not prepared to discuss power-sharing, negotiation could not take place with them.

South Africa was trapped in the "mind-boggling rhetoric" of "Emperor" Chris Heunis, said Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Jeppe).

He said that whenever one asked a Nationalist what the government's plans were, he said "ask Chris".

Mr Van der Merwe said the CP had done a survey of 80 blocks of flats in his constituency and found that of the 10 000 people in them, 51 percent were blacks, coloured or Indians.

Conditions were getting worse every day and the police were doing nothing, he said. — Sapa

THE angry language of violence, frustration and impatience used by both the government and its opponents gives the impression of a country becoming daily more divided and of both sides becoming more intransigent. But this is a misunderstanding . . .

Voices of sanity, and patience

By COLIN LEGUM in LONDON

AN accurate picture of the critical period through which South Africa is presently passing in its transition from apartheid to a more harmonious and just society requires that proper account should be taken of two realities in the current situation.

The first is of growing violence coming from two sides — the State (structural violence), and the extra-parliamentary opposition (radical violence).

The second reality is the voice of sanity and reason which is increasingly being heard on both sides of the angry barricades.

Inevitably — because it is more dramatic and newsworthy — much more attention is given to the violence occurring every day in South Africa than to the patient attempts being made to reach an accommodation between the warring parties.

The angry language of violence, frustration and impatience used by both the government and its opponents gives the impression of a country becoming daily more divided and of both sides becoming more intransigent. This is a misunderstanding of the dynamics of political change through which South Africa is passing.

Since the power brokers in the present situation are the Afrikaners, their attitudes and reactions are of prime importance.

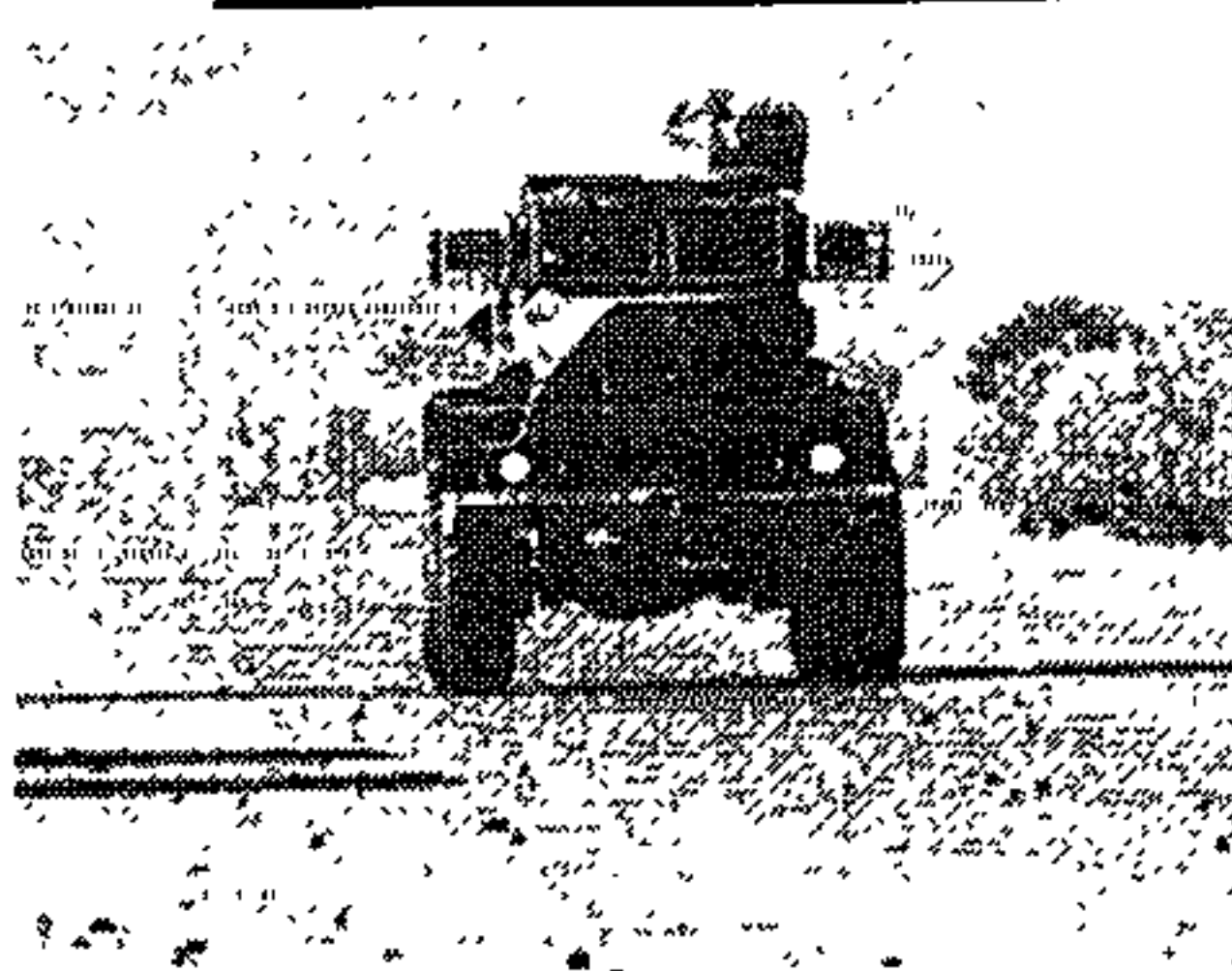
Leon Wessels, a National party MP, recently wrote that although South Africa's situation is an urgent one "the big dialogue has only just started." It is important therefore, he urged, that those who are serious about reconciliation should never lose patience.

"It is only by being engaged in the process of reconciliation that one realises that South Africa is big enough for us all, but too small for one group to dodge the other."

He pointed out that the divisions within communities are sometimes as rough and cruel as any conflict over the colour line — a reference to the rift in the ranks of Afrikaners. He pointed out that:

"At the root of this dissension lies, among other things, a need for security as well as a desire to realise unfulfilled ideals. If any of these pillars are put under pressure, emotion increases rapidly. If emotion disturbs the equilibrium it can be restored only with reason.

"It is surprising what sobering effect calm dialogue has when one does not talk



Growing violence or sanity and reason?

about another man, but puts one's point of view in his presence. There is a narrow correlation between people's fears and expectations. One cannot divorce the two."

SHOWING a remarkably sophisticated understanding of the process of change, Leon Wessels stressed the importance of increasing a sense of confidence while scaling down unreasonable expectations which, he explained, can be done only "by exposing opposing factions to each other so that everyone can take notice of the other's fears and expectations."

He added: "Such a negotiating strategy demands a multi-dimensional operation, not limited to a single round of talks. It demands a variety of actors and a range of mediators. It also lies on different community levels.

"Negotiations are time-consuming. Deep-rooted differences make it even more time consuming in South Africa. Trust must be built. People must be able to win or lose the argument with grace and without losing the dialogue."

Another encouraging example of the approach advocated by Leon Wessels comes from an officially-inspired broadcast commentary on radio which reminded South Africans that reforms to bring about "a better, more stable and more just South Africa will exact great sacrifices." It went on to say:

"This is necessarily so when a nation decides, after much introspection, that it can no longer continue along its old ways — when, of its own volition, it looks critically at laws and policies which for years have been the corner-stone of its existence and, where necessary, discards them or changes them drastically.

"It has seldom happened in world history, if at all, that a nation firmly entrenched politically declares itself willing and itself takes the necessary steps, to share power with communities previously regarded as subservient in the scheme of things. It is not an easy process and, understandably, it gives rise to uncertainty and anxiety for many. If this cannot be allayed, reform will have little chance of success."

THE radio commentary continued that Afrikaners have a real understanding for Black aspirations because of their own intensive struggle to free themselves from "the yoke of political and economic servitude. But it is precisely because this freedom was bought so dearly . . . that many now have such anguish about sharing it. This trepidation is not lessened by the way in which reforms, experienced by many Whites as highly traumatic, are received in Black and other quarters, showing no appreciation for the gradual pace of the process."

It is precisely this question of the speed of reform that worries many Afrikaner intellectuals. They view with concern the rise of violence in the country and of the appeal of the preaching by extremist Afrikaner political movements. They regard it as an ostrich-like attitude for the Government to delay taking action against the Afrikaner extremists while trying to stamp out the rising tide of Black violence.

President Botha recently came clean over what he sees as his difficulties in forcing the pace of reform. In an address to Parliament he insisted that reform cannot succeed without the support of a majority of Whites, and the Afrikaners in particular. Those, he said, who tried to push and pressurise him towards quicker reform should bear in mind that he had to take the Afrikaners along with him "in such a way as not to feel discarded and unsafe." Many other Whites had countries to which they could flee, not so the Afrikaners.

But what President Botha should also understand is that just as he needs to carry a majority of Whites with him so, too, African leaders must act in such a way that they can be assured of winning and keeping the support of their own constituencies. This goes as much for Nelson Mandela in his cell in Pollsmoor prison as for the exile leader of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, Chief Buthelezi, the leader of Inkhata and for the veteran PAC leader on Robben Island, Zeph Mothopeng.

Anglo ends bid to get govt, ANC together

cap 7/10/86
10/5/86
30411

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — Anglo American has abandoned its efforts to bring the government and the African National Congress together.

This emerged in an interview with Mr Gavin Relly, the Anglo chairman, published here yesterday.

"I don't think that we have a role to get the government and the ANC together. That is for strictly political forces," he said.

In an interview in the Sampson newsletter, Mr Relly admitted that President P W Botha was "cross" about the business-ANC summit in Zambia last September.

Buthelezi

He also expressed support for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ruled out the breaking up of the Anglo American conglomerate and described SA as one of the "most socialist" countries in the world.

Mr Relly admitted that the ANC meeting had turned out to be far more of a "watershed" than he and his business colleagues had intended.

"What we did was to force the issue on to Pretoria.

"P W Botha was cross — but not very cross.

"The Lusaka meeting was in fact, one of the nicest days I've ever spent — a picnic among South Africans talking in a friendly way about their future together,"

Mr Relly said.

Asked whether Anglo supported Chief Buthelezi, Mr Relly said: "You can't expect us to run away from the single black leader who says exactly what he thinks.

"I like Buthelezi and what he says. Business has talked to him for a long time.

"I've been told that Buthelezi plays a rough game in Natal. But South Africa is not for the faint-hearted."

Asked whether it would not be better if the Anglo conglomerate was broken up or at least moved away from the "kind of monopoly capitalism that Lenin described", Mr Relly said: "But where would you start? We have about a quarter of a million shareholders. We don't deal in price-fixing business.

Gold

"Gold doesn't rape the public.

"All our companies are very separate. The government knows that they would fiddle with Anglo at their peril — because there would be no logic for avoiding other fiddling.

"We need a change in the process of shareholding. But free enterprise should mean above all a freedom of choice.

"In fact South Africa is one of the most socialist countries in the world, because the Afrikaners, like any strong tribal group, have built it up to distribute the wealth among themselves."

Department report: Unrest ^{CAE 7/25/85} inhibited ³⁰⁶⁹ negotiations

By BARRY STRECK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

The unrest in South Africa in 1985 had inhibited the progress of constitutional change, especially in regard to the negotiating process, the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said in its annual report yesterday.

However, the report, which was tabled in Parliament, said it had to be accepted that "any process of reform is accompanied by varying degrees of uncertainty, resistance, instability and even violence".

"A large amount of the unrest which dominated the scene during 1985 did not emanate from absence of reform but ... because reform had been taking place continuously."

"This is because reform by the government raises expectations of spectacular socio-economic change which cannot be satisfied immediately or without qualification and thus the fundamental nature of reform is misinterpreted."

"If the democratization of the entire community is understood as the main aim of the process of change, and the policy of change is quickly followed up by changes in practice, it will be possible to unite South Africans across a broad spectrum in pursuit of democracy, excluding only opponents of democracy."

"Then unrest can be reduced to the expected limited resistance or instability during the process of change instead of its being a comprehensive pre-revolution mobilization against a system."

"In the meantime it is essential for government to maintain the momentum and intensity of change and to present it with a much higher profile in order to increase its credibility," the department said.

The department also said the statements made by President P W Botha on blacks during 1985 "should be considered as manifestation of a process of fundamental reflection and a statement of policy which necessarily preceded definite change in this respect".

It said the government had more than ever before clearly stated its commitment to "an undivided South Africa, one citizenship, universal suffrage within a democratic system and the participation of blacks at the highest level of government, on the basis of power sharing and not domination".

Violence is stalling negotiations for a democratic future, director

Govt in bid to speed up change

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Unrest in South Africa would be contained by implementing practical change as soon as possible after policy changed, according to Dr A H van Wyk, director general of the Department of Constitutional Development.

In the annual report of his department Dr van Wyk said any

reform process was accompanied by degrees of uncertainty, resistance, instability and even violence.

A large amount of the unrest which dominated 1985 did not emanate from the absence of reform but because reform had been taking place continuously.

Dr van Wyk said: "This is because reform by the Government raises expectations of

spectacular socio-economic change which cannot be satisfied immediately or without qualification".

He warned the unrest was having an inhibiting effect on reform, particularly in negotiation. This included the resignation of 36 out of 194 community councils and of three of the 40 fully-fledged black local authorities.

The report, said if the whole community understood democracy was the main aim of the process of change, and if policy decisions were followed up rapidly, it would be possible to unite South Africans across a broad spectrum.

It was essential for the Government to maintain the momentum and a present a higher profile to increase its credibility.

Methods of countering the unrest were spelt out in the report including the setting up of a group to keep blacks informed.

The group had been appointed as a result of the Van der Walt Commission report on the start of the unrest.

The Government had also set aside R24,6 million for black municipal police forces.

By November last year 4 387 posts had been approved.

PFP call on race issue

CAPE TOWN — Negotiations for constitutional change were unlikely to succeed if race classification remained a non-negotiable issue, the House of Assembly was told today.

Mr Nic Olivier (PFP, Nominated), a leading opposition spokesman on constitutional affairs, said the Government had created the impression that race classification was non-negotiable.

This would make it difficult to create the trust and confidence needed for successful negotiation for future constitutional change.

Speaking in the debate on Constitutional Development and Planning budget vote, Mr Olivier also asked for clarity on which black leaders the Government would be prepared to negotiate with.

He called on the Government to say when legislation would be introduced in Parliament to create the proposed national statutory council for negotiation recently announced by the State President.

Mr Olivier said that while he welcomed the Government's moves away from racial discrimination, the continued existence of apartheid remained an obstacle.

He said the PFP accepted that Parliament was the only instrument for bringing about constitutional change and that only the Government of the day could establish a national convention for negotiation.

Mr Olivier also called on the Government to stop its attacks on the lines that PFP policy was aimed at black majority rule

Warns

18E

Superced

AREA A:
Hopefield
VanrhynsAREA B:
Simon's

AREA X:

Apartheid in its last ditch

12/5/66 - SPAN 304A

CAPE TOWN — The Government has been driven back to almost the final line of defences over its 38-year-old apartheid policy.

It is in the socio-economic field that the policy has been tackled and the battle is being won.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, when it broke away in 1969 from the National Party — for as much about integrated sport as anything else — warned that non-racial sport would be the downfall of apartheid.

Since then job reservation laws have almost disappeared, social race barriers in hotels and cinemas have disappeared, racially demarcated trading is being agonisingly phased out and the bars on across-the-race-line sex and marriage scrapped.

But most in the National Party Government are holding on to segregated group areas and education.

The cracks in what was previously a solid wall are, however, appearing. There are Nationalists who privately concede that the Group Areas Act will eventually have to go and that schools will have to be opened to all living in a particular community.

More and more the phrase "local option" is being heard among Nationalists as the pressures grow to ease those laws, if not scrap them altogether.

However, the problem that remains is the Government's strong commitment to "own affairs", which is nothing but a new name for the latest form of apartheid.

If the Group Areas Act goes

The Government's moves to end apartheid have been troubled by a strong commitment to "own affairs", which is nothing but the new word for the latest form of apartheid, reports BRUCE CAMERON of The Star's Political Staff.

altogether there is no justification left for the bulky, expensive and increasingly bureaucratic "own affairs" edifice. This is what worries most Nationalists as they point out that if "own affairs" goes, separate chambers of Parliament will become increasingly difficult to justify.

National Party conservatives such as Mr F W de Klerk, well aware of the dangers, repeatedly emphasise and attempt to spread the wings of "own affairs" as far as possible. But never before have the opponents of separate development treated National Party dogma with such scant respect.

Integration poll

When Cabinet member Mr Amichand Rajbansi predicts that one of the trends likely to emerge is the "integration of state schools on a selective basis", the fact cannot be far behind.

Private schools are facing the Government over who should be allowed in and even some Government schools — such as SACS in Cape Town — have gone so far as to ask parents to approve integration.

At parliamentary level, both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives are pushing the Government hard

for a single education system, demanding the same examinations for all groups.

Mr Rajbansi and members of the Progressive Federal Party have repeatedly pointed to the under-utilisation of white educational institutions while other groups, in particular blacks, are crying out for space.

Mr Rajbansi says there can be no justification for maintaining racially exclusive teacher training colleges when one of the major deficiencies in black education is properly qualified teachers.

There are areas throughout the country, such as Woodstock in Cape Town, where the National Party has failed to separate the races, for numerous reasons.

At the same time, in other areas such as Mayfair in Johannesburg, people are virtually thumbing their noses at the law and moving in in substantial numbers into supposedly no-go areas.

The more conservative elements in the Government harps on about the dangers of mixing at lower income levels where, they say, whites will feel threatened.

Current Nationalist thinking seems to indicate that the Government is unlikely to opt for a general nationwide implementation of grey areas, but will leave the decision to local authorities. This would enable them to avoid, to some extent, taking the rap — particularly in areas where the Nationalists are hard-pressed by the Right.

Most Nationalists appear to accept that group areas cannot survive.

How they will go is only a matter of time and method.

SA reform is 'too little' 12/5/81

3-4A
RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — Government's greatest failure has been its failure to negotiate with the African National Congress, former opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said in Boston.

"They just don't understand that the ANC represents the middle ground," he told US journalists.

Calling reform in SA "too little, too late", Slabbert maintained that anything short of full political rights for blacks would merely intensify black resolve to achieve more fundamental change.

While scrapping the pass laws was very important, the black reaction "was to yawn and say, 'what next?'" he said.

"South Africa has reached the point where reform only escalates the demand for more reform."

On sanctions, Slabbert cautioned that unless carefully applied, they could do more harm than good.

While the threat of disinvestment had prodded government into some reforms, if large amounts of foreign capital were withdrawn, the resulting "siege economy would strengthen the apartheid regime", he said.

Constructive engagement was "a good concept that died in the execution", he said.

12/15/86 BUS DAY 304A

No more mediating by Anglo men, says Relly

LONDON — Anglo American has abandoned its efforts to bring SA government and the African National Congress (ANC) together.

This emerged in an interview with Anglo chairman Gavin Relly, published in London on Friday.

"I don't think that we have a role to get the government and the ANC together.

"That is for strictly political forces," he said.

In an unusually candid interview in the current issue of the *Sampson Newsletter* (brought out by newsman Anthony Sampson), Relly admitted President P W Botha was "cross" about the historic business-ANC summit in Zambia last September.

He also expressed support for KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, described SA as one of the most socialist countries in the world, praised Botha for his "dogged determination" and ruled out the breaking up of the Anglo American conglomerate.

"The government knows that they would fiddle with Anglo at their peril," Relly said.

In a rare insight into the repercussions of the ANC meeting last year, Relly admitted it had turned out to be far more of a watershed than he and his business colleagues



GAVIN RELLY,
Anglo American
chairman, speaks
his mind

JOHN BATTERSBY

had intended.

"I've been blamed ever since for opening the floodgates," he said.

"What we did was to force the issue on to Pretoria. P W Botha was cross — but not very cross.

"In fact, it was one of the nicest days I've ever spent — a picnic among South Africans talking in a friendly way about their future together," Relly told Anthony Sampson.

"There are now so many initiatives, maturations on both sides. It would be counter-productive to continue with ours," he said.

Asked whether Anglo supported Buthelezi, Relly said, "You can't expect us to run away from the single black leader who says exactly what we think.

"I like Buthelezi and what he says. Business has talked to him for a long time.

"None of us believe in the simple

blackism that the ANC puts forward. Life's not like that.

"I've been told that Buthelezi plays a rough game in Natal. But SA is not for the faint-hearted," Relly said.

Asked whether it would not be better if the Anglo conglomerate was broken up, or at least moved away from the "kind of monopoly capitalism that Lenin described", Relly said:

"But where would you start? We have got about a quarter of a million shareholders. We don't deal in price-fixing business.

"Gold doesn't rape the public," Relly said.

"All our companies are very separate.

He said he did not "stand by rigid paternalist capitalism".

"We need a change in the process of shareholding. But free enterprise should mean above all a freedom of choice.

"In fact, SA is one of the most socialist countries in the world, because the Afrikaners, like any strong tribal group, have built it up to distribute the wealth among themselves. That's a major obstacle to growth.

"But I'm impressed by P W Botha's dogged determination to get on with reform. I know from trying to move our own people how difficult it can be," Relly said.

Labour Party MP quits

ML 43 12/5/86 (304/1/41)

Political Correspondent
THE Rev Alwyn Goosen, nominated Labour Party MP in the House of Representatives, has resigned from Parliament.

His chief reason is the controversy in the United Congregational Church, of which he is a minister, on whether clergymen should take part in the present constitutional system.

Mr Goosen has also given health reasons and difficulty in coping with his Hankey congregation while he is in Parliament.



The Rev Alwyn Goosen

APPRECIATION

Confirming the resignation today, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, expressed appreciation for sacrifices Mr Goosen had made.

He said Mr Goosen had given health, church and family problems as reasons for his resignation.

He had said he remained a supporter of the Labour Party and would assist it in the Addo constituency.

Several capable people were available to take his place and it would take some time to decide on his successor.

The synod of the United Congregational Church recently

ruled that its clergymen who were MPs had to decide between their political and their church careers.

Other clergymen who are affected are Mr Hendrickse and the Rev Andrew Julies, Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse said today a meeting of more than 500 people in Uitenhage yesterday had decided that he must continue as a clergyman and that, if necessary, a new congregation must be started. A decision on this was expected at a meeting on May 25.

A Bill of Rights for SA cosmetic or real reform?

ARGUS 12/3/86
30K

By DENNIS DAVIES Associate Professor,
Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town

THE Present South African Constitution is based on the sovereignty of Parliament. Therefore the judiciary does not have the power to prescribe legislative infringements of human rights, as is the case in countries like America where a Bill of Rights is part of the constitution. Thus an individual citizen cannot approach a South African court to set aside an Act of Parliament because it is in conflict with a provision of the constitution.

Proposals for a South African Bill of Rights are not only of recent origin. In 1979, Appeal Court Judge M M Corbett suggested that a Bill of Rights was worth trying. It is one of the more hopeful possibilities along the road which lies ahead.

Government bodies and spokesmen have consistently denied the use of a Bill of Rights. As an example, the President Council's 2nd Report on the Constitution in 1982 rejected the proposal for a Bill of Rights on the grounds that:

□ THERE could be no general agreement on a formulation of a Bill of Rights,

□ A right guaranteed to one person could prejudice another, and

□ IN any event the demands of the security of the state would override rights guaranteed by a Bill.

In recent weeks the official mood appears to have changed.

THE Minister of Justice recently announced in Parliament that he had instructed the Law Commission to investigate the question of the protection of individual and group rights. SABC-TV presented a discussion on the issue and the University of Pretoria hosted a conference on the question of a Bill of Rights in which judges, practising lawyers and academics participated and in which the concept was well supported.

In the present crisis of political legitimacy, in which the government is confronted by well-organised and supported political organisations such as the UDF and in which the ANC is once more at the centre of the political stage, it has been suggested that the idea of a Bill of Rights ap-

pears to be yet another in the Government's endless range of final constitutional solutions!

WHAT effect would a Bill of Rights have if introduced in South Africa at present?

To a large extent, the answer depends upon the kind of Bill introduced. Assuming that the Government committed itself along the lines of the Charter proposed by the Federated Chamber of Industries, and incorporated it into a statutory form, the document would be completely incompatible with the present political dispensation.

For example, if the courts were able to test legislation against the provisions of the

FCI Charter, the Group Areas Act would be declared unconstitutional, as this Act violates the principle that everyone has the right to freedom of residence. Also, the Population Registration Act would be invalid on the grounds of the right of every South African to enjoy all the freedoms identified in the Bill without reference to race. South Africa's security legislation would have to be scrapped too, because of the provision protecting all citizens from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Examined in this context, a Bill of Rights would constitute a major departure from official government thinking on the issue of a constitutional dispensation for the country.

NOTWITHSTANDING such implications, the Pretoria Conference heard a number of distinguished Black lawyers expressing severe doubts about the introduction of such a measure.

There is a deeply-held belief in influential political groups that a Bill of Rights is but another method of preserving white leadership, this time in the form of a veto over any actions of a Parliament in which whites would not have a majority of the votes.

For example, the Buthelezi Commission, which has been taken off the shelf as a result of the Natal Indaba, recommended a minority veto which would "limit the power of the majority to disregard the interests and preferences of the minority" when important issues are at stake (Vol 11, page 126).

Not surprisingly, therefore, there exists a view that any Bill of Rights (introduced unilaterally by the Government, thinking a Bill of Rights would be used, not so much to extend democratic freedoms but rather to protect group rights, meaning white South Africa's rights to separate schools, and separate residential areas) would have little chance of contributing to the attainment of a peaceful political equilibrium.

However, if the framework and content of a Bill was a product of political negotiation between all interested political parties including the ANC and all political leaders presently in detention or imprisoned, it is possible that agreement could be reached on a document having genuine legitimacy and popular acceptance.

At present, the government has not officially committed itself to the idea of a Bill. By contrast, much of the extra-parliamentary opposition is committed — either implicitly or explicitly — to the Freedom Charter, itself a Bill of Rights for a democratic South Africa formulated after a mass political campaign during the 1950s.

Only such a democratically drafted Freedom Charter would have the hope of attaining the kind of legitimacy needed to secure a society in which government operates within clearly defined boundaries of legality.



Mr Dennis Davies

DAI 304A

Whites still have time for a deal

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The white regime in South Africa was not yet on the run and still had time to strike a deal with leaders of the black majority, the *Economist* said yesterday.

In a cover-story editorial, Britain's authoritative financial journal warned, however, that striking a deal with black leaders "is a luxury which would fade with the years."

"Were South Africa on the brink of utter anarchy, such things might seem mere tinkering. It is not. Its government and armed forces remain immensely strong."

"The white regime, hesitant in its actions, but by no means on the run, can still choose."

The paper said there was no alternative to the broad constitutional framework of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state.

□ The US business community in South Africa was not going to pull out, but would stay on as a powerful force for change, a State Department official said at the weekend.

"We are working to dismantle apartheid," William Robertson, deputy assistant secretary for African affairs, said in an interview published in Nairobi.

A special effort was being made by the Reagan administration to boost SA's black business community and encourage US banks to make available much needed venture capital.

"We are using our influence on the US private sector to promote and strengthen the black South African business community, whether in the form of investment, joint ventures or boosting existing industry."

"The US business community is not going to pull out. It will stay there as a powerful force for change."

Robertson has been on a three-week tour of four African countries — South Africa, Mauritius, Rwanda and Kenya.

He said US business leaders in SA had told him Washington could increase pressure on Pretoria and SA business to bring about changes in apartheid.

US firms in SA were already giving equal employment opportunities to blacks and would continue to seek total integration of their workforce.

"We want to create an environment where we can show South Africans that an integrated work place is productive."

White politics — and the onslaught from the right

By David Braun, The Star's Political Correspondent, reporting from Cape Town

While South Africa's black politics simmer and seethe on the left of the political spectrum, there is a steady process of realignment under way in white politics.

In the process certain trends are emerging:

- The forces on the right are consolidating and using every means they can muster to reverse President Botha's reforms so that the country can be carved up into completely separate ethnic units.

- The National Party is increasingly showing stresses and strains as it struggles internally to find solutions to the many pressures it is contending with.

- Political movements to the left of the Government, especially the Progressive Federal Party and, to the extent that it ever had meaningful support in the white community, the United Democratic Front are going to find their white support diminishing.

Important elements

The white right has clearly adopted a "total onslaught" strategy to win power from the Government.

The important elements involved at that end of the political spectrum are the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Volkswag, and a few other minor fringe organisations and interest groups.

To a certain extent the HNP is the odd man out in the group in that it does not agree with some of the important aspects of AWB policy and its methods.

There is also quite a bit of rivalry between the HNP and the CP, especially since the Herstigtes won their first parliamentary seat in Sasolburg last year and demonstrated that the party could be viable in its own right.

Right-wing solidarity is rather found in the informal but increasingly



Mr P W Botha

cosy alliance between the Volkswag (cultural and intellectual arm), the CP (parliamentary and business arm) and the AWB ("military" or "home guard" arm).

The alliance is dedicated to overthrowing the Government by every means available.

The CP uses the normal democratic processes by indefatigably canvassing and preparing for elections. To this end it has been frustrated by the Government's decision to extend the life of Parliament until 1989.

The Volkswag uses more secretive techniques as well as attempts to rally support for the principles of Afrikaner sovereignty in an Afrikaner country by emphasising the virtues of family solidarity.

There is also a suggestion that the Volkswag may be attempting to penetrate Afrikaner society in the same way that the Broederbond did in the original struggle to win political and economic power for Afrikaners.

The AWB uses different tactics. Its leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, recently told a public meeting that it could not use the structures provided by the Government to win political power,



Mr Pik Botha

as the Government was now only one-third white.

One of the alternative means the AWB has started using is the disruption of Nationalist meetings in the Transvaal.

By all these means and through its various arms, the right claims the support of at least one-third of the white electorate. If all its supporters can be mobilised to bring out their votes, the white right would stand a fairly good chance of winning a general election.

Treacherous road

Mindful of this, the National Party attempts to walk an increasingly treacherous road between rising expectations of meaningful reform and white resistance to power-sharing.

This has led to certain stresses within the party, with different emphasis being placed on party policy to accommodate two opposing forces.

President Botha recently said that never before had there been such open-hearted discussion within the party.

On a previous occasion he said that a government of men with strong convictions cannot always think



Mr F W de Klerk

precisely the same way about everything.

This was his way of explaining the different interpretations made of his speech at the opening of Parliament by Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha.

The two men epitomise the different tendencies in the National Party. One emphasises the own affairs (separate development) aspect of the party's policy, the other the power-sharing principles.

Each is the natural leader of the respective wings, although both would deny it.

Whether one of these two wings will eventually break away from the party will depend on future developments in the country.

If the white right continues to gain ground the conservative wing of the NP is likely to break away or seize the party's leadership.

The liberal wing may yet be the catalyst in a major reshaping of white politics.

If it should lose influence in the Government or events make it urgent to take rapid action (some would say events already have), it is not impossible that a sizeable group would break away to form some sort of emergency coalition with the PFP.

PFP says BUDAY finance 13/5/86 304/A policy has failed

Own Correspondent

GOVERNMENT'S policy of financial discipline had failed and caused serious backlogs in vital services in the Transvaal, PFP Provincial Council leader Douglas Gibson said yesterday.

He said government had overspent and budgeted for increased spending in the past five years, but provincial subsidies had not kept pace.

The financial restraints had retarded growth and infra-structural development in the Transvaal — the hub of commercial and industrial life.

He said the consequent neglect of Transvaal schools, hospitals and roads would cost millions of rands to rectify since inflation had reached its highest point in history.

When Barend du Plessis was made Finance Minister in 1984, the rate was 11,8%. In January it stood at 20,7%.

The country was becoming poorer at a time when resources should be more widely-spread, he said.

This aggravated the current political instability.

It would make reforms impossible before the country was overwhelmed by revolution, said Gibson.

Make June 16 holiday, NECC urges business

By Maud Motanyane

The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) has urged the South African business community to heed the black community's call to recognise June 16 as a paid holiday.

Speaking at a panel discussion attended by about 50 business executives at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday, NECC chairman Mr Vusi Khanyile said the call for a national stayaway on June 16 was a democratic decision taken by the majority of the country's population.

The NECC, which has also called for work stoppages on June 17 and 18, represented grassroots organisation of various political groupings, Mr Khanyile said.

The decision to call for a three-day stayaway was taken at a meeting attended by more than 1 000 delegates at the end of March.

Mr Khanyile said the black community would use the three-day stayaway to review political progress.

"It would also be a demonstration that we can no longer afford another day of apartheid education," he said.

Panelists at the discussion included executives from the Johannesburg and Soweto Chambers of Commerce and from the American Chamber of Commerce and representatives from the Johannesburgse Afrikaanse Sakekamer and the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce.

Panelists agreed that the question of whether June 16 should be a paid holiday should be "taken to the boardroom and discussed".

Search for man's body

The body of a 54-year-old Germiston man believed to have drowned while fishing in the Schiyalongubu Dam at the weekend, is still missing.

Mr William Shamrock of Skool Avenue, Germiston, and Mr E Morrison were fishing in a flat-bottomed canoe on Friday when the boat started filling with water. Clinging to the sinking vessel, the men made their way to the side.

Helpers found an exhausted Mr Morrison, but no trace of Mr Shamrock. — Lowveld Bureau.

Alan Boesak gets back his passport

CAPE TOWN — World Alliance of Reformed Churches President Dr Allan Boesak has been given a passport after a six-month wait.

He will now be able to attend a string of top-level international events this month and in the future.

Dr Boesak, who is also a patron of the United Democratic Front, was told on Saturday he had been given a passport valid for five years after his original passport was withdrawn by the Minister of

Pik meeting is to be next target for AWB

Northern Transvaal Bureau

The next major target of the militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) is clearly Mr Pik Botha's National Party meeting in Pietersburg on May 22.

The AWB has indicated that no NP meeting in the Transvaal will escape its attention in future. Its supporters succeeded in totally disrupting a recent meeting in Brits, addressed by the Deputy Minister for Information, Mr Louis Nel.

This time, Mr Botha's meeting has been sandwiched between two rallies of the right-wing, one in Potgietersrus tomorrow and the other in Pietersburg on May 27.

Local CP chairman Mr Isak Butler, who is also a high-ranking "Brandwag officer" in the AWB, was not available for comment.

But young AWB supporters said they were planning to break up the meeting.

Nationalists are being mobilised to outnumber the interjectors, and are regarding the meeting as a "make or break" event in the town.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, MP for the neighbouring Lydenburg constituency, will chair the meeting.

Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, on November 5 last year.

Dr Boesak is to leave South Africa on Thursday to attend a number of functions including the celebrations surrounding the 450th anniversary of the reformation under John Calvin being held in Geneva. Geneva University is to award Dr Boesak an honorary degree in theology and he has been invited to be the keynote speaker in Washington at the annual general meeting of Amnesty International. — Sapa

White homeland the only option, say Oranjewerkers

MUCH of SA's tragedy has to do with unworkable constitutional options derived more from ideological puritanism than from pragmatism.

One of the more bizarre options — creation of a white homeland — is the dream of the Oranjewerkers, whose leader is Professor Hercules Booysen of Unisa's constitutional law department.

A further irony is that one of its most ardent supporters is Hendrik Verwoerd, son of a former prime minister who designed the system of grand apartheid.

For Booysen the main aim of a constitution is to guarantee the rights of a group on a territorial basis, and he believes a white homeland/state — "Call it what you will" — is the only way the Afrikaner can survive.

At the outset, there is a fundamental difference between the kind of exclusivism Booysen advocates and the National Party's separate development policy.

Booyesen accepts that the creation of black homelands has failed. "Perhaps it was because people were forced to the homelands; perhaps because there were inadequate financial structures."

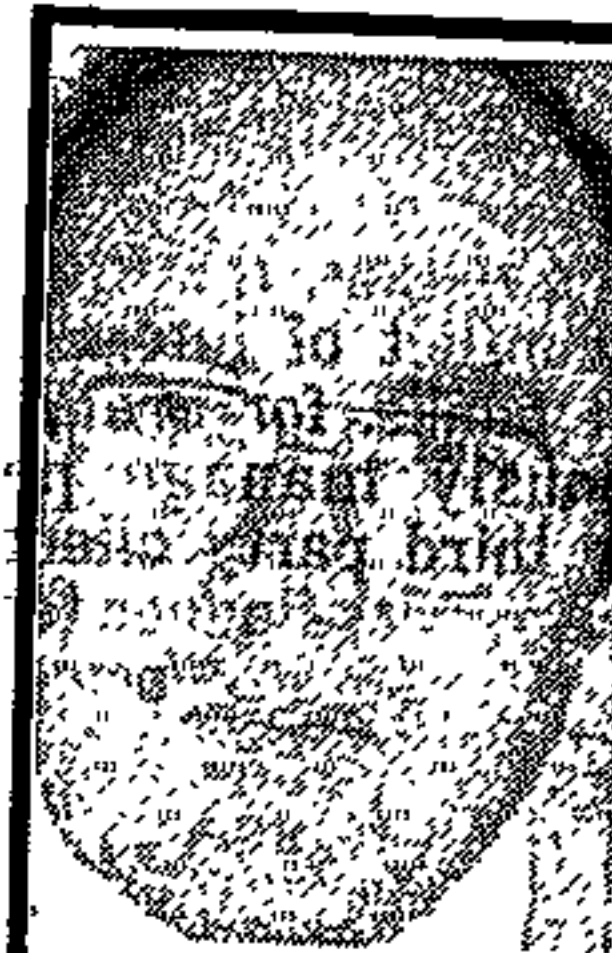
But it also failed because so-called white SA was still reliant on black labour, and this meant there had to be black rights and black permanency.

"The process must be reversed, and the emphasis must be on finding a white territory. Even the old NP said the Afrikaner was entitled to self-determination. If that is so, then why not claim it?"

Booyesen accepts that SA as a whole cannot be made "white". So, beyond the white territory, there can be "flexibility". "It will not be necessary, then, to force independence on KwaZulu. If the people of Natal want to work out something between them, that's fine."

He says a group is entitled to self-determination — the power to govern itself and protect its language and culture. "The Afrikaner has always been a specific group. He speaks of Afrikanerdom, of the volk, and he meets both the objective and subjective criteria that are used legally to determine a nation."

He says Afrikaners are different; they are a group and, therefore, they must demand the right to self-determination.



If nothing else, the Oranjewerkers have accepted that the homelands policy for blacks — has failed. Can their alternative — a homeland for whites — succeed? Report: PETER WALLINGTON; Picture: DAN SIMON.

"I confine myself to the Afrikaner, I'm not trying to force solutions on other groups. I would say the only way a group can be protected is by a constitutional model which has, as its basis, the territorial principle."

The Northern Transvaal town of Morgenzon has become the focus of this territorial urge. It is a growth point from which the Oranjewerkers believe a white state will grow, a state in which only whites will live and work.

Says Booysen: "If you believe in white self-determination, you should practise what you preach. It must be independent of blacks, not because we hate blacks but because you cannot have blacks doing your labour but not give them the vote."

The NP failed because it ignored the principle that you cannot attain self-determination without economic independence, he says.

Thus some farms around Morgenzon employ only white labourers and have increased their level of automation. The Oranjewerkers hope eventually to persuade white people to do their own work, so that blacks will move away.

Booyesen is vague about the territorial base. Apart from the shoehorn from Ogies to the Vaal Triangle, he talks about "traditionally Afrikaner/white" areas which could make up about a third of the country, and he sees it stretching to the coast in the Mossel Bay area.

He is not clear yet whether the territory would remain part of "greater SA" or become an independent state, but he says a confederal arrangement "without domination by others" might be suitable.

Signs of major rightwing linkup

By Hannes de Wet

There are strong indications that South Africa's major right-wing political parties and organisations are going to join forces in the near future.

The Star has learnt that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Afrikaner-volkswag (AVW) are to hold a mass meeting in Pretoria on May 31.

The leaders of all four groups, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Mr Jaap Marais and Professor Carel Boshoff, will address the meeting.

"They will get equal time and opportunity to speak," informed sources said.

Asked if any detail has been worked out with a view to future co-operation, well-placed sources said: "You can draw your own conclusions."

This follows recent overtures of closer links between the CP

and the AWB. Dr Treurnicht and Mr Terre'Blanche had discussions in March.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was satisfied the AWB's paramilitary Brandwag organisation was not militant and would operate within the law.

The HNP has so far kept a safe distance from the AWB. There has been no contact in public yet between Mr Marais and Mr Terre'Blanche.

Co-operation between the CP and the HNP has been limited to election pacts. All previous attempts to forge closer links between the two parties have met with no success.

Mr Marais had criticised Dr Treurnicht last week for his meeting with the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelini, saying that he was surprised that the CP leader had been prepared to talk to the Zulus but not to the HNP.

The AVW and the CP has had close links since the Volkswag was established.

BUD DAY

304A

14/5/86

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The next few years will be a period of growing agony for SA, says the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS).

In its annual survey published yesterday, the IISS said long-term prospects indicated increasingly radical changes brought about as a result of widespread violence.

While some government pronouncements acknowledged a general need for change, "little of real substance is being conceded".

"Pretoria chooses to rely on its formidable forces for the maintenance of law and order.

"On present indications, these are

Period of growing agony seen for SA

capable of preserving sufficient order for the state to function and there is no immediate prospect of their losing their grip.

"But as blacks become more desperate and frustrated — and as more black members of the security forces themselves come under attack — in the long-term the only likely outcome increasingly seems to be a series of more radical changes, brought about by wide-

spread violence."

The IISS said domestic problems, poor regional relations, and a growing unwillingness by foreign banks to make loans suggested "a time of growing agony".

"The international implications of this turmoil may not prove as severe as many have claimed, but instability in South Africa is bound to create opportunities for external powers to seek greater influence."

WEDNESDAY, 14 MAY 1986

NOW THEREFORE

Definition

"Political risks" in relation to any National State for the purpose of this guarantee shall mean and include:

- (i) the attainment of independence from the Republic of South Africa by the National State and;
- (ii) the occurrence of one or more of the following events, namely:
 - (a) conversion of the currency of that National State into a unit other than the South African Rand which is not payable in South African Rand and/or,
 - (b) seizure otherwise than by lawful expropriation against adequate compensation to the Society of any urban immovable property mortgaged to the Society; or
 - (c) the enactment by the National State of any legislation which prevents the transfer from that National State of repayments of capital and/or instalments under the said mortgage bonds to the Republic of South Africa;
 - (d) the failure of the judicial process, (messengers of courts and/or other judicial officials), in that National State to process within reasonable time, or at all, foreclosure proceedings (including in particular the issue and/or service of summonses, writs or other documents, the grant of judgment, the perfection of attachments, and the conduct of sales in execution and accounting for the proceeds of such sales in execution) resulting from the failure of any mortgagor to comply with the terms of his/her loan and/or the mortgage bond over his/her property;
 - (e) the enactment of any legislation, or the performance or permission of any action by such National State which prevents the Society from enforcing the rights as mortgagee against any Mort-

gagor (including foreclosure and the right to purchase the mortgaged property in execution on default if another bid sufficient to discharge its claim is not made).

Provided however that:

normal commercial risks including *inter alia*, default by a borrower, depreciation of or damage to the mortgaged property not arising from an event of political risk as defined, failure to maintain the mortgaged property, non-payment of rates, water and electricity shall be specifically excluded from the term "political risks".

A1. The Government herein represented by the Minister of Education and Development Aid hereby indemnifies the Society in respect of any loan granted by it to any homeowner and secured by a mortgage bond over urban immovable property situated in the aforesaid National State against any loss that it may suffer as a result or occurrence of one or more political risks, provided that the Government shall only accept liability in respect of the loans made in a particular year up to an amount in respect of that year to be determined yearly in advance by the Government and to be notified in writing to the Society. The Society shall be obliged, upon request, but not more than once a year, to furnish the Government with a statement showing the total amount outstanding on the loans covered by this guarantee.

2. Liability of the Government under this indemnity shall only arise if the Society:

- (a) furnishes proof that the mortgagor had failed to comply with the conditions of the mortgage bond, and that the Society has suffered a loss or is unable to recover

WEDNESDAY, 14 MAY 1986

amounts owing to it as a result of the occurrence of such political risk;

- (b) has taken reasonable steps to minimise its loss or recover such amounts;
- (c) furnishes full details of the loss or amounts owing to it and supplies any further information required by the Government;
- (d) furnishes the Government with a cession of the Society's claim against the mortgagor and any surety for such mortgagor, if any, to the Government or to the National States or any other body, as may be indicated by the Government, in respect of the amount to be paid by the Government to the Society;
- (e) has included in all its mortgage bonds a condition requiring payment thereunder in South African Currency.

3. The Society undertakes to render reasonable assistance to the Government or the National State or such other body to whom the Society's claim has been ceded to enable such cessionary to prove in Court the claim against such cessionary.

4. The Government shall pay to the Society the amount due to the Society within 30 days after its requirements have been met as set out in 2. above provided the claim falls within the limitation for the financial year mentioned in A1. above.

5. This agreement can be terminated by the Government by giving one year written notice to the Society, without affecting any liability incurred by the Government up to date of termination.

In witness whereof the Government has caused this indemnity to be executed in its

name and on its behalf by the Minister of Education and Development Aid after the Minister had duly consulted with the Minister of Finance of the Republic of South Africa in accordance with section 35 of the Exchequer and Audit Act, 1975 (Act No 66 of 1975).

THUS done and EXECUTED at CAPE TOWN this _____ day of _____, 1986.

AS WITNESSES:

MINISTER OF EDUCATION
AND DEVELOPMENT AID

1. _____
2. _____
145/96 Q 202-1746
Bureau for Information
1986
1005. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information: 3044

(1) Whether the Bureau for Information was responsible for the compilation and distribution of a certain booklet, the name of which has been furnished to the said Bureau for the purpose of the Deputy Minister's reply, which contains a reprint of an excerpt from an address delivered by the State President in April 1986; if not, who is responsible for this booklet; if so, (a) what is the name of this booklet, (b) how many pages does the booklet comprise, (c) who was responsible for the compilation thereof, (d) by whom was it printed, (e) how many (i) English and (ii) Afrikaans copies of this booklet were produced, (f) to whom were copies of the booklet sent, (g) why was the booklet printed and distributed and (h) what was the total cost of producing and distributing the booklet;

(2) whether tenders were invited for the printing of this booklet; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) by what means was the call for tenders publicised, (c) how many tenders were received, (d) from whom were they received, (e) what was the amount of each tender and (f) who was the successful tenderer?

BLACKS WILL NOT SERVE

BLACKS would not serve on any Government-proposed national statutory councils to discuss the country's future unless the Tricameral Parliament was scrapped, said KwaZulu's Minister of Works, Chief Simon Gumede, this week.

Speaking during the debate on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's policy speech on Monday, Chief Gumede said blacks were not prepared to approve of any council which could not mean the perpetuation of white minority power.

The abolition of the Tricameral Parliament would be seen as a sincere negotiating gesture.

Sowetan
14/5/88

14/5/86 12:45

Govt 'puts lid on' Kwa-Natal indaba

Political Staff and will satisfy no one but Mr Heunis."

THE Government had put the lid on the Natal/Kwazulu indaba for a joint legislature, Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the New Republic Party, said today.

Mr Watterson said the new provincial system proposed by the Government would count against proposals for a single legislature for Natal and Kwazulu.

In an interview he strongly rejected claims by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, that the reason Mr Watterson was critical of the proposed new system was that it would result in the demise of the NRP.

"This is absolute nonsense. The proposed system will be highly expensive, is full of flaws

Mr Watterson conceded that the NRP would suffer as a result, because it would lose its elected representatives who controlled the Natal Provincial Administration.

But the main objection remained the proposals themselves which, among other things, removed elected representatives.

Mr Watterson said it was also stupid to remove a system, which was working perfectly well, before the new system was in place.

He was critical of Mr Heunis's failure to give full details, such as who and how many people would be appointed by the President to the new executive committees.

Mr Watterson said he did not think the intention of the scrapping of an elected second tier of government was to get rid of the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration by stealth.

"It was not the motive but it is the result.

"It is almost certain to put a lid on evolving a legislative system for Natal and Kwazulu."

SA right-wingers will stage mass get-together

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the Afrikanervolkswag (AVW) are to hold a mass meeting in Pretoria on May 31, according to informed sources.

According to the sources the leaders of all four groups — Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Mr Jaap Marais and Professor Carel Boshoff — will address the meeting.

"They will get equal time and opportunity to speak," the sources said.

Other well-placed sources, asked whether any detail had been worked out with a view to future co-operation, said: "You can draw your own conclusions."

This follows overtures of closer links between the CP and the AWB

when Dr Treurnicht and Mr Terre'Blanche held talks in March.

Dr Treurnicht said after the meeting that the CP was satisfied that the AWB's paramilitary Brandwag organisation was not militant and would operate within the law.

The HNP has so far kept a safe distance from the AWB. There has not yet been contact in public between Mr Marais and Mr Terre'Blanche.

Co-operation between the CP and the HNP has been limited to election pacts. All previous attempts to forge closer links between the two parties have met with no success.

Mr Marais criticised Dr Treurnicht last week for his meeting with the King of the Zulus, King Goodwill Zwelithini, saying that he was surprised that the CP leader was prepared to talk to the Zulus but not to the HNP.

The AVW and the CP have had close links since the Volkswag was established.

AREA D: In all other areas

AREA C: Kroonstad, and Worcester

AREA B: Bloemfontein, Camperdown, East London, Kimberley, Klerksdorp, Ondendaalsrus, Pietermaritzburg, Potchefstroom, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Strand, Virginia, Welkom and Witbank

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Inanda, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Kull's River, Nigel, Oberholzer, Paarl, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Sasolburg, Simon's Town, Springs, The Cape, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria, Wonderboom and Wynberg

Superseding w.d. no : 323

387-CHEMICAL AND ALLIED PRODUCTS INDUSTRY, RSA

CP warns of white resistance

Pretoria Bureau

The Government must not underestimate white resistance to its policies, the leader of the Conservative Party in the Transvaal Provincial Council has warned.

Dr Servaas Latsky told the council yesterday his party demanded the Government end the unrest.

It should take action against people such as the Reverend Desmond Tutu, Mrs Winnie Mandela — "with her necklace and matches speech" — and Dr Beyers Naude of the South African Council of Churches.

GAMBLE

"Don't let this hell (the unrest) continue."

The Government must remember it had stripped whites of "meaningful self-determination".

It had brought coloureds and Indians into Government and now had no right to leave blacks out.

Whites, Dr Latsky hinted, would strike back against an integrated Government. The CP, for one, was "not prepared to gamble with this country's future".

De Klerk's choice: chaos or co-operation

By Michael Tisong

The Government wanted to negotiate with parties interested in the peaceful future of the country, the Minister of National Education, Mr. F. W. de Klerk, said yesterday.

He told students at the Rand Afrikaans University that blacks and whites today faced a crucial choice between co-operation and chaos: "The National Party has already chosen. We want to negotiate. We have opened the door to the conference table. If black people take it up with faith, there will be more doors opened to them.

"The future of the black man will be measured by his reaction to this offer. Blacks must choose between revolution or evolution. Blacks and whites must choose between wanting everything or sharing everything.

I see two scenarios coming out of these choices. First, if the majority of blacks is intimidated towards revolution, then there will be growing polarisation. The other scenario is for them to accept the offer of the open door towards the conference table.

"The country belongs to all — black and white. We must tear the masks off revolutionaries who tell people to stand up and mobilise. Revolution does not bring heaven. It did not bring heaven to Soviet Russia. The revolutions in Africa have brought strife.

"The futures of black and white are inextricably linked. Nowhere in South Africa is there total independence.

"We must talk or shoot, negotiate or burn. It does not matter what their colour, those that shoot and burn are our enemies."

**EPG to
see Botha**

CAPE TOWN 15/5/86
Political Staff

THE Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) is expected to see President P W Botha today or tomorrow after meeting senior cabinet ministers and government officials yesterday.

The peace-and-dialogue group is also seeking its third meeting this year with Mr Nelson Mandela in prison.

Significantly, Mr Botha is due to make what a spokesman for his office called "an important announcement" to the President's Council this afternoon.

The group has also met Dr Allan Boesak.

It is understood that the EPG may be leaving for Lusaka earlier than originally planned, probably by the weekend, in a bid to allay the growing ANC suspicions over the latest mission. Indications from Lusaka are that the ANC leadership is "thoroughly sceptical" about the current EPG exercise.

Boesak: Govt must deal with A WB

AMG Times
15/5/88
3044

By YAZEED FAKIER

DR Allan Boesak yesterday launched a scathing attack on the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and said he wondered what the difference was between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and A WB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

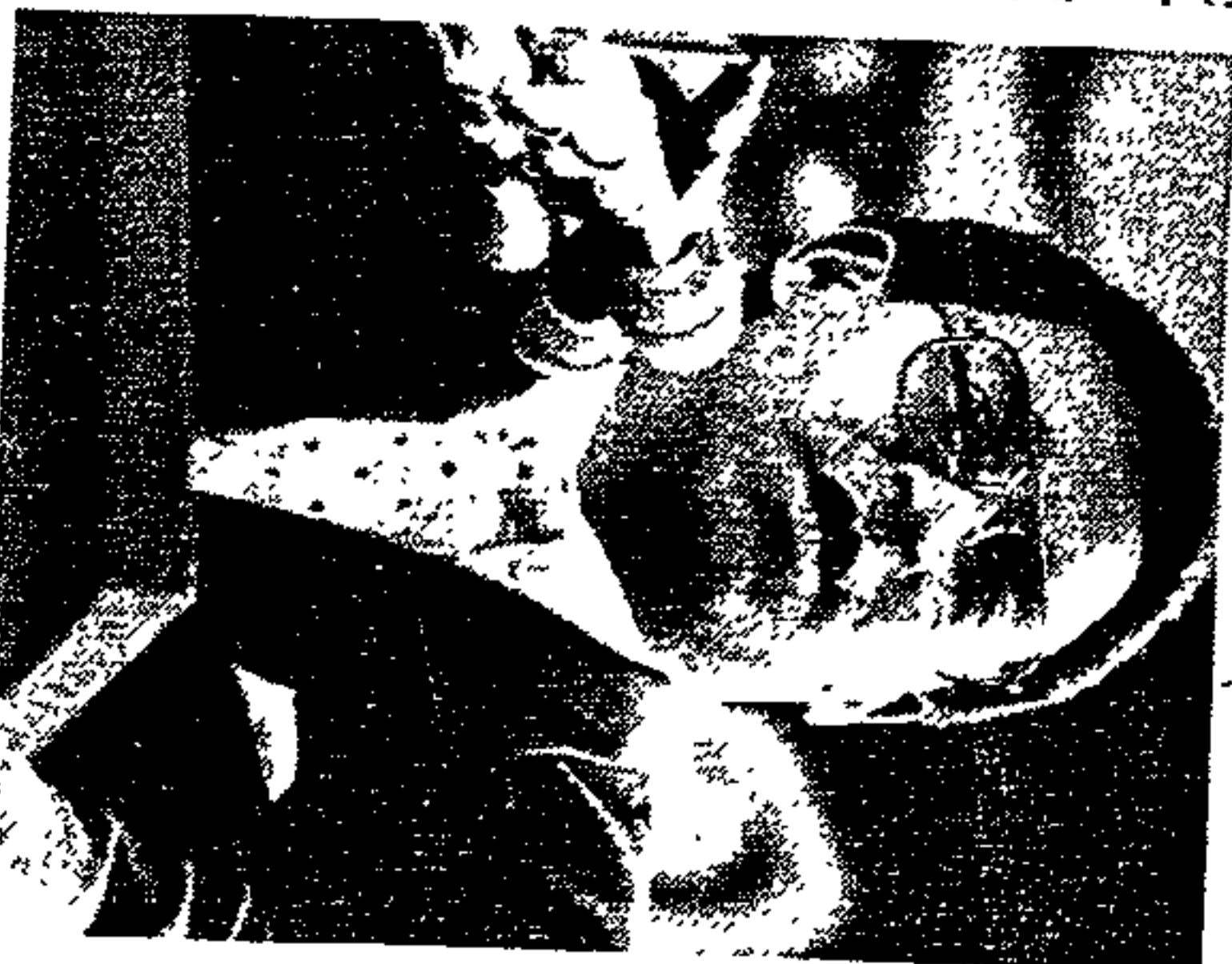
Dr Boesak and Mr Trevor Manuel, general secretary of the UDF, were speaking at a meeting at the University of Cape Town at the culmination of a Nusas campaign for the release of all political prisoners.

The meeting, attended by about 1 000 students, supported a call for UCT to confer an honorary

doctorate on jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela by December.

Dr Boesak said it made no sense for the government to talk to Mr Mandela about violence while the troops were laying siege to townships and while police "can with impunity assault our children in the barbarous manner that they did in Bonteheuwel at Arcadia High School".

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) at present in South Africa should not be confused when the government said it could not embark on meaningful change unless it had found a way of dealing "with our right-wings, like Mr Andries Treurnicht, Mr Eugene



Dr Boesak



Mr Manuel

TerreBlanche of the A WB and these people".

"I think that the A WB is a problem that the government and their people have created and they must deal with that problem," said Dr Boesak.

If the A WB was violent it was because "there is a tradition, a culture of violence in this country that has been born out of hypocrisy".

"If the A WB speaks the language of threats and intimidation and of death then it's because the South African Government knows no other language than the language of intimidation and threats and violence.

"I really wonder some-

times what the difference really is between Louis le Grange and Eugene TerreBlanche."

Dr Boesak said he hoped that in 1986 the university would "join the struggle with more meaning and more compassion and more sense of risk than in years past".

Mr Manuel said it should be understood why certain people were so threatened by Mr Mandela and why Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "is now saying he would like to see Nelson Mandela".

"We understand that Mandela can walk into Ulundi at their mass rally and dissolve Inkatha with one speech," Mr. Manuel said.

Many want Botha to stay on — poll

JOHANNESBURG. — Despite speculation that the State President, Mr P W Botha, might step down this year, a survey has shown that two out of three urban whites want him to stay on.

The Gallup poll was conducted on 1 000 white adults living in cities by the Markinor research group.

The survey found that

68 percent want Mr Botha to stay on, compared with 28 percent who favour his resignation.

His strongest backing is among English-speaking whites, among the more affluent and among older adults.

A total of 70 percent of the English-speakers surveyed want him to stay on, compared with

66 percent of Afrikaners.

Support for Mr Botha increases from 67 percent for the lowest income group to 75 percent for the those earning the most. And from 64 percent for those under 24 to 73 percent for those over 50.

Women in the home (71 percent) are more strongly in favour of Mr Botha remaining than

either men (68 percent) or working women (63 percent).

In Durban, 71 percent of those surveyed support Mr Botha. In the PWV area the percentage was 70, with 64 percent in Cape Town. In Port Elizabeth and East London 56 percent favour his staying on. — Sapa

CMB TALKS 15/5/86

306A

AWB plan to disrupt Pik Botha meeting

JOHANNESBURG. — In a heated speech the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, urged his fellow "Afrikaner volk" to gain control in South Africa.

He also made it clear that the AWB would take over the governing of South Africa with violence before surrendering to communism.

AWB members gathered last night at the Northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus.

Mr Terre'Blanche threatened a replay of the fracas created by right-wingers in Brits recently when they broke up a National Party meeting. He said a meeting scheduled for May 22 at Pietersburg where Mr Pik Botha was due to speak, was the "AWB's meeting".

"It will not be a Nat meeting but an AWB meeting paid for and organized by the government."

He described Mr Pik Botha as a "high-flying carrot-eating butler for P W Botha and communism".

Professor Admar Swart of Pretoria, a well-known AWB member, said: "The government does not meet the demands set for leading a country namely honesty."

CP plan to seize country outlined

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

Conservative Afrikaners are on the march and will claim their independence by force rather than lose their identity in the chaotic aftermath of a revolution in South Africa.

This message was spelt out by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche at an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) rally of about 800 in Potgietersrus last night.

He warned Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, due to speak in Pietersburg on May 22: "You cannot return on the path of lies, you have tramped out in the Northern Transvaal."

He added, amid applause: "Mr Botha will not speak in Pietersburg on May 22 — I will."

The AWB leader outlined a blueprint to "seize" the Transvaal and Free State to re-establish the original Boer republics.

He claimed that the combined strength of the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties could ensure victory in most Transvaal and Free State seats in a general election.

"Once we have achieved this, we will go to Cape Town and demand the territory which is rightfully ours."

DEFENCE FORCE

Resounding victories in Pretoria and Bloemfontein would mean only one thing — "that the Defence Force voted us in".

Professor Alkmaar Swart said the white backlash sweeping the country was one of the most significant events in modern South African history.

He advised Mr P W Botha not to bother looking to see if Afrikaners were following him on the reform path.

It was announced that four burgerrade (civilian councils) modelled on the old republican system, had been established.

The South African flag was notably absent from the stage, but the Vierkleur and the AWB emblem were prominent.

Two leading CP personalities, Mr Isak Butler, the party's Pietersburg chairman, and Advocate Chris de Jager were welcomed as special guests.

● The AWB will stage a street procession in Pietersburg at 5 pm on May 22, shortly before Mr Pik Botha's meeting. A separate AWB meeting is being planned in Pietersburg that evening.

Breyten can't see how SA will avoid the slide to chaos

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By James Tomlins
The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — Breyten Breytenbach has told a leading Paris newspaper he cannot see how South Africa can avoid "slipping towards a Lebanese-type chaos."

Mr Breytenbach, who is already back in Paris, gave a comprehensive interview to *Le Monde's* special correspondent in Pretoria, Michel Bole-Richard, before leaving Johannesburg.

He said he was astonished by the paralysis, impotence and listlessness of students at Stellenbosch University.

"They are waiting for somebody to come from above and hand them a solution. My message to them is act for yourselves and take your own destiny in hand. I had the impression when I was speaking to them that I was addressing about 2 000 zombies."

Mystery

Mr Breytenbach then attacked the African National Congress and what he called "its mystery".

He said that although its flags and slogans were everywhere the people did not really know what it stood for. He agreed the ANC was a genuine organisation representing the wishes of South African blacks "but I cannot go further than that".

He said the biggest problem was the

ANC opposed apartheid but nobody could really tell what it supported.

"In the 60s during meetings we used to amuse ourselves by putting a sign marked ANC on an empty chair and then ask ourselves where it was. It was just a joke but remains true."

He warned that many foreigners misunderstood South Africa's whites, especially the Afrikaners.

"The Europeans underestimate the Machiavellian side of the whites in the country because they are nice people, hospitable, often reasonable, ready to listen, tolerant and riddled with doubts."

"Europeans do not realise that behind this there is a sort of fanaticism, a wish to go to extreme limits."

He said he had often had the impression Afrikaners, of whom he was one, "are a little like historical relics."

He said: "I almost have the impression that the future is being mortgaged irremediably and we are going straight towards a sort of collapse, the kind of anarchy that one sees in the Lebanon."

"I do not see how one can draw back from this state of affairs. If one day we have a black majority government, even an ANC government, what will it do to stabilise the country?"

"I believe we will not avoid a conflict, a confrontation. The government would like this to happen at a time when it will have maximum support from abroad and perhaps a larger domestic base by bringing in the coloureds and the Indians."

(304A) STAR

Pillars of white sovereignty

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's constitutional structure is a complex network of institutions and specialised functions designed to maintain group, and therefore white, sovereignty.

From a line chart, the great number of institutions and functionaries which make up the system's two pillars can be seen.

On one side are the "own affairs" group of organisations.

These start with the ethnic primary local authorities for each of the four major population groups — blacks, whites, coloured people and Indians.

For these to exist as ethnic entities there must be segregated residential areas, or group areas, for the different races.

The residents in each area elect their own primary local authorities which, in turn, will render certain services unique to those areas (for example, cultural matters and local environment).

Schools, hospitals and certain other services and amenities are also deemed to be own affairs in terms of the Constitution.

But, as these cannot be administered by local authorities, they are handled at central level by a variety of institutions.

The own affairs of whites, coloureds and Indians are administered at central level by separate administrations.

For blacks the situation is somewhat more complex as black affairs are considered to be general affairs to be governed by the State President (who has special responsibilities for blacks in terms of the constitution) and various general affairs Ministries, especially education and development aid.

Provisions for urban blacks to assume responsibility for the administration of their own affairs at central level is still to be negotiated but the affairs of blacks living in the self-governing states are administered by the respective homeland governments.

OWN AFFAIRS LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS

White, coloured and Indian affairs are governed respectively by the three Houses of Parliament acting as own affairs legislative chambers.

The various administrations do not operate entirely separately as there are several liaison committees to co-ordinate their activities broadly (for example education Ministers meet regularly to co-ordinate standards).

Each of the administrations is run by a Ministers' Council, the members of which have the same status as Cabinet Ministers.

The second pillar of the system is the one which holds up general

affairs, or power-sharing.

Starting from the bottom, the various primary local authorities in a particular region have representation on a regional services council.

The number of seats an authority may have on an RSC is directly proportional to that authority's consumption of services in the region but in no case may it be more than half.

Each local authority in the region is represented and decisions are taken by majority vote, ensuring that all race groups resident in the region are consulted.

REGIONAL POWER-SHARING STRUCTURES

Power-sharing structures at regional level are to be the new executive provincial administrations which will be in charge of general affairs.

The Administrator and executive committee of each province will be appointed by the State President and there is no prescription that these functionaries should be white.

Provision is also made for joint executive structures to be created between provinces and self-governing States, such as the envisaged Natal/kwaZulu administration.

The provincial administrations will be accountable to Parliament by way of the Joint Standing Committee on the provinces.

At central level, whites, coloured people and Indians "share" power in that all general affairs legislation must be passed by each House.

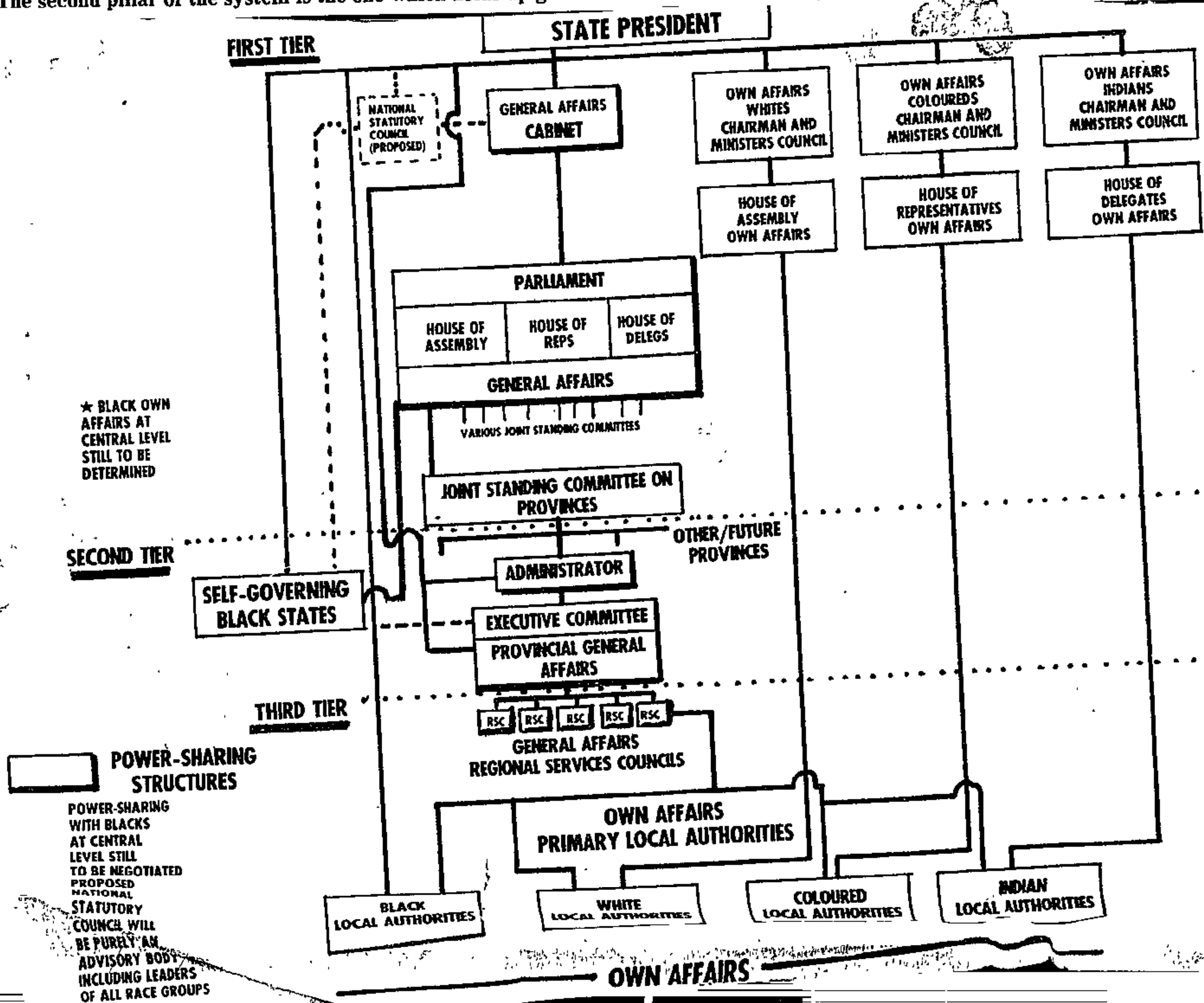
Not shown on the diagram, but playing an important role in entrenching overall white supremacy, is the white-dominated President's Council which has powers to arbitrate on deadlocked legislation.

Just how blacks are eventually to be brought into the central government is something still to be negotiated.

A National Statutory Council, with advisory functions which will bring blacks into the highest advisory level of government, is also planned.

The highest executive for general affairs is the Cabinet and, ultimately, the State President.

In theory, the President may be white, coloured or Indian. In practice, this position is filled by an electoral college which is numerically loaded in favour of the governing party in the white House of Assembly.



AWB fights for a white volk, not the white race

I started the AWB out of love, not hate, but I am not prepared to compromise on issues that are close to the hearts of my people.

I demand for myself no more than that which I am prepared to give to others. I am not a racist. If you look at the Conservative Party and at the Herstigte National Party, you will note an interesting difference between them and the AWB. And the difference is that the AWB does not fight its case on a racial basis — as far as I am concerned the issue has nothing to do with black or white. It is about a people, a *volk*.

I think Germans needs Germany to really be German. I see how jealously Britain defends what is British — to the point of sending its navy halfway around the world to take back the Falklands — and I admire them. They went and took their island back by force, because it belonged to them.

My people, the Boeremense, are entitled to their land in South Africa. They are entitled to what is theirs — the old Boer Republics, Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal. It is an historical and cultural demand. According to international law we have a claim on those areas.

They are — and always have been — ours, and ours alone. We did not take them away from the black man.

Yes, it is true that the Transvaal once belonged to the Matebele. But they are now in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and have no claim on land in the Transvaal. It is really not even the white man's land as such. It belongs to the *volk*, it belongs to the Boere.

I am a product of the English settlers and the Dutch settlers. I exist because of what the English and Dutch got up to when they arrived here. They created an entirely new nation (*volk*).

From small beginnings in 1973, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and its charismatic leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche have become major forces in white South African politics. Just 18 months ago the AWB struggled to get 100 people to its public meetings — now they draw thousands — and has emerged as a major threat not only to the National Party Government but to the dominance of Right-wing parties as well. In this in-depth interview Mr Terre-Blanche tells Political Reporter GARY VAN STADEN that his motives, his policies and his vision for South Africa are based on nationhood — and not on race.

The great masters of the arts and literature did not draw on their race for inspiration. It came from deep-rooted hopes, fears, ideals and a culture which had to do with nationhood. Shakespeare did not write as white man. His great insight into human nature was not based on race.

He could sum up the strengths and weaknesses of his people, a people he was part of and the nation which controlled his environment.

Shakespeare wrote of kings and fools, drawing on his background as a British subject. Eugene Marais wrote his *Wintertag* as a Boer. Both were white and worlds apart. Their respective works were born of nationalism.

The Government wants to erase the identity, culture and history of the Afrikaner. It can be compared to someone who suddenly loses his memory and has no past — all he has is the present with no idea how or even why he came to exist. Such a person cannot possibly be happy and fulfilled. Then imagine that person in a strange city, lost and unable to find his way home. That is the feeling the Government is creating and forcing on Afrikaners. If a nation (*volk*) loses its history and its culture then it loses its memory.

And someone who has lost his memory does not only lose yesterday — he does not know where to go tomorrow and that is the most important aspect of

just because he was white — achieved anything special but I can cite many examples of where a nation (white or not) has achieved miracles.

It was not just a white man (Lord Nelson) who put a telescope to his blind eye and said 'ships, I see no ships' as he prepared for war. It was not the action of a white man, it was the action of a British subject acting for his nation, not for his race.

It was not white people who received divine guidance and inspiration at the battle of Blood River. It was a new nation (*volk*). Those 460 people in the laager represented the beginnings of a new nation. The other white people had remained behind in the Cape.

It was a nation that stormed the slopes of Majuba — not just white people. There were other white people at the top of the mountain, but a different nation. That was the difference and still is the difference. It is a nation (*volk*) that is important — and not the fact that they are white.

IDENTITY

I am no racist — but I am an Afrikaner.

I understand black people. I understand Buthelezi, chief of a mighty and a proud nation. I understand his feelings. Have you ever asked yourself why Chief Buthelezi is regarded as a powerful leader? It is not because he is black but because

COLONISERS

And I cannot understand why some English-speakers do not have any love for a nation that was created by their forefathers. But, nonetheless, we are a nation (*volk*) and expect to be treated like a nation.

The irony of the situation is that the Government is prepared to recognise the government of Bophuthatswana and to recognise the right of that nation to exist as well as the Zulu and the Xhosa and the Venda. But now, suddenly, they are attempting to deny the existence of the Afrikaner *volk*.

They are involving themselves in a very dangerous game. They are attempting to paint us as colonisers, and the Afrikaner *volk* have never colonised anything. We did not come here to exploit the land and then to leave. This is our

home, we have nowhere else to go.

I do not care if a man is black or white or brown or green. If he denies me the right to have my own land, with its own culture and history, its own territory and its own dreams and ideals, then that man is my political opponent and my political enemy.

I am a nationalist, I grant the black man his right to exist. The black man must be very much in love with Africa, he comes out of Africa and he knows no other place to live.

HOMELAND

I am not asking for a 'homeland' for whites — that has strange connotations — I am asking for, demanding, my fatherland and my ground. And I will get my land back and I will restore the Boer Republics. I will get it because I am entitled to it, because my *volk* entered into a contract with my God that this land would be retained for His glory.

I am prepared to live in peace with my neighbours but think about it. Even at home where you live there is a fence between you and your neighbour — with whom you may be the best of friends.

You may share a common boundary, even a common bond, but you cannot share power — it is simply not possible. Even at the level of the ordinary household it is difficult to share power. Of course, there is some sort of understanding between husband and wife but in the final analysis the head of the household has the ultimate power.

This constitution of P W Botha's is not going to work — it can't work. His new statutory body for blacks is not going to work, it's only going to increase his problems.

Power cannot be shared, but land can. That is why we want our Boer Republics back.

It has nothing to do with white and black. I know of no example where a white man —

'Become Afrikaners or leave'

By Hannes de Wet

English-speaking South Africans will eventually have no choice but to become English-speaking Afrikaners — otherwise they will have to leave the country, says the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

"South Africa is on the verge of a bloody revolution and in the final analysis there will be only two choices — the African National Congress or the AWB.

"There is only one re-

cognised white nation in South Africa — the Afrikaner volk. The only way in which white English-speaking people can have any claim to land is to become part of the Afrikaner volk."

In an in-depth interview with *The Star* Mr TerreBlanche said:

- He would "push" the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party until all right-wing forces were united.

- He was prepared to talk to "reasonable" black leaders.

- He would never negoti-

ate with Nelson Mandela or the ANC. "They want what belongs to me and will never accept the idea of a 'Boerestaat'".

- He believed it was possible to defeat the black nations in battle.

"They are not — and this is not intended as racial comment — as good fighters as the Boers."

- He would seal off the borders of his 'Boerestaat' with landmines.

- The AWB was getting moral support from elements in some overseas countries.

- See Pages 3 and 17.

Nel: govt won't shy from duty

EAST LONDON — The government would not fail the law abiding and peace-loving citizens of South Africa and accepted that strong security action was necessary to normalise the situation, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said here last night.

Mr Nel, who was the guest speaker at a dinner organised by the East London Foundation, said there was no ready-made solution in the search for a constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

The government had made it clear that it was against a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state because it offered no protection for minority groups. A system should be devised in which every person could participate in the voting process but at the same time minority groups should feel protected.

South Africa should face up to the fact that its population was the most heterogeneous in the world. Apart from whites, coloureds and Indians, there were nine clearly identifiable black ethnic groups. "More than a century ago, the Xhosas themselves split into Transkei and Ciskei and today we have 10 different ethnic groups in this country," Mr Nel said.

"The history lessons of Africa are clear. Ethnicity is a reality which is of major political importance. Where ethnicity was disregarded in Africa, chaos evolved."

Only five black internationally recognised states in Africa were re-

garded as multi-party states. If it was borne in mind that one of these, Zimbabwe, was moving towards a one-party state, it was "tragically clear" that if South Africa, SWA/Namibia and the TVBC countries were excluded, only 10 million blacks out of a total of more than 400 million in Africa lived in countries where governments were elected through a multi-party system.

"It means that less than 2,5 per cent of the blacks in Africa enjoy democratic freedom as perceived by the Western world."

Africa's history provided a lesson of democratic regression "and we reject out of hand the pontification of black African leaders."

The one good lesson from Africa was that most African states were multi-ethnic "and the downfall of democracy can be clearly related to the disregard for ethnic diversity and the suppression of minority rights."

"We will have to take the realities of South Africa into account and on that basis find a lasting solution which will satisfy the aspirations of all out people," Mr Nel said.

The government was "painfully aware" that certain revolutionary elements had no interest in reform or a negotiation process which would ensure a fair accommodation for all South Africa's people.

"These are organisations like the ANC in whose executive there are also committed com-

munists. There are also organisations like the UDF in whose ranks there are elements that are manipulated by the ANC."

These people had no interest in a reasonable democratic system which would be acceptable to all reasonable people but were committed to putting power in the hands of a radical minority through violence. "They know that the majority of the black population consists of reasonable and moderate people who do not support their violent actions," Mr Nel said.

"The government accepts that strong security action is necessary to normalise the situation. No matter how unpopular this could be in certain quarters, the government will not shy away from its responsibility."

Mr Nel said the time had arrived for the greatest possible consensus to be achieved in solving the country's problems. He said the East London area provided a microcosm of the problems facing the country.

"The government knows that you have been tormented and challenged by lawless and uncontrolled elements and the strength that you have displayed is greatly appreciated," he told the meeting.

"I believe that the people of South Africa will survive this onslaught. I believe we have the inner strength, perseverance and faith to stand together and make sacrifices for a better and stronger South Africa."

Used-car millionaire Esser arrested

JOHANNESBURG. — Millionaire used-car dealer Mr Franz Esser was arrested at his home in Hyde Park yesterday. It is understood he will appear in court on Monday on charges of fraud and theft.

Police and Trade and Industry inspectors — armed with a warrant of arrest and a search warrant — got him out of bed at 9am.

The police and inspectors spent 2½ hours searching the premises in Morsim Road and took away documents.

Just before noon, four detectives marched an immaculately-groomed Mr Esser to a waiting car and took him to John Vorster Square.

His wife Emily followed in a chauffeur-driven car.

Mr Esser's arrest fol-

lows months-long investigation by reporters into his business empire, and the highlighting of his criminal activities in West Germany in the 1970s.

Mr Esser arrived in South Africa in 1977 — a step ahead of the police to avoid serving a three-year and 10-month sentence for fraud in Munich.

The Esser affair

caused a parliamentary row when the Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, was asked why his department granted entry to a criminal on the run who had been convicted of rape, fraudulent tax evasion, assault and fraud.

Two weeks ago Mr Botha said although he was unable to deport Mr Esser, he would keep a close watch on police in-

vestigations into his dealings.

Mr Esser was National Party chairman for Johannesburg North until last year and served as a police reservist.

Over the past two weeks, Mr Esser has put most of his 12 properties up for sale. He has also been selling his stock of used cars at rock-bottom prices. — Sapa

SA needs action not words — Eglin

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha lost the opportunity to move to real negotiations by failing to announce the release of Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday, Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

The PFP leader was reacting to the appeal by Mr Botha for an end to violence and the president's call for "a balanced and responsible" South Africans to use negotiation and constitutional methods to build a new South Africa.

Mr Eglin's remarks come amid signs that the government is having second thoughts about the release of the ANC leader — a key element of the visiting Eminent Persons Group's proposals for a truce between the government and the ANC.

A government back-track on earlier indications of a willingness to

release Mr Mandela would severely jeopardize the Commonwealth peace-and-dialogue mission, widely seen as a last-ditch attempt to halt the civil war in South Africa and stave off Commonwealth sanctions.

Reference

At a special sitting of the President's Council yesterday, Mr Botha criticized the "unsolicited interference" by "meddling" groups visiting the country as the activities of such groups created "confusion and misconceptions" about the government's constitutional intentions.

However, in an appar-

ent reference to the EPG mission, Mr Botha allowed that some of these groups were "well-intentioned". The EPG has not yet met Mr Botha since its arrival in Cape Town at the weekend.

Mr Botha yesterday also issued a stern warning to opponents of the government not committed to constitutional change that they would be confronted by the full might of the state.

However, it is reliably understood that the major purpose of the President's nationally televised address was to try to allay the fears of white voters concerned about the pace of reform and the spiralling country-wide unrest.

The address was being seen in political circles last night as an attempt to halt the slide of white electoral support to the right by reassuring voters that the government is firmly in control of the security situation and nature of "reform".

Mr Eglin said that given the urgent need to get negotiations going on a new constitution, the President's statement yesterday was "disappointing to say the least".

"What South Africa needs is not words restating existing positions but bold imaginative action to get the country out of the impasse it finds itself in today," Mr Eglin said.

Reacting to Mr Botha's speech, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night that Mr Botha had cultivated a "dangerous spirit of expectations" amongst blacks which, if they remained unfulfilled, would precipitate even greater dissatisfaction and unrest.

In other reaction last night the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told our Ulundi correspondent that he did not believe South Africa had the time to experiment

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A From page 1

with negotiations, which once begun, had to be carried through to some kind of finality.

The Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) said that they "regrettably noted with deep concern that the State President had preferred to accommodate the fears of the rightwing minority of his government's voters by his hesitantly making piecemeal reform pronouncements".

Meanwhile John Battersby reports that the British Government was last night studying remarks by President Botha.

While there was no official comment from the Foreign Office, White-

hall sources were focusing on President Botha's reference to "meddling groups visiting from abroad" and "uncalled-for intervention".

"We hope President Botha was not referring to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and — if he was — we hope he didn't mean what he said," A British Government source said.

There were similar concerns in the Commonwealth Secretariat's headquarters at Marlborough House.

"We hope that his remarks were intended for domestic consumption only," the source said.

● Botha threatens 'full force', page 4

● Mixed reaction to Botha's speech, page 8

To page 2

A

grabbed her around the waist
cont. *former representative*

Oct 10/5/86
Slabbert's house 'bugged' *306A*

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK — In a published interview here yesterday, the former leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said he was under government surveillance and believed he was followed at times. "I'm sure my house is bugged," he said.

Discussing South Africa he said: "By the year 2000, if we're lucky, we'll have a fairly stable black government, with a reasonable degree of free enterprise, but a heavy emphasis on social welfare, whites playing a key role in the economy, and a better relationship with neighbouring countries.

"If we're not lucky, by the year 2000 we will be Lebanon-ized, trapped in a situation of violence."

Pick 'n



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FIN MAIL 14/5/86

PRETORIA AND THE ANC

EPG egg-dance

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) returned to Cape Town this week amid signs of disagreement in the Cabinet over the EPG's role in solving the country's crises.

Judging by speeches in parliament last week, there appear to be differences of opinion between Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Pik Botha, apparently, cautiously backs the EPG initiative; he sees it as a chance for

stopping the conflict. "We have reached a very delicate phase," he told coloured MPs. "It is true that there is the potential chance — I do not want to put it any higher — that we can progress to such an extent that we can end violence in South Africa. I do not know if it will work, but because it is such an important matter, we want to try hard and I want to assure (you) that the State President personally supports some of the ideas that have been exchanged between us and the group, but naturally there are some aspects about which we must negotiate further."

Heunis, however, appeared to adopt a far harder line when addressing white MPs two days later. He effectively warned the EPG not to interfere in the process of seeking internal solutions to SA's problems. "What we do, we do out of our own conviction and, if it results in a positive foreign reaction, it is a bonus. (Foreign pressure) is not the motivation for the actions of the South African government. I want to state quite clearly that the opposite is true, because I do not believe foreign pressure will help reform... SA is not a candidate for a Lancaster-solution."

This week in the (Indian) House of Delegates, Pik Botha, too, rejected "foreign interference" in SA's affairs, but in a softer style than Heunis. Anti "foreign interference" stands are traditionally popular with Nationalist governments. President P W Botha's leadership, however, is considered strong enough to take the Cabinet with him whichever way he decides on the EPG proposals.

Until now, the government has co-operated fully with the EPG. Both sides have adopted an extremely low profile. No public statements have been issued other than a comment by P W Botha that the initiative is "delicate." Some observers believe Heunis is concerned the EPG initiative may outflank his own reform plans.



The EPG with Commonwealth Secretary General Sonny Ramphal (left) ... Archbishop Edward Scott, Dame Nita Barrow, Malcolm Fraser, Olusegun Obasango, Anthony Barber, Swaran Singh, John Malecela

... Cape Wine Farms:

The initiative so far appears to have produced positive results. It has proposed that a basis for talks between government and the African National Congress (ANC) be created by releasing jailed ANC leaders and unbanning the organisation.

Earlier this month, President Botha sent letters to the heads of state at the industrial nations' summit in Tokyo, asking for certain assurances and acknowledgement of internally generated political reforms in return for possible compliance with EPG proposals.

This week's EPG visit is expected to centre on discussing details of the proposals. Members are also likely to again have talks with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The EPG has clearly also been pressuring ANC leaders in Lusaka to accept some form of compromise. Sources close to the ANC have indicated some of the organisation's leaders are seriously considering the EPG plan. The same leaders are believed to be concerned that escalating township violence could result in ultra-radical groups gaining control.

This week's visit to Cape Town could be crucial to the group's future and to the report it must present in June.

Ad Hoc Video

Don Pinnock.

turing the work
Berman, Paddy
Lawson, Chris
McLennan, Gideon
einberg.

Parliament and Politics

P W Botha's address to President's Council

Parliament and Politics

Govt to be guided by 'fundamental norms and values'



Mr P W Botha arrives at the President's Council yesterday.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday spelled out certain important principles which were not negotiable in the new constitutional set-up.

Addressing the President's Council, Mr Botha said whatever negotiated solutions one could produce would have to be implemented by Parliament since negotiated reform had to be implemented constitutionally.

"This includes the possibility of general elections or a referendum, in the case of drastic deviation from already-accepted policies."

The government, he said, subscribed to certain fundamental norms

and values by which it would be guided throughout the process of negotiation in the belief that a negotiated settlement was only possible within the parameters of these norms and values.

"It will also be guided by these norms and values while it continues to govern the country as a civilised state."

These norms and values, Mr Botha said, included the following, which would have to be entrenched in any new dispensation:

● The realisation of the democratic ideal, since it was the government's accepted principle that only democratic institutions could meet

the demands of justice and fairness.

"This means that a democratic dispensation of government which must accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africa's communities must be designed and implemented."

● "Such a dispensation must take cognisance of and reflect the multi-cultural nature of the South African society and must provide for visible and effective protection of minority groups and the rights against domination and for self-determination for such groups and communities."

"South Africa is a

country of minorities and a multi-cultural society. Its diversity is a fact that must be accepted," Mr Botha said.

● The government, he said, was committed to devise such democratic solutions in co-operation with South Africans who were also committed to peaceful and democratic solutions and who rejected violence as a means of achieving political goals.

● "In this respect it is the government's conviction that only purposeful broadening of democracy of the South African society at large and accompanying socio-economic reform can en-

sure lasting peace and stability."

● Adherence to Christian values and civilised norms with recognition and protection of freedom of faith and worship was important. "This principle is a cornerstone of our existence as a civilised state."

● Maintenance of the sovereignty and the integrity of the Republic was also of the utmost importance.

"This requires well-disciplined and suitably-equipped security forces. It means that South Africa must be able to protect the integrity of its borders, as well as to defend its people against international-ally-organized terrorism

and to maintain law and order.

"Nobody must underestimate our determination in this regard. As a regional power in Southern Africa, this is our indisputable duty," Mr Botha said.

● Mr Botha said the government was committed to the sanctity and indivisibility of law and its just application as well as the independence of the judiciary and the equality of all under the law.

● Liberty as a cornerstone of true democracy must manifest itself on different levels, Mr Botha said.

"Firstly, on the personal and individual

level which as respects for all, protection of the family, life and all."

"Secondly, the group and individual level, which respect for and the country's peoples, the right to self-determination of peoples."

● There should be a perpetuation of private "Thirdly, in the State and as well as the level to safeguard the country to so."

There should also protection of an elimination of discrimination through the promotion of civilisation for unfavourable standards of justice or prejudicial and security."

True democracy cultural affiliation and religious conviction, — Sapa

Botha threatens 'full might'

PRESIDENTS COUNCIL. — The government had no intention of abdicating and would use all its might, which had not even remotely been fully exerted so far, against those bent on violence, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday. Addressing the President's Council, he said uncertainties and confusion had grown out of disinformation disseminated by the country's enemies and was aggravated by "meddling" groups visiting from abroad.

"The more uncalled-for intervention takes place, the more confusion and misconceptions will be resisted by South Africans," Mr Botha said.

South Africa did not want to disengage its foreign relations, "but the uncalled-for interference at times assumes proportions which prove conclusively that some countries wish to obscure their problems by interfering with ours".

"Some of these groups were well-intentioned but the activities of others had only added to the confusion.

'Balanced'

Mr Botha also appealed for an end to violence and called on all "balanced and responsible South Africans" to help the government to get the country on the road to prosperity, stability and security.

This could only be done along constitutional lines, he said.

A false impression was often created that the government was remiss in maintaining what had been built up over many generations — "and that we are on the road to abdication".

"I reject this false impression," President Botha said.

"We will not allow our spiritual and material heritage, built up over 300 years, to fall willy nilly into the hands of a revolutionary power clique. The powers of stability and responsibility outstrip the forces of chaos."

He felt it necessary to repeat clearly the government's view on reform and negotiation.

The near cliché that reform was bound to bring uncertainty was often accompanied by doubt concerning the government's ability to effectively administer the process of reform and to guarantee an acceptable solution.

"This uncertainty and doubt have, understandably so, induced many people to insist that the government should be specific, not only as regards the direction of the process of reform, but also as regards the contents of the end result," Mr Botha said.

Many demanded from the government a declaration of intent to provide impetus to the negotiating process.

Many people in this category, and others,

**Mr P W Botha ...
"We will not allow our spiritual and material heritage, built up over 300 years, to fall willy nilly into the hands of a revolutionary power clique."**

had stated the government should not be prescriptive and should have an open-ended agenda.

"Clearly there is a real risk that if the government should comply with the request for a declaration of intent, it would stand accused of being prescriptive.

"To complicate matters even further, some people and institutions have laid down certain preconditions which they require to be met even before they enter into a process of negotiation."

'Disloyalty'

Others subscribed to political models and concepts which could not be applied to the RSA while others attempted to gain support for "contemptuous disloyalty to the country abroad".

"As far as the South African Government is concerned it remains adamant that it is prepared to negotiate with citizens of South Africa, provided that they do not resort to violence as a means of attaining their political and other goals, or call on foreign agencies to support them," Mr Botha said.

The government was not a minor party in a so-called faction fight.

Legally the government represented the State and any reform proposals would have to recognise this.

"Negotiation, of necessity, implies that participants should accept that not all their requirements are likely to be met and it implies a willingness to listen, to discuss and seek solutions."

Solutions would result from deliberations by South Africans in South Africa's interests.

"Essentially it is a process of give-and-take during which people are required, on the one hand, to scale down their demands and, on the other, to be lenient when required to make concessions to satisfy reasonable demands.

"It is in this spirit that the government approaches the process of negotiation," he said.

He appealed to all who chose peaceful constitutional change, to display the same disposition.

"Having said this I am constrained to decline requests to be specific about the end product precisely because it must be a product of negotiation."

Parliament was dealing with a number of measures which were the result of such negotiation and his government had gone far to meet legitimate demands.

"I am not at the disposal of people who make excessive demands," President Botha said, and listed his government's set of democratic, Christian norms required for negotiation.

New deal

He had suggested creating a national council which could:

- Create opportunities for joint planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation.

- Give black communities an interim say in government.

- Promote healthy relations and human dignity, rights and freedoms.

"Radicalism from neither side can make any contribution," he said.

"I would however be neglecting my duty if I did not put it clearly that the government is determined to maintain order.

"Those who perpetrate violence are served notice that unless they forsake violence, they will unavoidably face the full might at the State's disposal and which has not even remotely been fully employed.

"It is my deepest wish that senseless violence will now come to an end," he said.

There was no cause for panic but good cause for responsible action.

"South Africa is worth much more than those who play recklessly with its greatest interests," Mr Botha said. — Sapa

New leader in Delegates

Political Reporter

THE ruling National People's Party (NPP) caucus yesterday elected Mr Manilall Naranjee, MP for Marianhill, as the new Leader of the House of Delegates, party sources disclosed.

The present Leader of the House, Mr S V Naicker, who holds two deputy minister portfolios, has indicated he will leave the post.

● NPP sources also disclosed a caucus decision to approach Mr Aboobaker Ismail (NPP Durban Bay) — who has been named as involved in the controversial Lenasia land sale — in a bid to persuade him to resign his seat.

It was decided Mr Ismail's long spells of absence from Parliament were a source of embarrassment to the party.

Draft bill ready on National Council

Political Staff

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL. — Draft legislation on President P W Botha's proposed National Council is ready and will be published for comment soon.

This was announced yesterday by Mr Botha in his special address to the President's Council during which he said the bill would be published for comment before being introduced to Parliament.

It is known that the government sees the council, which will be a statutory body, as a vital step towards a new constitution involving blacks.

In Mr Botha's own words yesterday he said: "I envisage that the purpose of the council could be to:

- "Provide an opportunity for participation in the planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation.

- "Provide a say for black South Africans in governmental processes on an interim basis.

- "Further sound relations among all and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all."

It would appear Mr Botha is seeking the widest possible reaction to the draft bill before taking it to Parliament.

By publishing it for comment it will be possible for him to change the draft according to the reaction he receives, in order to make it as acceptable and attractive as possible to black leaders so as to get them to participate on it.

Slabbert's house 'bugged' 306A

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — In a published interview here yesterday, the former leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said he was under government surveillance and believed he was followed at times. "I'm sure my house is bugged," he said.

Discussing South Africa he said: "By the year 2000, if we're lucky, we'll have a fairly stable black government, with a reasonable degree of free enterprise, but a heavy emphasis on social welfare; whites playing a key role in the economy, and a better relationship with neighbouring countries."

"If we're not lucky, by the year 2000 we will be Lebanon-ized, trapped in a situation of violence."

★

CAT 7/10/86
16/5/86 (304A)

Big change in tricameral system likely

By **ORMANDE POLLOK**
Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has given the clearest hint yet that the government may be prepared to support a major change in the parliamentary system — joint debates.

In the present tricameral system, the white, coloured and Indian chambers debate legislation and budget-

ary measures separately after joint-committee meetings.

In the past ministers have complained of having to attend the same debate three times and this week the system was criticized by Mr Desmond Lockey, Nominated Labour Party MP, as "reminiscent of crude, old-style apartheid which caused so much hurt in the past".

Speaking in the House of Representatives, he said it was worrying that

even the ceremonial joint sittings at second reading stage had been dropped.

This was not reform but a retrograde step and the current system was "an apartheid Parliament".

Mr Heunis, who is regarded as the "father" of the tricameral system, said that by coincidence, the matter had been discussed at the joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee on Standing

Rules and Orders on Tuesday.

"It was decided to refer the matter to a sub-committee with a view to debates in joint sittings," said Mr Heunis.

"As far as I am personally concerned there is no reason why important debates or important announcements cannot take place at joint sittings," he said.

"There is no difference in principle between a sitting of a joint

committee, which is an extension of Parliament, and a joint sitting of Parliament itself.

"I trust therefore we will find a suitable solution to the matter raised by Mr Lockey and which I agree is causing a problem at the moment."

It would appear that with a government majority on the parliamentary committee and support from Mr Heunis for the move it is almost sure to be passed.

Tuks SRC rejects ban on far right

16/5/86

Pretoria Bureau

BOOTH STAK

Students on the Pretoria University campus suffered a blow yesterday when two-thirds of the Student Representative Council voted against a motion calling for the far-right Afrikaner Studentefront (ASF) to be banned.

According to the SRC constitution, the motion — overwhelmingly accepted by students at an emotional mass meeting two weeks ago — had to be put to a vote by the council.

During yesterday's SRC meeting, 12 members voted against the motion, six in favour and one abstained. One member was absent.

Now another mass meeting has to be held on campus within 31 academic days, though it may be postponed because of exams.

SRC vice-chairman Mr Buurman Botha explained today that if the Tukkies mass meeting stuck to its decision to ban the ASF, and the SRC still said "no", then the council would have to resign.

Mr Botha said another motion — which called for Tuks to remain a white campus — was confirmed by the SRC.

"VITAL VIEWPOINT"
As a result of which the public will be able to see the truth

Wingers

304A Bus Day 16/5/86

Botha affirms commitment to change and appeals to



PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday reaffirmed his commitment to change, but at the same time attempted to allay the fears of waivering white voters that he was about to abdicate to revolutionaries.

There was "no need to panic", Botha said in a special address to the President's Council, which came against the background of increasing government concern about

growing right-wing backlash to reform. Botha made it clear minority rights would have to be protected in any negotiated new constitution, which would have to be free of discrimination.

But he said he would not allow the "spiritual and material heritage built up over 300 years simply to fall into the hands of a revolutionary power clique".

Observers agreed afterwards that, while Botha might have been reaffirming his policy of change publicly for the benefit of the visiting Commonwealth

ORMANDE POLLOK

Emminent Persons Group (EPG) he was talking as much to his own supporters who might be considering defection to the right wing.

And the British government was last night studying Botha's address, which it feared might be an attack on the Commonwealth's peace-and-dialogue mission, reports JOHN BATTERSBY from London.

While there was no official comment

from the Foreign Office, Whitehall sources were focusing on Botha's reference to "meddling groups visiting from abroad" and "uncalled-for intervention". "We hope Botha was not referring to the EPG and — if he was — we hope he didn't mean what he said," a government source said.

There were similar concerns in the Commonwealth Secretariat's headquarters at Marlborough House.

The Foreign Office source noted that Botha had not mentioned the EPG by

name and had conceded that "some of these groups are well-intentioned".

Britain regards the Commonwealth initiative as the best chance for a negotiated settlement in SA and for resisting mounting international pressure for economic sanctions.

Opposition leader Colin Eglin last night described Botha's address as "disappointing to say the least". It was simply a restatement of exist-

Botha on change and order

ing positions, when SA really needed bold action, such as the release of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, to get negotiations moving towards a new constitution, Eglin said.

The Federated Chambers of Industries (FCI) and Associated Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) yesterday welcomed the "many encouraging aspects" contained in Botha's speech and said in a statement they looked forward to details of the proposed draft Bill on the imminent introduction of a national statutory council, reports BEULAH BROWN.

Assocom's statement was a positive reaction to Botha's imminent introduction of the draft legislation soon to be tabled in Parliament.

It welcomed the reaffirmation to political, social and economic reform and removal of racial discrimination.

FCI president John Wilson welcomed the renewed commitment to the basic

tenets of democracy and human rights, as the touchstone of a new constitutional dispensation for SA.

While recommending himself to negotiating with anyone who rejected violence, Botha significantly spelled out a series of non-negotiables and repeated that "drastic deviations" from policy would have to be approved by Parliament, which included the possibility of general elections or referendums.

At one stage Botha also referred to negotiating with people who did not "resort" to violence as a means of political change, which was interpreted as a shift from previously-used terminology that people should "renounce" it before participating in negotiations.

● See Page 2



Soal raps Nats over propaganda

CAPE TOWN — The PFP accused the Government of abusing State services to put out National Party propaganda.

Mr Peter Soal, PFP information spokesman, said a Post Office pamphlet on stamps to mark the Republic's 25th anniversary was used to propagate Government policy on constitutional change and negotiation.

Communications Minister Dr Lapa Munnik said earlier that PO officials had written the pamphlet in consultation with the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

— Political Correspondent.

HE was 'astonished' by the paralysis, impotence and listlessness of students at Stellenbosch University. 'They are waiting for somebody to come from above and hand them a solution. My message to them is act for yourselves and take your own destiny in hand.'

ARGUS 16/5/86

Breyten Breytenbach — and the 2 000 zombies

By JAMES TOMLINS,
The Argus Foreign
Service, in PARIS

BREYTEN Breytenbach has told a leading Paris newspaper that he fears his country is "slipping towards a Lebanese-type chaos".

Breytenbach, who is already back in Paris, gave a comprehensive interview to Le Monde's special correspondent in Pretoria, Michel Bole-Richard, just before leaving Johannesburg.

He said he was "astonished" by the paralysis, impotence and listlessness of students at Stellenbosch University.

"They are waiting for somebody to come from above and hand them a solution. My message to them is act for yourselves and take your own destiny in hand. I had the impression when I was speaking to them that I was addressing about 2 000 zombies."

Breytenbach then made a violent attack on the ANC and what he called "its mystery".

He said that although its flags and slogans were every-



Breyten Breytenbach — attack on the 'mystery' of the ANC.

where, the people did not really know what it stood for. He agreed that the ANC was a genuine organisation representing the wishes of South African blacks "but I can not go further than that".

He said the biggest problem was that everybody knew the ANC opposed apartheid, but nobody could really tell what it supported.

"In the 60s during meetings

of the ANC, we used to amuse ourselves by putting a sign marked ANC on an empty chair and then ask ourselves where it was. It was just a joke but remains true."

HE warned that many foreigners misunderstood the whites, especially the Afrikaners.

"The Europeans underestimate the Machiavellian side of the whites in the country

because they are nice people, hospitable, often reasonable, ready to listen, tolerant and riddled with doubts.

"Europeans do not realise that behind this there is a sort of fanaticism, a wish to go to extreme limits."

He said he had often had the impression that Afrikaners, of whom he was one, "are a little like historical relics".

He said: "I almost have the impression that the future is being mortgaged irremediably, and we are going straight towards a sort of collapse. The kind of anarchy that one sees in the Lebanon. I do not see how one can draw back from this state of affairs. If one day we have a black majority government, even an ANC government, what will it do to stabilise the country?"

"I believe we will not avoid a conflict, a confrontation. The Government would like this to happen at a time when it will have maximum support from abroad and perhaps a larger domestic base by bringing in the coloured people and the Indians."

He added: "I was struck by the anxiety and fatalism of the whites."

Urban whites favour Botha

DESPITE speculation that President P W Botha might step down some time this year, a survey shows two out of three urban whites believe he should stay on.

The Gallup Poll by the Markinor research group surveyed 1 000 adults in metropolitan areas.

It found that 68% of those polled believed Botha should stay on, compared with 28% who favoured his resignation.

His strongest backing was among

English speakers, especially the more affluent.

A total of 70% of English speakers believed he should stay on, compared with 66% of Afrikaners.

Support increased from 67% in the lower-income groups to 75% in the higher-income groups and from 64% among those under 24 to 73% among those over 50.

In Durban, 71% of the respondents supported Botha. — Sapa.

PFP will study proposed council

Political Correspondent

MR Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, today committed his party to giving consideration to Mr P W Botha's National Council idea but expressed disappointment that he had not announced the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Reacting to Mr Botha's speech to the President's Council Mr Eglin said the PFP would look at the composition, powers and functions of the proposed council.

What Mr Botha had said about this yesterday was largely a repetition of what he had first stated at the opening of Parliament. The PFP believed such a council should have the broadest possible representation.

The party was keen for any negotiation attempts to succeed but it believed that the release of Mr Mandela was the key to negotiations.

This was why, given the urgent need to get negotiations on a new constitution going, the President's speech had been disappointing.

What South Africa needed was not a restatement of existing positions but bold, imaginative action to get the country out of the impasse it found itself in.

● The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports from Ulundi that Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

lezi said the non-negotiable principles set out by Mr Botha held ominous implications for blacks.

The KwaZulu chief minister said any declaration of white self-determination was seen by blacks as a threat if that meant continued white dominance.

Mr Botha emphasised in his statement that minority self-determination was non-negotiable and had to be visible and effective.

● From London, the Argus Foreign Service reports that Britain is studying with care and concern Mr Botha's speech.

His accusation that continued interference by foreign groups worsened confusion over his Government's intentions has puzzled observers.

Though Mr Botha did not name the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group — and may, instead, have been referring to Socialist International President Willy Brandt and former French Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, observers are concerned over whether the icy comment marks a shift in South Africa's attitude to the Commonwealth mission.

Alternatively, it is thought Mr Botha may have felt it necessary to publicly scorn the notion of foreign interference — without naming names — to assert his authority and placate right-wing critics.

EPG stays on course as both sides get tough

30414
17/5/86
15

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group initiative is still on track, although both negotiators appear to have raised the ante. In fact, the price of the poker game, in which the stakes are possible peace for South Africa, has risen.

The EPG was still in Cape Town late yesterday on its third visit to South Africa but its movements were shrouded in secrecy.

There were no indications to back rumours that the group had been brushed off by the South African Government or that it was about to dissolve in despair.

What is clear is that both sides it is negotiating with have taken tougher postures, mainly because of optimistic publicity around the EPG's activities.

Diplomats not involved with the EPG say the fact that the group is still in South Africa is encouraging.

This is in spite of the fact that State President P W Botha's speech in the President's Council on Thursday has been widely interpreted as a hardening of the Government's position with regard to negotiations.

Although Mr Botha did not mention the EPG by name, he slapped down "official and unofficial groups who meddled in South Africa's internal affairs".

One interpretation of the timing and content of President Botha's speech is that he was shoring up the nervous right wing of the National Party in order to give Government negotiators more room to move.

According to this scenario the NP conservatives are much more likely to buy a deal involving the release of Nelson Mandela and the banning of the ANC if the President remains firmly committed to certain "non-negotiables".

According to diplomatic sources claiming to be in close contact with Lusaka, the ANC has not rejected the EPG nor the promise it offers for negotiations.

without meeting P W Botha

car trip 17/5/86

304A

THE Commonwealth Conference's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) left Cape Town last night without having met the State President, Mr P W Botha.

It was not clear last night whether the peace-seeking mission met the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, in Pollsmoor Prison before leaving the City for Lusaka and talks with the ANC's external mission.

Their departure from South Africa came amidst reports that the group's mission was in danger of collapsing.

The seven-member delegation, appointed by heads of Commonwealth countries to find ways to end apartheid, had arrived in Cape Town on Monday, its second visit to South Africa to push for negotiations.

Anthony Johnson re-

ports that the failure of the EPG to meet Mr Botha is not considered a good sign and there are indications of divisions emerging within the cabinet over the EPG's proposals on a means of ending the deadlock between the government and the ANC.

Its major sticking point appears to be the unwillingness of a number of ministers to release Mr Mandela without his first renouncing violence. Mr Mandela has indicated that he is prepared to accept only unconditional release.

The government appears to be more flexible on other proposals

put forward by the EPG, including the unbanning of organizations like the ANC and the PAC.

Although the group and the government have maintained the strictest embargo on information, it was confirmed that talks in Cape Town involved the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and that senior members of the cabinet joined the group for a working lunch.

Sapa-AP reports that the EPG delegation, when they arrived in Lusaka last night, were taken immediately to the State House and met Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said the EPG had not been in touch with the ANC and that they had not seen any proposals, but they expected to meet over the weekend.

He denied a report in yesterday's London Financial Times which claimed that the ANC executive had been discussing the EPG initiative for the past two days.

'Private'

"The executive will discuss the proposals after its meetings with the EPG," he said.

A Prisons Department spokesman said would not confirm or deny a visit by the EPG to Mr Mandela. "Visits to prisoners are a private matter and it is departmental policy not to comment," he said.

Mr Mandela's lawyer in Cape Town, Mr Essa Moosa, confirmed that the meeting had been set for yesterday morning.

● EPG failing in task in SA, says Gandhi, page 4

Details of all-race council leak out

STP
3044
17/5/86

The soccer sanction-busters!

By Tos Wentzel,
Political Staff



Details of President Botha's new National Statutory Council — aimed at bringing black participation to the tricameral Parliament — have started to leak out ahead of the draft Bill expected to be placed formally before Parliament on Thursday.

The council considered unacceptable by most black leaders with township credibility, is likely to be a 20-member body composed of 10 blacks and the parliamentary leaders of the three Houses.

President Botha will be chairman himself, thereby lending greater stature to a body which appears to carry his hopes of peaceful negotiation.

While the final touches are still being worked out the concept at the moment is for a fairly small body consisting of black leaders including the leaders of the black non-independent but self-governing homelands, as well as leaders of urban communities.

The emphasis will be geographical — more on leaders of regions than of organisations.

The task will be twofold to review legislation affecting blacks and remove "discriminatory measures which cause friction" and to work on a new constitutional structure to accommodate blacks at the highest level in central government.

The council will be appointed by Mr Botha, who will have the power to dissolve it.

The council will be able to invite people and organisations to make suggestions to it, or consider plans submitted to it.

In his speech to the President's Council this week, Mr Botha made a passionate plea to all "responsible South Africans" to help the Government place and hold South Africa on the road to progress, stability and safety.

Checkers probe strike cause

About 100 workers went on strike at Checkers in Sandton yesterday.

Mr Andy MacLaurin, director of personnel of Checkers said "It was alleged the manager swore at a worker. It is a serious matter and we are trying to get to the bottom of it."

The strike started at 3 pm. As it was Friday there were a number of casual workers on duty who, together with management staff, manned the tills.

Representatives of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (Ceawusa) were called in last night in an attempt to resolve the situation.

Pietersburg tense for Pik meeting

By Dirk Nel

With threats flying back and forth, Thursday promises to be an eventful day in Pietersburg.

The fuss revolves around a National Party meeting to be addressed by Mr Pik Botha.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has vowed to disrupt all Transvaal NP meetings, and leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told supporters this week that "Mr Botha will not be speaking in Pietersburg on the 22nd — I will".

The Pietersburg Nats want to prevent a repetition of the Brits' 1978 supporters' attack.

Scrap Group Areas Act — estate agents

By Winnie Graham

Johannesburg's top estate agents favour the scrapping of Group Areas and believe property prices will rise in the long term — if the Government repeals the Act.

The fate of the Act will probably be decided in August this year.

Mr Bertie Nel, Director of Physical Planning in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, told a seminar on future residential group areas in Johannesburg this week the President's Council was now looking at recom-

mainly through companies but several Indian families have bought in their own name. A number of blacks already live in northern Johannesburg homes.

Speaking on property values at the seminar on Thursday, the Pretoria-based president of the Institute of Estate Agents, Mr Norman Nel, predicted house prices would rise in an integrated society. Johannesburg estate agents support his view.

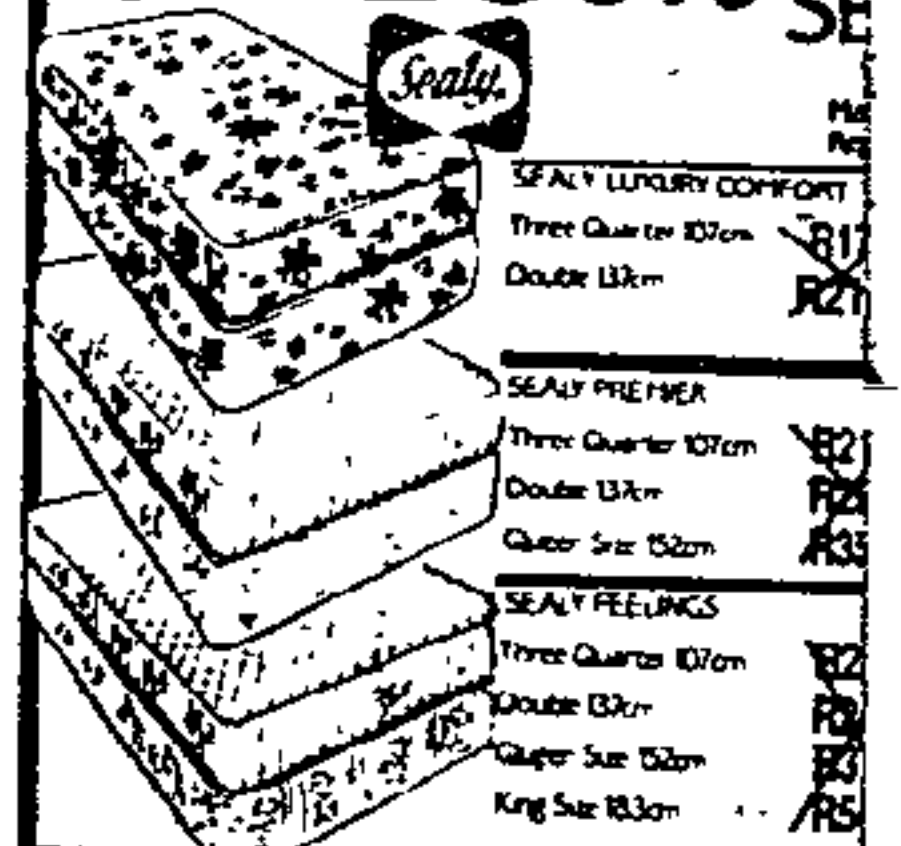
Mr Basu Elk, head of one of the largest agencies in Johannesburg, said yesterday the Act should be scrapped so that the market could be "normalised".

"If this is done, the field will

The sanction-busting Mamelodi Sundowns arrived back in South Africa yesterday after a 10-day visit to London during which they watched the FA Cup Final between Liverpool and Everton. During their stay, the Castle League club drew 2-2 with Crystal Palace Reserves in a match which defied the International Football Federation (Fifa) ban on South African sides playing against clubs from member countries. The trip cost Sundowns managing director Mr Zola Mapho about R100 000. Team members were

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Reform picking up speed, says Govt

Mercury Reporter

THE reform process which had started in the seventies had gained momentum, Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said in Durban yesterday.

Speaking at a mini-conference of Relations Action of South Africa, he said that during the past year vital constitutional changes had been made.

The difference between evolutionary change and revolutionary change was most often one of perception.

'What is too-little-too-late for one section of society may be too-much-too-soon for another.

'If change is too big or too fast, it will exceed the acceptability of change by one group — the too-much-too-soon group — while if it is too little or too slow it will incite the impatience of the too-little-too-late group.

But hopefully it will satisfy the majority of the people, those who may be described as the enough-at-the-right-time group.

'I firmly believe that we have further demonstrated our commitment to reform.

'It is our earnest endeavour to proceed with the scrapping of laws and regulations that discriminate on the basis of race or colour alone.

'The White Paper on Urbanisation is yet another firm resolve to abolish legislation which offends human dignity,' he said.

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, The Cape, Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Inanda, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Kuils River, Nigel, Oberholzer, Paarl, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Sasolburg, Simon's Town, Somerset West, Springs, Stellenbosch, Strand, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonia, Wonderboom and Wynberg; Municipal Areas: Empangeni, and Richards Bay.

AREA B: Balfour, Bethal, Bloemfontein, Camperdown, Delmas, East London, Heidelberg (TV1), Highveld Ridge, Hopetield, Kimberley, Klerksdorp, Kroonstad, Malmesbury, Middelburg (TV1), Newcastle, Odendaalsrus, Pietermaritzburg, Potchefstroom, Standerton, Virginia, Vredenburg, Welkom, Wellington, Witbank and Worcester.

AREA C: Bethlehem, Dundee, George, Harrismith, Klip River, Lower Tugela, Mtunzini, Oudtshoorn, Port Shepstone, and Umzinto the remainder of the Magisterial Districts of Lower Umfolozi and the portion of Municipal Area of East London which falls within King William's Town;

AREA D: The remainder of the Republic.

Superseding w.d. nos : 276 & 419

TO - CIVIL ENGINEERING INDUSTRY

HSRC poll says most people back sharing of power

By Winnie Graham, Property Editor

South Africans are coming to terms with power-sharing and are beginning to make changes in attitude — both intellectual and emotional — to accommodate this form of government, a Human Sciences Research Council survey has revealed.

Significant

In addition, a nation-wide survey among people of all races shows the majority support a government where power is shared by whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks.

Dr Nic Rhoodie, senior research specialist at the Human Sciences Research Council, told a seminar on future residential groups this week that it was highly significant that all groups favoured the "shared power" form of government.

Respondents, he said, had been asked to evaluate four systems of government:

- White dominated (the classical apartheid system).
- The white, coloured and Indian system presently in use.
- Power sharing by all four groups without domination by any one group.
- Black majority rule.

"It was most noticeable that more blacks favoured shared power than black majority rule," he said.

"This has been underscored by other similar surveys. About 70 percent of whites still felt white domination the 'ideal' but, in the face of harsh realities,

opted for shared power in preference to the present system."

There was pronounced disapproval of the present system by blacks, he said.

Dr Rhoodie added it was apparent from surveys conducted in March 1985 and again in March this year that the public was becoming increasingly amenable to "fairly radical change."

Life and death

In March, 1985 for instance, 23 percent of the people interviewed believed the Separate Amenities Act should be abolished. A year later this figure had jumped to 38 percent, indicating increasing support for the repeal of this act.

He said: "Black representation in Parliament has always been regarded as a life and death issue, but in March last year 25 percent favoured scrapping the exclusion of blacks from Parliament. This year the figure jumped to 42 percent. There is a definite movement in attitudes."

In March last year 74 percent wanted separate schools retained. This year the figure dropped to 63 percent — "not spectacular but moving." A year ago only 20 percent favoured the opening of creches to all races. Today the figure was 32 percent.

A year ago 20 percent favoured the opening of hospitals. Today the figure stood at 34 percent. A year ago less than a quarter (23 percent) favoured open beaches. Today the figure was 38 percent.

Dr Rhoodie said a year ago 47 percent were in favour of grey residential areas. Today the figure was 50,7 percent.

"From these polls we can deduce that if the Government continues dismantling these apartheid structures in terms of human rights, there won't be the Afrikaner backlash we fear," he said.

The HSRC surveys have been backed by other research findings by Human and Rainey (1986) which suggest the government has "the freedom to move more vigorously in desegregating society."

Pik and Barend get a nod

Are Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis doing a good job of managing the country's foreign affairs and economy?

Cape Town-based company Research Surveys posed this question to 1 306 white urban men and women, representing a wide cross-section, in a recent survey.

Of those polled, 79 percent believe Mr Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is doing a good job, 11 percent not and 10 percent do not know.

And the Minister of Finance? "Yes" was the answer from 52 percent of the respondents, "no" from 28 percent and 20 percent did not know.

Virtually across the board — in all age, income and language groups — Mr Botha's "good job of work" is acknowledged by "yes" percentages in the

high 70s and low 80s. The only urban area in which the "don't-know" response was high (29 percent) was Durban, where he received a 65 percent "yes" vote.

Mr du Plessis, the Minister of Finance, drew a 63 percent "yes" from Afrikaans-speaking urban respondents, with 23 percent saying "no".

However, among English-speaking whites only 43 percent believe he is doing well, 34 percent say "no" and 23 percent "don't know".

Among Afrikaans-speaking men, Mr du Plessis polled a 70 percent "yes" and a 22 percent "no", with 8 percent undecided. Some 50 percent of women believe the Minister is doing well, with 26 percent negative and 24 percent undecided. — Sapa.

Esser's attempt at bail fails

JOHANNESBURG. —

Attempts by Mr Franz Esser's lawyer to have him released on bail yesterday failed and he is to spend the weekend in his cell at John Vorster Square, a police spokesman said.

Police made a final decision at 10am yesterday that he should be held over until his court appearance on Monday.

He will appear on several charges of fraud, theft and other statutory

offences.

Mr Esser, a used-car dealer and National Party chairman for Johannesburg North until last year, was arrested at his Hyde Park, Johannesburg, home on Thursday after John Vorster Square detectives had searched his premises.

It is understood that any application by Mr Esser for bail at his court appearance will be opposed, a reliable source said. — Sapa

Pietersburg tense for Pik meeting

By Dirk Nel

With threats flying back and forth, Thursday promises to be an eventful day in Pietersburg.

The fuss revolves around a National Party meeting to be addressed by Mr Pik Botha.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has vowed to disrupt all Transvaal NP meetings, and leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche told supporters this week that "Mr Botha will not be speaking in Pietersburg on the 22nd — I will".

The Pietersburg Nats want to prevent a repetition of the Brits debacle, when AWB supporters disrupted a meeting addressed by Deputy Minister for Information Mr Louis Nel.

Pietersburg NP posters state: "Right of admission reserved". Local party chairman Mr Lodewyk Snyman says this means anyone not complying with the standards of behaviour laid down by the organisers can legally be ordered to leave.

PFP appoints first African organiser

Weekend Post Reporter

THE first African organiser to work for a political party operating in the House of Assembly has been appointed in East London.

Mr Zola Buyana has started an initial two-month stint with the PFP and may be employed on a permanent basis, says Border PFP regional organiser, Mr Ian Bentley.

After the scrapping last year of the Improper Political Interference Act (which forbade mixed political parties) the PFP has reverted to operating as a non-racial party.

The PFP's secretary general, Mr Robin Carlisle, a member of the President's Council, said Mr Buyana was "committed to peace and democracy — we are lucky to

have him".

For several years, the party had enjoyed the services of coloured organisers and canvassers, who were canvassing with whites for the PFP in the Pinelands and Rondebosch by-elections.

Mr Buyana was the first paid African organiser the Party had appointed since the early 1960s.

Apart from collating information from Xhosa speakers, he was active in setting up branch structures in rural areas around East London, including Kwelera, Newlands, Pealton and Mgwali.

While no formally constituted PFP branch has been formed in Duncan Village, there is a "crisis action committee" with PFP links.



Mr ZOLA BUYANA

Award in memory of Molly

Weekend Post Reporter

BLACK SASH has been awarded the 1986 Freedom Award from the Randolph Institute.

A former national president of Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris, received the award in St Louis, Missouri, yesterday.

It has been given to the Black Sash in memory of Mrs Molly Blackburn.

Mrs Judy Chalmers, East Cape regional chairman of the organisation, said: "Black Sash is honoured to receive this award.

"Mrs Molly Blackburn has received international recognition for her dedication to the creation of a just society in South Africa."

(304) 17/5/86

PFP appoints African as organiser

W/E Post 17/5/86
304A

Post Reporter

THE first African organiser to work for a political party operating in the white House of Assembly has been appointed in East London.

Mr Zola Buyana started an initial two-month stint with the Progressive Federal Party at the beginning of this month and may be employed on a permanent basis, says Border PFP regional organiser, Mr Ian Bentley.

After the scrapping last year of the Improper Political Interference Act (which in the late 1960s forbade mixed political parties) the PFP has reverted to operating as a non-racial party.

The PFP's secretary general, Mr Robin Carlisle, a member of the President's Council, said from Johannesburg that he found

Mr Buyana "very committed to peace and democracy — we are lucky to have him".

He said the party had for several years enjoyed the services of coloured organisers and canvassers, who were canvassing jointly with whites for the PFP in the Pinelands and Rondebosch by-elections.

But he understood Mr Buyana was the first paid African organiser the Progressives had appointed since the early 1960s.

Mr Bentley said the party had in recent months made "a lot of inroads into various black communities". Its office also served as an advice office for people with a variety of problems — in much the same way as the Black Sash helped in other centres.

He said many black people believed the only

way their problems would be addressed was if they were taken "to the top".

Consequently, PFP MPs took up a variety of problems and issues (like pension problems and the retention of black areas like Duncan Village and Mgwali) with the appropriate Cabinet Ministers.

Apart from Mr Buyana's role in collating information from Xhosa speakers, he said, he was active in setting up branch structures in rural areas around East London like Kwelera, Newlands, Pealton and Mgwali, where many problems were being experienced due to the ongoing unrest.

While no formally constituted PFP branch had yet been formed in Duncan Village, he said, there was a "crisis action committee" with PFP links.

FROM small beginnings in 1973, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and its charismatic leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, have become major forces in white South African politics. Just 18 months ago, the AWB struggled to get 100 people to its public meetings — now they draw thousands, and have emerged as a major threat not only to the Nationalist Government, but to the other right-wing parties as well. In the following in-depth interview Mr Terre'Blanche tells Political Reporter GARY VAN STADEN that his motives, his policies and his vision for South Africa are based on nationhood — and not on race.

W.E. Argus
17/5/86

30HA



Vir volk

"I STARTED the AWB out of love, not hate. But I am not prepared to compromise on issues that are close to the hearts of my people.

I demand for myself no more than that which I am prepared to give to others. I am not a racist. If you look at the Conservative Party and at the Herstigte National Party, you will note an interesting difference between them and the AWB. And the difference is that the AWB does not fight its case on a racial basis — as far as I am concerned the issue has nothing to do with black or white. It is about a people, a *volk*.

I think Germans need Germany to really be German. I see how jealously Britain defends what is British — to the point of sending its navy half way around the world to take back the Falklands — and I admire them. They went and took their island back by force, because it belonged to them.

My people the Boeremense, are

entitled to their land in South Africa. They are entitled to what is theirs — the old Boer Republics, Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal. It is a historical and cultural demand. According to international law, we have a claim on those areas.

They are — and always have been — ours and ours alone. We did not take them away from the black man.

Yes, it is true that the Transvaal once belonged to the Matebele. But they are now in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and have no claim on land in the Transvaal. It is really not even the white man's land as such. It belongs to the *volk*; it belongs to the Boere.

I AM a product of the English settlers and the Dutch settlers. I exist because of what the English and Dutch got up to when they arrived here. They created an entirely new nation (*volk*). And I cannot understand why some English-speakers do not have any love for a nation that was created by their forefathers. But, nonetheless, we are a nation (*volk*) and expect to be treated like a nation.

The irony of the situation is that the Government is prepared to recognise

WHY I STARTED THE AWB

— by Eugene Terre'Blanche

the government of Bophuthatswana and to recognise the right of that nation to exist as well as the Zulu and the Xhosa and the Venda. But now, suddenly, they are attempting to deny the existence of the Afrikaner *volk*.

They are involving themselves in a very dangerous game. They are attempting to paint us as colonisers, and the Afrikaner *volk* have never colonised anything. We did not come here to exploit the land and then to leave. This is our home, we have nowhere else to go.

I do not care if a man is black or white or brown or green. If he denies me the right to have my own land, with its own culture and history, its own territory and its own dreams and ideals, then that man is my political opponent and my political enemy.

I am a nationalist. I grant the black man his right to exist. The black man must be very much in love with Africa, he comes out of Africa and he knows no other place to live.

I am not asking for a "homeland" for whites — that has strange connotations — I am asking for, demanding, my fatherland and my ground. And I will get my land back and I will restore the Boer Republics. I will get it because I am entitled to it, because my *volk* entered into a contract with my God that this land would be retained for His glory.

I am prepared to live in peace with my neighbours. But think about it. Even at home where you live, there is a fence between you and your neighbour — with whom you may be the best of friends.

You may share a common boundary, even a common bond, but you cannot share power — it is simply not possi-

ble. Even at the level of the household it is difficult to. Of course, there is some standing between husband and wife but in the final analysis, the household has the authority.

THIS constitution of PW is not going to work — it is. His new statutory body for not going to work, its only crease his problems.

Power cannot be shared, can. That is why we want our public back.

It has nothing to do with black. I know of no example of a white man — just because white — achieved anything. But I can cite many examples where a nation (white or achieved miracles.

It was not just a white (Nelson) who put a blind eye and said "Ships, ships" as he prepared for war. It was the action of a white man for his nation, not for his race.

Nelson was what he was, because he was white, but his historical and cultural background which had given him pride in his nation in both himself and the nation he represented.

It was not white people who received divine guidance and at the battle of Blood River, the new nation (*volk*) Those 460 the laager represented the of a few nation. The other people had remained behind in.

It was a nation that slopes of Majuba — not just people.



Silvermine Village

A R P & P NOORDHOEK DEVELOPMENT TRUST

WE'LL SOLVE YOUR PROBLEMS

- Making beds, cleaning windows, vacuuming your carpets — WE'LL DO IT FOR YOU.
- Mowing the lawn, pruning large shrubs, putting in globes — WE'LL DO IT FOR YOU.
- Buying groceries, lugging them home, packing them away and cooking 3 meals a day — WE'LL GIVE YOU 2 MEALS A DAY IF YOU WISH.
- Having to care for an incapacitated person? — OUR FRAIL CARE WILL DO IT FOR YOU.
- Anxious about personal safety? — OUR 24-HR SECURITY GUARDS WILL LOOK AFTER YOU.
- Children living overseas? — WE'LL INTRODUCE YOU TO FRIENDS for bridge, walks, bowls or tea.
- Can't part with your pet? — WE'LL HAVE IT WITH YOU.

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'ir volk



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WHY I STARTED THE AWB — by Eugene Terre'Blanche

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ble. Even at the level of the ordinary household it is difficult to share power. Of course, there is some sort of understanding between husband and wife, but in the final analysis, the head of the household has the ultimate power.

THIS constitution of PW Botha's is not going to work — it can't work. His new statutory body for blacks is not going to work, its only going to increase his problems.

Power cannot be shared, but land can. That is why we want our Boer Republics back.

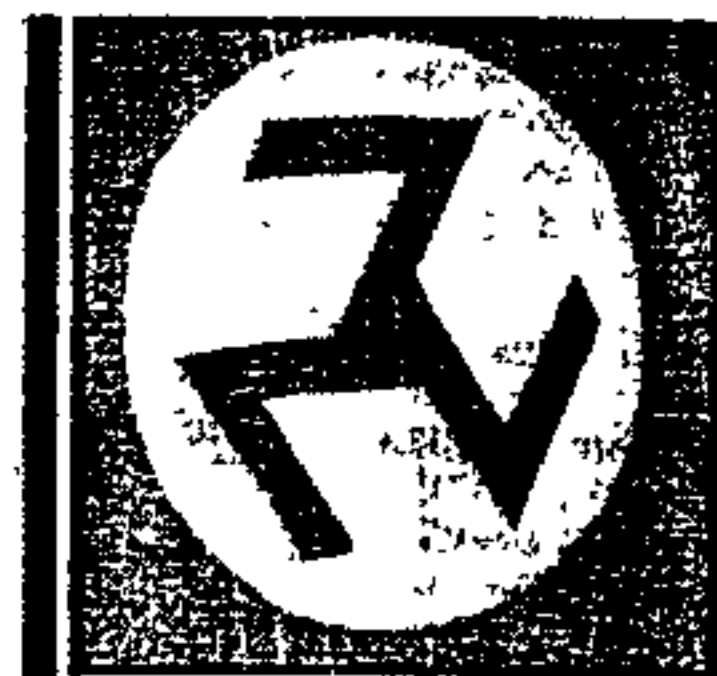
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It was not white people who received divine guidance and inspiration at the battle of Blood River. It was a new nation (volk). Those 460 people in the laager represented the beginnings of a new nation. The other white people had remained behind in the Cape.

It was a nation that stormed the slopes of Majuba — not just white people.



The flag — based on the Bible...

ATTEND an AWB meeting and you are left with impressions of a powerful and charismatic leader, hero-worshipping followers, swastika-type red and white flags, general hysteria and the awful feeling that you have seen all of this somewhere before.

But it is the flag — or rather its remarkable resemblance to one which once flew over the ruins of a Nazi-occupied Europe — that the casual observer finds most disturbing.

According to AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche — who had nothing to do with the design of the flag — the impression it leaves and the image it creates could not be further from the truth.

"It is the only flag or political emblem which exists anywhere today that is based entirely on the Bible.

"The three sevens you see in the centre of the flag represent numbers from the Bible which are used to counter the 'mark of the Beast' — 666," Mr Terre'Blanche explained this week.

"In addition to that, the Boers prayed for seven days in a row prior to the Battle of Bloodriver. And then on a Sunday, the seventh day, the battle took place, the miracle battle," he added.

"Those sevens signify the undying faith of the Boer volk in their God."



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300 whites visit Alex

ABOUT 300 white supporters of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee were yesterday given a tumultuous welcome by thousands of Alexandra township residents.

They had come for a wreath-laying ceremony

as a mark of respect to scores of victims of the unrest.

After a brief confrontation with the police, the whites, who were accompanied by a huge contingent of the media, went into the township where thousands of residents wel-

comed them.

There was a brief ceremony at the cemetery and the group left. The Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) and other progressive democratic organisations in the township backed the visit.

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Buthlezi plea to church women on disinvestment

Mercury Correspondent

MAHLABATHINI—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has appealed to black Christian women to challenge what certain of their churches are doing to 'increase starvation and malnutrition' by advocating disinvestment and sanctions.

At a time of joblessness and retrenchments, the South African Council of Churches, to which most churches were affiliated, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the ANC mission in exile were in the forefront of such campaigns, he said here at the weekend.

'Even the few cents you have had from your own

pay or from your breadwinners' remittances are going to be reduced when foreign companies decide to disinvest,' he told the inaugural meeting of the Buthelezi area's Inkatha Women's Brigade.

'I want to appeal to you, as women who belong to these churches, to do something about what our churches are doing in wanting even more of our children to die from diseases of malnutrition and from starvation.'

'Church leaders are our spiritual leaders, but that does not mean that you cannot challenge them. I appeal to you to discuss this crisis situation in which we now find ourselves.'

EPG meets top-level constitutional group

3044 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) is scheduled to have discussions with members of the Government's constitutional committee today.

This follows the group's return to Cape Town from Lusaka where they had discussions with African National Congress (ANC) leaders at the weekend.

Mr Chris Heunis is chairman of the coinstitutional committee. Other members include Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid.

In Government circles the assessment of the talks today was that the situation was "delicate and difficult" and that it was "touch and go" whether there would be some agreement to help start internal dialogue.

It was said that a lot would depend on today's talks.

From this it could emerge whether the EPG's efforts to act as a go-between between the Government and the ANC will

succeed.

Among the proposals the group has made is the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

South Africa in turn has asked for some guarantees to stay off sanctions in case this is done and in case the Government is then forced to act against violence.

The group apparently again saw Mandela last week but did not meet President P W Botha.

According to a report from Lusaka the impression there was that the door seems to have been left open for continuing discussions.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka said the Commonwealth's initiative was not seen as hopeless.

The chance of an early start to talks between the ANC and the Government was said to be slim.

ANC officials were said to be concerned about the impact an outright rejection of the initiative could have on the organisation's image abroad, while appearing to compromise with Pretoria could cost them support among black radicals in South Africa.

DD 19/5/86

Black organiser a PFP first

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[Signature]

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — An East London man, Mr Zola Buyani, has become the first black to be appointed a paid organiser of a white political party since the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed last year.

This was revealed by the regional organiser of the Progressive Federal Party here, Mr Ian Bentley.

Mr Bentley said Mr Buyani had been appointed in a temporary capacity and might be appointed on a permanent basis.

The PFP secretary-general, Mr Robin Carlisle, said his party was fortunate to have the services of Mr Buyani since he was a "committed man".

The PFP had for several years engaged the services of coloured organisers who worked jointly with whites, he added. Mr Buyani was the first paid black organiser since the early 60s.

Mr Buyani, who holds a certificate from the Christian World Bible School in Texas, said he joined the PFP because of his religious convictions. He was not a fully fledged politician, but, after studying Christ's life, he had learnt that there should be "oneness" among people.

He said the repressive laws of the country had kept the black man down while uplifting his white counterpart.

The PFP's non-racial policies had attracted

him to the party, he said. The PFP believed in peaceful change in a society free of racial discrimination.

If the PFP came to power, it would be able to handle the country's problems in a better manner than any other party, he added.

Mr Bentley said the

PFP had made great advances in the black communities around East London. Branch structures were being formed in Kwelera, Newlands, Pealton, and Mgwali.

The party had no formal branch in Duncan Village but had links with the "crisis action committee" there, Mr Bentley said.

Paton calls for federal constitution in S A

Mercury Reporter

ONLY under a federal constitution would all South Africans enjoy freedom, renowned author Dr Alan Paton told a graduation ceremony at the University of Durban-Westville at the weekend.

Dr Paton, who received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature in recognition of his outstanding contributions to literature, history and politics, said a federal state should be created because of the complexity of the South African society.

'This is not only because we have white, coloured people, Indians and African people, but because the past few years have shown us that our African peoples themselves are extremely diverse.

'We shall have to create a federal state where the

power at present concentrated in Cape Town and Pretoria can be distributed in such a way that no law-making body will ever again be able to make laws such as the Urban Areas Act, the Group Areas Act and the University Education Act of 1959.

'In the circumstances in which we live, it is my belief that only under a federal constitution will we in South Africa enjoy what is called freedom,' he said.

The first freedom a black man wanted was to be able to work wherever he could get work. The second was to be able to have his wife and children live with him.

The third was a wage that would enable him to feed and clothe his wife and children in a decent way.

'And the fourth thing he wants is not to be pushed around by the police.'

'Therefore he wants to see the end of the pass laws, the end of influx control, the end of hunger and poverty and he wants to be able to walk about in his own country as freely as anyone else.

'There is one thing more he wants — one of the greatest freedoms of all — the right to live under the rule of law,' he said.

Dr Paton said he did not believe there would be a unitary state in South Africa unless it were forced by violent revolution.

A record number of 1 014 degrees and diplomas were awarded to students at two ceremonies on the campus.

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Simon's Town, Springs, The Cape, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria, Wonderboom and Wynberg;

AREA B: Bloemfontein, Brits, East London, Inanda, Kimberley, and Pietermaritzburg;

AREA C: Worcester

AREA D: Harrismith

Superseding w.d. no: 326

PFP hires black man as party organizer

EAST LONDON. — Mr Zola Buyani has become the first black person to be appointed a paid organizer of a white political party since the Improper Political Interference Act was scrapped last year.

This was disclosed by the regional organizer of the Progressive Federal Party in East London, Mr Ian Bentley.

He said Mr Buyani had been appointed temporarily and may be appointed permanently.

The PFP secretary-general, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the PFP was fortunate to have the services of Mr Buyani since he was a "committed man".

Mr Buyani, who holds a certificate from the Christian World Bible School in Texas, said he joined the PFP because of his religious convictions.

He was not a fully fledged politician, but, after studying Christ's life, he had learnt that there should be "openness" among people.

The PFP's non-racial policies had attracted him to the party, he said. The PFP believed in peaceful change in a society free of racial discrimination. If the PFP could come to power, it would be able to handle the country's problems better than any other party, Mr Buyani said.

Mr Bentley said the PFP had made great inroads into the black communities around East London. Branches were being formed in Kwelera, Newlands, Pealton and Mgwali. The party had no branch in Duncan Village but had links with the Crisis Action Committee there. — Sapa

AREA A: George, Knysna, Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn and the
Municipal Areas: Bethlehem, Harrismith, Ladysmith,
Middelburg(Tvl), Newcastle, Pietersburg and Rustenburg

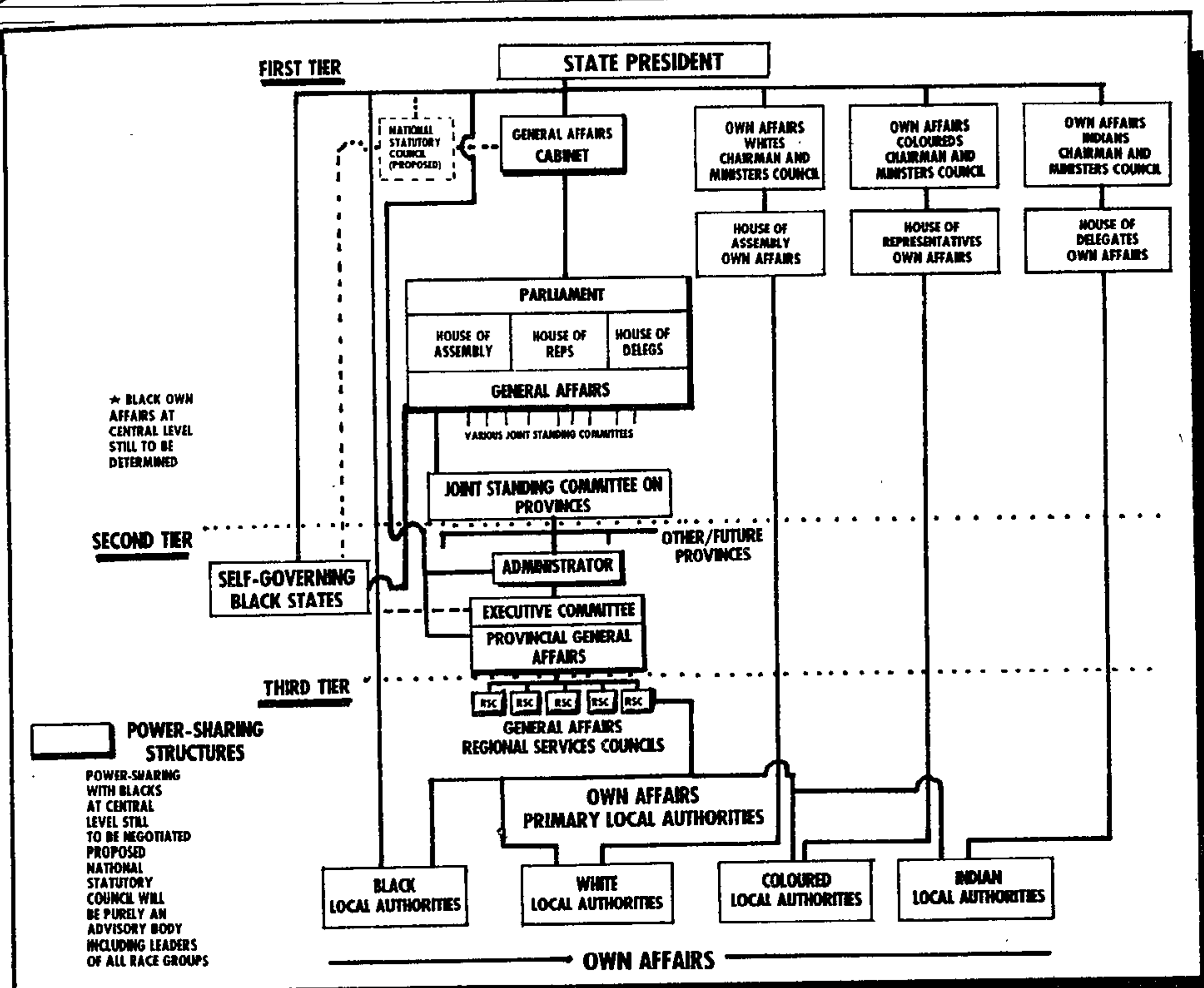
AREA B: Kroonstad

AREA C: Bloemfontein, East London, Highveld Ridge, Kimberley,
Klerksdorp, Odendaalsrus, Pietermaritzburg, Virginia and Welkom
and Municipal Areas: Potchefstroom and Witbank

AREA D: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, The Cape,
Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Johannesburg, Kempton Park,
Krugersdorp, Kuils River, Nigel, Oberholzer, Paarl, Pinetown,
Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort,
Simons town, Springs, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging,
Westonaria, Wonderboom and Wynberg
Municipal Area: Sasolburg

APR 19/5/86 (30-44)

Spectrum



Two very complex pillars

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Staff

THE Government's constitutional structure is a complex network of institutions and specialised functions designed to maintain group, and therefore white, sovereignty.

From a line chart of the great number of institutions and functionaries which make up the system, (see above) two pillars can clearly be seen.

On the one side are the "own affairs" group of organisations.

These start with the ethnic primary local authorities for each of the four major population groups — blacks, whites, coloured people and Indians.

In order for these to exist as ethnic entities there must be segregated residential areas, or group areas, for the different races.

The residents in each area elect their own primary local authorities which in turn will render certain services unique to those areas (for example, cultural matters and local environment).

SCHOOLS, hospitals and certain other services and amenities are also deemed to be own affairs in terms of the Constitution.

But as these cannot be administered by local authorities, they are handled at central level by a variety of institutions.

In the case of whites, coloured people and Indians, each population group's own affairs are administered at

How the Government's new constitutional structure will maintain white sovereignty

central level by separate administrations.

In the case of blacks, the situation is somewhat more complex, as black affairs are considered to be general affairs to be governed by the State President (who has special responsibilities for blacks in terms of the Constitution) and various general affairs ministries, especially Education and Development Aid.

Provision for urban blacks to be able to assume responsibility for the administration of their own affairs at central level is still to be negotiated.

However, the affairs of blacks living in the self-governing states are administered by the respective homeland governments.

WHITES, coloured and Indian affairs are governed respectively by the three Houses of Parliament acting as own affairs legislative chambers.

They are financed by grants from the central exchequer.

The various administrations do not operate entirely separately as there are a number of liaison committees to broadly co-ordinate their activities (for example, education ministers meet regularly to co-ordinate standards).

Each of the administrations is run by a Ministers' Council, the members of which have the same rank and status as Cabinet Ministers.

THE second pillar of the system is the one which holds up general affairs, or power-sharing.

Starting from the bottom again, the various primary local authorities in a particular region each have representation on a regional services council.

The number of seats an authority may have on an RSC is directly proportional to that authority's consumption of services in the region, but in no case may it be more than half.

Each local authority in the region is represented and decisions are taken by majority vote, ensuring that all race groups resident in the region are consulted.

Power-sharing structures at regional level are to be the new executive provincial administrations which will be in charge of general affairs.

The Administrator and executive committee of each province will be appointed by the State President, and there is no prescription that these functionaries should be white.

PROVISION is also made for joint executive structures to be created between provinces and self-governing states, such as the envisaged Natal/kwaZulu administration.

The provincial administrations will be accountable directly to Parliament by way of the Joint Standing Committee on the provinces.

At central level, whites, coloured people and Indians "share" power in that all general affairs legislation must be passed by each House.

Not shown on the diagram, but playing an important role in entrenching overall white supremacy, is the white-dominated President's Council which has powers to arbitrate on deadlocked legislation.

Just how blacks are to eventually be brought into the central government is something still to be negotiated.

For the moment, it is envisaged that blacks may at least be appointed to the President's Council.

A NATIONAL Statutory Council with advisory functions (including one on legislation) which will bring blacks into the highest advisory level of government, is also planned.

The highest executive over general affairs is the Cabinet and, ultimately, the State President.

In theory the President may be white, coloured or Indian. In practice this position is filled by an electoral college which is numerically loaded in favour of the governing party in the white House of Assembly.

The State President may appoint members of any of the three Houses of Parliament to his Cabinet.

The Cabinet is answerable to Parliament which is elected in its separate chambers by the white, coloured and Indian communities.

The extension of the franchise to the black community is still to be negotiated.



● DU PLESSIS

ARE Pik Botha and Barend du Plessis doing a good job of managing our foreign affairs and economy?

Cape Town-based Research Surveys posed these questions to 1 306 whites in its recent Omnichek survey.

Of those polled 79% believe that Foreign Minister Botha was doing a good job of work, 11% said "no" and another 10% answered "don't know".

For Finance Minister Du Plessis

52% of the respondents said "yes", 28% said "no" and 20% said "don't know".

Botha's "good job of work" was acknowledged virtually across-the-board — in all age, income and language groups, across a spread of urban areas and among males and females.

But in Durban, Botha's "don't know" percentage was highest at 29%, with 65% in his favour and a 5% "no" vote.

Du Plessis got a 63% "yes" from Afrikaans-speaking community ur-

ban respondents for doing a good job, with a 23% "no" and 17% undecided.

But, among English-speaking whites, only 43% believed he was doing well, 34% said "no" while 23% did not know.

Du Plessis polled a 70% "yes" among Afrikaans-speaking males, a 22% "no", with 8% undecided.

Some 50% of female respondents believed he was doing well, with 28% negative and 24% undecided. — Sapa.



● BOTHA

Poll finds that Barend and Pik are doing a good job

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SADF ATTACKS

YESTERDAY'S raids will almost certainly isolate SA further and bring renewed pressure on the US and Britain to take firm action against the country.

These are the views of Professor John Barratt of the SA Institute of International Affairs.

The early-morning attacks bring to six the number of Southern African states raided by SA in the past few years.

They are: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

The raid into Lusaka comes only hours after EPG members left the country en route for SA.

They also happened while Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was on a four-nation African tour. He was believed to be in Zimbabwe at the time of the raids.

In February Defence Minister Magnus Malan warned that cross-border raids would continue if neighbouring states refused to join a joint security body proposed by President P W Botha.

Later that month Botswana was warned to curb African National Congress activities within its borders or face the possibility of reprisal raids.

Six days ago Malan warned that SA was determined to combat terrorism and added that "leaders of various Western countries have recently done so as well".

Barratt said he had no doubt SA would draw a direct comparison between its operations and the recent US raid on Libya.

He said, however, that international perceptions of the ANC did not equate with perceptions of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and other terrorist organisations.

SADF raids could sink EPG initiative



● MALAN

SADF raids into Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia yesterday could sink the Commonwealth Emergency Persons Group initiative and lead immediately to a call by it for sanctions against SA, reports PETER WALLINGTON.

Barratt pointed out the three countries attacked yesterday were members of the Commonwealth and he had no doubt it would react strongly.

"I think (British Prime Minister Margaret) Thatcher would be in an extremely difficult position. She will be pressured domestically, from the Commonwealth and the European Community, to take firmer action against SA.

"The same applies to the US, and I don't think either can afford to do nothing unless Botha produces some amazing reason for the raids."

He said the UN Security Council was likely to meet and would recommend tough sanctions, leaving the US and Britain to veto them.

A further complicating factor for the EPG was that SA must have been

preparing for the raid while talking to the group.

"The EPG could feel cheated and believe they were negotiating under false pretences," he said.

Soon after SA's raid on Gaborone last year, President Ronald Reagan indicated he did not believe the attack was aimed at eradicating guerrillas but was an attempt to coerce Botswana into signing a non-aggression pact with SA.

Barratt said it was interesting that the countries with which SA had defence or non-aggression pacts — Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland — were not hit.

The raids could be an attempt to force Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia to enter similar pacts.

The SADF yesterday claimed to

have hit an ANC "operational centre" and a "terrorist transit facility" in Harare; a "terrorist transit facility" near Gaborone; and the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and an "operational centre" in Lusaka.

Both Botswana and Zimbabwe have consistently denied that ANC military personnel were based in their countries, and have denied that their territories are used as launch pads for ANC military activity.

Raids by the SADF into neighbouring states include:

- September 16, 1985 — raid into south-eastern Angola against Swapo units;
 - June 14, 1985 — 12 die in raid on Gaborone, Botswana;
 - May 1983 — raid on Matola, Mozambique;
 - December 1982 — 42 die in raid on Maseru, Lesotho;
 - February 1981 — At least 13 die in raid on Matola, Mozambique.
- On December 20, 1985, nine die in a raid on Maseru but SA denied it was involved.



● SWART

PFP calls for snap debate on raids

AS the official opposition was calling for a snap debate on the SADF raids in Harare, Lusaka and Gaborone, two of its MPs were ordered out of the House of Assembly yesterday for refusing to withdraw remarks that government was "sabotaging the future of the country".

The MPs were Peter Gastrow, the PFP's national chairman and MP for Durban Central, who originally made the remark in an interjection, and Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point).

PFP caucus chairman Ray Swart gave notice at the start of yesterday's sitting that he would move today that the House "discuss the incidents involving the SADF in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana".

After Swart spoke, Gastrow said in an interjection that government were "saboteurs".

"You are sabotaging the future of the country," he said.

Speaker Johann Greeff told Gastrow to withdraw the remark. He refused and was ordered out of the chamber.

On a point of order, NP chief whip N J Pretorius said Van der Merwe had made a similar remark. He was also ordered out of the House after refusing to withdraw his statement that he agreed with Gastrow.

Meanwhile, PFP defence spokesman Philip Myburgh said in a statement that whatever the results of yesterday morning's attack might be, it had to be stressed that, in the long run, peace could be brought to Southern Africa only by SA solving its own internal problems.

"At a time when the EPG is involved in the most delicate negotiations aimed at regularising the status of the ANC and in trying to help bring about peace in Southern Africa, we believe that our government should be conscious of the grave international consequences which such action on territories of Commonwealth countries is likely to have and that it should exercise maximum restraint."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's sole parliamentary representative, Louis Stofberg (HNP Sasolburg), said the HNP wholeheartedly supported all the attacks made by the Defence Force on the ANC in neighbouring states. — Sapa.

THE End Conscription Campaign yesterday condemned SADF raids on Gaborone, Harare and Lusaka.

It also reaffirmed its support of conscientious objectors.

In a statement yesterday ECC publicity secretary Paula Hawthorne said that in the past victims of similar raids had often been young children and innocent civilians.

It added that the dead and injured were not always "so-called terrorists".

The ECC condemns SA army attacks

"This government should take steps to reduce the violent conflict in SA and search for political solutions instead of using heavy-handed aggression.

"The use of the SADF in actions such as this places many young men who are conscripted into the SADF in a very disturbing moral dilemma."

DD 20/5/81
**Raids:
PFP to
respond
today**

EAST LONDON — The three cross-border raids early yesterday morning were wrongly timed, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, told a Progressive Federal Party public meeting here last night.

Mr Eglin was asked whether he opposed the attacks on African National Congress bases in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lusaka.

He said the PFP would outline its response in Parliament today, where time had been set down for debate on the matter.

"I would say it was wrongly timed while the Eminent Persons' Group is right here in South Africa for us to go and attack three Commonwealth countries," he said.

Earlier, the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcolmess, said it was significant that the raids had taken place while the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was undergoing bypass heart surgery.

"He is giving the whole country a coronary while he is undergoing the operation," Mr Malcolmess said.

Raid reports page 8

DD 20/5/86

Eglin: whites no longer have political monopoly

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Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON

Whites no longer had the monopoly on political power in a South Africa that was undergoing a strange organic change, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said here last night.

Addressing a non-racial PFP meeting of about 200 people in the City Hall, Mr Eglin said South African society was undergoing an organic process of restructuring.

"A lot more is being decided in the townships, the trade unions and the residents' associations than in Parliament," Mr Eglin said when he analysed the dynamics of South African politics, which had left the people with several crises to face.

The Leader of the Official Opposition delivered a blistering attack on National Party rule, which he said stumbled from one monumental blunder to another "in a

display of incompetence and ineptitude that is simply appalling".

Dealing with the government's response to the process of change, which he said was initiated by economic forces, propelled by frustration and anger with a system based on apartheid and a growing determination by the victims of the system who were trying to get rid of it, Mr Eglin said it seemed as if the government knew it had to go forward but could not get rid of its commitment to many outdated concepts of apartheid.

On the one hand the government was scrapping racial laws such as the Immorality Act and the pass laws but it was reintroducing apartheid under the new name of own affairs.

Mr Eglin said the challenge of post-apartheid started South Africans in the face. Getting rid of apartheid was removing obstacles to progress but it did not change the

substance of society or improve the socio-economic conditions in which the people lived.

The PFP was committed to constitutional government which enjoyed the consent of the governed and recognised the urgency of the situation.

"But it does not subscribe to the view that it is too late," Mr Eglin said, and located his party between the "two dangerous outer fringes of the far left and the far right."

"Between these two outer fringes there is a broad mass of black and white South Africans who, with their leaders, would prefer to live in peace in a new democratic South Africa."

"We must bring together all those who prefer peace to violence and who are prepared to work together for a new non-racial South Africa."

"But let us understand one fundamental fact: there is no pro-

spect of bringing people together in a joint effort to save South Africa if apartheid is to continue to be the basis of government."

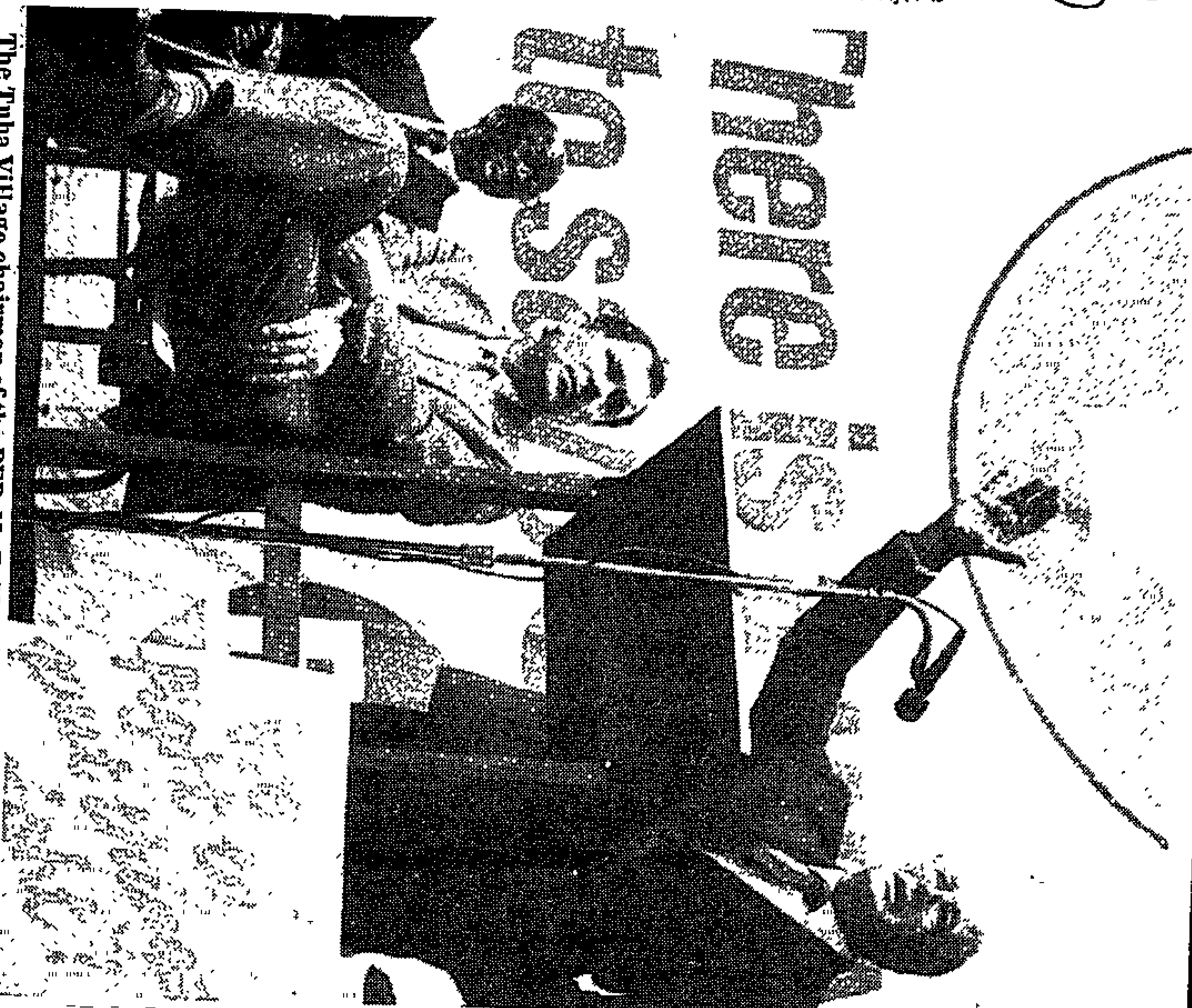
"Like it or not, apartheid is not an option for the future," Mr Eglin said.

He said the PFP did not only have a role to play as an opposition but also as part of an alternative government in the South Africa of tomorrow.

It would do so in Parliament and beyond the walls of Parliament and would fight injustices and racism "wherever those ugly heads" were reared.

The government was unwilling and unable to give the people of the country a new vision and a new hope for the future. The PFP's vision was that of a prosperous non-racial South Africa which would be one of the most exciting places in the world to live in.

Campaign launch P4



The Tuba Village chairman of the PFP, Mr B. Moyake, the MP for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, at last night's meeting in the City Hall.

Blacks indebted to PFP says Buyana

20 20/5/86

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON —
Homeland independence was to blame for not many blacks being at last night's public meeting of the Progressive Federal Party, the party's first black organiser, Mr Zola Buyana, said.

Sharing the stage with the party's leader, Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Buyana said blacks were indebted to the PFP for the fight they had carried out on their behalf.

He said homeland independence had removed the right of blacks to be in white urban areas and there was now a division between the rural and urban people.

He said land division would be a constant dissatisfaction among blacks.

"As long as blacks do not have a say in the government of the day, they will never be satisfied," said Mr Buyana, probably the first black to

address a public meeting of a white political party in the city.

Also on the stage last night was the Tuba Village chairman of the party, Mr B. Moyake, as well as the general secretary of the party, Mr Robin Carlisle, and two MPs, Mr Errol Moorcroft (Albany) and Mr John Malcolmess (PE Central).

The chairman of the meeting, Mr Errol Spring, said after 40 years of National Party rule the people of East London were entitled to ask pertinent questions about the future.

"What is the government going to do to normalise the situation and what is it going to do about the leadership crisis in Duncan Village?"

"We have battled locally to solve these problems but the government has been conspicuous by its absence. Are they prepared to sacrifice us on the altar

of apartheid?" Mr Spring asked.

He said the time had come to reject the government and all it stood for.

"There is an alternative in the PFP, which is the only party with credibility among all the people and which can lead us out of the morass in which we find ourselves," he said.

Mr Malcolmess gave a firm undertaking that the PFP would continue the fight in Parliament and said he did not agree with the action of the former party leader, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, in quitting.

"The PFP will not let the government get away with what it is doing. We won't opt out of the fight. We will continue to fight apartheid."

Mr Malcolmess said it was astonishing to hear cabinet ministers giving speeches which the PFP gave some time ago.

"But South Africa needs to know the realities and the Nats will not tell you that. It is for the opposition to point it out."

During question time, Mr Moorcroft said the PFP opposed ethnic bodies such as management committees.

He was replying to a question from Mr Tony Timothy, who asked what the party's attitude was toward bodies such as the Indian Management Committee in East London which had accepted houses which were unsuitable for people.



PFP organiser Mr Zola Buyana addresses the meeting.

Border, E Cape top priority for PFP campaign

304A

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — No other region presented as high a priority for the Progressive Federal Party at present as the Border and Eastern Cape region did with three seats open, the party's secretary-general and a member of the President's Council, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday.

Mr Carlisle was visiting East London as part of a new national campaign to market the PFP.

The campaign will be officially launched at a

public meeting in Cape Town today.

Mr Carlisle said the main elements of the campaign would be to market three important factors.

These were the PFP's position in terms of the "hard right" and the "hard left", and its position on violence and the constitutional process. It would speak up clearly for liberal values and emphasise that as a political party, the PFP was in search of power.

Letters and campaign pamphlets would be

sent to the PFP membership of about 43 000. Mr Carlisle said.

Sixteen newspapers nationally would carry PFP advertising and would reach a combined circulation of 1,75 million people.

PFP tables would also be opened nationally over the next four weeks reaching a further 40 000 people.

Pamphlets distributed door-to-door would reach a further 200 000, he said.

"The final element will be a personal letter from the PFP leader, Mr

Collin Eglin, to 10 000 of the country's opinion makers."

Mr Carlisle said that meetings would be held in the East London area, Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Queenstown, King William's Town and Stutterheim.

"We're also busy with a major fundraising campaign and hope to raise R650 000 in the Border and Eastern Cape. Already we have managed to raise 10 per cent of this," he said.

"There is also evident in this area a rapid expansion of black members."



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Business

How the police can sidestep the courts on detention laws

The planned provision for 180-day "preventive" detention under the Internal Security Act would arm the police with a new flexible weapon and would get around the courts' recent demand — under the old law — that reasons must be given for long-term "preventive" detention.

This view was put to a Johannesburg gathering of the Black Sash last night by Dr Max Coleman, a leading member of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

OPPONENTS

Dr Coleman pointed out that preventive detention clauses were used to remove from society persons perceived as a threat to the Government.

Until the Internal Security Amendment Bill had been published last week, there had been two preventive detention clauses (in addition to provisions

Human rights groups have been outraged by the Public Safety Amendment Bill and Internal Security Amendment Bill which will provide for undeclared states of emergency and for drastically increased periods of "preventive" detention. Indications from the Standing Committee on Law and Order are that the Bills will not be cleared by the Houses of Delegates and Representatives — and that the President's Council will soon face the telling question of whether to push through legislation approved only by the House of Assembly. The controversial measures were discussed in Johannesburg last night. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

for detention for purposes of interrogation and serving as a State witness in security trials). These were:

- Section 28, which provided for indefinitely renewable periods of detention on the order of the Minister of Law and Order, who was required (in terms of a recent Appellate Court judgment) to state his reasons for the detention.

- Section 50, which provided for up to 14 days' detention, the first 48 hours of which could be ordered by a policeman of the rank of Warrant-Officer. Detention beyond the first 48 hours required a warrant from a magistrate.

The new proposal added section 50(a) to the preventive detention provisions, Dr Coleman said. He pointed out that section 50(a) would not ordinarily be in force but could be brought into effect by the State President whenever deemed necessary.

It would have the effect not only of lengthening the period of initial detention to 180 days, but would remove the judiciary from the process of ordering preventive detentions. Unlike the terms of the old section 50 a policeman of at least the rank of lieutenant-colonel could make the order under the new clause, Dr Coleman said.

In addition, while the old section 50 provided that detainees should have the status of awaiting-trial prisoners, guaranteeing access to lawyers, visitors and books, as well as freedom from interrogation, the new clause contained an ominous provision: that conditions would be determined in regulations made by the Minister of Justice.

STRINGENT

This suggested the punitive detention conditions which prevailed under the state of emergency, Dr Coleman said. They were widely described as more stringent than conditions applicable to sentenced prisoners.

Section 50(a) would provide much more flexible long-term detention than section 28, he claimed, because the Minister would not in the first instance have to authorise it. A warrant officer could begin the process, a lieutenant-colonel could extend the initial 48 hours for up to 180 days.

Dr Coleman highlighted the fact that section 50 had been widely used as an alternative to emergency detentions — that the number had shot up from 164 in 1984, to at least 1924 in 1985 (most of them made in non-emergency areas during the second half of the year) and that the figure for 1986 was reckoned to be at least 1500 to date.

If the new section 50 was used in such volume, given the drastically increased length of detention, "they are going to need concentration camps," Dr Coleman concluded.

Bill allows 'no limit on states of emergency'

The proposed amendment to the Public Safety Act would allow the Minister of Law and Order to declare an unlimited number of mini-states of emergency. This was a "prescription for order without law," the Black Sash was told in Johannesburg last night.

Mr Nicholas Haysom of the Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies said: "The promulgation of a state of emergency, whether called that or not, provides for the particularly dangerous situation in which those charged with law enforcement believe they are entering into a war situation."

The proposed amendment to the Public Safety Act — the law in terms of which states of emergency were proclaimed in 1960 and 1985 — provides that the Minister of Law and Order may proclaim unrest areas where there is public disturbance or where riots threaten to occur.

He may make unspecified and unlimited regulations for the maintenance of order.

Features of the Bill are:

LIMITED POWER

- It did not stipulate Parliamentary confirmation of the proclamation of unrest areas, but provided only for the more limited power of annulment of the proclamation by Parliament. Mr Haysom said the necessity of obtaining Parliamentary approval in the previous states of emergency had probably been a factor in their termination shortly before the scheduled debate in Parliament. The dropping of this provision might encourage virtually indefinite emergency rule.

- The courts would be ousted from pronouncing on the validity of the regulations and would be powerless to set aside any such measures. In the old law the "ouster clause" had been included in the regulations but not in the Act itself.

- The Minister would have much wider powers of discretion, being empowered to declare unrest areas "whenever he is of the opinion that a public disturbance, riot or public violence is occurring or threatening."

- The Minister could declare unrest areas for an initial period of three months, but with the concurrence of the State President this could be extended almost indefinitely.

SPAR 20/5/86

You don't know what Heunis is doing ^{304A} Eglin

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

South Africans are in a state of turmoil about their future at all levels of Government — local, regional and national — Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday.

He was commenting in Glenanda about PFP strategy in the municipal by-election in Johannesburg's Ward 45 on June 10.

The state of the country means that even important local issues are overshadowed by the un-



Mr Colin Eglin ... nobody knows what's happening.

certainty pervading everyday life, he said. People do not know what Minister Chris Heunis is doing to local government, or just how he is weakening links between

people and the Government itself.

The only thing that is certain is that if the Regional Services Councils get off the ground, everyone will pay more in rates and taxes.

The RSCs would have to be implemented against massive resistance from all sectors of the population, Mr Eglin said. "This will spell the end of local government as we know it in South Africa."

Mr Tony Bester, PFP candidate in Ward 45, said canvassing had

shown that the faith of many solid Nats had been shattered by NP lies. "Another issue of grave concern is security in the south, which is served by only two police stations."

Mr Harry Schwartz, MP for Yeoville, and Mr Bester will hold a public meeting at the Glenanda Primary School in Glen Avenue on Thursday at 8 pm when political matters will be aired. Local issues will be debated at a meeting convened by the Southern Johannesburg Ratepayers' Federation on May 29.

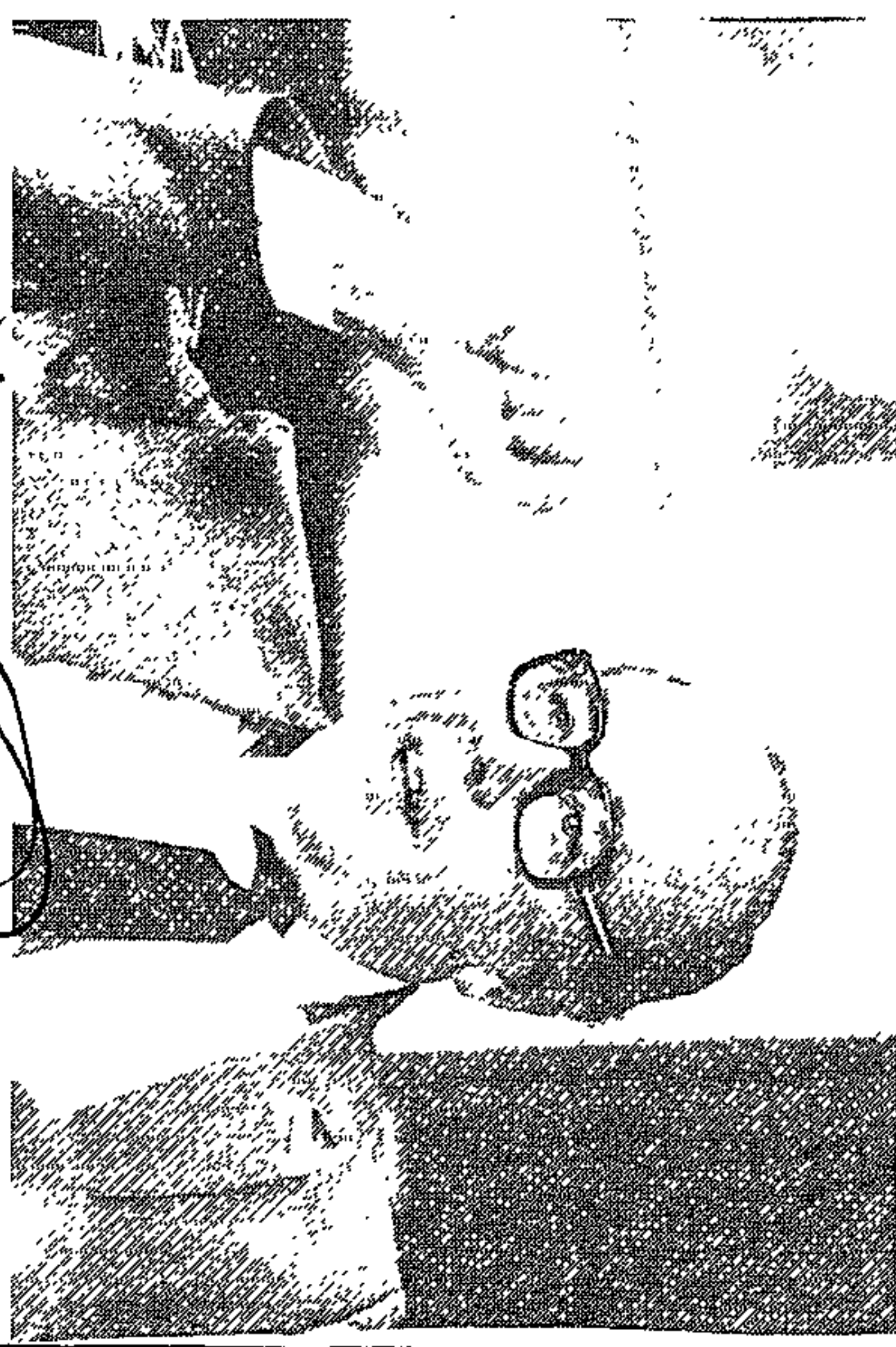
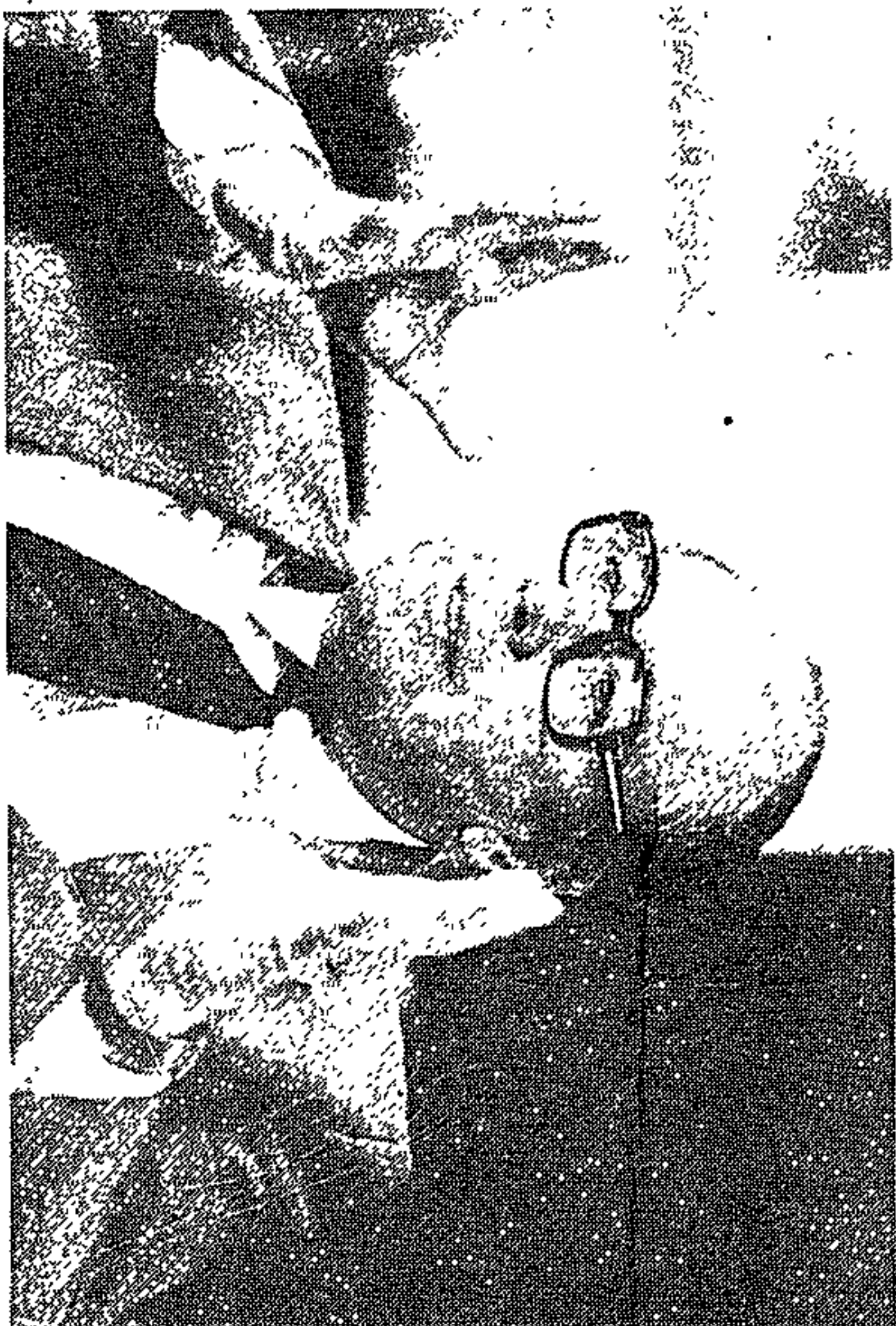
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**Mass meeting on
Monumentkoppie**

The planned mass meeting of rightwingers on Republic Day, May 31, will be held at Monumentkoppie in Pretoria.

It will be addressed by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, and Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner-volkswag.

The organising committee has called on organisations with arrangements for Republic Day to cancel their events to let members attend at Monumentkoppie.

Sounding the death-knell of paternalism



'It is group policy to create a corporate environment of excellence in the human resource field' — John Hall

At the Barlow Rand group, the paternalistic approach towards black workers is breathing its last.

Mr John Hall, group human resources director, concedes that paternalism is "pretty much" entrenched in manage-

ment attitudes in South Africa.

"Even in the most enlightened companies, if policies are not established as workers' rights and can be withdrawn at the whim of management, then I think this is a form of paternalism."

"Liberal paternalism has been practised for so long that it is hard to recognise it, even in one's attitudes."

The human resource function at Barlow Rand is geared to the elimination of paternalism and the recognition of workers' rights through collective bargaining.

With the large number of people employed in the group's 500 individual companies, all of which operate on a decentralised basis, it is a major communications exercise to ensure that group values are applied throughout the organisation.

That is Mr Hall's function.

"It has taken the re-

STAN 5/86
22 BY STAN KENNEDY
304A

try to achieve excellence in the whole field of human resources — in the area of remuneration packages, security of employment, training and development, safety and health standards.

While the group has a lot of expertise in the human resources field and very great strengths of professionally trained people, there are still problem areas. These, however, are being tackled vigorously.

In setting group standards, the strengths have been harnessed to arrive at a human resources management model to which all group companies can aspire.

JOB SATISFACTION

focus management's attention on the better utilisation of people, emphasise the need for training and eliminate any tolerance of poor performance.

"One often hears of businessmen complaining about poor productivity, particularly their lower paid workers.

"But, productivity can only be achieved through the payment of living wages, security of employment, training and development, health and safety, and respect for the individual."

All of these add up to in Mr Hall's book, enlightened self-interest.

As chairman of Midlandburg Steel & Alloys, he has seen these policies actively pursued and excellent productivity gains achieved. He sees no

MEDIAN	22
40th percentile	24
30th percentile	21
FIRST QUARTILE	19
20th percentile	18
10th percentile	16
Bottom Wage	15

Total no. of labourers

Africa to bring home to us the need to get closer together. To say it is too late is wrong. Never was the need greater or the time more opportune for people to start talking to each other, getting closer to each other," he says fervently.

SPECIAL NEED

Communications is a two-way thing. Mr Hall is not saying that communication at Barlow Rand is totally ineffective. But the special need to concentrate on communication has been recognised.

It has always received a high priority in the group but it is now realised that effective communication requires a lot of time and effort, and quite a lot of professionalism.

The human resource function in a company is not only developing skills and expertise in the labour force. Human resources management embraces everything from the routine personnel function to industrial relations, through to succession planning and everything that relates to creating an industrial relations environment in which productivity can be achieved to mutual advantage.

Mr Hall's job is to focus management attention on group values and

In measuring themselves against these standards, they can identify shortcomings and receive advice and resources to enable them to solve their problems.

Tangible results are hard to define. But job satisfaction comes from a structured approach to human resources and clearly defined goals. There is no magic wand to wave. Conditions change daily. It is a hard slog but the results more than justify the effort, he says.

Mr Hall doubts that there are any perfect companies in the group. However, he believes they can learn from each other and to facilitate that he finds both challenging and stimulating.

At the end of the day, profitability is the name of the game, and productivity through good people management is a major objective.

To say that good employment practices lead to greater productivity may sound trite, but Mr Hall firmly believes that unless industrial relations are sound, achieving productivity is impossible.

In terms of remuneration, he believes it is necessary to pay more to get more — not the other way around. High wages

reason why these philosophies should not be adopted equally successfully throughout the greater group.

On black advancement, Mr Hall says he tries to think of people development. The creation of an environment without discrimination will enhance people's ability to find a place in the sun, he says.

ADVANCEMENT

His definition of black advancement relates to the paying of a liveable wage, access to training opportunities and security of employment.

He rejects tokenism completely and believes that people of all race groups should aspire to senior positions through competence, starting at the ground floor and equipping themselves to take advantage of the many opportunities that exist.

"It is group policy to create a corporate environment of excellence in the human resource field where people can feel confident that they can develop because the system is for them and not against them.

"There are hundreds of black people in the group who are smart, who are identifiable as being capable of progressing and who can play a role in commerce and industry.

BEACH meeting Progs to protest

Post Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party has been granted permission to hold a poster demonstration outside the Feather Market Hall in Port Elizabeth tonight.

It is to protest at the holding of a meeting there from 7.30pm, at which right-wing whites, under the leadership of the HNP, will call for a referendum on the City Council's recent decision to open all the beaches to all races.

Explaining why the PFP would not attend the meeting, the chairman of the party in the Eastern Cape, Mr Ronnie Kaplan, said today that "the beach debate is over. There are far more important issues to address."

One of those to hold a poster will be the vice-chairman of the party's regional council and a PE city councillor, Mr Rick McKiever. The poster is likely to read: "Beach apartheid is dead - forward South Africa."

Mr Kaplan said the PFP demonstration was intended to "re-inforce the point that the decision (on open beaches) has already been taken, but that the PFP is not abdicating its responsibility."

2. Annual Leave - 'Staff' are leave per Y 18 days annual

1. Additional allowance - Bicycle allowance

Footnotes

AREA A: Alberton, Bellville, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Camperdown, The Cape, Durban, Germiston, Goodwood, Inanda, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Kull's River, Nigel, Randfontein, Pinetown, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Randburg, Sasolburg, Simon's Town, Springs, Uitenhage, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria, Wonderboom and Wynberg;

AREA B: Paarl.

AREA C: Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley, Klerksdorp, Pietermaritzburg, Somerset West, Stellenbosch and Strand.

AREA D: Klip River and Newcastle.

AR 645
20/5/68

US Consul tells of SA's complexities

3049

By ALAN DUNN, of The Argus Foreign Service, in WASHINGTON

SOUTH Africa's plight was not comparable to the civil rights movement in the United States beyond race, said the American Consul-General in Cape Town, Mr John Burroughs.

"The only similarity is black and white," he said. "But the complexities here, we have had nothing like that in the US".

Mr Burroughs (49), a life-long US public servant, and his wife, Audrey, were featured this week in The New York Times as the only black American diplomatic couple in South Africa.

He is quoted as saying the racial polarisation in South Africa was not as clear as some would believe: "There are a lot of shades of gray... There's a lot of goodwill on both sides, and a lot of people on both sides who have been working for change. A lot of personal friends in the US do not believe us," he said.

Mrs Burroughs noted that while physically comfortable in their Bishopscourt residence, "I don't think psychologically we feel at ease."

THEY would not head spontaneously, for instance, for a weekend in the country at an unknown place, because they might encounter apartheid. She said it was fear of the unknown, not knowing what problems they might meet. And she could not stand rejection, Mrs Burroughs said.



Mr John Burroughs, US Consul-General in Cape Town, the only black American diplomat in South Africa.

"What goes on here is so diametrically opposed to what our country is supposed to be all about," Mr Burroughs said. "Being here and listening to, and discussing, and seeing what's happening to people simply because of their race, their ethnicity, their tribe, makes it psychologically uncomfortable."

Sometimes, while driving to work, he saw black and coloured people crowded on trucks on their way to more menial work.

"I often ask myself, how many business people, lawyers, maybe scientists, computer scientists, are on the back of that truck? People who have never really had the opportunity to fulfil their potential," he said.

MR Burroughs said also being black was not an immediate stamp of approval among South African blacks, although it helped him understand their concerns and frustrations.

"I go into a township and talk to a random sample of people," he said. "Their first reaction is not looking at me as a black so much, but as an American."

As such, he was subjected to criticism, because of Washington's policies in Southern Africa, he said.

Mr Burroughs told also of what he calls "the Cape experiment", aimed at promoting discussion between South African interest groups that would otherwise have no interlocutor to bring them together, and between black traders and white-owned corporations.

Mrs Burroughs related the change in white attitudes when shopkeepers heard her accent and tried then to show foreigners they were not prejudiced at all. In such cases, skin colour did not seem to be the main criterion for approval.

† Area where death has been reported

Esser in bid for bail

JOHANNESBURG. — Johannesburg millionaire Mr Franz Johannes Esser, 50, owner of properties, a plot, game farm and sole shareholder and director of New Triangle Motors Pty Ltd, yesterday told Johannesburg Regional Court that the police had removed documents relating to about 1 000 transactions from the company, but as far as he knew there were only about 50 complainants.

Mr Esser, of Morsim Road, Hyde Park, is appearing on charges of fraud, theft and "numerous statutory offences which are still being investigated".

Mr A van Wyk, for the State, yesterday opposed

a bail application for Mr Esser, saying he might flee the country.

Mr Esser told the magistrate, Mr A G A du Toit, that his company would not exist for more than a month if he were not granted bail.

His second wife, Emily, who is expecting the couple's second child, is running the business.

He said he had an overdraft of R255 000 with Barclays Bank and was planning to sell a R400 000 property at Loch Vaal to pay this off.

According to a list handed to the court the value of his properties amounted to R2 130 000 and stock and company debtors to, R210 000.

Bonds and liabilities on these properties amounted to R1 259 500. This left him with about R660 000, but he had to pay the Receiver of Revenue and another creditor about R49 000.

He said he would not leave the country with just R10 000 he had available in cash for bail. He had also handed in his passport to the police.

Mr Esser, who came to South Africa from West Germany in 1977, told the court there had been two unsuccessful applications for his extradition. He admitted he had left Germany "under somewhat of a cloud".

The bail application continues today. — Sapa

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THE CATHOLIC

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South Africa.

21/5/86 STAK (364A)

PFP promotes its plan for nonracialism in SA

Staff Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party has launched a country-wide publicity campaign to promote its plan for a "prosperous, nonracial and democratic South Africa".

The PFP explained its policy at a Press conference in Johannesburg last night.

The campaign, "There is a way to save South Africa", outlines a possible solution to the country's problems built on the concept of individual freedom and establishment of a new constitution agreed on by all South Africans.

The PFP plan calls for the abolition of all forms of statutory discrimination and the granting of full citizenship rights to all.

Another principle stressed by the party is the devolution of power to strengthen the "say of the people at a local level". It stresses these aims can be achieved through building a democratic, prosperous and nonracial South Africa.

All South Africans must have a share in the benefits of a free economy, where the individual has the opportunity to realise his/her potential. This has previously been prevented by racially orientated legislation.

All forms of apartheid have to be abolished for South Africa to become nonracial. Individual freedom of choice on education, employment and place of residence must also be guaranteed, says the party's blueprint for the future.

According to the PFP, when South Africa was recognised as one country with one constitution, negotiated by genuine leaders, there would be a devolution of power along federal lines to regional and local governments.

This would mean the sites of power would be widespread and people could participate fully in running the country's affairs.

'Coloured only' hospital slated

THREE medical associations and five political organisations this week joined forces in calling for the rejection of a directive by the Transvaal Health Services declaring the Coronation Hospital a "coloureds only" hospital.

The medical bodies are the National Medical and Dental Association, the Health Workers' Association and the

By **MOJALEFA MOSEKI**

Coronation Hospital Crisis Committee.

The political organisations are the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Wits Black Students Society, the Anti-President's Council, the Riverlea Youth Congress and the Lenasia Federation of Residents Associations.

The bodies say the decision was taken to extend apartheid by further dividing the people.

Relieved

They called on the MEC for hospital services, Mr Daan Kirstein, who issued the directive, to open the "under-utilised" whites-only Johannesburg and the J G Strydom hospital to all if the move was intended

to ease overcrowding.

"The claim that this is only to relieve overcrowding at Coronation Hospital seems to be incompatible with the fact that the hospitals to which patients are to be sent to are as overcrowded, if not more so than the Coronation Hospital," said the statement.

The directive ordering health workers at Coro-

nation Hospital to refer patients of other races except "coloureds" to their "own regional hospitals" was issued in March.

Mr Kirstein said "coloured" residents of Newclare, Coronationville and neighbouring Western Township had requested the move to be taken because of "overcrowding". But residents denied this.

(108)

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Part of the small crowd which voted last night for a referendum.

Town Clerk reviews need for ballot boxes in every PE ward

Post Reporter

THERE will probably be only five ballot boxes in Port Elizabeth when ratepayers vote on June 20 for or against the opening of the city's beaches to all races.

The decision on the number of ballot boxes lies with the Town Clerk, Mr P K Botha, following the meeting last night in the Feather Market Hall at which 99 ratepayers

voted for a referendum.

Mr Botha said today he had expected a packed hall last night.

A total of 160 people attended last night's meeting, but only 100 of them were ratepayers who voted.

"The original intention," Mr Botha said, "was to have ballot boxes in each of the 13 wards.

"I am reviewing the situation. Because so few

people attended the meeting I expect there won't be a sufficient demand for polling stations in all the wards.

"Today I will look at the possibility of evenly spreading ballot boxes in the city — five boxes conveniently situated."

In March a majority of city councillors voted that the city's beaches be opened to all races.

Two petitions calling

for a referendum to be held on the issue were then sent to the council.

An HNP petition carried 44 signatures and a petition submitted by councillor Chris Meyer had 144 signatures.

Last night 99 ratepayers voted for and one voted against the referendum. Twenty-six votes were needed to make the vote effective.

Big

PFP

drive in

Eastern

Cape

Post Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party in the Eastern Cape is to participate fully in the party's "Save South Africa" campaign, which was launched with advertisements in the Press yesterday.

The regional director of the party, Mr. Bobby Stevenson, said today that information tables would be set up in the Port Elizabeth constituencies of Walmer, Central and Newton Park, between now and mid-June, at which pamphlets spelling out the PFP's plans to save the country would be available.

Mr Stevenson added that the pamphlets would also be distributed widely in the city. House meetings were also planned.

The party's Border regional organiser, Mr Ian Bentley, said that the MP for Sea Point, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, and Mr Errol Moorcroft (MP for Albany), would address a meeting at 5.30pm this evening in the Grahams-town City Hall and at the Civic Centre in Port Alfred tomorrow, at 12.30pm.

He added that the national chairman of the PFP, Mr Peter Gastrow, would speak at a meeting in the rural black town of Kwalera, near East London, on Republic Day.

BUS DAY - 21/5/86

Most whites want Botha to stay on

Own Correspondent

TWO out of three urban whites believe President P W Botha should continue in office despite speculation that he might step down this year.

Support for his continuation is stronger among English- than Afrikaans-speaking whites, according to a recent Gallup Poll by the Markinor Research Group.

A sample of 1 000 whites was polled for the survey.

It found 68% believed Botha should stay on, compared with 28% who favoured his resignation, and 4% who did not know.

His strongest backing was among older, well-off English-speakers.

In Durban 71% and in the PWV 70% favoured Botha's continuing in office.

In Cape Town 33% favoured his resignation.

3048 0 0213/86

CP not a state threat — Steyn

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Conservative Party believed in the democratic process through the parliamentary system and was no threat to the state, the party's chairman here, Mr Calvyn Steyn, said here yesterday.

He was reacting to a statement by the leader of the official opposition Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, that both the far right and the far left were

dangerous to the country.

Mr Steyn said his party understood the frustration of the far right but the CP itself was in Parliament precisely because it believed in the democratic process.

He said the PFP had several questions to answer to the electorate, such as what were its principles on black representation in Parliament and what guarantees did it have that a

black president would have the same sympathy the party had for blacks.

Mr Steyn said his party, which would soon establish a branch in Beacon Bay and Goube, as well as East London North, believed in each nation developing separately in its own defined area.

"Whites in this country have a directive from God to lead. Blacks have land according to the 1936 Land Act and if they want more, this can be negotiated," he said.

Conflicting accounts make probe essential, says PFP

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Conflicting versions as to how the police acted at a black unrest victim's funeral in Kimberley last week made it essential that an independent inquiry be appointed, the Progressive Federal Party said this week.

The PFP's local organisation and the Catholic and Anglican churches have already called for an inquiry.

According to the local Progressive Federal Party monitoring organisation in the area, police fired birdshot and teargas without warning at the funeral of Mr Khumoetsile Segolodi on April 29.

Nothing that could have been construed as provocative happened at the funeral, the PFP said.

The police have denied the allega-

tions made by "unnamed persons" and found it "strange" none of the accusers had lodged affidavits for an official investigation.

When some mourners stoned a police vehicle, tearsmoke was fired to disperse them.

Birdshot was fired at a youth allegedly armed with a petrol bomb.

APPEAL

Mr Peter Soal, secretary of the PFP's law and order group, said that the conflicting versions made it even more important that an independent inquiry be held.

"The Minister of Law and Order should have heeded my appeal of six months ago when I asked for a permanent commission of inquiry to be appointed to investigate all claims against the police," he said.

Nats, Progs may vote on same side

EVE POST 21/5/86

THE National Party might find itself supporting the Progressive Federal Party when the campaign gets under way for next month's referendum on whether to open PE beaches to all races.

In the 1983 constitution referendum, the PFP found itself calling for a "No" vote alongside the Conservative Party.

However, on this occasion the right-wing Herstigte Nasionale Party, which forced the referendum, looks set to stand isolated against the NP and PFP.

The regional chairman of the PFP, Mr Ronnie Kaplan, confirmed today that his party was "going

to get involved" in the referendum on June 20.

Municipal voters will vote on the recent PE City Council decision to open all the city's beaches to all races on July 1.

While the local office of the National Party could not confirm by late today whether the NP would openly campaign for or against open beaches, indications are that the NP in PE supports open beaches.

When the City Council voted 14-7 in favour of desegregation, several well-known NP figures on the council supported the move, including the Mayor, Mr Ben Olivier.

● See Page 4

CREDIT TERMS AVAILABLE

PE forms

'talks' ^{21/5/66}
body ^{304A}

THE need for negotiation about Port Elizabeth's problems was underlined yesterday of a negotiating sub-committee by the Port Elizabeth City Council.

The Policy and Resources Committee decided at yesterday's meeting to establish a sub-committee to negotiate with anyone, and especially African community leaders, on a wide range of problems.

The committee consists of the Mayor, Mr Ben Olivier, the former mayor Mr Ivan Krige, Mr Alan Ward Abel, Mr Davidson and Mr Cillié.

● The spokesman for the PE Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Mkhushi Jack, said today that a decision as to whether the CBC and "progressive organisations" would enter into negotiations with the newly formed sub-committee would be made after discussions "at all levels of our structures".

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P W accepts full responsibility for raids

Thatcher acts to save EPG mission

POWDER 304A
2/5/86

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday rejected the clamour for sanctions against SA and intervened to bolster the Commonwealth peace initiative. At the same President P W Botha told Parliament in Cape Town he took full responsibility for Monday's raids on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

A hawkish Botha, clearly unmoved by the international furore surrounding the raids, made it clear SA would not hesitate to strike again if terrorist attacks did not stop, PATRICK CULL reports.

"We will fight international terrorism in precisely the same way as other Western countries, despite the sanctimonious protests of the guardian of international terrorist movements — the United Na-

JOHN BATTERSBY
and MARGARET SMITH

tions," he said.

Addressing a hostile British Parliament, Thatcher said it was "still worth making every effort to stop SA just dissolving into a cauldron of violence. It is our great anxiety to prevent the terrible violence that could take place in SA and to do everything possible to help the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to carry out its role".

Although she rejected calls for sanctions, there were indications of a growing feeling behind the scenes that Britain would have to adopt further symbolic economic measures in the context of the European Community (EC) and the Commonwealth before the end of the year.

Britain's assumption of the EC presi-

dency in July is considered a crucial development in the tightening of selective sanctions.

Options said to be under consideration by Britain include the introduction of visas for South African passport-holders, a ban on air links between the two and an embargo on the import of SA agricultural produce.

Botha, quoting Thatcher's and President Ronald Reagan's comments after the US strike on Libya, said he had given a detailed account of the contact and co-operation between the ANC and the PLO as part of the larger Libyan plan of terror.

For years the ANC and the PLO have been sending recruits to the training camps of Colonel Gaddafi, as well as to

● To Page 2 ➡

BSU D47 (304A)
2/5/86

Thatcher acts to save EPG mission

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● To Page 2 ➡

Thatcher intervenes

Angola, to be trained as terrorists."

The ANC's ties with the executor of terrorism whom President Reagan had identified as the "Mad dog of the Middle East" were well established.

"I wish to appeal to the country to unite against terrorism and to unite for peace. SA will not allow the double standards and hypocrisy of the Western world, even on the application of legal principles, to stand in the way of our responsibility to protect our country."

Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group leader Malcolm Fraser said yesterday the initiative had been damaged by the SA raids, but that it had not been killed.

"Our obligation is to persist until we know there is no chance of negotiation

taking place. It is too early to say that at this point. We have been very close to it. There might be only a small chance — but even a small chance is worth trying to keep alive to develop into a greater one."

Asked whether the timing of the raids was quite deliberate, whether it was intended to scupper the negotiations, which were being seen to have progressed, Fraser said.

"That is an implication. But if the SA government had no interest in the proposals, why would a meeting with the EPG be scheduled with eight of the most senior ministers, taking a considerable amount of their time?"

➡ ● From Page 1

PW another Gadaffi, says Ted Kennedy

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Senator Edward Kennedy has compared the State President, Mr Botha, with Libyan leader Muammar Gadaffi as a promoter of state-sponsored terrorism.

The Massachusetts senator's comment came at the end of a packed, emotional news conference in Washington when a coalition of congressmen outlined the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — a set of stiffer sanctions.

After several of the Bill's 46 sponsors from both congressional chambers gave Monday's raids as another reason for tougher sanctions, Senator Kennedy was asked what he thought of SA's view that the US raid on Libya was a precedent.

He said two countries sponsored terrorism. "One is Gadaffi of Libya and the other is Botha of South Africa."

The news conference on Washington's Capitol Hill saw some of the harshest attacks yet on the government by Congress. Many speakers portrayed the issue as a clear moral choice — good or evil.

Republican Senator Lowell Weicker of Connecticut said: "We cannot tiptoe or waltz around the evil of apartheid. The best damn reaffirmation of what our country stands for on the Fourth of July would be for this legislation to pass."

The Bill, introduced in both chambers yesterday, seeks to ban loans to the South African private sector, stop all new US investments, ban US assistance in the development of SA energy sources, close SA bank offices in the US, end landing rights for SA aircraft and end the import of SA uranium, coal and steel.

Sash to hold placard demo

SD
22/5/86
304A
22/5

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The Black Sash will hold a second placard protest on the steps of the city hall here today against the detentions of members of the Duncan Village Residents' Association.

The first placard protest earlier this month was stopped when the Special Branch confiscated the placard and a letter from the town clerk authorising the

Black Sash to demonstrate on the steps of the city hall.

A Black Sash spokesman, Mrs Nora Squires, said yesterday: "We feel very strongly that peaceful protest is every individual's right in a democratic society.

"We can only quote the French philosopher, Voltaire, on our stand: 'I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend with my life your right to say it.'"

Right wing poised to hijack Pik's meeting

Pietersburg is braced for the backlash

By Hannes de Wet

Tension is running high at Pietersburg, where the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and its right-wing allies will be going all out tonight to prevent Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha from addressing a National Party meeting.

Spokesmen for both sides said yesterday that the showdown would be a make-or-break event for them. And both camps vowed that nothing would make them back down from what they regard as a political test match.

Mr Lodewyk Snyman, chairman of the local NP, said: "The atmosphere is loaded. We are determined not to let anything stop us holding our meeting. We are doing everything possible to ensure it will go ahead."

Mr Izak Butler, leading AWB figure in Pietersburg, said: "We will have 4 000 to 5 000 people from the right wing. We are going to prove that the nation doesn't want to listen to Pik Botha or his Government any longer."

"Our only concern is that the NP is involving schoolchildren in the meeting. We will not be able to guarantee their safety if things start getting out of hand. Feelings are running high among some right-wing supporters."

Indications are that the right-wing meeting set to be addressed by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche at the rugby stadium will not take place. All the action will be at the Jack Botes Hall, where the right-wing forces will attempt to take over the NP meeting.

Public peace

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Far Northern Transvaal, Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, said the police would not hesitate to act if the public peace was disturbed or property damaged. "Although we are standing on the sideline, we will pay attention to all complaints."

According to right-wing sources, the police are getting reinforcements.

An indication of how seriously the NP takes the battle is the fact that Mr Botha arrived in Pietersburg last night to finalise his party's strategy.

The Star visited the NP's offices yesterday and heard that arrangements were being made to strengthen party ranks from other towns.

The right-wing camp — consisting of the AWB, Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party — was more open about its plans.

"We have people coming in cars and combis from towns such as Phalaborwa, Tzaneen, Nylstroom and Potgietersrus," said Mr Butler.

Left, right or centre: where will police be?

PIETERSBURG — Whose side will the police be on in the expected clash between the National Party and the far right tonight?

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Far Northern Transvaal, Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, said the police "will be standing on the sideline" — but there are other opinions.

A senior NP source told *The Star*: "We discussed this at length with the police and explained to them that no NP gathering will ever be safe again if the physical intimidation by the AWB is not stopped in Pietersburg. I can assure you that they had great sympathy with our viewpoint."

Right-wing sources gave a different picture.

"I know for a fact that we have many supporters among the ranks of the police force in Pietersburg. I am not sure about the officers, but there is no doubt in my mind that a large number of policemen are fed up with the Government," one source said.

Local AWB leader Mr Izak Butler said his people would be going out of their way to avoid a clash with the police.

"We regard the police as our friends and will do everything possible to help them," he said.

"We know the NP is going to try to provoke us into violent actions tonight. Their strategy will be to try and alienate us from the police."

Mr Butler said he believed there would be a large contingent of security police in civilian dress among the audience.

"We are quite aware of the fact that the Government will be trying to use the events of tonight to ban the AWB. And they will be using the police to try to achieve that."

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE editors of the Burger and Beeld have refused to run a PFP advertisement in their papers — unless references critical of the government, the National Party and SABC are erased.

A draft of the proposed half-page advertisement — part of the PFP's "Save SA" campaign — was returned by Nasionale Pers to the party's media agents with the sections "our editors are prepared to accept".

The editors refused to allow more than half of the original text of the draft advertisement to be published in their papers.

Sections deleted from the advertisement included:

Burger, Beeld spurn PFP ad

306A
CMT Tink 22/5/86

● "The SABC won't let you see the movie ...";

● "... Thanks to the Government's blatant manipulation of the SABC, it hasn't always been easy to communicate what we (the PFP) are for.";

● An assertion that the "Nat government" had created the mess in which South Africa was;

● A statement that discrimination, domination and persecution were conditions that existed under the present Nationalist government and that the PFP feared

these conditions "would exist under any form of minority-rule government.";

● That the PFP rejected a "winner-takes-all parliamentary system such as we have at present" and instead proposed that everyone be represented on a Federal Council with protection for minorities; and,

● That the PFP believed in free association and that no one should be forced to belong to any "grouping".

A later version of the PFP ad has already ap-

peared in several English-language newspapers and the mass-circulation Sunday newspaper Rapport — owned jointly by Perskor and Nasionale Pers — has agreed to publish it.

The PFP's special projects head, Mr Peter Soal, said yesterday: "I find it strange that the editors of the two newspapers do not have sufficient confidence in the intelligence of their readers to expose them to alternatives and let them make up their own minds."

"At a time when the government and its newspapers are encouraging the electorate to adopt an open-door approach to reform, these editors seem to be bent on ensuring that their readers have closed minds."

PW hits foreign 'meddling'

By JEAN LE MAY,
Cape Town

THE long-awaited National Council will finally get off the ground when a Bill to create a body which will negotiate a new constitution is published shortly, State President Botha said in Cape Town yesterday.

He appeared, however, to reduce the likelihood that he will negotiate with the African National Congress-in-exile by saying he was prepared to "negotiate with citizens of South Africa provided they do not resort to violence ... or call in foreign agencies to support them".

He also included group self-determination and the protection of minority rights as non-negotiable. And foreign interference was

warned off in a hard-hitting reference to "meddling". The objects of the National Council would be to "provide opportunity for participation in the planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation, provide a say for black South Africans in governmental processes on an interim basis, and further sound relations, human rights and human dignity for all," he said. The Bill will be published for comment before being tabled in parliament. The announcement was made during a special session of the President's Council yesterday afternoon, attended

by ambassadors, dignitaries and a large contingent of foreign journalists.

The President spelt out certain important principles which he said were not negotiable. They are:

- "Whatever negotiated solutions we can produce will be implemented by parliament," since negotiated reform must be implemented constitutionally. This includes the possibility of general elections or a referendum.
- Certain norms and values will be

observed, which meant that "a democratic dispensation of government which must accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africa's communities must be designed and implemented".

- It has to provide for "visible and effective protection of minority groups" and freedom of religion.
- It will maintain the sovereignty and integrity of South Africa through "well-disciplined and suitably equipped security forces".
- Liberty on the group and community level implies respect for and the promotion and protection of the right to self-determination.

- The furtherance of private enterprise and effective competition.
- The sanctity and indivisibility of the law and the independence of the judiciary.

In what is seen here as oblique criticism of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which is now in Cape Town, and various American, British and European groups which have sent "fact-finding" missions to South Africa recently, Botha said that "the fact that South Africa is committed to reform is often exploited".

"This confusion is exacerbated by continued visits from official and non-official groups who interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs. "Some are well-meaning, but the activities of others have only compounded the confusion.

Zimbabwe

hiding fasts on death toll, 3044

says Nel

Pretoria Bureau

The death toll from Monday's three-pronged attack by South African security forces on Lusaka, Harare and Gaborone could be as high as six.

The South African Government yesterday claimed the security forces had killed at least two ANC members in Harare and seriously wounded — or killed — two others in Gaborone during Monday's raids.

But Zambia has claimed that another two people died in the raid on Makeni Plains near Lusaka.

CONVINCED

Deputy Minister for Information Mr Louis Nel said the South African Defence Force remained convinced that at least two, and possibly more, ANC members had died in Harare.

"We believe the Zimbabwean Government is withholding this information for its own purposes."

He added that two more members of the ANC had been injured in Gaborone and it was not known if they had died.

He categorically denied that the security forces had abducted anyone or brought back prisoners from the raids.

EPG peace moves 'are not dead'

Pretoria Bureau

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group had made it clear since this week's cross-border raids that its peace initiatives were not dead, Deputy Minister for Information Mr Louis Nel said yesterday.

The EPG delegation left South Africa within hours of the raids and there has been speculation that their attempts to mediate a peaceful solution have been torpedoed by South Africa's cross-border aggression.

The foreign group was in Lu-

NO REGRETS — SADF SPEAKS ON CROSS-BORDER RAIDS



Brigadier J A Kloppe (left), director of operations of the SADF, the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel (centre), and Brigadier Herman Stadler, chief of security intelligence, at the Pretoria press conference yesterday.

Unrepentant SA tells world and the ANC: We'll go in again

By Sue Leeman and Ann Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

In the face of international condemnation, the South African Government remains unrepentant about this week's raids on Harare, Gaborone and Lusaka, saying the attacks succeeded in disrupting vital ANC infiltration routes from these frontline capitals.

And at an international press conference in Pretoria yesterday Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel issued a strong warning that should the ANC continue its incursions from neighbouring states the Government would not hesitate to strike again.

"We have now given a clear message to the ANC that we can reach them — this has been understood."

The security forces had "conclusive proof" that their

targets in the raids were ANC bases from which armed and trained terrorists made their way into South Africa.

However, no documents or other items were seized and no prisoners taken.

Mr Nel would not give further details on exactly how the raids were executed.

193 attacks

Mr Nel said one of the main reasons for Monday's pre-dawn strikes — which hit offices and a home in Harare, a camp outside Lusaka and a small settlement near Gaborone — was the growth in the number of terror attacks in SA in the past 18 months.

Between April 1985 and the

same month this year there had been 193 attacks compared to only 60 between April 1984 and April 1985. Some had been launched from Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Since 1976, he said, 43 blacks and 35 whites had died in ANC terrorist action.

In the last 10 years the ANC had been responsible for:

- Twelve landmine explosions, a further 30 landmines planted by the ANC were found by the security forces.
- A total of 113 hand grenades were used in attacks and another 1273 were seized by security forces.
- The use of 115 limpet mines in attacks. Security forces located another 409.
- Seven demolition mine explosions and 87 of these mines were dug up.

Security forces had also located 85 anti-personnel mines in ANC depots.

Mr Nel said it had become clear from foreign reaction "that the nature and the character of the ANC are not properly understood."

The ANC, he said, was a terrorist organisation which formed part of an international terror network and was dependent solely on foreign aid.

He insisted that the ANC was not a threat to the South African Government, but rather to the lives and property of ordinary citizens.

Campaign

Mr Nel said the ANC's whole aim was to "bring about the overthrow of the white-minority government."

Challenge to prove that target was refugee camp

Pretoria Bureau

South Africa has denied that the Lusaka "terrorist transit facility" it attacked on Monday was actually a refugee camp run by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The UN has gone on record as saying its camp at Makeni Plains outside Lusaka was attacked, and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has also said the target was a refugee camp.

There have been conflicting reports about the raid, which came to light only some time after the strikes on Harare and Gaborone had been revealed.

Many questions still remain about the attack, including how many people were killed.

PROOF CALL

Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel said yesterday that until the Government had seen proof that a refugee camp had been hit, it would deny this. "It be easy for the UN to prove — let it do so."

"Only specific ANC targets were attacked. We have no quarrel with the people of Zambia and every precaution was taken to prevent injury to civilians."

Mr Nel said it was a common ploy for victims of South African raids to say refugees had been attacked.

Cars rented in Bulawayo for attack

HARARE — Three of the vehicles used by the South Africans who attacked two targets in Harare on Monday were rented from the Bulawayo offices of an international car hire company.

Mr Brian Boyer, general manager of the United Touring Company, which owns Hertz in Zimbabwe, said the men had paid a cash deposit of 2,000 Zimbabwe dollars (about R2500) and, to the best of his knowledge, had produced their driver's licences.

maintained convinced that the 16th of the two, and possibly more, ANC members had died in Harare.

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EPC peace moves 'are not dead'

Pretoria Bureau

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The EPG delegation left South Africa within hours of the raids and there has been speculation that their attempts to mediate a peaceful solution have been torpedoed by South Africa's cross-border aggression.

The foreign group was in Lusaka on the eve of the bombing of the city for talks with ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Nel said a wrong impression had been created that the group had left prematurely.

"I have seen no statement from the EPG that they have cut their visit short."

"And the chairman has made it clear that their initiative is not dead."

We'll go in again World and the ANC

By Sue Leeman and Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

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He insisted that the ANC was not a threat to the South African Government, but rather to the lives and property of ordinary citizens.

Campaign

Mr Nel said the ANC's victims were often innocent civilians who died in the ANC's campaign to intimidate the population.

"In this regard, the ANC does not differ at all from the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the Irish Republican Army and Red Brigades."

ANC terrorists were trained mainly in the Soviet Union, East Germany, Angola and Libya and the organisation was dependent for its arms support exclusively on Russia and Eastern Bloc countries.

Cars rented in Bulawayo for attack

HARARE — Three of the vehicles used by the South Africans who attacked two targets in Harare on Monday were rented from the Bulawayo offices of an international car hire company.

Mr Brian Bowyer, general manager of the United Touring Company, which owns Hertz in Zimbabwe, said the men had paid a cash deposit of 2 000 Zimbabwe dollars (about R2 500) and, to the best of his knowledge, had produced their driving licences and filled in the necessary rental forms which require addresses and other details.

Mr Bowyer said he did not know whether the men were whites or blacks.

The cars were in the hands of the police, he said. Mr Bowyer said he believed the raiders had also hired vehicles from other car rental companies. — Sapa.

All SADF raiders believed back at base

HARARE — All members of the SADF raiding team that blew up two African National Congress targets in Zimbabwe in the early hours of Monday were today believed to be safely back in South Africa, according to sources in Harare.

Information gathered so far about Pretoria's first acknowledged incursion into Zimbabwe suggests a much larger South African force entered the country than was believed. Despite a tip-off up to two hours before the

SADF attacked the ANC offices in Angwa Street, Harare, and a house in Ashdown Park, the Zimbabwean security forces did not ambush the raiders.

An Organisation of African Unity seminar in Harare on forming a pan-African military force went into closed session today.

● The identities of four local people detained in connection with the incursion have not yet been disclosed. One is believed to be a white former Rhodesian army officer. — Sapa.

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Will wooing Pik get a whipping tonight?

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A dramatic showdown in Afrikaner politics threatens to disrupt a National Party meeting in Pietersburg tonight.

At the centre of it will be the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the hero of the white radical right.

He aims to defy an undertaking of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) that a Nationalist Minister will never again be able to address a public meeting in the Transvaal.

The AWB has recently broken up two Transvaal Nationalist meetings.

Mr Botha has staked the National Party's political credibility by insisting that he is going to hold his meeting tonight, under a Nationalist chairman.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche has likewise put his political credibility on the line by stating pub-



Minister Botha ... never-say-die political war horse takes on right wing tonight.

licly that Mr Botha will not hold the meeting.

The Minister's meeting will be an AWB meeting, organised and paid for by the Government, he said.

Whoever wins the battle for Pietersburg will score a major propaganda victory in the fight for the political al-

legiance of Afrikanerdom.

If Mr Botha wins, his prestige in the National Party and the white electorate would get a much-needed boost.

By being able to field its most liberal Minister in the very heart of Conservative Party/AWB territory, the National Party would feel a lot more secure about threats from the right.

If, on the other hand, the AWB should succeed in breaking up the meeting, or preventing Mr Botha from arriving at the hall, the National Party would be in serious trouble in the Transvaal.

A further implication for the Government, and one which it knows will not go down well abroad, is that if it is unable to hold a public meeting it could be said that it is no longer fully in control of even white South Africa — adding to the impression that the country is becoming ungovernable.

Conservative Party Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will not endorse the

tactics of the AWB, but he would use such a happening as proof of how angry whites are at being sold out.

It is therefore important to the National Party that the AWB fails to show up, or that if it does, the NP can still ensure that it holds its meeting, preferably without the help of the police.

Tonight's meeting is expected to be well attended by South African and foreign media.

Not knowing exactly what the AWB has in mind, the National Party has been obliged to plan for a number of contingencies.

Arrangements include the provision of a back-up power supply (in case some zealous official of the CP-controlled town council cuts off the electricity to the hall) and the possible use of a private helicopter should the Minister have difficulty in getting to the hall.

If he gets as far as the stage and he



Mr Terreblanche ... cast die.



Dr Treurnicht will use defeat

is allowed to speak, Mr Botha's speech will be carefully analysed by the media for any signs of pandering to the right.

The Minister is a seasoned war horse of many National Party campaigns. He has faced countless hostile audiences at home and abroad and this vast experience has made him one of the party's top public speakers.

If anyone in the Government can sell its reform policies in the Transvaal, it is him, and he gets his big chance tonight.

'55pc ignored' government ad

Staff Reporter (306A)

THE government's "This is the reality" advertising campaign, launched earlier this year, was ignored by 55 percent of white urban South Africans, according to a Research Surveys report. According to the Omnichcek poll among 1 306 men and women the advertisement was read by 45 percent and missed or ignored by 55 percent. Of those who said they read the advertisements, 46 percent reported a positive reaction, while 21 percent said they felt negative and 33 percent said they felt neutral.

Joint managing director of Research Surveys, Mr John Rice, said: "Looking at the campaign as a medium to communicate the reform process to whites, I would think the most worrying aspect would be the degree of neutrality towards the content of the message expressed by a third of the 45 percent percent of whites who said they read the advertisement."

The advertisement was missed or ignored by 61 percent of those in the 18 to 24 age group and 60 percent of those aged 25 to 34 and 53 percent of those in the 35 to 49 group.

It was given widest readership among those of 50 years or older with 54 percent saying they had read it.

The advertisements were also more widely read by the affluent sector and by men.

There was little difference between language groups in the response with 47 percent and 43 percent of Afrikaans and English-speaking whites saying they had read the advertisement.

Of those who read the advertisements, 56 percent agreed that the state should have paid for the advertisements, while 32 percent said it should not have. Twelve percent "did not know".

Nats will duck PE showdown

PC 25/5/86
ONE 22/5/86

(Handwritten signature)

(304A)

By KIN BENTLEY

THE National Party will sit on the fence in next month's referendum in Port Elizabeth, on the beach issue.

Reacting today, the Progressive Federal Party condemned the move as indicating a "lack of seriousness by the NP about reform".

And the HNP, who said they would "work together on this" with the Conservative Party, has challenged the NP to "take a stand-point".

In a statement issued today, the regional secretary of the NP in the Eastern Cape, Mr Frans Smit, said: "At the moment the central Government still provides

monies to local authorities to develop beach facilities.

"It is therefore an issue which constantly receives the attention of the Government".

For this reason, he said, the NP did not get involved in the "feud between the CP and the PRP", which came to a head with Tuesday's meeting at the Feather Market Hall.

At the meeting a CP city councillor, Mr Chris Meyer, drew up a motion opposing open beaches,

and which was accepted by the meeting.

While municipal voters are to vote for or against opening the beaches on June 18.

Mr Smit noted that the PE City Council had already sent representations to the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, requesting the opening of the beaches.

"Furthermore, the Separate Amenities Act has been referred to the President's Council for its recommendations to the Government.

"It is thus not possible for me to comment before this report is available."

Mr Smit reiterated the NP's belief that where equal facilities could not be provided for different population groups, they should be shared.

Mr Wayne Mitchell, the chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's strategy committee for the referendum, said he found it "shocking" that the NP was "ducking the issue".

"The attitude of the

right-wing extremists is damaging racial and economic progress in PE.

"It is also fuelling the disinvestment lobby. PE must take cognisance of its vast reliance on its multi-nationals."

The regional organiser of the HNP, Mr Attie Looek, said the HNP and CP would "work together on this".

An HNP meeting, to be addressed by the MP for Sasolburg, Mr Louis Stofberg, would be held in PE on June 10.



MR CHRIS MEYER

Botha Looks forward to Pietersburg clash

Political Staff

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday he was "looking forward" to his much-publicized meeting in Pietersburg which the ultra-right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has threatened to disrupt.

Massive crowds are expected for Mr Botha's meeting and a rally the AWB is planning in the town.

Asked how he felt about the AWB threat, Mr Botha said: "I have enough faith in the people's determination to respect the deep-seated norms and standards of freedom of speech and the right to differ.

"I cannot believe that a majority of the people will allow the suppression of freedom of opinion.

"If this happens we will all lose, then we are feeding the spirit of totalitarianism."

Mr Botha said he believed the people of Pietersburg and surrounds were interested in hearing about the current internal and external turbulence which affected everyone.

It was important in the current political climate to guard against the impression being created by South Africa's enemies that the country was ungovernable and that meetings could not take place peacefully.

"It is of great importance to me that people must be prepared not only to talk to each other, but to listen to each other. Possibly it is more important to listen to each other."

Botha needs help from outside his party ranks

Cape Times 22/5/86

By KEN OWEN

304A

IN RAIDING ANC facilities in neighbouring countries, the SADF has bought small victories at frightful cost. They fail the test of Von Clausewitz that in war the only victory that matters is the last.

So far as can be established, a suburban house and several minor buildings were damaged. A footballer in Botswana, a Zambian and a Namibian were killed and a number of people were wounded. The ANC's supply routes may or may not have been disrupted, but the damage appears inconsequential.

Militarily, the gains are piffling or irrelevant.

Politically and economically, the cost may well be ruinous.

Loss of confidence

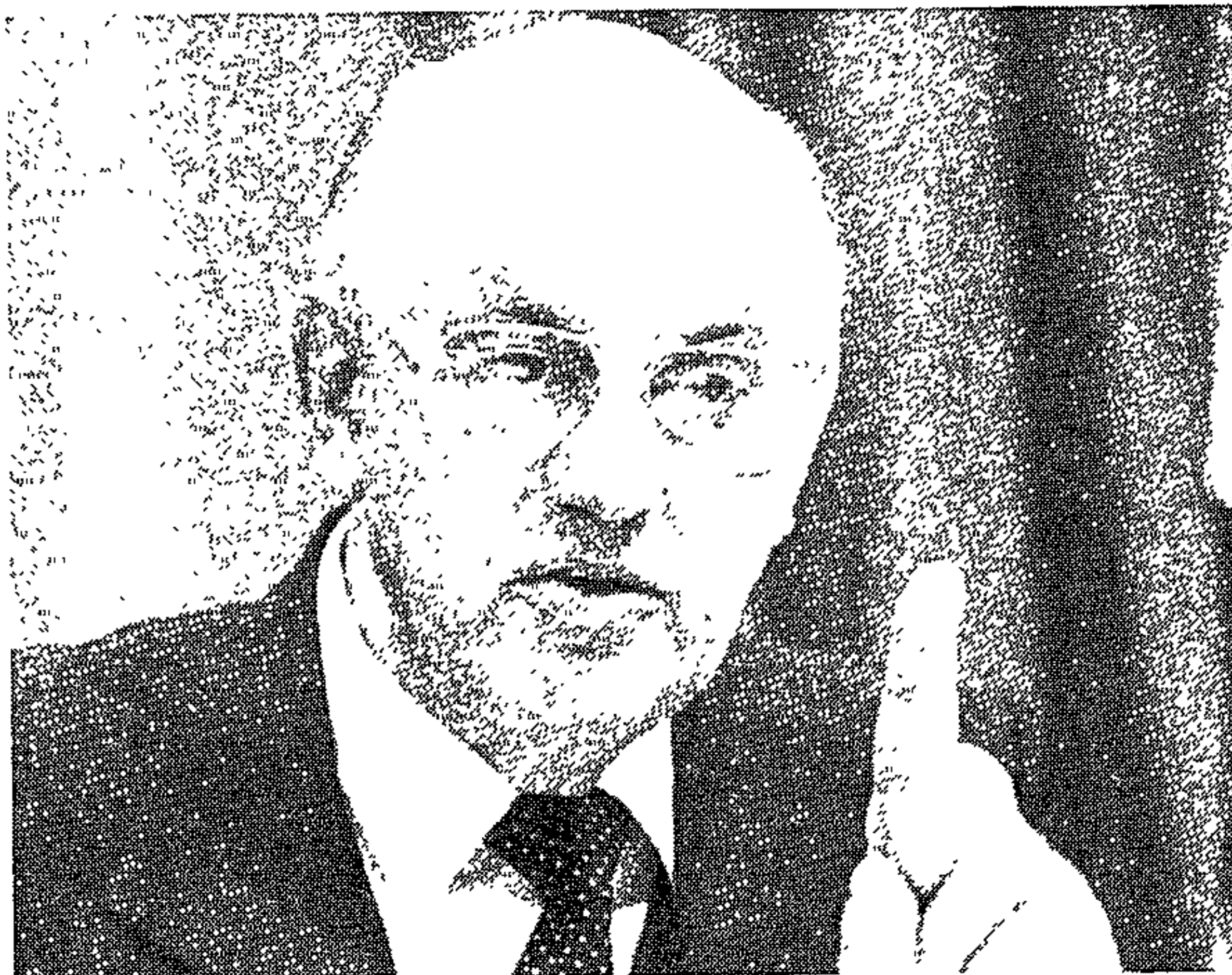
The effects will be felt for a long time to come through international pressure, through the threat of sanctions and through loss of confidence in the wisdom of government to handle the power it wields.

The pressure will be measurable in the currency exchange rates.

The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) has been put to flight, the prospects of unbanning the ANC and releasing Mandela have been damaged, Senator Edward Kennedy's latest disinvestment bill has been given a new impetus, the Frontline states may have been frightened into seeking external protection like Angola — the list goes on, and on.

Presumably, government knew all this in advance of the raid. It may even have intended some of the consequences — to offset the imagery created by the EPG mission, for example, or to upset the growing conviction among many Nationalists that only the unbanning of the ANC can reverse the drift from politics into violence.

On every point the raids call into question



Mr P W Botha . . . can he reach out and ask for all-party help?

the quality of the judgment and adequacy of the political leadership that is being brought to bear on the troubles that beset the country.

They raise also the larger question — to apply the Von Clausewitz test to public administration — of whether government knows where it is heading.

Muddle

The tricameral constitution, to begin at the top, was rushed into being before even government itself had worked out the details.

The results are before us — not only in the turbulence that has overtaken the black population but in the muddle over day-to-day administration, and in legislative confusion.

The abolition of provincial councils has come before the groundwork has been done for regional services councils; the attempt to impose "own affairs" divisions on education and

health services runs counter to the elimination of discrimination in other areas of public life; the administration boards, notorious though they be, are being abolished before there is any certainty that black local government can take up the strain.

The Department of Constitutional Development, with all the doggedness of a dung beetle, churns out administrative structures and collapses ancient institutions without the slightest regard for what is happening in the streets.

What is happening in the streets is daunting. Government administration in some areas is reduced largely to raids in force; at best, a brutal kind of order is kept by "the comrades," at worst the situation verges on civil war as in Crossroads (where casualties have been higher than in the SADF raids).

The political violence has surely been stimulated in part by economic hardship, but in management of the economy government does no better.

Its spending, measured as a proportion of available wealth, rises year by year while it tries to shift functions to the private sector. The idea seems to have taken root that cheap solutions can be found by transferring responsibility for such things as housing — and indeed the urbanization policy as a whole — to the shoulders of the business community.

The Budget estimates of the Minister of

Finance are so uncertain that they are routinely mocked, and the mockery proves more durable than the estimates.

The overflowing basket of the Minister of Constitutional Development has become a national joke.

The Minister of Law and Order is depicted in popular mythology as searching for black people who negotiate with businessmen so that he can lock them up.

Nor is that the worst of it. As early as April last year, the Wall Street Journal raised the question of rescheduling South African debts; by July 27, when the Chase Manhattan Bank pulled the plug, the monetary authorities were still unperturbed.

They remained apparently complacent until August 15, when President Botha's Rubicon speech precipitated a run on the rand, and only then did government begin to grasp its peril.

The policies which the monetary authorities had tried so hard to put in place — correct policies — were simply demolished by political ineptitude.

The difficulty with such examples of ineptitude is not that the list can be extended indefinitely, but that they do not get to the essence of the problem — which is that President Botha and his cabinet seem to lack any clear idea of where they are going.

Mr Botha deserves credit for his dogged pursuit of reform. The accusation that he has

produced nothing but phoney reform is false; but he has not produced anything adequate to the need.

More and more, he resembles a man throwing chunks of meat off the back of the sled to delay the wolves a bit. There is no coherence in the reform programme, no sense of direction.

A leading Opposition politician says, not without sympathy, that President Botha tried to fit the coloured people — the last piece of a jigsaw — into a constitutional pattern based on the Bantustans, and that caused the whole thing to fall apart. Since then, he has not known from day to day what to do or where to go.

Out of talent

So government stumbles from important reforms like repealing the pass laws, to negotiations with the Commonwealth's eminent persons, to raids against three Commonwealth states, to talk of releasing Mandela, to arbitrary arrests. Nowhere does it have a firm set of guiding principles, nowhere a bottom line.

The conclusion which compels itself is that the National Party as an institution is exhausted at last. It has run out of vigour, talent and ideas.

Behind President Botha stand lesser men than he, and waiting in the wings is the Conservative Party, whose accession to power would be an irreparable disaster.

The time has surely come for President Botha, like the prime minister of the 1930s whom he admires, General J B M Hertzog, to seek help outside his own party to deal with a national crisis that is too big for it to handle.

It is surely time that the Nationalist cabinet drew into its ranks people who have a better understanding of the international forces ranged against us, a better understanding of the financial imperatives of running the country and a better grasp of black people's demands for justice and equality.

It surely needs somebody who is better able to negotiate across the colour line than either President Botha or Mr Chris Heunis.

The situation calls for something in the nature of a government of national unity to take reform another stage forward — and President Botha should look to the other parties in Parliament to help him achieve it.

The new face of young Afrikaner politics

Marthinus van Schalkwyk is president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, the powerful — and traditionally conservative — training ground for the National Party elite. But Van Schalkwyk is no Nationalist. For he also happens to be president of Jeugkrag, a new political youth organisation which advocates votes for all in a single South Africa. Here, in the second in our series of interviews with political leaders, he talks to SHAUN JOHNSON

WHY was Jeugkrag formed?

There was no youth organisation in South Africa which provided for Afrikaner youth to get politically involved. We thought we should be there where the building of a new South Africa takes place.

We needed a dynamic youth organisation which would operate independently from any political party. The Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) is a strictly cultural organisation, and cannot make any political statements.

We had talks with black youth groups — the Inkatha Youth Brigade, as well as others. We needed a political organisation where we could join hands with black youth and work on joint projects to attain joint aims.

The launching committee of Jeugkrag was exclusively Afrikaners — will you aim for a broader appeal?

People of all races, creeds and colours will be



The search for allies: Van Schalkwyk with Inkatha Youth Brigade president Musa Zondi

ahead.

This move to found Jeugkrag triggered reaction from the right wing in the youth community and on the Afrikaners campuses. Also, believe it or not, there is a small group of very Leftist people on the Afrikaners campuses.

We took the initiative in mobilising the large middle group at the Afrikaners universities, and in the youth community as a whole.

You opposed the initiative by some Stellenbosch students to meet the ANC. Are these people too "Left" to be members of Jeugkrag? And what is your attitude to the ANC?

People who support our principles are most welcome to be members of Jeugkrag. But we

important actor in the political process? Is Jeugkrag flexible enough to change its mind on the ANC?

Yes, we are flexible. But at present our stance is very clear, in the sense that we believe that the only time those people are willing to talk is when they feel they can advance their position, or consolidate or avoid a retreat. That is unacceptable to us.

We are willing to talk if people honestly and sincerely want to reach a solution. Our impression is that that is not the ANC's stance on this. They've said a lot of times in the past that they are only interested in the taking of power, they are not interested in sharing power with anyone.

Do you then regard the initiative by the

Picture: Courtesy THE STAR

prove that they are sincere about peaceful change, the free market system, and democracy. A lot of white people — taking into account what happened in Africa — are very sceptical about black people saying these things, but I personally believe they are sincere.

From our side we should prove that we want to abolish apartheid, and that we are honest and sincere about that. But that's only a short-term aim.

In the long term, the struggle in South Africa is capitalism, free market economy versus socialism in moderate or extreme forms. We are looking for people to form an alliance in this long-term struggle.

Do you believe you will achieve mass

an organisation of moderates. Our principles are very broad in the sense that to the Right, we cut off people belonging to the right wing and to the Left we cut off people believing in violent change and socialism. We want to pull ourselves the broad middle group, the moderates.

Do you feel there has been a significant shift in political outlook on the Afrikaans campuses which has opened new possibilities for this organisation?

The situation on the Afrikaans campuses has changed a lot in the past two or three years. People are more willing to compromise on political issues. They know we are moving towards a future where whites won't have all the privileges they are used to. They are willing to accept that and all the challenges that lie

We are not in favour of violent change.

We are trying to help to build an alliance between moderate people of all colours in South Africa. We believe that the lines of division in this country should be drawn along the lines of ideology — what people believe — and not colour.

At present the vast majority of our people believe that we should not be talking to the ANC.

What disturbs us most is the ANC's alliance with SACTU and the South African Communist Party. A lot of our people would still be willing to talk to the ANC despite their being in favour of violence. It is their links with the Communist Party that they cannot accept.

Isn't the historical lesson of Zimbabwe that you cannot deny that the ANC is an



UDF CALL TO WHITES

You, UDF and the Future

Speakers:

Curnick Ndlovu

(Executive chairman of UDF)

Raymond Suttner

Helen Joseph

Jodac

8pm. Wednesday 21st

Central Methodist Church

Pritchard Street, Johannesburg

to Lusaka as incorrect?

I think these people helped the ANC in marketing itself in South Africa. I don't deny the fact that the ANC has substantial support, but that is not the question. The question in politics is not always what the support of an organisation is. The question is: is it possible to come to terms with an organisation? And under which circumstances will you do so, and which strategies are you going to use? I feel at present the most appropriate strategy is not to talk to the ANC.

What is your attitude to the UDF?

The problem with the UDF is that you can't talk to it as an organisation. It is a very loose alliance of a lot of organisations.

I believe there are two definite elements within the UDF. There are those who want to make the country ungovernable and those with undeniably close links to the ANC. But there is also a moderate element which is willing to talk to us, as we are willing to talk to them.

We are waiting to see where the UDF is going as an organisation. Is it willing to talk; is it just a front organisation for the ANC; are those who do have links with the ANC going to control the UDF?

Turning to your links with Inkatha. Do you see any danger in aligning yourself with one black group, and one that is quite clearly an ethnically-based and controversial group?

We are not married to any one of the different ethnic groups. Our links with Inkatha are historical, in that when we started talks with them, through various other organisations and individually, they were the only large black youth organisation willing to talk to whites.

At that stage, the UDF hadn't been founded, and Inkatha was, without doubt, the most important black youth organisation in South Africa.

They are at present the largest black youth organisation, they are moderate in the sense that they are in favour of peaceful change, they support the free market system (although they believe in a redistribution of wealth) and they believe in democracy, which is very important to us.

But if the possibility ever arises of having the same kinds of joint projects with any other black or coloured organisations, we will follow it up.

How far can your alliance go with Inkatha?

The two organisations must prove some

There is a lot of support, not only on the campuses but also from working youth, from people at technicians, teacher training colleges and schools. We really aim to make this the largest white youth organisation in South Africa.

And by white I mean ... in principle there is no limitation or restriction whatsoever on people becoming members of Jeugkrug, but it is important before you move closer to other organisations that you first consolidate in your own community.

We believe, for example, that black people should be in parliament, should have equal status in South Africa, and that we should have a bill of rights, human rights — that is our direction.

And I believe that the vast majority of white people and Afrikaner people are in favour of these things. White people in South Africa, and Afrikaners especially, aren't really afraid of blacks in parliament, black people having the vote. They are afraid of the results of that.

Are you going to avoid specific issues like the use of the SADF in the townships, or confront them?

It is very important that we take stances on these specific issues. Other issues that should definitely be addressed are those like the Group Areas Act. But of course politics is a question of doing the possible at the right time. We must have grassroots support for our viewpoints. That is dynamic leadership.

How do you see the future of South Africa developing?

There is a restlessness within the white community, in the youth community and the Afrikaner community, of not being there where the future is formed. Jeugkrug tries to channel this.

I don't want to be too pessimistic, but I think there will be a fight in the end, an escalation of violence within the next few months, and the next few years.

The question that remains is: "Who is going to fight whom in South Africa?" Is there going to be a race war, which I will do everything in my power to prevent, or will it rather be a war between ideologies?

This is our country as much as it is the black peoples' country. There is no place else we can go. We will stay for better or worse, and that is why I say that if, at the end, it becomes a real possibility that we will have a socialist government in South Africa in what may be an extreme form, I can see no option other than whites taking up arms — however regrettable

Pressure grows for Commonwealth sanctions but

EPG peace package is still on the rails

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS
and JOHN BATTERSBY

NEGOTIATIONS between government and the African National Congress (ANC) are already under way with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group acting as a conduit, but pressure for economic sanctions against SA continued to grow yesterday.

Last night in London more than 40 Commonwealth High Commissioners were locked in an emergency session of the Commonwealth's Southern Africa Committee to discuss the implications of this week's SA Defence Force raids.

The ANC's proposals, conveyed to government by the EPG, were understood to have the full backing of the ANC hierarchy.

They seem to indicate a marked softening in their approach to the transfer of power and negotiations with government.

The proposals contained:

☐ No reference to a Lancaster House-type arrangement;



● BOTHA



● TAMBO

- ☐ No demands for a negotiated handing over of power;
- ☐ A concession to consider temporary entrenched constitutional guarantees for whites;
- ☐ Calls for the unbanning of the ANC and the unconditional release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela;
- ☐ The release of all political prisoners;
- ☐ The removal of the police and security forces from the townships;
- ☐ Free access and freedom of movement within SA for the ANC.

The ball is now decidedly in govern-

ment's court to respond to these proposals — and the EPG has tentatively given it a time limit of 10 days to do so.

The cabinet is apparently still split over the ANC proposals and the EPG initiative.

And Foreign Minister P. W. Botha confirmed yesterday the EPG had given government a list of requirements needed to end violence and would receive a reply as soon as possible.

Speaking "live" by satellite to about 1.5-million radio listeners in Australia from a temporary studio in a Cape Town hotel, Botha described world reaction to the recent raids on ANC bases as "hypocritical".

"SA owes the EPG a response on the latest allegations and negotiations will continue in all earnestness. They conveyed their concept of requirements needed to end violence and we must consider them. We will give our reply as soon as possible," Botha said.

Some of the criticism of the EPG is

● To Page 2



EPG battles on with ANC/SA peace efforts

also over the fact that its focus is almost entirely on brokering negotiations with the ANC, ignoring that there are other political factions which will have to be drawn to any conference table used to negotiate a peaceful political future for SA.

Monday's SADF raids into Harare, Lusaka and Gaborone seemed to have had no material effect in hardening ANC attitudes towards Pretoria.

The fact the raids have had no impact whatsoever on the EPG peace initiative or the ANC is causing some confusion, and is fuelling suspicions of underlying political manoeuvring.

State President P. W. Botha's hawkish stand against the ANC in the House of Delegates yesterday added to the contradictions.

● From Page 1

He warned that Monday's raid was but the first instalment of such action against the ANC and that SA would continue to strike against the organisation's bases in foreign countries.

An ANC spokesman yesterday repudiated reports emanating from Zimbabwe's semi-official news agency ZIANA on Tuesday that the EPG mission had been destroyed.

"The position has not changed," said spokesman Tom Sebina adding, however, that there were grave doubts about whether government was a serious and honest participant in the EPG initiative.

● See Page 4

Afrikaans newspapers reject PFP adverts

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Progressive Federal Party advertisements critical of the SABC and Government policy have been rejected by the country's biggest Afrikaans newspaper publishers — unless the party agrees to censor them heavily.

Readers of the major daily Afrikaans newspapers were therefore being denied access to its advertisements, the party claimed yesterday.

Mr Peter Soal, director of special projects for the PFP, said that an advertisement the party had recently submitted for placing in newspapers of Nasionale Koerante, publishers of *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, would only be accepted if they were heavily edited.

The advertising copy submitted to the company

had been returned in the edited version which, the company said, its editors were prepared to accept as an advertisement.

The original advertisement was to have been headed: "The SABC won't let you see the movie, so read the book."

Nasionale Koerante editors were prepared to accept only "Read the book".

The following sentence was cut completely: "However, thanks to the Government's blatant manipulation of the SABC, it hasn't always been easy to communicate what we are for."

A sentence which referred to getting South Africa "out of the mess the Nat Government had created" was changed to read "getting South Africa out of its present mess".

Entire sections referring to details of PFP policy were deleted. The acceptable version of the advertisement

was reduced to eight sentences.

A letter accompanying the edited copy suggested that as the advertisement would not take up as much space, the money saved should be used to place it also in *Oosertyd*, another Nasionale publication.

Mr Soal said Nasionale Koerante would not allow its newspaper readers to make up their own minds. "They decide what their readers will be allowed to digest," he said.

Mr Soal said the PFP was at a great disadvantage because it was excluded from the SABC as well as private radio stations which did not take political advertising. Many magazines would not take the PFP advertisements either.

"This is a depressing state of affairs. We are in a climate of reform and while the PFP has a positive contribution to make it is denied access to all sections of the public," he said.

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Free enterprise must deliver the goods, says Eglin

THABANCHU — An economic system only survived if it was relevant to the needs of the people, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Speaking at the annual conference of the OFS African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, he said that post-apartheid South Africa would require 'vast amounts of money' if it was to provide the infrastructure and the services the people would demand.

The Government could not provide this money on its own.

The role of the private sector, the entrepreneur and the black businessman in this new society would be to generate the wealth of the nation.

Without that wealth, there will be no socio-economic reconstruction and no adequate services — but there will be mounting demands and revolutionary

pressures coming from an increasingly frustrated and angry people.

'If the free enterprise system fails to deliver the goods the people will turn against the system and try to replace it with something else, in all likelihood a marxist system or some local variant of this.'

For generations now the free enterprise system had been denied the opportunity of showing it could deliver the goods.

'In the years ahead, when the free enterprise system at last has the opportunity of being truly free and of showing what it can do I trust that you businessmen will prove that you can create wealth, not just for yourselves but for the people.'

'If you do so you will not only help to roll back poverty but you will help to strengthen the wider concept of human freedom,' said Mr Eglin. — (Sapa).

Buthlezi supports Sutton's call

0023/5/86

Dispatch Correspondent
ULUNDI — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he agrees with the call by Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, for a coalition of people committed to real power-sharing and a negotiated future.

304A He was commenting on an invitation by Mr Sutton to Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, to work with him towards such a coalition which would include all reform-minded parties in the present Parliament, together with Inkatha and other black political parties which would have to be founded to accommodate legitimate black political opinion.

Chief Buthelezi said it was high time that people of all political parties and organisations realised that South Africa had reached a cross-roads between peaceful change and violent change.

He said he did not know what Mr Sutton had in mind when he referred to 'reform-minded parties'.

If Mr Sutton meant all political parties and organisations which were committed to the complete abolition of apartheid, and power-sharing by all the people of South Africa, then the term would not present any problems for him, Chief Buthelezi said.

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BUS DAY

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"THE VITAL VIEWPOINT"

Pik prevented from speaking as AWB and Nats slug it out

POLICE fired teargas into a hall packed with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters in Pietersburg last night after they had prevented Foreign Minister Pik Botha from addressing a major National Party meeting.

Local NP chairman Pete Steytler criticised the police for not intervening earlier to protect NP supporters during a series of pitched battles with the AWB. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was held aloft in front of the chanting

audience of more than 1 500 people and announced that "the AWB has taken over the meeting". Steytler said police should have acted earlier to prevent the violence because the gathering outside the hall was illegal. Botha later announced he planned to hold an alternative meeting.

An hour before Botha was to have arrived at the hall, Steytler said that the meeting had been cancelled. Both parties bused in supporters from as far afield as Johannesburg, Ermelo and Springs. By 3pm yesterday, crowds had already begun to gather outside the Jack Botes hall in Pietersburg.

NP organisers grouped their supporters in front of the main entrance. AWB supporters gathered in a nearby parking lot just after 4pm. They waved

MIKE ROBERTSON and
PETER WALLINGTON

Ventkour flags, AWB flags and banners which read "Pik, gaan deel jou pligswart mag in die Kaap" and "Weg met PW". A small contingent of policemen stood aside watching the developing showdown between the groups.

Soon after Terre'Blanche arrived at 5.30pm, AWB supporters — now numbering about 500 — began a concerted push to get into the hall. At first they were held back by the NP human barrier, but they managed to force open a side en-

trance and streamed in. A series of bloody fistfights between NP and AWB supporters followed as the latter attempted to make their way to the stage. A smoke bomb was set off.

Just after 6pm the Ventkour reigned supreme on the stage and Steytler cancelled the meeting. Terre'Blanche was carried aloft to the stage as the crowd chanted "AWB, AWB" and sang "Die Idd van Jong Suid-Afrika".

Natal

talks impress Labour Party expert

Cape indaba option

By PETER FABRICIUS, Parliamentary Staff

A LABOUR Party constitutional expert believes an indaba could be held in the Western Cape on the lines of the Natal-Kwazulu indaba.

Mr Desmond Lockey, MP, has returned from Durban where he was an observer at the Natal indaba. He said he was impressed with what he heard.

He said: "If the indaba agrees to a single legislature, which I think it will, it could be the start of the first real non-racial federal structure in South Africa."

"And then we could start with a Western Cape indaba along the same lines."

Federation

This would be a departure from the constitution of the Labour Party, which stipulates a one-man, one-vote system, and Mr Lockey emphasises he is speaking personally.

But the party has in any case been toying with the idea of a non-racial geographic federation for some time.

And in a new pamphlet on constitutional options, it takes a new look at some ideas which it has hitherto rejected.

The pamphlet says: "It is a known fact that South Africa's heterogeneous and multi-cultural character will have to be taken into account in the formulation of an acceptable, democratic and workable constitution."

It rejects the "group approach" but is prepared to accept that "seen from the historical perspective, the protection of minorities is a reasonable point".

Mr Lockey was one of the chief authors of the pamphlet and he does not rule out the idea of ethnic states in the hypothetical federation.

The crucial point is that the states should get together themselves — as in Natal — and not have their boundaries and composition forced upon them by central government.

Mr Lockey's own thinking is that there should be room in the federation for both unitary states and ethnic or nationalist states on the other.

He said: "We should get away from the existing polarity of liberal and nationalist approaches."

"The problem with the National Party is that it argued that all blacks can be classified ethnically."

"But 70 percent of urban blacks indicated in a recent survey that they did not identify with any tribe. They saw themselves only as South Africans."

Since it is also in the cities that one finds whites who are less inclined to be "tribal", metropolitan states in the federation could be unitary, Mr Lockey says.

In the rural areas, on the other hand, ethnic identity is much stronger among both blacks and whites, so there one would find ethnically-based states.

Many of the black national state and self-governing structures are already in place, and could form the basis of future federal states.



Mr Lockey

Minister
SNAK

accuses

23/5/86
police of

supporting AWB

Staff Reporters

Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis has accused the police of supporting right wingers who routed the National Party meeting in Pietersburg last night.

He said the police were "not capable, or did not want to maintain law and order".

The meeting turned into a debacle when the Jack Botes Hall was invaded by right wingers.

Mr du Plessis claimed that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche "actually entered the building escorted by police".

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange warned today that the Government was not prepared to let hooligans dominate the South African political scene "We will definitely take action against them."

He said he had taken note of National Party claims that the police had either been unable, or did not want to prevent the disruption last night.

"If one must accept that as being correct, then it is most unfortunate. But I'm not prepared to comment at this stage."

Doors forced

President Botha has said that the breaking up of the meeting will not affect the Government's programme of reform.

The violence last night erupted after thousands of right wingers gathered outside the hall, vowing to stop Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha from speaking.

Mr Terre-Blanche said he told the police officer in charge that he wanted to talk to the main NP organisers in the hall. He said the police did not object.

"I then asked the police only to assist me in getting through the crowd to the main doors, and they complied. Once I reached the front door my people started pushing and the doors were forced open."

Mr du Plessis, chairman of the meeting, said that in future the NP would make its own arrangements — "and will not rely on police for protection to ensure that our meetings are not disrupted".

A spokesman at Far Northern Transvaal police headquarters denied Mr du Plessis's claims. "The doors were forced open by the crowd."

NP 'will be held liable for extensive damage to hall'

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

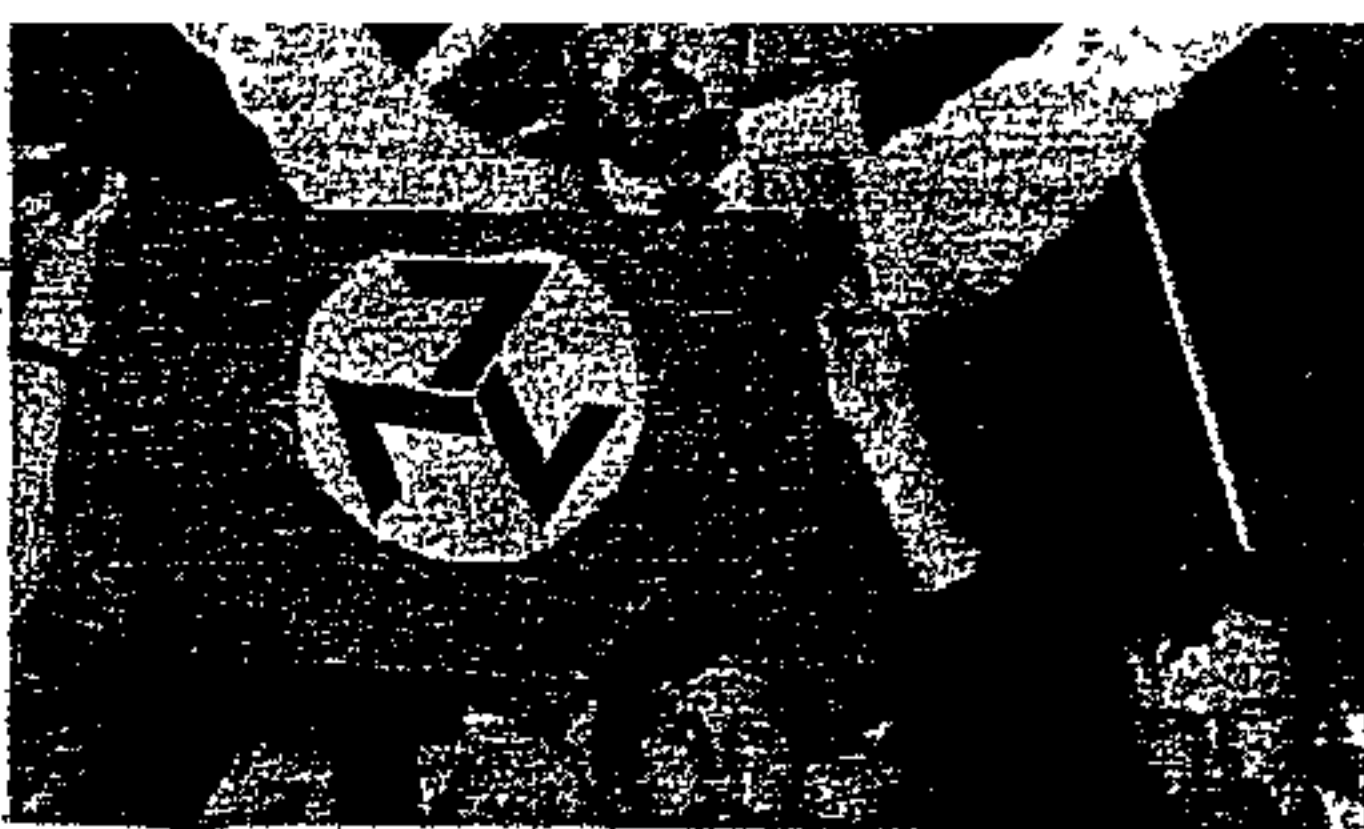
The National Party is to be held responsible for thousands of rands damage caused to the Jack Botes Hall last night in battles between the AWB and the NP and teargassing by the Police.

The town clerk, after whom the hall is named, was not available for comment but the town secretary, Mr Anton Vermaak, said today that the municipality, who own the hall, would hold the National Party liable for the damage as they had hired the hall.

He said damage included broken windows, doors and chairs.

Many of the fire exits from the hall were locked before last night's meeting began and when the teargas was fired, in their panic to get out of the hall, people broke down the doors.

They also broke many of the windows in the hall either to assist their escape or simply to let in some fresh air.



AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche.



An AWB supporter holds up the movement's flag clash with the NP



Fighting broke out between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and National Party supporters at yesterday's NP meeting in Pietersburg. Several times enraged NP supporters grabbed AWB flags — and paid the price when members of the rightwing group retaliated.

● Pictures by Kevin Carter.

The hall was turned into a battleground as NP and AWB supporters clashed head on.

The AWB took control of the meeting after bloody fist fights. After telling them to leave the hall, police fired teargas.

Later, Mr Botha addressed supporters at a closed NP meeting. He issued a veiled threat to the AWB "The Government will not allow certain people to continue with their present style of political activity."

After the fight at the Jack Botes Hall, thousands of right wingers flocked to the rugby stadium in jubilation.

Spokesmen for the three major parties involved — AWB, Conservative Party and Herstigte National Party — promised never to be divided again.

● See Page 9.

Pik Botha's

NP meeting becomes a battlefield

Star 23/5/86

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By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

PIETERSBURG — Chaos erupted here last night and the Jack Botes Hall was turned into a battle zone as National Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters clashed head-on while the police fired teargas into the packed hall.

AWB supporters made good the promise of their leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, that he, not Mr Pik Botha, would address a meeting in the town last night.

After getting into the hall, AWB supporters fought pitched battles with their NP counterparts for control of the stage. After some bloody encounters, the AWB took over the meeting.

Total confusion

For almost an hour and a half there was total confusion as neither of the rival groups would allow anyone to speak.

Then, just as the AWB appeared to have won and was about to proceed with its own meeting, the police arrived. After a warning to the AWB to leave the hall, teargas was fired.

Later, angry members of the AWB had to be restrained from attacking policemen outside the hall.

United we're
unstoppable,
say jubilant
right-wingers

People were trampled and windows smashed as about 2 000 men, women and children tried to flee the gas-filled hall.

Most of the emergency exits had been locked and chairs were thrown through windows to enable people to escape.

Some women and children were knocked down in the confusion.

But ambulancemen on duty said later no-one had been seriously injured.

Shortly before clouds of the billowing gas forced the mass exodus, a police spokesman went on stage to order the AWB supporters out of the hall.

The spokesman said he was acting on a complaint from the people who hired the hall. When the police were confronted by the angry crowd outside they claimed to have been acting on direct orders from the State President's office.

Small NP meeting

Later in the evening Mr Botha held a small meeting at the NP headquarters in the town while jubilant AWB supporters streamed into the local rugby stadium to celebrate.

NP sources said Mr Botha had wanted to try to address the "hijacked" meeting but had been prevented by his security guards from doing so.

At the stadium, where thousands had gathered, Mr TerreBlanche described the evening's events as a watershed.

"We have shown the Government in no uncertain terms that they no longer enjoy the support of the people," he said.

PIETERSBURG — To the cheers of thousands of right-wing supporters, spokesmen for the three major parties involved — AWB, Conservative Party and Herstigte National Party — promised never to be divided again.

Speaking at the rugby stadium after preventing an address by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, the parties vowed to present a united right-wing front against the Government from now on.

"Tonight was the first sign of real right-wing co-operation, and we intend to continue in this direction," said Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, CP regional chairman in Johannesburg.

Describing himself as the first "English-speaking Boer", Mr Derby-Lewis said it was the signal for an end to right-wing infighting which had dogged conservative attempts to topple the Government in the past.

An HNP spokesman said that all the parties should co-operate with each other from now on. "Together we are unstoppable."

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche urged all Afrikaners to forget their differences and join together in a fight for survival. — Political Reporter.

17/04/82 23/5/82
**Americans,
British see
whites turn
on whites**

By The Argus Foreign Service,
in WASHINGTON

MILLIONS of American and British TV viewers last night saw South African police taking heavy action as radical white right-wingers and their moderate compatriots launched into one another in Pietersburg.

It was a development — white against white — that the South African Government had feared most, viewers were told.

The disruption of Mr Pik Botha's meeting was highlighted on the CBS Evening News — the prime-time news programme that has the highest ratings in the US.

For many of the viewers it must have been a first appreciation of the serious political problems facing the South African Government on the right.

BRITISH audiences were treated to the rare sight of panicking Afrikaners fleeing after bloody brawls. They even saw a white policeman running from eye-stinging teargas.

Many Americans have a simplistic view of South Africa's race problems. They see it as an uncomplicated struggle between blacks and whites and the fact that white leaders who pursue a reform programme — even a snail-paced one — can get into trouble with both blacks and whites is not clearly understood here.

Last night's disturbing scenes showed defiant white men vowing to "take the Republic back" by force if necessary, stern-faced women in kappies and sturdy young flag-bearers marching in columns.

After months of harrowing footage of township violence, armed police raids and faction fighting the contrast was striking. This may have had the effect of generating some understanding of the Botha Government's problems.

Mr P W Botha's apologists abroad have argued that he has to defuse growing right-wing resentment and that Monday's cross-border raids were a result of this.

After last night's dramatic footage and prominent front page reports in several of today's newspapers — the British public will now have an inkling of the dilemma.

"It was," one report put it, "Afrikanerdom tearing itself apart"

du Plessis has accused police of being unwilling or unable to control the AWB last night.

Mr du Plessis claimed Mr Terre Blanche "actually entered the building while being escorted by police".

A spokesman for Mr le Grange's office said today that the events at Pietersburg and Mr du Plessis's remarks had been brought to Mr le Grange's attention. He could not say when Mr le Grange would react.

Some politicians pointed out that it was unusual for one Minister to criticise the activities of another Minister's department in public.

President P.W. Botha has said the hijacking of the meeting would not affect the Government's programme of reform.

However, the event has pushed polarisation between the two camps to the extreme.

Spokesmen from both sides today said they had had calls from supporters expressing intense feelings of hostility towards each other.

Mr Izak Butler, Pietersburg AWB leader, said: "Now we will see who is on whose side. I would say the polarisation between us and the Nationalists will now only increase in proportion."

"Shocked"

"More and more NP people are joining us and they become the most radical ones."

"I tell you, there is war in Pietersburg and in the country."

Mr Tjol Lategan, local NP member of the President's Council, said he had never seen so much hate as last night.

"I am extremely shocked. The tragic thing was the apathy on the part of the police."

"I had discussions of 1½ hours with Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Far Northern Transvaal. He said I should trust him. He would have 200 policemen on the scene to maintain law and order."

"I don't think there were even 50 policemen last night."

"It was a shame that the police refrained from shooting teargas into the right-wing crowd outside the hall."

"Then they came and fired the teargas into the hall where law-abiding National Party supporters were sitting."

Mr Tom Langley, Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, also in the Northern Transvaal, has warned that rightists are so frustrated that this type of action would get worse.

He said that as far as the white right was concerned the Government's time had expired.

(Turn to Page 3, col 4)

'Le Grange is target' *11/6/86 23/5/86*

Continued from Page 1

and it should call a general election.

"There is no other way for the people to resist this Government than to demonstrate their feelings in this manner," he said.

Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said the display of thuggery was disgusting.

"What is important is that we should not take our eye off the real ball in South African politics — the question of black/white relations and the creation of a constitution in which all South Africans can take part."

"The right-wing thuggery in Pietersburg and the burning of Crossroads shows how the chickens of Verwoerdian apartheid are coming to roost," Mr Eglin said.

● The National Party is to be held responsible for thousands of rands damage caused to the Jack Botes Hall.

Mr Anton Vermaak said today that the municipality, which owns the hall, would hold the National Party liable for the damage as they had hired the hall.

● American, British TV viewers see violence, Page 15.

THE GRANGE NEXT TARGET, SAYS AW



Jubilant supporters of the AWB hold up their flag after bloody clashes with National Party members in Pietersburg last night.



A victim of last night's fighting is led away.

Political Staff

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, is the next target for the right wing.

He is to address a meeting in Ellisras tomorrow night and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging says it will be there to meet him.

The AWB last night prevented a National Party meeting from being held in Pietersburg. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was to have addressed it.

Right-wing forces made no bones about their intentions to disrupt all future National Party political meetings in the Northern Transvaal.

"Our next target will be Louis le Grange at Ellisras," they shouted from the stage.

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, said: "We will prove to the world that we are not prepared to listen to the NP's lies any longer. We will keep on disrupting their meetings until they agree to hold a general election.

"I will speak"



itis Decan



Fighting breaks out between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and National Party supporters in the Pietersburg town hall last night.

"They gave us no choice, we have to find a democratic way to express our disgust with their policies."

However, Mr le Grange said today that AWB would not be allowed to intimidate the public.

He would not be deterred from speaking tomorrow. "As far as I am concerned, I am going to a normal NP meeting as the guest speaker. I intend to speak."

The Government was not prepared to let hooligans dominate the political scene. "We will definitely take action against them."

And he said Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht would have to take responsibility for the fracas at Pietersburg. There was no doubt that the AWB and CP were working together.

Mr Louis le Grange

Council Bill due out today

THE National Council would serve as an instrument to fashion a new constitution, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis said yesterday.

He told Parliament the National Council Bill would be published today. It provided for participation by urban and homeland blacks and would put government's *bona fides* beyond doubt.

"We believe the Bill will clarify our idea behind the National Council and our aims."

It would make abundantly clear:

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The council represented an interim measure only.

The aim was to provide an instrument and process through which a new constitution could be arrived at;

It could, until then, serve to provide black communities with the opportunity of participating in the executive processes of government.

Heunis said the Bill provided for the participation of leaders of all communities, including ten urban black leaders.

● To Page 2 ➡

Council Bill due out today

the chief ministers of the self-governing territories or their nominees, members of the cabinet, the chairmen of ministers' councils and not more than ten other persons, "who in the opinion of the State President can make a contribution to the functions of the council".

"Provision is made for the appointment of urban black leaders chosen from nominations by organisations, institutions and interest groups who wish to do so."

These people would have to be representative of black communities perma-

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BUD DAY
● From Page 1
nently resident in the SA, excluding self-governing territories.

"I believe this provision will ensure that black persons will be nominated who are considered by their own communities to be representative."

Only South African citizens could be appointed to the council and in this regard he wanted to refer to the new legislation on citizenship to be finalised by Parliament.

'Abuse' in calls to business

Post Reporter

BUSINESS resources were limited — as was their ability to achieve political change, Mr Wally Life, chairman and managing director of Goodyear said last night.

Addressing the Port Elizabeth Rotary Club, Mr Life said no matter how hard the business sector tried, it was never going to create Utopia or satisfy all the aspirations of the community.

He said both the Government and the community were abusing the role of corporate support in the community.

The State interpreted business commitment to corporate social responsibility as a licence to delegate responsibility for the provision of housing, health care, education and recreational facilities to industry and commerce.

On the other hand, some sectors of the community were attempting to use business to achieve their own political objectives, said Mr Life.

the legal process. roads should proceed as a matter of urgency.

Blacks urged not to reject system

Free enterprise essential — Eglin

304A
BUS DAY
23/5/66

BLACK business probably faced more challenges at this stage in history than at any other time, PFP leader Colin Eglin said this week.

He was opening the annual congress of the Free State African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Thaba'Nchu.



● EGLIN

Eglin said one of the immediate challenges facing black entrepreneurs today was to become convinced the free enterprise system — which had given them nothing under apartheid — still remained the best means of striving for prosperity.

It was an understandable but saddening fact that many blacks, having been given nothing under apartheid, saw in alternative economic systems and ideologies the panacea to SA's problems.

"In the minds of very many young blacks, the concepts of capitalism and apartheid have become identified in many ways as two sides of the same coin.

"Everybody who seems to benefit from the free enterprise system is branded as an agent of apartheid, and *ipso facto* an enemy of the people."

Thus, during the emergency last year and early this year, no fewer than 639

Own Correspondent

shops and 286 liquor stores had been destroyed or extensively damaged.

Simultaneously, a debilitating boycott, directed mostly against white business, had demonstrated the enormous and growing power of the black consumer.

Eglin said government had finally started to grasp some economic truths.

These were that you could not have economic prosperity generated by a free enterprise system in an apartheid society, and that the free enterprise system was the most efficient.

"Nothing has done greater damage to our economy and the living conditions of our people than the restrictions which the policy of apartheid has placed on such important elements of production as education, training, labour, ownership, mobility and access to capital.

"The economy will not move ahead to realise its tremendous potential until all the artificial barriers and restrictions which are part of apartheid are removed."

If government wanted the entrepreneur, and especially the black entrepreneur, to assist in creating wealth for the people, it must stop interfering or competing and let the entrepreneur get on with the job.

Black minority on PW's new council

HERE is likely to be a minority of blacks on PW Botha's long-awaited National Council, details of which finally saw the light of day in the National Council Bill tabled yesterday.

It could become law in four months' time. The bill has been published with a request for public reaction: Minister

Chris Heunis hopes that "if we can conduct meaningful discussions on its contents during the recess, it should be possible to finalise the legislation before the end of the special session of parliament in September."

Observers here believe however that the council will be a dead duck before it even gets off the ground.

This is because blacks who serve on the council will find themselves under the same pressures as those who serve on black local authorities, who have been a special target of the violence

that has savaged the country for the last 16 months.

Moreover several leaders, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have indicated they may boycott the council as long as the African National Council is banned and Nelson Mandela remains in jail.

Probably with this in mind, Heunis made a special appeal to leaders to "refrain from stating further conditions for participation."

The Bill provides for the appointment to the council of:

- Chief Ministers of self-governing states (or their nominees)
- At least 10 urban black leaders
- Such members of the South African cabinet as the State President deems fit.
- The chairmen of Ministers Councils in the three houses of parliament.

By JEAN LE MAY

● Not more than 10 other people who in the opinion of the State President can make a contribution to the functions of the council.

A rough headcount is that there will be (in theory) 15 blacks on the council (five chief ministers from Lebowa, KwaZulu, Gazankulu, KaNgwane and Qwa Qwa, plus 10 "urban" blacks), at least one coloured person (the Rev Allan Hendrickse), at least one Indian (Arnichand Rajbansi) and an undetermined number of whites, with a possible maximum of 29, depending on the number of cabinet ministers chosen and the composition of the 10 "other persons".

Provision is made for the appointment of urban black leaders chosen from nominations by organisations, institutions and interest

groups who wish to do so.

Only SA citizens may serve on the council, but former SA citizens who are now citizens of the TBVC countries but who live permanently in South Africa will be eligible to serve as soon as legislation is passed to restore SA citizenship to them.

However it appears that citizens of the self-governing states are excluded from serving, presumably on the grounds that they are represented in the council by their chief ministers.

Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development Chris Heunis said in a statement when the bill was tabled that "persons nominated in this way should be representative of the black communities permanently resident in the republic, excluding the self-governing territories."

"Only South African citizens may be appointed to the council and in this

regard I refer to the new legislation on citizenship which is to be finalised by parliament.

"In terms of this legislation, the South African citizenship of all black citizens of the independent black states (the TBVC countries) who are permanently resident in the Republic will be restored."

This raises the likelihood that some sort of federation or confederation is on the cards eventually and that the legislative assemblies of the self-governing states will become state legislatures.

As to the nuts and bolts, members of the council not in government service will be paid, the council will meet under the chairmanship of the State President, and it may appoint committees which may include people who are not on the council.

Proposed council interim body only

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE proposed National Council to negotiate on constitutional change would be an interim body without executive powers, according to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

Speaking at a Press conference after he had announced details of a draft Bill providing for the new Bill he said the proposed council was a genuine offer to bring leaders together in a high-level body under the chairmanship of President P W Botha.

While any recommendations from such a council would have to be considered and implemented by Parliament the new body would consult at executive level.

National unity

The National Council, Mr Heunis said, should be viewed as the starting point of power-sharing and would help to create more national unity than the country enjoyed at present.

It was an indication of the Government's bona fides and presupposed new structures at executive and administrative level.

Mr Heunis said it was doubtful whether representatives of opposition parties would be appointed on the council as they had other forums such

as Parliament and its standing committees.

The council would not be the only negotiation process. The special Cabinet council which has been consulting black leaders would continue with its work.

He was convinced that there were enough urban black leaders willing to go along with the new concept, but said he could not yet announce names.

Mr Heunis said non-participation would not invalidate the concept of the council.

Renounce violence

While stating that members of banned organisations such as the African National Congress could not take part, Mr Heunis reiterated that the Government was willing to consult anyone who renounced violence.

The Government preferred to talk in terms of people rather than organisations and did not believe that all members of the ANC were committed to violence.

The draft Bill will appear in the Government Gazette today. Representations on the new measure may be made to the Director-General of the Department of Constitutional Development until the end of June.

Parliament will then deal with the final Bill in its second session this year.

AROWS 23/5/80

Blood flows in the Battle of Pietersburg

The Argus Correspondents

30 YA
PIETERSBURG. — It was the Battle of the Burgers. Afrikaner fought Afrikaner as the simmering feud between the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and National Party supporters finally erupted into a bloody battle in the Jack Botes Hall here.

The evening ended yesterday with Pietersburg celebrating its centenary with its civic centre in a cloud of teargas fired by police after AWB members overran the stage and prevented the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, from speaking.

Instead, he spoke at the National Party headquarters a few blocks away, while the teargas cleared

around the hall and about 10 people on both sides nursed cuts and bruises.

By mid-afternoon the tension was mounting as NP organisers prepared to limit the audience to a "Nats-only" meeting and AWB members rallied to get into the hall.

When the doors opened just before 5pm to allow screened NP supporters into the hall, about 500 people were already waiting, fairly evenly divided into two camps. A huge roar went up from the AWB ranks when their leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, arrived about 5.30pm.

Determined efforts by the AWB supporters to breach the doors were briefly successful when one of the glass panels cracked and the doors

were flung open.

About 200 AWB supporters poured in before order was restored. At least two people, one of them with blood streaming from a cut on his ear, were taken away by police.

Just before 6pm Mr Terre'Blanche held discussions with a senior police officer and then made his way to the doors. Suddenly the doors were flung open and a wave of AWB and NP supporters and newsmen surged into the hall.

Then there was a concerted rush by AWB supporters up the stairs leading to the stage. NP supporters tried to stem the attack.

Fists flew, one man was sent crash-

(Turn to Page 3, col 3)

30 YA
AROWS 23/5/80

Bloody noses in Pietersburg

(Cont. from Page 1)

ing into the speaker's podium and emerged with blood streaming from a cut near his eye. Another ended up with his face a mask of blood.

About three others had bloody noses and more had cut faces. Men were hurled off the stage, some crashing into the Press tables.

Within 10 minutes it was all over: the AWB had control of the stage. Then came the victory song: *Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika*.

The stunned ranks of the NP looked on. Then gradually they began to counter the AWB and a stalemate developed.

Although the AWB controlled about two-thirds of the estimated 2 000 people in the hall and, on the stage, the NP supporters formed a solid block in the front of the hall.

At 7pm, the scheduled time for the NP meeting to begin, there was a triumphant roar from the stage — but the stalemate continued. Then Brigadier Gert van Rensburg ordered teargas to be fired on to the stage.

● Later Mr Pik Botha issued a veiled threat to the AWB when he addressed a closed National Party meeting.

"The Government will not allow certain people to continue with their present style of political activity," he told an audience of 800 NP supporters.

Planned council's function advisory

23/5/86
SOM Political Staff 304A

CAPE TOWN — The main function of the proposed National Council was "advisory" — and although the Government was hoping it would break the current deadlock in negotiations it is still keeping other options open.

This was made clear by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis at a Press conference just after he announced the proposed structure of the council in the House of Delegates.

Its advisory task will be primarily intended to find ways to bring blacks into government. Although it will be given the right to consider not only legislation but even Cabinet decisions, it will have no executive powers.

Mr Heunis said: "The council is nothing but an interim advisory body of general affairs. All its recommendations must be acceptable to the executive (the Cabinet)."

He emphasised it should be seen as an interim body to help plan and prepare a new constitution in which all South Africans would participate and the Government would go ahead with it even not all homeland leaders participated. Some had already agreed.

Despite the Government's faith that the council would create the "breakthrough we need" it was not putting all its eggs in one basket. The President's Council would still operate as would the special constitutional Cabinet committee under his chairmanship.

Negotiations could also take place on an individual basis.

Esser refused bail: 2 held for stabbings

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Used-car millionaire Mr Franz Esser, 50, who is wanted by the West German authorities to serve a two-year prison sentence imposed on him in 1977, was refused bail in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today.

Passing judgment in the bail application, the magistrate, Mr A G du Toit, said what had weighed most heavily in his decision not to grant bail, was that Mr Esser was a "fugitive from the law".

The State opposed the granting of bail to Mr Esser of Hyde Park, citing allegations of fraud, theft, uttering and forgery against him.

ARGUMENTATIVE

Mr du Toit said the court experienced difficulty in finding that Mr Esser was a trustworthy witness. He was argumentative, evasive and at times refused to concede simple things.

Mr du Toit said: "The court did not find it necessary to decide whether Mr Esser will interfere with State witnesses."

The hearing was postponed for further investigation until July 22.

● Two people have been arrested in connection with the stabbing of Mr Esser's wife, Emily, and her sister Mrs Elizabeth van Zyl earlier this week, police said yesterday.

A police spokesman said a 17-year-old youth and a 20-year-old man were arrested in Mafikeng and Soweto respectively. They are expected to appear in court soon.

Two more men are still being sought, he said.

Nats shaken up by AWB's 'dynamite'

WEEKLY M.

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23/5/85



"YOU can hear the dynamite in my nation tonight". These were the words of Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), as his "storm falcons" took over the National Party meeting in Pietersburg last night.

And this was the reaction of an hysterical woman among the NP faithful: "They're worse than kaffirs. They are barbarians. It's terrible that Afrikaners should behave like that."

The NP suffered a major shock when the neo-fascist AWB took over the meeting after storming the platform and bodily throwing party faithful off the stage.

And in Cape Town, the State President, PW Botha, asked whether the breaking up of the meeting would mean a scaling down of the reform programme, replied firmly: "No, it will not." He deplored "uncivilised behaviour from any source" and added, "the country cannot afford it".

The NP meeting was to have been addressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, one of the party's star orators. It was billed as a major show of strength between the NP and the ultra-right spearheaded by AWB after the breakup of an NP meeting in Brits last month.

PATRICK LAURENCE reports from the shattered Pietersburg rally

The swastika-like emblem of the AWB was hoisted over the platform as Terre'Blanche was carried shoulder-high onto the stage. Dazed NP members watched incredulously as exultant AWB "storm falcons" shouted and sang.

After losing control of a meeting in Brits last month — where it was taken by surprise — the NP vowed to hold a rally in the Northern Transvaal and chose the ultra-right stronghold of Pietersburg as the place.

But the NP strongmen were no match last night for the AWB troops, seemingly driven by a fanatical devotion to Terre'Blanche and his promise to re-establish the 19th century Boer Republics as a modern *volkstaat*. Fists and boots crunched into bones and flesh in a brief fight for possession of the stage.

Police initially failed to intervene, although the NP had rented a hall for a closed meeting at which the right of admission was theoretically reserved. Only at the end was teargas fired to disperse the meeting.

SAPA reports that the panic-stricken crowd smashed glass windows to get out of the hall to escape the fumes. The canisters were fired seconds after a brigadier had warned the AWB members they had five minutes to leave. A wild stampede followed.

The AWB first had to fight their way into the hall past NP loyalists. In the hall, the NP may actually have been in the majority. But, apart from a few young men, most of its members stood mesmerised by the violent power of the AWB.

During the fight for the stage, Terre'Blanche, a bearded former policeman with a messianic belief in himself, stood back coolly, urging his men on. He came immaculately dressed in a three-piece suit. His only concession to the fist-fights was to take his jacket off.

A spellbinding orator, he clearly inspired fanatical devotion from his followers. As the initial AWB surge took place, an anxious AWB devotee said: "Gene, you must be cold," to which Terre'Blanche replied: "No, I won't get cold. I'm first going to hold a meeting."

● To PAGE 3

Teargas breaks up AWB demo

● From PAGE 1

His men offered to heave the press off the stage, but he commanded: "No, leave the press." Later, however, journalists were pushed off the stage. But, with old world chivalry, a woman photographer was passed from man to man and lowered to the floor gently.

The stunned NP faithful took revenge when Terre'Blanche

addressed the crowd. They chanted: "We want Pik. We want Pik."

But the local NP leader, Piet Steytler, had already conceded defeat and decided to abandon the meeting.

The AWB, rather than the ultra-rightist Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties, has led rank and file Afrikaners in a crusade against what it believes to be the NP's policy of appeasement.

The SA Defence Force strike against alleged African National Congress

targets in three neighbouring states earlier this week made no difference to the AWB perception of Botha as a *volksverraier* (or betrayer of the *volk*). There was no debate. It was simply a question of physical strength and determination. The AWB won hands down.

Terre'Blanche has boasted that there are only two contenders for power in South Africa, the AWB and the ANC. On last night's showing, he may be right.

PFP slates Afrikaans ad censoring

By Shirley Woodgate
The Progressive Federal Party has slated the drastic censoring demanded by the Nasionale Koerante group before it will run a PFP advertisement in two of its major Afrikaans newspapers.

PFP secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle said that when the ads were returned in their edited form nearly 80 percent of the content had been deleted.

The three-quarter page advertisement, submitted to *Beeld* and *Die Burger*, set out PFP policy and criticised the SABC and the Government.

Passages that had been removed included references to doing away with hurtful discrimination by granting full citizenship rights for all without discriminating on the grounds of sex, race or religion.

An entire section relating to PFP principles was

cut out and the heading shortened from "The SABC won't let you see the movie, so read the book", to "Read the book".

Rapport had indicated it will use the advertisement without cuts, and it is to appear in its original form in *The Sunday Times* and *City Press*, said Mr Carlisle.

The advertisement has already appeared in full in *The Star*, *Pretoria News*, *Sowetan*, *Business Day* and *Weekly Mail*.

Mr Carlisle added: "This incident is both stupid and tragic. If this is the level of political sophistication of a newspaper, then the managing director will have to run around with a little axe."

"It is tragic to think we cannot get our message across in these papers even when willing to pay."

BUD DAY
23/5/86

364A



● BOTHA

Western tolerance stretched to limit



● THATCHER

LONDON — This week's SADF raids into three Commonwealth countries have strained residual Western goodwill to breaking point and provoked an unprecedented wave of outrage and dismay.

It is difficult to convey the intensity of the anger and betrayal which — within a matter of hours — transformed a subdued and cautiously hopeful international mood into a deafening clamour for economic sanctions.

The emerging consensus in Britain is that President P W Botha ordered the raids because he felt cornered and domestically threatened by a pending breakthrough in the Commonwealth peace plan.

A surprise move by jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela gave him cold feet.

I understand that the group had another highly constructive two-hour meeting with Mandela last Friday, followed immediately by a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

According to sources close to the talks Mandela approved a peace plan whereby there would be a suspension of violence by the ANC in return for his release and the lifting of the ban on the ANC.

While Mandela stressed that this was his personal view, it would nevertheless carry enormous weight with the exiled ANC leadership which has been reluctant to declare a truce before getting guarantees from Pretoria on a transfer of power.

Mandela's statesmanlike stance, which has made a deep impression on the EPG, has clearly brought tensions in Botha's cabinet to breaking point.

The SADF raids were the only response they could muster without splitting the Cabinet.

News of the raids has been followed

THE SADF raids into three Commonwealth countries came at a time when a solution to the problem of SA government talks with the ANC seemed near. JOHN BATTERSBY looks at the implications of the setback, with British patience especially stretched to the limit.

by a sharp fall in the rand, an international clamour for economic sanctions, and threats of intensified internal violence from the ANC.

Agreement on tougher selective sanctions within the Commonwealth and the European Community is now considered inevitable by the end of the year.

The possibility of a mandatory resolution at the UN Security Council cannot be discounted.

But members of the so-called Eminent Persons Group (EPG) have been insisting that the initiative is not dead.

Both Pretoria and the ANC have indicated that they intend to continue co-operating with the EPG mission.

When the EPG returned to Cape Town from Lusaka at the weekend, they carried the first unofficial responses from the ANC to their proposals.

I understand that the Commonwealth is hoping for a response from the SA government within the next two weeks.

Pretoria wants the ANC to declare a truce in its armed struggle and peoples' war as part of a "cessation of violence", which would also require the withdrawal of SA troops and para-military forces from the townships, the release of Mandela, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and a commitment to completely dismantle apartheid.

However, the EPG is believed to have extracted an important conces-



● OWEN



● HOWE

sion from the ANC in its first round of shuttle diplomacy.

In addition to a Bill of Rights to protect individual rights, the ANC would apparently be prepared to discuss temporary entrenched constitutional guarantees for the white minority — similar to those at Lancaster House.

There have also been indications that the ANC might be prepared to soften its stance on "no truce before an agreement-in-principle on a transfer of power to a democratically-elected government".

In other words, the unthinkable even three months ago — official negotiations between the National Party government and the ANC — has already begun.

So why risk wrecking it all with a military raid which has achieved the maximum political provocation and international backlash with the minimum military advantage?

This is the question which has caused genuine dismay and bewilderment in Whitehall and Downing Street.

Why, Foreign Office advisers are asking, did Pretoria slap Britain and the Commonwealth in the face when a breakthrough seemed imminent?

Both Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe have angrily dismissed SA comparisons between the British-backed US bombing raid on Libya and the SADF strikes into neighbouring Commonwealth coun-

tries.

This attempt at rationalisation by Pretoria indicates the grossest misreading of the British reaction to Thatcher's support for the US raids.

The SA raids have drastically undermined Britain's capacity to resist the mounting international pressure.

But, even more significantly, the raids have strengthened the growing number of Tories who believe that Thatcher's going-out-on-a-limb for SA is becoming a potential electoral liability on a defensive and ailing party.

Behind Thatcher's tough reiteration of her anti-sanctions stance lies a very different behind-the-scenes picture.

In a week of high drama the House of Commons heard the first calls for sanctions from the Tory back-benchers.

Howe conceded that Britain might have to consider further action within the context of the EC and the Commonwealth.

Alliance leader David Owen — a reliable barometer of advance Tory thinking — said that the time had come to isolate whites with further selective economic sanctions, including a ban on air links with SA and a ban on new investment.

A spokesman for the State President's office denied reports that the raids stemmed from Mandela's concession to agree to a suspension of violence before negotiations took place, reports LINDA ENSOR.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," the spokesman said, adding that the reports were "a classic case of disinformation."

ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Tom Sebina, said: "We have not been officially informed of what Mandela said and do not comment on the content of the EPG discussions."

CAK Times 24/5/86

304A

AWB racists a small minority — Worrall

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday said the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rioters in Pietersburg represented a small minority of Afrikaner racists whom he hoped would be "stamped out" very quickly.

Dr Worrall disagreed with massive media coverage here of the riots, which were described as nazi-like and likely to change the political map of South Africa.

Diplomatic and political circles were viewing the significance of the incident with considerable alarm as the reports, describing the AWB and its "demagogue" leader, dominated most newscasts.

Dr Worrall was considered to be playing down the white extremist backlash when inter-

viewed for BBC television. He described the AWB as no more than a "reactionary racist element" and an "insignificant group".

In sharp contradiction, BBC television, radio and press reports said the Pietersburg riot had set the "nazi-like" AWB bandwagon rolling and left the government looking "unusually feeble and weak".

He said the government was still committed to reform.

The Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said black South Africans would not view the scenes of whites tearing each other apart with regret.

In Britain to attend services of the Welsh Council of Churches, he said the problem would not have existed for President P W Botha if he had had the courage

to scrap apartheid — for he would have had the total support of the black community.

"But if they (whites) can now turn on one another, that means our battles are going to be less horrendous.

"I still say we have the possibility of a reasonably peaceful resolution if the international community intervenes effectively by imposing sanctions," he added.

Meanwhile, Britain's most right-wing finance journal, the Economist, yesterday turned sharply on Mr Botha, asking whether he did want reform.

It said Monday's cross-border raids had served no conceivable defensive purpose and were either a sop to the far right or intended to halt progress of the Commonwealth initiative.

Black population group has contributed to building up this country

A time for fair shares

245/8 57M

2044

By Frank Jeans

Despite the socio-political and economic problems in which South Africa is engulfed, there are those business leaders who say that, in hindsight, while supremacy has been good for the country.

It can be said that the white man's creation of wealth, albeit to his own ends, has benefited the black man to a great extent as well. On the other hand, there are also those who say, in the final analysis, that it is the latter more than ever before who has a right to a more equitable share of the generated wealth.

One of the country's leading industrialists, Mr Neil Cullinan, executive chairman of Cullinan Holdings, puts it this way: "The wise businessman looks ahead 10 years to the things that are inevitable so why then bring these same things about in an environment of acrimony and bitterness.

"Each population sector has contributed to the country we have built, now we must share more equitably in it.

"Whatever Government is in power to run this sophisticated economy to the best advantage of all its peoples, it is essential to harness the best brains in the private sector to draw up a long-term economic policy, to tackle low growth, high inflation, growing unemployment and attract foreign investment."

Mr Cullinan believes South Africa has the ability to remain a first world country in terms of industrial know-how, efficient management and the skills to absorb advancing technology.

"These are the key ingredients of the free enterprise system which is the backbone of our

of wealth, particularly when all participate in it and provided we are not isolated and we stop the brain drain. But all this requires political stability.

Socialism, he points out, mainly distributes wealth, while communism is a system under which people are coerced to achieve things.

While South Africa has all the attributes of the free enterprise society, he has little doubt that "apartheid is costly, immoral and indefensible in any just society".

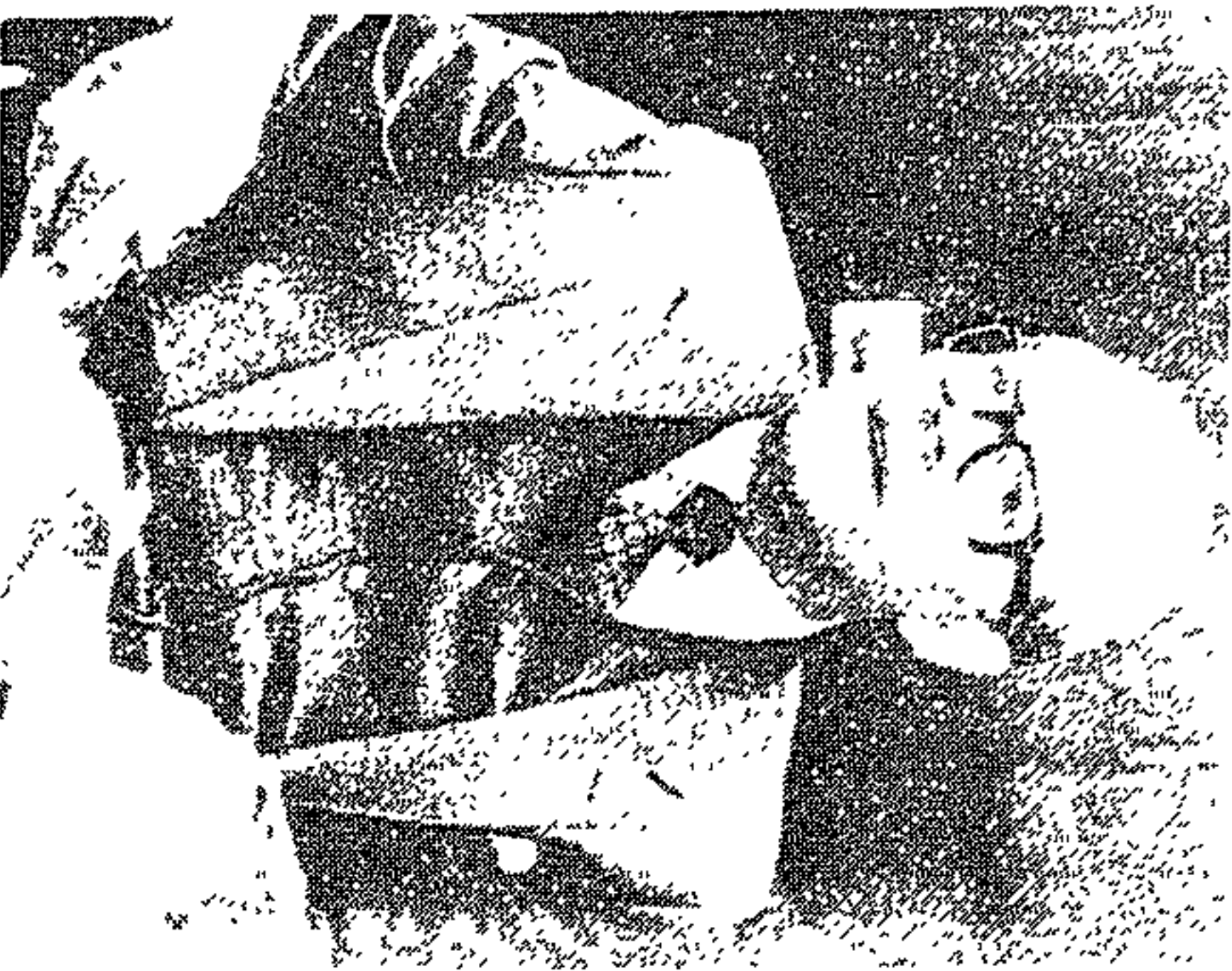
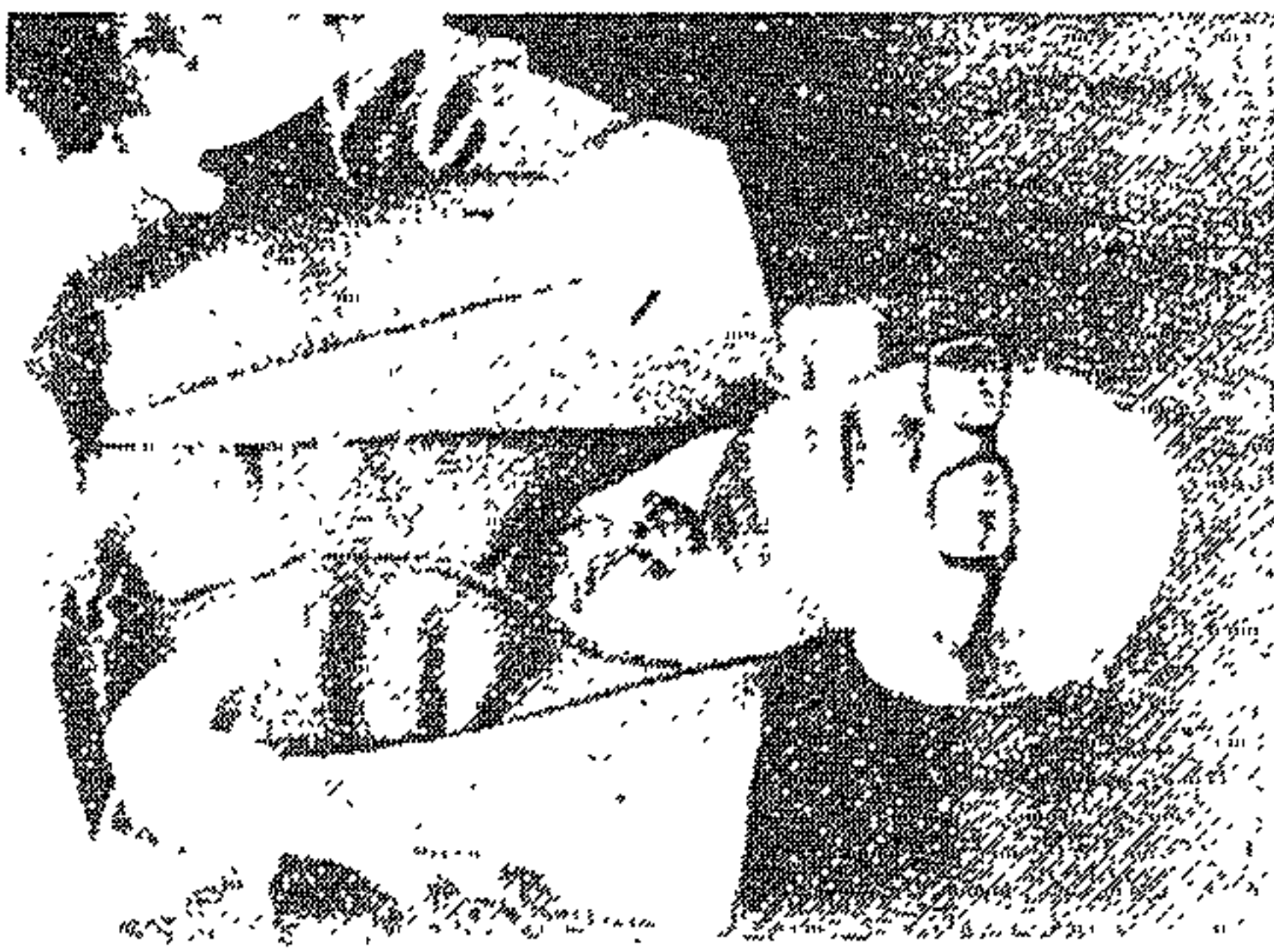
One of the most negative and threatening products of it is the isolation of the black youth, who wrongfully see apartheid and free enterprise as being synonymous.

"It is essential that the problems facing this country are sorted out now in the present generation," he says.

"It is vital, too, that the black trade unions should be seen as being an important ingredient in the wider distribution of wealth. But the supply of capital is certainly not limitless and economic miracles are a result of nothing short of hard work so there is a greater onus on them to act responsibly."

On the economic front, the Cullinan chairman is convinced that the foreign debt rollover and rising inflation are the main crises which impinge on all sectors — particularly when it is remembered that South Africa's population growth is one of the highest in the world and "we have a massive and growing unemployment problem."

Cullinan Holdings is faring comparatively well in present economic conditions — a fact substantiated by strong markets for its various financial structures,



Neil Cullinan . . . the wise businessman . . . looks ahead 10 years.

Star performer in the Cullinan spread of activities are the electrical divisions which contributed 51 percent of last year's earnings and represent the biggest single investment of the group.

Continuing prosperity for these divisions is likely for they are deeply involved in the constantly growing power distribution network and even Escom's forced cutbacks in expenditure will make little difference.

Escom's annual outlay is still a hefty R3 billion, so that there is substantial market potential.

The group also has a big share of the power station cabling installation business which can mean contracts to the value of R80 million a year.

each power station. Cullinan's 50/50 partnership with Iscor is substantial and produces a wide range of refractory products for many basic industries.

There are the minus factors, of course, in line with general economic conditions. The group's building brick business is feeling the crunch and Neil Cullinan is quite candid about "construction's worst recession since the Second World War."

He has little doubt that the persistent bad debt experience among customers is indicative of the times and without strong financial muscle, many of the smaller companies could be in difficulties.

economic housing has affected Cullinan's new brick-making plant which represents an investment of R7 million and is at present lying idle.

Nevertheless, the new brick plant is there awaiting an upturn and with its choice of plant and equipment, the group will be kept competitive and a low-cost producer when times get better.

Certainly, Cullinan is a sleeping giant in the industrial property business ever since Neil Cullinan's grandfather, Sir Thomas of diamond fame, set up the group on the 2 000 ha farm at Ollantfontein back in 1902 — the same year he opened the Premier Mine.

tential industrial and commercial prime land under wraps, again awaiting market recovery. When that happens, Cullinan will be bringing on that land for development and leasing deals as market forces dictate.

One way or the other then, Cullinan is strong in the market place and mindful of the changes socially and economically which its chairman believes must come about, hopefully without excesses on either side, it must inevitably get stronger.

The philosophy is sound: "Companies such as ours should not be seen just as money-making machines but rather as enterprises with a soul and with concern about people and their

ELLISRAS. — Police turned out in force at Ellisras High School and in the town itself early this afternoon at a National Party gathering where the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, was scheduled to speak later.

Early on, the police linked arms and forced a small group of angry Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members out of the school gates and into the road after they demanded to speak to Mr le Grange.

Police reinforcements rushed to help their colleagues from the school buildings a few hundred metres away where about 200 NP supporters were gathered.

The group of AWB members were dressed in their traditional khaki clothes. They argued vehemently with senior police officers at the gate.



Mr Le Grange

They claimed they had the right to enter the school grounds where the National Party was gathering. But a National Party official told police the AWB men were not registered members of the party and asked the police to remove them.

Foreign television camera crews

who were interviewing AWB men were warned by the official to leave the gates.

Arguments with police continued for about half-an-hour. One AWB member was taken away and put into the back of a police van after he defied police instructions to leave. He was released soon afterwards.

General Bert Wandrag, chief of all South African Police reaction units, was present to co-ordinate the strong police contingent at the meeting.

Brigadier J van Rensburg, police chief for the area and the man who ordered the dispersal of AWB members in two teargas incidents in Pietersburg, was also present.

For members only

The National Party meeting has been advertised as being for National Party members only.

Police guarded the gates to the school grounds and checked the occupants of cars driving in.

Other policemen, some with dogs, were stationed in the grounds around the main building.

About 10 police vans and buses were positioned at some distance around the main building.

People slowly began to arrive early in the afternoon and National Party workers were setting up stalls and entertainment facilities.

A National Party official from the party's headquarters in Pretoria said police had decided to be present on their own initiative, "to ensure that the meeting would not be disrupted".

Police would "deal with any possible hooligan elements", he said. — Sapa.

12/11/86 24/11/86

3044

POLICE GUARD NP

General in charge as Nationalists wait to hear Minister le Grange

SPAC 3041 24/5/86 PW and Right on Crossroads

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

The Government and the Afrikaner right wing are on a collision course after an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) threat to block the National Party meeting at Ellisras today, the "cancellation" of a Conservative Party meeting at the Voortrekker Monument next week and the debate at Pietersburg.

The Pietersburg clash has evoked world interest, with television viewers in Britain and the United States fascinated by South African Police teargassing whites who are to the right of the Government.

It has been disclosed in Johannesburg that several city traffic policemen travelled to Pietersburg to "protect" Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pienaar from the Right - unsuccessfully.

Mr Tom Langley, the Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, has warned that right-wingers are so frustrated that clashes will get worse.

He said the Government's time expired on April 29, when it should have called a General Election. "There is no other way for the people to resist this Government than to demonstrate their feelings in this manner."

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin described the Pietersburg clash as "thuggery that was disgusting".

"What is important is that we should not take our eye off the real ball in South African politics - the question of black/white relations and the creation of a constitution in which all South Africans can take part."

"If whites are going to engage in political brawling of this kind while the black townships are burning, heaven help South Africa."

Right-wing thuggery in Pietersburg and the burning of Crossroads show how the chickens of Verwoerdian apartheid are coming to roost."

A repeat of the Pietersburg incident is threatening when Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange runs a gauntlet of AWB supporters at a meeting at Ellisras this afternoon. The AWB has vowed to be there to meet him.

More commitment

But Mr le Grange may not receive quite such a rough reception as his colleagues have recently.

He has a more conservative image, and there should be more personal commitment on the part of the police to protect him.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche has said he will keep disrupting National Party meetings until the Government agrees to a General Election.

But Mr le Grange has said the AWB will not be allowed to intimidate the public.

Tos Wentzel reports from Cape Town that there is deep concern in the Cabinet about ultra-right-wing influences in the SAP, particularly about AWB sympathies among some policemen - in spite of AWB members being banned from becoming police reservists.

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These fears have been the subject of behind-the-scenes conversations among Nationalist MPs for a considerable time. But were mentioned in public this week for the first time by a Cabinet Minister.

Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis said police in Pietersburg were not capable of, or did not want to, maintain law and order.

This has raised eyebrows because it is unusual for a Minister to criticise a Cabinet colleague in public.

● The Progressive Federal Party is considering holding a public meeting in Pietersburg. Parliamentary Conservative Party sources said yesterday that if the PFP held such a meeting it would be left alone - "although I don't know if they will be able to attract an audience".

Parliament ar

Eglin calls for Mandela release

Political Correspondent

THE government had to release Mr Nelson Mandela as a prerequisite for meaningful negotiations, the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday.

Mr Eglin was reacting to the government's proposed National Council which the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said could serve to provide black communities with the opportunity to participate in the processes of government and draft a new constitution.

However, Mr Heunis said that members of banned organizations like the ANC would "quite obviously" not be allowed to participate in the council.

In addition, in terms of the National Council Bill published yesterday, those sentenced to prison for more than a year (which would include Mr Mandela) would be disqualified from participation.

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has also indicated that the NC would not work unless Mr Mandela was released from prison, and the ANC unbanned.

Mr Eglin said yesterday that the PFP would study the bill and comment on its provisions "in due course".

"What we have to emphasize at this stage is the absolute urgent necessity of getting real negotiations going between the genuine leaders of all sections of our people.

"Whatever limited advisory role a National Council — based largely on existing racial structures — may be able to play, this is no substitute for real and effective negotiations between truly representative leaders," Mr Eglin said.

For this reason it was imperative that Mr Mandela be released.

Nats concerned over AWB influence on the police force

W/C ARGUS 24/1/86 30 CA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

RIGHT-WING tendencies in the police force are causing deep concern among many Nationalists, right up to Cabinet level.

There is particular concern about Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) sympathies among some policemen, in spite of the fact that AWB members have been banned from becoming police reservists.

Nationalist MPs have been discussing this for a long time. But this week it was raised in public for the first time by a Cabinet Minister.

Speaking after the AWB prevented the National Party from having a public meeting in Pietersburg, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said the police on the scene were either not capable of maintaining law and order, or did not want to do so.

Unusual

Mr du Plessis is chairman of the Northern Transvaal region of the National Party. His remark caused comment among Nationalist politicians because it is unusual for a Minister to criticise a Cabinet colleague in public.

On the other hand, Mr du Plessis was expressing misgivings which arose last month about the role of police at a Nationalist meeting at Brits, the first to be broken up by the AWB.

A parallel can be drawn with the situation in World War 2 when there were indications of some police involvement with the then ultra-right Ossewa-brandwag.

There is also suspicion of right-wing influences in some police action in riot situations.

The Government's problem is that even if it could count on police backing in the handling of unruly meetings it would be invidious to be seen to be using the police too much to protect Nationalist meetings from invasion by right-wing groups.

Run gauntlet

It seems as if the party will have to rely on its own supporters — which, on several occasions, have been unable to stand up to the militant tactics of the AWB.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Lous le Grange, was to run the gauntlet of AWB supporters in the Transvaal today. He was due to speak at Ellisras and the AWB vowed to be there to meet him.

The AWB has broken up three meetings of Cabinet Ministers in the Transvaal in recent weeks.

Show of defiance planned by right

Cape Times 24/5/86 30KA

Political Staff

THE Voortrekker Monument, one of the most hallowed symbols of Afrikanerdom, is expected to be the scene of the next major right-wing show of defiance against the government.

There are signs that four major right-wing organizations are planning to defy a ban on meeting at the monument on Republic Day.

In Parliament yesterday, where the atmosphere was charged with emotion, at least one Conservative Party MP, Mr S P Barnard, said they would be there. Another, Dr Frans van Staden, said the meeting would go ahead, even if it was on the "kopple" behind his house.

Volkswag

On Thursday night the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) took over the meeting in Pietersburg of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and is now threatening to do the same to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in Ellisras today.

Dr Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag has also called on its members to attend the "volksfees" at the monument's

"kopple" next Saturday.

The meeting was turned down by the monument's board and the decision was upheld by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase. Mr Clase was later attacked by the CP for not allowing what was described as a "cultural" and not a "political" gathering to take place.

Dr Boshoff was to have been one of the speakers, along with the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, the Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, and the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche.

Nationalists slammed what they described as the "scandalous" behaviour of the AWB and accused it of using the same intimidatory tactics for which they criticized left-wing radicals.

While clearly angry about the Pietersburg punch-up, they do not seem particularly concerned about the long-

term political implications for the NP.

But they agree that the right-wing backlash to reform is greater than expected and certainly greater than when the HNP and the CP broke away from the government.

The raid on Mr Botha's meeting has also resulted in a backlash against the AWB's strong-arm tactics, according to the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk.

"The AWB's actions do not represent the majority of white South Africans and the NP will continue to spread its message," he said.

A surprising development in the aftermath of the Pietersburg meeting was the almost unprecedented criticism of the police by the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis.

It is highly unusual for one Cabinet Minister to criticize the actions of another Minister's department.

He claimed that Mr Terre-Blanche entered the Pietersburg meeting under police escort.

Thuggery

Mr Le Grange declined to comment on the criticism yesterday but said a departmental investigation into all aspects of the meeting was to be made by Major-General Stan Schutte.

"All possible contraventions will be investigated and the report submitted to the Attorney General," he said.

"The government is not prepared to tolerate thuggery and bullying and will not allow the AWB and others to dominate the political scene by intimidation," he added.

15kg bomb found in Durban city parkade

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Explosive experts risked their lives in a dramatic 90-minute operation yesterday to defuse a 15kg bomb of Russian origin on the fourth floor of Durban's Pine Parkade, which, set to explode at any time, could have caused wide-scale destruction and the loss of many lives.

At 3.45pm yesterday a passerby spotted a brown package under a car on the fourth floor of the parkade, in the city centre.

The police were informed and all the shops within a kilometre radius of the building were closed.

It could not be established exactly at what time the bomb was set to explode but it was found that explosives had also been attached to the timing device to prevent de-activation. The bomb disposal unit had therefore to disconnect the timing device from the bomb, transport it out of the city and explode it before the bomb could be defused.

Govt is not playing the game, says PFP

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN The Government's policy of the state of emergency and the resultant detentions and brutality had a significant shift taken place through the move to national Congress it had to play soft targets, he said.

He was speaking during debate on a private member's motion introduced by Mr Jan van Eck (PFP Groote Schuur) calling on the Government to negotiate with representative leaders, urban organisations and release political prisoners.

Mr Everingham said the ANC was historically a non-violent organisation. Only after it was banned and forced underground did it advocate limited violence.

Only recently after the

havoc of the state of emergency and the resultant detentions and brutality had a significant shift taken place through the move to national Congress it had to play soft targets, he said.

The PFP was trying to make him a martyr, he said.

Mr van Eck said Mandela's political demands were much more moderate than some of the demands being made in the townships.

The ANC was undoubtedly the most popular organisation among the masses.

You can ban the ANC but it is unbanned in every township.

sunrise news

By Lesley Cowling

Pietersburg had its first taste of teargas this week — and didn't like it.

Three canisters of teargas were thrown by police into the packed Jack Botes hall on Thursday night after AWB supporters took over a meeting which the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was to have addressed.

Few people seemed to understand what was happening when

Battle-hit town finds it has no tas

Brigadier Gert van Rensburg of the local police announced to the 2500-strong crowd that he would give them five minutes to leave the hall.

Most stared uncomprehendingly as, seconds after the announcement, a policeman threw a grenade-type canister high into the air.

"You can't do that," an AWB official shouted.

When the canister exploded into a white cloud and people's eyes began to smart and the acrid taste of the gas burnt into their throats, there was panic.

People pushed for the only door open and the crowd fought its way out.

"Slowly, slowly, people," some were shouting.

At the back of the hall, furthest from the door, people became hysterical. They could see the poisonous clouds coming closer but could see no way out.

People battered themselves against the locked fire doors before someone broke two win-

dows to make an escape route.

"How can they do this?" people asked disbelievingly. And many shouted: "They teargassed us," to the crowd of Pietersburg spectators milling about outside.

One man asked his friend again and again as they were squeezed out of the hall: "But

there are can they pack-

The minutes, was

Crimes, tion by directly

AWB men complain of teargassing

'Nats tried to lock us all in'

By Hannes de Wet

PIETERSBURG — National Party members deliberately tried to lock rightwingers into the Jack Botes Hall before police fired teargas into the crowd, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters said last night.

And police are investigating a charge of assault following the break-up of Thursday night's NP meeting by right-wing forces.

But nobody is being detained, according to a Far Northern Transvaal police headquarters spokesman.

He said police had arrested about five people during the meeting. They had all paid their fines and had been released.

Money to pay their fines was collected at the right-wing meeting held later at the rugby stadium in Pietersburg.

AWB supporter Mr Johan Steenkamp of Tzaneen said: "I heard that a prominent Nationalist

had suggested to the police that they lock all doors before firing teargas into the rightwingers in the hall.

"The police officer did not want to comply. The Nationalists then closed the doors themselves. Only one on the other side of the building was left open." Several doors were forced open and windows broken by members of the crowd trying to escape the teargas.

LEGAL ADVICE

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said he would seek legal advice following the teargas incident.

"The police officer said he would give the crowd five minutes to vacate the building. As I took the microphone to ask my supporters to leave, the first canister was fired. It was barely 10 seconds after the warning.

"There were women and children in the hall who could have been hurt in the crush," Mr TerreBlanche said.

He added that the AWB would refuse to pay for damage to the building.

"There was no damage before the teargas was fired. The National Party is responsible for the fact that doors were broken down."

Feelings run high in wake of the debacle

By Hannes de Wet

The hijacking of Mr Pik Botha's meeting on Thursday night by right-wing forces has pushed polarisation between the two camps in Pietersburg to utmost extremes.

Yesterday morning spokesmen from both sides said they had had calls from numbers of supporters expressing intense feelings of hostility towards the other faction.

Mr Izak Butler, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in Pietersburg, said: "Now we will see who is on whose side. I would say the polarisation between us and the Nationalists will now only increase in proportion. More and more NP people are joining us, and they become the most radical ones."

"I tell you, there is war in Pietersburg, and in the country." Mr Tjol Lategan, local NP member of the President's Council, said he had never seen so much hatred as on Thursday night.

POLICE ACCUSED OF APATHY

"I am extremely shocked. The tragic thing was the apathy on the part of the police. I had discussions of one-and-a-half hours with Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, the Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Far Northern Transvaal. He said I should trust him. He would have 200 policemen on the scene to maintain law and order. I don't think there were even 50 policemen present."

"It was a shame that the police refrained from shooting teargas into the right-wing crowd outside the hall. Then they came and fired the teargas into the hall where law-abiding National Party supporters were sitting."

"They teargassed old people and children inside the hall, while doing nothing before the right-wing crowd forced its way in."

He ascribed the hijacking to the fact that NP supporters were moderate people not prepared to behave like hooligans.



National Party supporter Mr Leo Senekal, shirt covered in his own blood, TerreBlanche on the stage in Pietersburg's Jack Botes Hall: "My blood is on your this blood that you have spilled!"

'Fanatical outsiders' were to blame

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Most people approached by *The Star* in Pietersburg yesterday deplored Thursday night's chaotic violence and claimed the town's image had been damaged by "fanatical outsiders".

But others said the Government had this coming to it for a long time "by its refusal to listen to the folk".

University lecturer's wife Mrs Joanne Muller, said she was glad she did not attend the meeting: "It was disgusting. There are more civilised ways to make your point."

Businessman Mr Frank Greyling commented: "I was scared as I had never seen anything like this before."

But Mr J Coetzee came straight to the point: "Pik and

his pals will never speak in the Transvaal again — they are now unable to govern the Afrikaner folk."

Mr Gerrit Weerepas, a former Dutch citizen, said "I cannot agree with the infringement of the political rights of others. Mr Botha should have been allowed to say his say."

Mrs Joan Broughton, a minister's wife, assured *The Star*: "God is still on the throne, whatever man may try to devise."

A right-wing supporter who wished to remain anonymous claimed the Government had to take responsibility for consequences of "the anger of the people" for proceeding without getting their approval.

Tutu not sorry at

LONDON — not be feeling the fighting in Pietersburg, said Tutu.

"If they can another, that are going to

However, aim to attend in Wales, still solution in possible. — The

own finds it has no taste for teargas

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many shouted: "They teargassed
us," to the crowd of Pietersburg
spectators milling about out-
side.
One man asked his friend
again and again as they were
squeezed out of the hall: "But

there are children here — how
can they fire teargas in a
packed hall?"
The hall was cleared within
minutes, but the mood outside
was murderous.
Grim-faced men attacked a
policeman, who excused the ac-
tion by saying orders had come
directly from the State Presi-

dent's Office.
Brigadier van Rensburg an-
nounced that the crowd should
disperse, and this time people
began moving off before he fin-
ished his countdown. Three
more cannisters were fired.
Some young men threw stones
at a police van before fleeing.

Earlier, the first people had
started arriving at the hall at
about 3 pm, mostly National
Party supporters in buses from
Rand Afrikaans University and
Goudstad college. By 5 pm the
advance party of the AWB was
there.
Dressed in khaki and vels-
koens, with widebrimmed hats
and great beards, they looked
like a lost group from the Great
Trek. Later, a group of women
in traditional "kappies" and flo-
ral dresses staged a tableau

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ADVICE

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National Party supporter Mr Leo Senekal, shirt covered in his own blood, shouts at Mr Eugene TerreBlanche on the stage in Pietersburg's Jack Botes Hall: "My blood is on your hands... taste this blood that you have spilled!"
● Photograph: Kevin Carter.

Rightists a force to be reckoned with, says UK professor

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is now a force to be reckoned with. Britons have been told by Professor Jack Spence, South African-born professor of politics at Leicester University.
"I think they are speaking increasingly for a group of Afrikaners terrified of any major progress in the reform process," he said on BBC radio yesterday. The uproar at Pietersburg would encourage hardliners in the Cabinet.
"Certainly, it will profoundly inhibit the so-called verligte element both in the Cabinet and in the party.
"There are 30 or 40 youngish Nationalist MPs said to be very close to the PFP in their thinking about politics.
"I think they are going to find life both within and outside the party extremely uncomfortable in view of this development."
On President Botha's position after the raids into Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, he said "Some more optimistic observers see President Botha as a kind of General de Gaulle, committed to reform by stealth following a policy of what one person called "calculated ambiguity."
"I don't believe that I think that when he started the reform process he took the view that the best blacks could hope for was a very great improvement in their economic and social status, on the assumption they would not be militant or press for political reform."
One of President Botha's reasons for the raids, he thought, was to indicate he could not accept the Commonwealth mission.
"What he feared, I think, was that if the mission showed some signs of success — and that was the case about 10 days ago — his Government would be placed in the difficult position of having to accept the mission's proposals or repudiating them."

No evidence of a white backlash, claims Worrall

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South African Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall has denied here that Thursday night's events in Pietersburg represented a white backlash against the Government.
But he said he was appalled by the whites who had broken up the Government supporters' meeting. "That is a reactionary racist element," he said on BBC television.
"It was well organised, obviously, and it regrettably compromises the very legitimate claims which Afrikaners do have to a sense of concern about their culture and language.
But this was not evidence of a right-wing backlash which was getting out of control, he said, and cited a recent poll carried by an Afrikaans newspaper which showed a very high proportion of Afrikaners had come to accept the reform process.
"In a reform situation you are going to have those who are ideologically opposed to the sort of changes which are taking place.
Asked why the police did not intervene earlier, Dr Worrall said "I think there is an urgent need on the part of the South African Government to make very clear that the principle of freedom of assembly is a vital one in our society."

CP, Govt row over rally ban

PARLIAMENT — A row erupted between the Conservative Party and the Government yesterday over the refusal to allow a rally of right-wing groups in the amphitheatre of the Voortrekker Monument on May 31.
Conservative Party members rejected the reasons given for the refusal. A National Party speaker, on the other hand, accused the right-wing parties of trying to "hijack" the cultural possessions of the Afrikaner.
The issue was raised during the House of Assembly's debate on the Education and Culture Budget vote.
The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, said the application for use of the Voortrekker Monument's amphitheatre had been turned down on the grounds that political gatherings were not allowed there in terms of guidelines laid down by the Cabinet.

al outsiders' were to blame

Transvaal Bureau

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for consequences of "the anger of the people" for pro-
ceeding without getting their approval

Tutu not too, too sorry about fight

LONDON — Black people will
not be feeling too sorry about
the fighting between whites at
Pietersburg, says Bishop Desmond Tutu.
"If they can now turn on one
another, that means our battles
are going to be less horrendous."
However Bishop Tutu, in Brit-
ain to attend church ceremonies
in Wales, still thought a peaceful
solution in South Africa was
possible — The Star Bureau

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304A

Afrikaans press bans PFP advertisements

Political Correspondent

THE PFP's latest advertising campaign has now been banned by all Afrikaans newspapers throughout South Africa.

The directors of Rapport, the mass-circulation Afrikaans Sunday

newspaper, yesterday told the PFP's agent that it would renege on an earlier undertaking to run an advertisement forming part of the party's "Save SA" campaign.

It is understood that the turnabout follows on

an order from Cabinet level.

The latest move follows an earlier decision by the editors of Die Burger and Beeld to refuse to run a PFP advertisement — unless references critical of the government and the SABC were erased.

Reacting to the latest decision by Rapport to drop the ad which has already run in a number of English-language newspapers, the PFP's special projects head, Mr Peter Soal, said:

"We have now been denied access to a large portion of the market that we wanted to make an impact on and which needs to be presented with an alternative.

"At a time when people should be open to change and be ready to form new opinions after 38 years of naked racialism, their options are being limited by the very people who should be committed to the free flow of ideas."

He said the only alternative open to readers of Afrikaans-language newspapers was "the clap-trap being dished up by the slavish Nat Press and the SABC".

Mr Soal said since the appearance of reports that Nasionale Pers editors has refused to run PFP ads unless they were "sanitized," the party's offices had received dozens of calls saying they would be boycotting magazines published by the group.

31/8/25

Buthelezi warning over new council

Own Correspondent

24/5/86
BLONDI — The right of the State President to nominate and dismiss members of the National Council will be rejected by many blacks. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday. Commenting on the National Council Bill — providing for the participation of all South Africans in government — KwaZulu's Chief Minister said there would be "severe handicaps" if all blacks were not allowed to participate.

It was imperative that black leaders such as Nelson Mandela should be immediately released. He said blacks were also not prepared to give credibility to the tri-cameral Parliament and was concerned that if the council were mishandled, it could prove to be no more than a mechanism for prolonging the life of the tri-cameral Parliament.

"Because the primary objective of the council is a radical departure from previous National Party policy, I believe blacks should think very carefully about it. I would like to reserve my final judgment until I have the opportunity of studying the provisions more closely."

AWB leader to talk at EL meeting

24/5/86
304A

By KEITH ROSS

EAST LONDON — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, will address a meeting in East London in August — amid senior councillors' fears about the increase in right-wing activity in the city.

Mr Terre'Blanche, who — with his followers — was involved in pitched battles with National Party supporters in Pietersburg this week, has been invited to the city by the chairman of the Independent Rights Association, Mr B Niemand.

The councillors said such activity had, in the past, been foreign to East London.

"I am disappointed that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will be coming here," said the Mayor, Mr Joe Yazbek.

"They stand for violence as they proved in Brits and in Pietersburg.

"At times like this we need to take a sane and sober view of the situation and such people can only impede our progress."

His view was supported by Mr Errol Spring.

Mr Spring, however, saw the increased right-wing activity as a passing phase.

"At times when reform is taking place one does tend to get a polarisation of views," he said.

Mr Niemand said in an interview that he had invited Mr Terre'Blanche to the city as his organisation and the AWB had certain common aims.

"We have repeatedly said we will stretch out our hands to all organisations outside party politics who have the interests of the individual at heart," he said.

"We believe the AWB to be such an organisation and the time has come to seek unity of right-wing groups."

Mr Niemand said he intended to use the AWB's organisational experience to unite the "beleaguered citizens" of the Eastern Cape.

The Weekend Post Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that Mr Izak Butler, chairman of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in Pietersburg, said yesterday there was a possibility that people could be seriously hurt or even die in future political clashes between the Government and right-wing organisations.

Mr Butler made the comment in an interview with a Johannesburg newspaper after the stormy confrontation between the National Party and supporters of the AWB, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party in Pietersburg on Thursday night.

Mr Butler said several people, including himself, were injured in the fighting which broke out.

"The situation is explosive. The people are marching against the P W Botha Government," he said.

THE NATIONAL Council Bill, the government's latest scheme to provide a political platform for the silent majority, seems sure to receive the same reception as the rest of the "reform Bills" – total rejection by most black people.

The Bill, announced by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis yesterday, falls far short of its intended purpose – democratic participation of all South Africans in one parliament.

Heunis is confident that it will work, though – and even warned leaders to stop laying down further conditions for participation in the council.

Become part of the council, said Heunis – and then we'll talk about conditions.

He said the council – which will include homeland leaders – will "fully enable all leaders committed to peaceful change to bring their viewpoints, conditions and reservations to the council itself, where we can discuss them on the highest level and reach mutual acceptable agreement on them".

And if no-one wants to get involved, President PW Botha will just appoint people anyway, according to Heunis.

Botha – chairman of the council – has been given the power to appoint "representatives of black people who are permanent residents in the Republic, including the homelands".

If it sounds familiar, it's because it is. The same approach was used with the Black Local Authorities Act (BLAA, as they say), where people were warned that if they didn't go to the polls, people would be nominated to serve on the councils.

The result of this was total rejection throughout the country.

The composition of the councils demands that Botha appoint the Chief

CHRIS' COUNCIL: IT'S JUST MORE BLAA



HEUNIS



**KHULU
SIBIYA**

Minister of each homeland – or a member of his Cabinet – to the council.

The Bill also provides for the participation of leaders of all communities – but it's debatable how many will become involved, particularly with the participation of the homeland leaders.

Extra parliamentary organisations will also find it difficult to serve on the same platform as homeland leaders.

And the only urban leaders likely to agree to co-opt to the council will be community councillors – who, up to now, have not quite rejected government-created institutions.

But they have about as much of a mandate as the homeland leaders.

Provision is also being made for the appointment of at least 10 "urban black leaders", members of the

SA Cabinet, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, and not more than 10 other people.

Heunis said the council's objectives are:

- To offer participation in the planning and preparation of a new constitution.
 - To grant black SA citizens a say on an interim basis while such a new dispensation is negotiated.
 - To further "sound relations" and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all.
- To promote these objectives, says Heunis, the council will:
- Consider all matters, including existing laws and proposed legislation.
 - Make recommendations to the government.
 - Take any action it deems necessary to achieve its objectives.

Heunis said: "There is no longer a question on the need for powersharing among all SA communities. The only issue left is the how."

He said the National Council should be viewed as the starting point for powersharing and the beginning of "a government of national unity".

★
SOWETO Youth Congress begins its second annual congress today at DOCC hall in Orlando. Speakers at the four-day meeting include PE leader Mkhuseleli Jack, former Cosas president Ephraim Mogale and Fedtraw's Amanda Kwadi.

'Beware of KwaNatal'

30 41

CP Correspondent

THE KwaNatal talks are the first step towards handing Natal over to a black government, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais told conservative white Natalians this week.

"Once this happens, the whole country will follow," he told the first Durban rally of Action White Natal.

About 1 000 "conservatives" heard HNP and Conservative Party leaders slam the government's power-sharing proposals.

Le Grange angered by 'security screen' report

Scm
The Star Bureau
21/5/86
304A

LONDON — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, reacted angrily in a BBC radio interview when it was suggested he could speak at Ellisras only behind a security screen.

"I had no problems whatsoever coming to Ellisras — these are my people, this is my country," he told BBC correspondent Graham Leach in the interview broadcast yesterday on the "World this Weekend" programme.

The reasons for the police presence were that he was a member of the Cabinet and the police felt, in view of what happened in Pietersburg, that they should have a stronger presence.

Mr le Grange said the Government had no specific action against the AWB in mind. "But we are not going to allow any individual members or the organisation to run around intimidating people and stopping them enjoying normal political facilities and political rights."

Relly stresses ideological reconciliation for lively economy



JOHN BATTERSBY

NDON — There will have to be an ideological reconciliation between socialist and free enterprise systems to sustain a lively economy, says Anglo American head Relly.

Radical changes will have to be made, Relly says in the latest issue of the Sampson Letter, a newsletter published by author Anthony Sampson.

He believes the sense of understanding

reached at a meeting between business and the ANC last year "can stand in good stead if needed in the future."

"If we are to sustain a lively economy and create enough wealth to fulfil any aspirations, which I — or the ANC — may have for the future of our people, there will obviously have to be important reconciliations between socialism or Marxist positions and free enterprise positions."

None of us in business believe, or if we do we shouldn't, that economic affairs will simply go on in the future as a linear extension of the past and I believe changed

will have to be made.

In a world of limited resources and competitive nations states you can make a simple list of winners and losers in the economic fight for survival.

The winners tend to practise private enterprise, the losers extreme socialism. Winners are able to meet the needs of their people — basic and not so basic — and losers cannot do either except for a small and self-interested elite.

"There must be a sensible mix of policies to meet the needs of the future, and

discussion and debate ought to be encouraged."

The Anglo chairman stresses the important role of the Swazulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe to which he had referred two weeks earlier in an interview with Anthony Sampson.

"My perspective on Chief Buthe is that no one, the ANC included, has done more to halt the ideological thrust or apartheid than Buthe."

"Because he has rejected violence as an instrument to bring about national change he naturally stands in a better light for many than those who do not

"It is easy today to forget that he was the only black leader with an authentic power base to have faced the heat, a long time ago, of a government still determined to enforce apartheid."

"I think history, if reasonably and objectively written, will endorse the fact that he was the only one on which apartheid ultimately failed."

However, who will write the history? Relly asks.

In an interview two weeks earlier, Relly had said he did not see a further role for Anglo American in bringing government and the ANC together.

AWB warns ANC: 'We won't allow a takeover'

By Peter Sullivan

CEMENT MANUFACTURE

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Cape, Durban,
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AREA B In all o

LUSAKA — The AWB has sent a telex to ANC headquarters in Lusaka warning the organisation that there is no room for it in South African politics.

The ANC has dismissed the message as the "work of mad men", but the organisation seems unhappy with the rise of Far Right militants.

Addressed to "the terrorists of the ANC", it says conservative Afrikaners will not allow their country to be taken over.

The AWB, fired up with recent successes against National Party Ministers attempting to address political meetings, has clearly decided to extend its political clout further abroad.

Twelve representatives from Nafcoc (National African Federated Chamber of Commerce) have had two days of talks in Lusaka with ANC top officials.

The Nafcoc delegation was led by its president, Mr Sam Motseunyane, and the ANC by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo.

● Mr Motseunyane's wife was recently beaten up by a gang of thugs suspected to be right-wing activists.

Govt decision made on response to EPG

304A
26/5/86
BUD DAY

GOVERNMENT has decided upon its response to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) proposals to unban the ANC and free Nelson Mandela.

It is believed the response will be sent off today, after a delay apparently to gauge international reaction to the SADF raids.

Government has also sought breathing space to determine the extent to which it is going to have to fend off a rightwing backlash.

Officials are not prepared to respond in any way to speculation over what government's decisions are to the EPG proposals. Nevertheless, there is a genuine belief that they do provide for a conditional unbanning of the ANC and the release of Nelson Mandela.

These are two issues that are non-debatable.

They are seen as a prerequisite if President P W Botha is to succeed in attracting any credible black leaders to his National Statutory Council, details of which were published in the Government Gazette last week.

MARGARET SMITH reports from London that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is under increasing pressure to take further action on sanctions against SA to head off growing protests across

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

the Commonwealth attacking her passive policies on Pretoria.

Bishop Desmond Tutu added his voice to others when he called for sanctions during a recent visit.

Queen Elizabeth is known to be concerned about unity of the Commonwealth, some of whose members have threatened to consider leaving the 49-nation partnership over the sanctions row.

The British ban on imports of Krugerrands and the new Protea gold coins from SA could be followed by further measures in early August to end tax agreements and probably curb British investments.

Thatcher's will decide on any new steps after what is expected to be an angry and disappointed summit in August in London of seven nations which will review a report on the mission of Commonwealth eminent persons to SA.

But her current thinking is that further restrictions must be measured carefully to avoid drastic damage to SA's economy.

Britain joined the US on Friday in

● To Page 2

Govt decision made

26/5/86
BUD DAY
304A

vetoing a strongly worded UN Security Council resolution censuring SA and calling for selective sanctions after its attacks last week on ANC targets in neighbouring countries.

Zambia, Nigeria and Tanzania are in the vanguard of Commonwealth critics demanding more effective action. Commonwealth sources have suggested that all could make threats about continued membership.

India, too, is calling for the most stringent sanctions.

The Queen made clear her views on the paramount importance of Commonwealth unity when the sanctions row

dominated the heads of government meeting in Nassau last October.

A Buckingham Palace spokesman said over the weekend: "The Queen is watching the situation with great interest and concern."

She is expected to emphasise her reactions during regular meetings with the Thatcher in coming weeks.

So far Britain and the other Commonwealth nations have agreed to stop arms, oil, nuclear and technological supplies, to ban government loans and discourage sporting and cultural contacts.

● From Page 1

They can't stop us now. **AWB**

Business Day Reporters

THE growing battle between the right wing and government will move to Afrikanerdom's holiest shrine, the Voortrekker Monument, on Saturday.

Attempts by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Conservative Party (CP), the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) to get government to allow them to use the amphitheatre at the monument for a mass Republic Day rally have failed — but the AWB intends leading a march on the monument.

"They can't stop us now," said AWB spokesman and leader Eugene Terre-B.

● To Page 2 ➡

AWB organising march

lanche's former personal secretary Dawid Botes, of Springs. "The march is on!"

Botes said that about 2 000 people from Springs alone would take part in the march to the monument.

Education and Culture Minister in the House of Assembly Piet Clase yesterday said he was not prepared to deviate from the decision announced on Friday not to allow the use of the monument for the right wing meeting.

Clase refused to comment further.

A spokesman for State President P W Botha indicated yesterday that, although further representation had been received on the use of the monument, he was not prepared to become embroiled in the is-

sue.

It is quite clear however, that government is not prepared to back down on the use of the monument for events other than those designated as State occasions.

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said yesterday that the refusal was political pettiness.

He accused Botha of being scared to show his real colours to the nation.

Marais said that if the rally could not be held at the monument, the meeting would proceed at a nearby koppie (hill). He said a final decision would be made on Wednesday.

➡ ● From Page 1

Right-wingers set to defy ban on rally

News 26/5/86 30411

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

RIGHT-WING groups are determined to go ahead with a Republic Day rally on Saturday at the Voortrekker Monument in spite of being refused use of the grounds.

This will further heighten tension between them and the National Party. It could again involve police action against right-wing groups amid concern in Government circles about conservative sympathies in the police force.

In a statement leaders of the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikanervolkswag and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) said May 31 was the 25th anniversary of South Africa becoming a republic.

This should be celebrated but the Government had neglected to do so.

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, has refused to give permission for a "volksaantrek" at Monumentkoppie, on the grounds that the rally would be of a political nature.

Thousands

The leaders of the right wing are now calling on followers to turn up at the site on Saturday "in their thousands".

Up to 100 000 Afrikaners from all over South Africa are expected to stream into the area.

A convoy of trucks has been organised to take about 800 supporters from Lichtenberg to the meeting, the Argus Correspondent reports from Pretoria.

The right wing is adamant that nothing will stop it from holding the meeting on the koppie — not even the police.

District commissioner Brigadier H C Lerm says the police are geared for any riot situation and that he will not tolerate violence.

Bloody fights

The Monument Council recently took its decision to ban the meeting since the monument was used "only for State functions".

The HNP has contested this.

The call follows the recent disruption of ministerial meetings by the AWB.

After last week's debacle at Pietersburg — where there were bloody fights and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was unable to speak in the town hall — a ministerial meeting in Warden in the Free State was disrupted at the weekend.

The meeting, which was to have been addressed by Mr Sarel Hayward, Minister of Agriculture in the House of Assembly, was shifted to another hall after constant barracking by CP and AWB supporters.

Meanwhile, a Cabinet row is brewing over the role of the police.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, is sticking to his remarks that the police were unable or unwilling to control the AWB supporters at the Pietersburg meeting.

But on Saturday the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, rejected the allegations.

● Four alleged AWB men appeared in the Ellisras Magistrate's Court today on charges of holding an illegal gathering and trespassing, following their arrest during Mr le Grange's meeting, Sapa reports.

The hearing was postponed till July 1 at the request of the police.

AWB telex work of madmen. say ANC

Political Staff

26/5/86
THE AWB has sent a telex to ANC headquarters in Lusaka warning the organisation that there is no room for it in South African politics.

The ANC dismissed the telex as the "work of madmen".

Addressed to "The terrorists of the ANC", it said Conservative Afrikaners will not allow their country to be taken over.

The AWB, fired up with recent successes against National Party ministers attempting to address political meetings in the Free State and the Transvaal, has clearly decided to extend its political clout abroad.

UNHAPPY

The message to Lusaka's ANC headquarters was sent via the ANC's London office. The organisation seems unhappy with the rise of the far-right militants in South Africa, which has been highlighted in recent weeks and appears still to be on the ascent.

Meanwhile, 12 representatives from the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce have had two days of talks with the ANC's top officials in Lusaka.

The delegation was led by its president, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, and the ANC by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo. Mr Motsuenyane's wife was recently beaten up by a gang of thugs suspected to be right-wing activists.

The Nafcoc delegation is due to return tomorrow.

SA's future.

26/5/86

Machel sets off to obtain aid from Japan

MAPUTO — President Samora Machel leaves for Japan today on a mission to obtain economic aid.

Frelimo sources said yesterday Japan would provide an aid programme for Mozambican agriculture, telecommunications and

transport.

These sectors of the economy are in disarray because of attacks by Mozambican National Resistance rebels.

Japan is interested in fishing

projects in Mozambique. A new joint venture to catch prawns was likely to be sealed during Machel's five-day visit, the sources said.

They said the first package of Tokyo's aid would consist of about R43m. — Sapa-Reuter.

Govt warned on NSC plan

A NATIONAL Statutory Council (NSC) has little chance of succeeding if black leaders like Nelson Mandela remain in prison and other organisations are banned.

"There is little chance of the NSC succeeding if such leaders are not included in the negotiation process," said the deputy president of the Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa), Tom Boya.

He was commenting on the proposed NSC announced last week by Constitutional Development

SOPHIE TEMA

and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

"The NSC, as proposed by the minister, must not be dominated by members nominated by government or members of the self-governing states," he said.

"If the principle of power sharing is accepted, then blacks should be consulted before specific consultation structures are created.

"In the past, structures have been created without any consul-

tation and we should have learnt from previous mistakes that these structures should be negotiated without prescribing any pre-conditions."

He said it was "ominous" that Heunis had said that the council would only deal with matters affecting blacks.

"While the council will consider certain matters, it has not spelled out to what extent the council's recommendations will be binding on government.

Monday, May 26 1986

Difficult to judge how fast membership is growing

The right struggles for unity

THE struggle for a united rightwing appeared to take a leap forward last week when spokesmen from its three major flagbearers — the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — shared a platform in Pietersburg and said: "Together we are unbeatable."

But while observers agree the National Party will lose seats in the next general election, the chances of a rightwing victory do not look that good. Then there is the question of whether the right can unite effectively.

A well-placed AWB source says they hope that 100 000 Afrikaners will gather in the most dramatic demonstration yet of their opposition to the NP at Voortrekker Monument on Republic Day (May 31). They hope this will trigger mass defections from the NP and lead to the downfall of government.

It is difficult to measure with certainty the growth of the right — organisations are reluctant to give out membership figures and because busing of supporters to meetings — such as Pietersburg — has become common.

However, there is a growing resistance to government's reform initiative, particularly in rural areas and among those whom University of Cape Town politics Professor Hermann Giliomee calls the "economically disadvantaged whites".

But can the right unite? The May edition of the rightwing journal *SA Observer* points out that "the political divisions in the conservative body hamper its effectiveness, as does the fact that it does not possess a large daily newspaper".

HNP leader Jaap Marais told *Business Day* he believed the right would certainly co-operate in by-elections and the next general election because, "if we don't, we stand a real chance of losing our parliamentary representation".

But Marais is less keen on what he calls "instant unity" plans between the HNP and the CP — "the mere fact that there are two parties is because there are key differences

THE rightwing is indeed on the march, but what are the prospects for unity among those who have always been reluctant bed-fellows. PETER WALLINGTON reports



Rightwingers hoist their flag high at Elliasas

between us".

Marais is also ambivalent about the AWB. He says the AWB is a cultural organisation and they do not enter into electoral pacts with cultural organisations.

CP official Clive Derby-Lewis says that while the CP and AWB co-operate, a working relationship between the CP/AWB and the HNP is taking longer to materialise than the rightwing wants.

A senior AWB source puts it more bluntly: "Marais has not co-operated fully with the right, but recent events have forced him to fall in line."

It is worth noting that the CP was initially embarrassed by the AWB's militancy, but this has faded and CP officials are often present at AWB meetings.

Nevertheless, fundamental policy differences remain among the rightwing organisations. The AWB is fighting for the return

of the Boere Republieke, while the CP want to enforce partition under a council of states.

The HNP rejects the CP approach. A council of states is just another name for the NP's constellation of states. It does not believe Indians should be granted a homeland as the CP does and it recognises only three homelands — Ciskei, Transkei and Zululand.

Marais says there have been no discussions between the HNP and others since last October's by-elections. It is possible the dispute over how to divide seats among the right could again surface in the future and this would continue to frustrate a united rightwing attack on NP seats.

There remain differences in policy between the CP and AWB which would in all probability become more manifest should the right continue to grow in strength — and again this would be divisive.

Giliomee says in a general election CP resources would be thinly stretched and this could hamper the party.

He believes the NP has lost up to 50% of the lower-income group among whites. He sees the problem as a class struggle within the white community, but doubts it will be as easy to put together a powerful rightwing party as it was 20 years ago.

"This has to do with political culture, mass communications. I don't think they would get the coverage to allow them to develop and gain support."

But there are more factors which must trouble the NP. Divisions have surfaced within the NP, with conservative MPs emphasising group rights and own affairs, as opposed to a verligte faction that favours power-sharing and more reform.

The NP federal congress in August could be asked to approve a plan to bring blacks into central government. If it is, and a substantial number of MPs oppose the move, then another breakaway could occur.

The NP's official organ, *The Nationalist*, conceded recently reform was costing the party support after three decades of growth. But it said the NP would continue its programme because it was crucial for SA's future.

24/5/86

BUS DAY

3041

BUS DAY 26/5/86

Post Reporters

THE leader of the Labour Party and chairman of the House of Representatives' Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, looks set to form a break-away church.

This follows a religious service which he and several other Labour Party MPs addressed at the Al-lanridge Community Centre in Uitenhage yesterday.

The Rev Nevan Adonis, the minister at the Dale Presbyterian Church, from which Mr Hendrickse was removed as a minister by a vote of 445 votes to 382 on April 26, said today that he had no fears of large-scale defections to any splinter

Hendrickse set to form new church

church which Mr Hendrickse might form.

He added that he found the formation of a church centering around an individual irregular. The basis of anyone joining a church should rather be a confession of faith.

"The church cannot afford the luxury of an un-

holy marriage to any political grouping," Mr Adonis said. Mr Hendrickse was playing a "leadership role in a political grouping", which he said would lead to bias.

Members of all political groupings were still in his congregation.

Mr Hendrickse told the

Evening Post political correspondent in Cape Town, Dirk van Zyl, that "Marxists" had hijacked the church. Mr Adonis dismissed the Marxist tag.

Mr Hendrickse said he and his congregation rejected apartheid "in toto" but felt it was their

Christian duty to be involved in the whole process of change in South Africa. He refused to elaborate on his church group's future plans.

According to reports, some 900 members of the Congregational Church are to secede with Mr Hendrickse. Some 2 000

people reportedly attended the meeting. However, Mr Adonis said all Congregational Church meetings yesterday had been well attended.

The split in the church follows a decision by the United Congregational Church synod last year that none of its ministers should be allowed to participate in the tricameral constitutional dispensation.

Among other Ministers who took part in yesterday's service with Mr Hendrickse were Mr Andrew Julius (Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives) and Mr Chris April (Minister of Health Services and Welfare).



Mr ALLAN HENDRICKSE

27th 26/5/88

UK newspapers hit at AWB 'stormtroopers'

SA violence inevitable — TV panel

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain's national newspapers turned the spotlight on Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche at the weekend, with one correspondent recording that he "is considered by many to be an embryonic Hitler".

His Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members are described as fascist stormtroopers and the AWB emblem as their "swastika flag".

In *The Guardian*, David Beresford reports that AWB recruits reportedly undergo an initiation ceremony in which they are asked if they are prepared to "take up arms against the liberal government". He says that, for some time, they are believed to have been pursuing a strategy of infiltrating the security forces.

PERSONAL CHARM

Beresford describes Mr Terre-Blanche as a man of personal charm, a poet and playwright and a mesmeric speaker. But he is considered anti-Semitic as well as an arch-racist.

The Guardian also carries a two-column interview in which Mr Terre-Blanche lays claim to the Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal for the "Boeremense". He says:

"According to international law we have a claim on those areas."

Peter Youngusband, correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, reports that the AWB's disruption of the National Party meeting in Pietersburg was "the resurgence of Nazism — stark, real and very frightening."

"It was ugly to see. There they were again, with their crooked cross, arms raised in Hitler salutes, eyes ablaze with fanaticism."

"They wore brown uniforms and jackboots. And there were threats, swaggering arrogance and violence ... ugly, bloody violence."

"It was Munich and Berlin all over again ... the same disgusting thuggery of the 1930s that preceded Hitler's rise to power."

Youngusband attributes the emergence of "the beast called the AWB" to the fact that President P W Botha is getting little credit for his dismantling of apartheid.

He suggests that if a general election were held now it might result in the National Party being thrown out of power and replaced by Dr Andries Treurnicht backed by "the AWB 'natives'".

"To some extent I blame the

Western powers, including the United States and Britain, for showing coolness to President Botha when they should have shown more encouragement as he painstakingly struggled to drag his intransigent supporters into the 20th century.

"It is in situations like this, when reason gives way to chaos and despair, that Communism or Nazism takes over."

"South Africa is now threatened by both. Can anyone help?"

ENCOURAGEMENT

The *Daily Express* echoes Youngusband's call for more Western encouragement for President Botha's attempts to change South Africa.

In an editorial, the mass circulation daily says: "Anyone who thought there was a simple answer to South Africa's problems should consider the events of the past few days."

"It is utterly false to pretend that, in South Africa, the only divide is between white and black."

"Mr Botha is walking a tight-rope. Those who truly have the interests of Africans — black and white — at heart will pray that he keeps his balance. And they will give him every encouragement to do so."

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa faces radical opposition and violence from white and black, whichever way it turns.

Whether President Botha pursues reform or turns his back on the tide of black political demand, he will not go unscathed, panelists on ITV's incisive "Weekend World" agree.

South African political writer Barry Streek warned that if the Right succeeded in retarding the government declared reform programme, blacks would see revolution as the only option.

Professor Gerrit Olivier of the Rand Afrikaans University said there was a possibility, strengthened by last week's raids, that the ANC would not accept the peace plan.

Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch said releasing Nelson Mandela could turn out like the return of Ayatollah Khomeini to Iran.

In the final analysis, said panelist Fleur de Villiers, Mr Botha "will not meekly hand over the keys to the castle and exchange one form of repression with another."

SA finds snags in EPG's peace plan proposals

30411
26/5/86 STAR

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Cape Town

The Government is apparently balking at a number of proposals made by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

Sensitive negotiations on peace talks reach a crucial stage this week, when the Government and the African National Congress are expected to respond to EPG proposals.

Though it has not made a final decision yet, the Government is understood to be having serious difficulties on certain implications in the proposals.

At the core of secret discussions between the EPG and other parties is a "concept of negotiation" which could form a basis to start talks.

The EPG concept is: If the Government releases Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, unbans the ANC and withdraws security forces from black townships, the ANC will suspend violence — and constitutional talks can start.

It has been reported widely that Mandela is in favour of this plan.

Violence unacceptable

The Government apparently has no objection in principle to releasing Mandela and unbanning the ANC, provided they renounce violence. By this the Government means that violence should cease completely and indefinitely.

It has therefore objected to the use of the word "suspend", as it feels this implies that violence may be resumed whenever the ANC decides to do so.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis made this view quite clear when he told a National Party youth conference at the weekend that violence remained unacceptable.

Other points implicit in the concept of negotiation which the Government is believed to have balked at include what it feels appears to be an attempt to leave out other groups — such as Inkatha and the homelands.

There is also a feeling that the ANC is approaching the exercise purely with the view that negotiations will be about the transfer of power directly to itself.

Sanctions gun

The EPG has evidently explained that the thrust of its negotiations has been with the ANC, because all other groups have already renounced violence and so are in position to take part in talks.

The ANC and, sources say, the EPG, have further taken the view that as the South African Government has all the power, it would be unrealistic of the Government to expect the ANC to discard its "only weapon" by totally and irrevocably renouncing violence.

This argument has been countered by the Government saying that it is not all-powerful because the world has pointed the sanctions gun at its head.

The last meeting between the EPG and the Government was last Monday, when the group met eight South African Ministers under the chairmanship of Mr Heunis.

Reports from London said the meeting was cool, and even icy, and that the EPG had been dealt a setback. South African sources have contradicted this view, saying the meeting was cordial, though both sides were frank.

Bus. Day 27/5/86

Pressure mounts for more sanctions

Govt is mum on its replies to EPG's latest proposals

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS
and JOHN BATTERSBY

GOVERNMENT is saying nothing about its replies to the latest proposals made by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

According to various sources in Cape Town, it intends to maintain this silence and has no intention at this stage of making any details public. Nor is it prepared to indicate when it proposes to respond to the latest EPG initiative.

However, government remains outwardly confident the peace initiative is still alive and well, but by no means cut-and-dried.

It is understood its response will also contain several counter-proposals that will, in turn, have to be canvassed with the ANC hierarchy.

This means, perhaps, that another visit of the EPG team to SA is possible — even though pressure is clearly mounting for the imposition of stricter sanctions against SA.

Meanwhile, the Commonwealth peace mission is expecting a concilia-



● THATCHER...
faces pressure
from various
groups to agree to
sanctions against
South Africa

tory response from the SA government to reduce the impact on Britain of a triple challenge on economic sanctions.

It is understood that Pretoria's reply to the latest EPG proposals will be conveyed through diplomatic channels within the next few days.

But Commonwealth diplomatic sources in London doubt that it will be sufficiently positive to get British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher off the sanctions hook.

International anger at the British and US position on sanctions has increased sharply since Friday's Anglo-US veto of mandatory sanctions in the United Nations Security Council.

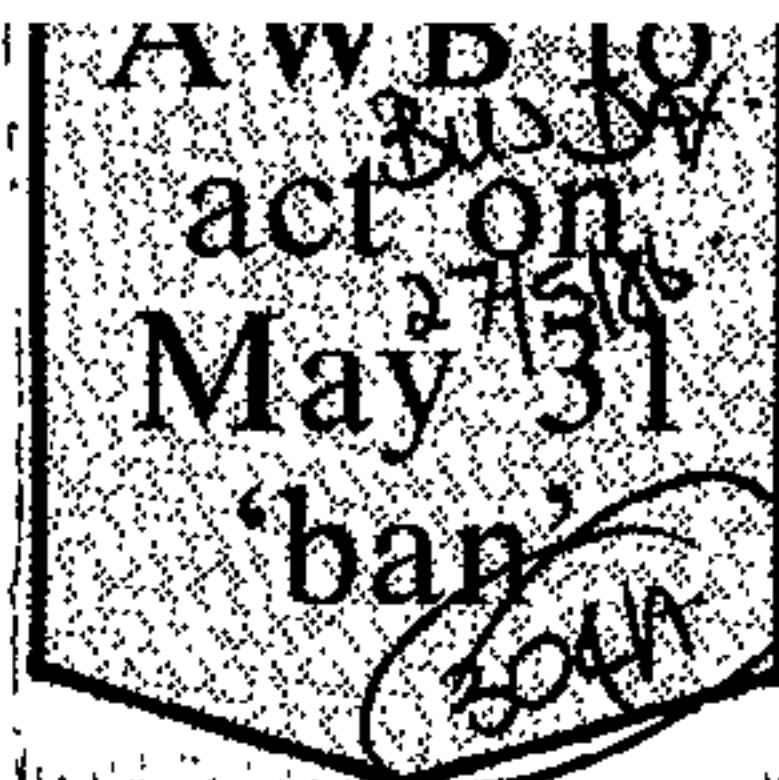
Thatcher is facing an unprecedented challenge from black South Africans, leaders of the Frontline states and the Labour Party/Alliance opposition to mobilise British public opinion in favour of sanctions.

□ At the weekend the Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, made his strongest call yet for British sanctions and warned that "there could come a time when violence is the only option".

□ An emotional President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia warned in a BBC radio interview of dire action against the United Kingdom if Britain did not impose economic sanctions against South Africa.

□ Labour leader Neil Kinnock received a welcome usually accorded only to heads of government when he arrived in India at the weekend on a mission to lobby Commonwealth pressure for sanctions with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

□ The second leg of the Labour offensive on sanctions will be undertaken by shadow foreign secretary Dennis Healey next month.



PETER WALLINGTON

FOUR Right-wing organisations have reapplied for permission to hold a Republic Day meeting at the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday — and they will seek a Supreme Court interdict if their application is unsuccessful.

Should that fail the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), the Afrikaner Volkswag, the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) will go ahead and hold the meeting on an open field next to the Monument.

The organisations were refused permission last week to hold the meeting at the Monument.

Voortrekker Monument Committee secretary Carel Minnie said yesterday he had not yet received a second application.

The original application had been turned down because the Monument was reserved for cultural activities.

Republic Day is one of four days on the calendar where the Monument is reserved for the State.

Minnie said there had been no other applications for the Monument on Republic Day.

Meanwhile in other developments yesterday:

□ There are fears in Pietersburg that further violence could erupt tonight when the AWB holds a meeting at the local rugby stadium.

And the Pietersburg Town Council is believed to be considering a ban on political meetings at the Jack Botes Hall, scene of last week's debacle.

□ Four alleged AWB men appeared in the Ellisras Magistrate's Court on charges of holding an illegal gathering and trespassing. This follows their arrest during Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's public meeting in the town last Saturday.

The four, Dries Alberts, C J Meyer, I A Meyer and J P Janse van Vuuren were not asked to plead, and the hearing was postponed to July 1 at the request of the police.

Bail of R200 each was extended.

□ Major-General Stan Schutte of the Pretoria CID has begun investigating the Pietersburg debacle.

Brigadier Jaap Venter of the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria confirmed that charges against several parties involved had been laid.

He said he could not comment further until Schutte had completed his investigation.

Pietersburg Nats believed to be seeking AWB ban

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The National Party is believed to be seeking a ban on a Pietersburg meeting planned by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

This morning, the chief magistrate of Pietersburg, Mr J van Wyk, said he had received an application "in connection with an AWB meeting scheduled to take place tonight", and would be giving the matter his attention later today.

Yesterday's announcement by the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, that he would be speaking at Brits soon and that Mr Pik Botha would be returning to Pietersburg for a meeting, has caused a stir.

● Several charges against the AWB, arising from incidents at last week's disrupted meeting, have been laid by the National Party.

SACC worker killed

THE body of South African Council of Churches field worker, Mr Diliza Benedict Matshoba, was yesterday found at the Government mortuary. He went missing on Friday.

Initial reports from the family indicate that Mr Matshoba (34), who is also a United Democratic Front (UDF) member, died in a car accident on Friday evening in Soweto.

The official cause of his death is, however, still unknown. Mr Matshoba's death could be politically motivated, his colleagues believe.

According to his sister-in-law, Mrs Mandisa Matshoba, Diliza left home

on Friday to visit a friend in Jabulani.

"Then yesterday the friend phoned us to inquire about his (the friend's) car. Later during the day, he phoned us again to tell us that his car had been found involved in a head-on collision next to PP Shopping Centre in Jabulani."

"We then went to the Government mortuary in Diepkloof where we found his corpse," she said.

Mr Matshoba was the brother of well-known writer, Mthuthuzeli Matshoba.

Jwefan 27/1/86

(304)

Peace bid in row over rally at monument

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

ATTEMPTS are being made to find a compromise that would avoid a serious confrontation at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria where rightwing groups plan to hold a rally on Saturday, Republic Day.

Another application is to be made to the committee controlling the monument to use the site at Monument Hill for the rally.

The first application was turned down because meetings of a party political nature are not allowed at the monument.

The rightwingers, the Con-

servative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikanervolkswag and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, have since expressed their determination to have the rally.

Now attempts are being made to cool the situation.

There has been contact between the rightwingers and Ministers to find some solution.

One rightwing politician said today it would be impossible to stop the rally as people would spontaneously turn up. On the other hand the right wing did not want to be stubborn and wanted to avoid a confrontation if possible.

Mr Willem Cruywagen, Administrator of the Transvaal,

who is chairman of the monument committee, confirmed today that a second meeting of the committee would be held, but he was unaware of a new application.

Mr Cruywagen said the site had previously been refused to other movements because the planned meetings would be of a political nature.

● The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that rightwing fervour in opposing the National Party and celebrating 25 years of the Republic on Saturday, is giving way to rugby fever.

The meeting at Monument Koppie has been scheduled to end at 1pm so that fans can attend the Ellis Park rugby test between the Springboks and the New Zealand Cavaliers.

According to a Conservative Party spokesman, the celebrations will begin at 10am and should be over by about 1pm.

Pietersburg

Meanwhile, the National Party is believed to be seeking a ban on a Pietersburg meeting planned by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The chief magistrate of Pietersburg, Mr J van Wyk, said he had received an application "in connection with an AWB meeting scheduled to take place tonight", and would be giving the matter his attention later today.

It is thought the NP will object to the holding of the meeting, but local party chairman Mr Lodewyk Snyman refused to comment.

● 'We will return', vow Pik, De Klerk, Page 4.

Four AWB men in court appearance

Four members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), arrested trying to enter a National Party meeting at the weekend, appeared in the Ellisras Magistrate's court yesterday.

They are Mr Cornelius Jacob Meyer (21) and Mr Isaac Andrias Meyer (49), both of Alma, about 100 km from Ellisras; Mr Johannes Petrus Janse Van Vuuren (60), of Nylstroom, and Mr Andrias Hendrik Albert (43), of Brits.

No charges were put to them and bail of R200 was extended.

The hearing was postponed to July 1.

The men were part of a group of AWB supporters who tried to enter a meeting held by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, at the Ellisras High School.

Le Grange breaks AWB 'ban' at last

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

It has taken the Government exactly a month to break the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "ban" on Cabinet Ministers speaking in the Transvaal.

When Mr Louis le Grange addressed a meeting in Ellisras last Saturday he became the first Minister to do so since the AWB vowed on April 24 that no Minister would get a word in edgewise in the province.

Right-wingers point out, however, that several factors eased Mr le Grange's path.

● He is regarded as a conservative element in an otherwise "left-wing" Cabinet.

● AWB supporters had already had a hectic week breaking up Mr Pik Botha's meeting in Pietersburg and Mr Sarel Hayward's meeting in Warden.

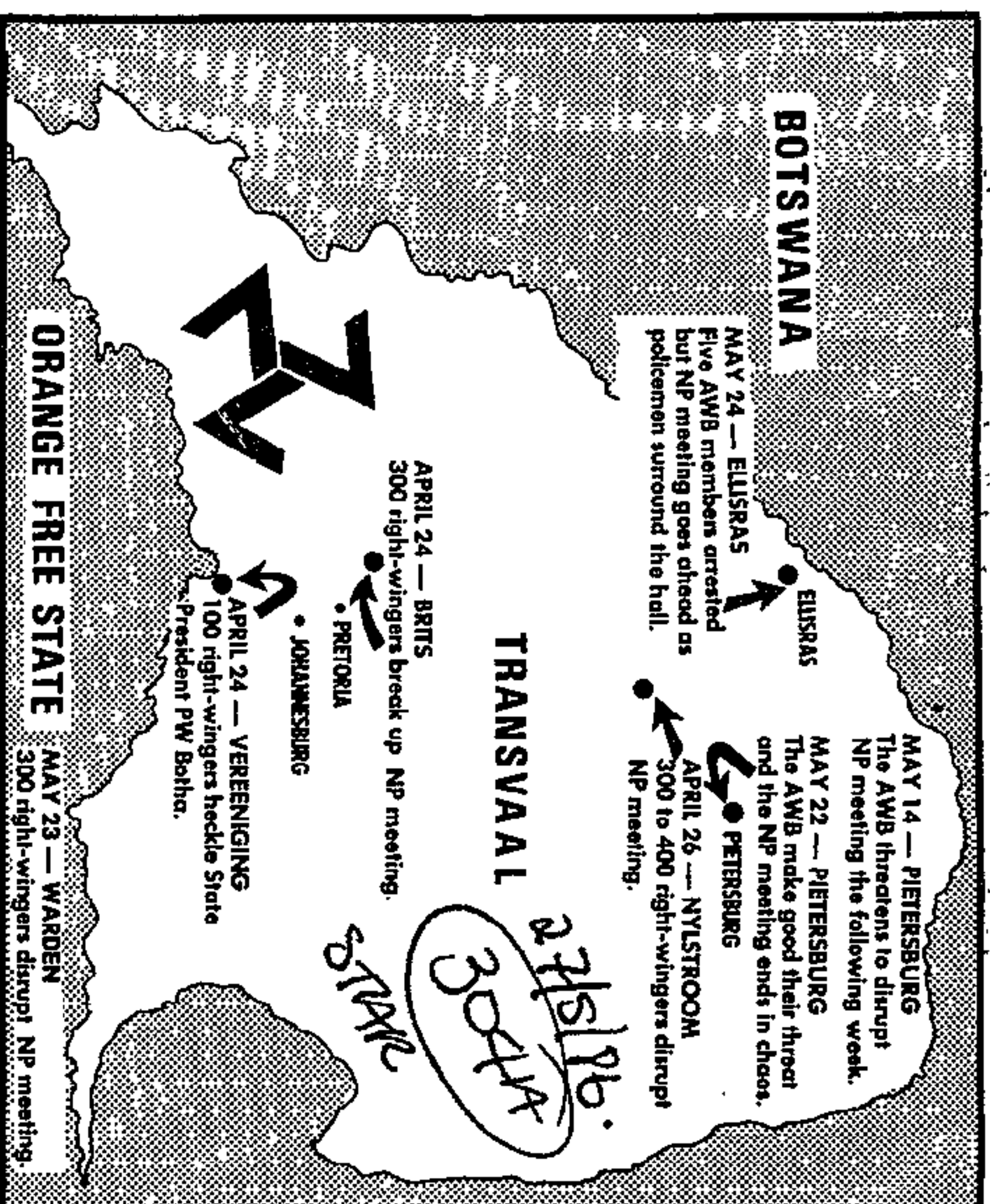
MEMBERS

● The AWB was probably not very committed to preventing his meeting. Only about a dozen AWB members arrived.

● Mr le Grange was protected by about 100 riot policemen led by head of the Reaction Unit, Major General Bert Wandrag.

● There is more right-wing respect for Mr le Grange than any other Minister.

For about 18 months now, attention has centred on battles be-



BOTSWANA

MAY 24 — ELLISRAS
Five AWB members arrested as but NP meeting goes ahead as policemen surround the hall.

MAY 14 — PIETERSBURG
The AWB threatens to disrupt NP meeting the following week.

MAY 22 — PIETERSBURG
The AWB make good their threat and the NP meeting ends in chaos.

APRIL 26 — NYLSTROOM
300 to 400 right-wingers disrupt NP meeting.

TRANSVAAL

APRIL 24 — BRITS
300 right-wingers break up NP meeting.

• PIETORIA

• JOHANNESBURG

APRIL 24 — VERENIGING
100 right-wingers heckle State President P W Botha.

ORANGE FREE STATE

MAY 23 — WARDEN
300 right-wingers disrupt NP meeting.

tween the Government and black township residents. White politics were all but ignored until the AWB "reign of terror".

Recent events have included:

APRIL 24 — BRITS.

About 300 right-wingers disrupt and "hijack" a meeting scheduled to be addressed by Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel.

Mr Nel finally abandons attempts to talk, and right-wingers hold an anti-Government meeting.

APRIL 24 — VERENIGING.
About 100 right-wingers

in a crowd of several hundred heckle State President P W Botha throughout his City Hall address.

The following day the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) vow that no Cabinet Minister will speak in the Transvaal again.

ENTRY

APRIL 26 — NYLSTROOM.

Some 300 to 400 right-wingers gain entry to an open-air meeting at the local rugby stadium which is scheduled to be addressed by the Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coet

see.

Mr Coetsee seeks out AWB ringleaders and offers equal time to them if he is allowed to speak.

His request is turned down and Mr Coetsee is forced to retire to the rear of the stadium with some supporters. The AWB takes over the meeting.

At about the same time, the Minister of Foreign Affairs — Mr Pik Botha — throws down a challenge to the combined Right and indicates he is to address a public meeting in Northern Transvaal.

Two weeks later, the

National Party announces that Mr Botha

will speak in Pietersburg on May 22. However, when the posters advertising the meeting appear in the town they contain the words "right of admission reserved". This causes an outcry in right-wing circles and Mr Botha is accused of cowardice.

The AWB then announces it intends holding a meeting in Pietersburg on the same day.

MAY 14 — PIETERSBURG.

About 800 right-wingers attend a meeting addressed by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche where Mr TerreBlanche tells his audience that he, not Mr Botha, will be speaking in the town on May 22.

In a gesture of solidarity with the Conservative Party, the AWB announces their Pietersburg meeting is to co-addressed by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis of the CP.

MAY 22 — PIETERSBURG.

Thousands of people — mostly supporters of the AWB, the CP and the Herstigte National Party — gather outside the Jack Botes Hall in the town hours before the meeting is to begin.

DISARRAY

By 6pm and following some bloody fist-fights, Mr TerreBlanche is hoisted shoulder-high on to the stage with defeated National Party supporters

in disarray.

The advertised time for the meeting to begin comes and goes with no sign of Mr Botha.

After some vocal opposition, National Party supporters finally concede defeat but just as the right-wingers prepare to carry on with their own meeting the police arrive and order everyone out the hall.

Following a five-second warning which most people did not even hear, teargas grenades are lobbed into the packed hall. The building is extensively damaged by panic-stricken people — right-wingers and National Party supporters — who break down locked doors and smash windows to escape.

Later a subdued Mr Botha holds a closed meeting at the local National Party headquarters, from which the foreign media is banned, while Mr TerreBlanche and Mr Derby-Lewis address thousands at the local rugby stadium.

MAY 23 — WARDEN.

About 300 right-wingers in a crowd of 500 disrupt and then "hijack" a meeting in the town scheduled to be addressed by Agriculture Minister Mr Sarel Hayward.

MAY 24 — ELLISRAS.

Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, becomes the first Cabinet Minister to speak in the Transvaal in a month. Five AWB members are arrested.

150 have joined AWB Brandwag

By Hannes de Wet

A strong Brandwag branch of the AWB was established last week at Steelpoort, where farmers have been the targets of petrol bombs and threats in past months.

"We are just aiming to protect ourselves," said local AWB member Mr Paul Malan.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche described the Steelpoort Brandwag as "a good and strong branch". He said more than 150 farmers in the area were members.

He visited Steelpoort last week and spent the night there before travelling to Pietersburg.

Farmers in the area have said repeatedly that they would not hesitate to

protect themselves if the security forces could not get the situation under control. Most farmers doubt that the Government will give the green light for the building of an electrified fence on the border between Sek-

hukhuneland and Steelpoort.

But indications are that the SADF will still be taking three farmer representatives to the Limpopo border shortly to see the electrified fence there.

CAPE TIMES 27/5/86

Pietersburg: NP plans second meeting

304A

Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, is going back to Pietersburg soon for another political meeting despite the AWB's violent disruption of his meeting there last week.

Transvaal leader of the National Party Mr F W de Klerk last night announced he would speak in Brits, where the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging first broke up a National Party meeting.

He said Mr Botha would return to Pieterburg because the NP would not be prevented from holding its meetings.

Mr De Klerk said he was not being provocative or throwing down the gauntlet but believed democracy had to run its course.

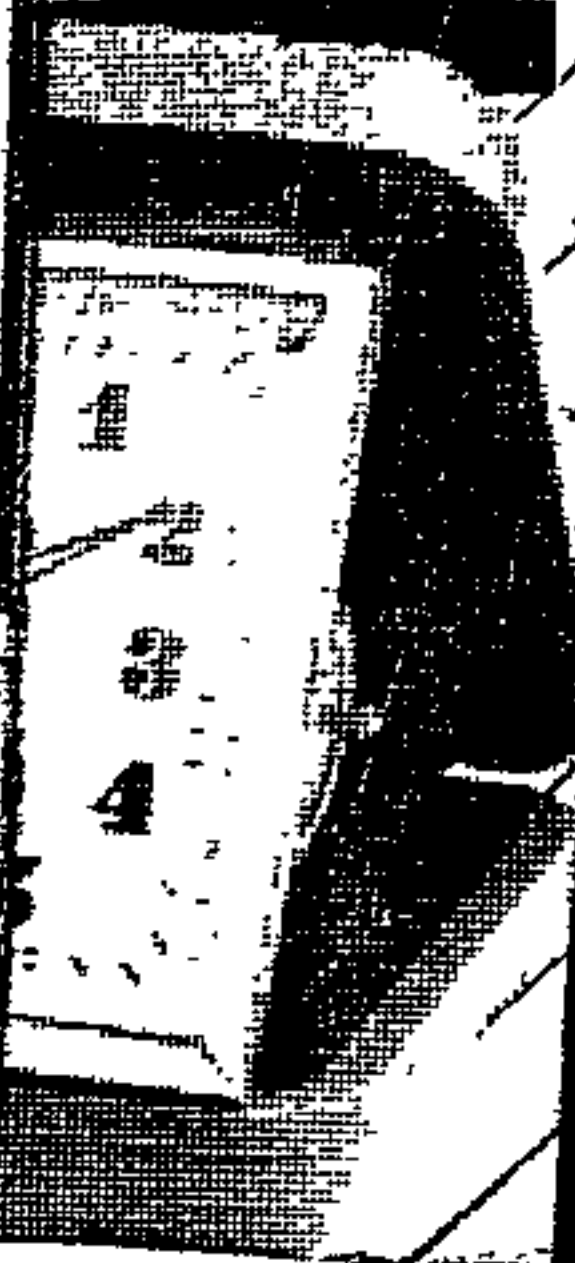
His surprise announcement came in Parliament last night after a day in which there were rising tensions in the NP over the role of the police at the Pieterburg meeting and MPs of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party clearly riled NP MPs.

CP speakers referred to Nationalist complaints about how Mr Botha's meeting was taken over and finally disrupted by fighting and tearsmoke even before Mr Botha arrived.

Mr De Klerk said Mr Botha had been warned against going to the hall because his presence could spur on the violence and was told organizers would let him know when he could go to the hall.

However, the meeting was cancelled and Mr Botha addressed a meeting at the NP's offices.

AT
CKS
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Fearless flow of information essential for new SA's future

THE primary reason for my presence here, I gather, is the fact that in November 1985 I published a lengthy interview with a prominent person. That fact of itself should be unexceptionable, indeed should be seen as routine journalistic practice the world over.

But the interview was with the principal South African black nationalist figure in exile, Mr Oliver Tambo, who is president of the African National Congress which is waging a guerrilla war against South Africa.

The provisions of South African law state that it is a criminal offence, punishable by a jail term of up to three years with no option of a fine, to quote a banned or listed person, and it is common cause that Mr Tambo is listed by the government together with numbers of people who are in various ways restricted or in official disfavour.

My court case comes up again in the Regional Court, Cape Town, on June 17 and it is therefore invidious for me to comment in any direct way on the issues that the court will have to decide upon. This is because I am bound by the

The Editor of the Cape Times, **ANTHONY HEARD**, received the Golden Pen of Freedom award from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) in Lisbon yesterday. This is an extract from his address.

sub judice rule which makes it an offence to influence or prejudice pending legal proceedings.

Views

Suffice it to say that Mr Tambo is an increasingly important player in the crisis which is unfolding in my part of the world, and authentic journalism cannot ignore that.

Business leaders, politicians, academics, church personages and others have been queuing up to meet him, in Lusaka, London and elsewhere, yet up to the time my interview was published on November 4 no one in South Africa had taken the trouble, or the risk, to say what was in his head.

I would have thought it vitally important, both for his friend and foe alike in South Africa, to know what he thinks and feels about developments. Indeed, it is surely cardinal to the profes-

sion which I have followed for 30 years that all relevant views should be given to the public on important matters, so that the public are at least better equipped to decide their future.

Ignorance leads to what I might term the white-Rhodesian syndrome whereby official censorship and reticence rob people of an appreciation of new forces bearing down on them, sometimes at hurricane speed.

If it turns out to be a criminal act, punishable by a prison term, simply to convey what is in another person's mind, in the circumstances in which I acted, then let it be. I happen to take my profession seriously.

Freedom

Meanwhile, I am deeply touched and moved by the world and local attention which has been given to this incident... and also the recognition given to my newspaper, which over very many years has attempted to keep the parameters of freedom in South Africa as open as possible and to give the public as wide a range of views as possible.

I have two further observations to make on this occasion.

1. I see freedom as indivisible. This naturally applies to free expression, which is a cornerstone of freedom.

Wherever attempts are made by governments or other quarters to interfere with the free flow of information, this is not only to be deprecated, but resisted and circumvented by journalists and communicators.

I happen to come from a twilight world where, indeed, free expression languishes in a half-light — sometimes seeming to be brighter and sometimes seeming to be darker.

In this half-light world in which South African newspapers operate, I can chronicle numerous cases where journalists have suffered at the hands of the authorities for having simply done their job. They have been detained, they have been whipped, they have been warned off, they have been threatened, they have been denied information, they have had their cameras, pictures and notes taken away, and they have been charged in court.

Tyranny

But many of them have continued to do their job, to my mind, in a way which is exemplary, and I would hope that the newspaper world is prepared to take notice of this.

Being in mind that freedom, and indeed tyranny, are indivisible, it should be noted that at the other end of the world spectrum are people who suffer at the hands of equal or worse tyranny. I think particularly of a person who, I am reliably told, was also seriously considered for this award, Yuri Shikhanovich, who persisted for many years in producing a human-

rights magazine, called *A Chronicle of Current Events*, in the Soviet Union.

For his troubles, this internationally known mathematician spent two years in a psychiatric hospital in the early '70s and is currently serving a five-year term of strict-regime imprisonment in the USSR for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". When he finishes the prison term, he faces another five years of internal exile.

The magazine was important samizdat, or uncensored, material on human rights in the USSR and, remarkably, it survived on and off from 1968 to 1982. Another brave dissident, Dr Andrei Sakharov, described the chronicle as a "genuine miracle" and said Shikhanovich was a "good and honest man".

Courage

Shikhanovich is now 53 and he has a wife and daughter. His courage in persisting in this way in the cause of free expression earns my very humble and sincere congratulations and respect. I salute this prince of free expression who has said "no" with his bare hands — not once but many times.

But I should like to go a bit further than praising Yuri Shikhanovich.

I should like to issue a public appeal to the Soviet leadership, from the perhaps unusual quarter of a white South African newspaper editor, to reconsider Shikhanovich's case.

I have read current speculation about the possible release of Sakharov, and I should like to make this special appeal: Please consider releasing Shikhanovich also. Let him stay in the city of his choice in the USSR or emigrate to Israel (as he is Jewish) or some other country.

I should never have become as closely acquainted with his life if the FIEJ Golden Pen had not been offered to me and if I had not learned that he was a possible contender. I have done some research on him and his family, and as I accept this much-appreciated award I feel compelled to make this appeal.

Commitment

2. Which brings me to my final point. My newspaper, the Cape Times, is a liberal institution with a history of 110 years behind it. But as important as its history and its tradition is the fact that it is a collection of human beings, and it employs journalists of many different shades of colour and conviction.

Perhaps the one common thread in this human mosaic is a commitment to give the public as much information as possible. I should like to make the point that this award is accepted as much on behalf of that grand company of people as on my own. They are a very diverse group, but fine journalists.

The newspaper industry in South Africa is un-

der immense pressure, politically and also economically. My newspaper is no exception. In all this, we are trying, in difficult conditions and under the eagle eye of officialdom, to chronicle the sad events which make up a human tragedy of potentially cataclysmic proportions.

Advantages

We gain encouragement from what has happened constitutionally and politically in this country, Portugal, across the border in Spain, in some South American countries, in the Philippines, etcetera, for we believe in an order in which the full fruits of democracy should be extended to all.

A lot has been said about white fears of majority rule in South Africa. Admittedly, it will not be easy for many whites to settle down to what is their inevitable destiny in a multiracial country where the population is three-quarters black. But it is time that they looked to the advantages of accepting reality.

Those white South Africans who are so vociferously fearful of sharing power with their black fellow-citizens, would, I believe, be surprised at how the world would open up for them if they took a quantum leap in this direction.

They would find themselves re-introduced into the world in good standing, playing a meaningful role in Commonwealth, African and United Nations circles, enjoying new freedom to travel the globe and to communicate with and appreciate their own fellow-citizens. With their black compatriots, they would be welcome at the Olympic Games again after decades of being locked out.

Power-house

With the underpinning of an economy strengthened by fielding the whole team of 30 million South Africans, they would find their country able, and willing, to feed and clothe not only their own population but the starving peoples of Africa too.

Why, I ask, should Bob Geldof have to go to all his trouble to feed Africa when a country like mine can, with hardly a ripple of its economic muscle, do the job — or at least contribute vastly to his superb effort? But until our fundamental political problems are resolved, we shall not be able to play the role that is our proper destiny as the power-house of the continent.

I suggest that the democratic instincts bottled up in the hearts of millions of South Africans of all races can be released, as happened in this country, Portugal, one glorious spring after 50 rigorous years. In this great task the role of newspapers, independent and far-sighted newspapers, in honestly chronicling and commenting on events is a vital ingredient.

For this reason I see this award and honour as a spur to the profession of which I am a member — a spur to do its job fearlessly and thus help to bring about a new South Africa.

One Times 27/5/86
**'AWB men'
in court** 304A

ELLISRAS. — Four men alleged to be members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday appeared in the Magistrate's Court here on charges of holding an illegal gathering and trespassing.

This appearance followed incidents on Saturday during a public meeting here held by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Dries Alberts, Mr C J Meyer, Mr I A Meyer and Mr J P Janse van Vuuren were not asked to plead. Their bail of R200 each was extended.

The hearing was postponed till July 1 at the request of the police. — Sapa

The cost of falling between two stools

28/5/86 SPAR

304A

Events of the past two weeks illustrate more vividly than ever how the Botha Government is falling between two stools with its half-hearted reforms, doing enough to forfeit the confidence of conservative whites but not enough to win credibility in the black community.

There can be little doubt that last week's pointed rebuffs to the Commonwealth group of "eminent persons", the raids into neighbouring black states and the spate of bellicose speeches by President Botha and several Ministers were all part of a campaign to try to counter the burgeoning growth of the right wing in the Transvaal.

It was done at enormous cost to the country's economy, its international relations and to the prospects of beginning negotiations with the only people who have the influence to end the insurrection in the townships — the African National Congress.

It added to the process of embittering and radicalising the black population.

Militancy

For what result? Pietersburg provided the answer. None. The rightwingers were not appeased one bit. Their confidence in the Government was not restored. The biggest effort yet to placate them was followed by the biggest display yet of their growing strength and militancy.

So once again President Botha lost on both fronts, as he has ever since he declared his reformist intentions.

From the beginning he has been committed to trying to "bring his people along" with the process of reform. The idea sounds fine, but it overlooks the fact that you cannot convince blacks that you genuinely want to end white political domination and at the same time convince white conservatives that you do not.

Someone has to reckon you're



bluffing — and it's probably going to be both of them. Which is exactly what has happened.

Blacks look at the rigged Constitution that has been introduced, at the extension of the "homelands" policy with another mini-state about to become independent and at the Regional Services Councils being based on the discredited black community councils.

They also look at the nominated provincial executives that are to be appointed and at the National Council of mainly President's men that is going to decide what role blacks should play at the national level, and they don't believe that the Government intends ending white political domination.

Action

Meanwhile the white conservatives look at all this and remember Dr Verwoerd's warning that once you begin making concessions it is the thin end of the wedge; that once you concede multiracial power-sharing as a principle, however carefully you may try to hedge it around with constitutional safeguards, you embark on a slippery slope that will lead to eventual black majority rule.

There is only one way to achieve

reform in our kind of situation, and that is by the Government taking decisive action that would establish its sincerity beyond doubt.

It should declare its acceptance that a transfer of power to the political majority is no longer avoidable and that it is prepared to negotiate the mechanism for this with the true leaders of all communities.

Then it would achieve credibility. Then black leaders would be willing to join negotiating forums, and a mutually agreed settlement would become possible.

But to do that the Government would have to recognise that it could not take its conservative supporters along with it.

The most it could hope for is that bold, decisive leadership and a deep yearning on the part of many South Africans for an end to our prolonged crisis would evoke a positive response and bring along a majority of traditional supporters.

The lost support would not threaten the Government's hold on power. It has an unassailable majority in Parliament, and defections to the Conservative Party could be offset by assured support from the opposition parties on the left — in a coalition if necessary.

Electorate

In the same way lost support outside parliament could be counterbalanced: what the National Party lost to the right it could make up for on the left.

The demography of South Africa is such that even if half the Afrikaner community deserted it, the National Party could still have two-thirds of the white electorate behind it.

The reform could be introduced well before the next election in 1989, by which time the expanded electorate will have reduced the right wing to an even smaller and politically inconsequential minority.

The only danger it would pose then would be as a potential

terrorist force, which would be a security problem, not a political one. It might be a considerable problem, but it would be easier to contain than the one the Government now faces, and the economic and international political implications would not be there.

Why then does Mr Botha not do it? For two reasons. First, it requires a calculated willingness to break up Afrikaner Nationalist solidarity and President Botha cannot bring himself to do that.

He has shown a lot more courage in confronting the verkrampes than his predecessor did, and must be commended for the way he went through with the Treurnicht split.

But even the politically timid John Vorster accepted the HNF split when he could no longer avoid it. As any chess player will confirm, there is a difference between coming to terms with the unavoidable and deliberately making a move that involves a bold sacrifice.

Incapable

Mr Botha and, I suspect, his whole generation of Nationalist politicians are emotionally incapable of deliberately sacrificing Afrikaner solidarity. They may preside over its piecemeal disintegration as the pressures of national crisis force them into unpopular decisions, but none of that is calculated. They try, their damndest to avoid it.

Second, I don't believe President Botha has ever contemplated ending white political domination. In Professor Hermann Giliomee's illuminating phrase, the purpose of his reforms is to find a way of "sharing power without losing control".

That is why there is no decisive commitment. None is intended. White control is meant to stay. Black trust remains unattainable while white trust is steadily eroded. Mr Botha is paying the political price of reformism without getting the benefits.

Wednesday, May 28, 1986

N 128 5786300A

Eglin to launch Natal campaign

Political Reporter

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin and Natal PFP leader Mr Ray Swart will launch the party's national marketing campaign in Natal at a meeting at the Durban City Hall tomorrow at 8 p.m.

Mr Roy Ainslie, the PFP's Natal Coast regional director, said Mr Eglin and Mr Swart would give the PFP's positions on various issues including township violence, security force action, labour affairs, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, and the African National Congress.

The campaign aims to reach 3 000 000 people between May 20 and June 15.

The Natal part of the campaign will include the delivery of 32 000 leaflets to Durban homes, newspaper advertisements and information tables in Durban, Pinetown, Umhlanga, Empangeni, and Umhlali.

PFP MP Mr Roger Burrows will share a platform with community leaders Mr Aubrey Nyembezi of Clermont, Mr Mike Mabaso of Klaarwater and Mr Protas Madlala of St Wendolin's at the Pinetown Civic Centre on June 4.

CAP. Links 28/5/86 (28/5) 3041

Plight of two editors linked to Nat split

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard, yesterday said the jobs of South Africa's two leading Afrikaans newspaper editors were under the axe — because of the enlightened contribution they made to debate at a time of increasingly hawkish state influence on the media.

Mr Heard said the plight of Mr Harald Pakendorf of Die Vaderland and Dr Wimpie de Klerk of Rapport was symptomatic of the serious split in the Afrikaner nationalist movement — and indicated that the Cabinet hawks, or what could be called the law-and-order brigade, were dominant.

Interviewed for BBC radio in Lisbon, where he has received the 1986 Golden Pen of Freedom Award from the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers, Mr Heard said Mr Pakendorf, in particular, had challenged verkrampde controls.

Mr Heard said: "This is all symptomatic of the serious split in the Afrikaner nationalist movement. We have seen a lot of difficulty in places like Pietersburg with major violence breaking out at meetings."

In this situation any newspaper editor trying to do an enlightened job would obviously be under pressure.

"It would appear to me that Mr Pakendorf has been taking a lot of chances in the interest of trying to get

some real change going in the country and it looks like he is going to pay the price," Mr Heard said.

He also said that: "Mr Pakendorf's paper, I would say par excellence, has been more enlightened than many English-language newspapers."

It had been very critical of the State-run broadcasting services and had run interviews with Mrs Winnie Mandela when it had not been absolutely clear whether this was permissible in terms of the law.

"And Rapport, while perhaps not quite as pioneering, has certainly been on the side of what we would call verligtheid."

Asked to comment on Afrikaans newspapers being at odds with the SABC, Mr Heard said: "Well there are much more independent-minded people in charge, and the broadcasting system has been very, very heavily controlled by the State."

"I think these journalists have just revolted against that form of journalism, which has been really totally unacceptable."

Mr Heard said that within the ethos of Afrikanerdom Die Vaderland and Rapport had been playing a role "almost as courageous" as that of the extinct Rand Daily Mail.

But in terms of the "macro situation" in South Africa a paper like the Rand Daily Mail was "streets ahead".

● Picture, page 4

Terre'Blanche calls for TV confrontation

ARGUS
28/5/86

304A

The Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, has challenged President P W Botha, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse to a TV debate.

He told about 2 000 cheering supporters at Pietersburg last night: "If they really believe in the freedom of speech they would agree to a public debate."

On last week's hijacking of a National Party meeting by right-wingers, Mr Terre'Blanche said that Mr Pik Botha "has taunted the boerevolk and received the hiding of his life".

Last night's right-wing rally at the local rugby stadium was in sharp contrast to the rowdy scenes at Pietersburg on Thursday night when a crowd of AWB members and other right-wingers prevented Mr Pik Botha from speaking at the Jack Botes Hall.

"NIGHT OF TEARGAS"

Between 15 and 20 police vehicles were parked at a discreet distance around the stadium and there were no signs of NP supporters.

Mr Terre'Blanche promised the crowd that "the night of the teargas" would be commemorated next year in the Afrikaners' own independent republic.

"We have proven that the heartbeat of the volk is too strong to be affected by teargas," he said.

Police threw teargas on Thursday night to disperse the crowd in the Jack Botes Hall.

Mr Terre'Blanche described the Government as "a pathetic bunch of half-castes" (bontmense), and said that South Africa was too valuable to be ruled by "political jellytots".

CUT OFF

He claimed that the Government no longer had the support of the Afrikaner volk, and demanded a general election.

"We will take all the seats in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and then we will cut ourselves off from those who did not vote for us."

If "chaos" erupted the AWB would take back the country "by force" for the Afrikaner.

Mr Terre'Blanche said: "I am not a nazi. I am a boerseun (farmer's son) from Western Transvaal on my way to the realisation of a Boer republic."

NP leaders said before the AWB gathering that they would make no attempt to disrupt the meeting as they were not prepared to "stoop to the same level" as the AWB.

● AWB actions might stop Nat meetings, Page 3.

ARCS
Wednesday May 28 1986 3

304A
**Nats may be
forced to
meet at homes**

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The breaking up of three National Party meetings by the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging this month might lead to the NP holding no public meetings in its municipal by-election campaign in Pretoria's Ward 15.

The Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party will both hold public meetings in the city this week.

The NP candidate in the by-election, Dr Bertus van Rooy, said yesterday the party's executive in the Pretoria East constituency would decide on Monday night whether public meetings would be held.

"The party is not scared of the AWB, but the possibility of damage to property must be taken into account," he said.

A PFP meeting in Pretoria tonight will be addressed by Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP spokesman on finance, and the party's by-election candidate, Mrs Mary Hammond-Tooke.

Speakers at the CP's meeting tomorrow night will include the party's candidate in the by-election, Mr Hennie de Vos.

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28/5/86

AWB: Boer^{304A} republic coming

PIETERSBURG. — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, last night told about 2 000 cheering supporters here that "the night of the tear-gas" would be commemorated next year in the Afrikaners' own independent republic.

He was referring to the May 22 AWB takeover of a National Party meeting in Pietersburg, when police threw teargas to disperse the crowd.

With last night's venue — the Pietersburg stadium — virtually surrounded by police, Mr Terre'Blanche described the government as "a pathetic bunch of half-castes (bontmense)", saying South Africa was too valuable to be ruled by "political jelly tots".

He claimed the government no longer had the support of "the Afrikaner volk", and warned that "the will of a nation ignores laws and teargas".

"I am not a nazi — I am a farm boy (boerseun) from the Western Transvaal, on my way to the realization of a Boer republic," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

Bitter attack

Mr Terre'Blanche launched a bitter attack on the government's "pre-occupation with freedom of speech", and complained about the fact that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, (leader of the Labour Party) "who has nothing to do with the Afrikaner volk", was given five times as much TV time as himself on the "Network" programme.

He again warned that if "chaos" erupted in South Africa, the AWB would take back the country "by force" for the Afrikaner.

At the rally, former wrestling champion Mr Manie Maritz was lauded as "the hero of Brits", and Mr Izak Butler as "the hero of Pietersburg" for leading the onslaught on Mr Pik

3D16	4D19	OC16	7	6	PRIX D.
3D12	4D12	OC16	6	3	PRIDE O
4M19	OK16	2C16	5	4	NORLET
OD10	OP10	OC12	4	2	MISS IV
OD16	OD16	OD12	3	1	JAMAIC
4P10	OC12	3C10	2	8	IN RHY
OD19	OP18	3P16	1	11	ARREST

TerreBlanche calls for TV debate with PW and Pik

By Hannes de Wet

PIETERSBURG — AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche returned to Pietersburg last night and challenged President Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha and Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse to a television debate.

The National Party stayed away from the meeting in the local rugby stadium. It was in stark contrast with rowdy scenes at Pietersburg on Thursday night when Mr Pik Botha was prevented from speaking.

Mr TerreBlanche told about 2.000 cheering supporters that Mr Pik Botha had "taunted the Boerevolk and received the hiding of his life".

POLICE NEARBY

Between 15 and 20 police units were parked at a discreet distance round the stadium.

Mr TerreBlanche said: "If they really believe in the freedom of speech, they would agree to a public debate."

He promised the crowd that "the night of the teargas" would be commemorated next year in the Afrikaners' own independent republic. "We have proven that the heartbeat of the volk is too strong to be affected by teargas."

Mr TerreBlanche said South Africa was too valuable to be ruled by "political jelly tots".

He claimed the Government no longer had the support of the Afrikaner Volk and demanded a General Election. "We will take all the seats in the Transvaal and Free State, and then we will cut ourselves off from those who did not vote for us."

● NP leaders told *The Star* before the meeting that they would make no attempt to disrupt it because they were not prepared to "stoop to the same level" as the AWB.

● See Page 25.



Mr Eugene TerreBlanche at Pietersburg last night.

AWB 'won't attend closed NP meetings'

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will not attempt to attend the two National Party meetings in Brits and Pietersburg next month unless they are open to all, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said yesterday.

But he warned that if the meetings were closed then the National Party could make no claim to having staged public gatherings.

The AWB leader was reacting to reports that Cabinet Ministers Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha were soon to address meetings in Brits and Pietersburg.

"We did not prevent Pik from speaking in Pietersburg last week. We were ready and waiting for him singing the *volkslied* and everything. But he chose to stay away," he said.

"I think Pik did not want to speak."

He accused Mr Botha of attempting to deceive the public by talking about freedom of speech while holding closed meetings.

● It has been officially announced in Pietersburg that Mr Pik Botha will address a National Party meeting here on June 14.

Fun and fear around a braai for the AWB

By Hannes de Wet

Johan Oelofse doubles up with laughter, gesturing at the middle-aged farmer standing next to him:

"Man, you should have seen this oomie run when they threw the teargas! I have never seen him move so fast."

With braaivleis fires cosily burning in the background, the rest of the circle joins merrily in the laughter, fondly recalling their "moment of triumph" when they hijacked Foreign Minister Pik Botha's meeting at Pietersburg on Thursday.

Waiting for AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche to start speaking, they talk easily, one moment serious about their fears of "what this Government is doing to us", the next moment joking carefree about the politics of the day.

The atmosphere is warm and friendly in the chilly night air.

Not all of them are members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

FRUSTRATED

"I don't belong to the AWB or the CP or the HNP," says Mr Oelofse, "but I am here because I feel that things have gone far enough. It is time we put a stop to this Government."

When they start talking along these lines, a kind of frustrated anger surfaces.

"Ja," says Mr C B Pretorius, convener of the local AWB Brandwag, "the media, such as the SABC, are trying to shut us up by ignoring us. That's why we had to start breaking up meetings."

"That was the only way we had to make our voices heard."

"However," intervenes Mr Joe Song from Pietersburg, "we are not necessarily aiming at repeat performances of Thursday night. In the future we will enter open National Party meetings peacefully and demand that a chairman be elected through a majority vote by those present at the meeting."

Yes, he admits, there had been misbehaviour by some rightwingers on Thursday night.

"Some of them definitely took an extra dose of courage from the bottle before the meeting. You know how it is, a bit of alcohol makes a man three times stronger in his own mind."

But the circle agrees that the "whole thing" was started by



Mr Izak Butler — Pietersburg AWB leader who lost his job.

Rightwinger loses his job and quits as NGK elder

By Hannes de Wet

Mr Izak Butler, leader of the right-wing offensive at Thursday night's disrupted National Party meeting in Pietersburg, has lost his job and resigned as an elder of the NGK.

And Mr Louis Davel, a Pietersburg NP member, has lost his job at a furniture chain — allegedly because he used his office phone number on a pamphlet urging schoolchildren to support Mr Botha.

Mr Butler, Pietersburg leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is not overly concerned. "I know my people will look after me," he said.

He was asked by his employers, Kanhym Karoo, to resign his senior marketing position "because he had become too controversial".

He has also resigned as chief elder of the Pietersburg-Noord NGK.

National Party sources claim Mr Butler was forced out of his church position but he said it was his own decision.

"I will be back once things have calmed down," he said.

the National Party, that a child carrying the old Transvaal Republic flag was kicked in the face by an NP member while walking past the stage.

That, they say, was the spark which sent the fists flying.

'FORBIDDEN'

Their emotions start flaring up again as they start talking about the "Government's conspiracy" against them.

"Did you know that people working for Atlas in Pietersburg are being forbidden to attend AWB meetings? I have a relative who had been told that he would lose his job on the spot."

"He told me this evening when I invited him to come along," explains Mr Pretorius.

Mr Song nods in anger. "Ja, I also have a relative working there. He told me the same story — and then they call this a democracy!"

But they don't hate their fellow-Afrikaners, says Mr Oelofse.

"You know, in the stampede after the teargas on Thursday night I saw an old couple slip. They were wearing NP tags. I helped them up and out of the hall."

"Outside the man looked at his wife and said 'I think it's time, dear, that we get rid of these things and join the right side'."

"They then tore off their NP tags and threw them to the ground."

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City's part in AWB fracas angers PFP

Municipal Reporter

Tempers ran high in the Johannesburg City Council meeting last night when it was disclosed that 38 of the city's Traffic and Security Department staff travelled 680 km in a private bus to attend the political meeting disrupted by the AWB in Pietersburg last week.

The council's "bully boys and heavies" were strongly condemned by Progressive Federal Party spokesmen.

They slated the official presence of traffic chief Mr John Pearce and his deputy at the Pietersburg meeting.

They had travelled to the Northern Transvaal "to evaluate the security measures taken in anticipation for similar meetings to be held in Johannesburg".

They were charged with interference in another local authority's affairs by PFP leader Mr Sam Moss, who called for the immediate establishment of a commission of enquiry.

This was defeated by the coalition's 21 votes to the PFP's 18. Independents Mr Lionel Keenan and Mr Ron Selley left the chamber before the vote.

Mr Ian Davidson (PFP) alleged the 38 had been "press-ganged" into going. If the council was concerned with protecting freedom of speech, he hoped the United Democratic Front would receive the same protection at its next meeting.

"You scratch where there is no itch," said Mr Danie van Zyl (NP). The two chiefs had attended the meeting with his blessing as it was the council's duty to check tactics employed for the future safety of Johannesburg. He believed any council official could attend any political party meeting unless it posed a threat to council policy.

Management committee chairman Mr Francois Oberholzer said it was Mr Pearce's duty to go and learn by others' mistakes. His subordinates had gone because of the "exuberance of youth". Caspiers from the council's Security Department had recently been asked by the Alexandra Police to protect the Johannesburg flank, he said. They would be called on again to help at meetings such as the one in Pietersburg or at UDF or Inkatha meetings.

Control of ridges policy is revealed

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

A policy controlling the development of ridges in Johannesburg, drawn up by the City Council, was revealed at last night's council meeting.

Particulars of the ridges scheme may be inspected at the Civic Centre and objections may be lodged up to May 14.

If passed, the scheme will ensure that any development of the ridges, including Northcliff, Observatory, Klipriviersberg and Cyrildene, will be subject to site development plans being submitted to the council, said Mr Geoff Simpson (PFP).

Mr Hennie Schoeman, chairman of the Town Planning Committee, said owners will be compensated if the rights to a property cannot be used and in certain cases the council could expropriate where stands cannot be developed.

The Parktown Association has claimed the council has tried to hide the policy from residents. It intends claiming from the council the cost of informing property owners.

Syfrets chief sees chance for peaceful solution in SA

CAL Times 28/5/86

3047

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

THE chairman of Syfrets, Len Abrahamse, believes that there is still a chance to achieve a peaceful solution to this country's difficulties.

He told the Cape Chamber of Industries at its mid-year general meeting yesterday that he believed there were about two years left in which to "develop a properly structured federal constitution which recognizes that our com-

plex situation is not merely a black versus white situation, which re-establishes the concept of the rule of law with an independent judiciary and which includes an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting both group and individual rights."

But he emphasized that business must give a lead and that negotiations must start with representatives chosen by the black people themselves.

Negotiations

"The very seriousness of the situation has produced a growing consensus among a substantial cross-section of the business community, including a number of blacks, that business has to be more vigorous in its constructive efforts to influence government with regard to the direction, emphasis and pace of reform."

Discussing the state of the economy, Abrahamse said there were a number of factors supporting the assessment that it would be difficult to achieve real growth.

One was that, "in opting, understandably, for a policy of growth we may be stimulating the economy too soon from an already high inflationary base — so aggravating the situation."

Another was that while the rand had firmed before the recent cross-border raids this was chiefly against a weakening dollar.

The Leutwiler agreement had bought time but did not provide a solution to the amortiza-

tion of SA's blocked debt under the moratorium.

"This overhang is a longer-term depressant on a weak currency with declining reserves."

Little, if any, capital was likely to come into the country in the foreseeable future.

The domestic level of savings was uneven and "not sufficient to underpin the level of net incremental capital investments that we need."

The balance of payments on domestic account was vulnerable and delicately poised.

"We need a high level of export earnings but this is not easily achieved. At the same time, any domestic stimulus increases the level of imports."

The rising proportion of Gross National Product represented by government expenditure meant that the national debt was growing merely to meet running expenses.

The significant increase in unemployment levels was another disturbing feature.

"It is likely that the demographic pressures will escalate with growing unemployment and its socio-political implications."

Abrahamse said the longer-term economic prospects were "thus more than ever a function of political statesmanship since the issue is essentially one of confidence."

"This in turn means that trade union activity will probably but understandably be more disruptive."

Business confidence at an all-time low

ME Times 28/5/82

3041

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
BUSINESS confidence is "at an all-time low" and the country's finances are in crisis, the outgoing President of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Andrew Peile, said at the general meeting yesterday.

He said changes in the political and economic environment were vital. The Group Areas Act and the tricameral parliamentary system, and plans for three-tier local government, should be scrapped.

Government spending should be reduced, with privatization of many State-run services, and there should be a return to supply-side economics and a reduction in taxes.

Discussing the need for political change, Peile said: "The Group Areas Act was passed by the present government just over two decades ago and no government can be serious about ending apartheid, while that hated law remains on our statute books."

"Although many will fear that third world standards could overwhelm first world residential areas and social services, remedies could be sought in private rather than public law."

Discussing the state of the economy, Peile said: "The expansion of the private sector is an essential part of the revitalization of our economy."

"In addition to privatization there needs to be a return to supply-side economics and a reduction in tax rates."

There was also a need for deregulation to encourage entrepreneurs to create more jobs. And controls on the distribution of agricultural produce and on transport, which served narrow sectoral interests, should be lifted.

Peile said reform cost massive amounts of money and the management of the SA economy must be successful enough to restore business confidence and attract overseas investment.

"To generate a sustainable growth there must be a major reduction in the proportion of the Gross National Product (GNP) which is absorbed by government spending."

He continued: "We are at a stage now where the country's finances are in crisis."

"Each month's trade figures look worse than those of a year ago."

"Unemployment and business liquidations are soaring. National poverty is looming."

Yet the government was wasting money on the perpetuation of apartheid—an example of this was separate colleges for different races — and on over-generous public service pensions.

"To help increase foreign exchange earnings and provide more jobs, Peile called for the setting up of a major trading house, similar to that set up by Japan, to handle exports by SA firms."

"There is a need to fill the capacity of the vast number of factories which have export potential that is not being realized at all at the moment."

"Local suppliers are too often deterred by lack of the specialized knowledge and skills needed to export."

Tourism still had "enormous latent potential".

He hoped that plans to convert the old harbour and environs into a major tourist centre, which former Mayor of Cape Town, Sol Kreiner worked hard to develop, would not be allowed to lose impetus.

Peile also called for the development of Robben Island as a tourist resort.

One vote a person in PE beach poll

By KIN BENTLEY

VOTERS in next month's municipal referendum on open beaches in Port Elizabeth will have one vote each.

This differs from municipal elections, where voters who own or occupy more than one property, often have several votes.

The Town Clerk, Mr Paul Botha, said today this provision was contained in the municipal ordinance relating to such polls.

Meanwhile, both the PFP and HNP are concerned that their supporters might mistakenly vote the wrong way during the poll on June 18 — due to confusion over the question to be asked.

Mr Botha said today that municipal officials were trying to phrase the question in such a way that it met the require-

ments of the ordinance and at the same time did not confuse the voters.

Failure to comply with the requirements of the ordinance could invalidate the referendum result, he said.

The chairman of the PFP's referendum committee, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said the question would probably be phrased in such a way that people would know they were voting specifically on whether or not they supported the HNP-CP proposal — and not for or against open beaches.

The proposal is that "all beaches in the PE municipal area which in terms of the law are currently zoned for the exclusive use of white people and which are adjacent to established white areas, should not be opened for the use of people of other races".

N/M 29/5/86

Bid for multiracial city council in capital

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

A CALL is to be made for a multiracial city council in Pietermaritzburg.

Councillor Rob Haswell gave notice that he would introduce a private member's motion in the city council today.

Mr Haswell, who is chairman of the Town Planning Committee, will ask the council to reject the notion of a divided city and accept the ideal of a multiracial council.

His motion asks the council to ask the Town Clerk to report as soon as possible to an informal council meeting on how the city could move towards the ideal of a multiracial council.

In a letter to the Town Clerk this week, Mr Haswell said power-sharing was the key to South Afri-

ca's future.

'Our Government is moving in this direction at national and regional levels, yet they propose separate local authorities at the city level of government.

'I cannot imagine our city being better run, or a better place to live in, if it is divided even more than it is at present,' Mr Haswell said.

'We pride ourselves on being an enlightened city council.

'Surely we should strive to ensure that our city remains under the control of one city council, and that such a council be fully representative of those who live in this city.'

304A ~~4B~~

BLACK businessmen must show commitment to the community, they serve, Mr Phil Khumalo, of the Wits Business School, said this week.

Speaking to Soweto businessmen at the Na-

Call to businessmen

tional Exhibition Centre at Crown Mines on Tuesday night, Mr Khumalo said most black businessmen were tempted to avenge the

frustrations they once experienced while working for white businessmen.

Mr Khumalo called on black businessmen to

form companies to create jobs for black students.

But, Mr Khumalo said, foreign companies had a big part to play in providing finance and training programmes.

Negotiation politics given a bad name,^{N/M} says Slabbert ^{29/5/86}

TRICAMERAL politics have undermined the prospects for constitutional, non-violent change and precipitated inherent violence into the open, says Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

In an article in *Indicator South Africa* published by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, Durban, Dr Slabbert said negotiation politics have been given a bad name by the new parliament and the extra-parliamentary response has been of a protesting, confrontational nature.

'The reaction of Government has been to make such protest increasingly difficult, if not impossible, in the hope of channelling protest back to its own constitutionally created instruments.

'Yet exactly the opposite has happened — resistance has consolidated and the division between violent and non-violent protest has become more tenuous,' Dr Slabbert said.

He said the Government was prepared to accommodate some of those previously excluded from the centre of power in a way which posed no threat to white domination.

Dr Slabbert said both the tricameral parliament and the regional services councils were totally rejected by the vast majority of people outside parliament as a basis for negotiating political demands.

'The Government is not prepared to accommodate Africans on even the same

Political Reporter

limited basis. Africans are specifically and constitutionally excluded from parliament in a much more definite manner than was the case under the previous constitution.

'Therefore, for many black people, conventional constitutional change has become impossible with the implementation of the tricameral parliament,' Dr Slabbert said.

He said the use of the army in the townships has blurred the conventional distinction between the army and the police, romanticised violent opposition as part of an ongoing 'liberation struggle' and increased polarisation.

'This has fundamentally eroded the middle ground of South African politics — those who steadfastly maintain a non-aligned position on violence are increasingly challenged to choose sides.

'The greatest challenge facing those who would bring about some negotiated resolution to the conflict is to create new strategies and forums for doing so,' Dr Slabbert said.

Cycle

He argued that the cycle of violence in the country can be broken by action from the Government.

'The National Party put apartheid on the statute books; only it can take it off. This also means re-establishing freedom of choice and organisation, thus calling the ANC's bluff on their commitment to vio-

lence and allowing it to operate legally with their leaders released,' he said.

Dr Slabbert said the ANC would have new challenges such as having to compete openly for a constituency against other political groups.

'There may quite possibly be an increase in strikes, boycotts, and other forms of organised protest, but these prospects are all preferable to a further increase in violence.

'If violence continues then the Government still has an enormous armoury at its disposal and would be able to use it with greater justification than it can do now.

'However, the simple question is — is violence more or less likely with apartheid gone?

'All the evidence points to the direction that it is well worth the risk to find out,' Dr Slabbert said.

DD 24/5/86

Meeting on security

304A

Dispatch Correspondent
CRADOCK — A meeting to discuss the security position here was attended by the Minister of Health and Welfare and MP for the constituency, Dr G. de V. Morrison, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

In an interview after the meeting, Dr Morrison said he had come after representations from people who were concerned about the security position in Cradock.

He had personally invited Mr Le Grange as he felt the concern was valid and the minister was sympathetic towards the position. It was better for everyone to have firsthand knowledge of what was being done in an effort to normalise the situation, he said.

The position was dis-

cussed in depth by representatives of various groups.

Dr Morrison said it was not possible to go into detail of what was decided but that certain decisions and suggestions were made which would be followed up. When these were evaluated certain measures would become evident.

The main message of the meeting was that there was a lot of goodwill and a desire by the white community to accept the reasonable grievances of blacks and to endeavour to solve these.

Dr Morrison said the will to co-operate must, however, come from both sides.

He said he had gained the impression that whites in Cradock had a lot of sympathy for blacks and wanted peaceful co-existence.

Blacks had a major contribution to make and he trusted that they would realise this and give expression to their needs.

Dr Morrison urged moderate black thinkers to stand up and be counted and to accept the hand of goodwill extended by the white population.

He said responsible attitudes and conduct by blacks and whites were needed as confrontation could not be allowed to continue.

It was obvious the white community was "sick and tired" of the violence prevailing in Lingelihle.

Mr Le Grange said it had to be realised that no unlawful activity by groups on either side would be tolerated.

"We trust that we can rely on the co-operation of everyone concerned."

Meeting told of reform deadline.

304A
BUDAT
29/5/86

Own Correspondent

GOVERNMENT has about three years to move ahead with its reform initiative to encourage the co-operation of moderate SA blacks, Cape financier Len Abrahamse said this week.

Speaking at a meeting of the Cape Chamber of Industries in Cape Town on SA's political and economic future, the deputy chairman of Old Mutual and chairman of Syfrets said the chickens were coming home to roost.

After 40 years of National Party government, the country was paying the price of an "artificially pervasive system of apartheid".

"The economy is in an extremely weak and fragile state and very little credit is being accorded government's recent reform measures which are being described as too little too late," he said.

Abrahamse said there was no doubt that State President P W Botha had made many reform changes thought impossible only three years ago.

"But there are some who believe the reform has been reactive rather than proactive," he said.

He said government had destroyed all credibility through the mismanagement of the country politically and economically.

It has also shown lack of sensitivity and extremely poor timing, and its perceptions of the gravity of the situation are different from everyone else's.

There was concern within the business community at the growing groundswell among blacks in favour of socialism, and an association of capitalism with white despotism.

The seriousness of the situation had created a growing consensus that business should be more vigorous in influencing government to accelerate the pace and direction of reform, he said.

RETRENCHMENT, with its far-reaching effects on individuals and the community, is a volatile issue that has often triggered industrial action.

Retrenchment has become a key industrial relations issue and the drawn-out strike over retrenchments at Foschini has highlighted difficulties that can be experienced in reaching agreement on the matter.

It has also reflected the differing perceptions of management and unions to the feasibility of job-sharing schemes as an alternative.

Industries worst hit by retrenchments include the motor, textile, metals and engineering sectors. Most non-export sectors have also been affected.

National Association of Automobile Manufacturers (Naamsa) CE Nic Vermeulen says the slump in the motor industry has cost 13 627 jobs since the third quarter of 1984. For every retrenchment at the motor assembly level, there are likely to be two more in component and related sectors, he adds.

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) recently reported the loss of 25 000 jobs in the past 15 months, with employment levels having dropped from 454 000 at the end of 1981 to about 350 000 at the end of the first quarter of 1986.

Exact statistics are unavailable, but industrial relations consultant Andrew Levy estimates that about

Call on whites to act against racist system

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) has organised a day-long programme on Republic Day (May 31) when ways in which whites can get involved in action against apartheid, are to be discussed.

The event, which will be marked by music, poetry, crafts and handiwork stalls, discussions, debate and special events for children, is in line with the United Democratic Front "call to whites" to oppose apartheid and build a democratic future.

Mr Neil Morrison, Jodac's publicity secretary, said everybody was welcome to join in the discussion and

share their views on the end-conscription campaign.

There will also be a workshop on how doctors, lawyers, technicians, artists, engineers and businessmen can use their skills now and in the future.

Speakers

The occasion will be held at the St Catherines Church, corner Homestead and Daelene roads, Bramley, from 10 am to 6 pm.

Speakers who will talk on Visions of a Future South Africa, include Ms Sheena Duncan, past president of the Black Sash, Mr Jeremy Cronin, UDF Western Cape executive member, Mrs Helen Joseph, UDF patron and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner and a representative from Congress of South African Trade Unions.

CAPE TOWN 29/1/86

Grenade kills Mawu man's wife

304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An explosive device — believed to be a hand-grenade — was hurled into the Brits Location home of trade unionist Mr David Modimoeng early yesterday morning, instantly killing his wife, Nkele, 29, and injuring him and his two daughters.

Mr Modimoeng, an organizer for the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu), and his children, Miriam, 8, and Joyce, eight months, are being treated in the Garankuwa Hospital.

The powerful explosion ripped off the roof of the house and caused extensive damage.

Mr Modimoeng has been working closely with the Brits Action

Committee (BAC) — a residents' organization resisting the resettlement of the Brits community at Lethlabile, 20km away.

In March this year petrol bombs and a grenade were thrown into the homes of Brits activists Mr Marshall Buys, Mr Sello Ramakobye, Mr Jacob Moatshe and Mr Leonard Brown.

About 5 000 Brits residents have already moved to Lethlabile, but 10 000 are adamant they will stay.

Following negotiations with Mawu and the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu), employers in the area have involved themselves in the Brits residents' battle to remain where they are.

CAPE TIMES 29/5/86

AWB barred from RSA celebration

304A

PRETORIA. — Right-wingers were yesterday granted permission by the Voortrekker Monument Control Board to use the amphitheatre near the monument — but the board stressed that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was still barred from using it.

The chairman of the board, Transvaal Administrator Mr Willem Cruywagen, said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday that a member of the board, Prof Carel Boshoff, leader of the Volkswag, had applied for, and had been granted, permission to use the open-air theatre.

The Volkswag, a "cul-

tural" Afrikaner organization, will co-host the Republic's 25th anniversary celebrations with the AWB, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Prof Boshoff had assumed responsibility that the gathering would not be of a party-political nature, Mr Cruywagen said. Only the amphitheatre — no other part of the monument premises — would be used.

Mr Cruywagen said that he had been given the assurance that the programme of events would be "orderly". — Sapa

DAVID BRAUN, The Star's Political Correspondent, interviews the Leader of the Official Opposition, COLIN EGLIN

The need for relevancy

On the aftermath of the Slabbert/Boraine resignations: Our most immediate task was to reassure the hard core of the party that we were still in business. Our next phase was to reach out to the wider public, to remove any doubts that we still had the ability to achieve our goals.

I found it fantastic to experience the extraordinary resilience of the PFP as a political party. Other than for two people, I was not aware of any resignations or defections at executive level anywhere in the party as a consequence of the Slabbert/Boraine shake-out.

Inevitably, there was an effect of causing people to ponder deeply about the reasons for the resignations. But I think it made people more aware of the urgency of the situation.

The hard core of the party is now even more determined and more active than it was before.

On the fringes there has been a great degree of scepticism regarding the role of an opposition party. My philosophy is that no amount of words could remove that scepticism. It has to be removed by the PFP's performance.

On the role of the PFP outside Parliament: Our MPs have accepted fully my view that to be relevant in Parliament we must also be relevant in broader South Africa.

We have spent a lot of time, including weekends, reaching out and going to the cutting face of politics — in the black townships, at funerals, in conflict situations.

In this way we have added to the party's collective knowledge of what is going on and its ability to bring some of the issues that are so critical in the black part of South Africa in to Parliament.

At the same time through personal contact and involvement we have created a degree of trust and credibility in a practical way which did not exist for the PFP before.

We have added new names to our political map, the names of so many black townships (here Mr Eglin produced a list of more than 60 black townships which are, he says,

It is three months since Colin Eglin (right) reassumed leadership of the Progressive Federal Party. In this interview he talks about the aftermath of the Slabbert resignation, the new direction of the party and the vital role he sees for it in forming part of a new government in post-apartheid South Africa.

some of the areas of unrest investigated by PFP monitoring teams).

On the PFP's future role: The PFP is no longer interested in being merely in opposition. The party is determined to be an integral part of an alternative government in post-apartheid South Africa.

We believe that that day is going to come far sooner than people realise.

That is why we must develop our contacts.

When we started reaching out to the black communities we were met with some scepticism. Very soon, however, this had been converted to a degree of confidence on a personal basis.

It is in a sense a low-key non-ideological attempt to deal with practical problems.

We are seen to be available to try to solve these problems.

It is very early days to say how effective this will be, but already our MPs are saying how rewarding it has been. This is way beyond politics.

Being in Parliament may give protection but it also gives a greater access. Officials are aware that you are in a position to talk publicly and directly to Ministers.

We have had the situation where the PFP has acted as a negotiator between the police and community leaders.

On assertions that the PFP is losing support: The surveys in *Rapport* reflect the reservations that people had about the party after the Slabbert resignation. But they also showed an increase in support for the things we stand for, such as mixed schools and the easing of the restrictions of the Group Areas Act.

We must be able to shift a degree of support on these issues to active support for the party. This is one of the major reasons for our marketing campaign — to get support beyond our hard core.

I have no doubt that the support is there.

Alternative

Our campaign will pitch us as an alternative government, as well as a purveyor of ideas.

The public is dispirited, disillusioned and lacking a positive view about the future of the country.

This also reaches very deeply into the ranks of people who traditionally support the National Party.

We must look not only at the target market of our traditional supporters but also at disillusioned Government supporters.

We have a plan for the future — to try to restore to South Africans a

confidence in South Africa and a belief that we can do something to make that confidence a reality.

We are not talking about the PFP being the government on its own, but of being part of the power structure. So we must not only be relevant at the white ballot box. We also must have the confidence and support of people on the other side of the tracks.

On the National Convention Movement launched by Dr Slabbert: In retrospect the convention idea was a good one, but it was managed in an unfortunate way so that it has probably been set back for some time.

At this stage we are trying a low-key building of confidence and mutual trust which will probably turn out to be the quicker road to getting a broad-based agreement on tactics and strategy than high-profile public demonstrations.

We must not been seen in a competitive position with other people, but must play a complementary role. It is going to be difficult to get a broader-based understanding between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations in the circumstances.

I believe the quickest route in the end is a slower process of low-key but more meaningful contact.



On PFP plans to fight elections for the other Houses of Parliament, or forming working arrangements with the parties in the other chambers: In the Standing Committees of Parliament where the MPs from the three Houses are brought together to consider draft Bills we often have co-operation with MPs from the other Houses — specific issues. This co-operation has often resulted in amendments to Bills being accepted and on occasion to the passage of Bills being up or even stopped.

We intend continuing this informal co-operation on specific issues but not of expanding this on any formal basis.

At this stage we have no plans for fighting elections for the other two Houses.

We have repeatedly called on the Government to scrap the tricameral system before the next election. It would be disastrous to go again to the country and for the second time be seen to exclude blacks.

The priority is therefore to get rid of the system rather than extending involvement in it.

On speculation that a group of Nationalist MPs could be planning to join the PFP: The most interesting House in the system is the Assembly because I do not believe the parties, particularly the National Party, are going to be able to withstand the strains of deracialising and democratisation of our society.

Fragmentation

The National Party came in as virtually a monolithic traditionalist white nationalist party. Now it is very difficult for it to adjust to the full meaning of power-sharing in a non-racial South Africa without further fragmentation.

I already see the early signs of further fragmentation in the NP. We would obviously be delighted to gain support from them in Parliament. But we are rather looking at the regrouping in South African politics generally.

The key to that is the fragmentation of the NP. But it is the regrouping process of coloureds,

Indians and blacks in which we see ourselves as a key factor.

To gear our strategy solely to white politics would be totally irrelevant.

In the end we will get increased support in the white community only if we can show that we have support, relationships and relevancy in the part of South Africa that is not white.

Compatible

What we do outside Parliament must be compatible with what we do inside, and in order to strengthen our parliamentary base we must strengthen our extra-parliamentary relations.

On optimism for the future: I am not interested in coming back to a leadership of a party which can maintain only marginal relevancy in white politics. That would be an utter waste of time. I am going for real relevancy in a total South African situation.

I sense that my caucus has very rapidly come to share this philosophy.

I think the caucus is also far freer of tensions than it has been in years. There is a far greater openness and understanding of the real purpose of politics today.

It is my assessment that there is among whites in South Africa disillusionment and lack of confidence.

The time has come for South Africans to start having confidence in their future.

Only when they have done that will they start taking more interest and more action for their future. People who despair won't take action.

This is why we have a positive message and a positive role to play in the future. We believe that there is a way to save South Africa.

Race to enact two tough new security Bills

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government was working furiously behind the scenes today to strike a compromise deal on two new security measures to quell unrest.

A top-level meeting between Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange and the leaders of the Labour Party and the National People's Party was understood to be scheduled for later in the morning.

These two parties, which hold the majority in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, have balked at the measures, which would provide the police with sweeping emergency and detention powers in areas of unrest.

The two draft Bills are the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill.

The first Bill empowers the Minister of Law and Order to declare areas of unrest in which emergency regulations could be applied; the second provides senior police officers with the authority to detain people without trial for periods of up to 180 days if this would be deemed to be helpful in quelling unrest.

The Government is anxious to have these measures enacted as soon as possible.

Mr Don Mateman, Law and Order spokesman for the Labour Party, said today that his party remained adamant it did not believe in detention without trial.

"We are also adamant that these Bills have got to go back to the Joint Standing Committee where they can be fully discussed," he said.

Mr Mateman said the Labour Party had withdrawn from the committee when the Bills were being considered by the committee the first time "in order to stop finality of the processes of the Standing Committee".

Cape Times 29/5/86 (3041)

Editor 'not in danger'

JOHANNESBURG. — The position of Dr Willem de Klerk, editor of Rapport, was not in danger, the chairman of Rapport Uitgewers, Dr Willem van Heerden, said yesterday.

In a statement reacting to speculation that Dr De Klerk might be forced to resign his position, Dr Van Heerden said the editor of the Afrikaans Sunday paper enjoyed the support and loyalty of the directors of Rapport Uitgewers and would continue to hold his post.

The editor of Die Vaderland, Mr Harald Pakendorf, last week announced his resignation.

Later reports said he had been forced to resign after pressure was put on him by publisher Perskor's directors, part-owners of Rapport.

Dr Van Heerden's statement said reports in the "Prog-supporting press" that Dr De Klerk would be forced to resign were untrue and "petty politics".

The owners of Rapport — Perskor and Nasionale Pers — supported the government's current reform initiatives "very positively" and attempts to place the leadership of the company (Rapport Uitgewers, made up of Perskor and Nasionale Pers) on a collision course with Dr De Klerk were below the belt.

The statement also accused papers carrying speculative reports on Dr De Klerk's resignation of not adhering to "basic journalistic use" in not contacting management for comment before "twisted reports" were published. — Sapa

Hat man calls for stand against AWB

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The owner of a hat factory has urged the business community to make a stand against the Afrikaner-Weerstandbeweging.

Mr Harold Cesman, head of the Rand Hat and Cap Factory, has telexed major business organizations, urging them to send the following message to the State President:

"If Nelson Mandela and the ANC are a threat to the security and peace of South Africa, then even more so are Eugene Terre'Blanche and the AWB.

"Their arrogant displays to stop free speech and democracy and the impotence of the law to protect the rights of individuals is a matter of grave concern.

"Act now to put a stop to this fascist organization which threatens the process of reform and peace by introducing sweeping reforms totally abolishing apartheid and introducing a bill of rights to protect the freedom of all people of SA."

Mr Cesman said that people in small businesses were particularly apathetic and that this had to change if the AWB was to be seriously challenged.

He said that he only favoured peaceful protest and change and believed that an end to apartheid would seriously diminish the AWB's power.

NP falling between two stools

Cape Times 29/5/86 (304A)

By ALLISTER SPARKS

EVENTS of the past two weeks illustrate more vividly than ever how the Botha government is falling between two stools with its half-hearted reforms, doing enough to forfeit the confidence of conservative whites but not enough to win credibility in the black community.

There can be little doubt that last week's pointed rebuffs to the Commonwealth group of eminent persons, the raids into neighbouring black states and the spate of bellicose speeches by President Botha and several ministers, were all part of a campaign to try to counter the burgeoning growth of the right wing in the Transvaal.

It was done at enormous cost to the country's economy, its international relations and to the prospects of beginning negotiations with the only people who have the influence to end the insurrection in the townships — the African National Congress.

It added to the process of embittering and radicalizing the black population.

Bluffing

For what result? Pietersburg provided the answer. None. The right-wingers were not appeased one bit. Their confidence in the government was not restored. The biggest ever effort to placate them was followed by the biggest ever display of their growing strength and militancy.

So once again President Botha lost on both fronts, as he has been ever since he declared his reformist intentions.

From the beginning he has been committed to trying to "bring his people along" with the process of reform. The idea sounds fine, but it overlooks the fact that you cannot convince blacks that you genuinely want to end white political domination and at the same time convince white conservatives that you do not.

Someone has to reckon you're bluffing — and it's probably going to be both of them.

Which is exactly what has happened. Blacks look at the rigged constitution that has been introduced, at the extension of the homelands policy with another mini-state about to become independent, at the



Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging right-wingers take over an NP meeting in Pietersburg . . . the biggest effort to placate them was followed by the biggest display of their growing strength and militancy.

regional services councils being based on the discredited black community councils, at the nominated provincial executives that are to be appointed, and at the National Council of mainly president's men that is going to decide what role blacks should play at the national level, and they don't believe that the government intends ending white political domination.

Meanwhile, the white conservatives look at all this and remember Dr Verwoerd's warning that once you begin making concessions it is the thin end of the wedge; that once you concede multiracial power-sharing as a principle, however carefully you may try to hedge it around with constitutional safeguards, you embark on a slippery slope that will lead to eventual black majority rule.

There is only one way to achieve reform in our kind of situation and that is by the government taking decisive action that would establish its sincerity beyond doubt. It should declare its acceptance that a transfer of power to the political majority is no longer avoidable and that it is prepared to negotiate the mechanism for this with the true leaders of all communities.

Then it would achieve credibility. Then black leaders would be willing to join negoti-

ating forums, and a mutually agreed settlement would become possible.

But to do that the government would have to recognize that it could not take its conservative supporters along with it. The most it could hope for is that bold, decisive leadership and a deep yearning on the part of many South Africans for an end to our prolonged crisis, would evoke a positive response and bring along a majority of traditional supporters.

The lost support would not threaten the government's hold on power. It has an unsailable majority in Parliament, and defections to the Conservative Party could be offset by assured support from the opposition parties on the left — in a coalition if necessary.

In the same way lost support outside Parliament could be counter-balanced: what the National Party lost to the right it could make up for on the left.

The demography of South Africa is such that even if half the Afrikaner community deserted it, the National Party could still have two-thirds of the white electorate behind it.

The reforms could be introduced well before the next election in 1989, by which time the expanded electorate will have reduced the right wing to an even smaller and politically

inconsequential minority.

The only danger it would pose then would be as a potential terrorist force, which would be a security problem, not a political one. It might be a considerable problem, but it would be easier to contain than the one the government now faces, and the economic and international political implications would not be there.

Why then does Mr Botha not do it? For two reasons. Firstly, it requires a calculated willingness to break up Afrikaner Nationalist solidarity and President Botha cannot bring himself to do that.

He has shown a lot more courage in confronting the verkrampes than his predecessor did, and must be commended for the way he went through with the Treurnicht split. But even the politically timid John Vorster accepted the HNP split when he could no longer avoid it. As any chess player will confirm, there is a difference between coming to terms with the unavoidable and deliberately making a move that involves a bold sacrifice.

Sacrifice

Mr Botha and, I suspect, his whole generation of Nationalist politicians are emotionally incapable of deliberately sacrificing Afrikaner solidarity. They may preside over its piecemeal disintegration as the pressures of national crisis force them into unpopular decisions, but none of that is calculated. They try their damndest to avoid it.

Secondly, I don't believe President Botha has ever contemplated ending white political domination. In Professor Hermann Giliomee's illuminating phrase, the purpose of his reforms is to find a way of "sharing power without losing control".

That is why there is no decisive commitment. None is intended. White control is meant to stay. So black trust remains unattainable while white trust is steadily eroded. Mr Botha is paying the political price of reformism without getting the benefits.

Allister Sparks is a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail and now a correspondent for the Washington Post and the Observer.

Jackbooted behaviour of AWB will not be tolerated

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

South Africans offended by the recent actions of the increasingly militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) would not stand on the sidelines and watch the organisation continue its activities, the PFP MPC for Yeoville, Mr Alan Gadd, said last night.

He was referring to recent incidents in which the AWB has broken up several National Party meetings, including one due to be held in Pietersburg last Thursday night by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Gadd told the provincial

council that freedom of speech was a fundamental right which should be preserved, "and I abhor the actions of those who to to meetings with the specific goal of breaking them up".

Mr Gadd said the AWB, with its swastika-like flag and its jackbooted "stormvalke" was reminiscent of Hitler's Nazi Party and therefore offensive to many people, particularly South Africa's Jewish community.

"There are people who are not going to sit on the sidelines

and allow this to go on."

Mr Gadd added that the Pietersburg incident had tarnished South Africa's reputation — and particularly that of Afrikaners — abroad.

Dr Servaas Latsky, who heads the council's Conservative Party caucus, said the CP had never allied itself with violence or tried to justify it.

Dr Latsky called on the NP and the AWB to get together for talks, "so that we can get consensus among our own people".

Revolution if violence isn't stopped **Vlok**

West Rand Bureau

A revolution was on the cards for South Africa if the threat of violence was not stopped, according to the Deputy Minister of Defence and Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Addressing the Roodepoort councillors and community leaders at the Civic Centre last night, he said the situation in South Africa was serious and the climate revolutionary, but this was not a reason for panic.

"A difficult time lies ahead, but we have much to be optimistic about," said Mr Vlok.

"South Africa's enemies rejoice when whites grab each other by the throat," he said.

The differences amongst the

whites were worse now than in previous decades. And the only group benefiting from these differences was the South African Communist Party, which was trying to fill its ranks.

UNITY CALL

"The only enemy we should all be fighting is the Marxist element that is trying to take over our land," he said.

He urged all community leaders to follow the South African motto of "Unity is Strength" and stand together as South Africans — irrespective of colour — in the interest of the country.

Mr Vlok added that there were three main guidelines which could stop revolution. The first was security force action.

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"The Government is too civilised to do what the revolutionaries are doing — intimidating and killing the masses in order to politicise them."

"We can show the terrorists we have the ability and the will to take action against their bases."

"South Africa pays a price for this action. Pressure from other countries will become worse".

The second point was to have a political aim, initiative and solution that was acceptable to all people.

The third point was to bring the Government to the man in the street. Mr Vlok said this would take hard cash "from those that have to those that don't have".

Unionist's wife dies in blast

A Brits Metal and Allied Worker's Union organiser has been injured and his wife killed in an explosion at their home.

Mrs Joyce Modimoeng (29) died in the blast. Her husband David (33) and two of their children, Miriam (8) and eight-month-old Gladys were taken to hospital but were not in a serious condition, a police spokesman said.

The explosion was caused by a home-made bomb, the spokesman added.

The blast, early yesterday, severely damaged the one-room home.

Mr Modimoeng is resisting the removal of Brits location residents to Letlhole.

This is the second explosion in Brits since resistance to the removal started.

Right gets Monument go-ahead

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

The council controlling the Voortrekker Monument has finally agreed that conservative groups may hold a Republic Day gathering at the monument amphitheatre.

But it has warned that the meeting must not have a party-political flavour.

In spite of this condition, the meeting will still be addressed by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the head of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais.

Other speakers will be leader of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, and Afrikaner Volkswag chief, Professor Carel Boshoff.

In Cape Town, an editorial in the latest edition of the Ned Geref Kerk newspaper, *Kerkbode*, strongly criticises both the National Party and the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging for the use of violence at the Brits and Pietersburg political meetings, calling it "deplorable" and "a lowering of civilised standards".

"Violence, regardless of where it happens, is no solution to our problems," says the editorial.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, May 29 1986

BUSINESS at large, from the multinational to the corner store, must be seen to be working actively to promote change, says newly elected Cape Town Chamber of Commerce president Peter Hugo.

He told chamber members at their AGM on Tuesday night that he would lead them in "seeking ways in which we can improve the quality of life of all our people".

Hugo said the problems facing SA

Business urged to actively promote change

were so complex that many people felt confused, uncertain, frustrated and bewildered.

But they could not afford the luxury of thinking that it was up to government, who had created this mess, to get the country out of it.

Government was no longer the prime mover.

It was dismantling the structure of apartheid piecemeal, but it had become reactive rather than the source of change, he said.

The process of change was no

longer taking place mainly in Parliament but in the streets and in places like Lusaka.

In an interview Hugo, who is the lubricants business manager of Shell, said he foresaw "a turbulent year" ahead.

But he was optimistic about the eventual outcome.

He expected the trade unions to become increasingly militant in the present economic situation.

The chamber would urge employers to do all they could to improve the quality of life of employees, although he realised that this would be harder for smaller businesses, which were suffering from the squeeze than for multinationals. — Sapa.

Scrap apartheid but prepare for wider change in society

304A
30/5/86
STAR
Eglin

Political Staff

DURBAN — Getting rid of apartheid would not bring peace — with its scrapping would have to come change in the substance of society, Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party leader, has warned.

Speaking at a public meeting here, Mr Eglin said the country would also have to get rid of the legacy of inequities and restrictions which apartheid had left.

Capital formation

"We will have to tackle the issues of urbanisation, township establishment and upgrading, education, training, social services, job creation and capital formation."

All this would cost money, but without it "the conflict initiated by apartheid will continue".

Mr Eglin said the Government had

placed the country in a state of economic, constitutional and management crisis and was stumbling from one monumental blunder to another to another "in a display of incompetence and ineptitude that boggles the mind".

As a result of its mismanagement, the statutory authority of Government was being defied on a massive scale, while the majority of people were increasingly questioning the Government's political legitimacy.

While scrapping apartheid laws, the Government was re-introducing apartheid under the new name "own affairs," he claimed.

Mr Eglin was, however, optimistic that a new democratic form of government that would include black as well as white, could be found between the two dangerous outer fringes of South African politics.

Mr Eglin was here as part of a nationwide campaign to increase PFP support.

He added: "The small white political arena is changing rapidly. The National Party, with its exclusive white base and commitment to the racial concept of own affairs, will remain intact."

"The PFP, with its non-racial philosophy and record as defender of individual liberty and rule of law, is in a better position than any party in Parliament today to play a pivotal role in the non-racial parliament of tomorrow."

For Dr. ...

DD 325/86 (M) 304A

Kwelera to boycott PFP

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The Kwelera Residents' Association is to boycott a Progressive Federal Party public meeting at Tuba Village in Kwelera scheduled to be addressed by the MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, tomorrow.

A letter addressed to the chairman of the Jongilanga Residents' Association and signed jointly by the PFP regional organiser, Mr Ian Bentley, and the party's organiser, Mr Zola Buyana, invited residents to attend the meeting.

A statement signed by the Kwelera Residents' Association's publicity secretary, Mr Mzwandile Zingani, said Kwelera residents did not want to have a "link" with the PFP.

The only meetings the residents were prepared to attend were those called by the community of Tuba, the statement said. The decision to boycott the meeting was

taken at a public meeting last Sunday.

The residents said their association was an affiliate of the United Democratic Front and the PFP should consult the UDF before speaking to them.

The statement queried Mr Buyana's credentials, saying he should "come into the open" and inform the people of South Africa about his views and state his origins to the people of Kwelera as he was not known in the area.

The PFP played an insignificant role in the welfare of Kwelera residents and its influence was diminishing, the association said.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Zingani said residents felt they should fight on their own for their rights and did not need the help of any other organisation.

The PFP only appeared in the Kwelera situation last year when there was trouble in the



MR GASTROW

area, he said.

"It never showed up when Kwelera residents were threatened with removal to Kidd's Beach in 1984."

Mr Bentley said the Kwelera Residents' Association was welcome to discuss any problems it might have with the PFP.

Disagreement on strategies did not mean that people could not work together for a common objective, he said.

Mr Buyani said that if the Kwelera Residents' Association knew the

PFP, it knew him "very well". He said he was organising not only blacks but all racial groups in the country for the PFP.

● At a house meeting here last night attended by about 120 people Mr Gastrow said the majority of South Africans yearned for a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The recent Defence Force raids indicates that the government was hell-bent on scuttling any democratic negotiations.

He said the PFP's role was to reveal that a better South Africa lay beyond the shadow of apartheid.

"We have to fight against the Rhodesian syndrome where eventually the overwhelming majority of whites, whether they agreed with him or not, fell in behind Ian Smith because they somehow thought that white unity and the military could save them.

"That is not going to work in South Africa either," he said.

FIN MAIL 30/5/86

BUTHELEZI AND THE NSC

KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi sees government's unambiguous declaration that the mooted new National Statutory Council (NSC) will be used to rework the constitution as "a sign the whole world has been waiting for."

However, Buthelezi, whose decision on whether or not to take part in the new council will be of crucial importance, does have some serious reservations.

They relate mainly to whether all groups will be invited to participate, and the right of the State President to appoint or dismiss members at will — a measure he says most blacks find unacceptable.

Says Buthelezi: "It is imperative that the State President release Nelson Mandela, Zeth Mothopeng and other leaders now in jail. We need a normalised black South African political constituency in which all are free to campaign for support." Otherwise, he warns, the workings of the NSC may be "severely handicapped."

Another reservation Buthelezi has is that the NSC could be used as a mechanism for prolonging the life of the tri-

cameral parliament in the face of its total rejection by blacks. "One really needs to know what the State President means by *interim*; does he mean interim in the sense of transitional, or does he mean interim in the sense of pending time?"

In summary Buthelezi sees the NSC as a radical departure from previous National Party policy and, indeed, worthy of consideration by blacks. However, he says he will reserve his final judgment until he has had the opportunity of studying the Bill more closely and consulting with his constituency.



THE WHITE RIGHT

Displays of power

After months of simmering tension (*Current affairs* February 21), divisions in Afrikanerdom have erupted into fratricidal political strife unprecedented in 38 years of Nationalist rule. Following two weeks of skirmishes, a major battle for the soul of the *volk* is looming over Pretoria this weekend.

So far, no quarter is being asked or given as the National Party (NP) pits its strength against the militancy of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

This week, NP Transvaal leader F W de Klerk vowed to return soon to Brits and Pietersburg to avenge the recent Nationalist humiliations in the two towns. This weekend the course of events — and a possible showdown — will centre on a decision by the AWB and its now junior partners on the Right, the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), to defy a government ban on the use of the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday (the 25th Republic Day) for a *volksfees*.

The AWB claims it can muster as many as 100 000 supporters to march to the monument, Afrikanerdom's main shrine. The State has said it will stop them.

The rise of the Right is also clearly causing serious tensions in the Cabinet. They surfaced dramatically last week when, in an unprecedented move, Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis accused the police of being "unable or unwilling" to prevent the AWB's disruption of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's Pietersburg rally.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange jumped quickly to the SAP's defence. Without mentioning Du Plessis by name, Le Grange said it was "scandalous" that the SAP should be "insulted and antagonised" by "public accusations" that they showed solidarity with the AWB.

It is virtually unknown for a South African Cabinet minister to publicly criticise the department of a colleague. Du Plessis is likely to be severely reprimanded by President P W Botha regardless of the merits of his complaint, which will be revealed by an investigation into the events at Pietersburg ordered by Le Grange.

Although a split is seen as unlikely, the disagreement between the two ministers appears to be the most serious threat to Cabinet unity since the CP breakaway in 1982. The takeover of the Pietersburg meeting by the AWB was a personal humiliation for Du Plessis, who is one of three Transvaal NP chairmen, with a key responsibility for party organisation in the province.

The extent of the rightwing threat is still difficult to gauge, but there is no denying that the rise of the AWB in recent months

has been phenomenal.

For more than 12 years after its formation in 1973, the organisation was regarded as little more than a joke. Its leaders were seen as neo-fascist fanatics clad in khaki uniforms bearing red, white and black emblems, chillingly reminiscent of Nazi swastikas. Although their public meetings in rural towns and blue collar urban areas were relatively well attended, they were seldom of more than curiosity value for the press.

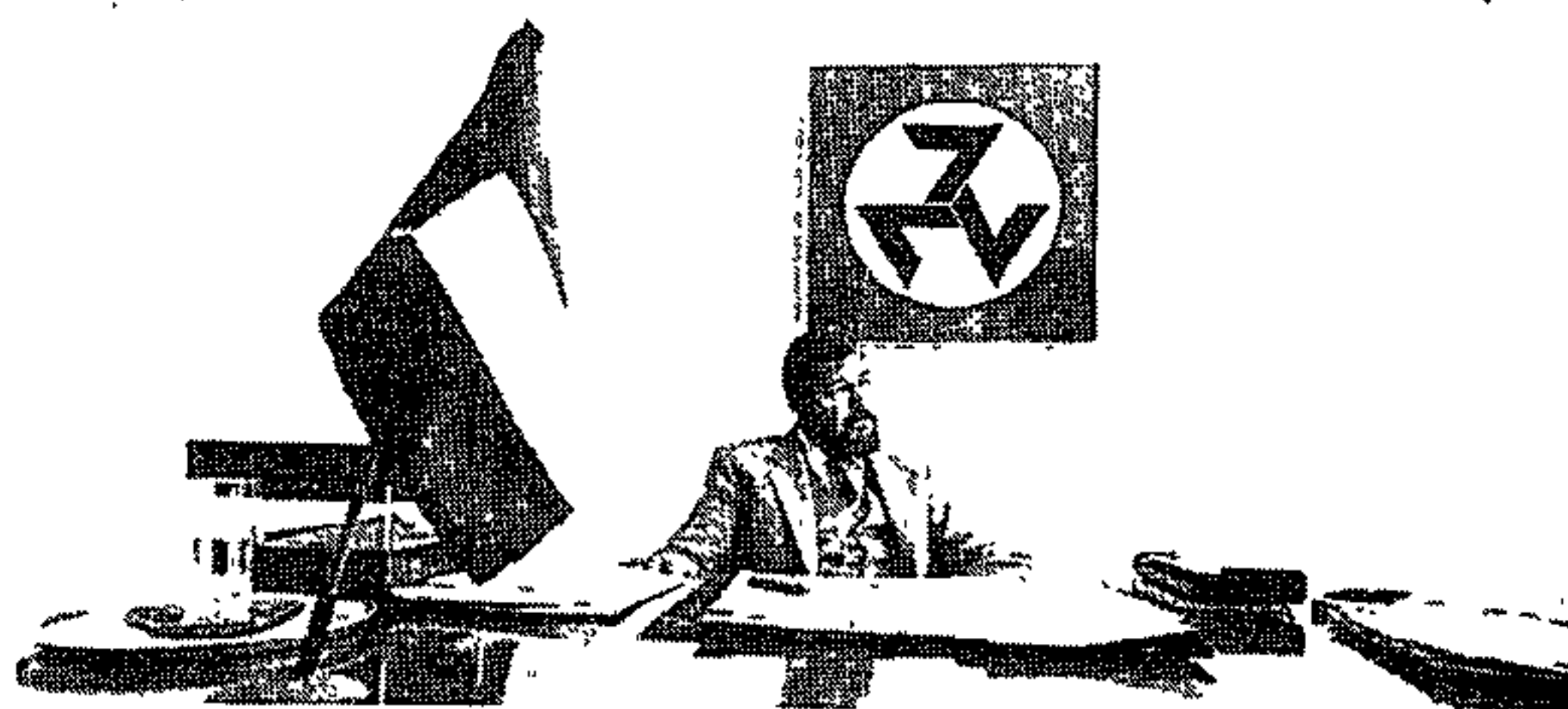
Then suddenly this year, the AWB hit the headlines. An unanticipated campaign to smash NP meetings clicked into gear with resounding success.

Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel was prevented from speaking in his home town of Bethal; in Brits, Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel had to abandon a meeting; in Pietersburg last week, AWB hoodlums took over Pik Botha's meeting after a bloody battle with government supporters; the following day "own affairs" Agriculture Minister Sarel Hayward was prevented from speaking at Warden in the OFS; and last weekend a meeting addressed by Louis le Grange at Ellisras was only able to go ahead after five AWB supporters — who tried to break it up — were arrested and another 30 kept out of the hall by a massive police contingent.

The AWB has vowed to keep NP speakers out of vast regions of the country it regards as conservative territory — and appears able to fulfil its pledge.

The latest events have shocked the NP and graphically emphasised the obvious strength of the white rightwing — notwithstanding allegations that government was well aware of what would occur at Pietersburg, but allowed the Right to display its thuggery primarily for international consumption. There is little doubt that support for the Rightists — now firmly centred around the AWB — is two-fold.

It stems both from government's tentative steps towards limited political reforms, which are rejected by many whites, but also — and perhaps more importantly — from a perception that the government does not know where it is going, leading to a desire among white voters to return to what they know, rather than be led blindly into an uncertain future.



AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche . . . ultra-right stuff

Probably the most frightening aspect of the rightwing is not its opposition to reform per se, but its militancy. The AWB, in particular, is widely perceived as being willing to take up arms to defend its principles — even if it means fighting fellow Afrikaners.

Apart from recent by-elections, which showed a marked swing to conservatism, the strength of the rightwing has not been effectively tested. There have been demands that Botha call a general election soon.

Although opinion polls show the NP to have about 50% of white voter support, compared to about 20% for the rightwing, the true picture may be significantly different.

Based on by-election swings, some observers believe the rightwing could have as much as 45% of white voter support.

The effect of the AWB on P W Botha's reform plan remains to be seen. He has vowed not to be deterred, but there seems little doubt that any new moves forward will be preceded by a long, hard look over the right shoulder to see if anyone is following. ■

DD 30/5/86 (283) 304A V
Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Fully integrated city councils in the "very near future" were predicted here last night by a senior city councillor.

The leader of the city's finance portfolio, Mr Errol Spring, touched on what he called the problematic regional services councils when he delivered his budget speech.

"My reservations about services councils remain and I doubt whether we will ever see them implemented in this region. I have already expressed my reservations at their potential to solve problems at local govern-

Spring: mixed councils soon

ment level and the implications for core cities such as East London.

"A system of local government acceptable to all sectors of local communities must be found and I believe that fully integrated and representative city and town councils will be with us in the very near future."

Mr Spring said it had not been a happy year around the horseshoe.

"There always is a period of settling in when new councillors take their place around the horseshoe but in the present economic climate there is an urgent need for the closing of ranks and building of goodwill and team spirit among councillors.

"We, as a city, are fighting for our survival. I believe that the elected representatives of the white community should set the example of co-operation.

"This city needs leaders of vision and courage who see city progress and prosperity as a measure of their success."

Mr Spring said the budget was complex and the presentation by the acting financial manager, Mr Lodie Venter, was excellent.

TOUR OPERATORS

Breaking down

The prediction that some of SA's incoming tour operators would be forced to the wall by the fall-off in foreign tourism (*Business* January 24), has come tragically true.

In April, the incoming tour division of Supareps went into liquidation, and papers before the Supreme Court show that Gilt-Edged Tours, Taurus Travel and Tours and, more recently, Golden City Tours are all in provisional liquidation.

African Adventures, which operated in the tour field for 14 years, has ceased trading. And Garden Route Tours has been transferred to Cape Town because of a 95% drop in tourists to the Garden Route region.

"Our departure leaves a gap in the route, making it difficult for those wishing to visit the area. But we had no choice," says Garden Route Tours MD Andrew Varrie.

Even SA's largest privately-owned incoming tour operator Springbok Atlas Safari, which is owned by Tollgate, has had to rationalise. "We are having to look increasingly at the domestic market for business," says sales director Lew Rood. "But we've had a slight increase in bookings with the closure of other operators."

Falling bookings

Although the drop in the number of visitors is hitting all in the travel and hotel industries, incoming tour operators are feeling the pinch hardest because they rely almost totally on overseas visitors. One tour operator reckons bookings have fallen by as much as 70% since 1984.

"The position facing the entire travel industry is critical," says Travel Agents' Board (TAB) chairman Peter Botterill. "While some businesses are reasonably placed to survive, others will be unable to stand the strain."

International agents were seemingly positive about promoting tourism to SA at the SA Tourism Board's recent Indaba in Cape Town. But there are now fears that the raids, into neighbouring countries may see the industry return to last August's low.

As Varrie says: "We can't make business where there are no tourists."

AFRIKAANS BUSINESS

Getting together

"Look east" was the loud and clear call to government from Afrikaans business leaders last week.

Seeking closer co-operation between the private and public sectors at its congress in Johannesburg, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) urged government to follow the example of Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI).

"We must get away from the facile assumption in some circles that big business is

HERE TODAY, GONE TOMORROW

David Fink of Fordom Factoring fame may never return to SA if past cases of flight to Israel are a yardstick.

As far as can be established, Israel has yet to formally extradite anyone wanted in SA. Local authorities have steered shy of extradition applications since losing a case in 1975 involving Winston Cowan, who was wanted in SA for theft.

Commercial branch police tell the FM their investigations are still some months from completion. Once affidavits are ready, the matter will be handed to the Attorney General.

Police confirm that Fink, his former wife Linda Attif and Arthur Milner of Valiant Textiles, are currently in Israel but they say they do not know the trio's exact whereabouts.

Any extradition proceedings are likely to be long and complex. SA has had an

extradition agreement treaty with Israel since the Sixties, but the pact has never been ratified.

If it is decided to press the case, legal precedent is thus not on the applicant's side. "There are sensitive spots in the whole issue of extraditing Jews. It's a very unclear area," says an Israeli Embassy spokesman.

But, meanwhile, the local case goes on. Return date for the final sequestration of the estates of Fink and his former wife has been postponed again. The next hearing will be in early July, at the earliest, says applicant Barnib MD Viy Bartlett.

Bartlett confirms that Barnib's liability is still set at R7,2m but "several million" has been recovered from the liquidation of Warner's Valiant Textiles. So far they have had little joy in recovering any of the money that left SA in 1985.

necessarily bad. What we need is a partnership between the public and private sectors to set priorities for economic development and growth," was the message from Trust Bank MD Chris van Wyk.

His view is that economic miracles in South Korea and Taiwan and co-ordinating structures in the EEC all prove that big business, small business and the government can co-operate constructively to create the type of economic growth SA now needs so urgently.

A joint national economic development along the MITI lines would help restore the confidence needed to generate another growth cycle, he says.

Van Wyk's call is strongly supported by Sankorp executive director Marinus Daling. "Currently there's division between government and big business. We must bridge this gap to recreate confidence in the growth potential of the economy. Only big business has the capital resources to get the economy going again," he says.

And an essential precondition for business confidence is a long-term economic policy.

Another strongly-supported congress resolution — also proposed by Van Wyk — called on the private and public sectors to exploit opportunities created by the abolition of pass laws.

A major drive to meet the black housing backlog of 400 000-800 000 units would give massive stimulus to economic growth and employment. At the same time, home ownership could become the base for private enterprise.

"Entrepreneurial opportunities created for black building contractors would stimulate black participation in the free market system, especially if the Small Business Development Corporation and other financial institutions utilise these financing opportunities," says Van Wyk.

The meeting also sent a clear signal that business backs reform. "Without being prescriptive, I want to say that if government decides to abolish the Group Areas Act it can rely on the support of the greater part of the business sector," said outgoing AHI president Donald Masson in his keynote address.

And he cautioned businessmen to ensure that the benefits of the free market system flowed down to their employees. "We must ensure that blacks are promoted into and trained for managerial positions. It's our duty to ensure that the Third World sector of the economy becomes part of the free market system — before government has to do this by affirmative action."

SA CASINOS

A bad bet

Assocom's call to government to consider legalising casinos in white SA is likely to fall on deaf ears.

The equity of the request aside, casinos are an integral part of national state economies. Expose them to the full blast of unrestrained competition from SA and the last vestiges of purported homeland self-sufficiency could

NO SHAREHOLDER

Bankorp MD Chris Erasmus has pointed out that he was not a shareholder in insolvent Trader Brewing as stated in the *FM* (*Business* May 2). He was temporarily a director on behalf of Mercabank in the early days of the Cape-based wheat beer venture launched last September. The error is regretted.

Stumbling ahead

As a parallel initiative to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's (EPG) peace plan, government is going ahead with its new National Council.

A Bill published for comment last week by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis, proposes the establishment of a National Council which will be chaired by State President P W Botha. It will include black leaders and other members deemed by Botha to be capable of contributing to the establishment of a new "constitutional dispensation" to give all South Africans a say in central government.

The council will comprise the five "non-independent" homeland leaders or their nominees; 10 people nominated by interest groups; not more than 10 people deemed by the president to be able make a contribution to its deliberations; and a variable number of Cabinet ministers. The president will have the final say in the appointments.

Heunis said the council should be seen as the "starting point for power-sharing and the beginning of a government of more national unity than we have at present." He said, however, that it would not be the only forum for negotiation, and indicated that talks with, for example, the African National Congress (ANC), could be pursued simultaneously on other levels. But he stressed that if the ANC wanted to negotiate, it had to first renounce violence as a political strategy.

In reaction to publication of plans for the council, KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said an "absolute prerequisite" for the council's success was the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela. Without Mandela's release, other black leaders would be inhibited from participating in the council, he said. Buthelezi is widely regarded as a key participant from government's point of view.

However, Heunis said non-participation by particular people would not be regarded as insurmountable obstacles to the plan. Buthelezi did not dismiss the plan out of hand (see page 46).

KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza says: "It will be difficult for me and other credible leaders to participate in this council in the absence of other political organisations and the leaders who remain banned, imprisoned and exiled. Another major flaw of this council is the fact that it will be acting only in an advisory capacity."

Lebowa Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi has stated: "I do not see any reason why blacks cannot help the State President by participating in the National Council. It is the first direct step towards power-sharing."

The United Democratic Front (UDF) believes the National Council will suffer the same fate as other government-created structures for black people.

Heunis hopes to have the National Council Bill passed by parliament during the short session starting in August.

NEW 'UNREST' LAWS

Government has signalled its intention to tighten up even more on security laws by the publication of the Internal Security Amendment Bill, which widens police powers of arrest and detention.

The Bill is in line with President P W Botha's commitment, when he lifted the State of Emergency earlier this year, to introduce legislation to effectively give the police the power to "maintain law and order."

The Bill follows on the Public Safety Amendment Bill published last month, which will give the Minister of Law and Order powers to declare "unrest areas" and allow them to be controlled as though they were under a State of Emergency.

The latest Bill allows a policeman of or above the rank of Warrant Officer to arrest a person without a warrant and hold him or her for up to 48 hours if it is believed that the arrest will help stop, combat or prevent a public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence.

The detention can be extended to 180 days on the orders of a policeman of or above the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

A memorandum published with the Bill states that the current 14-day detention provision in the Internal Security Act "is not effective in the combating of unrest of the nature and extent being experienced at present."

CROSSROADS Behind the mayhem

The events at Crossroads over the past two weeks have been a lesson in how not to approach socio-political problems.

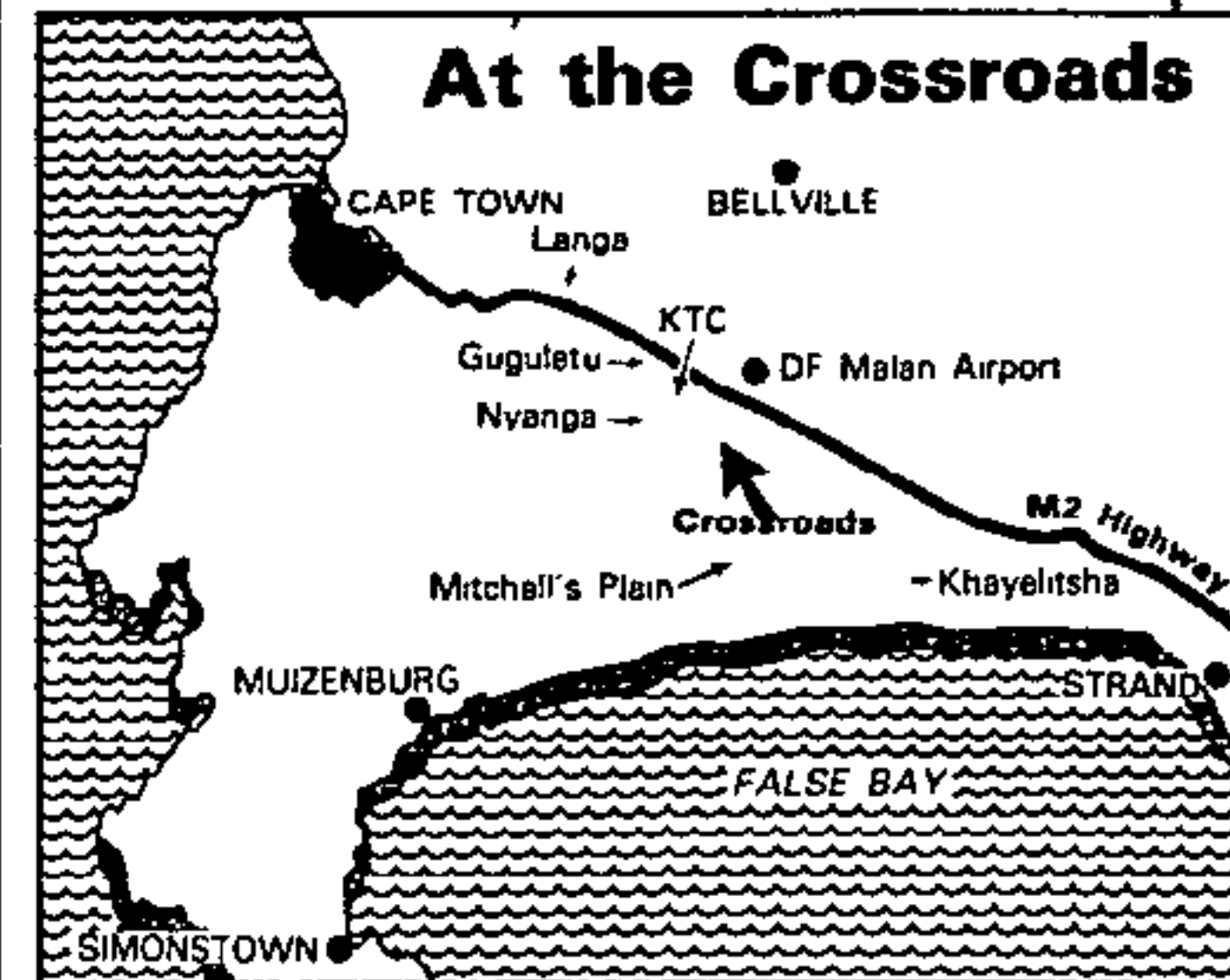
The immediate cost of the mayhem has been high; at least 35 dead and up to 30 000 homeless; and the first case of typhoid in the shambles was reported this week. However, the long-term penalties, will be even stiffer and must be measured in increased polarisation between blacks and whites and within the squatter community itself.

Although ostensibly "black-on-black" violence, it is now alleged that the Crossroads clashes have been far more than merely retaliation by "vigilantes" against alleged excesses by radical "comrades."

Startling claims of what has been happening in the vast squatter camp were made in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week when a temporary interdict was granted restraining police, soldiers and *witdoeke* (vigilantes) from participating in, or permitting unlawful attacks on people or property in the KTC squatter camp. The application was brought by six squatter leaders, three who live in KTC and three who are former residents of the destroyed section of Crossroads.

They claimed the destruction so far was part of a systematic plan and feared KTC would be attacked next. Threats to destroy KTC had been made on three separate occasions and involved the SADF and police, they also claimed.

It was alleged that police supplied *witdoeke* with arms and ammunition and actively participated in burning down shacks, and that the police and troops fired teargas at



squatters when residents resisted *witdoeke* attacks. It was also alleged that a Warrant Officer Barnard played a significant and co-ordinating role in events at Crossroads.

In response to the application, police said in a sworn statement handed into the court that an interdict could "limit and seriously hamper the activities of the security forces."

Josette Cole of the Surplus People Project in the western Cape, says the images of "black-on-black" violence should not be allowed to obscure some of the underlying reasons for the conflict. The net result of the clashes has been to achieve, in less than a week, what the State could not do — remove the three most coherent and consistently resistant squatter communities in the Crossroads complex, she says.

The conflict is also based on fierce rivalry for land and resources in the Crossroads area. It is essential to move large numbers of squatters to Khayelitsha, further away from Cape Town, for government to fulfil its pledge to upgrade "Old Crossroads" where most of the *witdoeke* live.

The people left homeless by the latest mass destruction of their shacks have little option but to go to Khayelitsha and — conveniently — the State only has to clear the debris from the site of the razed shacks to be able to start with upgrading.

Cole says a "coincidence of interests" has emerged from the chaos of the past few days benefiting a Crossroads elite that is "desperate to maintain political and economic control over the area," as well as to have Old Crossroads upgraded, and benefiting the State on a number of different levels, including its "orderly urbanisation" strategy.

"What we have witnessed this past week is essentially a removal of a very special kind ... two-thirds of residents moved 'voluntarily' from Old Crossroads within one week," Cole says.

14-1 in favour of N/M 3d/5/86
non-racial city council

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

THE Pietermaritzburg City Council voted overwhelmingly in favour of the ideal of a non-racial council yesterday.

A motion introduced by Mr Rob Haswell, chairman of the Town Planning Committee, was adopted by 14 votes to one.

The only person to vote against it was Mr George de Beer, who said during debate that he did not believe the council had a mandate from the public to vote in favour of 'such a major change'.

● See Editorial Opinion

FIN MAIL

THE LAND ACT

Going beyond 1936

A debate has started in the National Party (NP) caucus which could lead to radical changes to racially determined land distribution in SA. Although still embryonic, the

discussions appear headed towards statutory changes to either the Group Areas Act or the Land Act — or both.

The debate surfaced in parliament recently when the Nationalist MP for Innesdal, Albert Nothnagel, urged government to consider radical land "redistribution." Speaking in the Constitutional Development and Planning budget vote debate, Nothnagel said government's reform initiative made the reconsideration of the question of land necessary.

"I want to make a plea today for a dramatic redistribution of land in SA," he said. Nothnagel said his plea had to be seen in the light of government decisions to de-segregate some trade areas and industrial areas; allow blacks to own land in townships; scrap influx control and allow orderly squatting; stop removals; move towards a system of allowing people to live closer to their jobs rather than be burdened with transport subsidies; promote the informal business sector; upgrade neglected areas; and establish fully fledged black local authorities linked to the new regional services councils.

"Each of these decisions calls for a dramatic new dispensation with regard to land occupation and utilisation by the different groups in SA," he said.

Government's commitment to group interests meant each group had to have enough land to satisfy its needs. Each town and city had a black or coloured residential area which was the "poor appendage" of a "wealthy and prosperous white community ... From every angle this is completely unacceptable," Nothnagel said.

It was "vitally important" for political harmony, economic development, and social stability that government not only look at land redistribution, but actually put into motion the administrative machinery to implement a new deal as quickly as possible.

A number of other NP speakers made similar pleas, but were less direct than Nothnagel. In replying to the debate, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Ben Wilkens said he would not comment on Nothnagel's plea without first hearing specific proposals. It is understood the debate is now expected to become a key issue in the NP caucus.

The Land Act, in particular, is not only one of the cornerstones of apartheid, but is also a highly emotional issue within both the NP and black nationalist organisations, who believe they have been robbed of the land. Significantly, Nothnagel repeatedly referred to "redistribution" of land — the same demand made by black nationalists.

The original Land Act of 1913 allocated only 8% of the country to blacks. It was increased to 13% in 1936. The Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 and the 1950 Group Areas Act further restricted black land rights.

Coincidentally, a report was published in Cape Town some weeks ago of a committee appointed by the Indian Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Baldeo Dookie, to look into the availability of

agricultural land for Indians. The committee found that in the past 35 years at least 20 000 ha of farm land had been lost by South African Indians because of apartheid laws. It recommended the repeal of the Group Areas Act or, alternatively, that farm land be exempted from the terms of the Act.

Some analysts believe the desegregation of farm land may rejuvenate sections of the country's depressed agricultural sector, provide jobs in the rural areas and help to alleviate poverty by allowing thousands of blacks to return to subsistence farming.

The Group Areas Act and the Land Act are, with little doubt, the two measures most under pressure for radical change. The Group Areas Act and related laws are being studied by the President's Council and its report is expected before the end of the year.



Nothnagel

GETTING WHITES TO JOIN STRUGGLE

304A

Sowetan
30/1/86

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

ONE of the more active committees giving direction in the white community today is the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

Launched formally in February 1984, Jodac is a political affiliate of the United Democratic Front. Its aim is to involve whites in the

struggle for peace and justice.

In an interview with the *Sowetan*, Mr Neil Morrison, Jodac's publicity secretary, said the committee was started by young whites with a university background.

The group had felt

that Parliament was not a force for change because the majority of South Africans do not have political rights in it. They had also realised that the Government did not respond to discussion and debate, but to pressure in the form

of mass resistance from students, trade unions and other bodies as well as international isolation.

"We believed that extra-parliamentary activity is the most effective way of achieving our goal of a non-racial and democratic society," he said.

The committee, he

said, started as an activist organisation, but has now grown broader in its outlook. Membership stands in the region of 600 and since the "UDF call to whites" to act for a better future, about 250 whites have applied to join the committee.

Mr Morrison also said they were happy that they have been able to attract Afrikaans-speaking whites, that include students from the Rand Afrikaans University and older Afrikaners who are not necessarily intellectuals.

"Jodac's ranks are swelling by the day. We are probably growing at the same rate as the A WB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging)".

Jodac, Mr Morrison said, was planning a mass meeting in July where all individuals and organisations that have visited the African National Congress in Lusaka will be asked to report back. According to the committee, the public has not been adequately informed about the viewpoints of the ANC.

The MPs who can still foil Le Grange

By CARMEL RICKARD,
Durban

THE latest round in the detention-without-trial fight has been won by the courts, with a landmark Appellate Division judgement handed down last week.

But it seems the executive is staging a strong bid to take the next round, introducing new legislation in parliament which will further erode the right of the courts to intervene in detentions.

Power to deliver a knockout blow is in the hands of the maverick Houses of Delegates and Representatives. What is not clear is how — or whether — they plan to use it.

The proposed new laws at the centre of the fight are the Public Safety Amendment Bill (PSAB) and the Internal Security Bill (ISB).

Both bills are at the committee stage, and although discussions therein are not publicised, it is clear that developments in these committees pose a crucial test: for the security needs of the government, army and police on the one hand and for the credibility of the two new houses on the other.

The PSAB would give the Minister of Law and Order the right to decide that circumstances in a particular area warranted the use of Emergency powers. He could then invoke any regulations he decides are necessary in that area without first obtaining the approval of parliament, and without officially declaring a State of Emergency.

The Internal Security Bill, introduced last Thursday, would allow police to detain anyone believed to be involved in "unrest" for 180

days — six months.

Only after three months had elapsed would the detention come under the scrutiny of any authority outside the police, through a board of review charged with examining reasons for further detention.

The only criterion for detention under the ISB is whether the police believe removal of the detainee from the community would help quell unrest.

The Progressive Federal Party has hit out at both Bills, but on its own will be unable to deter them from being pushed through.

This power lies with the House of Delegates (designated Indian) and the House of Representatives (designated "coloured") — or more specifically, with the National People's Party and the Labour Party. They have the power to block the passage of the Bills and force them to be considered by the President's Council. If they continued expressing strong opposition in this forum, it could mean a showdown with the National Party.

One thing the two new Bills have in common is that the police need not give reasons for a detention.

Legal observers expected this provision would soon be included in new legislation to close the loopholes recently discovered in Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

In the case brought to free Durban church leader Paddy Kearney, for example, the Natal judge ruled that police had to have good reason for

holding a detainee and that this reason had to be produced on demand.

Last week the Appellate Division upheld this interpretation of Section 29 and went further, saying the onus was on the police, when challenged, to show the detention was lawful.

Security law expert, Natal University's Professor Tony Mathews, termed this interpretation a major gain.

But the judgement disappointed in leaving a loophole for "an executive determined to escape legal control," Mathews said.

When the law spoke of "reason to believe", of "reasonable ground" for holding a detainee, the Appeal Court held these reasons were objective and open to investigation by the courts. But where the Act required that a police officer "believed" or "considered" a detention was necessary, the courts would not be able to test the existence of grounds.

Mathews said this distinction was "unacceptable" and ran counter to a new trend in English law which is not to distinguish between phrases like "has reason to believe" and "is satisfied".

"What this judgement has done is to leave a fair amount of free space for an executive determined to avoid the court's supervision and, with amazing alacrity, the executive has already moved in to that space."

Mathews said the purpose of the new laws seemed to be to get around the ruling in the Kearney case, and he thought it a "surprising coincidence" that the judgement and the new Bill were published on the same day.

Arrested in the AWB punch-up: 2 Jo'burg cops

TWO Johannesburg traffic officers were arrested and charged with disturbing the peace in Pietersburg last week when they travelled in a contingent organised by their traffic and security chief John Pearce to attend the Pik Botha meeting which was disrupted by the AWB.

Pearce, who is known to have political ambitions and to be on a friendly footing with Botha, also attended the meeting. So did his deputy, Ollie Olivier.

A number of officers came back "smashed up" with bruises and other injuries, said a senior member of the traffic department who is furious about the incident.

Officers MC de Swardt and JLC Niemand, both of Johannesburg's north-east section, were among five men arrested in connection with a scuffle with Pietersburg's CID chief, Captain Ivor Human, last Thursday, May 22. They each paid R20 admission of guilt.

A Pietersburg police spokesman confirmed the incident but said neither of the men had given his occupation as "traffic officer".

Niemand had described himself as a "builder" of 84 Dolomite Street, Johannesburg. De Swardt had described himself as an "instructor" of Plot 100, Helderfield, Vereeniging. (Weekly Mail was unable to trace this address.)

These details were confirmed in Pietersburg Magistrate's Court records. The other three men arrested with them were private individuals from Nelspruit, Pietersburg and Letaba respectively.

Neither De Swardt nor Niemand could be reached yesterday. Niemand was said by a colleague at the traffic department to be "off sick". De Swardt was also not in his office.

The detachment of the 38 traffic

By WILMAR UTTING

officers — 10 percent of the Johannesburg force — to attend the Nat rally was the subject of stormy debate at this week's city council meeting, when the officers concerned were referred to as "bully boys" by the Progressive Federal Party.

Answering a series of questions by PFP councillor Les Dishey, management committee chairman Francois Oberholzer disclosed that Pietersburg had not asked for Johannesburg's assistance. Nor had his committee been asked for permission for the policemen to go to Pietersburg.

Pearce, he said, had gone in his official capacity as director of security for the council "to evaluate security measures taken in anticipation of similar meetings in Johannesburg".

The officers had been asked to go along by their superiors and had been granted leave to travel 340km to the meeting in a private bus.

Although they had gone in their private capacities and not as council employees, they had been warned before they left that they should behave themselves and refrain from drinking, Oberholzer said.

However, he said no disciplinary action would be taken against the men, adding that if they wanted to take on the AWB he, for one, was more than happy.

A call by PFP leader Sam Moss for a commission of inquiry into the incident was defeated 21-19 by the Nationalist/Independent coalition.

Dishey said yesterday he had been told the officers had applied for leave retrospectively, only when the dispute came into the open.

He was deeply concerned, he said, that the incident had damaged the image of Johannesburg's traffic officers.

"If the records are correct, and they have given wrong information to the police, this will not only damage that image further, but the public will lose all respect for the traffic

THE emergence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as an extra-parliamentary force, eclipsing the parliamentary Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, could be the result of the National Party government closing off even those democratic avenues which once existed for whites.

Because the new constitution extended the life of the current white parliament, it has been more than five years since the last general election and the government need not call another one for three years.

Examining the results of by-elections since the last general election and taking into account the further surge of support to the right in the face of "swart gevaar" and economic depression, it becomes clear why President PW Botha might regard it in his party's interests never to call another election.

At present there are 178 seats in Parliament, of which 166 are elected and 12 nominated, four by the State President and eight by the political parties. One each of the nominated members are PFP and CP.

Thus to win a straight overall majority, the NP must win 80 of the 166 elected seats and the combined opposition must capture 87 to prevent a Nationalist majority (another example of Nat

fiddling with the vote).

One must begin with the assumption that the New Republic Party (NRP), a spent political force, will either join up with the Nats or fail to recapture any of their five remaining seats. Thus the number of seats which the far right will need to win to prevent the NP from taking an overall majority is 87, less the seats the PFP wins.

At present the PFP holds 24 elected seats, with by-elections pending in two of its constituencies — Rondebosch and Pinelands — which were recently vacated by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine.

Since 1981 the PFP's support in by-elections has not increased, but neither has it collapsed among its mainstay of affluent English-speakers. Many of them voted against the party line during the 1983 referendum but are unlikely to defect in large numbers to an Afrikaner party which has made such a palpable mess of the one thing that matters to many English voters — the economy.

If the current delimitation remains the same, and keeping in mind that the collapse of the NRP

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK totes up the figures and concludes that if an election were held tomorrow, the Nats would be in real trouble. There's a catch of course — PW needn't hold an election until 1989.

makes Natal very uncertain, the PFP would be assured of at least 18 seats and possibly as many as 25. This would leave the CP and the HNP the task of winning between 62 and 70 seats.

In assessing the support of the far rightwing one would have to make a further assumption that Jaap Marais and Andries Treurnicht form a unified front against the government and don't put candidates up against one another.

Most of their support would come from the Transvaal where there is little doubt — on the basis of by-election results — that the far right would emerge with more seats than the NP.

The CP has won by-elections in Soutpansberg and Waterberg and there is no longer a safe Nat seat in the whole of the country's "Deep South" — the racially benighted Transvaal platteland.

In addition the results of by-elections in Sasolburg, Springs and even Rosettenville show the far right picking up a large amount of support from blue collar workers in the PWV who would vote on a racial as well as an economic basis.

The only safe seats for the Nats in the Transvaal would be the urban Afrikaner middle-class areas in Pretoria, Johannesburg and the East Rand. In addition the Nats could capture several seats such as Bezuidenhout and Edenvale from the Progs, though the Progs would keep at least six seats in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

Using the 1981 results — where the HNP polled one-third of the rural Transvaal seats — as a base, and assuming a swing of some 30 percent in the rural areas and 40 percent in the blue collar constituencies (Langlaagte and Jeppe were not contested by the HNP in 1981 but are now favourable CP seats), 40 Transvaal seats would probably go to the far right.

But these swings would be on the conservative side if the surge away from the Nats has continued this year in response to unrest, Nat "reforms" and

The arithmetic of a far-right victory

The AWB has a lot

The AWB is
frightening enough
already without
having to exaggerate
its strength. For there
are plenty of factors
against it right now ...
like history, for
example. PATRICK
LAURENCE reports

THE National Party once prided itself on being a *volksparty*, embodying the *volkswil* of the Afrikaner people. But those days have long since passed.

Today the NP represents only a portion of the Afrikaner people and is engaged in a fight for the allegiance, perhaps even the soul, of the *volk* against a broad alliance of ultra-rightist forces.

Ranged against it on the far right are the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Conservative Party, the Volkswag and, of course, the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The grand coalition of ultra-rightist forces will assemble at or near the Voortrekker Monument tomorrow in a mass display of strength, hoping fervently that it will presage their conquest of power in the same way as the 1938 gathering of Afrikaners at the monument led to the victory of Dr DF Malan's *suiker* (pure) National Party in the 1948 general election.

The ultra-rightists, of course, believe that they, and not the NP, are the true heirs of Malan. They assert that they are *ware* (true) Afrikaners and that President PW Botha has effectively abandoned the *volk* with his policy of *toenadering* (rapprochement) with the *volk*'s enemies and of *toegeef* and *oorgeef* (yielding and surrendering).

Their attitude was expressed by the AWB leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, in Pietersburg last Thursday. Before the fight for the stage at the abortive NP meeting got underway, Terre'Blanche told a young Afrikaner supporter of the NP "Jy is nie meer 'n Afrikaner nie — You are no longer an Afrikaner."

The young man was ordered away from the vicinity of the platform. Hurt and offended, he hesitated and looked for a moment as if he might stand his ground. An AWB tough, sweating with excitement and exuding the menace of a predator, handed his glasses to a comrade and prepared to settle the issue with his fists. The young NP man backed down.

The confrontation lasted less than a minute. But it was instructive because it symbolised the wider hesitancy of the NP and determination of the AWB.

NP supporters accounted for at least half of the people in the Jack Botes hall in Pietersburg and may actually have been in the majority. But, apart from a few brave men, they were mesmerised by the ferocity of the AWB assault.

They did not seem prepared to fight for Botha's reform policy of power-sharing. It was as though they had been persuaded cerebrally but not



The first taste of victory for the ultra-rightwing? Left, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche takes the platform intended for Pk

viscerally of the necessity for Botha's adjustments to Verwoerd's vision of race separation on a grand scale and Strydom's simpler doctrine of *baasskap*.

They did not appear to have the guts for a fight, not because they were cowardly but because they seemed unconvinced that reform was worth fighting for.

The question, of course, is whether, on the larger national stage, the NP has the fortitude and will to resist the challenge from the ultra-rightists and particularly from the fanaticism of the AWB.

Tom Langley, Conservative Party MP for Soutpansberg, averred that it does not. Its tame surrender at Pietersburg, a venue chosen by the NP for a showdown with the AWB, proved it has lost the will to fight, he said.

Langley's appraisal may be a wishful deduction, given his animosity for the NP. While clearly under pressure from the far right, the NP is far

from powerless.

It controls 117 of the 166 elected seats in the white chamber of parliament, against 18 for the ultra-right parties (CP 17 and HNP 1). As important, the NP still has the broadest base of support among white voters.

According to a poll conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys and published in Rapport, the NP is backed by 47 percent of the electorate, against a combined total of less than 19 percent for the CP and HNP. The AWB is not a political party and support for it was not measured. But the AWB draws its support from the same circles as the CP and HNP and is unlikely to raise their support appreciably.

The same poll shows that nearly 58 percent of Afrikaners will vote for the NP in a general election. It represents a small decrease on the figure for December last year (62.5 percent). But

it is a slight increase on the figure for April 1985 (55.9 percent).

The same poll points to a shift toward more *verlig* or enlightened attitudes on racial questions by the white electorate.

To cite two examples: ●The proportion of whites in favour of absolute retention of the Group Areas Act has decreased from nearly 35 percent in 1981 to less than 25 percent today.

●The proportion of whites unwilling to countenance the admission of darker-skinned children to white schools under any conditions has decreased from 48 to 35 percent.

These findings have a positive corollary — a growth in the number of whites prepared to share segregated residential areas and schools with people who are not white.

Similar trends are found to exist in a survey

1986. SIMILAR TO MUNICH, 1933? OUR COMMENTATORS GIVE RATHER DIFFERING ASSESSMENTS



AWB members wave banners and flags after hijacking Pik Botha's meeting

economic gloom. In that case another nine seats would become vulnerable to the far right.

In the Free State the far right would not be as overwhelmingly predominant, if last year's Bethlehem result — where the Nats won by 1 188

votes — is anything to go by.

Using the swing in Bethlehem as a benchmark, the far right would be well-placed to win up to seven OFS seats, with another three on hand if the swing is more extreme.

Thus, excluding the other two provinces, a worst-case scenario for the Nats would be that the PFP picks up 25 seats and the CP and HNP take between 55 and 60 seats in the OFS and the Transvaal. This would mean the far right need only win at most seven seats in the Natal and the Cape.

In Natal they would only really be in the running for the blue-collar seats of Newcastle (very favourable) and Vryheid.

In the Cape the far right would stand an even chance of capturing more than five Northern Cape and Karoo seats, with Kuruman already in the bag. And several working class seats in slump city Port Elizabeth could fall to the CP, if the results of Sasolburg and Newton Park are anything to go by.

Thus, there is a chance — a small one at that — that if the NP went into another election now they would no longer have an overall majority and would have to search for a coalition in order to remain in power. And by all indications the economic and political situation could only get worse for the Nats in the next three years.

Which is why a shrewd bookmaker would not lay odds on who will win the next election. At the moment all the betting is on whether there will be another election.

IN THE HOUSE

The Nats got their battle plan wrong

A GREAT deal of hysteria is being generated over the antics of our current neo-Nazi, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

This is understandable in a way, above all for the foreign press, which must get pretty bewildered by Afrikaner infighting on constitutional and religious issues.

So everyone has a field day when Terre'Blanche, with his helmeted storm-troopers and lopsided swastika, is able to break up an NP meeting about to be addressed by as popular a speaker as the Foreign Minister.

"Where is your old war-horse now?" crowed Tom Langley (CP, Soutpansberg) in parliament.

The "old war-horse", like Douglas MacArthur, has vowed to return.

But in fact what happened in Pietersburg was largely the Nats' own fault.

It was their fault partly for logistical reasons: Why didn't they pack the hall early with all those rugby-playing toughs from Tukkies, not to mention cattle-farming toughs from the Koedoesrand? Why did they allow themselves to be thrown out?

Heaven knows they've enough experience: Harry Schwarz reminded the House of Assembly that Harry Lawrence, while in Smuts's cabinet, was actually beaten up by Nats at a United Party meeting.

The real reason for the fiasco, however, is that Terre'Blanche is able to use his considerable powers of oratory, backed by his formidable, if misdirected, intelligence, to play on the insecurity which many Afrikaners are feeling.

And that is the NP's own fault, because it has not yet spelled out to its electorate exactly what the implications of its "power-sharing" are in terms of loss — or partial loss — of political control and of lowered living standards.

The most common Nationalist response, even inside parliament, is that the right-wing backlash will not deter the party from its path of reform, whatever that is.

This proclamation is accompanied by appeals for understanding that reform is costing the government political support.

The appeal is falling largely on deaf ears because the majority of South Africans, and probably the entire outside world, doesn't give a damn how much political support the Nationalist government loses.

Moreover, the outside world is not particularly worried about how Afrikaners feel towards reform.

So the spectacle of Afrikaner infighting over as ridiculous an issue as the re-introduction of the two Boer republics — which is what Terre'Blanche says he wants — is really nothing but a way of passing the time until somebody gets down to solving the real issue, which is what the blacks want.

If an Afrikaner government can bring itself in any way to ignore its crazy rightwing and get down to solving real problems, well and good for all of us.

If it can't, it will have a lot of explaining to do to its erstwhile supporters about what really went wrong, and not only in Pietersburg.

JEAN LE MAU

ing way to go

(reform and renewal)

The next general election is not due until 1989, the NP having given itself an extra four years in office by declaring the inauguration of the new tricameral 1984 constitution the start of a new five-year term.

The spectre of heavy losses at the polls is not therefore immediate. But the NP cannot afford to abandon the holding of meetings in ultra-right strongholds. To do so will make it look effete and reinforce the loser's image plastered across its face by the AWB in the Northern Transvaal.

It was probably in recognition of that danger that the Transvaal leader of the NP, FW de Klerk, announced that he and Foreign Minister Pik Botha would hold public meetings in the foreseeable future in Brits and Pietersburg respectively, where the NP suffered two successive humiliations.

One expedient to avoid further drubbings from AWB "storm falcons" would be to hold these meetings there under heavy police protection, as happened when Law and Order Minister, Louis Le Grange, talked at Ellisras last weekend. Le Grange's meeting was protected by not police under General Bert Wandrag.

It's a fair bet that not police — rather than local police — will be on duty at the pending meetings of De Klerk and Botha. Although there will be some humiliation in holding public meetings under police protection, it will help to restore NP confidence.

As important, it will put Terre'Blanche's boast that many police sympathise with the AWB to the test. Police at Ellisras did not balk at arresting five AWB men, four of whom have since been charged with trying to disrupt a legal meeting.

Terre'Blanche told the Christian Science Monitor in an interview last week that AWB membership has mushroomed since the beginning of the year. He declined, however, to reveal details — "our only secret," he said, "since PW Botha would like to know the figure as much as you would".

But even if the AWB has grown markedly in the past few months — it appeared to have to bus many of its supporters into Pietersburg rather than draw them from local zealots — the fate of the pro-Nazi Osseswabrandwag (OB) is hardly a favourable omen.

Under its commandant-general JF van Rensburg, an ardent admirer of Hitler, the OB had a membership of 400 000 in 1941. But by 1943 it had lost the battle to supercede Malan's NP as the authentic voice of Afrikanerdom and its support dwindled almost as quickly as it had grown.

Afrikanerdom has had overt flirtations with fascism before. But previous Afrikaner-based fascist movements, the OB, the Greyshirts, and the New Order, have not grown into viable, durable movements, even against the heady background of the rise of Nazism in Germany.

The AWB, with its mystical belief in the power of the three sevens, has yet to prove it is an exception.

If the NP has difficulty in reconciling its *verkramp* and *verlig* wings, the ultra-rightists have their differences, too.

The HNP and the CP have yet to establish a viable formula for long term electoral co-operation. In last October's mini-election they opposed one another in Vryburg.

There are potential points of friction between the CP and AWB. The CP is a political party



Pik Botha and, right, a supporter, his weapon in his hand

Pictures: SANDY SMIT (Afrapix)

commissioned by the Institute of International Affairs. The swing away from old-style segregation is more marked, however, in the second survey, the institute's director, John Barran, told Weekly Mail.

The majority of the whites seem to be moving slowly with the NP in the direction of reform. But a minority is resisting strongly, even desperately. It is trying to reverse the direction and return to old-style segregation.

Far from being the vanguard of the future, the AWB and its allies appear to be the obstinate defenders of a dying past.

The NP should be able to contain the challenge from the far right quartet of Terre'Blanche, Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Jaap Marais of the HNP and Carel Boshoff of the Volkswag. provided it doesn't lose its nerve.

But that does not mean that the NP should not

take the ultra-right threat seriously. Unless it takes firm action, it runs the risk of not being able to hold public meetings in large parts of the country without further disruption and humiliation at the hands of AWB roughnecks.

The threat is particularly ominous to NP MPs from rural constituencies, who fear that growing hostility from their constituents will cost them their seats. On the basis of last October's mini-election, in which five seats were at stake, Lawrence Schlemmer, of the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Science, has calculated that the ultra-right could win as many as 50 seats in a general election.

While conservatives within the NP, fearful of their seats, are anxious to slow down the pace of reform, the "New Nats", a block of 35 *verlig* MPs, are pressing for a quickening in the pace of change — of further *herroverm* and *herauning*

which draws its inspiration from Verwoerd. It does not espouse the AWB view that there should be no political parties or that parliamentary democracy is a "British-Jewish" invention. Its aim is to multiply the number of parliamentary systems — one for each of the major racial groups in their own territory — not to abolish them.

Terre'Blanche, it should be recalled, is a failed HNP candidate, having stood for the HNP in both parliamentary and provincial elections before forming the AWB in a garage in 1973. It does not form a sound basis for co-operation with HNP leader Jaap Marais, who sets himself as the guardian of true Verwoerdian tradition rather than an apostle of neo-fascism.

Afrikanerdom is in a state of ferment as rival forces manoeuvre for control of the *volk* or a majority of them. The outcome is in doubt, but the balance of forces still favours the NP.

COMMENT by STEVEN FRIEDMAN

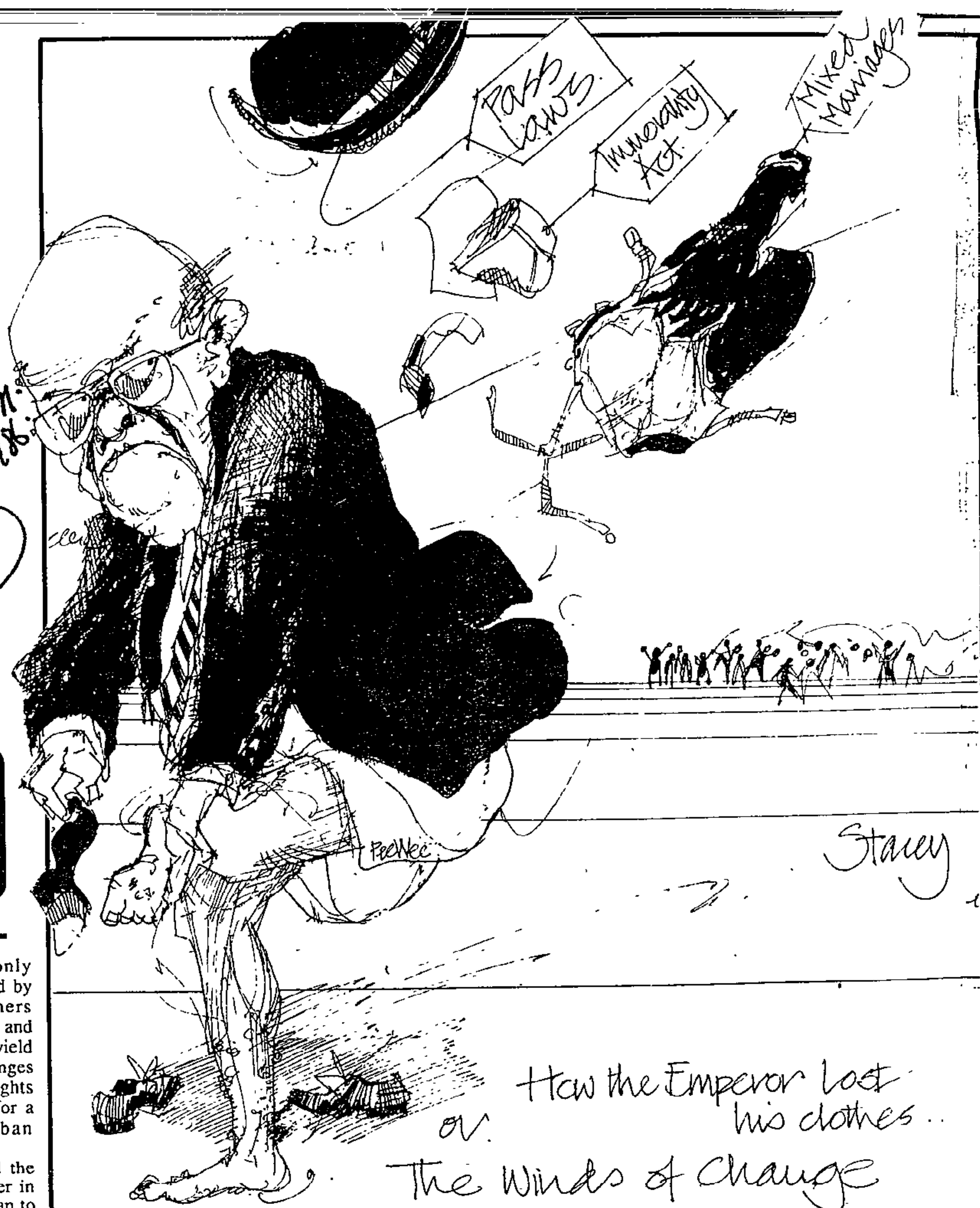
To understand the paradox, we have to cast our minds back to the government's last major reform — the legal recognition of black trade unions. This, too, was an attempt to impose control: the unions were

Now, each attempt to curb influx will involve confrontation with a squatter community in the full glare of publicity — and in the cities, rather

The key piece of evidence comes from the Western Cape, where

There are also less tangible reasons why the pass laws are likely to disappear in fact as well as theory. The government's white paper commits it to free black movement, which means that it will be on the moral defensive whenever it tries to curb that movement. Those who protest will no longer be opposing stated government policy, but

One other key ingredient is a important. In both the labour Western Cape cases, the government faced organised opposition



What the bulldozers never managed, the 'witdoeke' achieved

By MOIRA LEVY
in Cape Town

"THE fastest and cheapest forced removal we have ever seen." That's how one commentator described last week's violence in the Crossroads squatter camp.

Johnson Ngxobongwana and his armed "witdoeke" vigilantes may have accomplished in two days last week what the Western Cape Development Board have tried for two years to achieve.

The three main satellite squatter settlements that have, over the years, been built up on the fringes of Crossroads have been completely wiped out.

And although leaders Melford Yamile, Christopher Toise and Alfred Sipeke have for years resisted all efforts to move the squatters to the resettlement township of Khayelitsha, the Cape Town authorities are adamant that they will not be allowed to return to their devastated Crossroads sites.

Representing about 30 000 people, the squatter leaders, now living as refugees in church halls or in sympathisers' homes, still vow they will not be moved. But aerial views of the site of last week's battles show not a single shack still standing in the area under their leadership.

"This has also been the cheapest (removal) for the government, both in political and economic costs," according to Lauren Platzky, a long-standing anti-removals campaigner.

"Politically, the government has kept its hands clean. And the disaster has been seen as an act of so-called black-on-black violence.

"In economic terms, Pick 'n Pay, the United States government, the people of Cape Town and all the others who have donated money and given support, have footed the bill for the devastation.

"The Western Cape Development Board and the SA Defence Force have maintained a benevolent image, supplying tents as though there had been a natural disaster," she said.

While some refugees moved into the tents hastily erected in Khayelitsha, many more are hiding their time, sleeping along the roadside or in the nearby KTC camp, determined to return to their old sites when the dust settles.

But, according to Platzky, the conflict is likely to continue: "Some of the people went to Khayelitsha because they were terrified and desperate. But there is no way the core of the community will put up with this kind of treatment.

"All along they have refused to move, and they won't accept being forced out of the area this time either."

Resistance to removals in Crossroads has been going on for more than 10 years and, commentators say, the present conflict between the different factions in the squatter community must be understood against the background of that struggle.

Shortages of land are at the crux of the squatters' disputes, according to the Reverend Syd Luckett, who has played an important role in attempting to bring the warring factions together.

"As the communities grew there was a scarcity of land and tremendous competition for a place to erect a shack," he told a public meeting this week.

"Tension developed and the Administration Board, wittingly or unwittingly, contributed towards this by promising the same land to different groups."

Government promises to upgrade



Left: The military intervene after the Crossroads fighting is over, erecting barriers to seal off the township
Picture: DAVE HARTMAN (Afrapix)



Picking up the pieces: As a bulldozer clears the wreckage, a Crossroads woman salvages what she can to build a new home
Picture: GUY TILLIM (Afrapix)

Crossroads worsened the conflict; only about 5 000 families, representing between 25 000 and 30 000 people, were to be accommodated in the new township. The remainder of the total squatter population of 200 000 would have to move.

To encourage people to leave the area, they were offered 18-month permits to live and work in the urban area of Cape Town and a stay on all evictions of illegal migrants out of the city — on condition they agreed to move to Khayelitsha.

"Most of the people who were issued with permits were part of Ngxobongwana's group. Thousands of people were left out. That has been a point of conflict ever since," Platzky explained.

The squatters under the leadership of Yamile, Toise and Sipeke rejected the offer outright. "They demanded full urban rights before they would even negotiate moving to Khayelitsha. It is these three groupings who are now the victims and the targets of this devastation."

But they are not the only targets of the "witdoeke", so called because of their white bandannas and armbands.

The township youth, who during the State of Emergency often sought refuge in the satellite squatter camps where the lack of roads and street lighting made policing impossible, formed strong bonds with Yamile,

Toise and Sipeke's communities.

According to Luckett, Yamile has refused police requests to hand over the youth. "It has become imperative to the police that the area be cleared. These areas have become havens for the youth. This the police cannot tolerate."

For Ngxobongwana too, the youth pose a threat to his authority. A number of organisations, including the UDF-affiliated Cape Youth Congress (Cayco) and the United Womens Congress (UWC), have expressed opposition to what they allege is the corruption and authoritarianism of Ngxobongwana's committee.

They are spearheading the growing resistance with the community to levies demanded by the committee, which they claim have been used by committee members for their private gain. "They are questioning how and why Ngxobongwana has five cars," Platzky said.

Dubbed the "comrades", they have won the backing of many former members of the Crossroads Committee who resigned in protest against what they called the "undemocratic" committee elections in February in which only 5 000 people voted out of an adult population of 87 000.

"The elections had no credibility. People were told by Ngxobongwana that they had to pay R15 to vote.

Organisations like the Black Sash, the Urban Foundation and the Western Province Council of Churches, who were asked to monitor the elections, refused because they did not believe it would be free and democratic," Platzky said.

Shortly after the elections, Ngxobongwana's committee sent a memorandum to Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Development, Chris Heunis, offering to act as a link between the government and the squatter community, and requesting that plans for upgrading the area be set in motion.

Their demands included the building of tennis courts, four-roomed houses, police cells to ensure the maintenance of "law and order" and a clinic. Ngxobongwana has more than once tried to close down the existing clinic, claiming that it is staffed mainly by "comrades".

"If Ngxobongwana wants four-roomed houses, a lot of people will have to move to make space for development. This fits in well with the government's plans."

Part of the government's plan to upgrade Crossroads, first mooted by the then Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, involves incorporating an adjacent stretch of land where the KTC squatter camp has been established and where many of the squatter refugees are now in hiding.

On their knees before parliament: Crossroads women plead for their rights
Picture: GUY TILLIM (Afrapix)

This week there were fears in KTC of an imminent clash with the "witdoeke". Residents claim that members of the police and SADF swept through the area last Friday warning the community to move to Khayelitsha, or face the same fate as the other squatters.

The threats are being taken seriously. This week, six squatter leaders won a temporary interdict in the Cape Town Supreme Court restraining the police, army and "witdoeke" from participating in or permitting unlawful attacks on people or property in the KTC squatter camp.

The squatter leaders claim that the application was brought because they had reason to fear that "the destruction of homes has been part of a systematic plan and that KTC is the next township that will be attacked".

In 45 affidavits before the court, it was claimed that police had supplied the "witdoeke" with arms and ammunition and had actively participated in the burning of houses and attacks on squatters. KTC resident Zenzile Memani, stated: "I was amazed and shocked at the passivity of the South African Police and the soldiers in the face of continued attempts by the 'witdoeke' to attack and burn down the communities with impunity and without fear of police army intervention against them.

"When I did see the SAP and soldiers take any action it was invariably against members of the community who were being attacked and groupings of 'refugees' from the burning community and never against the 'witdoeke'."

"There was a strong presence SAP and soldiers and I had no doubt that if they had wished to quell the fighting, they could have done within a very short period of time as well before there was any substantial damage done to the three communities."

Another squatter, Stormo Madubela, claims in his affidavit that he saw two policemen, dressed blue, walking among the shacks in the squatter settlements. "On occasions I saw policemen fire what looked like teargas grenades at shacks whereupon flames shot up and started which burnt down the shacks."



Who gained the most from trade union reform: The men who brought change from the top, such as State President PW Botha, top left, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, bottom left, or union members on the shop floor such as these Pick 'n Pay strikers, right, who used the changes for their own ends?

Pictures: Trevor Samson (AFP), Gideon Mendel (AFP) and Steve Hilton-Barber (AFP)

movements or communities who were determined to use the tactical opportunities which the reform presented to widen it and give it real teeth. If the pass change is met by a similarly astute and vigilant response by groups committed to ending the pass laws, it is safe to assume that influx control will be a dead letter relatively soon — whatever the government's intentions.

But, even if the change will lead to full freedom of movement, won't it still leave the central issue, black political rights, untouched? On the surface, yes. But it is also likely to ensure that pressure to grant those

The result is not greater control but greater uncertainty, illustrated by the confusion in state policy

rights will increase and will be more effective.

If influx control goes, the authorities will have lost a key source of control over blacks. Workers, to name but one group, will have far more potential power. Urban strikers who are fired will no longer be shipped out to a jobless homeland and this will sharply reduce the risk of striking. Farm workers will no longer face laws which tie them to the land by refusing them the right to work in any other sector of the economy and so they will be able to demand better conditions — and to organise — effectively for the first time.

In the townships, the authorities will also lose a key source of power and a means of dividing black communities. The pass laws meant that many black city-dwellers depended on the whim of an official for their right to a job or a house. This may have made them more angry but it also gave officials a hold over them and ensured they were often more conservative than residents with permanent city rights. This may explain why some township residents reportedly joined rightwing "vigilante" groups because they believed they would be granted permanent city rights in exchange. It may also explain the clashes between migrant hostel-dwellers and militant youths, both in 1976 and in the current township turmoil. When the pass laws go, the prospects of more united, confident and militant

township action will increase.

The labour changes also give the lie to another myth about reform — that it "buys off" those who benefit from it and makes them less likely to seek political rights. Indeed, this country's history over the past decade shows that it does just the opposite, for people fighting a day-to-day battle for survival, as many of apartheid's victims do, have neither the resources nor the inclination to seek political change. It is those groups which have benefitted from reform who have become more confident and more assertive, and have also gained the tools which make it easier for them to seek political rights. It is no accident that trade union members, the beneficiaries of reform, have been far more politically assertive than resettled rural communities — or that some of the most militant and organised factories are often those whose workers have won the highest wages in negotiations.

On the other side of the fence, reform also creates pressures for wider change. Each time the government has introduced a partial change, it has faced pressure — from within its own ranks and from influential lobbies — for a wider one.

Thus changes allowing blacks to do skilled work paved the way for a move to concede union rights. It was only after conceding the right of township dwellers to municipal rights that the government faced pressure from within for black political rights. Already, the pass change has prompted pressure for repeal of the Group Areas Act which may become increasingly untenable as officials try to implement "orderly urbanisation" with one hand tied behind their backs — and with only a limited amount of urban black land to do it in. Reform has tended to clear peripheral issues off the political agenda and to make the more fundamental political questions loom larger.

In short, by embarking on reform, the authorities are forced to question old certainties — something they never did in the Verwoerdian area when they were firmly in control. This creates a new intellectual climate within government ranks and, once the questioning begins, it too takes on a momentum of its own.

The result is not greater control but greater uncertainty, which is illustrated now by the confusion in government policy. Thus it is committed to separate group areas — but not in Hillbrow, Mayfair or Woodstock. It is committed to separate schools — unless they are private. It is totally opposed to negotiation with "militants", but the Department of Education and Training holds talks with the National Education Crisis Committee. There

are other examples — to quote a commentator a few years back, they suggest far more of a total shambles than a total strategy. Reform is a retreat, and retreats are rarely orderly.

In short, reform may well be an attempt to forestall black political aspirations. But it is also an attempt to do this in new ways, ways which represent a retreat by the authorities. And the past decade suggests that they are a good deal less skilled at using the subtle instruments of reform than the blunter ones of pure control. Inevitably, reform offers

opportunities to anti-apartheid groups and gives them more space to move. If they grasp them, the change weakens exclusive white power and increases pressure for a nonracial society.

Of course, all this might be irrelevant if a revolution were just around the corner. The tactical opportunities which reform created would then seem relatively trivial in comparison with the gains which black resistance seemed likely to make through confrontation.

But it isn't — as most effective anti-apartheid groups would concede. The next decade is far more likely to see a

war of attrition in which apartheid will be eroded not by some dramatic cataclysm but by a complex and protracted battle between the authorities and grassroots black organisation. The outcome will be determined partly by the ability of anti-apartheid groups to build grassroots organisation — and they may be able to do so only if they use the opportunities which reform creates, not as a substitute for muscle, but as a crucial adjunct to it.

If they do, the revolution will still not be around the corner — but the evolution might just be.

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"RED KEN" LIVINGSTONE, a Harare resident remarked, is certainly a great improvement on his namesake David.

Sporting a button urging people not to buy any of "Adolf Murdoch's Wapping papers", often clutching a blue Lenin cap, dressed in a lopsided tweed jacket, Ken did not visit Zimbabwe last week to proclaim the hegemony of Queen and country.

He had been invited as a special guest to an "Africa in Struggle" week, whose opening was sounded last Monday by the SA Defence Force when it blew up the ANC office about 500 metres from the conference venue. And he emerged its star.

Forthright, he said he supported the ANC's armed struggle and he is confident (as prospective Labour Party candidate for Brent East) that he and other radical socialists, together with Labour leader Neil Kinnock, will ensure the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against the South African government after a Labour victory in the next general election.

Margaret Thatcher, on the other hand, is an "open and convinced racist, and does not want to see anything done to destabilise the regime in South Africa which she herself would be perfectly at home in".

If Labour emerges as the largest

Livingstone II rediscovers the ruins of Africa

Despite living half a planet away, 'Red Ken' Livingstone, former leader of the Greater London Council, has managed to become a favourite South African media bogeyman. He was in Harare this week for a conference, where he convinced HOWARD BARRELL that he was actually perfectly sane

party in a hung parliament after the next election, he believes it will form a minority government for about six months and then call another election.

Livingstone, in the view of many in the splintered British Left, has been responsible for the British Left's greatest victory since World War II: through his and his Labour Party's work in the Greater London Council, the radical Left showed it was a champion of increased participation and democracy.

And that, in Livingstone's view, is an important reason why "Attila the Hen", alias Thatcher, had to "decorporate" the GLC earlier this year. It was proving too effective: an advertisement for Labour and the radical Left.

Irreverent and cutting, though peculiarly modest at the same time, Livingstone was a welcome relief for many Zimbabweans from both the associations of his name and the aggressive and turgid normality of the local latter-day saints of Marxism and Leninism.

The Trotskyite Militant Tendency in Britain, he noted, who incidentally are no friends of his, are the "only people ever to make revolution appear boring".

Hospital technician, teacher, London councillor for 13 years, Livingstone has managed to turn political deviance into an extraordinarily potent political



Red Ken as Fleet Street sees him ... pouring on the vitriol

weapon.

How?

"Overall, I think British politicians are so boring that, after the initial shock and trauma of somebody like me becoming leader of something like the GLC (at the time I was living in a bedsit), people found me a bit more interesting than the norm.

"At the end of the day, there is nothing particularly revolutionary in what we did at the GLC. They were just simple reforms.

"Given that my background is a working class one and that I'm an academic failure — I didn't even get to university, I've got about four O levels and come from a place like Lambeth with an accent like Mihn — I don't fit the pattern."

So he was dubbed "Red Ken" by the press, the friend of the blacks, gays, perves, American draft dodgers during the Vietnam war and everything else that never had a place under Queen Victoria's skirts.

His every utterance had to be sensationalised and reduced to its ultimate absurdity.

"I think the collective effect of Fleet

Street is to reduce the knowledge and understanding of people in Britain. The bias is unbelievable."

The vitriol he attracted from Fleet Street was, he believes, an tribute to his effectiveness and did not worry him. What did worry him, though, was criticism from the Left, mainly orthodox Trotskyite groups.

"The success of the GLC was said to people outside the (Labour Party) — black people, women, environmentalists, lesbians, gays what can we do for you? And dial arose, and we learned from it process.

"I think the process of change accelerates if you are participating rather than vanguardist. It's not having a vanguard if people are prepared to go in that direction."

His method was to form an alliance of radical socialists, from all the different sectarian bunkers: from within the Labour Party, from "Euros" of the British Communist Party, and from various other splinters.

Central themes in Livingstone's administration were a sense of community and caring in the sprawling metropolis. Social services and amenities were stepped dramatically to the limits of budget. London was declared an anti-racism city, and Livingstone's caucus moved to make it a nuclear-free zone.

He does not regard "third form socialist" as an unfair definition of himself, situated between the top of the liberal social democracies of western Europe and the social countries of eastern Europe.

"I believe that democratic elections are a really dynamic force for change."

"The GLC was seen to be a defeat for democracy — that's why it was powerful. There is a suspicion in the West among many people that socialists have a contempt for democracy."

He describes himself, though, as radical democratic socialist — "with equal emphasis on each of those three words".

World health: More drugs needn't mean less disease

By DANIEL NELSON, Geneva

ALL pretence that health was the main issue at the recent World Health Assembly in Geneva was stripped away on the final morning, when US delegate Neil Boyer stated that the World Health Organisation "must not attempt to regulate commercial activities even when it concerns health".

He was referring to moves to regulate the aggressive marketing in the runaway \$100-billion-a-year pharmaceutical industry.

Control is necessary because in the words of Problem Drugs, published by the Dutch-based pressure group Health Action International (HAI):

"... at least 70 percent of drugs on the market are inessential and/or undesirable products which tend to impair rather than improve health."

Concern at what HAI describes as the "intolerable chaos of the present system" has led to the formulation of a WHO "rational drugs policy".

It calls for products that meet real medical need, have significant therapeutic value, are acceptably safe, offer value for money and are of good quality. That may sound uncontroversial, but the pharmaceutical companies fear the move, because so much of their profits come from drugs which are anything but rational: "Three-quarters of the analgesics (pain-killers) on the market should not be recommended for use," says Problem Drugs, "because they are dangerous, ineffective, irrational or needlessly expensive."

A number of countries wanting to support a conference resolution seeking to turn the rational drugs rhetoric into action were deterred by a simple threat: the US let it be known that a strong line against the drug companies could result in serious consequences — such as non-

cooperation or retaliation by Washington or perhaps even US withdrawal from the organisation which it contributes 25 percent of budget.

Delegates' nervousness was increased by distribution of an attack on WHO by the far-right Washington-based pressure group, The Heritage Foundation, which called for opposition to attempts to regulate advertising by private companies.

The activists are accused of being political, in the sense of being against the drug companies, but as Anne Allain of the International Organisation of Consumers Unions told the conference: "Our aim is not to oppose business but to promote better health."

A few days in this hot-hot atmosphere generates a sense of detachment from the real world. Beneath the nit-picking semantics of whether a resolution should be heard "tobacco or health" or "tobacco health", and the endless litany speeches beginning "I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, Mr Chairman ...", the conference and others like it ultimately affect the lives of millions of people.

After years of wrangling, for example, a code to regulate the marketing of breast-milk substitutes in existence: it is not legally binding but it undoubtedly reinforces a climate of opinion against companies which ruthlessly promote infant-feeding products.

It is true, however, that if the public could see how the biennial World Health Assembly went about business, it would be both surprised and shocked. — Gemini News Service

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Tukkies tries again to ban right-wing group

Pretoria Correspondent

Moderate University of Pretoria students have launched a massive pamphlet campaign on campus to warn fellow students against the ultra-conservative Afrikaner Studentefront (ASF).

The campaign, organised by a determined group of students, has urged Tukkies to attend a mass meeting tomorrow at 1 pm in the Aula auditorium on campus, where students will vote for the second time on banning the ASF from campus.

COUNCIL MUST RESIGN

At a meeting on May 2 — attended by 1 200 students — a huge majority approved a motion banning the ASF as a registered student organisation.

However, the decision was later rejected by two thirds of the student council. If the council's decision is still in conflict with the decision of the mass meeting tomorrow, the entire council will have to resign, according to constitutional rules.

Superceding w.d. no's: 261,

AREA A: Bellville, the Cape

AREA B: Kuils River.

AREA C: Alberton, Benoni,

Johannesburg, Kempton Pa

Pinetown, Pretoria, Randb

Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging

Municipal Area: Port Elizab

AREA D: Paarl. Municipal

and Umhlanga.

AREA E: Bloemfontein

Pietermaritzburg.

AREA F: Klerksdorp. Municipi

Footnotes

1. Length of the week - Monday t

Committee to meet on deadlocked legislation

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Last-minute at-
tempts to resolve a security leg-
islation deadlock threatening to
develop between President P W
Botha and the House of Repre-
sentatives were being made
today.

The Parliamentary Standing
Committee on Law and Order
was due to meet informally
today to see if negotiations on
the proposed Public Safety
Amendment Bill and the Inter-
nal Security Amendment Bill
could be resumed after the La-
bour Party strongly resisted as-
pects of these measures last
week.

One of the Bills provides for
states of emergency being de-
clared in local "areas of unrest"
and the other gives wide deten-
tion without trial powers, for up
to 180 days, to the police.

Coloured and Indian party
leaders in Parliament Mr Allan
Hendrickse (Labour Party), Mr
Amichand Rajbansi (National
People's Party) and Dr J N
Reddy (Solidarity) met Mr
Botha and Minister of Law and
Order Mr Louis le Grange yes-
terday afternoon.

The President appears ada-
mant that the legislation must
go through during the present
session, due to end in three
weeks.

EMERGENCY

There is talk in National
Party circles that the Govern-
ment may have to fall back on
existing state of emergency leg-
islation if this does not happen.

If one or more Houses oppose
the legislation the President can
send the Bill to be dealt with by
the President's Council. If
passed there, it is deemed to
have been passed by Parlia-
ment.

The Labour Party is especial-
ly strongly opposed to detend-
tion without trial. Mr Hen-
drickse has been in such deten-
tion.

The party has insisted on
strong guarantees of rights for
detainees such as access to legal
representatives and visits by
family.

Kimberley and

asolburg, Uitenhage

Durban, Germiston,
Nigel, Oberholzer,
odepoort, Springs,
underboom.

Town, and Wynberg.

THE SIEGE ECONOMY

A resounding 'no'



Exactly what is a "siege economy"? And what would its advantages — if any — and disadvantages be?

There have been some straws in the wind, warnings that it is precisely towards a siege economy that SA is drifting. For example, the Business Charter of Social, Economic and Political Rights — issued by the Federated Chamber of Industries in January — referred to the matter. It noted, with apparent concern, that "in many circles this option is not only attractive but appears to be gaining ground." The chamber rejected the option as "unacceptable," describing it as "the negative reaction of retreating into growing economic and political isolation and a drift into a repressive siege society, necessitating greater government intervention and direct control over foreign exchange."

Stanley Uys asked three prominent South Africans for their views.

Len Abrahamse, chairman of Syfrets:

The siege economy is the economic equivalent of the laager mentality. The idea that SA can opt for a siege economy is absurd. A siege economy can become reality only if we conduct our affairs in such a way that we are

Three leading South Africans explain why a retreat into the economic laager would be bad and dangerous, whatever the interventionists think.

indeed isolated from the rest of the world. SA essentially has an open economy and our welfare and future depend on being able to trade with, and have net investment from, the rest of the world.

Our population is growing by just over 2,5% a year. If we take inflation into account, we have to grow at about 3,5% a year merely to stand still in terms of gross national income per capita. To uplift we have to grow at a much greater rate, and we cannot achieve that by pursuing the policies of a siege economy. The siege economy idea comes from people who have done their homework and perceive some immediate short-term gains, but the operative phrase is short-term. In practice, there would have to be increasing control over the rate of exchange, interest rates, the level of savings, and so on.

The consequential increased government intervention would make us less and less a free enterprise economy. We would become introverted and ingrown, and incapable of generating enough net savings, either from the corporate sector and/or the individual sector, to provide the capital we need to sustain growth.

A minority political view exists — to hell with the rest of the world — what does it matter if we don't win the approbation of Bonn, Whitehall, Washington, Paris or wherever? Let us retreat politically into the laager. A siege economy is the same philosophy; it's a philosophy of despair.

Sampie Terblanche, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University:

The siege economists want the government to take a stand against being influenced by foreign pressure on the economic level. They say "if there is disinvestment and boycotts, the government should reply: all right, if necessary, we will go it alone."

I'm worried by this. Some economists and top businessmen are advising government that, if necessary, the economy can go it alone. I don't regard this as good advice.

We are vulnerable on our foreign account. If we take imports and exports as a percentage of GNP and count them together it is 60%. That is high. In the US it is less than 10% — only among some smaller members of the European Economic Community is it 60%.

Since 1976, we have been experiencing

disinvestment. From 1965-1975, 10% of our total investment was foreign investment and our growth rate was high. But in the 10 years since 1975, we have actually had an outflow of equity capital. A lot of short-term funds flowed in to cancel out that outflow, but there was disinvestment in real terms and the growth rate was rather low.

In a sense, since 1975, we have become more independent of foreign investment, but



Terblanche ... the price is lower growth

we have bought this relative independence at the price of a lower growth rate. If there is large-scale disinvestment and boycotts, undoubtedly it will damage both the economy and job opportunities.

In 1980 we had a labour force of 10m, but only 7,5m could find jobs in the modern sector — 2,5m could find jobs only in the peripheral sector, mainly in subsistence agriculture. By the year 2000, the labour force will be 18m, and with a growth rate of 3% — and I'm not certain we will attain that — there will be only about 11m jobs in the modern sector. So 7m will have to find jobs in the peripheral sector — at least 3,5m of them in the so-called informal or shanty-town sector in and around urban areas.

The poverty problem is so great that, even if we have a reasonable redistribution of income and opportunities, we will not be able to do much about it. All we can do is create opportunities for blacks to improve the quality of their poverty. Given this sombre pic-



Abrahamse ... 'We would become introverted and ingrown'

ture, if we become a siege economy conditions will deteriorate tremendously. Blacks will bear the brunt of the deterioration. This will cause more unrest and then we will have to take note of the possibility of a revolution. As John Vorster said, this will be too ghastly to contemplate.

3d5/8

'Open up facilities in PFP areas'

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The chairman of Johannesburg's management committee has been challenged to open all council facilities in 23 of the city's 47 wards where voters put Progressive Federal Party councillors into office.

This challenge by PFP councillor Mrs Claire Quail comes in response to Mr Francois Oberholzer's offer this week to lend a sympathetic ear to councillors who had consulted residents and found they were prepared to open facilities.

Mrs Quail said PFP members were given that mandate four years ago when they were voted into office and accused Mr Oberholzer of using delaying tactics by asking them to canvass opinion again.

In the 1982 elections the PFP polled a total of 38 895 votes to the NP's 21 854, the IRA's 8 979, the Herstigte Nasionale Party's 3 911, the Ratepayers' and Independents' 5 076 and the NRP's 3 400.

OPPOSITION

Despite the PFP having received 47 percent of the votes, it was relegated to the opposition benches while the NP/IRA held the reins.

Mrs Quail said Mr Oberholzer had taken the cowardly way out by offering to open facilities in one suburb only.

She appealed to all businessmen, from the big mining houses to corner shops, to put pressure on their councillors to bring about change.

Govt avoids clash with right-wing

THE Government has avoided a major confrontation with the rightwing by having the committee controlling the Voortrekker Monument reconsider its decision to ban them from having a rally there on Saturday, Republic Day.

The political climb-down came after talks between the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange and some rightwing politicians.

The Government was keen to avoid further use of the police against rightwingers.

After the initial refusal of the amphitheatres the rightwingers expressed their determination to go ahead with a "volksaamtrek" at Monument Hill.

The Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, defended the ban in the Assembly last week, but it soon became clear that it had been a tactical error.

The planned rally received publicity through this and the rightwing organisers now claim that they will have far more people than were originally expected.

Mr le Grange had discussions with rightwing politicians in order to defuse the situation.

SOWETAN Correspondent

He advised them to apply again to the monument committee and the committee was advised to grant this application on condition that an undertaking was given that it would not be a political occasion.

Those involved in the rally are the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Afrikaner Volkswag and three smaller groups.

According to the chairman of the Monument Committee, Mr Willem Cruywagen, Administrator of Transvaal, the terrain is still being refused to the AWB, but permission was granted for the rally after an undertaking by Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Volkswag, that it would not be connected with party politics.

Sowetan 30/5/86

304A

1. Length of the week -

Footnotes

AREA F: Klerksdorp.

Pietermaritzburg.

AREA E: Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley and

and Umhlanga.

AREA D: Paarl, Municipal Areas: Despatch, Sasolburg, Uitenhage

Municipal Area: Port Elizabeth.

AREA C: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Durban, Germiston, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Pinetown, Pretoria, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria and Wonderboom.

AREA B: Kullis River.

AREA A: Bellville, the Cape, Goodwood, Simon's Town, and Wynberg.

Superseding w.d. no's: 261, 263, 361 & 363

422 - PRIVATE HOTEL AND BOARDING-HOUSE TRADE, CERTAIN AREAS.

Right-wing bid to halt meeting fails

From KEN VERNON

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A National Party meeting in Uitenhage went ahead in spite of a determined right-wing effort to break it up.

The main speaker, Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel, described it as a success because "this is the first meeting we've been able to take to a conclusion since Pietersburg".

The meeting in the Uitenhage Town Hall last night went off without physical violence but there was a large police presence.

Hecklers

Uniformed police lined the walls and corridors inside the hall, while plainclothes police mingled with the audience. A strong contingent were in reserve outside.

There were so many policemen that the 1 000-strong audience seemed to be made up evenly of National Party supporters, right-wingers and police.

Before the meeting started,

the divisional commissioner of police in the Eastern Cape, Brigadier E Schnetler, pointed out at least 30 men and three women hecklers who were taken from the hall into vans.

In an interview outside Mr Johan Nortier, who said he was an executive member of the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in Port Elizabeth, said the arrests were "the end of free speech in the Eastern Province".

He intended reporting to his leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, about the indignity suffered by white women "just because they wanted to speak out against the political smurfies running this country".

Right-wing heckling began when Mr Nel started to speak and little of what he said could be heard. He was interrupted constantly and had to abandon his prepared speech.

After a non-eventful question time the right wing filed out of the hall in protest as a motion of confidence in President P W Botha was proposed. In their absence the motion was carried.

304A SPAR 3/15/86

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

'No one understands SA'

The world was incapable of understanding South Africa's problems and did not really care what happened here as long as they continued to get their supply of strategic materials, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Addressing a Southern Cross and Centenary Luncheon in Johannesburg yesterday Mr Botha warned that international sanctions and other punitive measures would increase. "The news will get even

worse before it gets better.

"There is absolutely no understanding in the outside world of our problems. And unless the West changes its views — which are based on slanted and inaccurate information — we can expect the punitive measures and the sanctions to increase," he told about 640 guests.

In a scathing attack on South Africa's Western allies Mr Botha said:

"The so-called free world

does not care in the slightest if this country is taken over by Marxist tyrants. Just as long as they can still buy their gold, minerals and strategic materials from whoever is in charge here, they really don't care about anything else.

"Western Governments do not really care either. They do not care who runs this country so long as they do not find themselves involved in its problems."

But he added that the South

African Government would not buckle under the pressure — no matter how intense it became.

"I refuse to be a party to handing this country over to the forces of Marxism. South Africans will decide their own future."

"This country will not be liberated by matchboxes and necklaces — its future will be negotiated," he said.

He added that the Government was not prepared to hand

over power to Marxists who would destroy all freedoms.

"He who is prepared to take power by force will rule by force and then only force can be used to remove him."

"We are confronted by forces who do not want to share power. We are confronted by forces whose intention it is to seize power."

"But we must not fall into despair. No matter what the outside world does it cannot re-

move our ability to reason.

"They cannot boycott or take away our power of reason or to solve our problems."

According to Mr Botha the time had come for South Africans of all races to reach out to each other and to commit themselves to freedom.

"The time of apartheid is past but the time of freedom is not."

"We are prepared to negotiate with anyone who renounces violence. We cannot possibly make our position on this any more clear," Mr Botha said.

CMC 7/12/88 31/5/88 304A

Eglin backs coalition bid

DURBAN. — PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin is prepared to discuss suggestions for a coalition political party of national reconciliation with New Republic Party leader, Mr Bill Sutton.

Mr Eglin announced this after a report in which Mr Sutton showed "an encouraging shift away from traditional NRP thinking".

Mr Eglin, speaking at a public meeting in Durban, said the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba provided "a valuable testing ground of attitudes as well as an excellent opportunity for exploring ground in a practical way.

"I have no doubt that if during the process of the indaba the NRP abandons its outdated concept of race as a basis for our constitutional structures and social relationships, it will improve the prospect of being associated with the PFP and others in a new political force providing direction and leadership from the centre of the wider South African political spectrum."

Mr Eglin said he was committed to strengthening the power and influence of all South Africans who shared a vision of a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

But he emphasised there was no point in bringing people together unless they accepted there was no place for apartheid "and by this I mean laws, procedures and structures based on race in the future South Africa". — Sapa

Buthlezi Warning on National Council

By Mike Cadman

The proposed National Council will not get off the ground unless political prisoners are released, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi was addressing a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after returning from Rome where he attended the 17th congress of the ruling National Democratic Party and met several political figures, including the Italian Foreign Minister.

President Botha announced this month the Government's intention to form a National Council in which South Africans of all races will participate "in the planning and preparation of a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South Africans in the process of government".

PRISONERS

"I don't see how it can get off the ground while certain black leaders are incarcerated," Chief Buthelezi said. "I have said before that I consider the release of Dr Mandela and other prisoners a prerequisite to the success of the council."

"The announcement of the formation of the council may be what the world has wanted to hear from Mr Botha but there are still a lot of problems to deal with."

Chief Buthelezi said he was concerned about the right-wing backlash.

"President Botha can neutralise the threat by acting quickly to prevent the threat from gaining momentum," he said.

"Eugene TerreBlanche is the wild man of our politics. Like Albert Hertzog, who spent years in the political wilderness, it may well be that he gets support later."

Chief Buthelezi said that anybody who did not believe that the future of black and white people in this country was intertwined "needs his head read".

'New plans start of black rule'

Weekend Argus Reporter

UNIVERSITY of Cape Town academic Professor Hendrik "H W" van der Merwe says the Government's new constitutional proposals are the beginning of real power-sharing and inevitable black majority rule.

Speaking soon after his return from a visit to Holland and England, Professor van der Merwe said it would be "morally impossible" to include Africans in the Government and reduce their participation to such a small proportion that whites still retained more than 50 percent when it came to a general vote.

"My impression is that the Government has come to this intellectual insight. We'll just have to wait and see how long it takes," he said.



Professor van der Merwe has been trying since 1984 to get the South African Government and the African National Congress to sit down to talks, and has argued that the ANC and South African Communist Party should be legalised.

"H.W. van der Merwe: "I was invited to speak in Holland by the Nederlands-South African Association, a fairly conservative organisation, whose offices have been sabotaged by militant groups there."

"I hope I made some impression on conservative people there. They were clearly surprised that someone regarded as an establishment person could have the views I do on the ANC."

Professor van der Merwe identified three groupings in the National Party, two of which, it seemed, would disagree with talks.

"They are the pragmatists, the racists and the anti-communists."

"The pragmatic group, under which heading I would list both P W Botha and Pik Botha, is willing to make concessions, to sacrifice some sacred cows."

"The 'racists' believe Africans are inferior and the 'anti-communists' won't talk to the ANC because they regard them as a front for the communists."

SA right-wingers the true 'freedom fighters'

W/C Argus 31/5/86 30/4A
PRETORIA. — Conservative Afrikaners were the true freedom fighters because they were doing battle for the honour, self-respect and sovereignty of their nation, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, told a right-wing rally today.

About 10 000 right-wing Afrikaners gathered at the Voortrekker Monument to hear their leaders vow that the Afrikaner nation would not cease the struggle for its survival — and its own sovereignty in an exclusive white fatherland.

The defiant message which rang out beneath their Vierkleur flags (symbol of the old Transvaal Republic) was that conservative Afrikaners had already begun their "march to freedom".

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who received several standing ovations, told the gathering that the Afrikaner was "committed to keeping what is ours".

"This is our promised land and we cannot give it away. Nor do we have the right to. We are the reality of Africa, we live here and we will rule our fatherland alone."



He said Afrikaners had to fight the onslaught against them at every level. "We are different organisations but the fire of our nation still burns in us and there is no dark or uncertain path for the Afrikaner."

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, warned that the Afrikaner had had enough of "consensus talks which lead to nothing".

He said the Afrikaner nation had come to a crossroads in its history. "We have a choice between self-determination in our own state or black domination in an integrated country."

"We will fight for white authority and to establish our own white fatherland. We want not domination but freedom, not integration but self-determination."

However, he said that conservative Afrikaners would not challenge "the lawful authorities", but would maintain "an orderly state".

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said the Afrikaner needed to ensure his survival.

"Here today we have the hardcore of Afrikaners who refuse to give in."

"We will fight as our forefathers did. The march of the Afrikaner people has begun."

Professor Carel Boshoff, who heads the Afrikaner Volkswag, said that the Voortrekker Monument showed that the Afrikaner nation prized freedom above everything else.

Eugene Terre'Blanche and the Führerprinzip ...

W/K Argus
31/5/86
304A

By ANDREW BEATTIE, Weekend Argus
Correspondent, JOHANNESBURG

EUGENE Terre'Blanche and his Stormvalke are cutting through their indignant opposition like a red hot poker through butter...

During the past month, the rampant Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has successfully disrupted public meetings held by five cabinet ministers in the Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Afrikaners, disillusioned with the Government's reforms, and magnetised by the charismatic Terre'Blanche, are reportedly signing up with the movement in droves. The AWB has claimed that if a general election were held tomorrow conservatives in the right-wing camp would defeat the National Party — a view shared by academics researching the field.

Inevitably, the ultra-right leader's apocalyptic speeches and the symbolism, salutations and insignia adopted by his para-military followers, have evoked comparisons with the brand of fascism that was exterminated in Europe over 40 years ago.

Most historians have said Hitlerian fascism could never happen again.

One such historian was Dr Otto Ernst Schuddekopf, an intelligence officer under the Third Reich who later joined the anti-fascist resistance.

He wrote: "The appearance of a charismatic leader as the saviour of the despairing masses is an essential feature of these fascist movements that achieved any political significance." The Führerprinzip, or authoritarian single-handed leadership by the most able person, was central to this ideology.

THE "driving forces" of fascism, wrote Schuddekopf, were nationalism, militarism, extreme racialism and the use of terrorism as a principle in internal and foreign affairs. The concept of "war" was a "true element" of fascism, and it was used chiefly or ostensibly against the perceived threat of communism.

It was prone to arise as an instrument of oppression where other less harsh forms of oppression had failed and where "liberalism" could be blamed for a degenerating political situation.

"Fascism," he said, "was a desire to go back in time — to escape from the drab present to a far-off world of antiquity." Utilising deep-set feelings of nationalism, the fascists mythologised their history to manufacture a new idealism in the laboratory of peoples. The use of symbols, like the swastika, and occult-like rituals, was uncannily important in achieving this end.

The use, or rather abuse, of Christianity in furthering ideological goals was something Hitler did not ignore. Before he openly declared himself an atheist, Hitler proclaimed the benefits of "positive Christianity". In this, wrote Schuddekopf, Hitler meant the church should be subordinate to the Nazi state: "Jesus could not have been a Jew but was elevated into an Aryan demigod" in the religion of Nazism.

Terre'Blanche has rejected any comparison of himself with Hitler. Rather than professing atheism, he invokes The Day of the Vow as the day the Afrikaner nation made a covenant with God. He hailed his movement's disruption of Minister Pik Botha's meeting in Pietersburg as a sign that the vow made between the Afrikaner nation and God after the Battle of Blood River still stood.

LAST year when Dominee Nico Smith called for the abolition of Day of the

Vow celebrations and said that the Boer victory against the Zulus on December 16, 1838 was no divine miracle, he was labelled "treasonous" by the AWB.

In 1979 a similar call by Afrikaner academic Professor Floors van Jaarsveld resulted in him being tarred and feathered by AWB members.

In 1981 Terre'Blanche, speaking at the Day of the Vow celebrations, said the Government's tricameral reforms would lead to the "anti-Christ praying with whites".

Terre'Blanche, a former policeman, received a suspended sentence for for illegal possession of firearms, in 1983. He has denied that he would take up arms to overthrow the Nat Government, but his attitude to the threat posed by black aspirations has been less carefully couched. His threats of another Blood River, made after the successful hijacking of the Nat meeting in Pietersburg, amounted to a glorification of racial war.

But while the philosophies of the Great Trek may have a historical consistency and significance for the Afrikaner, Hitlerian salutes and blackshirted bodyguards sporting three-armed swastikas do not. Unless one stretches history somewhat...

Besides the blatantly Nazi overtones of Terre'Blanche's tirades and the overtly militant symbolism evident in the Pietersburg putsch, there is a prevalent apathy in white South African society that makes it a fertile breeding ground for fascism.

But don't worry about Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, he's no fascist. Despite all the talk about Blood River, the uitlanders and international Jewry, the koelies and the kaffirs, he doesn't hate anyone. So he says. He's just doing it out of love for his own volk.



By BRUCE CAMERON, Weekend
Argus Political Staff

THE political fight to become heir to President P W Botha is warming up. And not only is it accentuating divisions within the National Party but also placing a question mark over the pace of reform.

It is widely accepted in Nationalist circles that President Botha will step down by the next general election, due in 1989.

As a result, the in-fighting between Cabinet contenders and their supporters appears to already be at a high pitch.

Claims are being made about decisions being taken to put some contenders at a disadvantage while improving the chances of others.

The position is being exploited to the hilt by the Conservative Party which is putting out a deluge of rumour to sow further dissension in Nationalist ranks.

The whispering campaigns within the National Party cover everything from personal attacks through to the divide over the pace of reform. The manoeuvring appears to be affecting such diverse issues as the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group and appointments on Afrikaans newspapers.

The rumours and speculation even go on in Government circles as various Cabinet Ministers line up against each other. Hints of the back-biting are "leaked" by political supporters as well as by officials who would obviously have a stake in one of their bosses getting the top job.

THE front runners in the Presidential stakes at this stage are Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis, and Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk. The Minister of (black) Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is regarded as an outsider.

The three main contenders are each marking out distinct areas within the Nationalist ideological spectrum.

Mr Pik Botha's is that of rapid reform and the virtual total scrapping of apartheid; Mr Heunis, as the present main architect of reform, is moving into the middle ground; and Mr de Klerk is on the right, giving the appearance of not want-

FRONT runners in the Presidential stakes at this stage are Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis, and Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk. The Minister of (black) Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is regarded as an outsider.

ing to be sullied by the reform programme.

There are genuine differences on important issues such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the continued accent being placed on ethnicity, and the forays of the Defence Force into neighbouring countries.

Also, some Ministers and their supporters are starting to question how others are doing their jobs. One instance was the unprecedented public condemnation of the police by the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, after the Nationalist-conservative battle of Pietersburg.

Before this, senior Government officials admitted privately that the Conservatives had a strong following within the police force. And more covertly they criticised Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange for not exercising stronger control over the police.

The position has further led to private warnings to the effect that unless reform is properly controlled, there could be a real threat of a coup engineered by some politicians with the assistance of elements of the police as well as the army.

PRESIDENT Botha's style of government has added to the turmoil, with supporters of the contenders often claiming that their candidates don't necessarily have a say in decisions.

For example, some of Mr Pik Botha's supporters have attempted to distance him from the recent triple-hit at ANC bases in neighbouring countries, claiming he had no direct say in the decision.

In this instance there appears to be some support for the claim as President

Scrambling for
PW's boots

W/L ARG 45
31/5/86 304A

Who's next?

Botha twice emphasised he took personal responsibility.

Questions are also raised about why the announcement of positive reform moves is so often closely followed by announcements that cause international concern.

One glaring instance was the introduction of the controversial Public Safety Bill establishing "unrest areas" on the day that influx control was scrapped.

And then there is the manoeuvring of a more party-political nature.

For instance, accusing fingers were pointed at Mr de Klerk, as Transvaal Nationalist leader, for "setting up" Mr Pik Botha and the verligte Mr Piet du Plessis in the Pietersburg fiasco.

He denies his absence was deliberate. He himself is due to speak at a meeting in Brits, where another Nationalist meeting was broken up by the AWB their CP allies.

Unsubstantiated claims have been made about "certain right-wing Cabinet members" being behind the forced resignation of Mr Harald Pakendorf as editor of the *Vaderland*. Mr Pakendorf and Mr Pik Botha were closely associated.

Mr Botha has become increasingly isolated within the Cabinet since his comments about a future black President. Claims are made about pressures on Mr P W Botha from within his Cabinet to reprimand his Foreign Minister.

MR Pik Botha also appears to have had his wings clipped over the EPG, with some of his colleagues drawing in the reins on the group's mediating role.

There are even stories put about that he could be given a low profile position in the Cabinet or possibly even be dumped.

But the Foreign Minister does maintain a solid base within the Nationalist caucus.

It is hinted that if either Mr Botha or Mr de Klerk wins a Presidential election, it could cause a sundering of the ruling party and a realignment of white political forces.

The difficult part of what is going on at the moment is determining what is truth and what is propaganda. But without doubt there are deep underlying tensions in the National Party from the Cabinet to grass roots, caused mainly by the reform programme.

South Africa 'may have only two years' grace'

1/11/84 3/13/86

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — The South African Government may have only two years before Britain and the United States give way to governments unwilling even to give claims of reform the benefit of the doubt.

This is the message given by Leicester University professor of politics Jack Spence during a seminar on South Africa at Regent's College here this week.

But he said that then, as now, external pressures might still not be as important to Pretoria as internal constraints.

Professor Spence's address on trends and prospects in South Africa investigated the nature of the new black opposition to the Government, the programme for reform, and the effect of outside pressure.

Domestic

"My feeling is that President Botha hasn't helped his friends abroad," Professor Spence said.

"This suggests to me that domestic constraints are greater than was previously thought."

"The governments of President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher have placed great faith on internal reform, but are now finding themselves trapped between introducing some kind of sanctions, or just sitting back."

"The middle ground they were occupying is shrinking fast."

"Real danger"

Professor Spence predicted that, in the face of South African intransigence, even Mrs Thatcher would be inexorably pushed towards "creeping sanctions" with more substance and less symbolism than before, so as not to isolate herself from Europe and the Commonwealth.

He said one of his greatest concerns about internal developments, aside from the right wing, is Mr Botha's steadily dwindling options for discussions.

"I feel very strongly that if the Government isn't careful, it will end up having nobody to negotiate with. That seems to me to be a very real danger."

also Page 4.

USE SALE DED-IN QUIPMENT

DOS

450

ON ALL MACHINES

TO BE REPEATED

30 000 expected at Montiment

Rightwingers plan to have 30 000 people at the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria for a Republic Day rally today.

They say initial clumsy handling of their attempts to meet there, and the Government's forced climbdown, have ensured that they will now draw a huge crowd.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, defused the situation in talks with Conservative and HNP MPs, after which a new application was granted on condition that it would not be a political gathering.

Time

Unrest Bills: horse-trading starts

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The ruling parties in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament have been put under enormous Government pressure to agree to sweeping new measures for the suppression of black unrest.

There were indications yesterday that the leaders of the Labour Party and the National Peoples' Party had bowed to Government demands after a week of wrangling.

In a flurry of behind-the-scenes meet-

ings — including one with President Botha himself — the Government has apparently struck a deal. In return for the support of the LP and the NPP, the Minister will agree to amend the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill to provide greater protection for detainees.

The Bills are to be dealt with in all three Houses early next week.

Many LP and NPP members still resist the draft Bills on the grounds that they cannot condone measures which provide for detention without trial.

Some members got the impression that

if the Bills are not passed the state of emergency might be re-imposed.

At the very least, they argue, the Government has the ability to force the Bills through Parliament by way of the President's Council. If that happens, they say, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates might not be in a position to soften the measures.

Amendments to the legislation proposed by the LP and the NPP include the deletion of the clause in the Public Safety Amendment Bill which would prevent the courts from reviewing regulations made under it.

S. A. GOVT
& POLITICS
1986 - JUNE

Pik defies world threats

NEW YORK — South Africa would defend itself against terrorism even if it meant international isolation and sanctions, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pik Botha, was yesterday quoted as saying.

"If we are forced to choose between international ostracism and punitive measures on the one hand, and our right to defend ourselves against terrorism, then we have no choice," he said in an interview with *Time* magazine.

Mr. Botha, interviewed in Cape Town, said: "We cannot be held ransom by the United States or the international community when it comes to the protection of our security."

Mr. Botha said his Government did not understand how Washington could attack terrorists in Libya and, at the same time, blame South Africa when it did the same in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. — Sapa-
Reuter.

AWB, CP reject 'malicious' reports

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Conservative Party (CP) have rejected as "malicious trouble making" Sunday newspaper reports that the AWB hijacked the rightwing Republic Day rally at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria on Saturday.

AWB and CP spokesmen said yesterday that attempts to drive a wedge between rightwing groups would fail, and predicted more joint programmes in the future.

The rally was the first time the four major rightwing groups had shared a joint platform. It was addressed by CP leader Andries Treurnicht, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, Herstigte Nasio-

PETER WALLINGTON

nale Party leader Jaap Marais and Afrikaner Volkswag chairman Carel Boshoff.

While Treurnicht and Marais were well received by the crowd, Terre'Blanche received rapturous applause when he went to the podium to speak.

And after Terre'Blanche had finished hundreds of people streamed out as Boshoff spoke.

An AWB spokesman said he was disappointed with the crowd at the rally, which failed to attract a predicted 100 000.

While media estimates of the attendance ranged from 15 000 to

20 000, a CP spokesman said 30 000 attended while an AWB spokesman put the figure as high as 50 000.

The spokesmen said had the initial application to use the amphitheatre not been refused the crowd would have been much bigger.

The original application to hold the meeting was turned down two weeks ago, and a reapplication was only granted last Wednesday. The CP spokesman said: "Two days was just not enough time to get people there."

He also blamed the final rugby test, the Comrades Marathon and the various other Republic Day festivals as factors which also kept the crowd down.

About 500 people attended an open day held on Saturday at the St Catherine's Church in Bramley, Johannesburg as part of the United Democratic Front's "call to whites" campaign.

Activities included a lunch-time play, staged by striking workers from Howick in Natal, handicrafts stalls, a singer/guitarist entertainer and two workshops.

During the day a two-hour panel discussion — addressed by veteran campaigner Mrs Helen Joseph, the past president of the Black Sash Mrs Sheena Duncan and Mr Jeremy Cronin, poet and training officer for the UDF in the Western Cape — drew about 400 people.

500 attend 'call to whites' open day

Catholic priest Father Albert Nolan, who chaired the discussion, said discussions showed a genuine concern for the future and also that whites felt they had to get involved.

"It was a very homely affair — people felt more at home about the concept of the UDF and extra-parliamentary activities."

Right cut up over fly-past by choppers

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

Two helicopters which flew over the right-wing rally at the Voortrekker monument on Saturday were en route to another Republic Day gathering in Verwoerdburg, SAAF spokesman Commandant Koos Smit said.

He denied the aircraft, displaying the South African and Defence Force flags above the sea of Vierkleurs, were sent to antagonise the crowd.

Aircraft from Swartkops air base usually turned above the monument, he said.

However, right-wingers took it as an attempt by the authorities to show their contempt for them.

There were jeers and catcalls as the helicopters flew slowly overhead and many members of the audience waved Vierkleurs and AWB banners defiantly.

● See Page 13.

EPG gets 'secret letter'

STAR

The Star Bureau

26/86 304M

(18)

LONDON — Just days before the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) is due to meet in London to decide what steps to recommend over South Africa, it has received a "secret letter" from Pretoria attempting to head off sanctions.

According to *The Observer* yesterday, the letter is a "last-minute attempt" to influence the EPG.

The Observer quotes the High Commission of one frontline African state as saying: "The letter makes the question of violence a central one. It amounts to saying: 'Unless violence ceases, there can be no movement. We cannot release Nelson Mandela unless you guarantee a cessation of violence'."

The Wits reflection in a black looking glass

THE black community perceives the University of the Witwatersrand as an isolated institution dominated by business interests, with its reputation for liberalism largely due to a few individuals.

Its academic standards are seen to be so high that black students schooled under Bantu education have little chance of admission.

Community groups lack access to its facilities or to the results of its research — which is, in any case, often irrelevant.

But the community does not want the university substantially changed. It wants communication and consultation improved, access widened, and students — black and white — offered compensatory education.

These are among the findings in a survey entitled "Perceptions of Wits: The role of the university in a changing South Africa" released this week by a group of Wits academics.

In separate surveys, the interdisciplinary group conducted interviews and distributed questionnaires to 43 black and non-racial community groups in South Africa; to political groups and activists overseas, including the African National Congress; and to staff and students at the university.

Some of the results:

- Community groups and black students want to see the university identify itself with the "broad democratic movement".

But almost no one — from conservatives on the staff to an ANC representative, interviewed in London — recommends that the university become aligned with a particular political movement.

Says the ANC representative: "It is not feasible to establish organisational links between universities and liberation movements or radical organisations ... This kind of involvement is not desirable for the university as an institution."

- Community groups, staff and students did not want to see a lowering of the university's high academic standards.

"There is general understanding for the fact that Wits is a meritocratic institution and is entitled to be

Blacks consider Wits university to be dominated by business interests, according to a survey released this week. BARBARA LUDMAN reports

selective in its admission," states the report. "Indeed, for some, entry standards are not only necessary but desirable."

It is admission policies the community groups object to.

There is "general dissatisfaction" with the matric qualification of the Department of Education and Training. The DET's lack of credibility has contributed to the community view that its matric is "worthless". Wits' perceived reliance on a point system for entrance based on matric is viewed as discriminatory.

Moreover, the community saw the need for more compensatory programmes to bring black students up to the academic level demanded. White students also needed special courses to help them to "overcome the disabling effects of racial segregation and uncritical education".

- Black non-academic staff reported a perception of racial discrimination at the university, as did the black community. Unanimously, participants in the community section of the survey supported the concept that the number of black staff — including academics — at the university should be increased. Those overseas tended to support an academic boycott, with a minority believing liberal forces within the university needed support in their role of defending academic freedom, and thus opposing the boycott.

- On service to the community, black groups surveyed agreed unanimously — and university respondents favoured, by a large majority — that Wits should establish a library resource centre for use by unions and community organisations on campus, resource and study centres off-campus, and offer more public lectures on contemporary issues.

Distance teaching was also recommended. Overseas participants suggested Wits look at the British Open University model for extending its services. The black community,

noted one local participant, has a "hunger for information".

- More than three-quarters of the community respondents asked for courses in black studies; even more felt courses should be "based on the needs of the community" and community development.

The "overly theoretical nature of the curriculum and the absence of a problem-solving thrust" came in for criticism, according to the report, with respondents suggesting issues be debated not in a vacuum but in terms of their practical relevance to real community problems.

Local groups participating in the survey included Azapo, the Anti-PC Committee, the TIC and the UDF; all major trade union groupings; a number of church organisations, including the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre and the Institute for Contextual Theology; a wide range of student organisations; several teachers' organisations; the Soweto and Tembisa civic organisations, sports organisations, professional groups and such service organisations as the Technical Advice Group, the National Medical and Dental Council and the Health Information Centre.

The survey was begun late last year because, according to a representative of the academics involved, "we thought the university was not responding decisively enough to the current crisis".

The academics — from the departments of sociology, history and psychology — make no recommendations in the survey, which they have presented both to participating groups and to the university administration. A representative said this week they would present the report to any interested university department or community group, and were hoping to extend their research to universities in Africa.

The survey, they note, includes no recommendations from the group which conducted it. It was designed as "the first step in a process of consultation and negotiation. The interest and value of this report is in showing how much can be gained from such a process."

June 86

Govt's 'hatchet job' booklet on ANC talks due today

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

The Government today launches its controversial booklet "Talking to the ANC" in which it spells out its stand on negotiating with the banned organisation.

The document, which quotes selectively from ANC publications and speeches, has already drawn criticism from liberal quarters, who have labelled it a "hatchet job".

The booklet is also being seen as a Government attempt to stop the pilgrimage to Lusaka of South African businessmen and left-wing politicians who want to talk to the ANC.

The new Bureau for Information has drawn up the document, which quotes from ANC and South African Communist Party publications such as *Sechaba*, and broadcasts from the ANC station Radio Freedom.

The 42-page booklet also contains diagrams showing the Government's interpretations of the ANC's structure.

A spokesman said the bureau wanted to show South Africans the real nature of the ANC.

"The negative things published by the ANC are highlighted," he said.

The booklet will be available from the bureau on request.

Afrikaans business faces up to reality

2/17/76
BUDAY
304A

AFRIKAANS businessmen are facing reality, says new Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) president Christie Kuun.

Gone were the days when the Afrikaans businessman could be labelled as "verkramp" by his English-speaking counterparts, Kuun said in an interview with *Business Day*.

In the past year, AHI members took definite stands on SA's socio-political and economical problems, urging government to open economic doors to all races.

Kuun said: "Afrikaans businessmen have come to terms with reality. They naturally look at their businesses as well, but they never separate them from the country's problems."

This year marks the development of the Third World market in the SA economy.

Kuun said: "I could never understand why businesses concentrated on the sophisticated market if they clearly saw where the future lay.

"SA's white population has stagnated. The future market lies within the black market and not the over-catered white market.

"The Afrikaans businessman, realising this, is not going to run away from reality. He will be out there doing the



● KUUN

BEULAH BROWN

necessary development."

Last year, the AHI had several meetings with State President P W Botha and the Cabinet, in which the body passed on Budget recommendations.

These included:

- ☐ Tax relief, seen especially in the light of the implementation of perks tax.
- ☐ A recommendation that the system by which sales tax was collected be changed to cut out tax avoidance, administrative problems and contradictions in the system.
- ☐ A uniform implementation of perks tax.
- ☐ Separate taxation for husband and wife.

Kuun said: "The AHI has made it clear it supports deregulation and privatisation. We are also directly involved in the urbanisation process."

On the question whether the AHI could separate politics from economics in SA, Kuun said: "Constitutionally the AHI will never voice itself, but on the floor, politics cannot be cut loose from the economy."

At the AHI's 42nd congress in Johannesburg earlier this month, it urged government to be more clear on its policy of privatisation.

Kuun said: "There is increased realisation that government involvement in the economy should be lessened. Despite this, government's role in the economy is still increasing."

Courts to get power returned?

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — The right of the courts to inquire into and decide on the validity of proclamations, notices and regulations in terms of proposed security legislation is likely to be restored in the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

However, proposed legislation to give the police power to detain without trial for up to 180 days has been somewhat tightened.

The previous version of the Internal Security Amendment Bill said 180-day detention was justified if it contributed to the termination, combating or prevention of public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence.

Now, under an amendment proposed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange, it also provides for such detention to prevent threats to the safety of any person or damage to property.

Mr Le Grange also proposed the amendment softening the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

GOVERNMENT ANXIOUS

The amendments were published in today's order papers of the various Houses and are likely to be accepted. They are believed to be part of a deal between the Government and the majority parties in the houses of Representatives and Delegates, both opposed to detention without trial.

The Government is anxious for the legislation to be passed as swiftly as possible.

Labour Party sources said today a further amendment to the Internal Security Amendment Bill accepted by the Minister has great significance.

The wording of the Bill is to be changed to read that no person shall be detained in terms of the relevant section for more than 180 days. Previously, it said no person "on any particular occasion" shall be so detained.

It is further understood that detention regulations will be amended to provide easier access to detainees by family, lawyers and priests.

● The Public Safety Amendment Bill empowers the Minister of Law and Order to declare "areas of unrest" in which he can apply emergency regulations giving the police extraordinary powers.

Pik's friend Pearce again denies Pietersburg rumours

Staff Reporters

Johannesburg's traffic chief, Mr John Pearce — whose men went to guard Mr P. Botha at the Pietersburg meeting, which was broken up by right-wingers this month — is a personal friend of the Cabinet Minister.

Mr Pearce attended the meeting in his official capacity. But, he said, his men volunteered to go when they were off-duty.

But at least one traffic officer, who contacted *The Star*, claimed they were ordered to attend the meeting and protect the Foreign Minister.

He said that some traffic officers were paged at home the night before and told they would be going to Pietersburg.

"I categorically deny that any such orders were issued," said Mr Pearce.

He doubted that the person who contacted

was a member of his department.

"How do you know it was not some joker who got a ticket last week?"

The man, who arranged a meeting with *The Star* on a street corner in central Johannesburg, identified himself as a traffic officer.

He said traffic officers were told on the evening before the meeting to go to work "in jeans and tackles" as they would be going to Pietersburg.

"A third of the officers were volunteers. The rest were ordered to go."

"The officers did not attend the meeting in a private capacity," he said.

Mr Pearce said that, when he heard that members of his department were going to Pietersburg, he called a meeting and "explained to them that they would have to take

leave and also spell out how I expected them to behave."

"Every single one of them had decided to go without any prompting from me or anyone else. They formed the group and organised their own transport," Mr Pearce added.

He said that 38 officers were involved and that it was nonsense that any member of the force had been contacted the night before and ordered to go.

PFP councillor Mr Les Dishy said he had no doubt that the trip to Pietersburg was pre-arranged.

"But I don't think it would be accurate to say that members of the force were ordered to go. My impression is that a number of traffic officers were asked to go and that it was difficult for them to say no," he said.

Mr Pearce said he had attended the Pietersburg meeting in his official capacity.

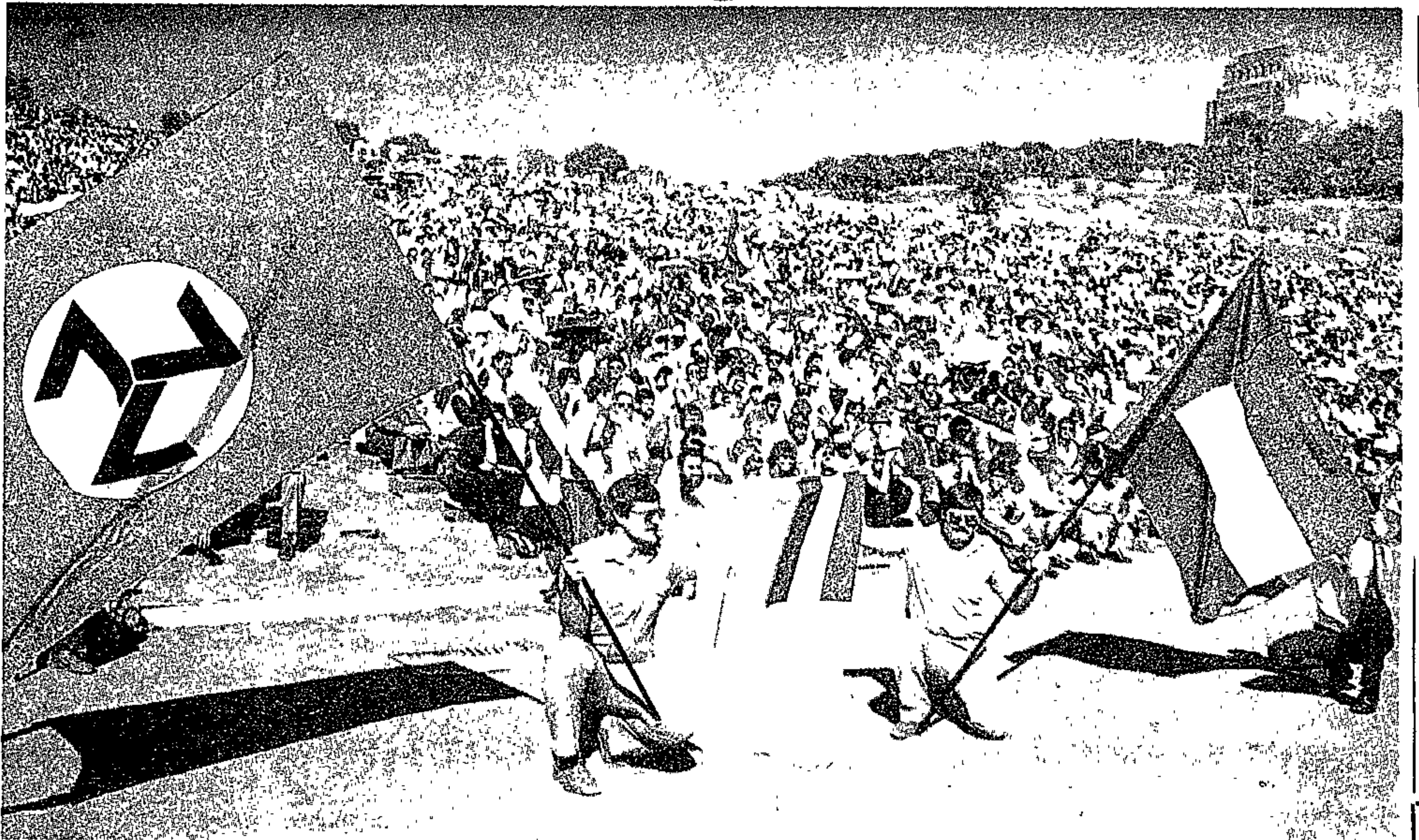
"There is a meeting in Johannesburg on Monday and it will involve the same two sides. I went along to see how the situation was handled so that we would know what to do on Monday."

"Even if I went as a private citizen I would still be entitled to use official transport. That is part of my conditions of employment as head of a department."

Mr Pearce said that he would be attending tonight's meeting at the Glenanda Primary School where Mr Botha is to speak in support of a National Party municipal election candidate.

"I do not know if the men who went to Pietersburg will be at Pik's meeting again tonight. It is their free time and they can do as they please," Mr Pearce said.

CME Times 2/6/88 304A



Right-wing supporters carry the flags of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), left, the flag of the old Free State Republic, centre, and the Vierkleur, the flag of the old Transvaal Republic, at a Republic Day rally at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria on Saturday. ● Report, page 9.

'More links for SA right wing'

CME Times 2/6/66 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and Conservative Party (CP) have rejected "malicious trouble-making" Sunday newspaper reports that the AWB hijacked the right wing Republic Day rally at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria on Saturday.

AWB and CP spokesmen said yesterday that attempts to drive a wedge between right-wing groups would fail, and predicted more joint programmes in the future.

The rally was the first time the four major right-wing groups had shared a joint platform. It was addressed by CP leader Mr Andries Treurnicht, AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais and Afrikaner Volkswag chairman Mr Carel Boshoff.

While Mr Treurnicht and Mr Marais were well received by the crowd, Mr Terre'Blanche received rapturous applause when he went to speak, surrounded by flags of the old Boer republics. After he finished, hundreds of people streamed out as Mr Boshoff spoke.

Disappointed with crowd

An AWB spokesman said he was disappointed with the crowd at the rally, which failed to attract a predicted 100 000. Media estimates of the attendance ranged from 6 000 to 20 000.

CP and AWB spokesmen said that if the initial application to use the amphitheatre not been refused, the crowd would have been much bigger.

The original application to hold the meeting was turned down two weeks ago, and a re-application was only granted last Wednesday.

The CP spokesman said: "Two days was just not enough time to get people there."

He also blamed the final rugby test, the Comrades Marathon and the various other Republic Day festivals as factors which also kept the crowd down. Nevertheless, he said, it was "the biggest rally held in South Africa since the Republic Day festival in 1961".

According to Sapa, Mr Terre'Blanche told the crowd they should form "a total shield for the total onslaught" from outside.

The spirit of the expectant crowd, which arrived with AWB and "Vierkleur" flags, was tempered, however, by a tedious programme of songs and cultural hype in the baking sun before the four main speakers spoke.

In his short speech, Mr Terre'Blanche said a nation could not negotiate for its interests at the United Nations — it had to work for them itself from generation to generation.

The Afrikaner nation and country was bound by the Vow, and, therefore, they could not be given away.

"We are not conservatives — we are freedom fighters," he said.

Given more to blacks

Mr Marais said apartheid had given blacks more than any policy had done.

"The nation is not prepared to lose its freedom — if we must fight for it, we shall," he said.

Meanwhile, at another Republic Day celebration, the Deputy Minister of Defence and of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said the government would continue to quell unrest as long as revolutionaries stirred it.

Speaking at Verwoerdburg, Mr Vlok said that as long as revolutionaries continued to stir up unrest in the country, the government would continue to quell it.

He said South Africans should support the actions of the security forces against radicalism, and added that both left-wing radicals and right-wing reactionaries were dangerous to the country's future.

SA as 'common fatherland'

Meanwhile, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, told a Republic Day meeting in Welkom that South Africans of all races had to be prepared to accept the Republic as a "common fatherland".

He said the government was building a new society in which the equality of all would be recognized.

"Then the entire population must be prepared to think of South Africa as a common fatherland.

"Everyone will have to accept unconditionally and give their personal loyalty, commitment and responsibility to this country."

Mr Clase said South Africans had to accept that set lifestyles and established securities were "crumbling fast".

Big turn-out of police at Botha meeting

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. More than 100 policemen, some quirts, watched over a National Party meeting in Glenanda addressed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night.

He was speaking in support of Mrs Linda Lewis, NP candidate in a municipal by-election to be held on July 10.

About 600 people attended. A small group left the hall soon after the meeting began but there were no incidents.

Johannesburg's traffic chief, Mr John Pearce, who attended Mr Botha's disrupted meeting in Pietersburg last month, was in the audience.

PERSONAL FRIEND

Mr Pearce, a personal friend of Mr Botha, had explained his presence at the Pietersburg meeting by saying that the "two sides" were to meet again in Johannesburg last night.

Several traffic officers were also on duty last night. There was

controversy last month when 38 of them — Mr Pearce said they were off-duty volunteers — travelled to the Pietersburg meeting in a coach.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its rightwing allies were noticeably absent from last night's meeting.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Johannesburg regional chairman of the Conservative Party, said today. "We deliberately allowed Pik to speak. We made our point at Pietersburg."



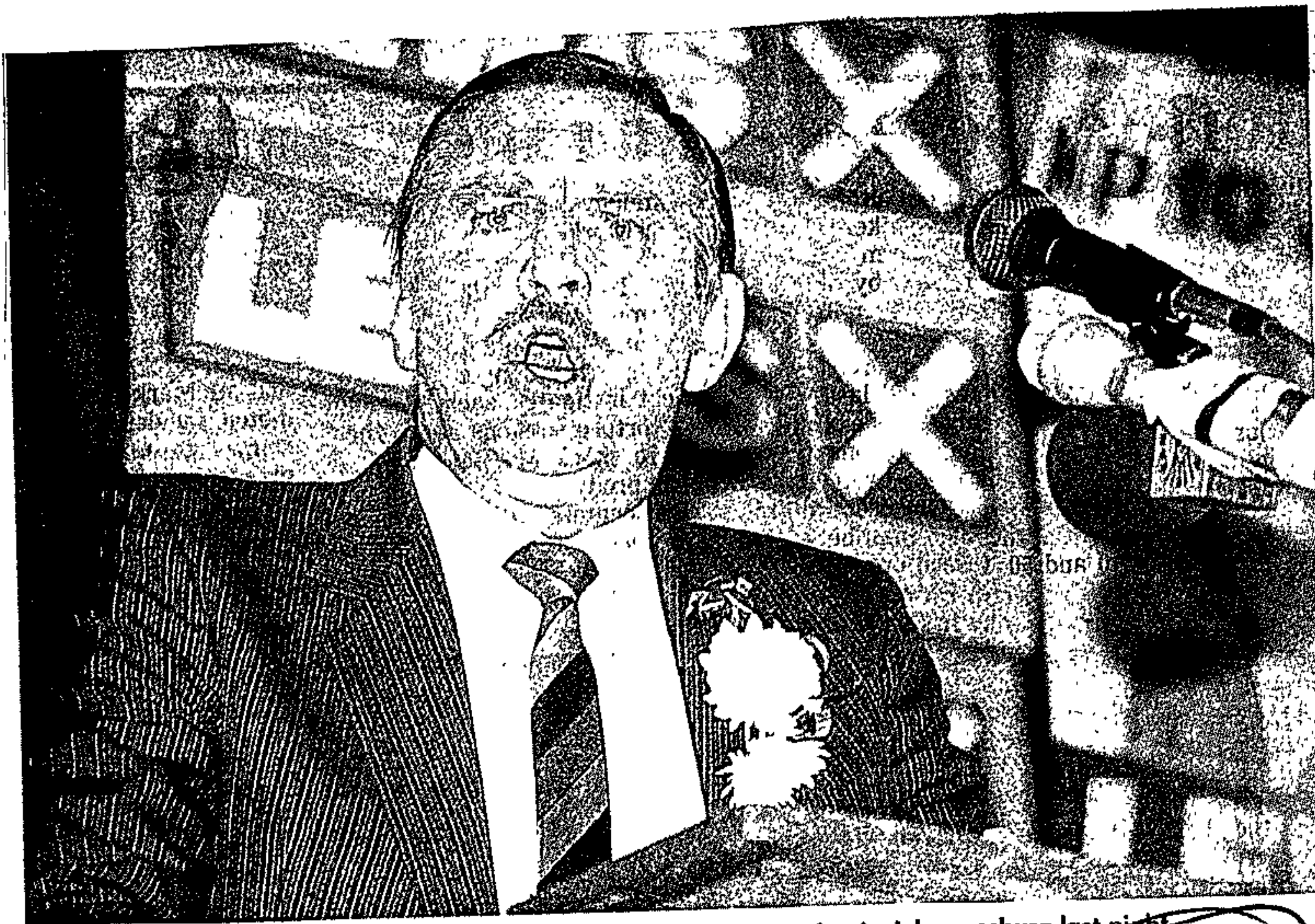
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Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha speaking at a meeting in Johannesburg last night.

Police out in force at Pik's meeting

More than 100 policeman, some armed with sjamboks, watched over the National Party meeting in Glenanda addressed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha last night.

He was speaking in support of Mrs Linda Lewis, NP candidate in a Johannesburg municipal by-election to be held on July 10.

About 600 people turned up. A small group left the hall near the start of the meeting, but there were no incidents.

Johannesburg traffic chief Mr John Pearce, who attended Mr Botha's disrupted meeting in Pietersburg last month, was in the audience.

Mr Pearce, who is a personal friend of Mr Botha, justified his presence at the Pietersberg meeting by

saying the "two sides" were to meet again in Johannesburg last night.

Several traffic officers were also on duty last night. There was controversy last month when 38 of them — whom Mr Pearce says were off-duty volunteers — went to Pietersburg to defend Mr Botha.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its right-wing allies were conspicuous by their absence at the meeting last night.

"We deliberately allowed Pik to speak," Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Johannesburg regional chairman of the Conservative Party, said today.

"We have made our point at Pietersburg. What is the use of going out of your way to knock a guy out after you have proved you can do it?"

Govt booklet on ANC 'essential'

Cape Times 3/6/86 (30412)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government yesterday released a booklet "Talking with the ANC" — which quotes ANC and SA Communist Party statements and publications and broadcasts from Radio Freedom.

The Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, said yesterday the booklet was published because the government had a duty to ensure that the debate — on whether to negotiate with the ANC — takes place on an informed basis.

Ironically, Mr Nel said the booklet, which contains material banned in South Africa, is "essential to a proper understanding of the ANC".

The booklet concludes that the ANC does not comply — at present — with government requirements that it will negotiate only with South Africans who renounce violence, and that negotiations must satisfy reasonable demands.

'Anything'

But Mr Nel said that it was important to note that the booklet said the ANC did not meet these requirements "at the moment".

"The official position of the ANC is that they are committed to further violence and so long as that remains then there can be no talks. But in politics anything can happen," he said.

Mr Nel did not see the booklet as a beginning of negotiations with the ANC. "We don't think we

can negotiate through the media," he said. He also said the booklet did not accord "any special importance to the ANC in governments eyes".

It presented strong arguments to the government's position on negotiations with the ANC, and indicated why the government did not approve of contacts between South Africans and the ANC, "no matter how well-intentioned".

The booklet dealt with the nature of the ANC, its history, ideological orientation, composition and policy.

It sets out selected policy statements on issues such as the use of violence, the economy, multi-party democracy, negotiations and the United Democratic Front. It also details the government's position.

According to the booklet only seven of the thirty members of the ANC's national executive committee were not listed as communists or active supporters of the SACP.

Mr Nel said South Africa would not negotiate with communists. When asked how hopeful the government was in its attempts to drive a wedge between nationalists and communists, he said: "Time will tell."

Asked whether painting the vast majority of NEC members as communists or communist supporters was not effectively ruling out talks with the ANC, Mr Nel replied: "We will have to wait and see."

He said government intended to act firmly

against the violence in SA and that this would show that a revolution would not succeed. "I would then hope that reasonable people must commit themselves to negotiation and compromise."

Mr Nel said ANC supporters who were not communists "must take note that there is a plan to dispense with them once the first phase of the revolution is achieved".

He said the booklet's was not intended to jeopardize the Eminent Persons Group initiative. He said the booklet was published because it was a topical issue and because the government wanted to ensure that the debate on the ANC "takes place on an informed basis".

"It is not the intention to ensure that no negotiations take place with elements within the ANC who are prepared to renounce violence and are prepared to compromise," Mr Nel said.

● ANC spokesman in Lusaka, Mr Tom Sebina, said yesterday the ANC rejected the government's attempts to drive a wedge between nationalists and communists.

He said the ANC was not prepared to categorize people into ideological slots. To do so would negate the democratic process, he said, just as a categorization along racial or tribal lines does.

Mr Sebina said the government was trying to instil fear into white readers by extracting selected passages from ANC publications, and was trying to discredit those who said the ANC had to be part of the negotiating process.

'Grievances'

He said the ANC had struggled for 50 years to negotiate but was met with reactionary violence, and ultimately was banned. It turned to violence when there was no formal method of making grievances known, and after many people had died, as at Sharpeville.

On the booklet's claims that the Freedom Charter calls for a dramatic redistribution of wealth and for the establishment of a socialist economy, Mr Sebina said many socialists were disgusted with the Freedom Charter which outlined a mixed economy.

Paying a high price for cross-border raids

By Neil Lurssen of The Star's
Washington Bureau

South Africa continues to suffer a serious negative fall-out from the military raids into Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia.

In terms of political impact and possible repercussions, they overshadow other recent events — such as reports of more military incursions into Angola and the horrific violence at Crossroads near Cape Town.

Some Washington analysts and congressional sources believe the raids will be pivotal in this year's debate over economic sanctions, probably tipping the scales in favour of further punitive measures against South Africa.

Addressing a special session of the United Nations last week on what the world could do about Africa's economic woes, the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, departed from a prepared text to repeat his strong criticism of South Africa for its apartheid policies and specifically for the raids.

Investment climate

The South African Government's policies, he said, destroyed confidence, and were antithetical to the investment climate the US was trying to set up — quite apart from being unacceptable in themselves.

The Secretary of State's repeated references to the raids in recent days is seen here as evidence of his anger and bewilderment as to why they should have been carried out at such a diplomatically delicate time for South Africa.

The analysts say that while recent television coverage of right-wing activity in the Northern Transvaal could have generated some American sympathy for the P W Botha Government, any points scored would have been lost in the dismay over the raids.

The raids were high on the agenda when the US Under Secretary of State for Political



Mr George Shultz

Affairs, Mr Richard Armacost, held a private meeting here with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, both in Washington on private visits.

Dr Boraine said afterwards that he had spoken to a number of Americans involved in US policy-making and in business and had found "enormous concern" about the raids.

"There is a deep sense of disillusionment and disappointment."

He said he had been told that

there was a good chance that the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — a new sanctions Bill introduced last month by Senator Edward Kennedy, Congressman Bill Gray, and 44 others — would be approved this year directly because of the raids.

"There appears to be a lack of comprehension on the part of people here as to why they should have taken place," he said.

Meanwhile, US Government sources say that their strong reaction to the raids was due in part to the fact that they are trying very hard to counter the disinvestment

movement building up in the United States — and that confidence in South Africa is an important aspect.

Strong public attacks on the SA Government are expected to be heard in Washington this week when the US Advisory Committee on South Africa — a commission set up on the orders of President Reagan to advise on policy — holds its first open hearings.

Interested parties have been invited to address the commission, and so many have accepted that the hearings will take a total of 14 hours.



Dr Alex Boraine

Time to start building black 'Pretoria'

By Ron Schurink

A recent editorial about South Africa in the authoritative British weekly *The Economist* had these sentences:

"The gradual reform that could calm white fears will satisfy black aspirations only if it points to a negotiated destination: full black enfranchisement, and clearly written signposts along the way."

"This goal means big changes, and soon: black civil servants in Pretoria; black officers in multiracial army units; more places for blacks at desegregated universities; above all, multiracial political parties."

This view is unexceptionable to anyone who sees majority rule in a unitary state as the logical outcome for us. But to anyone concerned about preservation of the essence and symbols of the Afrikaner story, it is anathema.

Who can guarantee that the eventual black rulers will not rename Pretoria? (I once asked Dr Nthato Motlana what the name would be and he said Mamelodi.)

Who can guarantee that they will not order the dynamiting of the Voortrekker Monument, which commemorates white victory over blacks?

It is this sort of fear that is widely overlooked in the West and here at home, while it gives strength to right-wing movements such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Our greatest danger lies precisely in that competition for power in Pretoria which many people, including



the writers of *The Economist*, unthinkingly recommend.

Much better if, instead of Pretoria being emphasised as the ultimate executive capital, it could be downgraded.

The fact that black and Afrikaner interests even today coincide in the economic sphere provides good reason for reviving a stratagem used at the time of Union. Then Pretoria had to concede the role of legislative capital to Cape Town and of judicial capital to Bloemfontein.

Today it should lose the role it shares with Cape Town of being the Government's centre of economic administration (Johannesburg, of course, being the private sector's).

The role will belong much more appropriately to an existing or new city which comes to exemplify in-

terracial co-operation and, especially, the rise of the blacks.

Such a step might seem unimaginable to most South Africans alive today, for whom national economic management has always emanated from a Minister in Parliament. But Europe tells us very clearly that there can be another style of macro-economic management.

There is absolutely no reason why South Africa should not have a Council of Economics Ministers, regularly in session in a fourth capital, overseeing the economy and infrastructure. A relative, simple Act of Parliament, and agreement by national state and neighbouring governments to participate, could transfer to that body control of all our infrastructural systems — SATS, the Post Office, Escom and the Reserve Bank

among them — and their budgets.

Sceptics may point to the absence of a wide tax base enabling growth of the infrastructure and subsidisation of necessarily uneconomic services. Europe's answer to that is the amounts member states contribute to the EEC according to their capacity.

More important than any technical detail is the fact that a new "economic" capital would symbolise the ambition of all of us to see Southern Africa as prosperous as possible.

It should be in the region which most needs economic upliftment — the Eastern Cape, Port Elizabeth or East London could be chosen — or even a completely fresh site somewhere in the narrow strip of South Africa remaining between Transkei and Ciskei (which could, in its turn, become a duty-free zone?).

The name? This is where white South Africans should be silent, allowing the black majority (which most certainly is going to provide most of all grades of manpower in the years and centuries ahead) to provide the right name.

There will be many minor capitals, from Thohoyandou in the north to Cape Town in the south, of political units of the economic community administered from the new capital.

If Pretoria becomes much less important (speaking only on behalf of a truncated Transvaal and Free State) ... well, Afrikaners must regard that as the minimum sacrifice needed for territorial identity and a peaceful role in further progress in this region.

SPARK 3/1/86

Shultz says pictures of AWB are a turn-off

By Neil Lurssen
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging is a "turn-off", says the United States Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz.

Mr Shultz's reference to the AWB came during a major policy speech when he was analysing the roots of violence in South Africa.

"We saw those pictures of a violent minority with their swastika-like insignia that turned us all off," he said, referring to recent TV newspaper coverage of the AWB.

But Mr Shultz had tough words for black extremists too — at one point describing the use of the burning tyre necklace as obscene.

CAUGHT

Most South Africans were caught in the middle between extremists as the violence escalated, the Secretary of State said.

He told a conference of church leaders in Washington that the South African situation was a continuing tragedy.

"The death toll from official and factional violence continues to mount. Political polarisation, fear and hatred within South Africa's communities, raise ominous prospects for all who care about humanitarian values."

Mr Shultz said Americans were appalled.

"Our hearts go out to those millions of South Africans, black, white and brown who are caught in the middle."

South Africans, he said, "want a democracy that knows no colour and gives equal protection to both the majority and the minorities."

Mr Shultz said there was change in South Africa and it was inaccurate to view apartheid as a static system.

PREMISE

US policy was based on the premise that South Africa was a society in transition. The limited changes pointed logically and inexorably toward more fundamental change.

This prospect was exciting violent minorities at both ends of the political spectrum.

"None of us can permit ultimate victory in the form of a democratic society for all South Africans to be wrenched from us by extremes of Left or Right," Mr Shultz said.

Mr Shultz indicated he had some sympathy for those who had to govern in South Africa. Referring to tough choices to be made, he said: "Fortunately for me, I am not in charge in South Africa."

Anti-communist tone of ANC booklet is aimed at Western democracies

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The South African Government's latest salvo in its propaganda war against the African National Congress appears intended for both local and international consumption.

While the 42-page booklet, *Talking with the ANC...*, sets out to discourage the now frequent trips to Lusaka by businessmen, students, churches and individual South Africans, its strong anti-communist tone is also aimed at the Western democracies.

UNDENIABLE

"The struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition to the socialist system..." the booklet quotes un-named ANC sources as saying.

Perceiving a strong anti-Moscow sentiment in Washington, London and Paris, the Bureau of Information booklet attempts to draw Western attention to what it calls the close and undeniable links between the ANC and Moscow.

Words and phrases well-known across the South African political spectrum, are spelled out for the benefit of overseas readers. This applies even to words such as "petrol" which the booklet explains to American readers is "gasoline".

The tone, structure and content of the booklet are designed to create the impression South Africa is not under attack by black nationalists who want to share power in the country, but by communists, fully backed by Moscow, who intend to take

complete power by force.

The booklet quotes banned ANC members and contains a photograph of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in contravention of the Prisons Act.

While obviously attempting to increase right wing support from conservative Western nations, the booklet's primary function seems to be the curtailment of the recent flow of South Africans, many influential, to Lusaka.

It warns time and again the ANC is not interested in negotiation and even if it were, its Communist Party "bosses" would not allow it.

"If Botha hopes to buy time by appealing to non-existent, non-communist African National Congress leaders, then Botha has missed the freedom boat," the booklet quotes the ANC's Radio Freedom as saying.

NEGOTIATIONS

That quote, by the booklet's own admission, does not seem to be an accurate reflection of the ANC's command structure.

The quote obviously intends to convey the image of an ANC with a purely communist command structure. But, in its proper context, it simply reiterates the ANC view that negotiations cannot be held with only "selected" members of the organisation.

The booklet lists the alleged Communist Party members of the ANC's high command and names 23 out of 30 as communists. The remaining seven, including President Oliver Tambo, are called "nationalists".

Chief's assembly to attend freedom rites

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — When the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, becomes the first black person in the country to receive the freedom of a white town at Pinetown tomorrow he will take his 140-strong legislative assembly with him.

Crowds of unofficial visitors are expected and there will be tight security at the civic centre before the chief's helicopter tour of Pinetown.

Assembly members will sit on the civic theatre stage to see the chief receive the gold

key as Pinetown's eighth freeman.

The civic hall seats only 350 people and admission is by invitation only.

However crowds from black areas around Pinetown are expected to attend and the meeting will be relayed by loudspeaker outside the building.

During the ceremony a mace carved in traditional Zulu style will be presented to the Pinetown Council. And Chief Buthelezi and previous freemen will also be given freedom of the new toll road — with the consent of the Department of Transport — to make their freedom of the area complete.

Call for June 16 stayaway

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions, the United Democratic Front and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) have jointly decided that June 16 be commemorated by a one-day nationwide stayaway.

In a statement released in Johannesburg yesterday the three organisations said the decision — a departure from an earlier call by the NECC for a three-day stayaway — was taken after "an elaborate and unprecedented process of consultation between these mass-based organisational formations".

"We call on all South Africans, black and white, to observe a one-day stayaway on June 16 as we regard this day as a public holiday," the statement said.

It added that doctors, nurses and journalists were exempted from the call.

5
Wednesday, June 4, 1986 5

Sabra asked to help unite the Right 304A

By Hannes de Wet

The South African Bureau for Racial Affairs (Sabra) will be eager to assist in finding ways to unite the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, says chairman Professor Carel Boshoff.

He was responding to a recommendation by Action White Natal that Sabra "should play a part in providing basic guidelines within which the CP and the HNP in Natal could unite".

Mr. Flip Schutte, secretary of Action White Natal, said he was confident that the right-wing parties could get together.

"We received ample indications of a desire for unification on the part of rightwingers at the Republic Day meeting at the Voortrekker Monument."

On the possibility of a countrywide unification of right-wing forces, Professor Boshoff said: "I think there is a general need for a single right-wing front. If the leaders of the different parties and groups could find one another, the rightwingers will be able to make a much more constructive contribution to the political debate in South Africa."

Book on ANC breaks the law 43 times

The Argus Correspondent, JOHANNESBURG

ARGUS 4/6/86 (30 K)



The cover of the Department of Information's booklet on the ANC

IF the Bureau of Information booklet on the African National Congress had been published by anyone else in South Africa it would have contravened security legislation at least 43 times.

The Bureau, headed by Mr Louis Nel, obtained permission to quote banned people, organisations and publications, as well as to publish a photograph of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in its booklet: Talking with the ANC.

The ANC will have no automatic right of reply if they feel the booklet, which purports to accurately reflect their views, does not do so. Mr Nel has made it clear that newspapers will have to apply for permission to publish any ANC response.

In the past, numerous requests by newspapers and other South African publications for permission to publish similar material have almost always been denied.

The Government has occasionally granted permission for banned ANC leaders to be quoted.

Cape Town newspaper editor Mr Tony Heard is presently facing charges under the Internal Security Act for quoting Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC. Mr Tambo is

quoted about a dozen times in the "information" booklet.

ANY other publisher of the booklet, which was released on Monday, would almost certainly have been prosecuted under at least the Prisons Act and the Internal Security Act.

Included in the "offences" committed by the publishers of the booklet are:

- One contravention of the Prisons Act — publishing a photograph of Nelson Mandela more than 30 days after his conviction. (Mandela was convicted in 1964).

- At least 18 contraventions of the Internal Security Act — quoting banned or listed persons.

- A further 12 (minimum) offences under the Internal Security Act — quoting from banned or listed publications.

In addition to this, there may also be thousands of people who fully agree with the views the booklet puts forward as those of the ANC. So no matter how "extreme" these may appear to conservative South Africans, they could still find wide support among many others.

And there is a law against furthering the aims of banned organisations.

(306A)

Cape Times, Friday

^{4/7/81} We need to talk, says President

PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has called on blacks to "come forward and join me in negotiations and peace", and said the government would "relentlessly pursue and punish those who sow terror".

Mr Botha said in a statement broadcast by the SABC's black radio and TV services this week: "We need to discuss solutions with all black leaders in a peaceful atmosphere."

He said he had imposed the state of emergency because "we all feel saddened by the fact that so many people are being murdered by radicals, and others have died in inhuman terrorist attacks by murderers who were trained in other countries to kill our country".

He added, however: "I have extended my hand in friendship to all those in our country, black, white and brown, who are committed to the peaceful solution of our problems."

"I have invited them all to join me around the negotiating table."

Mr Botha said he would "soon" establish a National Council — "The first step towards full power-sharing".

Some elements had planned to start a bloody revolution on June 16 which would have caused many South Africans to be killed.

"We stopped these plans," Mr Botha said.

"Greater peace and normality have returned to our lives. We cannot make progress whilst there is violence."

"No, you, the decent majority, will agree order must be maintained, the violence must stop."

Mr Botha's statement was released by the Bureau for Information in Pretoria. — Sapa

'Govt asks EPG for one more SA visit'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The South African Government has appealed to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group to make another visit to the Republic before deciding whether to recommend sanctions, according to Nicholas Ashford, Diplomatic Correspondent of *The Times*.

But in view of last month's raids on neighbouring countries, it is unlikely the seven-member group will agree to Pretoria's request when it meets here today, Mr Ashford writes.

He maintains publication this week of the booklet defending Pretoria's refusal to negotiate with the ANC is certain to confirm the view of the majority of the group that South Africa is simply not prepared to start a dialogue with representative black leaders, as the EPG demands.

The group's report is to be considered at a meeting of the seven Commonwealth leaders in London at the beginning of August, when British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is expected to come under pressure to impose economic sanctions unless there is a radical shift in South Africa's position.

Hulley: PFP can end unrest

Cape Times 4/6/86 3044

Political Reporter
and Sapa

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— Unrest in South Africa was fundamentally a civil rights struggle and the PFP believed it could end the violence "within a matter of weeks if not days" with "forceful political action", Mr Roger Hulley (PFP Constantia) said yesterday.

He was speaking in the second-reading debate on the Public Safety Amendment Bill, which would provide for the declaration for three months or more of "unrest areas".

Although there were some instigators, the unrest was not communist-inspired.

Mr Hulley said there were many similarities between the current unrest and the struggle of the Afrikaners for freedom from Britain last century.

'In principle'

"The PFP is prepared in principle to grant the blacks their full civil rights on an equal basis and to negotiate their implementation in a constitution.

"The police do not need extra powers ... what they need is a better political climate and that is just what the government is not doing."

The PFP would back the government in any positive legislation moving away from apartheid, as well as in "tough action — with due process

of the law" against the instigators of violence, but it would not support this bill because it was not the right approach.

The state of emergency last year had resulted in normal restraints on the security forces being lifted and a clampdown on the media.

The government had abused the emergency powers and Mr Hulley said he believed the "heavy-handed" tactics employed by the police had "contributed greatly towards the unhappy deterioration in race relations".

Citing examples of this, among them the "trojan Horse" shootings in Athlone, Cape Town, last October, he said resistance had only been stiffened.

"We don't need bigger and bigger sticks against schoolchildren ... we need discussion."

● The contentious security measures to be debated in the House of Representatives this week have created a division in the Labour Party.

It is believed the majority of LP MPs were in favour of their own amended versions of the Public Security Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill.

Left-wingers within the LP are opposed to approving the bills but have been outnumbered by right-wingers.

A caucus decision today is expected to provide the final word.

3041

~~20~~

Parliament and Politics

CP launches SADF 'defiance campaign'

CP's first 4/6/76

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.—The Conservative Party is to launch a large-scale campaign of defiance among its supporters in the Defence Force by asking them not to drink toasts to the State President.

This emerged in a cross-fire of questions in Parliament yesterday as Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's defence spokesman, said amid loud interjections: "We will not drink to the State President."

It could lead to a serious confrontation in the SADF as the State President is also Commander-in-Chief of the SADF.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in reply to a question read on his behalf by his

deputy, Mr Adriaan Vlok, that it would be intolerable for any soldier to refuse the toast.

There would be only one honourable course for any officer, who owed his commission to the State President, and that would be to resign.

Mr Van der Merwe first asked Mr P W Botha to lay down guidelines in terms of which toasts would be drunk to the State and not the State President and whether action would be taken against anyone who refused the toast.

Mr Botha said a good citizen would drink the toast as was customary in other civilized countries.

"In this instance the toast is not drunk to the person, but to the office. It serves as a mark of respect to the State," said Mr Botha.

No action was planned against people who refused "because people should be educated rather than forced".

Mr Van der Merwe wanted to know from General Malan, who is recovering from a heart operation, if the SADF had recently issued instructions concerning the toast.

Mr Vlok said on his behalf that as a result of press reports and inquiries the Chief of the Defence Force had advised the top management on July 12 last year that there would be no change in the practice of toasting the President.

Mr Van der Merwe asked if this would also apply when the country had a black president, but Mr Vlok said this was a hypothetical question.

20 DAY
4/1/95

300A

CP against SADF toast to President

THE Conservative Party is to launch a campaign of defiance among its supporters in the Defence Force by asking them not to drink toasts to the State President.

This emerged in Parliament yesterday as Koos van der Merwe, the CP's defence spokesman, said amid loud interjections: "We will not drink to the State President."

It could lead to a serious confrontation in the SADF if enough members join the campaign as the State President is also Commander-in-Chief.

In a written reply, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said that it would be intolerable for any soldier to refuse the toast.

There would be only one honourable course for any officer, who owed his commission to the State President, and that would be to resign.

Van der Merwe first asked P W Botha to lay down guidelines in terms of which toasts would be drunk to the State and not the State President.

"In this instance the toast is not drunk to the person, but to the office. It serves as a mark of respect to the State," said Botha.

No action was planned against people who refused "because people should be educated rather than forced."

THE Nkomati Accord may be back on track, as Foreign Minister Pik Botha says, but it is not going anywhere. In the meantime the chances of it being permanently derailed, are not decreasing.

President Samora Machel's bitter attack on South Africa in Tokyo last week, reflects the increasing strains that are being placed on the Accord. It has probably also added to them.

It was the second time the Mozambique leader had lashed out at Pretoria since his supposedly amicable and productive meetings with the South African State President and Foreign Minister during the Swaziland coronation in April.

He called the South African Government "the monster of the century" and accused it of aiding the MNR rebels "jointly with certain Western circles."

Rebels

It was one of the strongest and most explicit accusations the Maputo Government has made since the capture last year of the Gorongosa documents, which allegedly proved South Africa's secret support of the rebels in contravention of Nkomati.

For a while after the Gorongosa episode it seemed that Maputo had accepted Pretoria's assurances that it was no longer aiding the MNR. This impression was strengthened by the reports of friendly exchanges between President Machel and the South African State President and Foreign Minister in Swaziland. It was after this that Mr Botha (the Foreign Minister) said the Accord was back on track.

But then the Mozambican leader lashed out

THE Nkomati Accord was signed amid a lot of fanfare two years ago. However, Mozambique has gone on record several times accusing co-signator South Africa of violating the treaty. Pretoria on the other hand has given public re-assurances that the Accord is "on track". The Sowetan Foreign News Service looks at the issues involved.

with a fresh accusation during the visit to Maputo earlier this month of the new Tanzanian President and he has followed it with his Tokyo blast.

Pretoria is adamant in its insistence that it is no longer aiding the rebels, but has made no public protest against Maputo's loud and repeated accusations that it is. In some informed quarters it is believed that South Africa is being tolerant because it has privately been told by Maputo that it actually does accept the South African assurances.

This would mean that Maputo is speaking with two voices — a soft one in private for Pretoria and a harsh one in public for the rest of the world and for the Mozambican citizens who need some explanation for their government's inability to crush the rebels.

If true, this would raise the question of whether Pretoria's tolerance will hold out indefinitely.

No matter how angry it gets, however, Pretoria will have to remember that one of its main reasons for signing the Nkomati Accord, was to deny Mozambique to the African National Congress as a base for insurgency in the Republic.

As long as Frelimo keeps Mozambique clear of the ANC the South African Govern-

ment may feel it worth paying the price of continued vituperation from Maputo.

The Frelimo Government signed the Accord largely because it believed it would end South African aid to the rebels and that without this aid, they could either be defeated or contained. It has surprised almost everybody that the rebels have remained as effective as ever with weapons and supplies captured from the government forces and received secretly from their other foreign backers.

ANC

Frelimo might well now take the view that if the MNR can operate effectively without South African aid, there is no point in maintaining the Nkomati Accord, the signing of which damaged its prestige in the rest of Africa and the Third World. It might as well, allow the ANC to resume operations from Mozambique and get back into good international standing.

But if it did so, South Africa would probably again launch anti-ANC raids across the border. More important, South Africa would have an incentive to resume and even increase its support to the MNR in an effort to topple Frelimo and install a government it could rely on, to keep the ANC out.

The Frelimo Govern-

There would be little point in Pretoria trying to impose an MNR government on Mozambique, for Frelimo would simply take the MNR's place as the guerrillas in the bush.

ment believes South Africa would like to see it replaced by an MNR regime that could be influenced from Pretoria, failing which it will continue to destabilise the Frelimo one. South African analysts, however, think Pretoria's attitude is basically that it doesn't care what government is in charge in Mozambique, as long as it bars the ANC. It would in addition, like that government to be politically friendly and economically co-operative, but that is not a prerequisite.

The South Africans argue that there can be no military solution in Mozambique, only a political one. They say they have been trying to bring the two sides together for talks aimed at such a settlement.

Nkomati: Discord among the allies?

Two security measures are at the centre of a major controversy — the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill. Coloured and Indian parties have effectively disrupted the Parliamentary works because of their indecision over whether to support the measures.

Spanner in the works

NRG 5/6/86
3060

By David Braun, Political Staff

THE coloured and Indian parties have effectively thrown a spanner into the Parliamentary works because of their indecision over whether to support two security draft laws giving the police wider emergency powers.

In so doing they have frustrated Government attempts to steer the twin measures through Parliament this week, in good time to become law before June 16 (Soweto Day, commemorating the 1976 riots).

The reason for their indecision is that the coloured and Indian parties in the system have reached a political crossroads.

They came into the tricameral Parliament in 1984 because, they said, they wanted to dismantle apartheid from within.

The Bills in question may not have anything directly to do with segregation or discrimination against people on the basis of their colour.

But as they are regarded by the Government as essential for it to quell the mounting unrest, so their opponents are resisting them as instruments to prop up apartheid.

Coloured and Indian MPs are painfully aware of the connotations of their support for the laws. That is why many of them resist them even though privately they may concur that they are necessary to suppress violence (which is frequently aimed at themselves for being so-called sell outs).

Others, who have had personal experience of detention without trial, are totally against any measures which abrogate civil liberties. They will not vote for them in any circumstances.

The problem for the Labour Party and the National Peoples' Party, majority parties respectively in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, is that they are also part of the Government.

As such they have been able to wrest numerous concessions on a variety of Bills in behind-closed-doors negotiations when all parties get together to hammer out mutually acceptable legislation by consensus.

A SOLID group of MPs in both parties believes that if they fail to support the security laws, the President's Council will be used to push them through Parliament anyway.

In such an event the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates might not be in a position to soften the measures, they say.

The security measures at the centre of the controversy are the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill.

The first seeks to grant the Minister of Law and Order the power to declare "areas

of unrest" for periods of up to three months, renewable on the authority of the State President.

In such declared areas the Minister would have the authority to frame regulations which in his opinion were necessary to prevent or curb unrest.

They would give the security forces emergency powers similar to those which could be granted in terms of a state of emergency.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has already said that the media would be restricted in unrest areas. The security forces would also be granted an indemnity against legal action in carrying out their duties in such areas.

The Internal Security Amendment Bill provides for the police to detain up to 180 days without trial people whose removal from society would, in their opinion, contribute to preventing or quelling unrest or violence.

From the day they were published the Bills ran into trouble.

VARIOUS organisations outside Parliament have condemned them while from the outset several Labour Party politicians said privately that they could never vote for them.

An intense debate within the Labour Party and the NPP ensued and no clear decision could be taken by the time it came necessary to consider them in the Joint Standing Committee on Law and Order.

In an effort to buy time, both parties walked out of the committee in the belief that without them the committee would not be able to function.

This was a decision which turned out to be ill-advised because the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, ruled that in fact the necessary quorum remained in the committee for it to do its work.

The result was that the National Party-dominated committee passed the Bills and these were tabled for second reading in all three Houses.

A flurry of meetings between the coloured and Indian leaders and senior members of the Government, including Mr le Grange and President Botha, followed.

At one stage some Labour MPs were under the impression that the Government would re-impose a state of emergency if the Bills were not passed.

By last Friday, after much wheeling and dealing, the Government was under the impression that if it accepted certain amendments to the Bills the coloured people and Indians would support them.

On Monday this week the House of Assembly started to debate the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

Mr le Grange tabled the amendments he was prepared

to accept, the most important of which was the scrapping of the section which expressly denied the courts the right to consider or make any findings on any proclamation, notice or regulation made in terms of the legislation.

The Minister also gave the assurance in his speech that detainees would be given certain protection, including access to their legal advisers, family, medical practitioners and ministers of religion.

THE Progressive Federal Party fought the Bill tooth and nail, moving that it be read "this day six months", one of the strongest forms of censure available to Parliamentarians because it means "never".

The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party complained that the Government had softened the Bill.

After more than two days' debate the Assembly voted and the Government carried the Bill.

Throughout the week, while the Assembly was debating the Bill, the coloured and Indian parties had second thoughts about the deal with the Government.

After a series of caucus meetings the NPP, Labour Party and Democratic Workers' Party (minuscule opposition in the House of Representatives) issued a statement yesterday that they would refer the Bills back to the Joint Standing Committee for further consideration.

In terms of the rules of Parliament if two Houses make such a request a Bill must be referred back.

The Government was clearly angry that the deal had been reneged on and that, in effect, the Assembly had spent more than two days debating the Bill to no avail.

The Labour Party now has a list of 15 further amendments to the Internal Security Amendment Bill and 11 to the Public Safety Amendment Bill (most of which are fairly minor).

IF the Bills are cleared by the Committee they will be read for the second time in each House where they will be debated and voted upon (including, again, in the Assembly).

If the Committee cannot produce a mutually acceptable Bill by consensus the legislation will be deadlocked.

In that event the Government may then either decide to drop them altogether (as some LP and PFP MPs are hoping it will do), or else refer them to the President's Council.

If that happens, a whole new range of political ramifications will open for the Government and the other parties to think about.

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Government by secrecy feared

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

FEARS of the possibility of government by secrecy after the disbanding of the Provincial Council were expressed by the NRP MPC for Pietermaritzburg South, Mr Brian Edwards, yesterday.

'I don't think government by secrecy or behind closed doors was intended but it is something that is creeping upon us day by day,' Mr Edwards said.

'Good government is not government by officialdom or dictatorship but for the people by the people and I hope we can soon get back to that.'

Referring to the handing over of the control of the Natal Education Department to Parliament on April 1, Mr Edwards said serious shortcomings in the maintenance of school buildings and furnishings had become evident.

'Unfortunately the accountability for all this now seems to have been lost to the people of Natal. We have heard about the appointment of Provincial education councils and regional committees but the silence is quite deafening as to exactly what is happening.'

'It seems the transfer of education to White Administration, Education, on April 1, April Fool's Day,

was done with some indecent haste.'

Mr Edwards said the gap was widening between the people and the Government.

'What is going to be next? I believe it will accelerate and gradually we will get more and more government by secrecy.'

Mr Edwards said he had it on good authority that after only two months there were officials high up in the new education set-up who were 'most disillusioned with what is happening' and were giving second thoughts to the future of their careers.

Woman seriously injured as car and truck

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

A WOMAN was seriously injured in an accident involving a truck and a car near the Cedara/Hilton interchange on the N3 freeway near here yesterday.

The woman, who has not yet been identified, was admitted to Grey's Hospital, where her condition was described as 'satisfactory'.

A spokesman for the Natal Provincial Administration's Traffic Inspectorate said the car, occupied by the woman and a male driver, allegedly

After defeat on controversial security Bills ...

Government imposes ban on all meetings

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange last night banned all gatherings to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

The ban, which will last until June 30, came hard on the heels of a major defeat for the government when its effort to push controversial security legislation through Parliament before June 16 was thwarted by coloured and Indian legislators.

The ban was published in an Extraordinary Government Gazette in Pretoria yesterday.

The Public Safety and Internal Security Amendment Bills were subjected to a major delaying tactic in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates after passing through a marathon three-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

day Second-Reading debate in the House of Assembly.

Intense behind-the-scenes lobbying forged the majority and opposition parties in both chambers — the Labour Party, National People's Party and the Democratic Workers' Party — into an alliance to stop the Bills.

The Bills were referred back to the Standing Committee in order to prevent the Second Reading this week.

Parliamentarians see the move as the first major challenge to the effectiveness of tricameral consensus politics in the new constitution.

Sapa reports that a statement signed by both Council chairmen and the Representatives opposition leader — Allan

Hendrickse, Amichand Rajbansi and Dennis de la Cruz, said: "It has been decided that the Bills on the Internal Security Amendment and Public Safety Amendment be referred back to the Standing Committee in order to deliberate and decide on amendments as tabled as well as further amendments considered by the caucuses of both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives."

When the Bills were first discussed by the Standing Committee members of the Labour Party sitting on the committee walked out. This meant the Bill was introduced in the House of Assembly without prior concurrence.

In terms of the Joint Rules and Orders

● To Page 2 ➡

Government ban on all meetings

of the three Houses an amendment may be moved for the Bill to be referred or recommended to the appropriate standing committee.

If such an amendment is agreed to by two of the Houses and the Second Reading of the House is agreed to by the other House it shall be deemed that all three Houses have agreed to the amendment.

Observers believe the Bills could then not automatically be sent to the President's Council for arbitration as was originally thought to be the natural path for the government to take should it not get the Bills passed by the three Houses.

● From Page 1

Lull in war between Nats and AWB

By Hannes de Wet

The karate teams of the National Party and the storm falcons of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging appear to have called a truce.

The Potchefstroom Town Clerk initially wanted a R50 000 deposit before allowing the AWB to use the town hall last night — but his fears of a repeat of the Pietersburg debacle proved to be unfounded.

More than 2 000 people who attended the meeting did nothing more than cheer the right-wing rhetoric of AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Earlier this week an NP meeting in Johannesburg,

addressed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, went off just as peacefully.

The AWB, however, is still full of fighting talk. In response to reports that a group of Potchefstroom University students had plans to make their presence felt at the Potchefstroom meeting, Mr TerreBlanche said last night:

"Had they gone through with their plans, they would have left this hall in Checkers shopping bags."

Mr TerreBlanche announced that he was to request a formal interview with the State President, Mr P W Botha "to tell him to leave the Boerevolk alone".

Le Grange bans meetings

Security stalling angers Govt

3/6/86 STAR 304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Coloured and Indian MPs are throwing awry Government plans to force through tough new security measures as the Soweto Day anniversary on June 16 comes closer.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange is believed to be angry at coloured and Indian stalling tactics after the Government went some way to meet their objections.

Meanwhile, he has banned until the end of June all meetings commemorating the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots and the signing of the Freedom Charter on June 25 1954.

The Progressive Federal Party has urged the Government to drop the security laws amendments.

Opposition to the Bills outside Parliament is also growing.

'Closer to martial law'

At a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday, an organisation calling itself the Ad-Hoc Committee Against New Repression Bills said that the draft laws would entrench the concentration of dictatorial powers in the hands of the police, and in particular the SADF, bringing the country a step closer to martial law.

A statement put out by the group was endorsed by 23 other organisations, including the UDF, Black Sash and End Conscription Campaign.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP spokesman on Law and Order, called for the amendments to be dropped after the House of Delegates last night referred the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill back to the Joint Standing Committee on Law and Order for further consideration. The House of Representatives is to make a similar decision today.

In terms of parliamentary rules, if two Houses request that legislation be sent back to the Joint Standing Committee for further consideration, the third House is deemed automatically to have endorsed the decision.

The House of Assembly has already debated and voted in favour of the Public Safety Amendment Bill — a process it might have to repeat if a new version of the Bill comes out of the committee.

The decision by the coloured and Indian parties to refer the Bills back to the committee has thwarted Government plans to guide the controversial legislation through Parliament before the end of the sitting on June 20.

The Government was anxious to get the powers the Bills would provide in order to suppress mounting unrest.

Mrs Suzman said the fact that the Bills had been ordered back to the committee meant it was likely the Government would have to force them through Parliament by means of the President's Council.

In terms of the constitution, the President's Council may be asked to arbitrate on deadlocked legislation. Because the Government controls the council, it could effectively ensure that its own version of any legislation goes through Parliament.

The embarrassment for the Government in doing this is that it would anger the coloured and Indian parties while highlighting that, at the end of the day, power-sharing still means white control.

● See Pages 4 and 17.

304A BUDDAY 5/6/86

Cape business congress focus on problem of RSC

REGIONAL Services Councils, the redemarcation of local authorities and the role of business in the reform process will be the main focus of organised commerce's regional congress in Cape Town next Wednesday and Thursday.

The establishment of RSCs — some before the end of the year — remains a sore point with the business community.

Criticism will be directed at government's intention to shift the burden of subsidising urban transport on to the shoulders of the new RSCs, without at the same time scaling down the central administration's share of regional tax collection.

In a motion to be put by the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, it will be argued that shifting the cost of financing this subsidy on to the region will severely undermine the Western Cape's prospects for economic growth.

Political factors influenced the location of residential areas that house the poorest population section at considerable distance from main employment centres and the chamber believes government therefore has an obligation to accept responsibility for additional costs incurred.

Organised commerce remains concerned that with the implementation of regional services and establishment levies — that will disregard the existing subsidy system — the State will not accept its share of this burden.

Although there will be a trade-off in that transport and service levies — as well as trade licence fees paid by employers — will fall away, it is expected taxation will escalate sharply.

Various estimates suggest the new RSC taxes could raise about R1bn in the four major metropolitan areas, whereas the loss of revenue in the cases of taxes withdrawn will only amount to about R100m.

In the Cape it has been estimated RSC levies may raise as much as R146m.

The establishment of regional services councils to replace provincial administrations — some before the end of this year — and the higher taxation expected to accompany them will be the focus of a meeting of organised commerce in the Cape, reports CHRIS CAIRNCROSS.

This will undoubtedly place the Western Cape RSC in a cost vice should central government withdraw completely.

The Peninsula's urban transport subsidy exceeded R140m last year — and this can be expected to increase when commuter rail links to Khayelitsha and Atlantis start operating.

Organised commerce forges several economic and technical problems emerging from government's plans to redefine municipal boundaries to accommodate and create separate local authorities for the different race groups, and will make a strong plea for these plans to be abandoned.

In the past, a major obstacle encountered in creating fully-fledged black municipalities was their inability to survive financially.

The Browne Commission in 1980

proposed this problem could only be solved by a system of transfer payments from white local authorities.

The recommendation was turned down by government and the issue was passed to the Croeser Committee, whose report provides the framework for the current re-organisation.

In terms of the new structure, allowance is made for a redistribution of funds from the RSC to the new local authority, but with economic viability remaining a criterion.

The business community believes, however, that factors preventing black areas from achieving financial self-sufficiency remain.

The Cape Town Chamber says these problems relate to low income levels and land use in black areas.

Moreover, the chamber observes, there is a great deal of resistance to

increasing re currently exist

A second factor is that income is that ers spend relatively small amounts on improvements which affects the rate

An added factor is that State-built housing which is a problem as lying in the way of replacement and replacement before lower than

Most black areas of residential land in the way of housing

In general, the raised in black areas to that of white

It is thus clear that some form of the RSCs will be that the self-sufficiency of areas seems to

But there will RSC funds, and experience financial

It thus seems will come under raise rents and

SA moves toward the 'optical'

HAMISH McINDOE

facturer ATC recently commissioned a R6m extension to its nine-month-old optical fibre plant.

It plans to double capacity to 40 000km of fibre a year over the next six months.

ATC optical fibre cables are being used to connect the Post Office's (PO) new digital automatic exchanges and inter-city networks.

On paper, at least, SA's plunge into optical fibre technology is an expensive alternative.

The PO, which uses more than 90% of SA's optical fibre production, admits it is willing to pay 35% above world market prices to source locally.

"Suppliers must or they don't get PO senior director Dawie Malan.

So West German heavyweights stance, is barred from PO contracts because based optical fibre no plans to compete

"The market is optical fibre draws a reasonable return on company spokesmen

ATC MD Koos V prior to the expansion was importing about R10m over the last six

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A second factor impinging on levy
income is that low income home-own-
ers spend relatively less on home im-
provements and extensions and this
affects the rateable property value.

An added factor is that the value of
State-built housing is pegged by a for-
mula which determines the value of a
house as lying midway between origi-
nal and replacement cost, and there-
fore lower than market value.

Most black areas consist primarily
of residential land use and very little
in the way of higher rate-paying uses.

In general, thus, the level of rates
raised in black areas is low relative
to that of white areas.

It is thus concluded as inevitable
that some form of redistribution via
the RSCs will have to occur, given
that the self-sufficiency of black
areas seems to be impossible.

But there will be many demands on
RSC funds, and some of them will
experience financial shortages.

It thus seems that municipalities
will come under great pressure to
raise rents and rates.

ROBIN GEDYE

LONDON — It took three crowbar-
wielding policemen 25 minutes to re-
duce a steel children's pram to a
twisted wreck in front of a joyous
Friday morning crowd of shoppers in
Warsaw's run-down Praga district.

As the crowd shouted and jeered
encouragement and the policemen
sweated and fumed, the "Voice of
Solidarity" radio station kept up a
steady stream of anti-government
propaganda from the bowels of the
carriage.

Somewhere among the crowd two
figures slipped quietly away to be
congratulated by their colleagues.

That same day, which was the
fourth anniversary of the introduc-
tion of martial law, a three metre
banner proclaiming "Solidarity
Lives" was hung on the union's old
headquarters in Warsaw's Moko-
towska Street.

It is six years since Poland was hit
by the wave of strikes that spawned
Solidarity. At the weekend under-
ground leader Zbigniew Bujak was
arrested.

Bujak is a popular, romantic, auda-
cious figure who enthralled the police
and public imagination during his
four-and-a-half years on the run.

His capture deals a thumping blow
to the morale of the underground
movement. Bujak's arrest, four
weeks before Poland's first Party
Congress since Solidarity was
crushed, is too impeccably timed to
be coincidental.

Government has long maintained
that it knew of the arch-menace's

Jackboot has not crushed the Poles' spirit

whereabouts.

If we believe official claims then
Bujak's arrest must be viewed as a
sop to Communist party hardliners
whose support Polish leader General
Wojciech Jaruzelski must have if he
is to maintain control over the crucial
party congress at the end of this
month.

At stake is the future course of
Jaruzelski's drive to centralise and
liberalise economic management. To
overcome hardliners' resistance to
change, he must buy them with in-
creased repression, say diplomats.

The old cliché about Poland being a
country under the military boot wait-
ing to explode can no longer be trot-
ted out. The boot is firmly in place
and the vast majority accept that
there is no realistic alternative at the
moment.

But the sense of resignation that
settled on the Czechs after the Soviet
invasion of 1968 has not been repro-
duced in Poland. The Poles have not,
in the words of government, been
"normalised".

The people have not been cowed
into submission. Prominent actors,
journalists, playwrights and intellec-
tuals have contracted out and do not
appear in State-backed forums. The
underground, with an estimated
40 000 to 50 000 active participants,
continues to flourish as nowhere else
in the Eastern bloc.

Bujak was able to keep on the run
for 53 months by moving to a new
"safe house" sometimes two to three
times a week.

A network that can support that
sort of subterfuge in a hostile envi-
ronment would have given the
French resistance something to aim
at. — *Daily Telegraph*.

rd the 'optical' phone option

McINDOE

recently commissioned
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fibre cables are being
the Post Office's (PO)
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least, SA's plunge into
chnology is an expen-

uses more than 90%
fibre production, ad-
to pay 35% above
prices to source local-

"Suppliers must manufacture here
or they don't get our business," said
PO senior director of transmissions
Dawie Malan.

So West German Telecommunica-
tions heavyweight Siemens, for in-
stance, is barred from tendering for
PO contracts because it has no SA-
based optical fibre facility. But it has
no plans to compete with ATC.

"The market is too small for two
optical fibre drawers to make a rea-
sonable return on investment," a
company spokesman said.

ATC MD Kooi Voorster said that
prior to the expansion, the company
was importing about 40% of its opti-
cal fibre requirements at a cost of
R10m over the last six months.

Malan believes the soft rand is
making locally-manufactured optical
fibre cheaper than imports.

But, longer-term, overseas prices
are set to fall dramatically, with fore-
casts of optical fibre at \$1/km event-
ually falling to around 20c/km.

Price aside, the argument that SA
could stray behind advances in over-
seas telecom technology gains little
coinage.

Arguably, SA is already ahead of
some Western countries with its use
of single-mode optical fibre.

West Germany's Bundespost, for
instance, is only now switching from
the older multi-mode fibre, where the
light pulse has to be regenerated
more frequently.

By David Braun,

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The coloured and Indian parties have effectively thrown a spanner into the parliamentary works through indecision over whether to support two draft security laws giving the police wider emergency powers.

In doing so, they have frustrated Government attempts to push the two measures through Parliament in good time to become law before June 16 (Soweto Day, commemorating the 1976 riots).

The coloured and Indian parties have reached a political crossroads.

They came into the tricameral Parliament in 1984 because, they said, they wanted to dismantle apartheid from within.

The Bills in question may not have anything directly to do with segregation or discrimination but, as they are regarded by the Government as essential to quell unrest, so their opponents are resisting them as instruments to prop up apartheid.

Coloured and Indian MPs are painfully aware of the connotations of their support — that is why many resist them even though, privately, they may agree they are necessary.

Others, who have had personal experience of detention without trial, are totally against any measures.

The problem for the Labour Party and the National People's Party, majority parties respectively in the House of Representatives and the House

Opposition moves thwart fast action on Security Bills



Mr Louis le Grange

of Delegates, is that they are also part of the Government.

As such, they have been able to wrest numerous concessions on a variety of Bills in private negotiations when all parties get together to hammer out mutually acceptable legislation by consensus.

Solid group

A solid group of MPs in both parties believes if it fails to support the security laws the President's Council will push them through anyway.

The measures are the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill.

The first seeks to grant the Minister of Law and Order power to declare "areas of unrest" for up to three months, renewable on the authority of the State President.

In such areas the Minister would have the authority to frame regulations he believed necessary to prevent or curb unrest.

They would give the security forces powers similar to those in a state of emergency.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has already said the media would be restricted in unrest areas and the security forces would be indemnified against legal action in carrying out their duties.

The Internal Security Amendment Bill provides for the police to detain for up to 180 days without trial people whose removal from society would, in their opinion, contribute to preventing or quelling unrest or violence.

From the day they were published the Bills ran into trouble.

Various organisations outside Parliament have con-

demned them. Several Labour Party politicians have said privately they could never vote for them.

An intense debate within the Labour Party and the NPP ensued and no clear decision could be taken by the time it came to consider them in the Joint Standing Committee on Law and Order.

Walked out

In an effort to buy time both parties walked out of the standing committee in the belief that it would not function without them. However the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, ruled that the necessary quorum remained.

The result was the National Party-dominated committee passed the Bills and they were tabled for a second reading in all three Houses.

A flurry of meetings between the coloured and Indian leaders and senior members of the Government, including Mr le Grange and President Botha, followed.

At one stage some Labour MPs were under the impression the Government would reimpose a state of emergency if the Bills were not passed.

By last Friday, after much

wheeling and dealing, the Government believed impression that if it accepted certain amendments to the Bills the coloured and Indian parties would support them.

On Monday the House of Assembly started to debate the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

Mr le Grange tabled the amendments he was prepared to accept, the most important being the scrapping of the section which expressly denied the courts the right to consider or make any findings on any proclamation, notice or regulation made in terms of the legislation.

'Softened'

The Minister also gave the assurance in his speech that detainees would be given certain protection, including access to their legal advisers, family, doctors and priests.

The Progressive Federal Party fought the Bill, moving it be read "this day six months", one of the strongest forms of censure available to parliamentarians because it means never.

The Conservative and Herengste Nasionale parties said the Government had softened the Bill.

After more than two days debate the Assembly voted on the Bill was carried.

Throughout the week, while the Assembly was debating the Bill, the coloured and Indian parties had second thoughts about the deal with the Government. After a series of caucus meetings the NPP, Labour Party and Democratic Worker Party (minus opposition in the House of Representatives) issued a statement yesterday that they would refer the Bill back to the Joint Standing Committee for further consideration.

In terms of the rules of Parliament, if two Houses make such a request a Bill must be referred back.

The Government was clearly angry that the deal had been reneged on and that, in effect the Assembly had spent more than two days debating the Bill to no avail.

The Labour Party now has a list of 15 further amendments to the Internal Security Amendment Bill and 11 to the Public Safety Amendment Bill (most of which are fairly minor).

If the Bills are cleared by the committee they will be read for the second time in each House where they will be debated and voted upon (including, again, in the Assembly).

If the committee cannot produce a mutually acceptable Bill by consensus the legislation will be deadlocked.

In that event the Government may either decide to drop them altogether or refer them to the President's Council.

Wrong strategy on ANC

By John D'Oliveira,
Editor of The Star's
Africa News Service

There is no doubt, if one reads the Government's booklet "Talking with the ANC", that the African National Congress is riddled with communists, dedicated to revolution rather than evolution; and is adverse to anything that might compromise its aim of seizing power in South Africa.

Already there are those who claim that the Government's picture is based on selective quotes from ANC literature, broadcasts and leaders' statements and that the ANC is controlled by reasonable men forced into violence by the Government's intransigence.

Both sides, I think, are missing the point.

Whatever the ANC may or may not be, is less important than the wider issue of coming to terms with the real leaders of South Africa's black majority.

Obsession

If the ANC, as it is now constituted, really represents the collective will of South Africa's black people, which I doubt, any government bent on a negotiated solution to South Africa's problems will have to deal with the organisation sooner or later, no matter how "good" or how "bad" Mr Oliver Tambo and his top echelon may be.

If it does not, then the current obsession with the ANC on the part of a large number of individuals and organisations in South Africa will only put off the inevitable moment of truth when the representatives of white South Africa are forced by circumstances to sit down to do a deal with their black counterparts.

It is a historical truth that the longer this process takes, the worse the whites' negotiating position will be.

In the meanwhile, the Government's actions themselves identify the ANC and their communist affiliates as the main opposition to white rule in South Africa. Rather than tainting the ANC with communism, the Government



Mr Laurence Gaudar



Mr B J Vorster

embellishes the communists with a commitment to freedom for the "masses" in South Africa. Admittedly a great deal has changed since 1962, but the then editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, now tilling about his "liberal" Mr Laurence Gaudar, warned the South African Minister of Justice, and all the evils of race discrimination, against equating liberalism with communism, against identifying "communism" with the various non-white liberation movements.

Mr Gaudar told Mr B J Vorster: "By holding up communism as the militant champion of those political aspirations among the non-whites which are considered legitimate and normal elsewhere in the world, Mr Vorster, you are encouraging our non-whites to regard communism as their principal hope for the future."

"All this adds up to a massive and gratuitous boost for communist prestige and influence in South Africa which, we are sure, is the very opposite of your intentions. Through this misguided propaganda of yours, it is the communists who are depicted as the principal opponent of white leadership, as the political force which is throwing the white establishment into confusion and decaying."

Who knows what changes the ANC might undergo under these circumstances, what a dose of political reality might do to the organisation. After all, look how the National Party has changed over the past decade.

Reality

Instead of action which inevitably boosts the standing of the ANC, the Government should be demystifying the organisation by unbanning it, by offering to talk to its leaders, by releasing Nelson Mandela, by allowing all and sundry to quote what the ANC says. In short, by exposing the ANC to harsh public scrutiny.

Who knows what changes the ANC might undergo under these circumstances, what a dose of political reality might do to the organisation. After all, look how the National Party has changed over the past decade.

Perspective

I do not mean to say that the ANC should be given carte blanche to incite violence that attempts to bring down the Government. The full weight of the law; that individuals should not be persecuted. What I do mean is that the Government should not be the black leaders with whom it wants to do business -- and, contrary to the views of many of my colleagues, I do believe Mr P W Botha wants to negotiate seriously with black people.

The Government must throw the country's apartheid, potential and real black leaders into the market-place in a manner of speaking, and then it must start talking to those who emerge as leaders with significant followings.

Mr Vorster once discussed the problems of selecting people for the Prime Minister as a Cabinet post. "Think of a Prime Minister as a gardener," he explained. "He is confronted by a number of plants and naturally there are some plants which he favours and which effect."

3/6/76 SPM

3/34

UDF spearheads outcry against Le Grange's 'formula for conflict'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

As the controversial "Le Grange laws" were stalled in Parliament yesterday, a concerted campaign against them was launched simultaneously in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

The campaign is spearheaded by the United Democratic Front and claims the support of about 40 organisations representing "a couple of million people" — trade unions, civic and youth organisations and associations of lawyers, journalists and educationists. Leading churchmen have also added their voices to the outcry raised by the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill.

Comments on the Bills included:

United Democratic Front: "Only a government reluctant to accept the pace of change forced upon it and devoid of any moral standing can want to confer more repressive powers on its police and army. The Government must be warned that, if the Bills become law, the consequences will rest squarely on their shoulders."

Congress of South African Trade Unions: "If the Government passes Le Grange's Bills it will be declaring war on Cosatu and all democratic organisations. History has shown that the smashing of mass democratic organisation has paved the way for all-out fascism and martial law. We will not allow this to happen."

Anglican Archbishop Philip Russell: "The abrogation of the rule of law — with the removal of the right of the individual to a fair open trial and the policy of detention without trial — is an example of violence. The Government frequently accuses others of acts of violence but steadfastly refuses to acknowledge its own violence."

Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference head Archbishop Denis Hurley: "Such significant numbers of black people have been caught up in the great liberation wave that noth-

ing can quell it. These prescriptions are not likely to quell it. They are far more likely to provoke greater vigour and determination on the part of those involved in it. Steps toward total war on one side will be met by comparable steps on the other."

National Education Crisis Committee: "The passage of these Bills will place our country finally and firmly under the rule of fascism. If we don't oppose them our dreams for a non-racial democracy will be shattered and our children will inherit the ashes."

Transvaal Students' Congress: "We see this as another way of intimidating our people to stop them joining the struggle against this sadistic regime. But all this will not silence us."

Youth and civic organisations in Soweto, Alexandra, Dennilton and on the East Rand, as well as the Federation of Transvaal Women have pledged to fight the Bills in a joint statement: "These measures are no solution to South Africa's problems. They can only intensify the war raging in our country at the moment between the forces of progress and democracy and the forces of reaction and barbarism."

End Conscription Campaign: "It will mean that conscripts will not only be compelled to enter townships to defend apartheid but to detain and arrest people without warrant, prevent news coverage of unrest areas, enforce curfews, search people's houses and seize their possessions."

Finally, Premier Group chairman Mr Tony Bloom has warned pragmatically: "A legacy of bitterness is certain to be created if people like trade union leaders are detained and released without trial. They are the people with whom South African managements have to negotiate — and a surer formula for conflict would be hard to devise."

21/6/86 304A

Move to set up PE meeting on critical issues

By KIN BENTLEY

THE chairman of the Progressive Federal Party in the Eastern Cape, Mr Ronnie Kaplan, will today try to set up a meeting between the special negotiating sub-committee of the Port Elizabeth City Council and black community leaders.

At a public meeting in PE last night, the president of the PE Youth Congress and spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, in reply to a question from Mr Kaplan on to whether he would like to meet the committee, said: "This is what we have wanted all along. We would welcome such a meeting."

Mr Kaplan said today that he was already due to meet the sub-committee at 10am on Monday in his capacity as PFP chairman, and would like to see Mr Jack and his colleagues either join him at the meeting or take his place.

He said he personally had no real need to speak to the sub-committee and

his real purposes was to get Mr Jack to see it.

The Mayor, Mr Ben Olivier, the chairman of the sub-committee, Mr H van Zyl Cillie, and the director of the PE Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson, today all welcomed Mr Jack's statement.

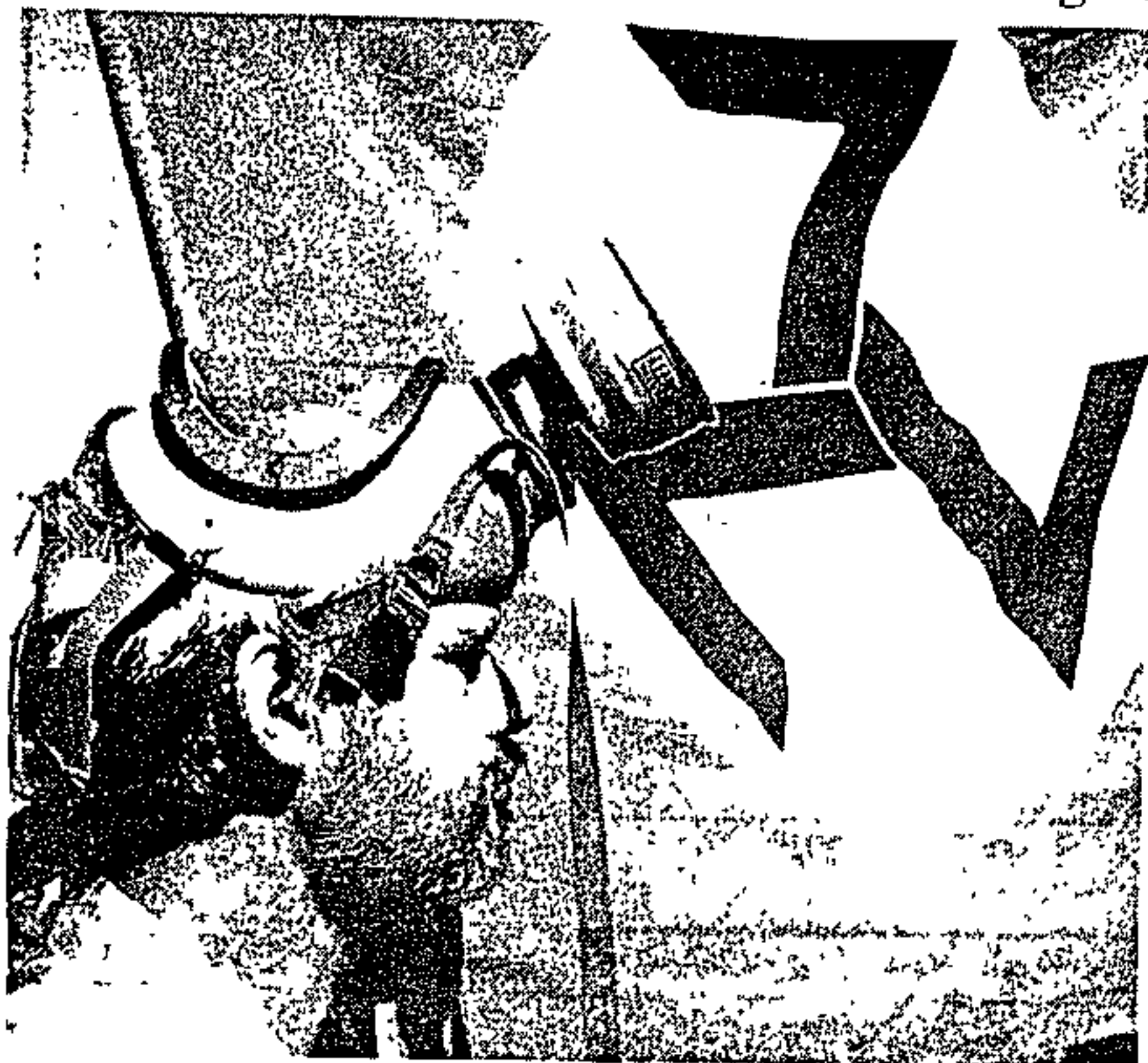
Mr Cillie said the committee could either meet Mr Jack's delegation together with Mr Kaplan or separately.

He added that the five-man sub-committee was prepared to discuss any issue. Black demands which were beyond the scope of the council to address, would be passed on to the authorities, he said.

Mr Olivier said he was pleased to hear of Mr Jack's undertaking and was looking forward to speaking to him.

Mr Gilson, who has held regular meetings with the boycott committee and community leaders, said the chamber had for some time said it was essential for different groupings to get together to discuss the problems in the area.

The far-right has been rescued from a fringe existence. National Socialism has become respectable ...



Top of the AWB hate list: 'Anglo Jewish money'

EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE, leader of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is clearly emerging as the generalissimo of the ultra-rightist coalition.

His incipient dominance is a threat not only to the ruling National Party but also to two of the AWB's ultra rightwing allies: the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties.

The AWB's ultimate objective is the establishment of a Boere volkstaat in which all political parties will be prohibited, even parties with impeccable white supremacist and Afrikaner nationalist credentials.

The AWB is not threatened by its own neo-fascist ideology because it is not a political party *per se*, but a resistance movement against the *toegees*, reformist policies of the NP.

The bearded Terre'Blanche was the most popular of the quartet of speakers who addressed last Saturday's gathering of ultra-rightist zealots at the arena of the Voortrekker monument.

The trio of orators who appeared on the platform with Terre'Blanche — Andries Treurnicht of the CP, Jaap Marais of the HNP and Carel Boshoff of the Volkswag — were all overshadowed by him. Not even the HNP's fiery Marais, himself no mean orator, could match Terre'Blanche's call to the *volk* to fight for its right to self preservation.

Terre'Blanche, aged 45, entered the arena with a khaki-clad AWB guard of honour, having disdainfully declined to accompany the trio of older ultra-right leaders on their joint entry and walk through the cheering crowd to the platform. His booming resonant voice assured the faithful. "We are true freedom fighters, because we fight for the honour, the self-respect and the sovereignty of our land and *volk*."

The actual numerical strength of the AWB in the ultra-rightist camp is difficult to gauge because of the strong overlap in membership between the AWB and CP. Both Treurnicht and AWB deputy leader Jan Groenewald confirmed there were cross-cutting ties of membership, and hence of loyalty, between the two organisations.

The close and perhaps even symbiotic relationship between the CP and AWB caused South Africa's Manpower Minister, Pietie Du Plessis, to remark bitterly in parliament that the AWB was to the CP what ideology is at core neo-fascist.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Umkhonto we Sizwe is to the African National Congress

The *de facto* alliance between the CP and the AWB raises the question of who is using whom.

The CP sees the militant AWB, with its constant threat of violence and its Nazi-like insignia, as a useful means of sending shivers of dread and fear into the corpulent NP. But Treurnicht may yet find that AWB is winning CP members over to its own long-term aim of establishing an Afrikaner volkstaat in which political parties will be prohibited.

The AWB's political arm is the Blanke Volkstaat Party which was founded in 1980 with the intention of persuading the white electorate to vote for the creation of a partyless Boerestaat.

The AWB leadership, however, did not activate the Blanke Volkstaat Party, preferring, it seems, to campaign through the CP to persuade the Afrikaner-dominated white electorate to vote for a restoration of the 19th century Boer Republics and the abolition of political parties.

The CP, founded by Treurnicht in 1982 with the support of 16 dissident MPs from the NP, appears to have helped rescue the AWB from a fringe existence where its sole claim to fame was its tarring and feathering of the *verligte* Afrikaans historian, F A Van Jaarsveld, for challenging continued celebration as a religious holiday of the anniversary of the Boer victory over the Zulus on December 16.

The relationship between the AWB and the CP is much warmer than that between the AWB and the HNP. One reason, perhaps, is that the AWB leader is a failed HNP candidate. Terre'Blanche stood for the HNP, both as a parliamentary and a provincial council candidate, soon after the formation of the HNP in 1969 in protest against the *verligte* policies of former Prime Minister John Vorster.

Perhaps in deference to his party political allies in the ultra-rightist alliance Terre'Blanche seems to be playing down the neo-fascist orientation of the AWB, even if its emblem, a swastika-shaped triple seven, set in a white circle against a red background, is much in evidence.

Terre'Blanche denies he is a racist or even a far rightist, insisting that he is a "freedom fighter". But AWB the AWB was to the CP what ideology is at core neo-fascist.

TOP: It will take more than teargas to disperse the ultra-rightwingers this time. Having experienced it in Pietersburg, they came to the Voortrekker Monument prepared for any eventuality. ABOVE: Eugene Terre'Blanche arrives at the monument flanked by his khaki-clad "storm falcons".

Pictures: Anna Zieminski (Afrapix)

The AWB Programme of Principles rejects parliamentary democracy as a "British-Jewish system" which has weakened the Afrikaner *volk* by dividing them against one another.

Coupled with the AWB's dismissal of parliamentary democracy is popularist suspicion of, and animosity towards, capitalism. Parliamentary democracy is seen as a device to divide the Afrikaners into warring political parties and thus render them susceptible to the "foreign capitalist" who "knew that he would rule if he could divide the *volk*".

The AWB aim of resurrecting the 19th century Boer Republics as a modern Afrikaner volkstaat is to reunite Afrikaners and to free them from "spiritual and economic enslavement by Anglo-Jewish money" and its servile press.

The AWB programme of principles quotes with approval a statement attributed to former Prime Minister J M B Hertzog that only "Afrikaner national socialism" can unite whites. It sees the Westminster parliamentary system as a breeding ground for a "socialist-communist takeover". In classically neo-fascist mode, the AWB's Programme of Principles — ironically published in a little red book, albeit one bedecked with a Nazi-like eagle — is infused with an insidious anti-semitism.

It links the Afrikaner fight for "white Christian self-preservation" to the Christian decision to "become soldier and fighter" to counter the "cunning methods of the anti-Christ". The decision to resist was taken when the "Jews crucified Christ", the AWB says.

Jewish capitalists, and "particularly the Anglo-American Corporation", are blamed for the inflow of blacks into white-designated cities and rural areas by putting profit before ideology.

Karl Marx is linked to "political Zionism" and accused of confessing in a letter to a "fellow Jew" that his real aim was not the creation of a new social order but the "dethroning of God".

The socialist prison warden who waves the PFP banner

ZOLA BUYANA, the first African to be employed by the PFP as an organiser, is at pains to highlight close historical links with the ANC.

The 40-year-old former prison warden speaks of his father who was treasurer of the East London branch of the ANC when it was still legal. He hints at sympathies for the organisation — even after its banning.

When it is pointed out to him that some of the activities he claims to have been involved in may amount to crimes, he says: "Well, if they are crimes to the government, they are not crimes to the people." Nevertheless, he requests careful treatment of these "sensitive matters" as he could "end up in a corner".

What brings a former ANC supporter into the PFP? — "I find the constitutional proposals of the PFP similar to the Freedom Charter."

He claims to have decided, in consultation with a group of ex-Robben Island prisoners, to enter the party for strategic reasons.

"We came into the PFP office to discuss common ground, and it was agreed to link with the PFP," he says. Confidence in the party grew when it went to Lusaka to meet ANC leaders.

He believes strongly in the PFP's capacity to effect change.

"We must work hard to change the government's constitution. Things could be better if the PFP was given the chance to lead the country," he says. "The party stands a good chance of winning a general election because of the divisions in Afrikaner ranks."

Buyana concedes there are differences between the PFP-proposed Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter, particularly when it comes to property rights, but points out that the Charter itself is ambiguous on the point.

How does he reconcile the Charter's roughly socialist position with the PFP's free enterprise position? When it comes to this sort of conflict, he says, his sympathies remain with the Charter, and he believes in a socialist future for South Africa.

"The mines, for instance, should not be privately owned. They should be for everyone."

His statement sparks a vigorous discussion with other party workers in the office. They point out the conflict with basic PFP policy.

Fellow organiser Ian Bentley points out that present-day South Africa is not a good reflection of free enterprise, as there is so much state control of the economy. But Buyana is not deterred.

"What is wrong with the railways being owned by the state?" he asks.

Buyana has no time for the United Democratic Front, and makes some extraordinary allegations against the

The first African to work as a PFP organiser says his sympathies are with the Freedom Charter. Here Zola Buyana tells FRANZ KRÜGER how he reconciles his socialist beliefs with the PFP's free market policies



Organiser Zola Buyana — PFP proposals are "similar to the Freedom Charter"

body, which numbers among its patrons and leaders several prominent ex-ANC leaders.

The Front, he says, has been infiltrated to a large extent by former ANC prisoners who were granted remission of their sentences in return for working for the government.

"I know how my black people are being used. I don't want to be misused."

This infiltration has substantially affected UDF policy, he says. Asked for an example, he cites the "necklace" killings practised in many townships.

"The person who first used the necklace was Savimbi in Angola, who is a tool of the South African government."

"Then it was pushed by these infiltrators. The UDF speaks of peace-loving people. How can I call myself peace-loving if I'm burning people?"

But Buyana stops short of saying

"necklace" killings are official UDF policy, and blames them on an "uncontrollable element in the organisation".

He also names three prominent local UDF leaders as police informers: "They hide away from me because they are afraid I will expose them."

How does he know of these things? "My own follow-ups," he says.

His attitude to Azapo is not quite so hostile.

"I have no quarrel with any organisation as long as it is not used by the government."

Turning to his work for the party, Buyana says it mostly involves recruiting members. "We hold meetings and talk about PFP policy. Then we offer PFP membership."

There is often resistance because people say it is an all-white party. "But I tell them it will only become nonracial if they join." Buyana's efforts have already led to the establishment of a full-scale branch at Tuba village in Kwelela, a black spot outside East London. There are also members in Duncan Village, Mdantsane, Mgwali and other rural and urban areas in the border.

His work in these areas has not been uncontroversial. There have been accusations from community groups that PFP recruitment in areas with existing residents' associations has caused divisions which have, in some cases, led to physical clashes. Buyana denies the charges.

"There was no intention to take over from any organisations, but rather to rescue the people from police and army intimidation."

PFP general secretary Robin Carlisle said that although Buyana was the first African organiser employed by the party, there were full-time workers of other groups employed elsewhere. The PFP was hiring people according to their suitability, not on the basis of race.

Although race might sometimes play a role, in Buyana's case it had been primarily language. Besides, Buyana was a "bloody good organiser, a man with fire in his belly".

Carlisle said there was no PFP "push into the townships". The emphasis there was less on recruitment than on monitoring.

The party was able to mediate in some conflict situations, and at the same time, indicate to black communities "who we are, what we stand for".

Black organisers would be particularly useful in this work, he added, but would also be used in general political work. In Johannesburg, Carlisle said, there had been a good response to the canvassing done for the party by a coloured worker.

WORD has got around here that the government has written yet another secret letter to the Eminent Persons Group asking it to make another visit to South Africa before deciding whether to recommend sanctions.

If such an invitation has been issued, the EPG can't really be blamed if it sees it as another delaying tactic and pretty cool at that — after all, its last visit coincided with the raids into

Mystery of the Eminent Letter

Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.

Assuming that the EPG has been urged to come again, it can only be because the government thinks it has fresh evidence to give, demonstrating its determination to do away with apartheid.

IN THE HOUSE

There is a feeling among some parliamentarians that this fresh evidence may be related to expected revelations at the National Party congress in August.

It is rumoured there were

plans to leak information to the group during its last visit, plans which were stillborn because the EPG departed three days early because of the raids.

Be that as it may, government will certainly have a bit of a problem explaining to the EPG why it chose to publish an

extraordinary document entitled "Talking to the ANC" in the very week in which the EPG was gathering to draw up its final report in London.

Tactically, the publication of "Talking to the ANC" could be the silliest thing the government has ever done.

In the first place, it was a calculated brush-off for the EPG, which has reportedly spent a great deal of its time trying to get the ANC to talk to South Africa and vice versa.

Secondly, the government held a strong position in asking for a cessation of violence before constitutional talks could start in earnest.

But it has virtually thrown away that position with the publication of "Talking to the ANC".

A great many people, in South Africa and abroad, were beginning to believe that the government had finally realised it had to involve the real black leaders in its constitutional talks — even if this involved having to talk to the ANC.

There were signals to this effect, with the famous undertaking to release Nelson Mandela and negotiate with him or with anyone else who renounced violence.

But in the last few weeks, the attitude has hardened. The slight shift was detectable when President Botha announced the formation of the National Council in the President's Council on May 15.

"We will not allow the spiritual and material heritage built up over 300 years to fall into the hands of a revolutionary power clique," he said.

Then he reiterated that "government remains adamant that it is prepared to negotiate with citizens of South Africa, provided they do not resort to violence as a means of obtaining their political and other goals, or call in foreign agencies to support them".

The emphasis on "South African citizens" and the provision about "foreign agencies" were both new. Earlier in the speech, the president referred to "unsolicited interference" by groups from abroad — a criticism interpreted at the time as a swipe at the EPG.

Whether the EPG accepts this final invitation or not, the implication is clear: the hawks are in the ascendant, and the government has obviously decided that talking to the ANC at the moment is out, and that it will go it alone when it comes to constitution-making.

But the tremendous danger here is "Talking to the ANC" was presumably intended to reveal the ANC as dangerous revolutionaries determined on the overthrow of South Africa and what democratic standards we have left.

I don't believe anyone in South Africa knows how true this is. A great many people who have talked to the ANC came back with a different impression.

Moreover, it is not calculable how much support the ANC really has among blacks. It has never been allowed to test its support at the polls.

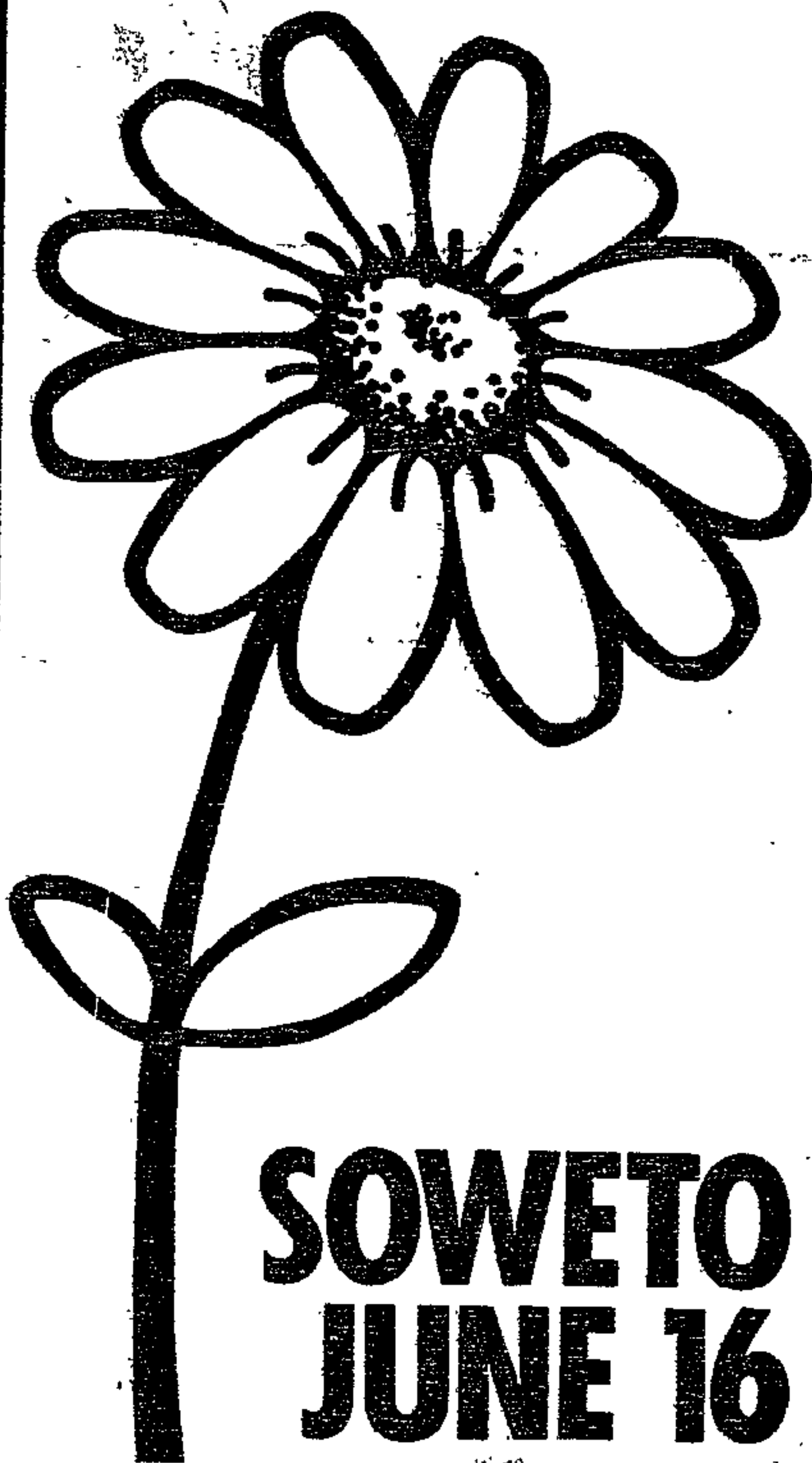
"Talking to the ANC" may have been aimed at the conservative whites. If it was, it will frighten the daylight out of them — and achieve very little else.

But a large number of very influential radical blacks, whose goodwill is absolutely essential in the current crisis, may be permanently turned off.

And if it was aimed at "moderate" blacks, its ultimate effect could be nothing short of disastrous.

JEAN LE MAY

A GARLAND OF FLOWERS FOR SOWETO JUNE 16



SOWETO JUNE 16

The 16th of June: What is it about?

The 16th June is remembered for those black students who in 1976 died in an attempt to change the ways in which they were being taught. Ten years later the spiral of violence and oppression continues.

White South Africans who care

Many white South Africans feel a profound sense of sadness and shame at what happened in Soweto in 1976, and at what continues to happen in 1986, and would like to express this in some way. Normal avenues of communication have been closed and so we search for a gesture to show black South Africans that we care, and that we too would like to see the creation of a just and open society in this country.

A flower as a symbol — cut out and display

As a symbol of your acknowledgement of the suffering in Soweto and elsewhere, we urge you to cut out the flower in this advert, colour it yellow, and stick it in the window of your car or some other prominent place. We hope that from today until the 16th June thousands of people will, by this act, show their belief that June 16th is a time when all South Africans should be in mourning.

Send flowers to Soweto

As a way of saying to the people of Soweto: "We care, and we mourn with you..." help us create a garland of flowers for Soweto. On the 14th and 15th of June bring fresh flowers either to your local church or synagogue, or to one of the following depots where flowers will be collected from the Johannesburg area. On Monday 16th these flowers will be taken to the entrances to Soweto. In addition tag your flowers with your message to the people of Soweto and encourage each member of your family to do likewise.

The following depots will be open between 9am and 7pm on the 14th and 15th June in order to receive your flowers: Berea Methodist Church, 40 St John Road, Houghton; Holy Trinity Catholic Church, Bertha Street, Braamfontein; St Columba's Presbyterian Church, 45 Lurgan Road, Parkview; St Michael's, Cnr Bryanston Drive and Mount Street, Bryanston; Temple Emanuel Centre, 38 Oxford Road, Parktown; Trinity Methodist Church, Cnr 5th Avenue and 5th Street, Linden; Temple Shalom, Louis Botha Avenue, Highlands North.

Rabbi Adi Assabi, Chairman of Rabbinic Council, United Progressive Jewish Congregation of Johannesburg, Temple Shalom; The Very Reverend Duncan Buchanan, Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, Mrs Jennifer Kinghorn, Society of Friends; Reverend Alan Maker, Immediate Past Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Rabbi Dr Norman Mendel, Temple Emanuel; Bishop Reginald Orsmond, Catholic Bishop of Johannesburg, Reverend Ronald Steel, Chairman, Central Region, United Congregational Church; Reverend Peter Storey, ex-President of the Methodist Church.

ANC talk on video

A TELEVISION discussion between South Africa's ambassador to the US, Herbert Beukes, and African National Congress representative Solly Semelane will be screened Tuesday at 1 pm by the US Information Service as part of its weekly video news series.

When the programme was broadcast in the US six weeks ago, Beukes drew heavy criticism from the SA rightwing for appearing to debate with the ANC.

Ministries

'briefed' on SA situation

By JIMMY MATYU

THE Foreign Secretaries of Scandinavian countries had been briefed on the South African schools situation, the education provided for blacks and black-on-black violence, according to the national secretary-general of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), Mr Ihron Rensburg.

Mr Rensburg, who is also secretary-general of the local Crisis in Education Committee, was part of a three-man delegation which spent two weeks in Europe. He arrived back in PE yesterday.

Others on the tour with him were the NECC national publicity secretary and treasurer, the Rev Molefe Tsele, and Mr H H Dlamlenze, of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee.

"I was highly impressed by the fact that, despite a clampdown on news by the South African Government, the international community is well-informed about what was happening here," he said.

International communities had now declared June 16 — the day for the commemoration of the Soweto riots — an International Day of Prayer.

The international community, he said, was concerned that this year's June 16 celebrations could become another "1976 bloodbath", particularly in the light of the controversial security Bills now before Parliament.

"Our trip was immensely successful," said Mr Rensburg. "We visited London, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, France and Geneva and I addressed 50 meetings, mainly on the schools situation."

Mr Rensburg said that in London he had had an interview with Mr Donald Anderson, the British Labour Party's front-bench spokesman on Southern Africa.

He said the NECC had several projects in the field of people's education it would be undertaking

6/6/86
EVE POST

Assocom advises no work, no pay

By Sheryl Raine

The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) has issued a "no work, no pay, no penalty" guideline on workers who stay away on June 16.

The Assocom position is virtually the same as that adopted by the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI).

After a meeting this week, Assocom yesterday released a statement spelling out the organisation's attitude towards stayaways on the anniversary of the Soweto riots.

SYMPATHY

"While sympathetic to the feelings of black employees with regard to the commemoration of Soweto Day on June 16, Assocom believes that employers cannot operate properly when their workers stay away from work for such reasons without prior agreement or negotiation.

"It is therefore recommended that where employees are absent from work on June 16 it should be treated on a basis of no work, no pay, no penalty.

"Many companies will nevertheless negotiate or agree to some other arrangement with their staff or relevant unions beforehand."

The AWB ascendant

The newspaper that claimed that the relatively small turnout at last Saturday's Republic Day rally at the Voortrekker Monument demonstrated the weakness of the rightwing resurgence in SA, was indulging in wishful thinking. But if the rally proved anything, it is that the development of the alliance between the three main rightwing political organisations will not be smooth sailing.

The sight of two established party-politicians playing second fiddle to an up-and-coming populist leader turned out to be the event's most dominant feature, upstaging its main purpose — a show of strength and unity.

The main line-up consisted of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) Eugene Terre'Blanche, the Herstigte Nasionale Party's (HNP) Jaap Marais, the Conservative Party's (CP) Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Volkswag's Carel Boshoff.

The crowd politely applauded Treurnicht — the first of the three to speak. It gave Marais a slightly more enthusiastic reception. But there is no doubt that the star of the

show was Terre'Blanche. His speech may have been relatively low-key. But the response of the audience was not. Boshoff, the last speaker, could only watch the crowd beginning to wend its way home — or to the rugby test at Ellis Park.

Although permission to hold the rally was granted on the understanding that it would not be used as a party political gathering, speakers used the occasion to call for unity of the Right in the face of the perceived "total onslaught" on the security of the Afrikaner. Invoking the memories of Malan, Strydom and Verwoerd, and condemning the idea of any form of power sharing, the rally was a blunt attack on the ruling National Party (NP) of today.

But it was not good news for the leaders of the two parliamentary parties. The crowd response can mean only that either the CP and the HNP are losing the loyalty of their supporters to Terre'Blanche, or else their followers merely did not turn up at the widely publicised event.

It is unclear which. However, the poorer

mation Minister Louis Nel was only able to speak at an NP meeting in Uitenhage last week when police detained some of the AWB rowdies.



At the monument... is the future theirs?

than expected turnout — estimates of the crowd ranged from 9 000 to 15 000 — suggests that the latter is at least partly responsible. Either way it must be worrying for Treurnicht particularly, and Marais, who must both begin asking themselves how it happened and what it means to their future relationship with the AWB.

Meanwhile, there is still no indication of when Transvaal NP leader FW de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha will return to Brits and Pietersburg respectively, to avenge the party's humiliation by the AWB last month. It will have to be soon if the NP is to avoid losing even more ground to the Right. In the latest skirmish, Deputy Infor-

6/6/86 PW and
Mandela
could
unite
— Tutu

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Bishop Desmond Tutu, archbishop-elect of the Anglican Church, would like to see a government where Mr P W Botha could very well be State President and Nelson Mandela Prime Minister.

In an interview published in the June issue of *Penthouse*, Bishop Tutu said this was how he saw South Africa in 10 years.

"It might take some doing, but when we look back we would ask, 'Why were we so crazy for so long?'" the bishop said.

Asked if his hope for the future included blacks and whites living side by side, Bishop Tutu said: "Can you imagine the enrichment that would come to many white people if they had known at close quarters someone like Steve Biko, Albert Luthuli or Robert Sobukwe?"

VIOLENT

In answer to the question whether peaceful change was still possible, Bishop Tutu said one could not talk about peaceful change.

He said: "I talk about reasonably peaceful change."

"The South African situation is violent and the primary violence is the violence of apartheid."

"I would say, however, there is an outside chance of bringing significant change peacefully."

Bishop Tutu said there was a very important difference between the struggle of the black people in South Africa and the civil rights struggle of black Americans.

He said: "In America blacks were claiming rights guaranteed to them under the Constitution. The law of the land was on their side."

"Here the Constitution is against us and we are struggling for fundamental human rights".

OUTRAGED

Referring to police brutality, Bishop Tutu said he did not think whites got appalled: "Shouldn't they have been appalled by 69 people being killed at Sharpeville? Shouldn't they be appalled that many hundreds have been killed? Children are being put in jail. Where is the moral outrage?"

In reaction to a statement by the interviewer that people were appalled, Bishop Tutu said: "And then do what? It's nice being appalled in the comfort of your home and feel morally outraged".

Elsewhere in the interview, Bishop Tutu said blacks believed they may suffer the most with disinvestment.

He said: "They were asked, 'Do you know you will lose jobs?'."

"They have answered by saying if that is the way we are going to bring change in this country, what is the point of being a slave in paradise?"

"White people think we have such a wonderful time. Would they change places with us?"

SA can eliminate ANC in weeks, says ex-spy

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former police spy Craig Williamson claims South Africa has the power to "eliminate" the ANC in a matter of weeks — but for the obstacle of international opinion.

Speaking on the BBC's Newsnight programme last night Mr Williamson — now a political risks analyst in South Africa — said the Government was fully capable of "hunting them (the ANC) down, catching them and shooting them" in a month or six weeks.

He referred "flippantly" to the "rugby stadium" solution — thought to be a reference to mass executions staged in the 1970s in South America — and added:

"If the Government in Pretoria wished to eliminate the ANC, I estimate it would take them more than a month, maybe six weeks, to eliminate them physically."

INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE

Asked by the BBC's Michael Beurk why they didn't, he said: "The crux of the matter is that South Africa's answer to political opposition, and even revolutionary opposition to the State, has got to be an answer which is internationally acceptable."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, interviewed later in the same programme, denied he had called on people to break the law against gatherings to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots.

He said he had made it clear he would personally hold a commemoration service and encourage his priests to make their churches available to those who wanted to attend on June 16.

He denied such gatherings caused violence, but blamed the police presence for provoking a reaction.

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Govt, ANC in race for SA — De Pontes

304A

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The government and the African National Congress were involved in a race for South Africa, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, said yesterday.

He was addressing a Junior Rapportryers meeting here.

The race involved the government's aim to build a just system of power sharing while the ANC rejected everything and wanted to destroy all moves for black, coloureds and Indians to participate in the reform process.

Mr De Pontes said this was a simple analysis of the situation and there had to be a good perspective for one to be able to analyse the real situation.

South Africa was part of Africa, something Western elements lost sight of.

There were several similarities and differences between the two.

South Africa was a rich country with a modern economy based on its rich mineral industry, which provided jobs for 700 000 people.

This gives rise to a further difference with the rest of Africa in that the real income of blacks here has grown substantially compared with the decline in incomes in the rest of Africa since independence.

One of the results is that we have thousands of people from our neighbouring countries who have legally and illegally come to us to seek refuge.

Another difference with other African countries was that South Africa was in many respects a free country, compared to the one-party states.



MR DE PONTES

The press was in several respects freer than in other parts of the Western world.

Mr De Pontes said that with these comparisons in mind, the race for South Africa could be assessed.

He analysed what he called the recipe of the ANC/South African Communist Party alliance to create a Marxist dictatorship in the country.

"This is done through confrontation between the different groups in South Africa, with emphasis on the black/white differences, to make the country ungovernable."

On the other hand, the government had opted for evolutionary change with all groups having a say on matters which affected their personal lives.

"In my opinion, the participants in this situation must accept that not all their requirements could be met. Secondly, that the end product could not be precisely outlined," Mr De Pontes said.

Booklet gives Govt view of negotiations with ANC

The South African Government's recently published booklet "Talking With the ANC" compares the ANC with terrorist organisations such as the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the Red Brigade.

The booklet lists the deeds of terrorism which the publication says have been carried out by the ANC since 1976.

"Talking with the ANC" begins.

"This publication provides essential information on a question which is currently exercising many concerned South Africans — the question of whether negotiations should be conducted with the ANC."

The controversial booklet's

two-page introduction outlines the Government's standpoint on the ANC and the organisation's aims and aspirations.

The first chapter deals with an overview of the ANC from its establishment (under the name of the South African Native National Congress) in 1912 to the present day — talking of communist infiltration within the organisation and quoting various excerpts from articles written by Nelson Mandela.

COMMUNIST PARTY

This chapter also tells of the ANC's establishment in exile and talks briefly of the Soweto riots of 1976 and the escalation of the ANC's

armed actions.

The influence of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Soviet Union on the ANC is the subject discussed in the second chapter.

Mention is made of the 1982 American Senate subcommittee investigation into the role of the Soviet Union, Cuba and East Germany in fomenting terrorism in southern Africa.

Listed also are the 30 names of the ANC's national executive committee members, labelling 23 of them as either members and/or supporters of the SACP.

"If the SACP does have such great influence within the ANC why has it not asserted its leadership in a more positive fashion? Why does the ANC clearly continue

to have non-communist Black nationalist members and allies?"

These questions are dealt with in the next chapter headed: The two-phase revolution.

The remainder of the booklet discusses the various policies held by the ANC and those of the South African Government.

These include what the booklet describes as ANC policy on violence, negotiations, the UDF, the economy, multi-party democracy and foreign policy.

VIOLENCE

The excerpt about ANC policy on violence contains extracts from broadcasts made by the ANC station, Radio Freedom.

The South African Government's viewpoint on violence is discussed followed by a section on "black-on-black" violence.

The release of "Nelson Mandela", an extract from a speech made by State President Mr P W Botha on January 31 1986, is the final item contained in the 42-page booklet.

In conclusion the booklet states: "The Government has made it clear it will negotiate only with those South Africans who renounce violence. It has insisted negotiations must essentially be a process of give and take, aimed at satisfying reasonable demands. At the moment the ANC does not comply with these requirements."

Support for 'local option'

By PETER DENNEHY

CAPE TOWN City Council has received "virtually unanimous" support among civic and other associations for its stand on an apartheid-free "local option" for the City.

The Mayor, Mr Leon Markovitz, and the chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr John Muir, said in a report issued yesterday on the City's "Call for Dialogue" initiative that "it seems to us there is much to be said for the establishment of a wholly independent police force".

They made this comment after detailing "the main causes of unrest, as presented to us".

One of these was that "persons of colour" were demanding direct participation in the governing process "other than through management committees and community councils".

Criticisms of "outside influences at work in the townships" as well as of the police were reflected in this section of the report. Remarks concerning the police have been referred to Pretoria for comment.

40 interviews

Mr Markovitz and Mr Muir suggested that an independent police force could be established "on a provincial basis, with members recruited and trained locally and with all levels of policy determined locally".

They said in their report on the "Call for Dialogue" that 40 interviews had been conducted, many with representatives of civic associations and other concerned organizations. In addition, 19 memoranda had been submitted and six individuals also commented over the telephone.

One respondent suggested that if the government did not agree to an open, non-racially elected council, "serious consideration" should be given to establishing one anyway to decide on all matters affecting the City. The official Cape Town City Council could merely give effect to those decisions.

The names of organizations which submitted suggestions have been kept confidential.

Support for the council's initiative in calling for dialogue had been unanimous. "Virtually everyone" was of the view that "at least in the Cape Peninsula" a common voters' roll should be reintroduced.

Those who commented on Regional Services Councils (RSCs) generally believed that the bodies, which have yet to be established, would not survive more than two years.

Much of the report was devoted to an account of "unrest" in the Peninsula since August last year, prepared with the help of the Chief Officer for Emergency Management, Civil Defence, Cape Town.

Between late August and mid-December last year 74 people died in "unrest-related incidents" in the Western Cape — seven at the hands of rioters and 67 as a result of police action, the report said.

Those taken into custody numbered 668. The number of people injured was unknown "but some 386 were conveyed to hospital for treatment".

Proposed solutions

Among the proposed solutions to the unrest were requests for a "peace conference", which an ad-hoc committee had already been considering.

Another suggestion was that civic associations should be "increasingly involved" in local government.

"It was repeatedly stressed that the most urgent attention is the establishment of a Cape Town City Council open to all races, with its area of jurisdiction extended to include the black areas of Nyanga, New Crossroads, Guguletu, Langa and Khayelitsha," the report said.

Mr Markovitz and Mr Muir recommended that the council "continue actively with its initiative in assisting to draw up and implement a manifesto for non-racial democratic government, and in encouraging communication between all parties".

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Report sets out road to reform

BUSINESSMEN, academics and workers joined forces today to call for dramatic political and economic reforms to set South Africa on a new path to prosperity and equal opportunity.

The call is contained in a report by the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa (Unisa) and consolidates the thinking of management from 103 of South Africa's leading business organisations.

The report - entitled "Economic Participation in South Africa: Strategy for Survival and Growth" - also contains the result of a survey reflecting the views of three million workers.

Professor Martin Nasser, chairman of the project and professor at Unisa's School of Business Leadership, said more than 620 managers had spent a total of more than 2 000 man-days in formulating its contents, described as "a strategy for a stable and prosperous free market economy in South Africa".

It warned that in order to break the country out of its "cycle of political polarisation and economic stagnation", reforms had to go beyond the Government's objective of dismantling apartheid.

"If the solution to South Africa's problems were that simple, then the countries to the north of our borders would not have encountered major economic problems and major resistance to the free enterprise system after the removal of discriminatory practices and legislation," it said.

Businessmen had to realise that it was also imperative for them to initiate changes in the workplace that would encourage workers to believe in the system of free enterprise.

The report urged the immediate implementation of a coherent strategy of reform to break the "pattern of instability" being experienced by the country.

In the short term it saw immediate negotiation with recognised black leaders as necessary to prevent a "Muzorewa option" - where moderate black leaders will lose credibility by the time they achieve power - from taking place in South Africa.

At the same time as these talks took place, a statement of intent should be produced to outline a "guide plan of what South

Africa should be like in the near future".

The urgency of the situation necessitated that such a situation be achieved by next January.

The report called for a strategy made up of two main components - one dealing with the "macro" changes needed at a political level and the other with "micro" changes that businessmen should implement within their organisations.

It stressed that only an integrated implementation of both sets of reform would rescue free enterprise from South Africa's current crisis.

The report noted that many political factors hampered "the individual's (especially black) ability, right and motivation to participate in the free market system" and recommended the following political reforms to correct this:

- Introduction of genuine freehold for all and equal access to property

for all individuals.

- Direct political representation and participation by blacks in central, regional and local government to be achieved by negotiation with recognised black leaders and the eventual holding of a referendum based on universal franchise.

- The creation of a single Ministry of Education.

- The removal of the Group Areas Act and the opening of central business districts to people of all races.

- The removal of influx control.

- The development of small businesses to promote black entrepreneurship.

The report recommended the following "micro" strategies to ensure that the "workforce perceives business as being a process which offers substantial benefits to the worker".

- The implementation of schemes that promote full participation of work-

ers in the production process in order to promote efficiency and a commitment to free enterprise amongst workers.

- An intensified effort to promote black advancement, especially to top levels of management. This involves implementation of education schemes and the promotion of workers within the plant rather than employing skilled personnel from outside the workforce.

- The need to devise systems whereby workers who display a concern for quality and efficiency during production receive incentive rewards.

In order for its programme to be successful, the report stressed that "each of these elements must be viewed as interdependent facets of one holistic strategy".

"The instability in South Africa emphasises that it is not possible to address economic issues without addressing political issues," it said.

Commerce committed to new order

South Africa's top businessmen have thrown their weight behind Project Free Enterprise and have committed their organisations to promoting a new political and economic order.

"We dare not allow the baby of free enterprise to be thrown out with the bathwater of apartheid," said Anglo American director, Dr Zac de Beer.

"In creating a new, just South Africa, we must convince all our fellow-citizens of the need for a free and productive economy."

The managing director of Hewlett-Packard said: "The report offers hope that our country can prosper and offer all its people a better way of life."

Dr Ben Vosloo, managing director of the Small Business Development Corporation, said the small business sector would have to be "unshackled if South Africa is to have any chance of becoming a truly prosperous and humane society."

The managing director of Putco said business had been too slow in disassociating itself from apartheid and involving blacks in free enterprise.

EAST LONDON — Major fundamental change — including the participation of blacks in all spheres of government and the scrapping of the Group Areas Act — must be implemented if crisis and further polarisation are to be averted.

That's the message to government in a high powered four-year academic research project backed by 103 major private and parastatal bodies in the country.

Project Free Enterprise set out to identify the barriers to economic prosperity and participation. The results of the research were released today and sent to every policy-maker in

the country.

The project involved three million workers with "think tanks" and workshops for 927 executives and was attached to the Business School of Leadership at the University of South Africa. It was chaired by Professor Martin Nasser.

In an interview here, the project leader, Mr Christo Nel, explained

that the report was the final one, following the shockwaves sent through the business community with the earlier findings which showed negative attitudes among workers to the free enterprise system.

Basically workers saw business being discriminatory, exploitative, profiting only white management while having limitless resources of

capital from banks and the government. There was little or no understanding of the need for productivity.

"The economic goals of stability, productivity and development cannot be pursued unless the perceptions of exploitation and discrimination are correct.

"These perceptions motivated leaders of 103

of South Africa's major private and parastatal organisations to determine effective solutions for overcoming the negative attitudes of the workforce," Mr Nel said.

The four phase research, which started in 1983, dealt with the barriers to stable and economic progress and strategies to overcome it, action to implement the strategies, implications for implementing or ig-

noting the recommendations and the final conclusions.

Among the conclusions are:

● "South Africa finds itself in a position where only fundamental and urgent implementation of reform will ensure the future existence of a prosperous free market economy, and

● "Any isolated initiative by either business or government will at best meet with limited success. Only a concentrated and cohesive effort has any chance of addressing the current socio-economic dilemma successfully."

Government need not fear political cost of reform

EAST LONDON — The time is more ripe for reform than is generally accepted and the government need not fear the political costs if it is implemented immediately, the results of four years of academic research have shown.

"Political loss can be circumvented by means of implementing strategy, which will satisfy the needs of specific interest groups," says Project Free Enterprise in a chapter on the reform process in the final report on the research into economic participation in South Africa.

The report said economic and political development were inseparable parts of one holistic strategy and that the past year had shown that economic prosperity could not be achieved without political reform.

The current socio-political reality could be divided in five major groups: leftwing extremists, the frustrated (mainly blacks), the moderates or rationals, the insecure (mainly whites) and the rightwing extremists.

The high consensus achieved during the research was a clear indication that the majority of individuals were

probably willing to move towards a moderate-rational position.

"This is, however, entirely dependent on the degree of clarity and meaningfulness of the future reform programme," the report said, and referred to the lack of clarity of which President P. W. Botha's Rubicon speech was a clear example.

"This lack of goal clarity is accelerating the erosion of the centre and the development of vested interest groups on both extremes of the political spectrum."

There were three probable scenarios for South Africa:

One was the scenario of total polarisation. In this situation, government would negotiate with radicals on a Lancaster House basis, after a lengthy period of bloody and violent confrontation. There would be significantly weakened white negotiating power and the probable outcome was black majority rule on a one-man one-vote system on a common voters role in a unitary system.

The second scenario was one of partial polarisation where the government negotiates with moderates and rad-

In-depth academic research into South Africa's free enterprise system and the barriers to stability and prosperity has been released today and the findings have been sent to opinion, policy and decision-makers throughout the country.

Spanning four years and involving three million workers and executives of 103 major private and parastatal organisations, the research project has sent clear recommendations to the government with the warning that if they were not implemented, there would be dire political and economic consequences for the country.

These reports, by MATTHEW MOONIEYA, sum up the analysis, strategies and recommendations to promote stable and prosperous economic growth, which must be underscored by major political reform.

icals on a national convention basis. This will happen after increased confrontation and violence and will result in a weakened white negotiating power.

The probable outcome would be a federation with the rights of whites entrenched.

The third scenario was minimum polarisation where the government negotiates a national consensus with elected "non-white" leaders on a multi-bilateral package deal basis, from a position of strength.

The probable outcome was a high decentralised system with one overall South African citizenship, committed to phasing out statutory discrimination

and the creation of an equal opportunity society, where the interests of the minority groups are protected.

"There are already many who believe that the only possibility left is, at best, a partial or probably total polarisation. This view is, however, based upon the erroneous assumption that the polarisation is caused by the current reform process being viewed as "victory" by the left and capitulation by the "right".

"In reality, this increased polarisation is due to a lack of goal clarity and the government's operating method, rather than a reaction against or for the current reform movement."

The Current Status in South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY:

Attraction gaining momentum

Attraction weakening



Left-wing extremists
preaching revolutionary
change.



The "frustrated"

(no light at the end of the
statutory discrimination
tunnel, no meaningful
political participation in
sight.)
— they belong in the
centre, but frustration
may drive them to the
extreme left



The centre

The "moderates/-
rationals" who believe in
a win-win situation in
which everyone stands to
gain through a process of
open-ended negotiation.



The "insecure"

(what will all these ad hoc
changes lead to: loss of
identity and self-
determination?)
— they belong in the
centre but insecurity may
drive them to the extreme
right.



Right-wing extremists
preaching violence to
maintain the status quo

Study warns against piecemeal reform

EAST LONDON — The government has been warned that piecemeal and ad hoc reform would create crisis and further polarisation of the races.

The warning comes in the conclusions drawn from four years of academic research into worker perceptions of the free enterprise system and the government and business-initiated requirements to create the climate for a free market economy.

Macro and micro-level recommendations have been made in Project Free Enterprise and the government has been warned of serious political and economic consequences if the recommendations are not implemented.

Among the macro-level recommendations are the inclusion of blacks in all tiers of government, scrapping of the Group Areas Act and a restructuring of the education system under a single ministry. Other recommendations, which have already been agreed to by the government are property ownership for all, scrapping of influx control and deregulation of small businesses.

The project leader, Mr Christo Nel, said that while all the recommendations were viewed from an economic stance, the interdependent nature of the economic and political environment made it inevitable that certain sensitive political issues were included.

On the political implications if the recommendations were not implemented, the study says:

"Black attitudes that are currently open to accommodating negotiation on aspects of mu-



PROF NASSER

tual interest harden at an accelerating rate to a level where constructive negotiation will no longer be possible.

"The hardening of attitudes will lead to ever-increasing radical reactions. These may be suppressed in the short term but at a loss of mutual trust which will be difficult to regain.

"Incremental and ad hoc change will cause, rather than prevent, cri-

sis and resistance."

Economic implications listed are:

- Worker (especially black) commitment to economic growth and the free market system is eroding at an accelerating rate. This will be coupled with reduced productivity and economic growth;

- Unemployment will increase;

- Cost structures will

increase as demand reduces due to lower buying power;

- Foreign confidence will be reduced with loss of foreign investments;

- The essential entrepreneurial ethos will fade as entrepreneurs require an environment where the probability of success is sufficiently attractive to make the risk of innovation and entrepreneurship viable, and

- Political stability and reform will not be able to take place without economic prosperity.

It is the business sector's responsibility to utilise the corporate environment to the optimum. However, for this to occur it is essential that the government creates a healthy socio-economic macro environment.

The study says that the general political implications if the recommendations are implemented will be that socio-economic structures will be depoliticised and black frustrations and aspirations calmed. Foreign support will also improve.

Workers will develop a commitment to the free enterprise system and the social climate will improve with economic prosperity contributing to faith in the economy.

"The responsibility now lies with government and business to drive the macro and micro strategies towards total and successful implementation," the report said.

Business warned on reform

EAST LONDON — Businessmen have been warned that reform initiative on their own would meet with limited success and attempts to create a free market environment would have to be done in conjunction with government.

The message emerges in recommendations by Project Free Enterprise, which is being marketed as a unique and consolidated action plan by the business community to formulate a strategy for a stable and prosperous free market economy.

Against the background of negative perceptions by the workforce toward the free enterprise system, the project has recommended several micro-level strategies for corporate action.

These include:

- Greater worker participation in the process of

business with specific reference to decision-making and problem-solving.

- The application of integrated black advancement strategies to ensure upward development of black managers.

- The development of a system that rewards increased work inputs and enables the worker to share in the enhanced outputs of business.

- The ongoing and regular assessment of worker perceptions with the specific aim of addressing problems in the workforce.

The research shows that management has largely been paying ineffective lip service to these issues.

"Only in a few circumstances were organisation-identified that were actually implementing to management intent," the report said.

200 advertise their protest against Act

Political Reporter

THE names of more than 200 prominent Pietermaritzburg community leaders have appeared in a newspaper advertisement protesting against proposed amendments to the Public Safety Act and Internal Security Act.

The list was headed by the Rt Rev Michael Nuttall,

Anglican Bishop of Natal, and included Prof G D L Schreiner, acting principal of the University of Natal, and several university heads of department.

A public protest meeting will be held at the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity today at 7 30 p m.

The advertisement stated that the proposed amend-

ments provide for names of detained people to be withheld for lengthy periods, the extending of detentions from 14 to 180 days, the curtailing of Press coverage of police or army actions and the indemnity of police from prosecution.

In Durban earlier this week the Natal branch of the National Anti-Bills

Committee was launched.

Mr Lechesa Tsenoli, spokesman for the United Democratic Front, said the Natal branch was backed by 14 political, trade union, church, youth and student groups.

Rallies and protests were being planned for today and a public protest meeting would be held in the Durban City Hall tomorrow at 7 30 p m.

The meeting would be addressed by Mr Sidney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Dr Farouk Meer, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, and possibly Dr Alex Boraine, former chairman of the federal council of the Progressive Federal Party.

Feelings

Mr Tsenoli said the Bills should be opposed because of their draconian nature and their affects on extra-parliamentary organisations.

He said the banning of all meetings commemorating the 1976 Soweto uprising and the Freedom Charter showed the Government was insensitive to the feelings of the people.

Mr Ian Mkize, spokesman for the Joint Rent Action Committee, said the Government was trying to further erode the already dented civil liberties in South Africa.

UDF calls study's basis into question

The United Democratic Front has said it welcomes any creative initiative aimed at ending the violence in South Africa, but has questioned Project Free Enterprise's preoccupation with saving the current economic order.

"It would seem to me that the question of economic and political power is not adequately handled in the report," said UDF spokesman Mr. Murphy Morobe.

This was reflected in the study's preoccupation with saving the free enterprise system.

DEMAND

Questions such as the destruction of white minority rule, and the demand for one person, one vote in a united South Africa to end land hunger and economic exploitation, played second fiddle to saving free enterprise.

He said the study was focused on businessmen and was incomplete without broader participation by all relevant parties.

"While the UDF supports the efforts of all South Africans to seek creatively to resolve the conflict in our country, we must nevertheless warn against attempts like the Government's of working out solutions above the heads of the people, and not with the people."

● See Page 9

Wide-ranging political and economic reforms sought

BUD DAY 30414
9/6/86

Big business provides a 'road map' for SA

MORE than 900 top business leaders have devised a programme of wide-ranging political and economic reforms in a bid to halt unrest and bolster the system of free enterprise in SA.

The programme, contained in a report released yesterday by Project Free Enterprise (PFE), is being billed as the most comprehensive attempt ever by the business sector to put forward solutions to the country's political and economic problems.

One leading businessman described it as "a well-researched and documented road map for business and for government."

The findings and recommendations of the report, representing as they do the consolidated views of a very wide cross-

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

section of the private sector, are regarded as probably the most significant empirically-based attempts ever by the business community to come to grips with a strategic solution for SA's economy.

The report was compiled by a research team under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Nasser of Unisa's School of Business Leadership.

It is an important end-result of extensive research that was embarked upon in 1983/4 among personnel of 78 of SA's leading organisations to determine the perceptions and commitment of the workforce to business within the free enterprise system.

The survey, representing three million

employees, proved conclusively that the workers viewed business as exploitative, offering them little in return for their labour inputs.

These perceptions motivated the leaders of more than 100 of the country's major private and para-statal organisations in January last year to set about determining what effect-steps could be indentified to overcome the negative attitudes of the workforce.

Under Nasser's chairmanship, a series of think-tanks and workshops were held during 1985. The end-product is the PFE report.

Stressing that political and economic policy are totally interdependent and must be mutually incorporated in the

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

Government is told that blacks must be given full economic role

Business launches bold initiative to save SA

9/16/88
SVP
304A
[Signature]

By Colleen Ryan

The business sector today launched an urgent initiative to save South Africa from political and economic disaster, and called for drastic action by both the Government and private enterprise.

Project Free Enterprise calls on the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act, create equal property ownership rights, remove influx control, and introduce direct political representation for blacks in central, regional and local government.

Two big drives, which have the backing of more than 100 corporations, are:

- The release of the Project Free Enterprise Report, which spells out how blacks can gain full economic participation in South Africa and so ensure the country's survival.
- The launch of an action programme to ensure that the report's major recommendations are carried out — by creating a new Economic Participation Council.

The report is being sent to top members of the Government, to Parliament and to numerous white and black interest groups — including black trade unions. But the United Democratic Front has already expressed strong reservations about the report, and major black trade unions refused to take part in the project.

The report, which was carried out under the auspices of Unisa's School of Business Leadership, has called on the Government to abandon its unsuccessful ad hoc reforms and start immediate negotiations with recognised, but moderate black leaders.

In a statement calling for an action plan, the researchers warn that current "political reform ... is viewed by blacks as being largely irrelevant".

"To tie any reform to the concept of apartheid, even if it is as a way of ending it, perceptually contaminates the proposed reforms. For this reason a new method needs to be followed ... namely economic prosperity for all in a politically stable and strong South Africa."

The business sector has been urged to formulate a new management system to bring about black participation in business; to be committed to black advancement; and introduce incentive rewards.

Main goal

The action plan proposed by report chairman Professor Martin Nasser and project leader Mr Christo Nel has called for:

- The establishment of an Economic Participation Council made up of senior business representatives, employer bodies — and union representatives, if possible.
- The forming of a small executive committee consisting of full-time specialists who would use the most effective methods to monitor and promote the action plan.
- The council to make use of existing infrastructures of employer bodies, universities, unions and specialist groups to conduct research and communication.

The main goal of the council will be the achievement of full economic participation in a free market economy in a politically stable South Africa.

However, in the long term, serious consideration must be given to whether a mixed or social market economy is not perhaps the most realistic option for South Africa.

The researchers warn of the dangers of overt and covert industrial sabotage in which the disenchanted workforce is effectively preventing the achievement of enhanced productivity and quality.

"On the other hand, the ad hoc — and often vague — reform initiative is creating a climate which is an ideal breeding ground for the vested interests of the right-wing extremists."

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Bill: Joint executive for Natal-Kwazulu

Political Staff

A SPECIAL Bill giving the go-ahead for Natal and Kwazulu to form a joint executive and administration was tabled in Parliament today.

The Bill, however, spells out that the two administrations will continue to be separate entities and will be able to veto any recommendation of the joint structure.

The legislation — the Joint Executive Authority for Kwazulu and Natal Bill — is a result of negotiations between Natal and Kwazulu.

The Bill has nothing to do with the Kwazulu/Natal indaba which is discussing a single legislature for the region and if successful would override the legislation before Parliament.

REPRESENTATION

The proposed umbrella body would be known as the Joint Executive Authority (JEA).

Kwazulu and Natal would have equal representation on the JEA.

The power to assign the administration of any law or provision in a law or duty to the JEA will rest with the President.

The JEA will make recommendations to the Natal Administrator or the Chief Minister of Kwazulu with either of them being able to veto a recommendation.

The Bill provides for the joint use of staff, a joint revenue fund, the appointment of a chief executive officer and the sharing of equipment, materials and facilities.

The JEA and its secretariat would also co-ordinate plans and proposals of the two administrations and would be able to act as an agent for both regions.

The JEA is expected to become operational before the end of the year.

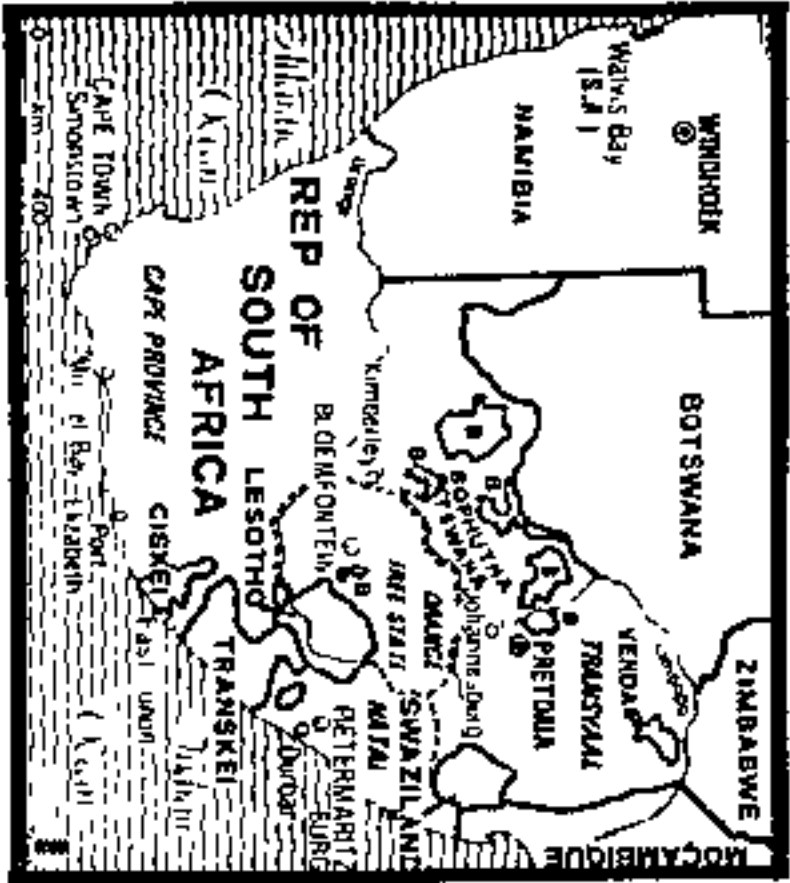
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Spectrum

□ DUMP APARTHEID . . . □ SCRAP GROUP AREAS ACT . . . □ GIVE BLACKS DIRECT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AT ALL—

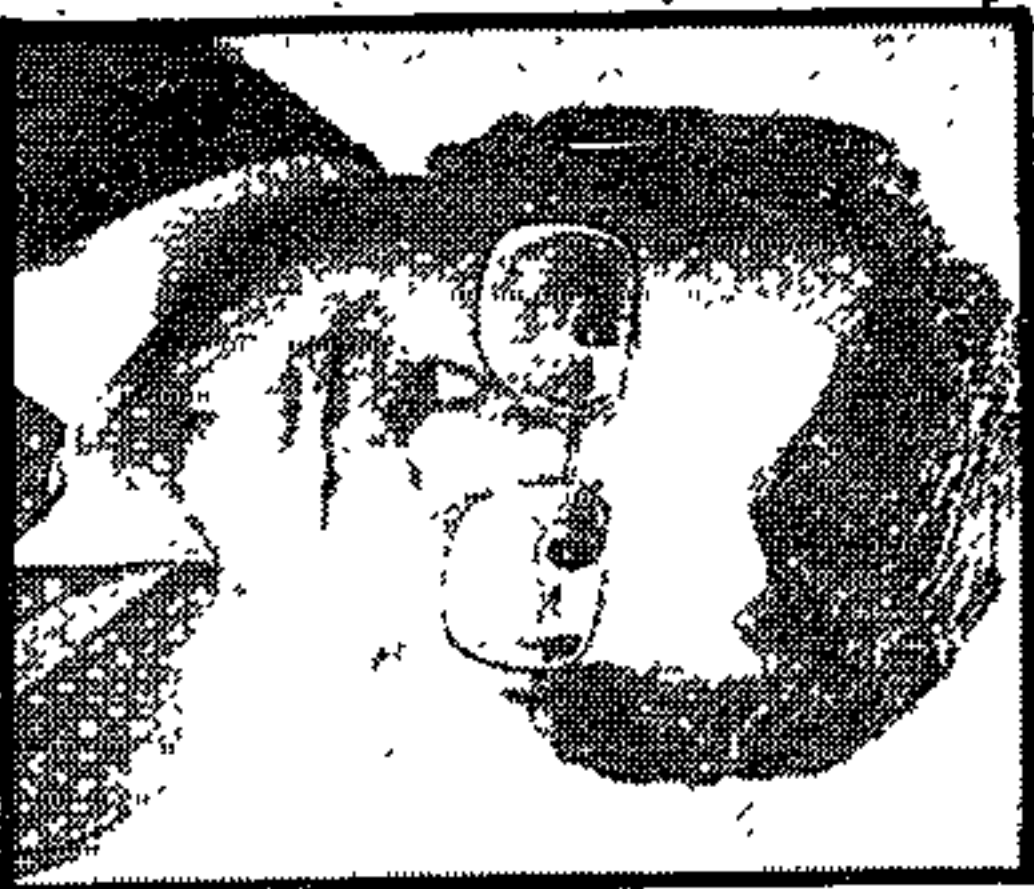
LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

This is a report of a UNISA study which set out to examine the growing alienation of black workers from business, their shift of sympathies away from free enterprise toward socialism and South Africa's plummeting productivity levels.



SPECIAL REPORT

By LESTER VENTER
Staff Reporter



Professor Martin Nasser, chairman of the study on South African survival.

Working plan
for a new
South Africa

THE University of South Africa's landmark study on the country's economic survival will be a working document, according to the project's chairman, Professor Martin Nasser.

GET rid of apartheid if South Africa is to survive and grow. That, in effect, is the finding of a three-year study by the University of South Africa of the country's economic future.

Conducted by UNISA's School of Business Leadership in conjunction with the private sector, the report calls for unfettered property ownership, abolition of influx control, scrapping of the Group Areas Act, a re-worked education system under one ministry and "direct" political participation by blacks at all levels of Government.

Significantly, though, the suggestion of full black participation in a unitary state got no endorsement whatever from business.

And in several other instances results disclose confusion in the collective business mind and indicate a difficult journey to a stable society ahead.

THE study set out to examine the growing alienation of black workers from business, their shift of sympathies away from free enterprise toward socialism and South Africa's plummeting



unity in administering the country.

Failure to implement its findings, the report said, would lead to accelerated alienation of workers from free enterprise, more unemployment, higher costs linked to reduced buying power, and less foreign investment.

The project is one of the most comprehensive studies ever on the crisis in South Africa and a detailed way out of it.

Both its premises and findings are based on the root issue of the survival of an economy that can support tenable national life.

It was put together by some of country's top business and academic brains. More than 900 executives spent more than 2 000 man-days on the undertaking.

Heads of large corporations among the study's mentors were Mr Colin Adcock of Toyota, Mr Chris Ball of Barclays, Mr Willem van Wyk of Iscor, Mr J Bezuidenhout of Sasol and Dr Zac de Beer of Anglo American.

Academic mentors included Professor L Schlemmer of the University of Natal, Profes-

publish a quarterly barometer of the implementation of its findings, Prof Nasser said in an interview from Pretoria.

"There's a whole new mood in South Africa," he said.

The Government was already "well informed" on the report and there had been a response ranging from "neutral to extremely positive".

There had been consultations with the Council for Economic Strategy and the State President's Economic Advisory Council.

"Things are moving and there's absolutely no doubt about it," he said.

Traditional distinctions between English and Afrikaans and conservative and liberal were giving way to a rising middle ground.

"This is the first time we've had a consolidated voice on anything of this sort," he said.

ing revision of the fundamentals of political life in South Africa and current attitudes and practises in business could halt the slide into a polarising society in economic decline.

will merely contribute to frustration and radical reaction."

It said its recommendations on property ownership, influx control, group areas

The solution

REMARKABLE agreement on strategy is one of the revealing facets of the seminal study on the South African crisis by the University of South Africa.

It showed that South African business, across the language and colour spectrum, believes overwhelmingly that bulwarks of apartheid should be eradicated.

More than that, there was close-to-unanimous agreement on how this should be done.

In more than seven out of 10 cases, there was more than 80 percent agreement among the 110 leading companies and organisations that participated in the project.

The report recommended "direct" political participation in Government by black people.

But a "winner takes all" unitary state with centralised power got an unequivocal nil percent endorsement.

What about the workers?

THE South African business community emerges with ribbons of flesh torn from its corporate body in the UNISA's study on the future of free enterprise in South Africa.

Management pays "ineffective lip-service" to the important issues of black advancement and work-place incentives, says the study.

Bosses are satisfied with "broad, generic statements of intent" rather than specific action.

There is a great difference in the perceptions of management and workers on how much change has been achieved.

And management's intentions are not communicated down the line, or are simply disbelieved, according to the report.



THE thrust of the study is a call for a large-scale revision of attitudes and practices in business, placing general emphasis on workers' participation in decision-making and problem-solving, par-

ticular emphasis on the need for accelerated black advancement, and a pervasive urgency for black workers to derive real benefits from free enterprise.

Current efforts are in an "early, exploratory and immature phase" the report says.

"Management is generally still guilty of totalitarian and autocratic styles of management that negate or prevent any meaningful participation by workers in basic processes such as performance improvement, productivity enhancement and decision-making.

"Black advancement is an area which, while it has received an enormous amount of superficial attention, has very little to show by way of results or success models," the findings show.

AND THE FUTURE?



THE downward trend of vague reform is leading to increased bloodshed and weakened white negotiating power, according to a UNISA strategic study of South African survival.

This has a "worst-case" outcome of a unitary state under black majority rule and a "best-case" result of a federated nation, with the rights of whites "initially entrenched".

The study report amounts to a blueprint for a new deal in South Africa, involving a combined strategy by Government and the private sector.

It calls for immediate negotiation with recognised and elected black leaders.

"Any attempt at unilateral announcements of potential reform is doomed to failure for the

very reason that it is the Government, in isolation, that would be making such statements," says the report of the study conducted by UNISA's School of Business Leadership.

The priority is for all South Africans to decide "what we want South Africa to look like two to five years from now".

"It is up to the Government to decide whether it wants to negotiate now with elected leaders, or at a later date with only pro-violence and radical leaders."

The Government has undermined moderate black leaders by ignoring them.

"Only visible and spectacular successes via direct negotiations with the Government are capable of increasing their credibility," the report says.

equal education and political participation were an "absolute prerequisite for economic growth and stability".

This political action needed to be followed up in business by involving workers in decision-making. Programmes

should be launched to develop black managers and to ensure that workers shared in the rewards of business.

THE country's ills could not be blamed on racism alone and the mere abolition

of apartheid would not cure its malaise.

Scrapping of discrimination would have to be followed by action to involve all South Africans in working for greater productivity in business and

sor J Sadie and Professor R R Tusenius of Stellenbosch University and Professor B Kantor and Professor J Simpson of the University of Cape Town.

Project chairman was Professor Martin Nasser of UNISA.

1 — just dump apartheid, and talk

MOST preferred — with 93 percent endorsement — a limited form of central government retaining major portfolios such as defence, foreign affairs and overall infrastructure and delegating the rest to lower echelons.

A bill of rights, enforceable by courts to protect the rights of minorities, was endorsed by 88 percent of respondents.

Only 17 percent thought the present situation held any prospect for desired change.

A resounding 100 percent believed the way to effect change was through low-key, informal and confidential negotiations between government, community and political leaders.

Total endorsement was also given to genuine freehold for all, although 59 percent thought there should be ownership for each race in its own area.

All respondents wanted traditional and contemporary systems of land tenure revised and the web of legislation on the allocation and acquisition of property revamped.

RESPONDENTS were asked to rank educational priorities by importance. A single ministry topped the list at 72 percent, although racial integration in schools figured far down the list at 32 percent.

Removal of the Group Areas Act, leaving the racial pattern of residence and business siting purely to market forces, got a 100 percent endorsement.

Paradoxically, 27 percent of the respondents, mostly businessmen, did not endorse the opening of central business districts.

Full favour was given to an easing or lifting of restrictions on the creation of small and informal businesses.

Support for reforms devised by top businessmen

Mercury Reporter

A PROGRAMME of wide-ranging political and economic reforms devised by more than 600 top business leaders to halt unrest and bolster the free-enterprise system has been welcomed by the Natal Chamber of Industries and the official Opposition.

The programme, contained in a report released today by Project Free Enterprise, is being billed as the most comprehensive attempt by the business sector to put forward solutions to the country's political and economic problems.

The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said last night he believed the general recommendations seemed 'very logical and entirely acceptable' while the Natal Chamber of Industries' executive director, Mr Roland Freakes, said anyone who put together a programme that would assist in the survival of the free-enterprise system deserved support.

The report, entitled 'Economic Participation in South Africa — Strategy for Survival and Growth', consolidated the thinking of management from 103 of South Africa's leading business organisations, Prof Martin Nasser, chairman of the project and professor at Unisa's School of Business Leadership, told Sapa.

Among the possible reforms supported by the businessmen are that:

Goals

A new constitutional dispensation must immediately be set in motion by the Government;

The first step in this process is the recognition of and negotiation with recognised black leaders and the simultaneous production of a statement of intent by the two parties to define mutually accepted goals for the future;

A possible next step would be multilateral negotiations to define a new constitutional dispensation followed by a referendum based on universal franchise to determine the de-

gree of popular acceptance of the reform proposals.

The end result most favoured by the businessmen is a decentralised democracy in which the powers of the central Government are restricted to key areas, the protection of minorities are entrenched, a universal franchise and common voters role exists and blacks participate in all levels of government.

Mr Christo Nel, leader of the research team, said that as far as the abolition of influx control was concerned, the Government's recent measures had met the proposals put forward in the report.

Freehold

However, it remained to be seen whether the Government's policy of orderly urbanisation would impose any controls over freedom of movement and property ownership.

The ultimate objective of businessmen was the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, unfettered freehold and freedom of movement for all, the report said.

To this end the Government should announce a 'sunset date' for the removal of Group Areas so that the market forces of supply and demand could act as control measures rather than the current rules and regulations.

Regarding education, the report proposed the Government announce a date when ethnic differentiation in schools would end.

This could be followed by a period in which segregated and mixed schools co-existed, the Government announced the intention to create one ministry of education and encouraged incentives to establish private schools.

This process could then culminate in a single education policy under one ministry, scholars and par-

ents having the freedom to choose which schools to attend and control over schools being exercised by democratically elected local authorities.

Feature

The report also recommended that the private sector get more involved in the design of school curricula and that syllabuses shift from their academic bias to include more vocational training.

The extension of informal education for 'second chance learners' was encouraged.

A major feature of the report was its proposal for the creation of a class of black entrepreneurs by the deregulation of small businesses.

It said this could be achieved by lowering health and safety standards, reducing minimum working hours and minimum wages, businessmen deciding on their own hours of business, elimination of licensing provisions, introduction of free-trade areas for street vendors and a reduction of taxes which eroded the capital base of small businesses.

A major characteristic of all the political proposals was the high degree of consensus regarding their implementation on the part of businessmen, the report said.

Logical

'Many of the proposals received overwhelming endorsements, even though this would have been most unlikely, given the profile of the participants, as little as five years ago.

'This suggests a uniquely receptive climate of opinion at present, which is presumably a response to the urgency of the situation in South Africa.'

Mr Swart said last night that although he had not

yet studied the report, he believed the general recommendations seemed 'very logical and entirely acceptable'.

He said the recommendations sounded very much like the steps his party had been advocating for a number of years.

'We have talked of a national convention, the need for joint decision-making, a general suffrage of adult voters and built-in safeguards for the protection of minorities and the creation of a single education ministry.'

Mr Freakes said the Natal Chamber of Industries was a powerful advocate of the free-enterprise system.

Indaba

'Therefore anyone who puts together a programme that will assist in its survival deserves support.'

He said the detailed issues addressed by the project were wide-ranging and in a sense ran parallel with the issues being debated at the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

'They are also, to some extent, issues which have been addressed by the FCI's Business Charter. One cannot comment on all the issues as some are highly controversial.'

'But certainly the more straightforward issues such as deregulation to encourage small, informal businesses, as well as urbanisation, are to be supported and advocated.'

If deregulation resulted in a lowering of such standards as health and safety, that was 'the kind of trade-off that will be needed' to create new jobs in the future.

'Obviously, such a process would be aimed at some of the totally unnecessary high standards which are evident at the moment. But one cannot go too far in this context.'

Influx

He said the State President now had wide-ranging powers for deregulation and Mr Freakes expressed the hope that in using these powers, the President would consult industry and commerce.

He said the abolition of influx control would inevitably give rise to an influx of blacks to the cities.

'Bright lights always seem to offer some prospect of employment and a more sophisticated life and the influx of blacks is something that we will have to prepare for.'

'Preparing for this represents a very great challenge and one which the city council is aware of.'

Mr Freakes said the proposal for a single education policy was a very noble objective that many people would share.

'Negotiate with the black leaders'

The Government must begin immediate negotiations with recognised black leaders to avoid further polarisation and violence in South Africa, says the Project Free Enterprise report.

Lack of clarity about reform was eroding support for moderates and increasing the power of left-wing and right-wing extremists, it added.

The researchers also warned against the continued detention of black leaders.

"The erosion of the moderate/rational leadership is being accelerated by every detention of any black leader.

"This is making the possibility of constructive negotiation increasingly remote. Many potential, or even previously moderate/rational leaders, are being driven into the 'frustrated' and left-wing extremist camps."

The researchers said the current political spectrum consisted of left-wing extremists, frustrated blacks, the moderate, the insecure whites, and right-wing extremists. Surveys had found that most people were willing to move towards a moderate/rational position.

"This is entirely dependent upon the degree of clarity and meaningfulness of future reform. The current situation is unfortunately characterised by an unacceptably high degree of vagueness."

VITAL ACTIONS

The breaking down of extremism and the creation of an effective coalition of moderate elements required four vital actions:

- Immediate negotiation with recognised black leaders.
- A statement of intent which should suggest a guide plan for what South Africa would be like in two to five years. Such a statement should be issued by next January.
- Formulating and implementing a new constitution. Such constitution should be a medium- to long-term process.
- Business sector involvement. The report said the Govern-

Govt, business warned on SA's down

Take urgent steps now or else . .

Only drastic and immediate action by the Government and the business sector can reverse South Africa's steady slide into violence and economic disorder, Project Free Enterprise has warned.

The report "Economic participation in South Africa — strategy for survival" was launched after a survey found highly negative worker attitudes towards business in South Africa.

The initial findings identified worker perceptions such as businesses were exploitative and funded from limitless resources of capital provided largely by banks and Government. Profits were used for management bonuses and for taxes.

There was little understanding of the need for productivity to boost capital in a company. Most employees believed raising prices was the most effective way of creating revenue for wages.

Urgent steps

Project participants found in a subsequent study that urgent steps should be taken by the Government to help improve worker perceptions. The report recommended:

- The Government should create the opportunity for all individuals to have equal access to property ownership within South Africa.
- The removal of influx control.
- The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the use of market forces of supply and demand as control measures instead of interventionist rules.
- The deregulation of small business to encourage development.
- The introduction of direct political representation and nar-

Project Free Enterprise, launched in 1984, set out to identify the major barriers to black economic prosperity and participation and the negative perceptions of workers. The project also identified the urgent steps that had to be taken to create an environment where the free market system could survive.

The project, involving 103 leading companies and semi-government bodies, was launched after earlier research by the Unisa School of Business Leadership found that the majority of workers viewed business as exploitative, offering them little in return for their labour.

The project, chaired by Professor Martin Nasser and under the leadership of Mr Christo Nel, held a series of think tanks for managers and employees last year to formulate a strategy for the promotion of free enterprise in South Africa. The researchers then developed proposals to be taken by Government and business which would save South Africa from steady decline into economic stagnation and political chaos. COLLEEN RYAN reports on their recommendations and findings.

participation for the black community within central, regional and local government.

- Complete restructuring of the education system under a single ministry to implement a more economically viable and world-orientated curriculum.

The project acknowledged the importance of the business community adopting a "micro" strategy to be developed in conjunction with the Government's "macro" reforms.

The business community was committed to:

- Develop managerial systems to ensure optimum levels of worker-participation in decision-making and problem-solving.
- Introducing strategies to promote the development of black managers.
- The development of reward system to increase work inputs.

The researchers also identified the specific steps that the Government should take to ensure reform. The recommendations, together with the percentage of endorsements from

respondents, fell under the headings:

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Measures with 100 percent endorsement were those calling for genuine freehold for all, removal of discretionary site allocation, development of individual initiative, racially declassify financial institutions, delegate developmental responsibility downwards, modernise tribal, private and homeland land tenure.

Recommendations which lacked complete support were the call for ownership for all races in all areas (71 percent endorsement), ownership for each race in own area (59 percent), combination of open and restricted areas (65 percent), removal of rent control (88 percent) and withdrawal of the Development Trust and Land Act (94 percent).

BLACK PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS

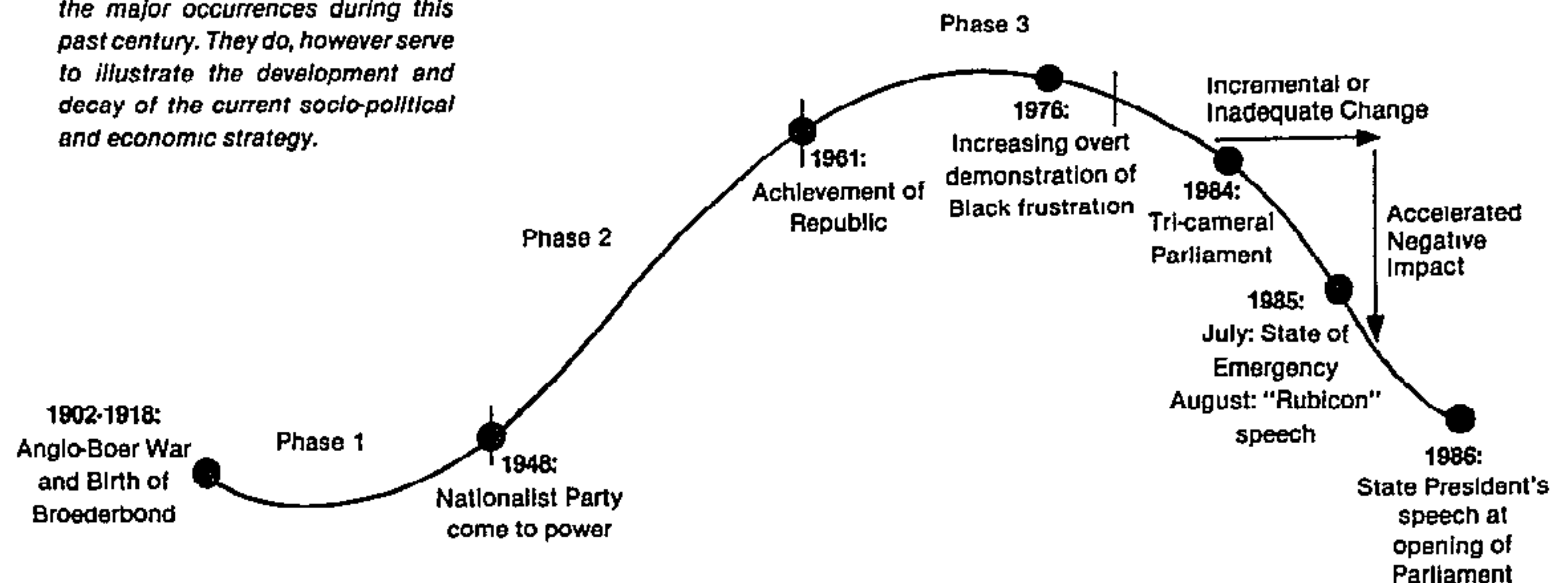
All respondents rejected the formation of a unitary, one-man, one-vote system while only 26 percent supported the

ENTERPRISE

inward slide

steps

Note. The stated key occurrences obviously do not encompass all of the major occurrences during this past century. They do, however serve to illustrate the development and decay of the current socio-political and economic strategy.



The Historical Development Status of South Africa

A few of the key occurrences along the development of the strategy which is still largely in place. At the current stage of development which has reached the fourth phase, only a fundamental repositioning and immediate implementation of a totally new and integrated strategy can stop the negative momentum.

Political crisis 'worsened by inadequate SA reform'

South African is in a political crisis and the situation is being worsened by inadequate reform, the Project Free Enterprise report found.

The report said there was no longer time to think or talk about change. "In this instance, time has passed us by, and will no longer wait for South Africa."

The researchers said the country had progressed through three phases and had entered a fourth:

- Phase one (1902-1948) was characterised by disequilibrium and the need for clarity of goals.
- Phase two (1948 — 1961) was a period when there was equilibrium between challenge and response, dynamism and flexibility.
- Phase three — (1961 — 1979) was characterised

by disequilibrium between challenge and response, stagnation due to loss of flexibility, waste, unwillingness to introduce change and loss of creativity.

● Phase four — (the present stage) is characterised by stagnation and hardening of resistance to change, escalation of crisis and crisis management.

The hardening of attitudes of vested interest groups was the single most important stumbling block to change, said the report.

Ad-hoc change was not good enough — "The only option is fundamental change which is seen to be implemented and not merely talked about."

An example of inadequate change which did not alter strategy was the "Rubicon" speech.

The report warns that South Africa's sensitivity and vulnerability to political, economic and social issues, both internal and external, would increase.

The report said the best position for implementing change had been at the start of the third phase.

Survival and growth required the development of an entirely new socio-political and socio-economic dispensation.

The report warned: "Current political structures are incapable of coping with the problems of a growing clash of interests. The socio-political infrastructure is historically too inclined to appease rightist vested interest groups."

"This prevents development or achievement of change which would be acceptable to the moderate majority."

The report said business should accept its position as a politically non-aligned party which could play a central role

principle of geographic grouping according to race.

Other recommendations with endorsements ranging from 71 to 93 percent were the principles of limited central government, a bill of rights, megadevolution, limited central government powers.

With regard to bring about change, all respondents favoured low profile negotiation but only 17 percent were satisfied with the present process of change.

The role of the private sector in bringing about black participation should be to influence government, all respondents agreed. Only 50 percent favoured prescribing to government while 93 percent believed in educating workers.

EDUCATION

The recommendations adopted by the majority of respondents, in their order of importance, were for the introduction of a single ministry of education, private sector involvement in education, real world curricula, improvement of teacher training and restructuring curricula.

GROUP AREAS ACT

All respondents supported the removal of the Group Areas Act, but only 5 percent favoured forced integration. The majority favoured total and effective opening of CBDs and delegation to local authorities.

All participants favoured scrapping influx control.

SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

The majority of recommendations were accepted overwhelmingly and include a call for lower building standards, free choice of business hours, removal of licences for starting small businesses, relaxation of many restrictive measures and re-evaluation of zon-

Education ministry call

Project Free Enterprise has called for the establishment of a single ministry of education in South Africa, saying:

"Only a unified administrative system will be acceptable to the black community and will reduce black alienation."

Education was a fundamental function of the State. The cost of disparities in the provision of education was manifold and serious.

At a national level, decisions and expenditure could be most effectively handled by a single ministry with an overview of the needs, priorities, adequacies and inadequacies within the system.

Researchers said there should be leeway for decentralisation on a regional and community basis. Other priorities were:

REAL WORLD CURRICULUM

- Introducing private sector involvement.
 - Designing a "real world" curriculum. Pupils left school before they had obtained suitable vocational qualifications, skills or appropriate value systems. There should be a balance between general formative preparatory education and career education relating better to the country's manpower needs.
 - Improvements to teacher training in both formal and non-formal sectors. Private sector personnel and facilities should be used in teacher training and teachers of any race be used at all schools.
- Other priorities included developing career guidance in schools, improving the accessibility of non-formal education and racial in-

being driven into the 'frustrated' and left-wing extremist camps."

The researchers said the current political spectrum consisted of left-wing extremists, frustrated blacks, the moderate, the insecure whites, and right-wing extremists. Surveys had found that most people were willing to move towards a moderate/rational position.

"This is entirely dependent upon the degree of clarity and meaningfulness of future reform. The current situation is unfortunately characterised by an unacceptably high degree of vagueness."

VITAL ACTIONS

- The breaking down of extremism and the creation of an effective coalition of moderate elements required four vital actions:
- Immediate negotiation with recognised black leaders.
- A statement of intent which should suggest a guide plan for what South Africa would be like in two to five years. Such a statement should be issued by next January.
- Formulating and implementing a new constitution. Such a constitution should be a medium to long-term process.
- Business sector involvement. The report said the Government had lost credibility to the Left and the Right.

The report said there were several options open to the Government for creating a future South Africa: it could take unilateral decisions; consult with other population groups; engage in direct negotiation.

The only effective way of bringing about change was for the Government to decide whether it wanted to negotiate with elected, non-radical leaders — or at a later date with only pro-violence/radical leaders.

The researchers developed a "barometer," which begins at where South Africa is at the moment, and goals for the future.

worker perceptions such as businesses were exploitative and funded from limitless resources of capital provided largely by banks and Government. Profits were used for management bonuses and for taxes.

There was little understanding of the need for productivity to boost capital in a company. Most employees believed raising prices was the most effective way of creating revenue for wages.

Urgent steps

Project participants found in a subsequent study that urgent steps should be taken by the Government to help improve worker perceptions. The report recommended:

- The Government should create the opportunity for all individuals to have equal access to property ownership within South Africa.
- The removal of influx control.
- The scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the use of market forces of supply and demand as control measures instead of interventionist rules.
- The deregulation of small business to encourage development.
- The introduction of direct political representation and participation.

late a strategy for the promotion of free enterprise in South Africa. The researchers then developed proposals to be taken by Government and business which would save South Africa from steady decline into economic stagnation and political chaos. COLLEEN RYAN reports on their recommendations and findings.

respondents, fell under the headings:

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Measures with 100 percent endorsement were those calling for genuine freehold for all, removal of discretionary site allocation, development of individual initiative, racially delegate developmental responsibility downwards, moderate tribal, private and homeland land tenure.

Recommendations which lacked complete support were the call for ownership for all races in all areas (71 percent endorsement), ownership for each race in own area (59 percent), combination of open and restricted areas (65 percent), removal of rent control (88 percent) and withdrawal of the Development Trust and Land Act (94 percent).

BLACK PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT SYSTEMS

All respondents rejected the formation of a unitary, one-man, one-vote system while only 36 percent supported the

in bringing about black participation should be to influence government, all respondents agreed. Only 50 percent favoured prescribing to government while 93 percent believed in educating workers.

The recommendations adopted by the majority of respondents, in their order of importance, were for the introduction of a single ministry of education, private sector involvement in education, real world curricula, improvement of teacher training and restructuring curricula.

GROUP AREAS ACT

All respondents supported the removal of the Group Areas Act, but only 5 percent favoured forced integration. The majority favoured total and effective opening of CBDs and delegation to local authorities.

All participants favoured scrapping influx control.

SMALL BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT

The majority of recommendations were accepted overwhelmingly and include a call for lower building standards, free choice of business hours, removal of licences for starting small businesses, relaxation of many restrictive measures and re-evaluation of zoning in black areas.

think of talk about change time has passed us by, and for South Africa."

The researchers said they progressed through three phases:

- Phase one (1902-1948) was disequilibrium and the need
- Phase two (1948 — 1961) there was equilibrium between response, dynamism and flexibility
- Phase three — (1961 — 19

Education

Project Free Enterprise has a single ministry of education in

"Only a unified administrative black community and will

Education was a fundamental disparities in the provision of At a national level, decisions effectively handled by a single needs, priorities, adequacies

Researchers said there is on a regional and community

REAL WORLD

- Introducing private sector
- Designing a "real world" they had obtained suitable appropriate value systems. The at formative preparatory e better to the country's manpower
- Improvements to teacher sectors. Private sector persons teacher training and teacher Other priorities included d improving the accessibility c tegration in schools.

STATUS OF REFORM

The Current Status in South Africa

SOUTH AFRICA TODAY:

Attraction gaining momentum

Attraction weakening



- Left-wing extremists preaching revolutionary change.
- The "frustrated" (no light at the end of the tunnel, no meaningful political participation in sight.) — they belong in the centre, but frustration may drive them to the right.
- The "insecure" (what will all these ad hoc changes lead to: loss of identity and self-determination?) — they belong in the centre but insecurity may drive them to the extreme right.
- Right-wing extremists preaching violence to maintain the status quo.

Report advocates involving workers

The most effective way of gaining commitment to the free enterprise system is to encourage worker participation, the Free Enterprise Report has recommended. Researchers investi-

COLLEGE

Professors advance

The report said the Government had lost credibility to the Left and the Right.

The report said there were several options open to the Government for creating a future South Africa: it could take unilateral decisions; consult with other population groups; engage in direct negotiation.

The only effective way of bringing about change was for the Government to decide whether it wanted to negotiate with elected, non-radical leaders — or at a later date with only pro-violence/radical leaders.

The researchers developed a "barometer", which begins at where South Africa is at the moment, and goals for the future.

Economic prosperity essential

The implications of ignoring the recommendations made by Project Free Enterprise were extremely serious for both the economic and political sphere.

Economically, worker commitment to economic growth and the free market system would continue to be eroded, leading to reduced productivity and lower economic growth.

The report warned that political stability and reform would not be possible without economic prosperity.

The political consequences were that black attitudes, currently open to possible negotiation, would harden, leading to more radical reactions.

POSITIVE

Incremental and ad hoc change would cause, rather than prevent, crisis.

Positive implications of adopting the recommendations would include greater mobility of labour and the development of a viable black middle class.

Only fundamental and urgent implementation of reform would ensure a prosperous free market economy.

The only political cost to the Government would be to introduce meaningful black participation and scrap the Group Areas Act. Political losses could be avoided by implementing a strategy to satisfy specific interest groups.

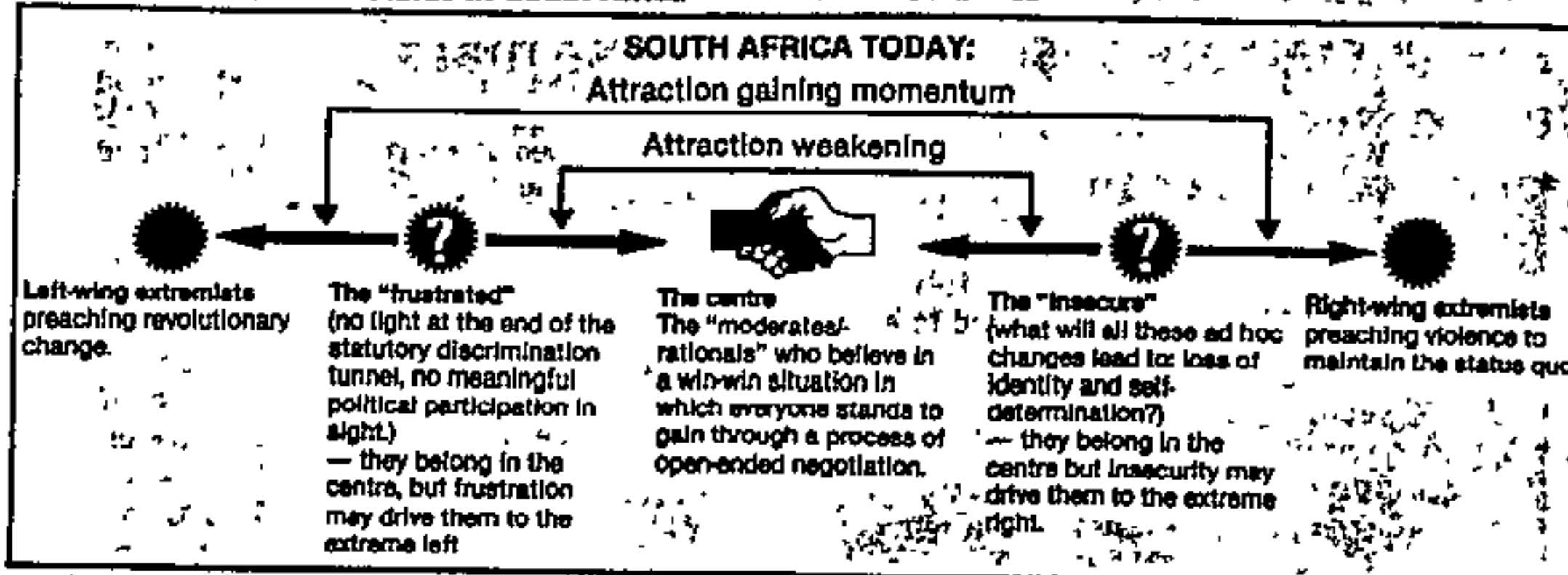
"This report, more than any other in the history of South Africa, integrates the role of government and business in ensuring that South Africa may ultimately regain its potential stability and harmony."

Political representation and participation, together with the percentage of endorsements from man, one-vote system while only 36 percent supported the

tures and re-evaluation of ing in black areas.

STATUS OF REFORM

The Current Status in South Africa



Report advocates involving workers

The most effective way of gaining commitment to the free enterprise system is to encourage worker participation, the Free Enterprise Report has recommended.

Researchers investigated top companies which had committed themselves to improving worker-manager relations and found the best successes were in participative management systems.

They concluded employers were generally still guilty of totalitarian and autocratic styles of management that ruled out meaningful participation by workers in basic processes such as performance improvement and decision-making.

The report found a need for top management commitment in ensuring that participation succeeded and said there was a need for fundamental change in managerial attitudes.

PROGRESS

It also found that organisations which had made some progress in developing participative systems had needed to personalise the system. For example, quality groups formed by a company would be given special names.

With all successes, a process of starting small and then growing was followed. Also participation in group systems had to be voluntary.

To succeed, workers had to be given authority to implement solutions and investigate problems.

An important feature of developing participation systems was through education programmes. Much of the success of participative systems depended upon an employee's understanding of why a company needed to make profits.

Business accused of paying lip-service to black progress

The business sector, like the Government, is guilty of paying lip-service to the subject of black advancement and often takes action "too little, too late", says the Project Free Enterprise report.

The business community had a major responsibility to ensure that blacks benefited directly from the system, said the report.

The researchers were critical of the progress made so far to "sell" the free enterprise system, referring to the alarming decline in productivity.

"Management pays lip-service to important issues, such as black advancement and incentives. Top management views are not properly communicated down the line or are disbelieved," it said.

"The exclusion of workers from meaningful participation undermines the very essence of

organisational survival," said the report.

The major problem was the discrepancy in the views of management and workers.

"At this early stage of the research it becomes apparent that management's perception of what they are doing differs substantially from the worker's perception of their actions.

INSENSITIVITY

"The business sector is making itself guilty of exactly the same transgressions for which central government is often blamed — lip-service, far too little action too late and insensitivity to the environment and needs of the recipients of the proposed strategy."

The report said it was "clear that the workforce would not commit itself to enhancing quality and productivity whilst the current negative percep-

tions prevail".

To achieve higher productivity and improved quality the project focused on four main priorities:

- Developing participating systems
- Encouraging black advancement
- Establishing worker perceptions
- Developing incentive reward systems

The report said that the business "micro" strategy and the Government's "macro" strategy should be developed together.

"It is the Government's responsibility to create the type of socio-economic and socio-political environment in which business can survive and prosper and it is the responsibility of business to utilise this environment to the optimum benefit of all the participants."

'Commitment to advancement needed'

The issue of black advancement in business has received only superficial attention and it was time companies committed themselves to advancement programmes, said the Project Free Enterprise report.

Black members who had taken part in the Project Free Enterprise "think-tanks" expressed frustration with lack of genuine opportunities at high levels, the report said.

In most instances businesses had increased their black labour force in mainly the unskilled and semi-skilled levels out of necessity.

One of the biggest obstacles for the project had been the near impossibility of involving organised labour, said the report.

It was unfortunate that the levels of mistrust were at such a level that organised labour often viewed itself in competition with management

while management viewed unions as obstructive.

The report said business had not always been the first career choice for blacks. Legislation, white resistance, exclusion from management, discriminatory pay structures and underdevelopment of black employees had led to the development of the medical, ministerial and teaching vocations as highly prized careers.

"Blacks entering the business world have been regarded as opting for second best, or worse, as being second-rate themselves."

In the first stage of Project Free Enterprise research had showed alarming levels of black mistrust and frustration.

The report said it was essential that blacks start seeing that management was sincere in its commitment to offer them the same opportunities and challenges as whites.

Eglin's plea on saving of mission

Mercury Correspondent

THE Government should immediately release ANC leader Nelson Mandela to save the ailing peace-and-dialogue mission initiated by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, PFP leader Colin Eglin said last night.

Mr Eglin, who yesterday returned from Europe, was reacting to reports that the group's mission was all but dead and its members would not be returning to South Africa as the South African Government had hoped.

The release of Mandela would act as a 'most important trigger event' which would naturally lead to other developments, such as the unbanning of the ANC, he said.

'The Government could send no clearer message that it is interested in real negotiation than releasing Mr Mandela.'

Foolish

Mr Eglin said that it appeared that the Commonwealth group's initiative was hanging by a slender thread 'and will break unless South Africa takes some drastic new initiative'.

He said it would be foolish to underestimate the psychological impact the ending of the peace initiative would have. 'Many in South Africa and abroad have felt that as long as the EPG initiative was alive, there was hope for a negotiated settlement in South Africa.'

'If the EPG mission collapses the mood will change drastically and the pendulum will swing towards stiffer sanctions not only in the Commonwealth but in Europe and the United States as well,' Mr Eglin said.

● See also Page 7

CAA Times 9/6/86

Businessmen 'favour reform'

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Project Free Enterprise report released yesterday is the most extensive outline of the business sector's approach to political reform ever to be produced in South Africa.

This is the opinion of Mr Christo Nel, leader of the research team that conducted workshops, seminars and think tanks with more than 600 managers to produce the report.

"This report is different to earlier programmes produced by businessmen," he told Sapa in an interview. "Those programmes were first drawn up and then businessmen went

out and tried to get people to support them.

"Our report already reflects the creativity and synergy of hundreds of managers who participated in formulating its proposals."

In order to move away from economic stagnation and political upheaval, the businessmen involved in the programme were heavily in favour of wide-ranging reforms, the report said.

A new constitutional dispensation must immediately be set in motion by the government. The first step in this process is the recognition of and negotiation with authentic black leaders and a statement of intent

by the two parties to define mutually accepted goals.

The end result most favoured by the businessmen is a decentralized democracy in which the powers of central government are restricted to key areas, the protection of minorities are entrenched, a universal franchise and common voters' role exist and blacks participate in all levels of government.

The ultimate objective of businessmen was the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, unfettered freehold and freedom of movement for all, the report said.

To this end the government should announce a "sunset date" for the removal of Group Areas so that market forces could act as control measures rather than the current regulations.

Regarding education, the report proposed the government announce a date when ethnic differentiation in schools would end.

Deregulation

This could be followed by a period in which segregated and mixed schools co-existed, the government announced the intention to create one ministry of education and encouraged incentives to establish private schools.

This process could then culminate in a single education policy under one ministry, pupils and parents having the freedom to choose which schools to attend.

A major feature of the report was its proposal for the creation of a class of black entrepreneurs by the deregulation of small businesses.

"Many of the proposals received overwhelming endorsements even though this would have been most unlikely, given the profile of the participants, as little as five years ago.

"This suggests a uniquely receptive climate of opinion at present, which is presumably a response to the urgency of the situation in South Africa." — Sapa

Business call for a new SA

CAT Tini's 9/6/86 (28) 304A

Political Staff

MORE THAN 900 top business leaders have devised a programme of wide-ranging political and economic reforms in a bid to halt unrest and bolster the system of free enterprise in South Africa.

The programme, contained in a report released yesterday by Project Free Enterprise (PFE), is being billed as the business sector's most comprehensive attempt to put forward solutions to the country's political and economic problems.

The findings and recommendations of the report, representing the views of a wide cross-section of the private sector, are regarded as the business community's most significant attempt to come to grips with a strategic solution for SA's economy.

The report was compiled by a research team under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Nasser of Unisa's School of Business Leadership.

Exploitative

It is an important result of extensive research embarked upon in 1983/4 among the personnel of 78 of SA's leading organizations to determine the attitude of the workforce to free enterprise.

The survey of three million employees proved conclusively that workers viewed business as exploitative, offering them little in return for their labour.

These perceptions motivated the leaders of more than 100 of the country's major private and parastatal organizations in January last year to set about determining what steps could be identified to overcome the negative attitudes of the workforce.

Frustration

Under Professor Nasser's chairmanship, a series of think-tanks and workshops were held during 1985. The result is the PFE report.

Stressing that political and economic policy are interdependent and must be incorporated in the formulation of any strategy, the PFE concludes that SA is in a



Mr Chris Ball

position where only fundamental and urgent reform will ensure the existence of a prosperous free-market economy.

Incremental and ad hoc reform is no solution, and will merely contribute to frustration and radical reaction.

An essential element of the PFE strategy is a recommendation calling for the depoliticizing of the country's socio-economic structures, including the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, and the introduction of meaningful black participation in the political process.

The PFE report has been widely acclaimed by leaders of the business community.

Strain

The director of Anglo American, Mr Zac de Beer, said the PFE's recommendations had become even more important than at first appeared.

"In the new SA there is going to be widespread and irresistible demand for better living standards for all our people, and unless this can be met at least to some extent, the society will be placed under severe strain.

"We all understand



Mr Ted Pavitt

how years of apartheid have caused many blacks to reject the economic as well as the political system, but we simply must get the facts across," Mr De Beer said.

"We dare not allow the baby of free enterprise to be thrown out with the bathwater of apartheid."

Rhetoric

The managing director of Hewlett-Packard, Mr Marius Furst, said the PFE's report offered hope that SA could offer all its people a better way of life.

"The SA debate is full of well-meaning rhetoric on all sides. The time for debating methodology has run out. What has been lacking is a legitimate action plan.

"We now have a well-researched and documented road map for business and for government."

The managing director of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, said that in identifying the causes of disaffection with the free-enterprise system, the PFE project had been able to focus on issues needing immediate attention to secure a stable SA.

"The business sector is identifying itself with

an integrated strategy for corporate action."

The chairman of Gencor, Mr Ted Pavitt, stressed that failure to act on the PFE recommendations would have serious economic and political implications, such as lack of worker commitment, a deteriorating growth rate, reduced capital inflow and increased radical action.

● Executives of top South African companies and organizations played instrumental roles in formulating Project Free Enterprise's strategy.

The "drive-tank" members were Professor Martin Nasser and Mr Christo Nel, of the School for Business Leadership, and executives of six top organizations.

Mentors

They were: Mr M O'Dowd (Anglo American), Mr C Ball (Barclays), Mr D Dyer (Barlow Rand), Mr T Pavitt (Gencor), Mr J Bezuidenhout (Sasol) and Dr Z de Beer (Southern Life).

A further 95 organizations and businessmen and 11 collaborating bodies were involved. The bodies included the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Assocom, the Chamber of Mines, Nafcoc and the Urban Foundation. Companies which took part included AECL, African Bank, Barlow Rand, IBM, Kirsh Industries, Mobil Oil, Nasionale Pers, SA Breweries, Old Mutual, Santam, SFW, Standard Bank, Toyota and Trust Bank.

Mentors to Project Free Enterprise included Mr K Rupert of the Rembrandt Group, Mr W van Wyk of Iscor, Mr S Motsuenyana of Nafcoc, Mr M Maubane of African Bank and Professor L Schlemmer of the University of Natal.

● Businessmen 'favour reform' — Page 9

Calls for Nats to vote for open beaches in PE

Post Reporter

SUPPORTERS of the National Party have been called on to join Progressive Federal Party supporters in voting in favour of open beaches at next Wednesday's referendum on the issue in Port Elizabeth.

And, in another development, the former Mayor of PE, Mr Ivan Krige, who motivated the pro-open beaches resolution which was adopted by council two months ago, has been challenged to attend tomorrow night's HNP meeting in Algoa Park.

Urging all people, including those who in recent municipal by-elections backed candidates in favour of open beaches, to use their vote next

Thursday, Mr Wayne Mitchell, chairman of the PFP's referendum strategy committee, said today that PE should "annihilate the right-wing element in the city" during the referendum.

He said NP supporters should prove their sincerity about reform by voting for open beaches, thereby showing that there "is no place for the right wing, which is just damaging race relations, in PE".

Mr Attie Loock, the regional organiser for the HNP, today challenged Mr Krige to attend a meeting to be addressed by the HNP's sole MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, in the Pieter Rademeyer Hall tomorrow night.

ENCLOSURE
POST
9/6/86

204/1

Municipal Reporter

Mr John Muir, said in a report issued yesterday. "Implementation of the system of apartheid over many years has bred deep resentment in persons of colour and was undoubtedly the greatest single factor leading up to the outbreak of unrest in the Cape," they said.

Their report arose out of the City Council's "Call to Dialogue" initiative of September last year which canvassed the views of community groups.

Township residents said "people of colour" had been forced by the apartheid system into "overcrowded and allegedly badly serviced" townships.

"To the average township occupant it appears that whilst there is a constant escalation in rates and rentals this is accompanied by very little improvement in the general standard of living," residents said, according to the report.

"Because they are compelled to travel substantial distances to their places of employment, transport costs are high."

Government handling of the march to Pollsmoor Prison in August last year "appeared to have actually triggered off the escalation of violence in the Cape Peninsula".

Declaration of a state of emergency had dampened unrest, but a "resurgence" began this year, mainly in black townships.

Council property had suffered damage of R278 375,15, mostly in smashed traffic lights and damaged electrical installations and equipment.

Security LP divided

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THERE was no clear indication last night of how the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Law and Order would handle the two controversial security Bills today.

It is understood the Labour Party, the dominant group in the House of Representatives, is still divided on the issue. Its study group on Law and Order ended a meeting undecided yesterday.

Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, is expected to issue a statement relating to the security legislation early today, before the standing committee meets.

The balance of opinion favours a capitulation by both the Labour Party and the National People's Party — with the standing committee finally reaching consensus on the two Bills.

Members of Parliament confirmed they were left in no doubt by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange that harsher steps would be taken — such as the reintroduction of a state of emergency or the introduction of martial law — if the Bills were not passed this week.

304 A

Cape Times, Tuesday, June 10, 1986 7

Response to business plan for reform in SA mixed

By CLARE HARPER

REACTION to the Project Free Enterprise (PFE) report, which gives an extensive outline of the business sector's approach to economic and political reform, ranged from cautiously optimistic to dismissive yesterday.

Executives of top South African companies and organizations played leading roles in formulating the PFE strategy. The findings and recommendations of the report, representing the views of a wide cross-section of the private sector, were released at the weekend.

The report was compiled by a research team under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Nasser of Unisa's School of Business Leadership.

Commitment

A research officer at the South African Institute for International Affairs, Mr Brian Bench, said: "It is the first time the majority of employer organizations — across the board — have banded together to push the government away from ad-hoc reform."

He said the report indicated the commitment of employer organizations and parastatals to finding resolutions to the country's crisis and to try to re-establish private sector credibility locally and internationally.

However, he said that "whether it will be taken up (by government) will be a different matter".

A spokesman for the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), Mr Muntu Myeza, said it was clear that the PFE report was intended to "make capitalism acceptable to the exploited people by calling it free enterprise".

The vice-president of the giant Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Chris Dlamini, said: "It is impossible to see any significant move coming from business. They make statements without actions."

EPG

"To us it looks as though employers are trying to take over from where the Eminent Persons Group left off so they can be seen to be people bringing about change."

Mr Dlamini said Cosatu demanded the immediate dismantling of apartheid and rejected the notion of protecting minorities as "everybody should be equal in South Africa".

He said he saw no change coming about without the participation of all progressives, the unbanning of the African National Congress, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, and the return of exiles.

No mood

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Mary Burton, said it was "significant that business and industry are thinking so seriously about necessary changes".

"But I fear that the last few days have shown that the government is in no mood to heed advice from within or outside South Africa."

The head of the School of Economics at the University of Cape Town, Professor Francis Wilson, said "business concern for fundamental political reform as well as economic justice is a good sign".

Challenge

But he added that the real challenge was "how to put the screws on the government".

Genuine

"Under present South African circumstances no enterprise is free for blacks," he said, adding that Azapo wished to study the report in detail.

He said "big business" had a responsibility to make genuine, lasting changes in South Africa.

The Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said the business community's move was "too little too late — they should have come up with this 10 years ago".

He said blacks were not interested in mere reform. They wanted to see the total dismantling of apartheid.

Meanwhile, Peter Wallington reports from Johannesburg that a high-powered committee of businessmen and trade unionists will be formed within the next few weeks with the aim of fulfilling the goals set out in the PFE report.

The project co-ordinator, Mr Christo Nel, yesterday said it was hoped the proposed Economic Participation Council would be operational by the end of July.

Proposals in the report range from the creation of a decentralized democracy based on universal franchise to detailed changes in education curricula.

ness) will be completed towards the end of 1986 whilst the section between Kleinkrans and the Knysna river will be completed early during 1988.

(ii) May 1986.

(c) R56 million.

Rape

1119. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether his Department has received any reports of defence lawyers allegedly harassing the victims of rape in courts and court buildings prior to the commencement of the cases concerned; if so, (a) how many during the latest specified two-year period for which information is available and (b) what action has been taken in this regard?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

As far as can be established the Department has received no such reports.

1128. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether a number of students of the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Pretoria were transported with a Hercules aircraft of the South African Defence Force from the Waterkloof airport to Pietersburg on or about 22 May 1986 to attend a political meeting in the local town hall; if so, (a) why, (b) who (i) granted approval for such use of a Defence Force aircraft and (ii) gave the instruction in this connection, (c) how many students were transported, (d)(i) what was the cost of the flight and (ii) who bore that cost and (e) by what political party was this meeting to have been held;

- (2) whether he has investigated or will

investigate this matter; if not, why not; if so,

- (3) whether he will report the results of this investigation to this House; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) No.

- (2) and (3) Fall away.

Session of Parliament: officials

1130. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- (1) Whether the number of officials who are attached to the Department of Transport and were sent from Pretoria to Cape town for the 1986 session of Parliament, has been reduced in comparison with the number of officials sent to Cape Town for previous sessions; if so, why;

- (2) whether all these officials will remain in Cape Town for the duration of the session; if not, (a) why not and (b) when will they return to Pretoria;

- (3) whether these officials will be replaced in Cape Town by other officials of this Department; if so, (a) when, (b) why and (c) what will be the cost of replacing them;

- (4) whether any communications equipment was purchased recently by this Department for use by officials in the Pretoria and/or Cape Town offices; if so, (a) what specified equipment, (b) why and (c) what was the total cost of purchasing and installing this equipment?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) No.

- (2) No, not all the officials.

- (a) To minimise costs and to make

provision for the performance of essential functions in Pretoria.

- (b) On 21 June 1986.

- (3) No.

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

- (4) No.

- (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

I wish to point out that, in order to complete certain official duties, two officials of the Department will remain in Cape Town continuously until the end of the extended session and that, with the exception of three officials who will remain in Pretoria to undertake essential official duties and will not be replaced in Cape Town, the remainder of the officials presently doing session duty will return to Cape Town on or about 15 August 1986 until the end of the extended session.

WEDNESDAY, 11 JUNE 1986

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Sporting facilities

567. Mr M A TARR asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

What was the total amount spent by the (a) former Department of Co-operation and Development and (b) Department of Education and Training on the provision of sporting facilities in South Africa in the 1985-86 financial year?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

- (a) R9 004 987.

- (b) R9 329 950.

Note:

- (i) The amount spent under (a) is in respect of the RSA as well as the National States.

- (ii) The division that was previously part of the former Department of Co-operation and Development was transferred to the Department of Education and training with effect from 1 September 1985.

Sporting facilities

766. Mr P R C ROGERS asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

What amount was spent by his Department in each departmental region on the provision of sporting facilities at schools in the latest specified period of 12 months for which figures are available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

Cape Region	R1 193 939
Highveld Region	1 110 182
Northern Transvaal Region ..	1 859 091
Johannesburg Region	1 554 389
Orange Free State Region	2 506 936
Natal Region	840 930
Orange Vaal Region	264 483
Total	R9 329 950

Statistics for the period 1 April 1985 to 31 March 1986.

Primary/high schools

916. Mr K M ANJUREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

- (1) How many (a) primary and (b) high schools are there in the Cape Peninsula;

- (2) how many (a) pupils, (b) members of teaching staff and (c) classrooms are there in total at such (i) primary and (ii) high schools;

- (3) how many of the teachers at such (a)

in terms of what statutory provision were they arrested or detained and (d) where were they being held as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

- (2) whether any representations have been received concerning these persons; if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was the (i) nature of the representations and (ii) response thereto;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, in co-operation with the Ciskei Police.

(a) Xolani Ngamane;
Nomathokazi Mini.

(b) Mdantsane Black township.

(c) (i) 04h30.

(ii) Suspects on a charge of murder.

(iii) In terms of section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977).

(d) East London Prison.

- (2) Yes, with regard to one of the detainees.

(a) 30 April 1986.

(b) Nomathokazi Mini.

(c) (i) That she be released.

(ii) The representations were refused.

(3) No.

HAN S. V. D. 10/6/86
Moesien Abrahams

*16. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

HOA

- (1) Whether the South African Police are holding an investigation into the death of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, after a political meeting held in Westridge, Mitchells Plain, on or about 25 May 1986; if so,

(a) what (i) were the circumstances surrounding, and (ii) was the cause of, the death of this person and (b) what was his name;

- (2) whether any persons have been arrested in connection with the death of this person; if so, how many;

- (3) whether the investigation has been completed; if so, (a) when and (b) what were the findings?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.

(a) (i) While deceased attended a UDF meeting on 25 May 1986 in Westridge, Mitchells Plain, he was identified by those present as a police informer, after which he was assaulted and his clothes were torn. After this he was guided through a backdoor of the hall and fled to a house while he was pursued by persons. At the house he was stabbed with a knife and presumably chopped with bricks by these persons and he died.

(ii) The cause of the death is not known yet.

(b) Moesien Abrahams.

(2) No.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Criminal Procedure Act

*17. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any persons have been sentenced to be whipped in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 since the commencement of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, No 33 of 1986; if so, (a) how many persons over the age of 20 years have been so sentenced and (b) in respect of what specified period is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The information is not readily available because it can only be obtained by examining the court records of all courts country-wide, which is not economically feasible.

Cosmo City, Zandspruit

*18. Mr J C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(1) Whether his Department is contemplating the development of a township called Cosmo City at Zandspruit in the district of Krugersdorp; if so, when will the development be commenced;

(2) for what population group is Zandspruit zoned at present;

(3) whether all population groups will be able to live in the proposed township; if not, what population groups will be excluded;

(4) whether the area concerned has already been declared an urban area; if so, (a) when and (b) who applied for this?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) No.

(2) The farm Zandspruit 191-10 is situated in the area of jurisdiction of the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-urban Areas and is a controlled area in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1966.

ated in the area of jurisdiction of the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-urban Areas and is a controlled area in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1966.

(3) and (4) Fall away.

Knoppestlaagte

*19. Mr J C B SCHOEMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

Whether his Department is considering changing the composition of the rural population of Knoppestlaagte, in the district of Pretoria; if so, (a) in what respects and (b) when?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

It has already been finalised—

(a) the Greater Pretoria Guide Plan has been amended to provide for agricultural holdings of 1 ha each; and

(b) by virtue of Notice No. 923 dated 16 May 1986.

10/6/86 Ambassador in London
30/4/86
*20. Mr P. L. ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether the Republic's ambassador in London recently participated in television discussion programmes in South Africa; if so,

(2) whether this participation took place with his (a) knowledge and/or (b) permission; if not, why not;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the statements made by the ambassador on the relevant occasions?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

HOA

(2) (a) No.

(b) No. South African representatives do not require prior permission to participate in television or radio programmes nor to grant Press interviews.

(3) No.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him whether he is at all aware of what knowledge Dr Worrall has at his disposal about the events in Pietersburg?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, he has sufficient knowledge at his disposal. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I would like to know who informed Dr Worrall for him to have sufficient knowledge of it. [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, there were various official and unofficial sources available, but the official sources were quite sufficient in this case [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I would like to know whether it is now the policy of the Government for ambassadors to be involved in the party-political situation in South Africa.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it does not only concern party-politics but also the image of South Africa and all the people here. That is the message that he conveys.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, I would like to know whether the ambassadors were also informed about the meetings that the State President disrupted in his time.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Thousands!
HQA

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: They were thoroughly briefed, Mr Speaker.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether Dr Worrall informed the outside world with his interview on the SABC-TV or whether he informed the people of South Africa on what had happened in Pietersburg.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, both audiences were informed.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: I came to the House this afternoon to calmly listen to what happens here. Apparently there are members present who cannot refrain from involving my person and prejudicing my office when I sit here. I would now just like to make a statement. Any person inside or outside this House who says that I broke up meetings, is a public liar.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: John Vorster said it! [Interjections.]

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to put another question.

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! About what does the hon member want to put a question?

†Mr F J LE ROUX: I want to put a question arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

†Mr SPEAKER: The hon member for Brakpan may proceed.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: With regard to the fact that the hon the Deputy Minister maintains that Dr Worrall had sufficient information at his disposal, is it a correct reply in view of the fact that the Police investigation has not yet been completed?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not familiar with the specific allegation that the hon member wants to make because I do not have the details with regard to his specific complaint. However, if the hon

member has any complaint with regard to transgression of the law, he knows what to do about it. [Interjections.]

*21. Mr K M ANDREW—Constitutional Development and Planning [Discharged.]

*22. Mr K M ANDREW—Constitutional Development and Planning [Discharged.]

*23. Mr D J MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether it was announced recently that a task force would be appointed for Region D; if so, (a) when and (b) by whom was the announcement made;

(2) whether this task force has been appointed; if not, when will the members of the task force be appointed; if so, (a) when and (b) who are the members of the task force;

(3) whether this task force has met; if not, when will it meet; if so, (a) how many times, (b) on what dates and (c) what was discussed;

(4) whether (a) any decisions were taken and (b) recommendations were made by this task force; if so, what decisions and recommendations;

(5) whether any announcements have been or will be made with regard to (a) concessions or preferences and (b) Government expenditure in the area concerned; if so, (i) when and (ii) what was or will be the purport of these announcements;

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

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(a) 15 May 1986.

(b) Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

(2) No—Task Force is at present being convened.

(a) Falls away.

(b) As soon as the composition of the Task Force is finalised the names of the members will be announced.

(3) No—As soon as possible after the Task Force has been appointed.

(a), (b) and (c) fall away.

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! Order! I am addressing the hon member for Jeppe. Does the hon member for Jeppe know what "order" means? I cannot understand it. The hon member is looking directly at me. I say "order!", but the hon member turns round and carries on as before. The reason why I asked for order, is that an hon Minister is busy replying to a question put to him, and there are hon members who are interested in that reply. The hon Minister may proceed. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: May the hon member for Vryheid say I want bananas, with clear reference to a ruling that you have given in this regard previously?

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! What exactly did the hon member for Vryheid say?

†Mr J H W MENTZ: Mr Speaker, the hon member for Jeppe sat in this House eating bananas the other day. I only said that he wanted bananas again. [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! Did the hon member for Jeppe eat bananas in the House?

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, it did not happen the other day; it was more or less four to five weeks ago. [Interjections.] I receive bananas from these badly-mannered hon members virtually every day! Yesterday I again received two

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, as he advised that no instructions were given regarding flags and banners, is it not standard procedure that when permission is requested for meetings to be held that permission is refused for banners and flags to be used at such gatherings?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the answer to the question is no.

Inter-departmental Committee on Political Affairs

*11. Maj R SIVE asked the Minister of Defence:

With reference to his reply to Question No 20 on 8 April 1986, what matters are dealt with by the Inter-departmental Committee on Political Affairs?

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS AND OF WATER AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Defence):

The Political Committee provides advice to the Secretariat of the State Security Council on matters pertaining to national security arising from international, interstate and internal political developments. The term "political" has the same meaning as in "political science" and has no bearing on party political activities.

Bethlehem/Warden: police reinforcements

*12. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether police reinforcements were summoned from Bethlehem and/or elsewhere to Warden on 23 May 1986; if so, (a) from where were reinforcements summoned, (b)(i) on whose instructions and/or at whose request and (ii) why were the reinforcements summoned and (c) how many policemen from (i) Warden and (ii) elsewhere were on duty in Warden on that day;

- (2) whether the police were instructed to patrol the Warden town hall with cer-

tain vehicles; if so, (a) with what types of vehicles, (b) why and (c) who gave this instruction?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) From neighbouring police stations.

- (b) (i) The District Commandant, Bethlehem.

- (ii) To maintain law and order.

- (c) (i) 5.

- (ii) 25.

- (2) Yes.

- (a) Unrest vehicles of the South African Police.

- (b) To create a visible police presence.

- (c) The District Commandant, Bethlehem.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us whether there were also Black constables on the Casspir vehicles? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, unfortunately I do not have the relevant information at my disposal.

Ellisras: National Party meeting
*13. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police attended a political meeting of the National Party in Ellisras on 24 May 1986; if so, (a) how many and (b)(i) what was the rank of the most senior police officer who attended the meeting and (ii) why did this officer attend the meeting;

- (2) whether these members were instructed to attend the meeting; if so, (a) by whom and (b) why;

- (3) whether all these members were stationed in Ellisras on 24 May 1986; if not, from what other police stations did they come?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) 122 members were deployed in and in the vicinity of the hall.

- (b) (i) Lieutenant-Colonel.

- (ii) To be in command of the members on duty.

- (2) Yes.

- (a) The Commissioner of the South African Police.

- (b) After information was received and as was confirmed by a member of the Conservative Party in later reports in the press that more than 3 000 right-wingers had been mustered to bear down on Ellisras and that it was intended to let the meeting deteriorate into bigger chaos than the one at Pietersburg.

- (3) No, they were summoned from neighbouring police stations.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us how many members of the NP turned out and who addressed them? [Interjections.]

Ellisras: National Party meeting

*14. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any persons were arrested by members of the South African Police at a National Party meeting in

Ellisras on or about 24 May 1986; if so, (a) how many, (b) for what alleged offences, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding the arrest of these persons and (d)(i) what equipment had been issued to these members of this occasion and (ii) what use did they make of such equipment at this meeting;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) No, but during the afternoon, however, persons were arrested at an entrance gate which is situated at a few hundred meters from the schoolbuilding where the meeting was held, which persons were not at all involved with the meeting inside the schoolbuilding.

- (a) 5.

- (b) Drunkenness—1.
Illegal gathering—4.

- (c) These persons congregated and without the necessary authority held a meeting.

- (d) (i) Side-arms.

- (ii) None.

- (2) No.

Xolani Ngamane/Nomathokazi Mini

*15. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether two persons from Mdantsane, whose names and addresses have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, were arrested or detained by any branch of the South African Police on or about 15 April 1986; if so, (a) what are their names, (b) where were they arrested or detained, (c)(i) at what time, (ii) why and (iii)

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL
ECONOMICS:

No.

*7. Mr K M ANDREW—Constitutional
Development and Planning. [Discharged.]

*8. Prof N J J OLIVER—Constitutional
Development and Planning. [Withdawn.]

Pietersburg: National Party meeting
Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister
of Law and Order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police were present at a National Party meeting held in Pietersburg on 22 May 1986; if so, (a) who requested the presence of the South African Police, (b) how many policemen were present and (c) at what time did they arrive;

(2) whether permission had been received for the holding of this meeting; if not, what action did the police take;

(3) whether these policemen had been issued with quirts or sjamboks; if not, (a) why not, (b) who took the decision in this regard and (c) what equipment did they have on this occasion; if so, what other equipment had been issued to them;

(4) whether the police used (a) quirts or sjamboks and (b) tear-gas or tear-smoke at this meeting; if so, (i) what were the circumstances surrounding the use of these items and (ii) what was the result;

(5) whether any persons were arrested on this occasion; if so, (a) how many, (b) why, (c) in terms of what statutory provision and (d) what action has been taken against these persons?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The National Party.

(b) 120.

(c) 15h30.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(a) The necessity for the use thereof did not exist.

(b) The Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division.

(c) Side-arms and batons and after disorder began gasmasks and teargas were also issued to the members.

(4) (a) No. (i) and (ii) Fall away.

(b) Yes. (i) and (ii) In order to restore order in the hall, teargas was used. Those present then left the hall.

(5) Yes.

(a) 5.

(b) Public breach of the peace.

(c) Section 21 as read with section 38 of Administrator's Notice no 368, published in Extraordinary Official Gazette 3621 of 14 March 1973.

(d) After they paid admission of guilt, they were released.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I request him to inform us why the Police on this occasion did not deem it necessary to be issued with quirts or sjamboks, while 15 min-sjamboks were used on a group of fewer than 100 students peacefully standing outside the gates of Parliament?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry

but I do not know what incident the hon member is referring to. As far as the Pietersburg meeting is concerned that matter was within the discretion of the Divisional Commissioner of Police at Pietersburg.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs and/or the hon the Minister of Manpower was present in the hall during the events referred to in Question 9?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I was not present myself and the information is not readily at my disposal.

†Mr HEJ VANRENSBURG: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to ask him whether he or the Government is considering establishing a special riot unit of the Police for the purposes of NP meetings in the future.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon Minister intends making known the results of the investigation which he ordered into the events in Pietersburg.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, this is a normal Police investigation for which a docket was opened and the normal procedure will be followed. The eventual decision will be made by the Attorney-General of the Transvaal. This is the process that is followed.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon member for Johannesburg West laid any complaints with him about the matter in Pietersburg?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Speaker, the hon member for Johannesburg West did not lay any official complaints with me. The private conversations which the hon member for Johannesburg West might have had with me, surely do not apply.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: No, I

would like to know about the official position.

†The MINISTER: No, no official complaints have been laid with me by the hon member for Johannesburg West.

Pietersburg: AWP meeting
Mr P G SOXAL asked the Minister of
Law and Order:

(1) Whether permission was granted to the Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging to hold a public meeting on a sportsfield in Pietersburg on 22 May 1986; if so, who took the decision in this regard;

(2) whether, in respect of this meeting, any restrictions were imposed on the (a) number of persons allowed to attend, (b) possession of (i) flags or (ii) banners and (c) making of speeches; if so, what restrictions in each case;

(3) whether any member of the South African Police was consulted in connection with this decision; if so, (a) who, (b) when and (c) with what result;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, the Chief Magistrate of Pietersburg.

(2) (a) to (c) No.

(3) Yes.

(a) The Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division.

(b) 15 May 1986.

(c) The application was not opposed.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL
ECONOMICS.

No.

*7. Mr K M ANDREW—Constitutional
Development and Planning. [Discharged.]

*8. Prof N J J OLIVIER—Constitutional
Development and Planning. [Withdrawn.]

Pietersburg: National Party meeting
Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister
of Law and Order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police were present at a National Party meeting held in Pietersburg on 22 May 1986; if so, (a) who requested the presence of the South African Police, (b) how many policemen were present and (c) at what time did they arrive;

(2) whether permission had been received for the holding of this meeting; if not, what action did the police take;

(3) whether these policemen had been issued with quirts or sjamboks; if not, (a) why not, (b) who took the decision in this regard and (c) what equipment did they have on this occasion; if so, what other equipment had been issued to them;

(4) whether the police used (a) quirts or sjamboks and (b) tear-gas or tear-smoke at this meeting; if so, (i) what were the circumstances surrounding the use of these items and (ii) what was the result;

(5) whether any persons were arrested on this occasion; if so, (a) how many, (b) why, (c) in terms of what statutory provision and (d) what action has been taken against these persons?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The National Party.

(b) 120.

(c) 15h30.

(2) Yes.

(3) No.

(a) The necessity for the use thereof did not exist.

(b) The Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division.

(c) Side-arms and batons and after disorder began gasmasks and teargas were also issued to the members.

(4) (a) No. (i) and (ii) Fall away.

(b) Yes. (i) and (ii) In order to restore order in the hall, teargas was used. Those present then left the hall.

(5) Yes.

(a) 5.

(b) Public breach of the peace.

(c) Section 21 as read with section 38 of Administrator's Notice no 368, published in Extraordinary Official Gazette 3621 of 14 March 1973.

(d) After they paid admission of guilt, they were released.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I request him to inform us why the Police on this occasion did not deem it necessary to be issued with quirts or sjamboks, while 15 minutes ago outside this Parliament quirts and sjamboks were used on a group of fewer than 100 students peacefully standing outside the gates of Parliament?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am sorry

but I do not know what incident the hon member is referring to. As far as the Pietersburg meeting is concerned that matter was within the discretion of the Divisional Commissioner of Police at Pietersburg.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs and/or the hon the Minister of Manpower was present in the hall during the events referred to in Question 9?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I was not present myself and the information is not readily at my disposal.

†Mr HE J VAN RENSBURG: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to ask him whether he or the Government is considering establishing a special riot unit of the Police for the purposes of NP meetings in the future.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon Minister intends making known the results of the investigation which he ordered into the events in Pietersburg.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, this is a normal Police investigation for which a docket was opened and the normal procedure will be followed. The eventual decision will be made by the Attorney-General of the Transvaal. This is the process that is followed.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would like to know whether the hon member for Johannesburg West laid any complaints with him about the matter in Pietersburg?

†The MINISTER: No, Mr Speaker, the hon member for Johannesburg West did not lay any official complaints with me. The private conversations which the hon member for Johannesburg West might have had with me, surely do not apply.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: No, I

would like to know about the official position.

†The MINISTER: No, no official complaints have been laid with me by the hon member for Johannesburg West.

Pietersburg: AWB meeting
Mr P G SOL asked the Minister of
Law and Order:

(1) Whether permission was granted to the Afrikaner-weerstandsbeweging to hold a public meeting on a sportsfield in Pietersburg on 22 May 1986; if so, who took the decision in this regard;

(2) whether, in respect of this meeting, any restrictions were imposed on the (a) number of persons allowed to attend, (b) possession of (i) flags or (ii) banners and (c) making of speeches; if so, what restrictions in each case;

(3) whether any member of the South African Police was consulted in connection with this decision; if so, (a) who, (b) when and (c) with what result;

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

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, the Chief Magistrate of Pietersburg.

(2) (a) to (c) No.

(3) Yes.

(a) The Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police, Far Northern Transvaal Division.

(b) 15 May 1986.

(c) The application was not opposed.

(4) No.



● DE LANGE

Broeder Bus DAY 3044 talks 10/6/86 to ANC

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The African National Congress (ANC) and the Afrikaner Broederbond have had their first contact at an informal meeting in New York.

The contact was between the current Broederbond chairman and Rand Afrikaans University rector Professor J P De Lange and ANC publicity and information director Thabo Mbeki, and took place during a private Ford Foundation education conference on May 30 and 31.

Both the conference and the contact between the ANC and the Broederbond have been kept a closely-guarded secret by all parties. It is believed to be the first-ever meeting between representatives of the two organisations.

The meeting was yesterday confirmed by Mbeki, who attended a talk in London by Dr Zac de Beer, an executive director of Anglo American and chairman of Anglo's public affairs division.

Mbeki declined to discuss the content of his talks with De Lange.

Broederbond ANC men meet

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The banned ANC and the Afrikaner Broederbond have had their first contact at an informal meeting in New York.

The contact was between the Broederbond chairman and rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor J P de Lange, and the ANC's director of publicity and information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and another ANC executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj.

The meeting took place during a private Ford Foundation conference on education on May 30 and 31.

The conference and

the contact between the ANC and the Broederbond have been kept secret by all parties.

Mr David Bonbright, the Ford Foundation's programme officer on South Africa, confirmed yesterday in New York that Professor De Lange and Mr Mbeki had attended the conference along with South African educationists and US opinion formers.

Yesterday an executive director of Anglo-American, Mr Zac de Beer, and Mr Mbeki had informal talks at the Royal Commonwealth Society where Mr De Beer gave a lunch-time talk attended by about 200 people.

KEITH'S

10/6/86
SOWETO

Reject AWB, Inkatha tells whites

304A



CHIEF Buthelezi . . . leader of Inkatha.

THE Zulu-based Inkatha movement has called on all whites to reject the militant right-wing Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging.

At a meeting in Ulundi this weekend, the movement's central committee passed a resolution deploring the rising prominence of the AWB, saying the "alarming" emergence of white right-wing extremists were in turn generating racist attitudes among blacks by their "hideous political rejection of blacks" as fellow South Africans.

Inkatha said the State President, Mr P W Botha, needed mass black support far more than the support of splinter right-wing groups to bring about changes which would break the increasing violence in the country and he had to "move boldly" if he wished to eliminate the present climate of uncertainty in which extremist politics thrives.

The committee also warned that there might be less time than generally perceived for a negotiated future for the country and urged Mr Botha to ensure that the proposed National Statutory Council was not just an instrument in the Government's search for another form of white privileges.

Full backing was given for the call by Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the release of Nelson Mandela and the committee noted the consistent sense of brotherhood that the jailed ANC leader has shown toward Chief Buthelezi.

As far as June 16 "Soweto Day" memorial ceremonies were concerned, the Inkatha central committee said they were appalled at the extent the ANC, UDF and Cosatu were claiming the day as their own exclusive political property.

The committee urged blacks not to be intimidated by these groups and resolved to remind black South Africans of the futility of becoming cannon fodder for the glorification of self-styled leaders pursuing narrow party political ends. — Sapa.

Stofberg: ANC in govt soon

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By KIN BENTLEY

PLANS for a multiracial government of national unity, possibly including members of the banned African National Congress, are expected to be unveiled at the National Party's federal congress in Durban on August 12 and 13.

Quoting "informed sources", the Herstigte Nasionale Party MP for Sasolburg, Mr Louis Stofberg, made this prediction at a meeting attended by about 380 people in Algoa Park last night.

Mr Stofberg said two recent meetings between South Africans and ANC members pointed to the possible inclusion of members of the ANC in a new centrist alliance, which would include the National Party, the whole of the New Republic Party, much of the PFP and black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Last month the chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, had an informal meeting with two senior ANC members, Mr Thabo Mbeki, its director of publicity and information and Mr Mac Maharaj, another senior figure in the ANC hierarchy, in New York.

This week, Dr Zac de Beer, an executive director of Anglo American met Mr Mbeki in London.

A new constitution bringing blacks into central government is expected to be announced at the congress, but Mr Stofberg warned: "No single black man will

govern over a white man in South Africa".

He said the "three-legged Parliament" was tripping itself up.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, whom he described as the most rightwing member of the Cabinet, had to "plead" with coloured and Indian MPs for "powers to maintain law and order".

But consensus on the Internal Security Amendment and Public Safety Amendment Bills seemed impossible.

Instead the Government was now considering imposing martial law to deal with an expected blood-bath on June 16, he said.

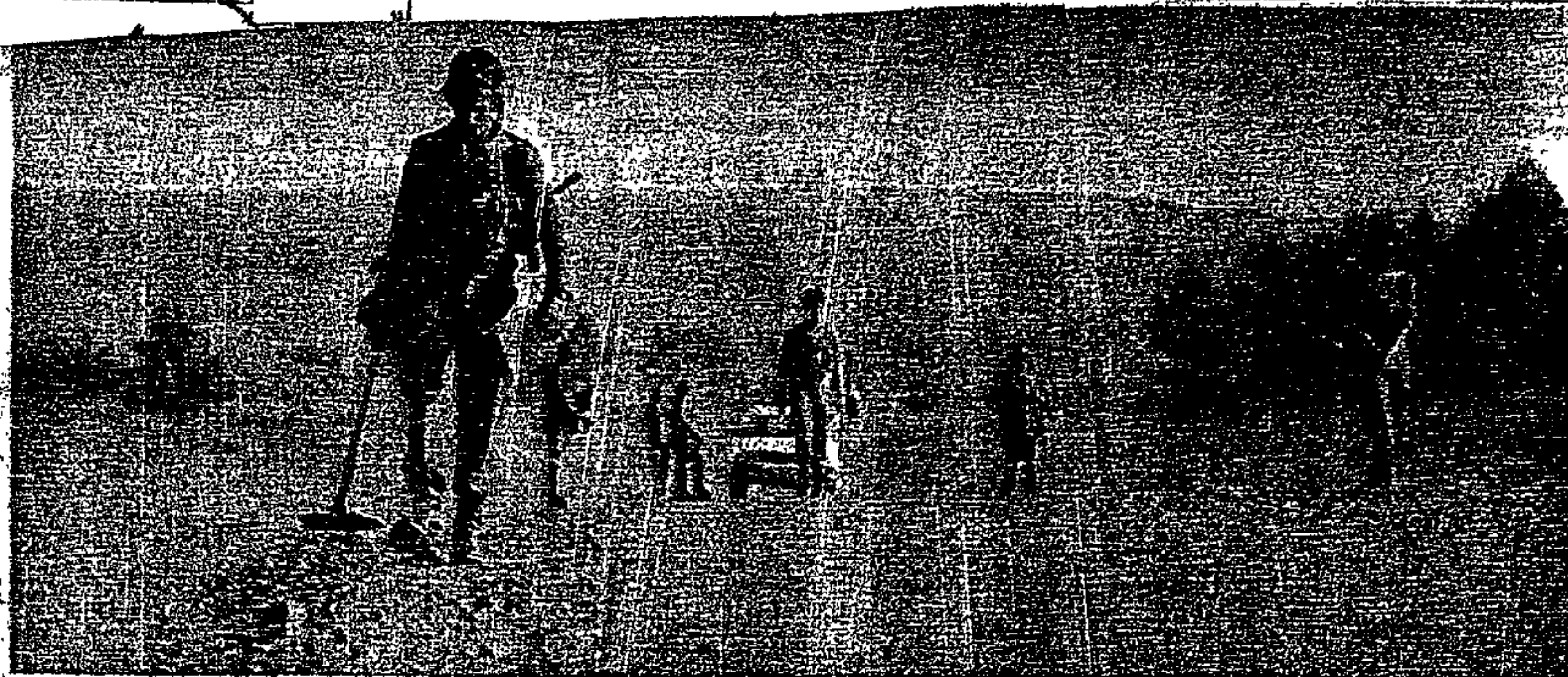
On the referendum to be held in PE next Wednesday, Mr Stofberg said: "A vote for open beaches is a vote against the whites and against the Afrikaner."

He said while the NP could have used the opportunity to show how strong it was, it was scared of being identified with the PFP.

Slating the NP's decision to "give Humewood away to the non-whites" he predicted that if a poll in favour of segregation was low, the Government would belittle it.

Mr Stofberg reiterated the party's commitment to apartheid.

"We are apartheid. Without these laws there cannot be an Afrikaner nation and a white nation," he said.



Defence force personnel sweep the main road between Volksrust and Brereton for landmines after yesterday's blasts in which three people were injured.

Urgent actions needed as SA drifts towards a state of siege

Cabinet confronted by a chronicle of crises

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

As the Cabinet meets today it faces some of the toughest decisions which have ever confronted the National Party Government.

Developments which require urgent action as South Africa continues to slide towards a state of siege include:

- The deadlock on vital legislation which the Government had hoped to have passed before Parliament rises for its six-week recess next week — including two security Bills and a draft law providing for new provincial structures.
- Looming international sanctions which are almost certain to be imposed by the United States, Europe and the Commonwealth.
- The almost certain breakdown of the National Persons Group's initiative after the release by the Government yesterday of private correspondence between the two.
- A looming confrontation between the authorities and many organisations and churches over the commemoration next week of the 1976 Soweto riots.
- The disaster at Crossroads, where the unrelenting fighting has already claimed 17 lives and left tens of thousands of people without shelter on the freezing Cape Flats.
- Measures which have to be taken to stimulate the economy because of the plunging rand and a pessimistic business mood.

Almost certainly at the top of the agenda will be the security situation.

More power for police

Government plans to rush security Bills through Parliament — to give the police additional emergency powers to crush unrest and detain without trial — have been thwarted by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates. Instead of getting the laws promulgated before June 16, the Government now may have to wait for a week or more before it can get the National Party-dominated President's Council to force them through.

Amid reports and rumours of widespread demonstrations, marches and unrest next week to mark the Soweto riots anniversary, the Government is said to be planning to use every other power at its disposal in an attempt to pre-empt defiance of its ban on gatherings.

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr. Colin Eglin has meanwhile been granted a meeting with President Botha tomorrow to discuss his recent trip to Europe.

Mr. Eglin said today that the coming week would be a watershed for South Africa. The many recent setbacks and negative developments were caused by a lack of wisdom, appalling insensitivity, lack of strategy, and gross managerial incompetence on the part of the Government.

This was putting the future of all South Africa in jeopardy.

Mrs Helen Suzman, FFP MP for Houghton, called on the Government to resign because of "its obvious incompetence to handle the threatening disaster facing the country."

"We are rapidly drifting into a siege situation," she said.

Pakendorf's ^{306A} rallying call to SA moderates

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

MR HARALD PAKENDORF, who resigned last month as editor of the Transvaal Nationalist newspaper the *Vaderland*, said in Cape Town yesterday there should be no illusions that the way South Africa was going amounted to a regression of democracy.

He called for a broadening of the country's democratic base and for the rallying of what he termed the "moderate centre" of all sections of the country's population, which he said would have to come to the ascendancy before South Africa could be brought back on an even keel.

A moderate centre, he said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, did not have to be a "soft" centre. "You have got to be strong to be a moderate; what is required of us moderates is a toughness of mind and will."

"A sense of striving for justice is more to the fore now than ever, and where we must be tough in opposing those government actions we believe to be wrong and unjust, we must be equally tough against those who burn and destroy."

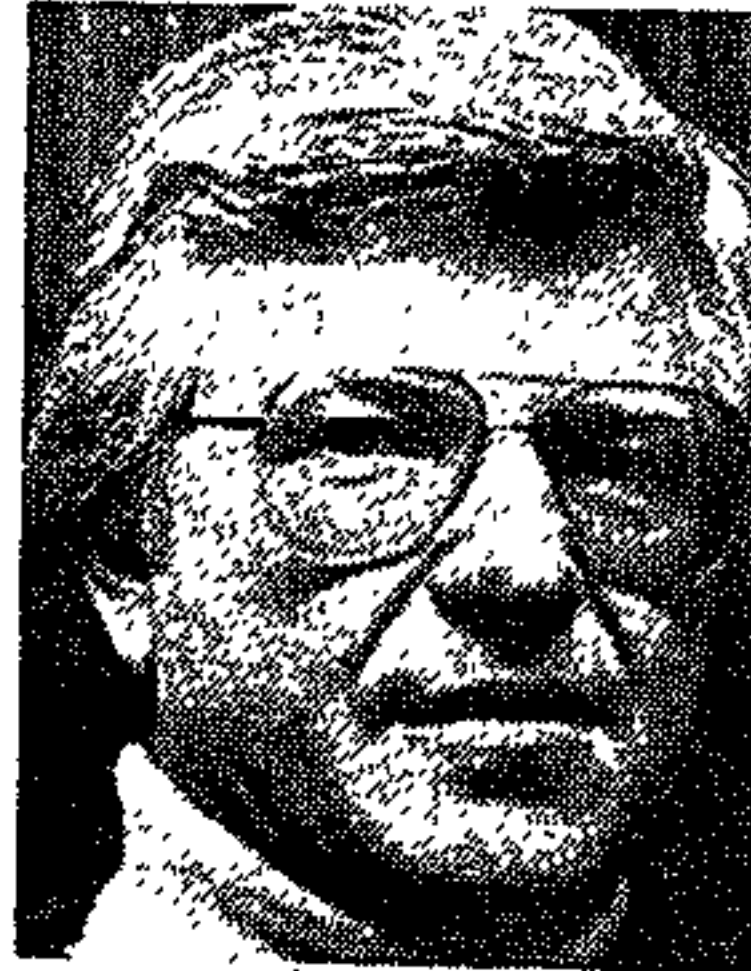
"We must not hesitate to enforce law and order — but then it must be administered impartially. We must rule in a manner in which we would wish to be ruled. One must govern, and be seen to govern, in such a way that people trust one."

Used against us

"If we have a law that has 180 days built into it, we must be left in no doubt that this will in time be used against us."

Mr Pakendorf said he was convinced there were enough moderates in South Africa, of all colours and persuasions, to be moulded into a formidable and influential force, and he said his message to fellow moderates was: "Take courage; you have nothing to lose but extremism."

He said before there could be an end to vio-



Mr Harald Pakendorf

lence, dissension and economic regression, the South African nation must be told where it was going. The government, whose internal policies had become the external policies of other countries around the world, must clarify its objectives.

"We should take one step ahead and say that Pik Botha is right; that there is a black president in the future."

Negotiating process

"Through acceptance of this fact we can get a meaningful negotiating process going. It's an impossibility to say we'll share power with the blacks and then stop before we have opened the door."

"This is one of the fundamental problems we face today. The National Party says it is against repression and discrimination, but it does not tell us what it is for."

Mr Pakendorf said anyone who thought the present tricameral system of government was the ultimate answer was "not really being very sensible".

Widely believed to have been removed from the editorial chair of the *Vaderland* because of his verligte views, he said he believed Mr Nelson Mandela should be released from jail and that the ANC should be unbanned and allowed to operate openly.

It was an inescapable fact that the ANC had become part of the decision-making process of this country, and it should be allowed freely to take its part in the shaping of the country's future.

De Lange confirms meeting ANC man

Own Correspondent

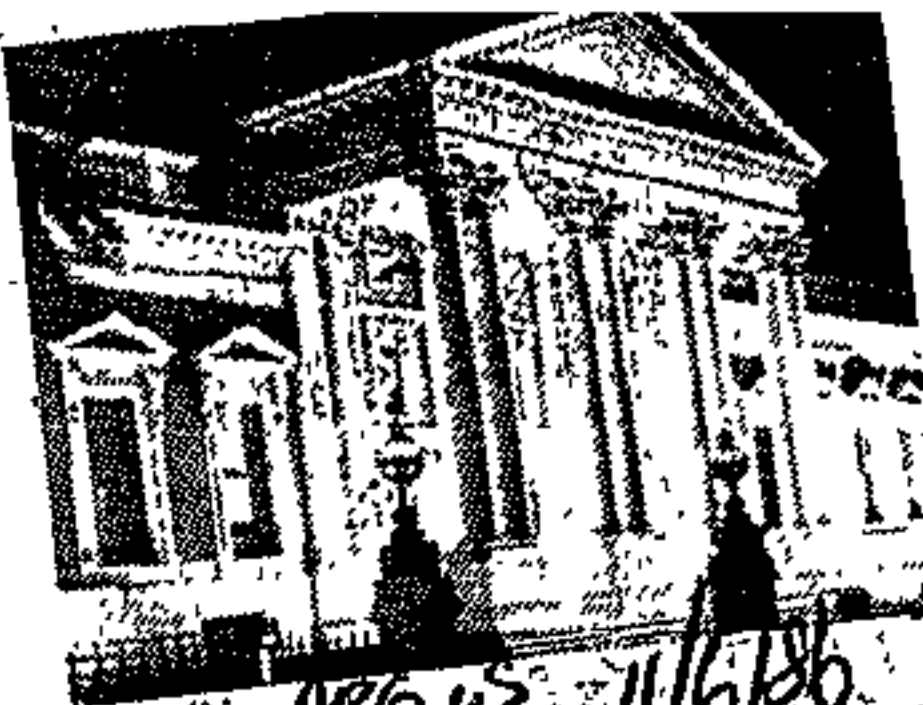
JOHANNESBURG. — Broederbond chairman Professor Pieter de Lange confirmed yesterday that he had met an African National Congress official in New York but refused to reveal what was discussed. Professor De Lange said he met the ANC's publicity and information director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, "informally, by chance" while attending a Ford Foundation edu-

cation conference at the end of May.

He said he was not prepared to talk about the contents of the discussion.

When asked if further discussions might take place, he said nothing had been arranged.

Professor De Lange denied the meeting, believed to be the first between representatives of the ANC and the Broederbond, had been pre-arranged.



'Give towns more seats'

URBAN areas should be given the correct number of parliamentary constituencies and should not have to lose out because of loading for rural areas, says Mr Reuben Sive (PFP Bezuidenhout).

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Electoral Act Amendment Bill, he said it was past time for a new delimitation of constituencies. More than 5½ years had passed since the last delimitation in 1981.

There was a "misrepresentation" between urban and rural constituencies, with Pretoria being the most "under-represented" area, followed by the Central Rand region.

Mr Sive said it was in urban areas that the major conflicts of the day were taking place and where racial tension was most evident. They deserved full representation in Parliament. Sapa.

3 TRK
Wednesday June 11 1986

God is on Afrikaner's side, says Eugene

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

BARBERTON — God made sure that South Africa could never be boycotted, Afrikaner Weerstandsheweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night.

He told a capacity crowd in the Barberton Town Hall that God had endowed the Afrikaner with the world's richest country.

"The Americans, though first to set foot on the moon, cannot take off in a single aircraft without the chrome and platinum they get from South Africa," he told the wildly cheering audience.

"If sanctions and boycotts could succeed they would effectively have been applied the day Dr Verwoerd stepped out of the Commonwealth and formed a Republic.

POWERLESS

"The world today is just as powerless against us now as in the past — in fact we are much stronger.

"Our only trouble is that we have a spineless Government who have become part of the international money giants (geld base) and they have reached the point of no return.

"Our only hope is to get rid of this Government and all they represent," he said.

White South Africans, unlike whites in the rest of Africa, were here to stay.

"Should the Botha Government either capitulate or also decide to run in the event of a black revolution, the AWB will take South Africa back by force."

Pay-for-troops issue is bolt from blue for SA business

MOST SA businessmen contacted yesterday had not considered withdrawing salary payments to national servicemen in accordance with a statement made this week by Anglo American's Zac de Beer.

De Beer, in a statement to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, hinted that SA businesses might have to reconsider the practice of paying the balance of national servicemen's salaries, now that troops had moved into the townships.

The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) yesterday backed De Beer's statement.

"We support any call which would pressure troops out of the townships," EEC's Anne-marie Rademeyer told *Business Day*.

A spokesman for the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said the FCI was likely to make a statement on the issue within the next few days.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan was not available for comment yesterday.

Until recently, certain employers have paid employees who were called up by the SA Defence Force (SADF) the balance of their civilian salaries after deducting what they were paid by the SADF.

In terms of the Defence Act employers are not obliged to do so and the issue, it is thought, will not be considered by the SADF as a "defence matter".

Associated Chambers of Commerce manpower executive Vincent Brett said the issue had not been raised with or considered by Assocom at all.

"My personal view is that employers would penalise someone for what his superiors are doing by sending him into the townships," Brett said.

Assocom is not expected to look into the issue unless it is raised by one of its members, Brett said.

Others in business said yesterday nobody had given any thought to the issue.

One businessman commented: "I don't know what prompted that statement by De Beer — possibly pressure while he was overseas."

An Anglo American spokesman said yesterday the group was uncertain whether De Beer's statement was official policy but "Mr de Beer is the spokesman in charge of public affairs. He is the executive director of Anglo and he is obviously not going to say anything which is not in line with Anglo policy".

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

AIRLINE MOVEMENTS

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FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha released a letter delivered to the Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) yesterday which said it had apparently taken sides on the issue of violence.

● **BOTHA** He also released an earlier letter to the EPG, dated May 28, in which he criticised three elements of a "possible negotiation concept" presented by the EPG.

The release of the letters in Cape Town came after a threat, made by State President P W Botha last week, that the SA government would "take appropriate steps" if the confidentiality of negotiations were no longer respected.

The letters showed the main obstacles encountered by the negotiators centred on the issues of the suspension of violence as a precondition to talks and as a bargaining factor during talks.

In yesterday's letter Botha said he could not understand why the EPG should introduce "new elements" into their latest letter.

He said: "I refer to your reference to the attacks on terrorist bases in Bo-



tswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"You will be aware that during your visits the African National Congress was responsible for acts of violence in SA aimed at civilian targets."

He could not recall that the EPG also demanded of the ANC to "repair the damage that has been done by its actions of the last few weeks".

One could not but be inclined to think that the EPG "has already taken sides on this question".

The letter also objected to the EPG's point of view that the SA government was responsible for the violence and that it alone had to take the initiative in order to reduce violence and ensure agreement at the projected talks with the ANC and others.

depending on their severity. The messages have been classified into three groups - multiple errors (PA), run time errors (RT) and preview errors (PV). A trailing letter, E or W, indicates whether the message is an error or a warning. Note that the multiple errors can occur with the INPUT or the REVIEW options on the GDP control statement. In most cases where a 'system error' is the cause, additional 'snapshot dump' information is printed out which may be of use in tracing the cause.

GDP WARNING Message

or

GDP ERROR Message

The error messages dealt with here are GDP system error messages and do not include the interactive messages generated when previewing plots. In general all of these messages have the form

5. GRAPHICS DISPLAY PACKAGE ERROR MESSAGES

IRA warns on security bills

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The Independent Rights Association (IRA) has warned that it will consider more direct action if the new security laws are not enacted.

The warning came from the IRA's chairman, Mr Basil Niemand, following an unsuccessful attempt to stop a meeting protesting against the security bills now before Parliament.

The meeting, which was held at the Albany Catholic Church Hall on Monday, was called for by 20 organisations under the umbrella of the Anti-bills Ad Hoc Committee.

"The IRA has continually striven to protect the rights of the individual. We have on numerous occasions pleaded for more effective laws

governing protection of self and property," Mr Niemand said.

On June 9 the IRA petitioned the authorities to ban the meeting. The magistrate, Mr S. F. Nel, said that "after due and careful consideration" he decided not to invoke the powers conferred upon him by the Internal Security Act.

"Our petition was regretfully turned down. We are convinced that our reasons were valid. Our aim has always been to act within the letter of the law and we have made use of the proper channels.

"The IRA and its supporters are no longer prepared to sit back and watch while criminal elements continue to incite and intimidate innocent citizens, especially the youth, to

mindless and cruel acts of violence, arson and murder.

"Unless the laws are enacted in the near future we will have to consider more direct action," he said.

Mr Niemand said the IRA's reasons for the requested ban on the meeting were that it was convinced that "inflammatory meetings of this nature" would foster continued ill-will among the citizens of East London and cause an increase in unrest and civil strife.

It also believed that the meeting would further denigrate the powers of law enforcement, "taking into consideration the fact that organisations such as the UDF and other anti-South African Government institutions would be represented."

The fact that the meeting was arranged for June 9, one week before June 16, had also convinced the IRA that it would be neglecting its promise to protect the rights of all individuals if it did not condemn the meeting, he said.

The last letter: what

Pik told the EPG

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — While the South African Government and the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) agreed on the need to create conditions free of violence as a prerequisite for pursuing negotiations they differed on how this was to be achieved and also on the meaning of an end to violence.

This is according to the most recent letter to the EPG from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, dated June 9.

Referring to previous communications from the EPG, the letter continues:

"You appear to be under the impression that it is the South African Government which is responsible for the violence and you proceed from the point of view that it is only the SA Government which must take the initiative, believing that if it does, violence would be reduced, negotiations could take place and agreement would be forthcoming."

"After your visits to South Africa you will be aware that it is far more than opposition to the SA Government which lies at the heart of the conflict and the turbulence."

"The tendency towards the use of violence for political advantage in South Africa is not limited to those on the radical Left, but also manifests itself on the radical Right. And you must bear in mind that elements in South Africa on the radical Right have the capacity to use destructive means in an attempt to achieve their political objectives."

"They are encouraged by the example of the radical Left to use similar methods in an attempt to bring an end to the reform policies of the SA Government."

VIOLENCE SUSPENDED

"The principle is clear. Negotiations towards a resolution of the problems confronting South Africa can only take place in an atmosphere free of violence. It is a principle that applies to all."

"The SA Government can, by the same token, equally not accept what you imply in your letter, namely that violence would only be suspended as long as negotiations continue. As I have stated to you previously it is unacceptable that violence or the threat of violence should be used as a bargaining counter in any negotiating situation."

"You also stated it is your view that a suspension of violence would require of the Government a commitment to suspend the violence arising from the administration of apartheid. The Government is at a loss to know to what particular form of violence you refer."

"Presumably the Government is not expected to abandon its responsibility for the maintenance of law and order nor its duty to safeguard the rights and liberties of all South Africans."

"I ask this with particular reference to my previous letter in which you were informed of the Government's commitment to a negotiated

constitutional order which guarantees fundamental values and freedoms for all South Africans."

"In your letter you draw a comparison between the envisaged negotiating process in South Africa and the talks at Lancaster House which led to the independence of Zimbabwe. The two situations are so different as to be entirely incomparable."

"I cannot understand why you should introduce new elements into your latest letter. I refer to your reference to the attacks on May 19 on terrorist bases in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe."

VIOLANT TARGETS

"You will be aware that during your visits the African National Congress was responsible for acts of violence in South Africa aimed at civilian targets. I cannot recall that you called upon the ANC to 'repair the damage that has been done by its actions of the last few weeks'."

"In addressing Parliament on January 31, 1986 the State President once again extended the hand of friendship to South Africa's neighbours."

"The President went so far as to propose that urgent and serious consideration be given by the countries of Southern Africa to the establishment of a permanent joint mechanism for dealing with matters of security."

"I am also surprised at your reaction to the subject of the nature of the negotiations which I raised in my letter to you on May 28, 1986. The SA Government has all along been under the impression that your group would not interfere in the question of any future constitutional arrangement. We are therefore in agreement that that is not your task."

"However, in my letter of May 28 I referred to a different matter, namely that the ANC, in terms of its own objectives, rejects negotiations about the sharing of power, insisting that negotiations would be limited to the handing over of power. The SA Government, therefore, considered it important to establish whether you share the view that the envisaged negotiations should be about the handing over of power to a particular party."

"I am disappointed that, after your experience in South Africa, you should require from the SA Government a positive response to the concept as a whole. I remain under the impression that when it was presented to the South African Government on March 13 it was considered to be a possible negotiating concept. The SA Government must now apparently accept it as the only and final negotiating concept."

"The SA Government will continue with its programme of reform with a view to making it possible for all South Africans to come together and decide jointly on a new constitutional future based on fundamental values and freedoms and tailored to South African circumstances and realities."

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The secrecy surrounding the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, after weeks of leaks, has burst into the open.

The Government, obviously angered by substantial leaks in Britain, has released its two latest letters to the group.

In the latest, dated June 9, Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha said the Government had decided in the "interest of balance" to release the letters.

These reveal the group and the Government reached agreement on the need to create conditions free of violence as a prerequisite for beginning negotiations. The stumbling block was how to end the violence.

The group was established at the summit meeting of the Commonwealth heads of state in October last year. The move was seen as a compromise by British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher to ward off the im-

The letter Pik wrote before the leak that the initiative was dead

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The letter from the South African Government dated May 28 led to 'leaks' in Britain that the EPG initiative was dead. Here are extracts from the letter.

"Dear Mr Fraser and General Obasanjo,

I refer to the 'possible negotiating concept' attached to your letter dated March 13 and the recent discussion you held with Ministers of the South African Government.

There are four major questions which are exercising the mind of the South African Government about the possible negotiating concept presented by your group.

1. The concept of ending or suspending violence.

It is not the choice of a particular word but the concept of terminating violence as a means of achieving political objectives which is relevant.

The South African Government cannot accept the suggestion that violence should be discontinued only for as long as negotiations take place. To use violence or the threat

Secrecy ends 'for sake of balance'

mediate imposition of sanctions.

After initial wariness from the seven prominent people nominated to be group members and from the Government, there was a breakthrough.

The Government stated it was prepared to approach the group's initiative constructively and expressed the hope that the group would be equally constructive in its approach.

that it would confine itself to promoting peaceful political dialogue, that it would be unbiased and that it would discourage violence and avoid action or comment which might be interpreted as encouragement to those promoting violence.

What the Govt was told before talks broke down

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) told the Government officially on June 5 that, in the absence of movement by Pretoria and a positive response to its negotiation concept as a whole, it saw no merit in further discussions.

The letter sent to the Foreign Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and signed by Mr Malcolm Fraser and General Olusegun Obasanjo, co-chairmen of the EPG, has not been released for publication.

However, it is reliably understood it made the following observations:

Essentially there were two key points raised by the South African Ministers who met the EPG in Cape Town on May 19. A reiteration of violence and a de-escalation in the level of violence was necessary before other action might be taken by the Government.

The EPG was convinced negotiations about the democratic future of South Africa could be achieved if the Government was willing to create the circumstances in which co-operation would become possible with acknowledged leaders of the people of South Africa.

ment to those promoting violence. During their visit to the country the group was received by President P. W. Botha and several Cabinet Ministers. They also visited Nelson Mandela in prison and met leaders of various organisations and political groupings. They maintained a low profile throughout, although leaks to the media in South Africa and in Britain about their discussions, starting as a trickle, grew to a torrent.

Initial doubts grew to optimism that the group could very well provide the breakthrough South Africa had been waiting for in the constitutional deadlock.

However, mainly because of disagreement over the issue of violence, the talks went awry. In the process, South Africa may have lost a unique opportunity to resolve its most crushing problem — peaceful negotiations on a constitutional system which could restore stability and prosperity for all.

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Sanctions will lead to a siege, Relly warns US

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — One of South Africa's top business executives has warned that the Government would probably turn to a "repressive and destructive siege" if economic sanctions continued multiplying.

Such action by Pretoria would have been promoted by the polarising effect of sanctions, the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, said.

He cautioned that sanctions could encourage black and white extremists and discourage those willing to negotiate.

He said also withdrawal of US and other foreign companies would irreparably damage prospects for any viable post-apartheid society.

This was the view of most South African business chiefs, he noted.

Stressing that South Africa's private sector could not go it alone, Mr Relly charged American businessmen that they faced an awesome responsibility.

PROFITS

"Many have made good profits in South Africa for decades. But faced with lean times and a host of pressures, they are attracted to the easy option of withdrawal, especially if the ignorance, mischief making, and mythology underlying these pressures is ignored," he said.

Writing in the latest edition of "Foreign Policy", a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace publication, Mr Relly advocated business risk-taking.

"South Africa is not for the faint-hearted.

"It presents immense challenges, huge opportunities and the excitement of involvement in one of the great historical processes of change seen in the 20th century".

American companies could claim some credit for the important erosion of apartheid that had taken place, he said. "They have helped break down segregated amenities, such as beaches.

"Some American firms are planning to build racially integrated residential areas for their employees as an exception to the Group Areas Act," Mr Relly said.

DESTRUCTIVE

"There are no quick fixes for South Africa," he said.

"Many of the costs of disinvestment, increasing sanctions and isolation can be passed on to others — black migrant workers from neighbouring countries, black South Africans, and local industry and commerce through higher taxes.

"But if sanctions continue to multiply, Pretoria probably will be fully committed to a repressive and destructive siege by the time it fully feels the adverse effects of sanctions.

"Neither domestic nor foreign business can force our Government to act against its will. South African firms do not have the same power as American business, which can often sway Washington.

"We don't think we can adapt to the new South Africa by carrying on as before.

"The drive to achieve a more representative complexion among employees at all levels will require a range of programmes more ambitious than the few in place today.

"Greater worker participation in business, not just through his union but through shareholding programmes, is likely," he said.

AWB to let Pik speak

12/6/76 By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The stage is set for a huge show of strength by Northern Transvaal Nationalists on Saturday when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, addresses a meeting at the Pietersburg showgrounds.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) disrupted a National Party meeting in the town on May 22 and prevented Mr Botha from speaking.

Pietersburg AWB chairman Mr Izak Butler said yesterday that Mr Botha would be "permitted" to hold his Pietersburg meeting this weekend.

But an NP spokesman said Mr Butler's statements could not be trusted as he had said before last month's fiasco that the AWB would merely stage a demonstration outside the hall.

Police will be out in force to prevent any violence.

missions -
it in their mind

PFPP caucus calls for Le Grange's resignation

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE entire PFPP caucus yesterday formally called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

The chairman of the PFPP caucus, Mr Ray Swart, said in a statement yesterday that the caucus had met to consider the handling of the police by Mr Le Grange

"since the present cycle of violence commenced with police action in September 1984".

"The minister has proved himself incompetent, arrogant and callous by virtue of the following:

- "The minister has caused the police to be seen not as protectors of life and property, but as provocateurs and instruments of violence.

- "Suspicion of, and

hostility to, the police has risen to a critical, if not irreversible, level.

- "The minister has failed to institute an effective system of monitoring police action.

- "The minister has refused country-wide appeals for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into police action.

- "The minister has failed to contain unrest-related deaths from violence which to date ap-

proach the appalling figure of nearly 2 000 (since September 1984).

- "The minister has failed to address the root cause of the violence, as found by several judicial commissions of inquiry into specific occurrences of violence — the depressed social, housing, educational, health and political circumstances of black communities.

- "The minister is per-

sisting with legislation providing for police powers which are abhorrent to the vast majority of South Africans."

Mr Swart said the "culmination" came when it was reported yesterday that a message broadcast to the police in KTC squatter camp near Cape Town by the minister congratulated them on their good work and told them: "Keep it up. I will answer all questions at the top."

"This must be seen against the background of daily, widespread and apparently well-founded allegations of police inaction, if not partisanship, in group versus group confrontations, and the minister's continuing refusal to have these allegations investigated," Mr Swart said.

"Instead, in his message, which is staggering in its insensitivity, he has unilaterally prejudged the issue and encouraged the police to continue as before.

"The caucus of the PFPP has accordingly unanimously taken the ultimate step, formally and publicly in the forum of Parliament, of calling on Minister Le Grange to resign," he said.

- Mr Swart gave notice in the House of Assembly yesterday that he would move a motion today calling for Mr Le Grange's resignation.



Mr Louis le Grange

Let's take off the gags 306A

ARGUS 12/6/86

Professor Hermann Giliomee last night delivered his inaugural lecture as Professor in Political Studies at UCT. This is an extract from his speech.

WE have in South Africa the forces of African and Afrikaner nationalism ranged against each other.

The Afrikaner nationalist takes the lesson of history to be to retain his ethnic group basis at virtually any costs. He may be prepared to rule in coalition with black groups but not to dissolve as a political community or willingly relinquish control over matters vitally affecting Afrikaners.

We have to take President P W Botha at his word when he says: "The Nationalist Afrikaner has resolved never to be subordinate again in his own country."

Some years ago, the greatest Afrikaans writer expressed it in equally strong terms when he observed that if the Afrikaners were to become a political minority again they would be "as helpless as the Jews were in Germany".

This is not so much a fear of physical extermination or persecution under a black government, but of a precipitous loss of political status, of the Afrikaners again — as in the years after the South African War — finding themselves squeezed between English capital and the black working class, of losing control over their school and of seeing the Afrikaans language as the subject of scorn.

AFRICAN nationalists have learnt from history to distrust all talk of white good intentions, all promises of reform, and above all, fine-sounding rhetoric covering up the intention of leaving things substantially as they are. One such phrase is "white minority rights".

(Professor Giliomee quoted statements by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, saying he did so because these statements, better than anything else he knew, spelled out the clash between the two nationalisms. He also quoted them without inquiring whether they perhaps represented some smokescreen for party political interests.)

He continued: The point is exactly that we as academics at a university should do our very best to find out whether some compromises are possible between these two positions and whether there is perhaps some room for negotiation.

I was shocked to hear some academics say that it is not for us academics to pronounce on such things, for the "people have already decided". As a student I have often heard the phrase "*die volk het besluit*" and I cannot say that the lack of questioning of party leaders or the *volkswil* has done the chances for democracy in this country any good.

In the polarised situation of today, the universities should

do everything in their power to remain places where a debate about politics can be conducted in a rational way. For this reason I would like to appeal to the university to make a renewed commitment to let all parties speak.

In the department of political studies we have as part of our first year course in South African Politics, a programme of lectures by politicians. There does seem to me no reason why Cabinet ministers, members of the Labour Party or of Inkatha should not be invited to speak in such a programme.

THE University has a set of rules which covers such events. I am confident that the University will take the strongest measures against anti-democratic forces disrupting such a meeting.

I fully support an esteemed colleague who recently stated in Senate that if UCT was unable to provide a forum to Cabinet ministers, members of the Labour Party or Inkatha, it should openly acknowledge that another important part of academic freedom has been lost. Perhaps a third plaque in the Jagger Library recording this development will not be out of place.

But what goes for the Government goes for its strongest opponent, the ANC. I find it from both an academic and political point of view quite intolerable that the Government in

order to discredit the ANC is freely quoting statements by leaders of the ANC, often quite out of context, while the ordinary member of the public is prohibited from doing so.

In its publication of the recent booklet "Talking with the ANC" the Government has gone much too far in following its own set of rules while expecting the public to stick to the letter of the law.

I have quoted the statement by Tambo not in any spirit of confrontation but simply because the public interest demands that their views be heard. I call on my fellow academics to do the same. And I call on university authorities to announce that they will pay the defence costs if the state prosecutes any such academics. Needless to say, the state should have the right to use other laws on the statute book to act against anyone making or quoting inflammatory statements.

In the hour of our greatest crisis the universities should do everything to keep the spirit of open debate alive. The billowing smoke of Crossroads and KTC should make us even more determined to accept our historic burden and demand even more strenuously that the country launch itself on the road of serious, open-minded negotiations.

South African is too rich in potential to succumb at this stage to craven fears.

Security clamp expected today

12/6/86 BID DAY 8044

TENSION grew in Parliament yesterday amid expectations that the announcement of a State of Emergency was imminent.

Speaking during a heated Second Reading of one of two security Bills government has been trying to steam-roll through Parliament before June 16, Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) predicted yesterday government was considering a State of Emergency, possibly from today.

His statement came amid increasing speculation of tough action by government as time for piloting the two controversial security measures through Parliament was fast running out.

Sources at the Government Printer told *Business Day* yesterday that a *Government Gazette* was being readied for publication today dealing with a State of Emergency.

The sources were unable to provide more details. A senior spokesman at the State Attorneys' office in Pretoria said he had no knowledge of the matter.

Government spokesmen would not throw light on the issue, withdrawing behind a veil of silence.

State President PW Botha and his advisors were closeted in Tuinhuys yesterday, having cancelled several important engagements during the day. This fuelled speculation that some statement from the State President's office on the

Business Day Reporter

security situation was due today.

ORMANDE POLLOK reports the Cabinet met yesterday in normal session but there was no indication of whether or not it considered an emergency.

Dalling said a State of Emergency would be inviting sanctions, would further endanger the economy, and give the police licence to do what they liked.

It appears virtually impossible now for the Bills to be passed through Parliament in the normal course of events and Dalling said yesterday government now had two courses of action.

It could ram them through the President's Council, where it had a built-in majority, or, as he thought likely, declare a State of Emergency.

Le Grange yesterday announced he was withdrawing his proposed amendments to the Bill which seemed to indicate he would not allow a committee stage on the Bill.

Dalling, who read extensively from affidavits alleging police brutality, said it was becoming quite obvious that government could no longer rule by the ordinary law.

Before the debate started, the Opposition announced it would move a vote of no confidence in Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange, calling for his resignation.

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'Sugar industry must step into politics'

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Finance Reporter

THE country's social and political unrest was cited as one of the major pitfalls facing the sugar industry by Mr Tony Ardington, chairman of the South African Cane Growers' Association, in his address to the annual meeting yesterday.

He said that in the past, policy had been to avoid political issues but the present social and political events were having such an increasingly important influence on the industry that the association and the industry would have to state where it stood.

'The horrors of township life and the appalling problems faced each day by many millions of our fellow countrymen mean that political standpoints and expression can no longer be

divorced from our business interests,' he said.

He said the country was faced with a crisis of confidence by overseas and domestic investors and until the situation changed, prospects for robust economic growth were dismal.

Reviewing the industry's past year, Mr Ardington said that while bloodied from the effects of selective disaster, drought and accompanying debt, interest rates, inflation and from the severest bear market

the world sugar market has ever experienced, the industry was still poised to reap the advantages of the improved fundamentals on world sugar markets.

The agricultural side of the industry had achieved substantial efficiencies, resulting in savings of over R40m in the 1984-85 season.

A study by the National Productivity Institute (NPI) on productivity trends within the industry over the past four years showed a 4,14% annual improvement in productivity and a 10,54% annual improvement by the growing sections.

'The effects of these improvements, coupled with the considerably brighter external market, will result in the industry covering its costs in full this year, the average grower returning to profitability and the first repayment of the R327m industrial loans being made,' he said.

Most significant efficiency made in the industry had come from the Rorich Committee's transport recommendations which had brought about shorter routes, new roads, bridges and more cost-effective transport.

Saving

The replacement of four tramline systems with road transport had resulted in an annual saving of over R6m.

Mr Ardington said last season's introduction of a two-pool marketing system had complemented the transport arrangements by accurately exposing the industry's least efficient areas to the full impact of world market prices.

A further advantage from the system had been that a grower's security in respect of his quota, was substantially increased, thus enabling him to adjust production according to his own economic circumstances.

Interest

However, the larger debt burden and high interest rates coupled with very low prices had squeezed further economies from growers.

Mr Ardington said that while the Minister of Trade and Industries had asked for a report on the extent to which controls and regulation within the industry could be dismantled, he cautioned that no true free trade existed in agricultural products.

'We have to look for a second best and this could be served by replacing regulations which have served their purpose with suitable structures for negotiating new arrangements at individual mill levels.'

Progs accuse Le Grange of 'callousness'

By JEAN LEMAY,
Cape Town

THE Progressive Federal Party intensified its attack on the government — with most of the anger directed at Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange — when the House of Assembly debated the Public Safety Bill for the second time around this week.

The PFP was particularly infuriated when Le Grange withdrew his agreement to amendments he had accepted during the first debate.

The clause under dispute was 5B, which denies the courts the right to question proclamations made by the Minister. It was dropped during the

original debate after objections from the PFP and from the other two houses.

But after the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates sent the Bill back to the Standing Committee, and the Standing Committee failed to reach consensus, the clause was reinstated.

The Bill, together with the Internal Security Bill, will now get through the House of Assembly on the Nationalist majority and, as it will be turned

down by the two other houses, will go to the President's Council.

As Parliament is expected to prorogue on June 20 until the short session in mid-August, there is no likelihood that the two Bills will be on the statute books before then.

The PFP caucus yesterday decided to introduce a motion in the House of Assembly calling for Le Grange's resignation.

Le Grange had proved himself "arrogant, incompetent and callous," said Ray Swart, MP for Berea and chief spokesman on black affairs.

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Helen Suzman, PFP-MP for Sandton, caused an uproar by saying when South Africa held its Nuremberg trials, the National Party would not be able to say it did not know about police excesses.

He changed the expression to "Nuremberg-type trials" when Roelf Meyer, NP-MP for Johannesburg West, objected that he was insinuating that a Nazi government was in power.

Helen Suzman, PFP-MP for Houghton, said the Public Safety Bill would take South Africa even further from the rule of law.

A gale blows across the free enterprise bathtub

If this week's Project Free Enterprise wants to convince black unions of the benefits of capitalism, they've got an uphill battle ahead, argues DUNCAN INNES

THE publication this week of yet another "bold initiative to save South Africa" — this time in the form of Project Free Enterprise — raises serious questions about current business strategies to pull this country out of its current crisis.

One could be forgiven, in reading press comments on the report, for experiencing a sense of *déjà vu*. Demands for black freehold rights, direct black political representation and participation, the removal of group areas and influx control, multi-racial central business districts: haven't we been through all this before with the Federated Chamber of Industries' Business Charter?

Indeed we have — right down to the issuing of an Action Plan (the FCI called theirs an Action Programme, but it's close enough).

In terms of ideological content, too, there is a remarkable similarity between the two documents. Both seek to salvage what they call the "free market economy" or "free enterprise system" from the bashing it has been receiving of late. As Anglo American's Zac de Beer put it, in issuing his support for Project Enterprise: "We dare not allow the baby of free enterprise to be thrown out with the bathwater of apartheid."

While I can fully understand the business community's concern with wanting to rescue the free enterprise system, in my opinion their current strategy to secure this end leaves much to be desired.

For a start there is the question of follow-up.

Project Free Enterprise has called for the establishment of an Economic Participation Council which would be made up of senior business representatives, employer bodies and union representatives. Well, my guess is that most independent black unions will steer well clear of participating on a body like this, first, because they were not involved in setting it up and, secondly, because they are suspicious of anything which smacks of support for free enterprise.

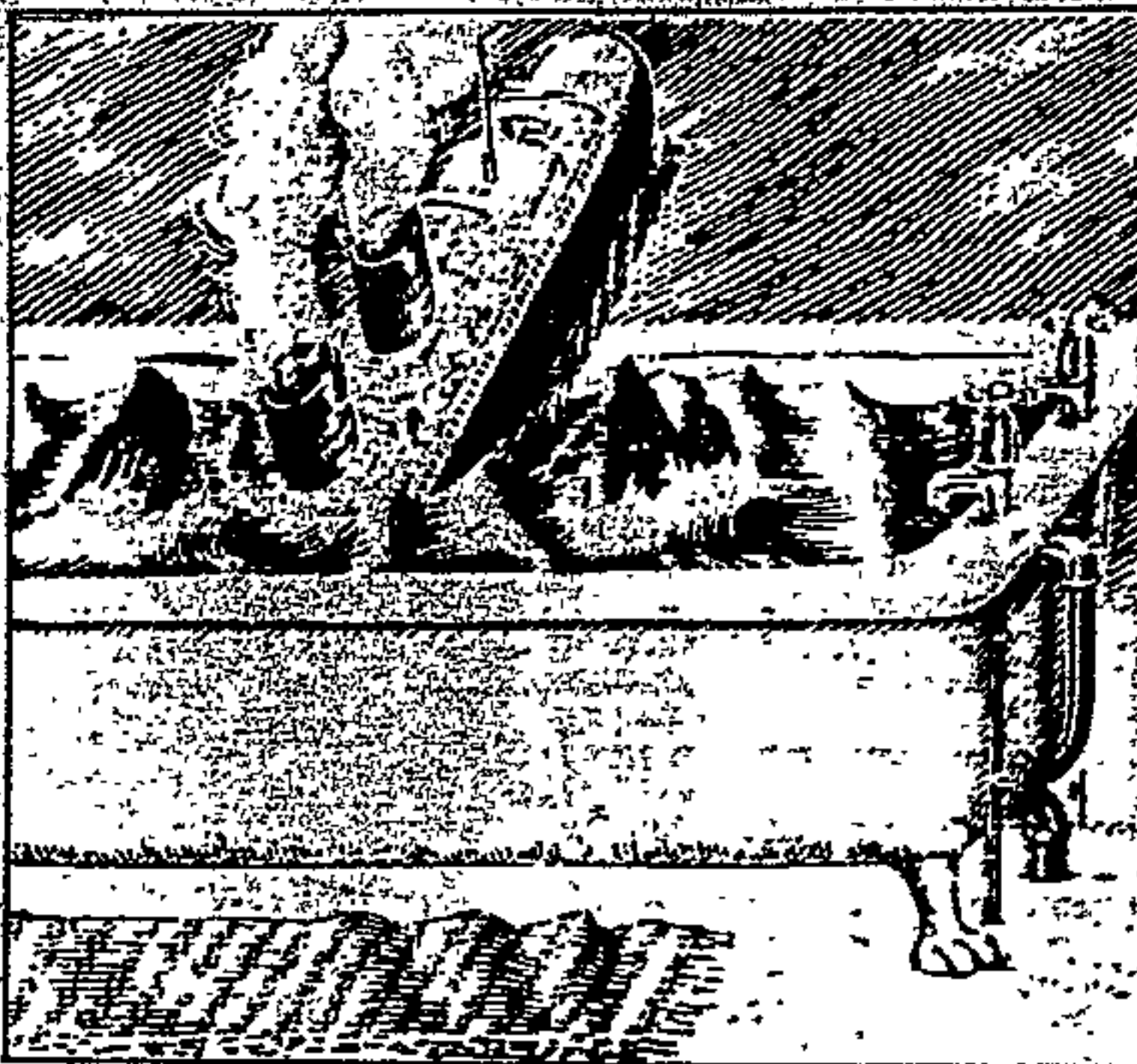
Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers (Num) made this perfectly clear in his speech to the Weekly Mail anniversary celebration: "Experience has shown it is too late for free enterprise to save the country. Workers want a socialist system because all they have experienced from free enterprise is poverty and low wages."

Some people might be tempted to dismiss Ramaphosa's comments as radical rhetoric intended simply as sabre-rattling. A recent survey conducted by Mark Orkin of the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) suggests otherwise.

Orkin surveyed a sample of black people living in all 10 major metropolitan areas of the country. When asked which economic system they wanted to see in South Africa in the future — capitalism or socialism — a staggering 77 percent replied in favour of socialism and only 22 percent in favour of capitalism.

The government might want to argue that this simply proves the existence of communist agitation and infiltration that they have been warning us about for years. I would submit this is not so.

Black people's experience of racial oppression in South Africa is closely linked to their experience of exploitation as workers. It might be apartheid laws which have restricted their freedoms, but it is the free enterprise system which has denied them a living wage. It might be the



Group Areas Act which forces them to live in squalid townships, but it is high profits which enable so many whites to live in luxury and ease.

It is thus hardly surprising that increasing numbers of black people do want to throw the free enterprise baby out with the bathwater of apartheid.

As Colin Eglon of the FFP puts it: "If the free enterprise system fails to deliver the goods, the people will turn against the system — and they will try to replace it with something else — in all likelihood a Marxist system or some local variation of this. We must remember that an economic system survives only if it is relevant to the needs of the people."

The problem with business initiatives like the Business Charter and Project Free Enterprise is the majority of black people do not see them as producing meaningful change. Speaking for the FCI, Arthur Hammond-Tooke points out that both business and government have a responsibility to get blacks to participate in the economy and to share in its wealth. "We believe that the principles of the Business Charter underpin this process both at factory level and at a macro level."

While that may be so, it is concrete results which black people are looking for. They have heard enough statements of intent: what they want now are deeds. They do not want white initiatives which are imposed on them; what they want is that whites recognise some black initiatives for a change.

The recent union negotiations with Pick 'n Pay highlight this problem. While Raymond Ackerman ran advertisements throughout the press emphasising Pick 'n Pay's concern with the need for social change in South Africa, when it came to actual wage negotiations with Pick 'n Pay's black employees Ackerman resorted to smears and irresponsible public attacks to try and discredit the workers' representatives. What Ackerman needs to remember is that black workers will judge him, not on the advertisements he runs, but on the way he responds to their concrete demands.

The same argument applies even more pertinently to the current wage negotiations being conducted between Num and the Chamber of Mines. If there is one industry in South Africa which over the years has come to symbolise the exploitative and oppressive condition of black labour it is the mining industry. It was this industry which produced the convict labour system, the migrant labour system, the compound system. It was this industry which separated male workers from their families and paid poverty wages.

According to Professor Francis

Wilson of the University of Cape Town, between 1889 and 1969 the real wages of black miners actually fell.

What the Chamber of Mines must realise as it sits down to negotiate with Num is that this history forms a part of the thinking of black miners. It is present in the negotiating room.

So far the Chamber does not seem to have grasped this reality. In the same week as the Chamber offered black miners a 12-17 percent wage increase (which doesn't even match the increase in inflation) one of its members, Anglovaal, announced a 25 percent increase in dividends to shareholders.

Black miners will also be aware that this same Anglovaal, which last year refused to accede to their wage demands, has this year declared a net profit of R89,6-million — a 35 percent increase on last year.

As I said earlier, companies should remember when they seek to defend the free enterprise system that black workers will judge them on their deeds, not their words.

This perception does exist among some members of the business community: AECI is one company I know of which has sought to grapple realistically with this problem. But it is still a minority position which needs to be extended. As Benjamin Trisk of the Premier Group puts it: "It is incumbent upon business to have a vision of history and an idea of the future. Those with whom we negotiate are not only the representatives of labour. They are also, whether we like it or not, the dispossessed in South African society."

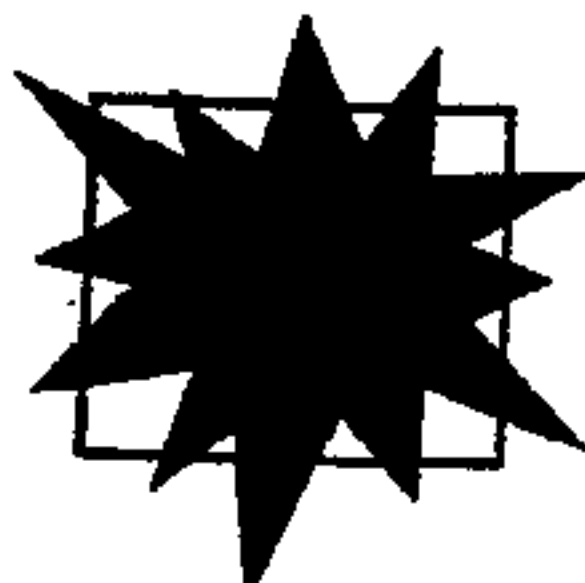
Doonesbury



JUNE 16

The cost of hanging on

12/6/86 FNNMC ~~304K~~



The bullet that struck 13-year-old Hector Petersen in the back on June 16 1976 initiated the decade-long cycle of violence and repression that has led us to where we stand today. Next Monday

will be the tenth anniversary of that tragic day, and confrontation appears virtually inevitable. That could initiate another cycle of events which, economically and politically, would be worse than anything we have yet seen.

Confrontation is probable because of the countrywide ban placed on meetings in June to commemorate Soweto Day and Freedom Charter Day (the charter was signed at Klip-town on June 26 1955). It was issued by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange; and ranged against him are the combined forces of the United Democratic Front, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which have agreed on a one-day stayaway, and some of which will hold defiance rallies despite the ban. (The African National Congress apparently endorses this.) Azapo, too, supports a stayaway.

The legality of the ban was to be tested by the internal organisations in various courts this week. A massive stayaway, with church services to mourn the dead, is certain. Only

The failure of apartheid has brought with it international condemnation of the repression with which Pretoria seeks to control events. The economic damage has been profound — and could become worse if June 16 leads to confrontations in which more lives are lost. Business has a role to play in ensuring that the day is not one that will usher in new and punitive sanctions.

Inkatha's Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi has so far warned that there are elements who wish to turn June 16 into a "political fiasco ... We cannot pretend that June 17 is another June 16 and that June 18 is another June 16 ..."

Employer reaction to the stayaway will be one of a few crucial elements. Assocom's advice of "no pay, but no penalty" is probably the course which will be adopted by many corporations. It might, however, be in the national interest for chief executives, in announcing this (or any other policy which is not simply *kragdadig*) to their workers to stress that they have at least some understanding of how black people feel about June 16. If there are employers who do not, in fact, have the faintest glimmer of such an understanding, they live in a blinkered world indeed.

Another crucial element will be the preparedness and attitude of the security forces. Any hint of provocation will be seized upon by lawless elements seeking revolutionary advantage from mass emotion. And the forces' unenviable task has been made more difficult by the ban and likely emergency, making the need for restraint even greater.

Black leaders, especially clergymen, will carry enormous responsibility, too. If they do not curb the excesses of the hooligan, both political and criminal, then for a start young blacks are going to die, both in clashes with the security forces, and as they seek sacrificial "collaborators" among their own companions.

It is preferable to mourn the dead with restraint and dignity. That indeed is the tradition of many of the churches that will be holding services on June 16. To use the pulpit for other purposes in this charged atmosphere will not only threaten the peace but the lives of innocents.

Meanwhile, the opposition of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives to the repressive Bills on security (one of which would put 180-day detention back on the books) means that they are unlikely to emerge from the Standing Committee on Law and Order before June 16, as government had planned. So we are likely to see again a selective State of Emergency — or even, as *Rapport* suggested, martial law.

Then it could be back to October 1977:

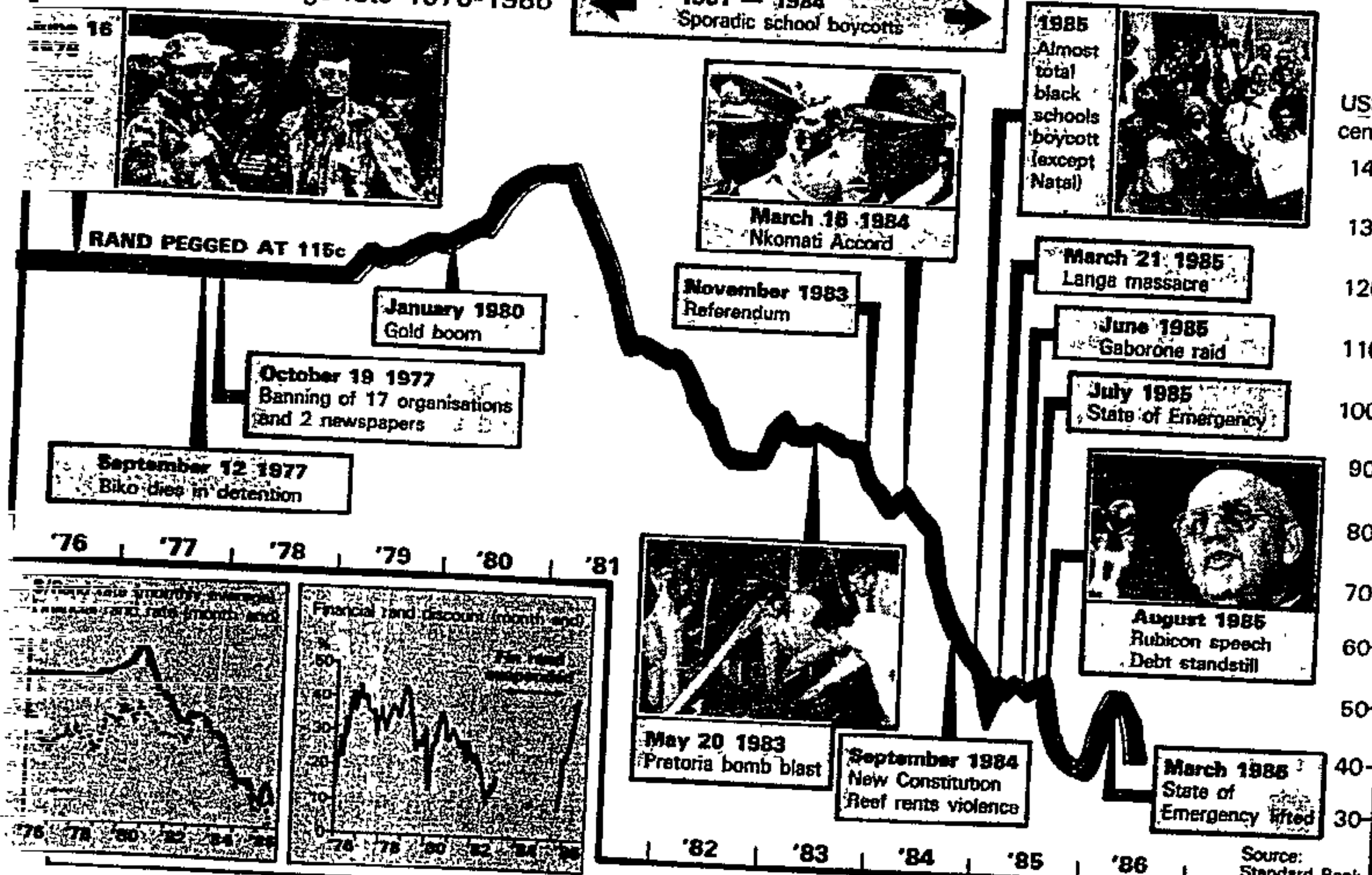
mass detentions, bannings of organisations, further press restrictions. Jimmy Kruger was bad; Le Grange, in his chilling fashion, could be worse.

More June 16 deaths, or a repressive package in itself, will immediately affect the rand, taking it down towards US\$0.30 (it was 38c on Tuesday). As the accompanying chart indicates, apart from the years when the rand was pegged, and the effects were masked, and its dizzy heights during the gold boom of the early Eighties, the currency's value has been manifestly at the mercy of political events, especially since last August.

This will, by forcing the rate of inflation above 20%, push the cost of Pretoria's political inertia and clumsy reforms straight into the pockets of every citizen, but especially the unemployed. It will be an immediate and sharp upward twist in the

The political rand

Rand/dollar exchange rate 1976-1986



spiral of the cost of apartheid. Economic attrition will inevitably follow.

What is the real meaning of the crisis? Essentially it has arisen out of the collapse of Hendrik Verwoerd's inhuman and wasteful system of apartheid — followed by the use of the police and army both to force black dissidents into submission, and increasingly to maintain order. Next came the world's reaction — the calling in of debt by Chase Manhattan, disinvestment, and now the virtual inevitability of fresh sanctions.

Leaked information from the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) suggests that it believes Pretoria has no wish to negotiate peace, and that without such negotiation there could come a civil war lasting

15 years. While its report, to be discussed by the Commonwealth in August, may not actually recommend sanctions, it will not oppose them. In effect, the EPG has thrown up its hands in despair at SA. Last month's raids into three countries (which had no effect whatsoever on the ANC) sabotaged the group's mission and much of the reserve of goodwill abroad. Could they perhaps have been meant to do so? The timing was perfect.

As events, in whatever form, unfold, the pressure on Margaret Thatcher to concede at least some hurtful, though not crippling, measures; and on Ronald Reagan to sign the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the passage of which through Congress seems assured), will mount.

The trouble is that our best friends find SA's behaviour inexplicable, unjust, and frightening. What are they to do with such a recalcitrant regime? Is, indeed, P W Botha capable of the leadership that is desperately required?

The US and Britain know full well that sanctions will harden the already hard hearts of the Afrikaners; that black unemployment will become worse, and starvation mount; that the long-range effect of intensifying sanctions will leave SA an economic basket case with, indeed, the possibility of civil war and civil wars within civil war.

But such is the abhorrence of the civilised world at Pretoria's behaviour that leaders who sympathise with the plight of a reformist government caught between the grinding pressures of the Left and Right are hard put to stem the sanctions tide. Even the horrible methods of some of the "comrades" — and the dictatorial pronouncements of Winnie Mandela — are not enough to win serious support for a government that tolerates the methods being employed, day after day, by the security forces.

The punitive exuberance with which the police waded into Wits students with their sjamboks was viewed across the globe. That is why the moderate *Financial Times* wrote on June 5: "If the group (the EPG) reports failure in its efforts (as it has now done), Britain should give notice that, in consultation with the Commonwealth, Europe and the US, it intends to introduce fresh economic measures against SA." Japan, doubtless, will fall in line with the West.

The *FT* knows all the arguments against sanctions: that they would drive most whites into the fortified laager; that they will damage the economies of neighbouring black states; and that they do not work. But it sees little other moral option for the West as Pretoria obfuscates over removing completely the colour bar so obnoxious to the West and which it itself claims to abhor.

As for investment, in the *Lex* column of June 2, the newspaper observed: "...the South African economy has refused to grow faster than the black population it now wants to satisfy. Foreign capital, on which the State

was nurtured, has dried up. And domestic wealth has dwindled away, first into maintaining a bloated bureaucracy and now into dismantling or escaping it ...

"The financial community must make a decision in an unfamiliar area. There are three possibilities. It can provide the devil it knows with new capital in the hope that it really wants change and can stave off disaster. It can wait until some regime emerges to which it can lend on terms morally acceptable to professional consciences. The markets fear a third possibility. The numbers are suggesting that the financial community will sit on its hands, with its capital written off, until SA and half a continent slide away."

If the third scenario is the correct one, we are, internally, heading at the very least towards a siege economy, spiralling inflation, and some form of military rule. The *FM* takes no joy in reporting why the world is so busy constructing apocalyptic visions of our future. But there they are: and, in the end, perceptions have a profound impact on markets — look at the discount between the commercial and the financial rand.

Some argue that the plunging financial rand is equivalent to *force majeure* applied against disinvestment. However, if international perceptions of SA's future are so bad that capital locked up here has indeed been "written off," the argument becomes meaningless.

The South African business community's confidence has never been lower, as measured by Assocom's index. That does not mean that there is no choice but to pack one's bags and go — though many will. Quite correctly, businessmen — through the valiant efforts of bodies and initiatives such as the Urban Foundation, the FCI's Charter, and Project Free Enterprise — have signalled their concern at events, and their commitment to a better SA. If only government would give them some reason for hope, instead of preaching at them, telling them to invest when they are going broke, while cossetting its own bureaucracies.

"There is a way out," respected journalist Stanley Uys has written in *The Guardian*. "It is to legalise black political activity and talk

to recognised black leaders. The longer this is delayed, the more black society will fragment, and the more difficult it will be to negotiate a common settlement. But it is extremely doubtful whether the Botha government can embark on this course because of conflicting pressures within it — it would be torn apart. This is where Botha has baulked — he is not prepared to preside over the dissolution of Afrikaner nationalism."

Yet that dissolution is visibly taking place, however painful and protracted a process it is going to be. Blacks as well as concerned businessmen know it. Zwelakhe Sisulu, editor of *The New Nation* and son of Walter Sisulu, has this unillusioned assessment: "The government has lost control. But the people do not have control. This has created a power vacuum. The people are not ready for power, but they are poised for the transfer of power."

It is against this background of erosion at the centre, a crumbling economy, and worsening violence, that the impact of events on June 16 — whatever they may be — should be measured. Perhaps only the release of Nelson Mandela could pave the way for the peace which the EPG so desperately sought. It certainly won't happen by Monday, given government's current stance.

Nonetheless, the *FM* repeats the plea we made last week — that June 16 should be a day of mourning and reflection, not of violence and State terror. That businessmen should be sensitive to the feelings of black workers, including those who wish to work but are prevented from doing so by the "comrades" and their necklaces. And that every man and woman of goodwill has a duty to avoid excess.

Is the hope a forlorn one? The *FT* notes that the imposition of sanctions should be seen as only the end of the first stage of the Commonwealth peace effort. "But the Eminent Persons should remain in the wings," it writes. "Pretoria may need their good offices sooner than Mr Botha realises."

Only peace will bring prosperity back. What happens next Monday could determine whether we will have it by June 16 1996.

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

THE Weekly Mail has in its short and dynamic history certainly contributed to a creative journalism in our country. Whilst saying this I need to add a word of caution, because occasions like these are not only to pat one another on the back. I believe it is also an occasion to critically examine the conditions in our country and the role of the media. It is a time when we reflect on whether the Weekly Mail, in its attempt to continue the traditions of its predecessor, the Rand Daily Mail, has extended the frontiers of our journalism, or whether it is no different from the rest of the commercial press in the country.

It is well known that the censorship laws in our country curtail the free flow of information. In addition, we also have self-censorship legislated by the newspaper barons and companies which control our media.

They (these two forms of censorship) are both designed to regulate what the public consumes and shape our perspectives. They are there to ensure that the conditions of domination which presently exist in our society are maintained and enforced.

If one puts it simply, repression alone cannot produce the relations of domination and subordination in our society. Legitimacy and consent have to be generated. The media in general play a crucial role in this regard. Many journalists, I regret to say, have become active agents in this process.

Under the guise of objectivity, they have been perpetrators of disinformation and blatant propaganda for the minority apartheid regime and the capitalist class in our country. Under the guise of presenting both sides of the story they delude themselves that there is such a thing as total objectivity.

It is important to remember what a distinguished liberal historian once said. He said, "How much of the mountain you see depends on where you stand".

There are many people in this troubled country, some of whom are ordinary workers, some intellectuals, who believe the South African press has all along underestimated the brutality of the South African regime and its main allies, big business, and so ought to share the responsibility for what has happened in our country today.

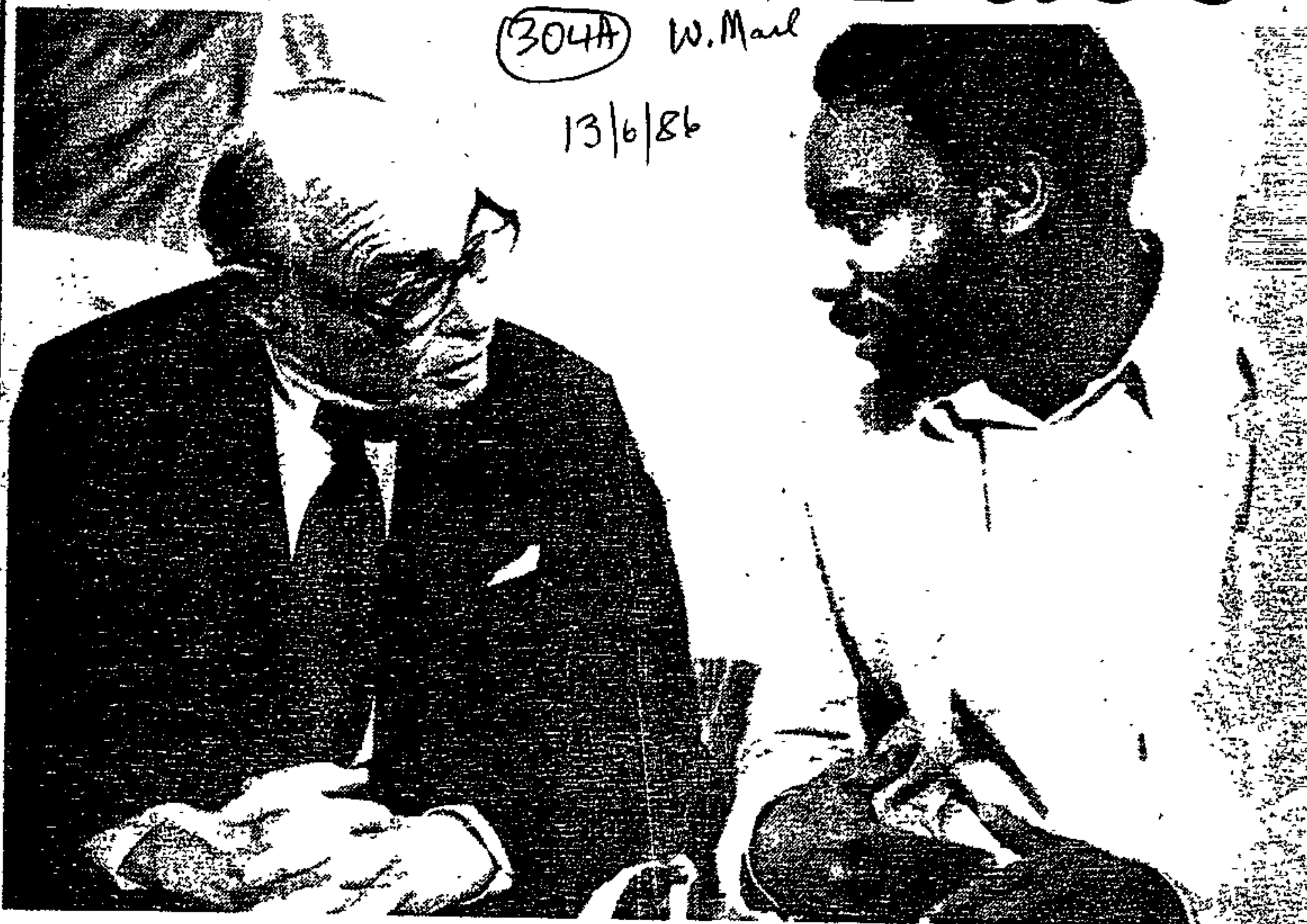
To speak frankly, the system — I mean the regime and big business — cannot continue their crusade of brutality and exploitation without the help and support of the compromised press. The regime and big business need the press to explain and legitimise their brutality against the oppressed and exploited.

These two allies achieve this through a high degree of collaboration. The one passes ridiculous laws to restrict the press, and when that does not succeed, the other shuts down effective newspapers and replaces them with faceless tabloids.

Face to Face

(304A) W. Mail

13/6/86



Harry Oppenheimer and Cyril Ramaphosa

Two of the country's most influential men met for the first time on a Weekly Mail platform this week. Former Anglo American chairman Harry Oppenheimer and National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa spoke at the Market Theatre on how they viewed the South African press

Bullets, Casspirs and purple rain aside, there are two ways to perpetuate a *status quo*. The first is to refuse people information; the second is to give people information. The oppressor knows that he who controls the image and the source of information, controls the mind. And he who controls the mind has little to fear from the class he oppresses and exploits.

What I am concerned to emphasise here is that in our situation of violence, misinformation is a simple necessity of the system. And whether the system affords information to people or refuses them information, the aim and effects are the same: mystification and misinformation.

Bearing these things in mind, we can readily see that the press in a situation of oppression necessarily reflects the interests and values of the oppressive society. Press people who do not stand up to that fact by operating within a perspective which radically negates the system, find themselves serving the established order. And there are many of those today that we know.

A number of South Africans are today indebted to those journalists who serve on papers such as the Weekly Mail, the Namibian, the Indicator and the New Nation, for recognising that fact and for reporting within a new perspective.

Our country is descending deeper and deeper into a hell of its own making and the press has helped a

great deal to pave the way towards that hell by sins of omission and commission.

It is true that the regime is up in arms against the media, through the various ridiculous laws that have been passed to restrict the freedom and effectiveness of the press. It is also true that big business has muzzled the press and virtually destroyed the freedom of the press. One can go further and say the regime and capital are making attempts to reduce the South African media to pacifiers, mediators and interpreters of its policies.

The South African press is able to admit responsibility for noble acts, such as highlighting the plight of a stranded and abandoned cat belonging to Mrs Jones in the Johannesburg northern suburbs and starting a massive fundraising campaign to enable Mrs Jones to be operated on at a hospital near Groote Schuur.

However, the South African press must at the same time accept responsibility for the gross omission of not highlighting the plight of the downtrodden workers of this country. The press has done very little to question the captains of big industry about the low wages they pay workers when they speak about how they are helping to abolish apartheid.

The mining industry is left unchallenged by the press. The mining industry is least able to convince people of its support for social

change. It is the industry which provided the furnace in which discrimination was baked and the press knows this. Today it is absolutely on the exploitative labour system and on oppression to operate. It pays workers the lowest wages of any major mining country in the world with the exception of India. The press has never highlighted this and has never really analysed it.

The mining industry employs relations people, advertising agencies to try and whitewash the real situation. They make a big noise about the amounts they spend from the Chairman's Fund on education money they give to the U. S. Foundation, in the hope that no one will look closely at the wages they pay their black workers, which they keep secret of course.

Businessmen and, least of all, the mining industry, do not want economic reform. The mining industry has had the money, the resources and the opportunity to fight discrimination and to raise the wages of black workers substantially, but they have not done so.

All you ever hear the mining industry barons say is that they are hamstrung by the law. Big business has been breaking innumerable laws to make big profits, but they have avoided breaking unjust laws which would help destroy the migrant labour system and allow workers to live

their families.

Newspapers always write about the billions that Anglo American has made in profits. But they write it up in the business section, which workers do not read. The press does not analyse those profits and interpret them for the workers who produce the wealth.

If they did, we would all know that the mining industry's profits in 1985 were R7,7-billion, which represented a whopping 78 percent increase in profit. In 1985, each worker contributed about R15 400 to gold mine profits and earned in return an average of R4 800, less than a third of the profits he produced. The press does not highlight these facts.

Our union has demanded a 45 percent wage increase, but the press which speaks for capital has rejected that demand as ridiculous, without analysing the facts.

Businessmen and economists are crying out for the government to reduce taxes to stimulate the economy and to jerk South Africa out of recession. What better way is there than for the mines to act unilaterally and to slash their tax payments by increasing workers' wages. But they prefer not to do so; they prefer to pay higher taxes than higher wages.

Against this backdrop, the Chamber of Mines is today offering black miners a 14,5 percent wage increase when their profits have increased since 1975 by 70 percent and their profits for 1985 increased by 38 percent.

Will anyone be shocked if there is a strike? Yes, there will be a total outcry from the press, which will accuse the NUM of being irresponsible and leading the country to bankruptcy. The forces of repression — the mine police, the SAP and the army — will crush the strike with impunity and the press will not even bother to find out what really happened other than to give a report that the forces of evil were successfully crushed.

Efforts such as Project Free Enterprise, announced today, may have noble objectives, but the experience of the working class dictates that it is too late to save the free enterprise system in this country. The alliance between big business and the apartheid regime has gone on too long and is soaked with the blood of workers who have reaped nothing from the free enterprise system but poverty, low wages, massive unemployment, lack of housing, inferior education, malnutrition and inadequate medical care.

The working class wants a programme that will restructure the economy and society as a whole in such a way that the wealth of the mines, factories, farms and all the means of production are democratically shared and controlled by all its people.

Because of its skills and resources, the media is the key to the transformation of South African society. This does not imply that the media is an elite group with an elite function. A new level of commitment by the media is necessary.

HARRY OPPENHEIMER

MAY I thank you all at the Weekly Mail for having invited me to come and speak this evening. It is a great pleasure, and it is rather typical of you, I think, because you are a lively organisation. You have chosen to have your party in a lively place. You have chosen to bring Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and me together and that is rather fun and that again is original.

I differ a little bit from Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in thinking that this ought to be fun. I think it should be rather a cheerful occasion.

I know it is very difficult for anniversaries in South Africa nowadays to be looked upon as cheerful occasions, because we are unfortunately living in a time when anniversaries of things which have been really important and good to the country, like the 100th anniversary of Johannesburg's formation, have to be cast aside and condemned simply because times are bad. And yet that (Johannesburg's centenary) was something very important just as much for the people Mr Ramaphosa represents as for the people I am supposed to represent, though I am not really sure that I do represent them.

I think that the first anniversary of the Weekly Mail is something rather different. This is a rather happy occasion. Of course, it did grow out of a very unfortunate event indeed — the death of that great paper, the Rand Daily Mail. That was a very sad event, something which I think affected all of us.

But at least because of the initiative that was taken by the founders of the Weekly Mail, we can look back to that time, not simply as the death of the Rand Daily Mail, but we can look to it as the formation of a new organisation which gives us a new sort of hope.

Because, at that time, the founders of this newspaper showed determination and they showed courage. And whereas others just looked at the figures and lamented because they were so very bad, these were people who looked at the situation in South Africa and they acted. And they deserve congratulations for what they have done.

Now, I was very pleased to be invited to speak here this evening, obviously not because the Weekly Mail continuously and regularly reflects my views. Although it may reflect them a little more often than some of you may be inclined to suppose.

Anyhow, the very fact that Mr Cyril Ramaphosa is here to talk as he did talk tonight — a most touching and moving speech, made all the more touching by the neglect of some of the facts — the fact that we were both here to talk together is something which gives me very great pleasure.

Of course, there are differences between me and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and I don't intend to go into them except in one respect. I think he is wrong not to understand that in some sections anyhow in private enterprise,

'It is unfortunate against racial with that again



Seen at the Market: Ramaphosa

he has powerful potential allies in his battle against racial discrimination.

And it is to my mind unfortunate to link that battle against discrimination with another battle against the free enterprise system, because I don't believe these two things are tied together as irrevocably or as firmly as some of us may be inclined to suppose.

But whatever differences my friend and I may have, I think we are certainly as one in regarding a free and lively and brave press as an absolutely essential factor in the life of a free country.

Now, of course, you can easily say that this is just something platitudinous. It is platitudinous in almost every country in the world except in South Africa. But in South Africa it is not platitudinous to say that a free, a lively and a brave press is essential because we are ruled by a

government that any views of disapproval are unpatriotic.

Of course, that is not least not now, not me. But of course country it you can get such to particular to succeed.

There is a think that with which must be and And let

WEEKLY MAIL'S PLATFORM ON THE PRESS

It is unfortunate to link the battle against racial discrimination with that against free enterprise'



Seen at the Market: Ramaphosa and Oppenheimer flank Weekly Mail's Anton Harber

Picture: GISELE WULFSOHN

powerful potential allies in his battle against racial discrimination. It is to my mind unfortunate to link the battle against discrimination with that against the free enterprise system, because I don't think these two things are tied together irrevocably or as firmly as some may be inclined to suppose. However, differences my friend may have, I think we are as one in regarding a free and brave press as an essential factor in the life of our country.

Of course, you can easily say this is just something platitudinous in every country in the world. South Africa. But in South Africa it is not platitudinous to say a lively and a brave press is because we are ruled by a

government that is inclined to think that any press which expresses any views strongly with which it disapproves must be a press that is unpatriotic and probably immoral.

Of course, we are a divided country. That is not the fault of any of us, or at least not the fault of any of us living now, not even of someone as old as me. But we are a divided country and of course if you have a divided country it is particularly important if you can get it to have tolerance.

But of course, in such a country, to get such tolerance is a thing which is particularly and regrettably difficult to succeed in.

There are far too many people who think that firm expression of views with which they happen not to agree must be wrong, conducive to ill-will and probably conducive to violence.

And let me say that this dislike of

having views firmly expressed which are views which you don't think happen to be right is an attitude of mind which is by no means confined to rightwing people. It is just as clear in the behaviour of leftwing people who prefer to shout down anybody who expresses views which they happen to think are wrong.

But my view, and I would suspect Mr Ramaphosa's — I don't want to put words into his mouth, but I would suspect that our views are the exact opposite. I think both of us would feel that the strong expression of differing views is something immensely important and something which, in the long run, makes for consensus about essentials.

I say particularly about essentials because you've got to fight about all sorts of things in any lively and free country. But you cannot, on the other

hand, with safety fight about the extreme essentials in the life of a country. Democracy really is a system which calls for consensus about what is absolutely fundamental and extremely angry fighting about things which are not quite so essential.

Of course, to start a new paper like this is a very brave and a very difficult thing to do. And in starting a paper, goodwill, however good the will may be, is not enough. It calls for great skills and it calls for judgment and these things were all present in the formation of this paper.

It calls for an understanding of the practical possibilities and in making the plans for this paper these were taken into account and that is why — not the only reason, but a very important reason — why after one year, the paper is flourishing instead of having died after a fortnight, as so many of the critics were inclined to think it would.

There has to be idealism, of course. Without idealism the paper would not succeed and if it did succeed, it just wouldn't be worthwhile.

But idealism has to be on a realistic basis. Perhaps I can take up my friend when he talked, I think rather scornfully, of a commercial press. I think a press, if it is going to be powerful for good, as well as for evil, has got to know what it is doing from a commercial point of view.

And this paper has known that and that is one of the reasons — perhaps not the most important reason, but an essential reason — why it has been a success.

The Weekly Mail is bringing a point of view which, as I have said already, I don't always agree with. But I certainly agree with this paper far more often than I disagree with it.

I think this is a paper of real importance to South Africa as a paper which is going to help bring a new, democratic and more just society into being. I want to congratulate the founders of this paper very much indeed. I want to express to them my good wishes for many anniversaries.

I hope they will go from strength to strength. I think they deserve support from all sections of South Africa, from those who represent the workers, particularly the black workers of South Africa, and I think it deserves strong support from the business community also.

Emergency: Botha speaks

'RADICALS HAVE PLAN OF TERROR'

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13/6/86

THE ANC, the UDF and other "radicals and anarchists" were planning large-scale unrest supported by "acts of terror and sabotage" in South Africa between June 16 and 18, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Addressing a joint sitting of Parliament on the imposition of the state of emergency, he said it was planned to begin the unrest with demonstrations and marches to main centres.

"They wish to support these actions by acts of sabotage and terror.

"According to their planning, certain identified points will serve as gathering places from where further disruptive action will be launched.

"If these actions are performed, it would lead to destruction of property and loss of life".

Mr Botha said these "radical elements" stated that their "acts of resistance" would take place peacefully.

"That is cheap propaganda. The Government has the facts at its disposal and is aware that much more is being planned.

"In a greater effort, they further intend to undermine Government institutions and to establish so-called 'alternative structures' on a wider basis".

These structures would include "people's courts" and actions by "comrades," Mr Botha said.

"This type of practice has already caused much suffering in black communities".

Mr Botha said that, although intelligence information was not normally revealed to the public, he was prepared "by way of the highest exception" to make available to MPs documentary material "which clearly sets out the strategy, objectives and planning of the SA Communist Party".

The material would make it clear that the

SAPA

African National Congress was "only a front for the SACP".

In his speech, Mr Botha also slammed "black on black" violence.

During the period March 1 to June 5 this year he said, 284 black people were violently killed by "radicals" — 172 of them by means of "necklace" methods.

Mr Botha said "black on black" violence since the beginning of March had led to the destruction or damaging by fire bombs of 1 125 homes, damage to 347 business premises and damage to 11 church buildings used by blacks.

"In this climate of increasing violence, it is not possible for the reasonable majority to continue the search for a peaceful and democratic solution," he said.

"Because I am thus of the opinion that the ordinary laws of the land are inadequate to enable the Government to ensure the security of the public and to maintain public order, I have decided to declare a national state of emergency, including the self-governing states," he said.

Parliament and Politics

Botha: 'Radicals' plan June 16 'terror'

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Peacefully

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'Exception'

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The material would make it clear that the African National Congress was "only a front".

Mr Botha said the document had originated in the Politbureau of the South African Communist Party and was distributed in May this year in SACP circles. This had been done to establish policy guidelines by June 20 for discussion and which would have to be executed by the ANC.

'Instrument'

"The strategy contained in this document is significant, if account is taken of the fact that the majority of members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC

are members or supporters of the SACP."

Mr Botha said the SACP, "as a proven instrument of the USSR", had identified itself in the document with the objective of the ANC's "so-called revolution" to bring about a transition from capitalism to socialism as part of the "struggle against imperialism".

He added that the SACP had in the document set out a number of objectives that should

violence by the ANC.

Mr Botha said it was clear that reform, unanimity on democratic objectives and the establishment of a peaceful community posed a threat to the ANC.

Recent documents circulated by the organization stated that June 16 should be used to bring about the "mightiest demonstration yet of our peoples' resolve to bring the ruling class to its knees".

To oppose the govern-

Mr Botha: "In fact, the government possess intelligence regarding plans which have been made by radical and revolutionary elements for the coming days, which pose real danger for all population groups in the country."

be applied in discussions between the ANC and other groups in South Africa.

Mr Botha said these objectives stated that the aim of a violent takeover of power should not be "diluted or abandoned".

"The SACP warns that such discussion can be to the advantage of Western governments and

ment's reform initiatives, Mr Botha said, radical and revolutionary groups had since 1985 committed themselves to making South Africa ungovernable and government institutions unworkable.

The ANC had on various occasions emphasized that it was not interested in the renunciation of violence, but

Mr Botha said he was prepared make available to MPs documentary material which would make it clear that the African National Congress was "only a front".

South African business people."

He quoted an extract from the document which stated that the ANC should not "play into the hands of the liberal bourgeoisie... by working out compromises... which constitute a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution".

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He said the document stated that even the desire to project an image of reasonableness to the outside world should not divert the ANC and the SACP from its strategic objectives.

Another ANC objective was the creation of division in the ruling class and white ranks. He said it was proposed that this be brought about through discussions by South African interest groups with the ANC and the simultaneous intensification of

acts, which will claim the lives of more innocent black and white citizens, must increase.

"Neither is there any question of sharing power with any internal group or an intention to that effect. Even the visits of radical groups such as Cosatu and the UDF are not viewed as recognition of the existence of other power groups, but as demonstrations of subservience to the ANC."

Mr Botha said some people, such as the UDF

and even members within the ANC, said the Freedom Charter represented the ultimate objective of the revolutionary onslaught and represented the basis for political stability.

"This is not correct and I wish to remove this illusion."

"The SACP describes the Freedom Charter in this document simply as, and I quote: 'Broad popular guidelines which describe the main contents of the people's power in the immediate aftermath of a victory of the national democratic revolution.'"

"It is not a programme for a socialist South Africa but, depending on the social forces which come to power, it can become the starting point for creating conditions which would lead to a socialist transformation."

Ideology

"It is evident from this that the Freedom Charter is only a starting point for the SACP."

Mr Botha said the time had arrived for the ANC to "incisively investigate" its relationship with the SACP, as well as its identification or not with the ideology and planning of the SACP.

It should also state its findings clearly to the world.

As matters now stood the two organizations were "interwoven".

"A further important aspect which I want to emphasize in this regard is that the SACP — and as stated before also the ANC — has at no stage accepted the sincerity of the motives of visiting groups."

Democratic

Although the ANC had immediately realized the possibilities of exploiting discussions to its own advantage, the SACP nonetheless found it necessary to warn that the "liberal bourgeoisie" sought to destroy the position of the ANC as head of the democratic revolution and to equate it with other groups on an equal footing.

The SACP had also warned that this was accompanied by persistent efforts to break the alliance between the ANC, the SACP and the Soviet Union.

"This then is the background against which violence and unrest are planned and perpetrated," said Mr Botha — Sapa

Businessmen differ

In the light of the Department of Information (DI) booklet released last week, the FM attempted to conduct a mini-poll of leading businessmen on the question of government and business contact with the African National Congress (ANC). Respondents were asked whether they thought such contacts were desirable, particularly considering the booklet's emphasis on SA Communist Party (SACP) influence within the ANC.

A feature of the poll was the reluctance of many of the people contacted to comment at all. They included Barlow Rand's Mike Rosholt, Federale Volksbelegging's Kerneels Human and the Urban Foundation's Jan Steyn. Gavin Relly and Zac de Beer of Anglo American — two of the first businessmen to visit the ANC — also declined



Ball

to comment. Relly has, however, recently called for the unbanning of the ANC. A Gencor spokesman said new CE Derek Keyes was still settling in and preferred not to comment at this stage.

This is an indication, perhaps, of the sensitive nature of the subject right now. Nevertheless, a number of businessmen were happy to provide their views and some interesting perspectives emerged.

Last week Premier's Tony Bloom expressed the view that dialogue with the ANC was historically inevitable, and the longer it was delayed the more militant will ANC attitudes become (*Current affairs* June 6).

Barclays' Chris Ball takes a similar view. He is, he says, a firm believer in conciliation.

He blames both government and the ANC for indulging in political posturing (of which the DI booklet is an example), which reinforces their respective hard-line positions. Ball believes that because business is not a part of the political power structure it can play a positive role in breaking down the posturing.

He is unwilling to accept at face value the DI views on SACP influence within the ANC, arguing that it is necessary to talk to the organisation in order to evaluate the information.

On the other hand, Afrikaner Handelsinstituut president Christie Kuun is in complete agreement with present government policy on the ANC. "They must first renounce violence. I also cannot disagree with government views on the SACP," he says.

But AECI MD Mike Sanders believes that government cannot afford not to speak to any group that is supported by, and influential among, a large number of South Africans, in which category he places the ANC. He argues that communist philosophy, and the SACP, will not disappear by banning it. SA, he observes, is a fertile breeding ground for communism, and it is those conditions which have to be addressed.

However, he disagrees with Ball on the question of business contacts with the ANC. Says Sanders: "The initial contacts were an important and effective step and I supported them. But, as a political issue, it is now a task for government."

Assocom president Rocky Ridgeway says his organisation has not taken a stand on the question of government negotiations with the ANC. His personal view, though, is that it is insufficient for the ANC to agree merely to a ceasefire. "This would mean government negotiating with a gun to its head," he says. It would, though, be a major step forward were the ANC to at least renounce violence "for an indefinite period," he says.

Ridgeway believes he has insufficient information on the nature of the SACP to decide whether its members should be included in negotiations. For Ridgeway the question is an economic one. Communism, he says, is a recipe for poverty. If, however, they indicate a preparedness to talk in terms of a mixed economy, this may make talking to them feasible.



Bloom

stricts Caters' catering Trades

Kempton Park*, Wonderboom

annual leave after

give free meals their working

Emergency: President addresses

CPL - 11/15 13/4/80

SA may go it

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night prepared South Africa for international sanctions and a siege economy following his declaration of a national state of emergency.

A defiant Mr Botha said: "We do not desire it and we do not seek it, but if we are forced to go it alone, then so be it."

But the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said the government had "made such a mess of almost everything it has touched" in the past 38 years that at least half the cabinet should resign.

Addressing the nation on television, Mr Botha said it should be "very clear" in future that South Africans would not allow themselves to be humiliated to prevent sanctions.

Dishonourable

The choice between "war and a dishonourable, fearful peace" was an example of the unpleasant alternatives that were inevitable at times in the history of nations, Mr Botha said.

"The decision to announce a state of emergency, as I have done today, also represents such a choice."

Mr Eglin described the new state of emergency as "the most severe clampdown on civil liberty and the most far-reaching denial of freedom of speech and assembly and the press in the history of South Africa."

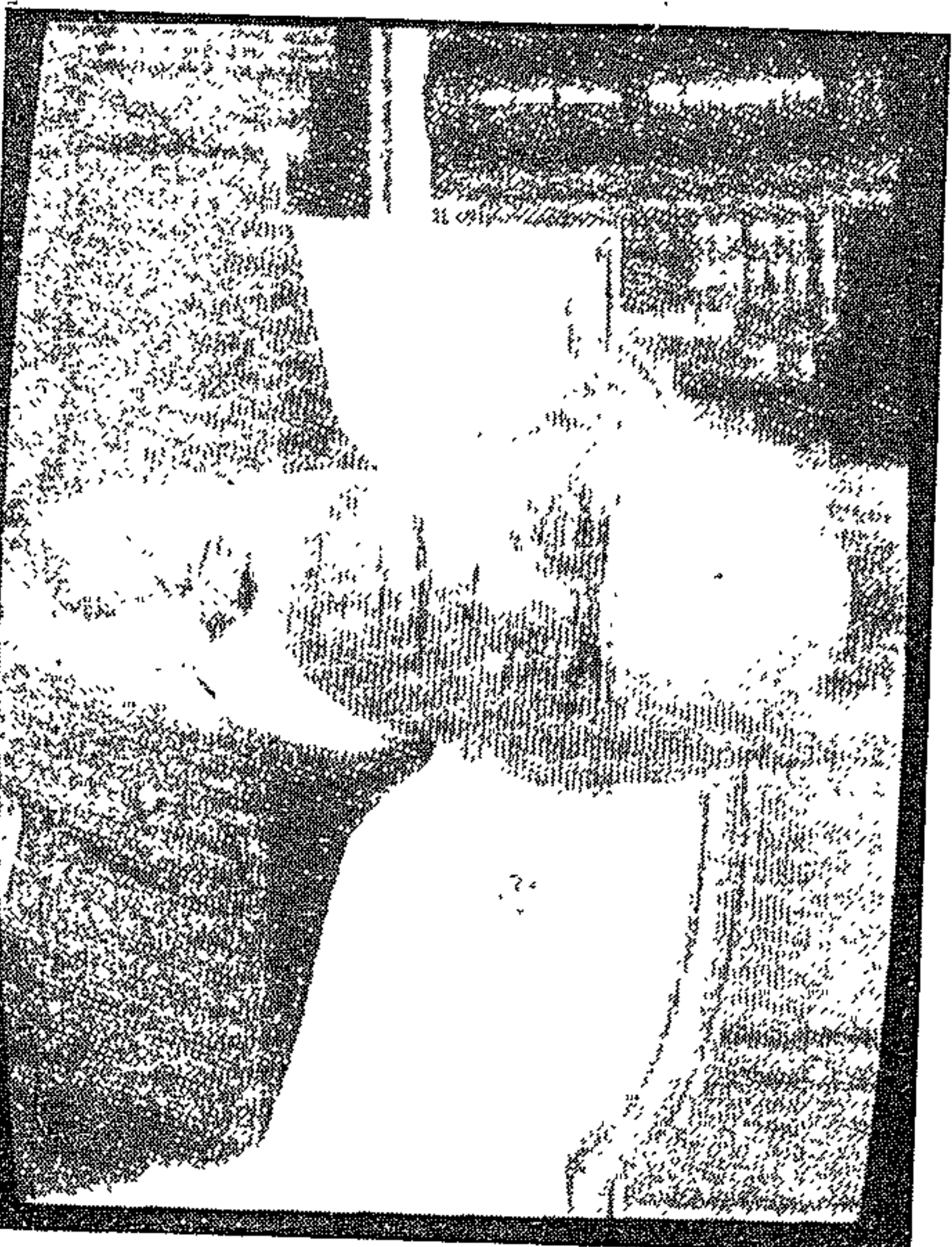
He said the emergency declaration underlined the collapse of government policies and an admission by the government that it could no longer govern by democratic means.

Vision

At least half the cabinet should be sacked and replaced in a new temporary crisis cabinet "with people with sensitivity, management skill and a vision for the future", he said.

In resigning South Africa to international sanctions, Mr Botha said he did not underestimate the sacrifices and problems that sanctions would bring.

"But South Africa will not crawl before anyone to prevent it and if it has to come, we will make sure that it is to our ad-



President Botha on national television last night.

vantage in the long term," he said.

"Committed as we are to peace and normal international relations, the world must take note and never forget that we are not a nation of weaklings."

Mr Botha warned that those members of the international community who remained prepared to resist demands for sanctions should not assume that they would be

rewarded by "any right to dictate the contents of South Africa's domestic policies."

Addressing a joint session of the three Houses of Parliament earlier, Mr Botha said the government was "well aware of the fact that stricter security action will elicit strong criticism and even punitive measure from the outside world."

"The implications and

gence regarding plans which have been made by radical and revolutionary elements for the coming days which pose a real danger for all population groups in the country."

● Simon Barber reports from Washington that the Reagan administration blasted the imposition of the state of emergency and the round-up of opposition and labour leaders as a "serious mistake" and a matter of "deep regret".

And United States sanctions legislation received a major boost where it lacked it most — in the Republican-dominated Senate.

In an unusually tough preliminary statement, White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said: "The South African Government's action and decisions show a lack of appreciation for the fundamental causes of unrest and violence."

State Department spokesman Mr Bernard Kalb added that the administration was also "deeply distressed" by violence at Crossroads.

The White House and the State Department maintained their public opposition to sanctions, saying these would cause "further polarization and intransigence".

s nation alone

(b)

Department of Trade and Industry (1985)

(c)

R 4 435

Aurora Printers for the Government Printer

(d)

Board for the Decentralisation of Industry (1 April 1985 to 31 March 1986)

R15 009

Cape and Transvaal Printers for the Government Printer

Board of Trade and Industries (1985)

R 3 121 Government Printer

Competition Board (1985)

R 1 090 Government Printer

Registrar of Companies (1 January 1985 to 31 December 1985)

Minimal Produced Departmentally

Ellisras: meeting attended

Glenanda, Johannesburg: meeting attended

1139. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

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(1) Whether any members of the South African Defence Force attended a political meeting of the National Party in Ellisras on 24 May 1986; if so, (a) why, (b) how many, (c)(i) what is the rank of the most senior officer who attended the meeting and (ii) why did this officer attend the meeting, (d) what equipment was issued to the members concerned on this occasion, (e)(i) how many and (ii) what types of vehicles were used for this purpose, (f) what was the (i) total cost and (ii) cost per item involved in this operation, (g) who was the main speaker at the meeting and (h) how many members of the public are estimated to have attended the meeting;

(1) Whether any members of the South African Defence Force attended a political meeting of the National Party in Glenanda, Johannesburg on 2 June 1986; if so, (a) why, (b) how many, (c)(i) what is the rank of the most senior officer who attended the meeting and (ii) why did this officer attend the meeting, (d) what equipment was issued to the members concerned on this occasion, (e)(i) how many and (ii) what types of vehicles were used for this purpose, and (f) what was the (i) total cost and (ii) cost per item involved in this operation;

(2) whether any members of the Defence Force took any other action on this occasion; if so, (a) what action, (b) why and (c) in terms of what statutory provision?

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The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

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(1) No, not in an official capacity. There may well have been Defence Force members who attended the meeting in their private capacity. The rest of the question falls away.

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(2) No.

(2) No. The rest of the question falls away.

QUESTIONS UNDER NAME OF MEMBER

Andrew, Mr K M—

General Affairs:

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LONDON — The report of the Eminent Persons Group is a "devastating condemnation" of America's constructive engagement policy on South Africa and Britain's "servile acceptance of it," according to the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM).

AAM president Archbishop Trevor Huddleston has demanded Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher introduce immediate sanctions against South Africa.

Archbishop Huddleston yesterday handed a three-page letter to Mrs Thatcher in which he

Arcbishop calls for immediate sanctions

AAM set out its call for tough action following the report.

He said the African people "have paid in blood for the intransigence of the British and other Western governments on the issue of an effective sanctions policy".

The EPG report stated: "It is our considered view that despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African Government is not yet ready to negotiate towards a non-racial, representative government ex-

cept on its own terms.

"But these terms fall far short of reasonable black expectations and accepted democratic norms and principles.

"Its programme of reform does not end apartheid, but seeks to give it a less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall white control."

The eminent persons recorded their admiration for black leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo whose "ideal-

ism, genuine sense of non-racialism and their readiness not only to forget, but to forgive, commands admiration".

But their impression of the country's white leaders, was of a "divided government".

"Even the enlightened Ministers seem to be out of touch with the mood of the black townships, the rising tide of anger and impatience within them and the extent of black mobilisation"

The EPG believes the Gov-

ernment's confidence in its military strength is misplaced.

"It believes it can contain the situation indefinitely by use of force.

"We were repeatedly told by Ministers the Government had deployed only a fraction of the power at its disposal."

But, to believe that the black people can be "indefinitely suppressed is an act of self-delusion".

The group also accused the Government of worsening its

Call for sanctions and increased isolation

Clampdown, EPG

spur forces against SA

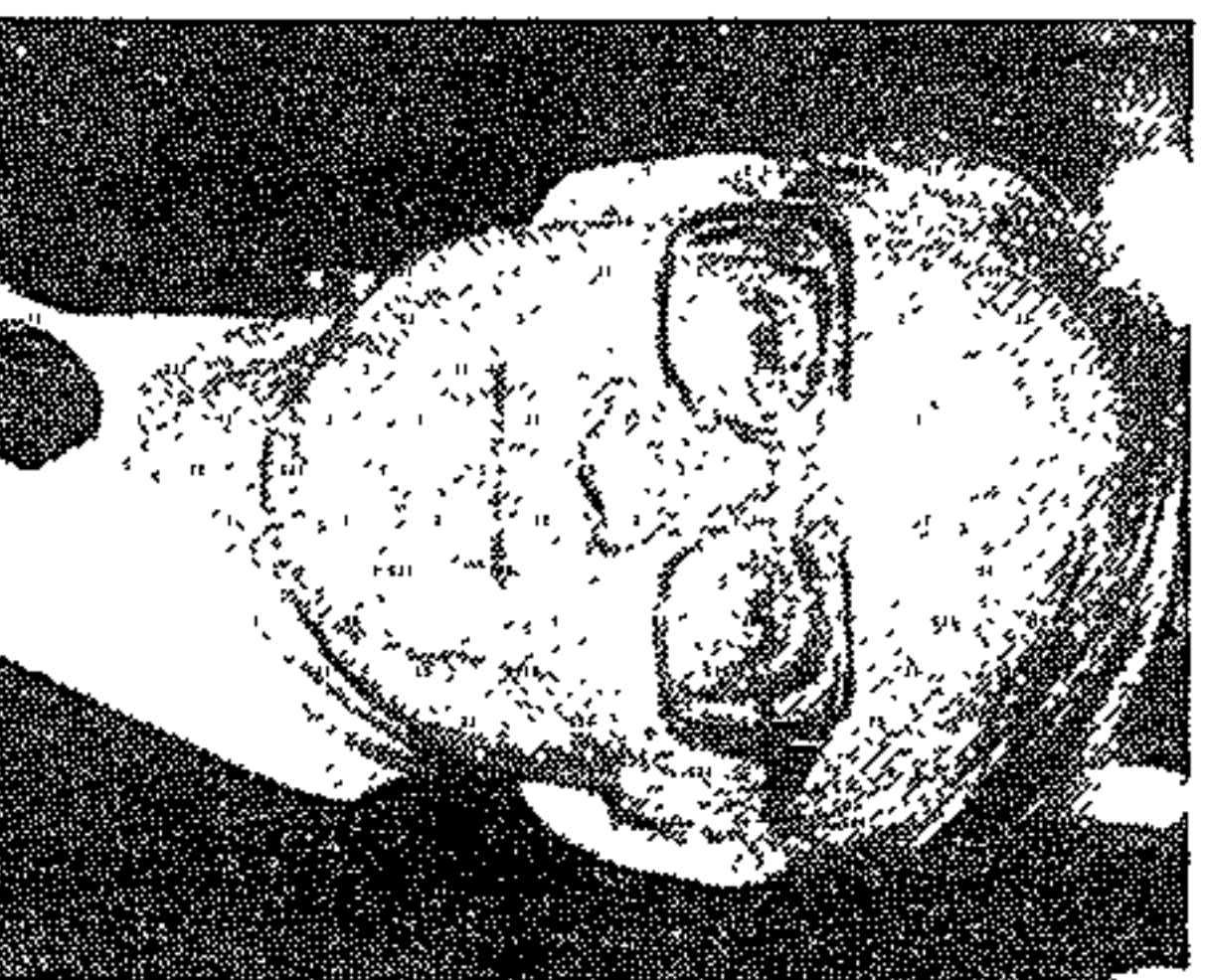
The Star Bureau

LONDON — A damning Commonwealth report and outrage at the nationwide emergency clampdown have mated South Africa's image abroad with gloom and rallied opponents in a vigorous campaign for sanctions.

Last month's optimism over the EPG initiative — which brought South Africa to within a grasp of what might have been a major constitutional negotiation — is being despatched with a determined campaign to destroy apartheid through sanctions and increased isolation.

Commonwealth and some European nations are prescribing a ban on bulk commodity trade and a suspension of air links.

And Britain, which had high hopes of a successful EPG venture vindicating its obstinate position to sanctions, is being forced to consider taking some form of action to appease the chorus of criticism and to pre-



SA Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall... criticised on TV.

serve the Commonwealth bond.

The EPG, who say they adhered to their six-month timetable to test the intentions of the South African Government, found them lacking — yesterday's report coincided with the re-imposition of the state of emergency and the two events were brought together in some of the most extensive prime

time television coverage South Africa has had for a long time.

Bloodbath

South Africa's Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall, criticised on two television panel discussions last night, has slammed the EPG warning of a "bloodbath" as "totally irresponsible".

Mrs Thatcher has requested a meeting with the two co-chairmen of the group, General Oussegun Obasanto and Malcolm Fraser, for guidance.

Her response to questions in the Commons indicate she is not ruling out the deployment of some measures against South Africa.

The Foreign Office suggests discussions on "new measures, if any" be held with Commonwealth governments, the EEC and economic summit members. The EPG, concluding that the South African government is not yet genuinely prepared to negotiate and threatens to plunge the country into a bloodbath if it

continues on its present path, has prescribed international pressure on Pretoria.

The view Mr Fraser will almost certainly have put to British parliamentarians in a confidential session of the all-party foreign affairs select committee at the Commons yesterday is that all the West's assets in South Africa will be destroyed in long and bloody strife if sanctions are not deployed to prevent it.

He said if a war of terror was allowed to develop, a "radical non-aligned government would eventually emerge from the ashes of the conflict".

"It will owe allegiance to its provider of arms — and that will certainly not be the West."

Even Mr Derek Hatton, the much-maligned militant leader from Liverpool, found time in his TV interview on his expulsion yesterday from the Labour Party to harangue Mrs Thatcher on her apparent unwillingness to impose sanctions.



Mr Pik Botha... future talks still possible.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — South Africa has not closed its door on the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG), although if the group did return for negotiations it would have to be on the basis of not pressuring the Government or telling it what to do.

This was the thrust of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's reaction yesterday to the EPG's report on South Africa.

The EPG report stopped short of determining the nature and extent of any measures which might be adopted against South Africa.

But it did say that action taken by the Commonwealth may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since World War 2.

It is also said it was not sanctions which would destroy the country but the persistence of apartheid and the Government's failure to engage in fundamental reform.

COMPLEXITIES

Mr Botha said at a Press conference yesterday that the report did not deal with the complexities of South Africa.

However, he added, it was a far better report than anything coming out of the United Nations, although that did not make it a good report.

In reply to a question on whether there could again be negotiations between the EPG and the Government, Mr Botha said that the report did not close the possibility of future talks.

However, in response to a later question, Mr Botha said the Commonwealth would find it very difficult to send in another group because the Government was not going to be told or pressured into doing anything.

Reforms 'don't weaken white control'

LONDON — South Africa's reforms to date must be viewed against the background of a determination not to give up white control, says the EPG.

The group says: "The harshness of apartheid, in many of its manifestations has been and is being softened but the essential pillars remain: The Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the homelands policy."

"The abolition of the homelands policy would mark the beginning of the end of the policy of a white South Africa. This could be achieved without difficulty: the only barrier is political will."

"The Government has sought consistently to dictate both the content and the pace of change. Its approach seeks not to unify the country, but to divide and entrench each of its several communities, locking each group into its own economy."

"It is an approach which seeks to preserve the whites in their position of political and economic privilege and domination."

The EPG stresses, however, that "peace will never come to South Africa until its constitutional structures have as their foundation the consent of the governed". — The Star Bureau

Machinegun was poked at me — Fraser

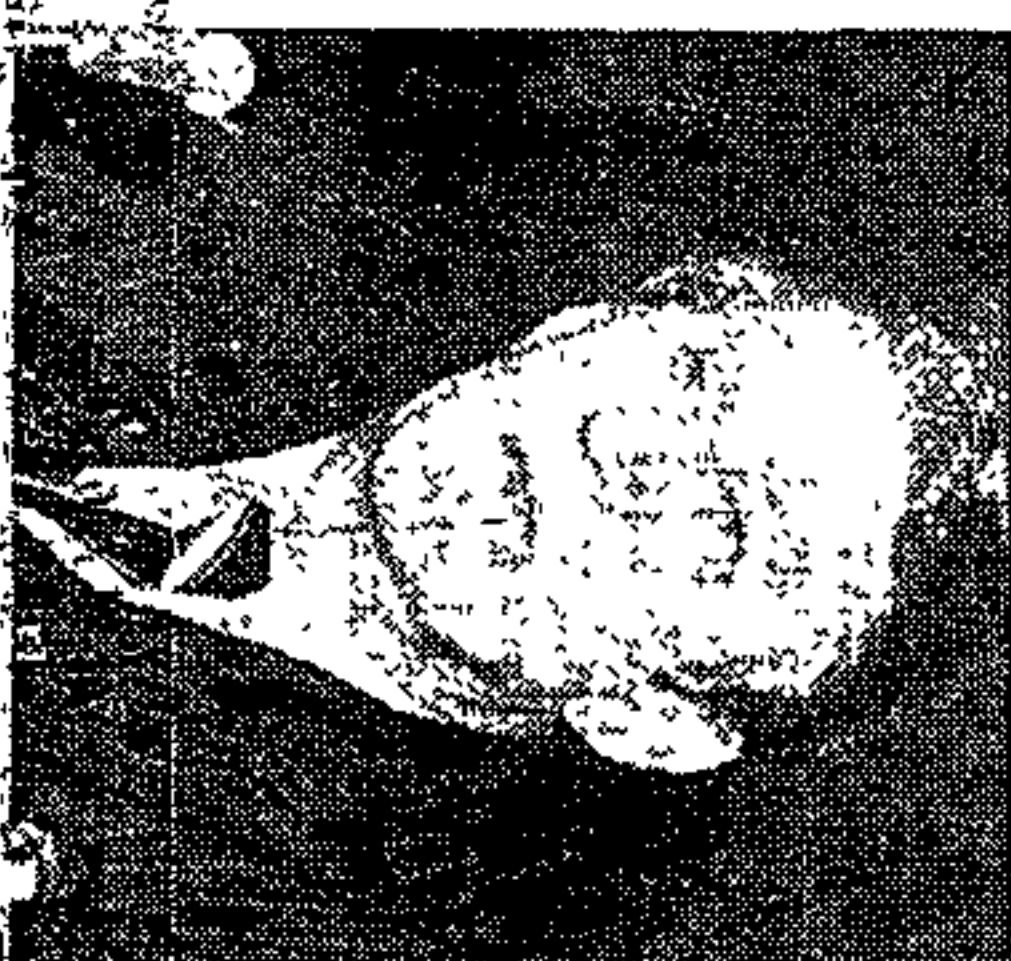
LONDON — The Eminent Persons Group co-chairman, Mr Malcolm Fraser, has described how a white army lance-corporal poked a machinegun at him during a township visit.

He told a Press conference yesterday that soldiers had followed the car he was in after a visit to a health centre. "We stopped and I went over to tell the officer in-charge what we were doing."

"He said he could not talk to me. Then I noticed this lance corporal with a machinegun. He had his finger on the trigger."

"He walked up, his finger on the trigger, and poked it at me. 'I said to him: 'Don't point that damn gun at me.' I was a bit confused his finger might tighten on the trigger."

Mr Fraser said: "I don't think he'd have emptied the gun into me, but they are terrible people." — The Star Bureau

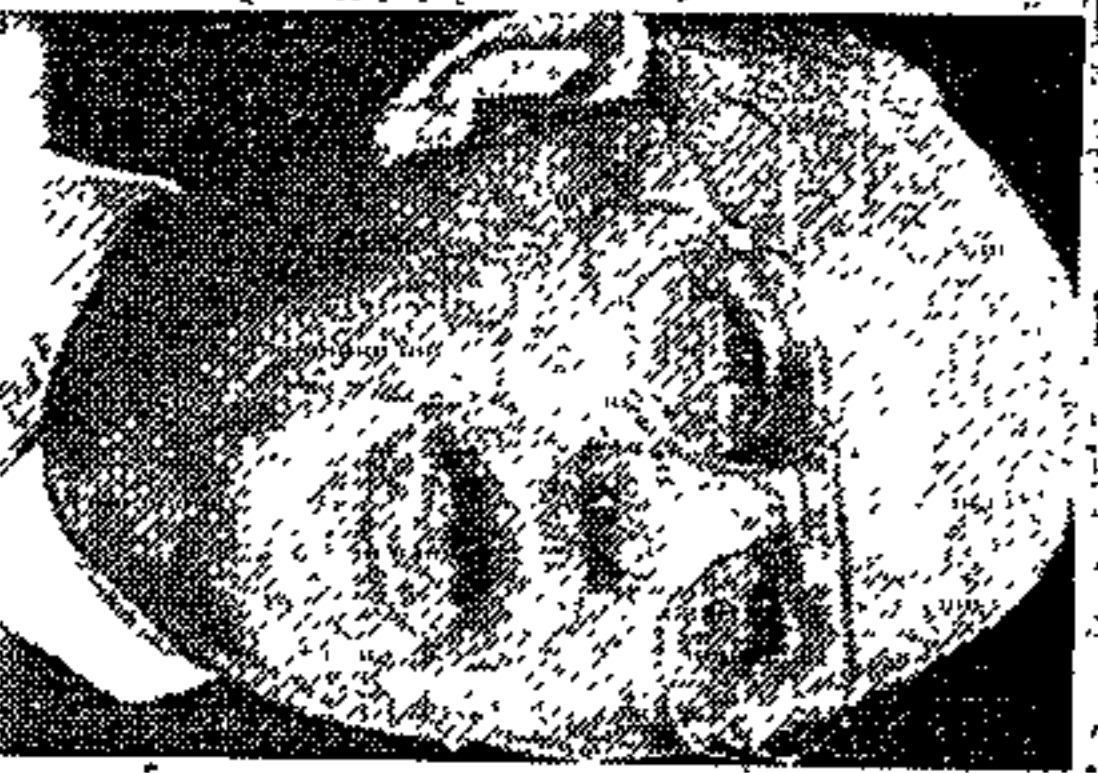


plus, on "pandering to right-wing anxieties and demands".

In a foreword to the report, Commonwealth Secretary General Sir Shridath Ramphal, said the Government committed a "calculated assault on the peace process itself" and that "sanctions and peace have now become one and the same."

In their final letter, the EPG noted their "acute consciousness and concern at the consequences of our failure for the future of the country" and express "deep regret that the Government of South Africa at the end made it impossible for us to proceed further".

'Door still open but Govt won't be told what to do'



● BOTHA

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS
and Owen Correspondent

STATE President P W Botha went on television last night to warn the nation to prepare for a siege economy.

Botha's speech came after a massive clampdown under the general State of Emergency imposed yesterday.

As many as 1 200 people are reported to have been arrested. They include numerous church officials, senior trade unionists and leading black politicians — some of them top officials of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo).

Initial international reaction to the clampdown was muted, but organised commerce, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups condemned it.

The British government expressed its disappointment, the US called for restraint and black opposition groups and West Germany voiced concern.

It is also believed US President Ronald Reagan sent a personal message to Botha.

Massive clamp follows State of Emergency

Prepare for a siege economy, P W warns

10 YEARS IN PRISON FOR UNAUTHORISED PICTURES

THERE has been a severe clampdown on the media as a result of the imposition of a State of Emergency. In terms of the emergency regulations published yesterday:

- Journalists face ten years in prison or a R20 000 fine if they photograph, sketch or make sound recordings of any public disturbance, strike, riot or boycott without permission from a commissioned police officer.

- It is also forbidden under the new restrictions to photograph, sketch or record the "conduct" of any member of the security forces "with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or for the termination of the state of emergency".

- Detainees may not be identified without official permission.
- See Page 3

In New York, UN secretary-general

Javier Perez de Cuellar summoned SA ambassador Kurt von Schrinding, and the Security Council was due to consult on a request by Zaire for an urgent meeting.

Botha's declaration drew strong condemnation from organised commerce and industry.

Association appealed for the emergency to be lifted as soon as possible, so that moderate opinion could be given another

opportunity to assert itself.

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) dissociated itself from government's strategy of political repression.

Wide powers have been given to the security forces in terms of the regulations, which allow for detention up to 14 days — or until the end of the emergency, should Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange so decide.

Cabinet and security force members have been indemnified against civil or

- WIDE powers have been given to the security forces in terms of the new Public Safety Act regulations.

- THE US and Britain have reacted cautiously to the Emergency.

- OPPOSITION parties — except the right wing — have slated it.

- REPORTERS face 10 years' jail if they photograph unrest without permission.

SEE PAGE 3

criminal proceedings arising out of the enforcement of the regulations.

Botha said he did not underestimate the sacrifices and problems that sanctions would entail. However, SA would not crawl before anyone to prevent sanctions if they came.

"Committed as we are to peace and normal international relations, the world must take note and never forget that we

● To Page 2 ➡

Court with

Public Safety Act regulations give security forces wide powers

will liaise with the media.

Public Safety Act regulations give security forces wide powers

Wide powers are given to the security forces by regulations effective from yesterday — contained in a schedule to the Public Safety Act of 1963 published in yesterday's Government Gazette.

INDEMNITY

Regulation 10, headed "Limitation of Liability," states that no civil or criminal proceedings shall be instituted or continued in any court of law against the State, the State President, Cabinet members, "Force" members, persons in the service of the State, or persons acting by direction or with the approval of any of the aforementioned by reason of any act of good faith advised, commanded, ordered, directed or performed by any person in the carrying out of his duties or the exercise of his powers or the performance of his functions in terms of these regulations, with intent to ensure the safety of the public, or the maintenance of public order, or the termination of the state of emergency in any area where the existence of a state of emergency has been declared, or in order to deal with circumstances which have arisen or are likely to arise as a result of the aforementioned state of emergency.

According to Regulation 3, a "Force" member may, without a warrant, arrest any person whose detention is, in the opinion of the member, necessary for the maintenance of public order or the safety of the public or that person himself, or for the termination of the state of emergency.

A member may also, under a written order signed by any Force member, detain or cause to be detained any such person (already) in custody in a prison.

Persons may be detained for up to two weeks, but the Minister of Law and Order may, without notice

to any person, by written notice order such person to be further detained for the period mentioned in the notice or for as long as these regulations remain in force.

The Minister may also, according to Regulation 3, "make rules to regulate the detention of persons" or relating to their treatment.

THREATS

Section 4 makes it an offence to directly or indirectly, verbally or by any other act, threaten to injure or harm any person, or upon any such person's relatives or dependents, any harm, hurt or loss, whether to his or their property or in any other way or to prepare, compile, print, publish, transmit, possess or disseminate — or assist in any of these actions — any writing that threatens the infliction upon any other person, or upon any of such person's relatives or dependents, of any harm, hurt or loss, whether to his or their property or in any other way.

The Limitation of Liability regulation — number 16 — also states that whenever a court in which any proceedings have been instituted is of the opinion that by virtue of the limitation of liability it affords the State and its servants, the proceedings may not be continued, the court should make a finding to that effect.

Whenever a court has made a finding, such proceedings shall lapse and be deemed to be void.

No interdict or other process shall issue for the staying or setting aside of any order, rule or notice issued under these regulations or any condition determined thereunder, and no such order, rule, notice or condition shall be stayed on the grounds of an appeal against a conviction under these regulations.

Regulation 17 says if in any proceedings instituted against any member or person protected by its provisions or the State the question arises whether any act, advised, commanded, ordered, directed or performed was done so in good faith it shall be presumed that it had been, until the contrary is proved.

Regulation 5, which deals with the "Power of Entry, Search and Seizure," empowers a Force member to search without a warrant any person, building, premises or place, or any vehicle, vessel, aircraft or receptacle.

During such a search he may seize:

- Any vehicle, vessel, aircraft, receptacle, object or article which is concerned or intended to be used, or believed to be used, in the commission of an offence, or which can be used in public disturbance, disorder, riot or public violence; or
- Any object or article which may afford evidence of the commission of or suspected commission of an offence.

A member shall deal with anything seized in accordance with directions issued from time to time, either generally or with reference to any particular case, by the Minister of Law and Order or a person acting on his authority.

CLOSING AREAS

Regulation 7 empowers the Commissioner of the South African Police or any person authorised by him to, without furnishing reasons or hearing any person, issue orders:

- Relating to the demarcation of areas, the closing off of any particular area or part of any particular area or of departure from any particular area or part of such area, the control of traffic, the temporary closing of any public or private place or any business undertaking or industrial undertaking, or the control of essential services and the security and safety of any installation and works connected therewith.

Whereby any person is prohibited from bringing into any particular area any object or article specified in the order or performing any act or carrying on any activity specified in the order in any particular area, being outside the boundaries of his residential premises in any particular area, at any time, putting in motion or driving or being in or upon any vehicle that is in motion in any particular area, at any time, or entering any particular area or part thereof, if he is not normally resident in that area or part thereof.

Relating to the control, regulation or prohibition of the announcement, dissemination, distribution, or sending of any communication or news in connection with any conduct of a "Force" or any member of a "Force," regarding the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or the termination of the state of emergency; and

Relating to any other matter, the regulation, control or prohibition of which, in his opinion, is necessary, or expedient with a view to the safety of any member or members of the public or the maintenance of the public order, or in order to terminate the state of emergency.

The regulation says the generality of the powers conferred by this paragraph was not to be restricted by the provisions of the previous paragraphs.

The regulations also make provision for the seizure of publications containing "subversive" statements.

A regulation affecting newspapers and periodicals is Regulation 12. Sub-regulation 1 thereof empowers the Minister of Law and Order to, if he is satisfied that any matter in a publication is, in his opinion, of a "subversive" nature, by notice in the Government Gazette declare that the provisions of this regulation shall apply.

Sub-regulation 2 states that any person who makes, writes, prints, publishes, disseminates, distributes, circulates or possesses — or is concerned with any of these activities — any publication which has been declared "applicable" to sub-regulation 1, shall be guilty of an offence.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING WORKS

If the publication concerned is a newspaper, magazine or other periodical, such notice shall, for the period mentioned in the notice, apply also in respect of all subsequent issues of such publication, or in respect of any publication published under any other name in continuation of or in substitution for the named publication.

A Government Printing Works official said in Pretoria yesterday that only 100 copies of Gazette number 10230, carrying the Public Safety Act regulations, had been published.

Shortly after 11, becoming available at noon, people wanting to buy copies were told there were no more available.

Sapa.

The same coverage ban applies to the conduct of any Force member "with regard to the maintenance of the safety of the public or the public order or for the termination of the state of emergency."

Any person who — or who causes a person to — make, take, record, manufacture, reproduce, publish, broadcast, disseminate, take or send to any place within or outside the Republic any such photograph, drawing or other representation or sound recording, will be guilty of an offence.

Persons may be detained for up to two weeks, but the Minister of Law and Order may, without notice

to any person, by written notice order such person to be further detained for the period mentioned in the notice or for as long as these regulations remain in force.

The Minister may also, according to Regulation 3, "make rules to regulate the detention of persons" or relating to their treatment.

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FIN NML

NEW SECURITY BILLS

Emergency time

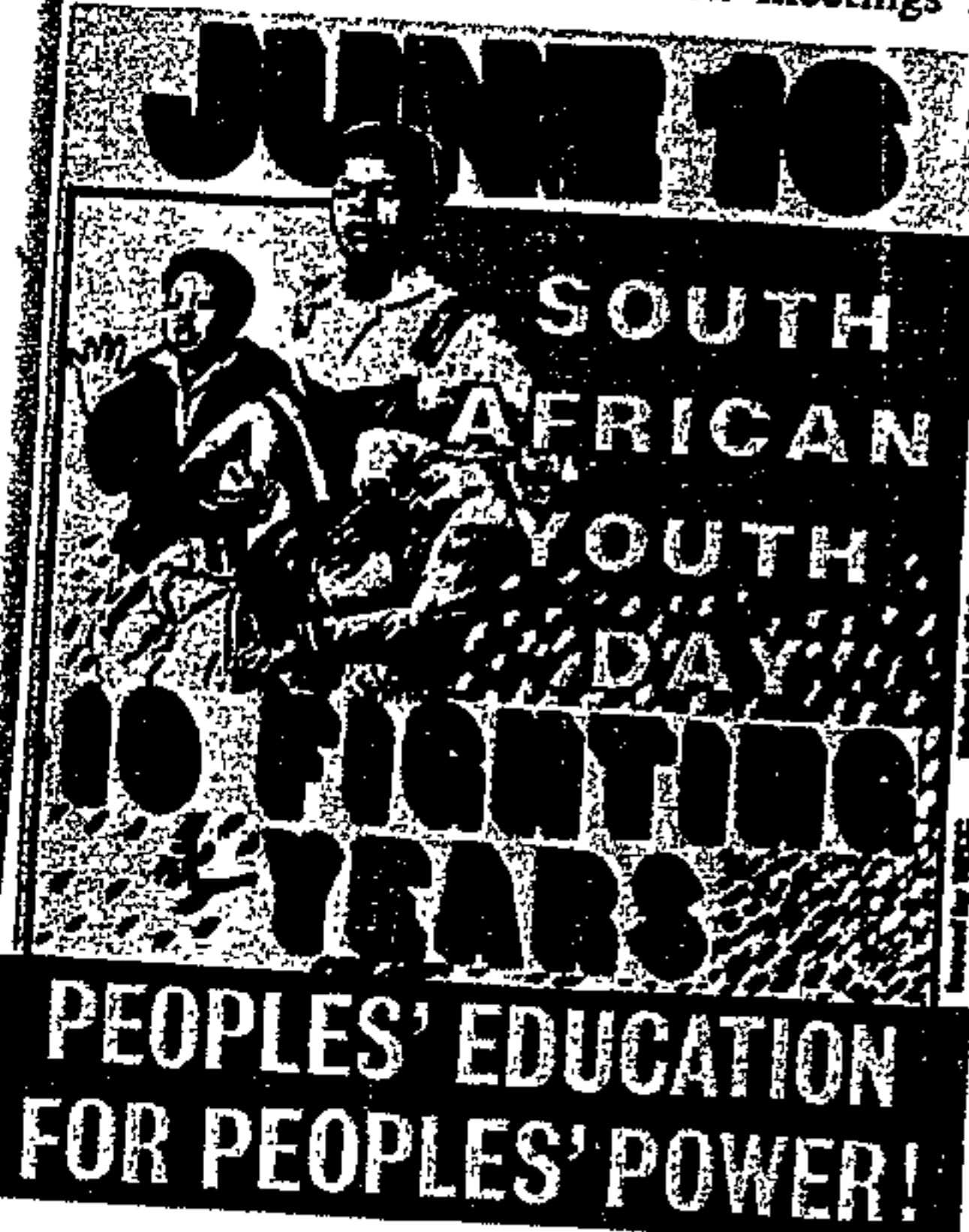
The declaration of a State of Emergency to deal with expected "unrest" on June 16 appeared inevitable as the FM went to press.

The two new security measures which would have given police additional powers of detention without trial, and allowed the Minister of Law and Order to declare "unrest areas," were still bogged down in the parliamentary standing committee on law and order.

The (coloured) Labour Party (LP) and the Indian National People's Party (NPP) thwarted government's efforts to ram the measures through parliament last week in time for June 16.

President P W Botha and other government leaders have repeatedly warned that drastic steps may be necessary to deal with the expected problems on Monday. A State of Emergency seems the most probable action in the absence of the two new measures.

Despite government ban on meetings to



commemorate June 16, black organisations seemed set to go ahead anyway.

In spite of pressures on the LP and the NPP to compromise and allow the measures swift passage through parliament, their caucuses appeared to be standing firm. Unless Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange agrees to extensive amendments to the Bill, the President's Council may have to break the deadlock between the three Houses. If this occurs, there seems little doubt that government's version of the measures will be approved.

Govt has now 'shot itself in the head'

Pretoria Bureau

By declaring a state of emergency the Government had effectively "shot itself in the head" as far as international relations were concerned, according to an academic.

Political scientist at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Tom Lodge, said the Government could expect once again to be the target of world outrage.

Mr Lodge said the Government should have recognised that a national tragedy was being commemorated.

Professor Alf Stadler, also of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the emergency was a State attempt to use coercion and punishment against its political opponents.

He said: "When one checks the names of those detained it becomes clear that the state of emergency is directed against political opposition and not the active unrest itself."

Professor Willem Kleynhans of the University of South Africa's political science department said: "This is the first time in my life I am going to say nothing, and I am an outspoken man. It is too dangerous."

MAIN CAUSE

Elements of Government thinking in declaring the emergency were spelt out in the House of Assembly yesterday.

One main cause of the declaration was efforts by the official Opposition and other parties to delay approval of the Public Safety and Internal Security Amendment Bills, said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Replying in the Second Reading debate on the Public Safety Amendment Bill, which would provide for the declaration of "unrest areas" for three months or more, he said the Government would proceed "urgently" to get the Bills on the statute books.

The Bills were not only related to expected unrest on June 16, but to the general security situation, he said.

Mr Le Grange also rejected a notice of motion in the House yesterday by Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Berea) and a later Press statement calling for his resignation over handling of police matters.

His message to the police was: "Go on with your good work, but ensure you remain within the confines of the law."

INTERESTS

"I am the Minister responsible ... and I will look after your interests here (in Parliament)."

The Bill was read a second time, with the PFP voting against and the New Republic Party abstaining.

Earlier in the debate Mr Louis Theunissen (CP, Nominated) said if the chairman of the coloured Council of Ministers, Mr Allan Hendrickse, did not support the new security Bills, the only honourable path was for him to resign from the Cabinet.

• The Bureau for Information in Pretoria has refused *The Star* permission to publish at least 445 names of those detained under the new emergency regulations.

The Star sent the bureau a telex yesterday, listing the names of suspected detainees and requesting permission to publish them.

In reply, the bureau said only that it "confirmed a number of people had been detained".

"The next-of-kin of those detained will be notified by the South African Police. No names may be published."

PROFESSOR Sam Huntington, eminent Harvard political scientist, smiles wryly at suggestions that he is the master strategist of the P W Botha administration.

"I don't believe them. I would be very surprised if people in the inner councils of Government went back to an article I wrote in 1981, before I had ever been to South Africa, and said this is what Huntington says we should do next."

The article in question, written at the invitation of the Political Science Association of South Africa, suggested the kind of course the South African Government might pursue if it were interested in democratising the country gradually.

It laid out, in broad terms, a strategy of veiled reform of the political system from within, of taking two steps forward and one back, of keeping opponents to the right and left off balance, trying to guess what the Government might be up to next.

It argued that getting the process going was more important than a final blueprint; also that a would-be reformer of a multi-ethnic society might have to employ ambiguity, concealment and deception concerning his goals.

Reformist elements in the Botha administration latched on to the article gratefully.

In a new book, entitled "Dispersions: the future of South Africa as South Africans see it", by Richard John Neuhaus (Eerdmans), South Africa's Ambassador in London, Denis Worrall, hints that the Huntington paper provides the key to what the South African Government is really up to.

Accused

And Joseph Lelyveld, in his Pulitzer Prize-winning "Move Your Shadow" (Jonathan Ball), mentions security chief Johan Coetzee quoting the Huntington thesis "as if it were on its way to being recognised as a law of nature".

Lelyveld accuses Huntington of refining one of the standard rationalisations for oppression and martial law. Not having read the book, Huntington declines to respond to the charge, but strongly refutes any suggestion that he has provided a rationale for repression.

"I did point out that often, in order to bring about change, some concentration of power might be necessary, as was the case when De Gaulle bypassed the parliament of France in order to settle the Algerian problem. But concentration of power is not the same as repression".

Central to the Huntington strategy for step-by-step democratisation is the ability of the reformist leadership.

"The reformer requires a much higher order of political skill than the revolutionary... the success-

The man who invented the Huntington Strategy gives his verdict...

Softly Softly Botha — is he really taking his cue from Harvard's top tactician?

Flashback: Sunday Times February 24 1985

How's he doing so far?



By RICHARD STEYN

editor of the Natal Witness, and a 1986 Niemann Fellow at Harvard University

ful reformer is always a master politician. He has to fight a battle on two fronts, against the stand-patters and the revolutionaries, while simultaneously trying to confuse and divide them.

"He has to be decisive, charismatic, tough enough to inspire confidence, yet sensitive enough to detect shifts in public opinion, and time his actions accordingly."

"Successful reform is rare, if only because such talents are rare."

How has P W Botha measured up to the Huntington criteria?

The answer is not very good. Perhaps his most fundamental error has been to arouse expectations rather than lower them.

"He talked about change... he

raised expectations in 1978/79, then he stopped. By so doing he radicalised blacks and lost the capacity for introducing change from above. Since politics is so much a matter of perception, it would have been good politics to reduce expectations before making changes to the constitution, legalising trade unions, scrapping the pass laws etc."

Crucial

A master reformer is always a coalition builder. While Botha has managed to cobble together a coalition of white, coloured and Indian interests in order to push through vital constitutional change, he has made little headway in the most vital area of all

the black constituency.

Over the past few years moderate blacks have lost ground significantly to their radical counterparts.

Botha's most natural partners in the black community would be the Zulus, under Chief Buthelezi, but in Huntington's view it is essential to draw in other leaders besides Buthelezi, including those in the ANC.

He regards the much trumpeted diversity of black leadership in South Africa as a minus rather than a plus, the more dispersed the leadership, the more difficult the negotiations. "Here a man like Nelson Mandela could make a crucial difference."

Timing

Another key element in the Huntington strategy is keeping one's opponents off balance by making concessions they haven't asked for. This has not been done in South Africa.

At some point in the last five years, he says, the Government fell behind the demands of the situation.

Pre-emptive concessions, which might have enabled it to retain the initiative, are now much more difficult. Botha is now under cross-pressure from both right and left, no longer able to control the pace of change.

For reform to be successful, good timing is essential.

"The hardest task to learn for a government sensitive to the needs of reform is the importance of introducing reforms from a position of strength. Reforms granted under pressure from events only weaken the regime and lead to further demands."

The lukewarm response to the scrapping of the pass laws — a reform which a few years ago would have been regarded as a huge step forward — illustrates the point.

Pessimistic

Huntington is best described as cautiously pessimistic about the prospects of resolving the fundamental dilemma of South African politics: whether the country is a society of individuals or a society of ethnic communities.

Race is the dominant social and economic fact, he says, but race definition of any kind is most dangerous if built into a constitutional system. The most important thing is to create a society in which everyone has equal rights.

"The question of one person, one vote in a unitary state seems to me something of a subordinate issue. Equal rights could be guaranteed in a variety of political structures."

Despite the increased pressures on the Botha Government, Huntington does not foresee any immediate breakdown of the present system. Internal opposition is not strong enough, and the Government has the capability of retaining power for a long time.

But the only way it can move forward now is by negotiation, and this highlights another of its dilemmas.

If it intends to negotiate, it will not want to make concessions in advance of the negotiations. The ANC, however, demands concessions as evidence of a willingness to negotiate.

Examples

Although he can point to several examples from history — such as Spain, Turkey and Brazil — this expert on political reform in developing countries can think of no case, except possibly Costa Rica, where a government has actually negotiated its own demise, as the Nationalists are being asked to do in South Africa.

In those countries the outgoing leadership at least retained control of the political process, and its interests were protected afterwards.

And none was as racially divided as South Africa. "People may be able to moderate their political opinions, but they cannot change the colour of their skins."

So, if South Africa succeeds in reforming itself from within, its achievement will be unique.

The chances of its doing so — while not impossible — are not propitious, in Huntington's view. Divisions are widening rapidly within white and black ranks.

Squeezed

Moderates are being squeezed from both sides, while radicals are making negotiations very difficult. The Government's loss of control in certain black areas is symptomatic of a pre-revolutionary situation.

Yet the alternative to negotiated reform is stark — the likelihood of increasing repression under a form of white dictatorship, eventually to be supplanted by a black dictatorship after civil war.

Surveying the deteriorating situation in South Africa from his Harvard classroom, Huntington reflects anew upon the aptness of Alexis D'Tocqueville's famous saying "The most perilous moment for a bad government is when it seeks to mend its ways."

still stands

Peace talks bridge

Pik: We'll resist at all costs

SOUTH Africans would have to accept "poverty" and "a lowering of standards," Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, warned at Pietersburg last night.

Addressing some 1 500 Nationalist supporters at the party's Northern Transvaal conference, he said, to a brief burst of applause: "We'll resist the diabolical (Marxist) forces — it does not matter what it costs."

Mr Botha predicted increasing sanctions against South Africa "because we're dealing with a Western world that is sick."

"They could not care less about us."

Tight security surrounded

the exhibition hall at the showgrounds where Mr Botha spoke, but no AWB members turned up to disrupt proceedings.

Discussing the state of emergency, he said: "Nothing has gone wrong."

"History is taking its inevitable course."

He added: "Our future is in our hands."

"It will depend on our ability to negotiate fair and just deals with other people in the country."

Mr Botha said he believed the country could be governed on a consensus basis. "We'll continue with our reform steps," — Sapa

THE Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) has "created a framework" for negotiations in South Africa that could be revived later this year or next year if the South African Government changed its mind, a prominent source close to the EPG told the Sunday Times.

And in Cape Town Foreign Minister Pik Botha said: "The EPG's problem was that they had too little time — three visits are unrealistic, almost naive."

"The South African Government would welcome any effort to end the violence and facilitate dialogue and discussion."

But Government sources said most members of the Cabinet were against the EPG's proposed "negotiating concept" and that a decision was made in May to sink it. It does not seem as if the EPG burnt its bridges, despite its recommendation for sanctions: two NP MPs told

EPG looks all set for yet another attempt

By MAX DU PREEZ, Political Correspondent

The Sunday Times that the EPG's report to the Commonwealth heads of state, released on Friday, was a "fair and balanced" document with good analysis of the situation in South Africa.

Wrecked

And Mr Botha told a Press conference: "It is a far better report than I have ever seen coming out of the UN."

It is understood that the Government's strategy from the beginning was to stretch out the negotiations with the EPG as long as possible —

"like they have been doing with Namibia over the last 10 years," one source said — but that the EPG realised this and cut it short.

The EPG stated: "Yes (the Government's) obduracy and intransigence wrecked the Commonwealth's initiative, but the issues themselves will not go away, nor can they be bombed out of existence."

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's renewed stand against sanctions in the face of more pressure suggests that she may

also be in favour of reviving the EPG initiative.

It seems from the correspondence between the Government and the EPG that there was agreement between the two parties, but that the Government devised problems in their last two letters to complicate matters.

They for instance rejected the concepts of a "suspension" of violence, as proposed, and insisted on a "rejection" of violence.

The EPG report, described by South African-based diplomats as "very intelligent and perceptive", stated: "It is our considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the Government is not yet ready to negotiate such a future — except on its own terms."

"Those terms, both in regard to objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well-accepted democratic

norms and principles." It stated that the Government's quest "is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall white control". The EPG had great admiration for the ANC leaders. The report stated that the cycle of violence and counter-violence "has spiralled and there is no present prospect of a process of dialogue leading to the establishment of a non-racial and representative government".

Message

The report said that the Government "would appear to have moved consciously away from any realistic negotiating process. It is not just their communication with us which has indicated a hardening of attitude."

"The same message has been clear in the State President's speech in May, the bombing of three neighbouring Commonwealth countries even while we were in discussion with senior Ministers, the denigration and sneering of the ANC, the retreat from the earlier readiness to accept 'suspension' as opposed to 'renunciation' of violence, the seeking of greater security powers for the police and military on top of the massive powers they already have."

Further steps could depend on Govt response to Soweto anniversary

US to put on the screws?

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States is considering further steps against South Africa, according to news reports here.

Last night NBC news reported that the US could take such action as expel more South African diplomatic staff and ban South African aircraft if the Botha Government's response to today's Soweto anniversary is excessively violent.

CBS also reported the possibility of action such as the closing of consulates.

Asked whether the US intends taking further steps, Mr Edward Djerejian, White House spokesman on foreign policy, said the situation was under review.

But from President Reagan down, US officials have repeated that further economic sanctions are not being considered because they will hurt blacks — the people the US is trying to help.

The US Government has decided to join Britain and West Germany in boycotting a United Nations-sponsored conference on SA sanctions that starts in Paris today.

In spite of the Reagan Administration's firm opposition to punitive economic steps, officials here are making little effort to hide their mounting frustration and dwindling patience.

This has been expressed publicly in a series of tough statements in recent days. According to one report here, President Botha responded angrily in a letter after the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, said that apartheid was an immoral system that did not serve US interests and offended its moral principles.

To the floor

Mr Botha is said to have responded that any further criticism like that could mean the end of contacts between the two countries.

Economic sanctions will be one of the top issues of the week in the US House of Representatives where the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 will go to the floor for a vote, possibly as early as today or tomorrow.

The measure is certain to be approved since it has the support of virtually all the majority Democratic Party members and a significant number of Republicans.

The Bill will have to be approved by the Republican-controlled US Senate as well if it is to become law but its fate in that chamber is less certain. The Senate is likely to be more responsive to the President's requests.

The Senate's Foreign Relations committee is to hold public hearings on the South African situation in mid-July and congressional sources say that some form of punitive legislation could emerge from them.

But it is expected here that any new legislation arising in the Senate would be milder than the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which would ban all new investment in SA, close all SA bank offices here and impose other tough restrictions.

President Reagan has appealed to the Congress to allow the Advisory Committee on South Africa — a 12-member panel he appointed last year —



President Reagan... wants to hear from Advisory Committee.

to make policy recommendations first before they vote for new sanctions.

The panel has until January to submit its report to the Secretary of State.

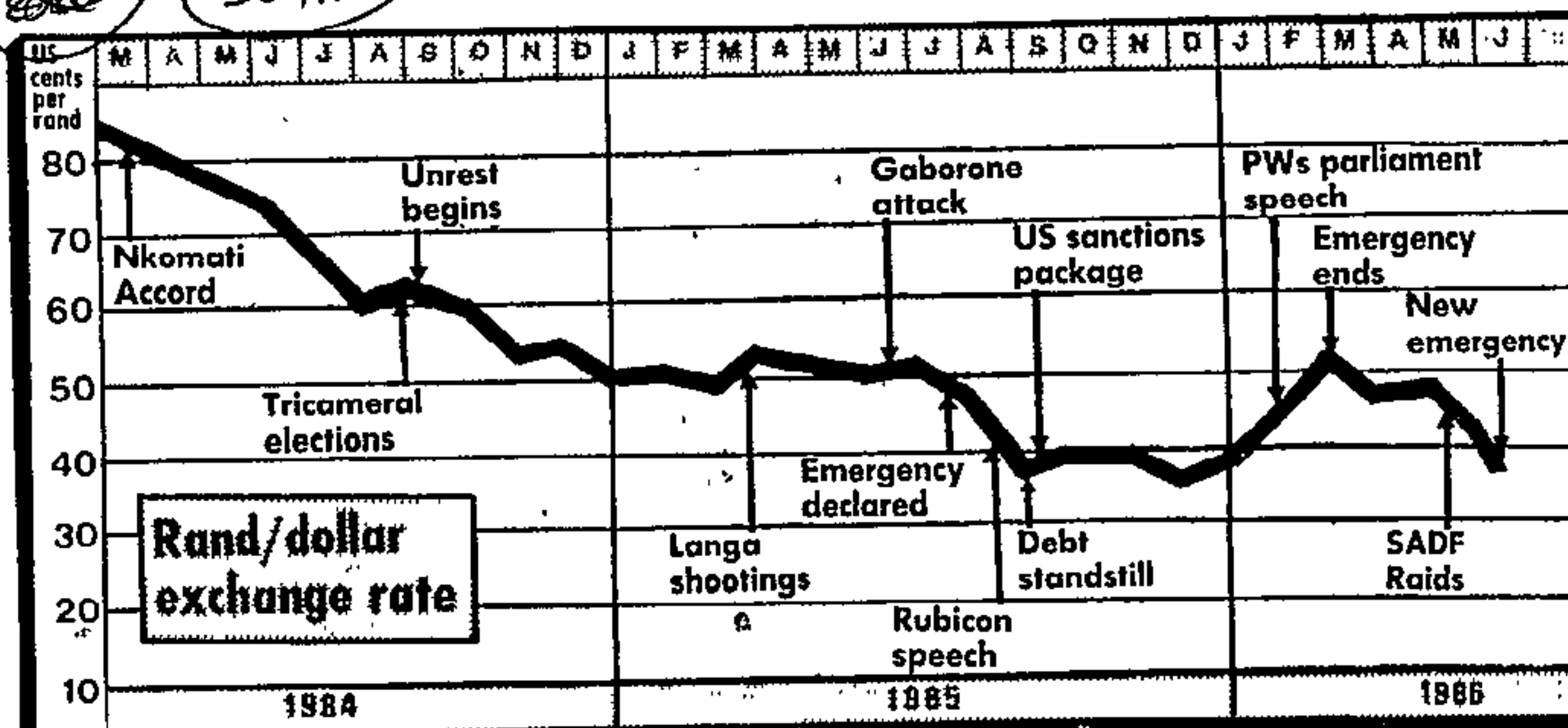
The Star Bureau in London reports that the British Government is facing a deepening split as it considers the crescendo of demands for sanctions against South Africa.

Britain's position is likely to be spelt out at next week's Luxembourg meeting of EEC Foreign Ministers.

Air links

It is clear Mrs Thatcher is being forced to come up with something significant enough to satisfy the Commonwealth, EEC and elements within her own party.

It is thought she may choose a ban on air links.



Cost of politics to the country

She faces a major Commons debate on South Africa tomorrow which will be followed on June 26 by the EEC summit in The Hague and then the mini-Commonwealth summit in London in August.

Sir Leslie Smith, chairman of the British Industry Committee for South Africa, said on BBC television at the weekend that the only hope of getting non-violent, managed change is through maintaining the South African economy.

This graph traces the decline of the rand against the dollar during two-and-a-half years of political turbulence. The strength of the US dollar against all currencies in recent years partly accounts for the crash of the rand. But continuing unrest has knocked foreign confidence — pushing the rand down further and contributing to South Africa's economic slump. Major events which influenced foreign investors in 1984 included the launch of the new constitution, accompanying protests and the start of unrest. In 1985 significant events included the Langa shootings in March, the SADF attack on Gaborone in June, the declaration of the state of emergency in July, the "Rubicon" speech by the State President in August and the debt standstill declared in September. Key events this year include the State President's opening speech to Parliament, the end of the first state of emergency in March, the latest SADF raids on three neighbouring states and the declaration of a new state of emergency in June.

Parliament faces a marathon task

PARLIAMENT enters the last few days of this session with the marathon — and almost impossible — task of having to deal with a long list of important Bills that have to be translated into legislation by the end of the month.

The level of unfinished business has caused the acting Leader of the House of Assembly, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, to rule that Parliament will sit until 10.30pm every day this week.

Instead of ending the session on Friday, as originally scheduled, Parliament is to sit all day on Saturday, and looks set to sit through Monday and Tuesday nights, finally rising on June 25.

About 20 Bills have to be dealt with between now and then. Many are controversial, so their passage through the different stages is not likely to be smooth.

Top of the list are the controversial Public Safety and Internal Security Amendment Bills — providing for detention without trial for 180 days and the declaration of unrest areas.

It now seems certain, with resistance to them continuing in the

Coloured and Indian chambers they will be referred to the President's Council for a final decision.

Other related legislation which has to be passed this session are the Bills giving effect to the scrapping of influx control and the pass laws and the restoring of citizenship rights to blacks.

The old provincial council system is being scrapped at the end of this month, and at least four Bills on the Order Paper will have to be passed this week to give effect to the new structures which replace it.

Those still before the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs are the Provincial Government Bill, providing for an executive authority at provincial level, the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Bill, and the Regional Services Councils Amendment Bill.

The third reading debate on the Budget is also high on the list. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis will then spell out what measures he has chosen to provide limited stimulation to the economy.

Survey reports large white support for raids

ABOUT 81% of white South Africans supported SA's cross-border raids into neighbouring states, according to three surveys commissioned by the SA Institute of International Affairs (SAII) in 1982, 1984 and 1986.

The latest finding has emerged in the Institute's recent survey of White Opinion on Foreign Policy Issues.

A breakdown showed 89.5% of government supporters supported the raids.

Figures for Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) members surveyed on this were 95.1%, the Conservative Party (CP) 92.4%, the National Republic Party (NRP) 88.5% and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 61.3%.

The head of the Rand Afrikaans University's Department of Political Studies, Prof Deon Geldenhuys, interpreted the findings of the survey, which was conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys and M & M of Durbanville, Cape.

The survey reflected that 71.1% of whites in 1986 felt SA was heading for a Namibian-style civil war, compared to 62.8% in 1984 and 75.3% in 1982.

"The drop in 1984 was attributed to the belief that the Nkomati Accord and the new constitutional dispensation would ease the situation. However, the change of thinking had reversed," Geldenhuys said.

He said one of the most remarkable

Most white South Africans supported SA's recent raids into Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia, reports Claire Pickard-Cambridge. A recent survey also showed that white attitudes to domestic issues had generally become more conciliatory, increasingly hardline positions had been adopted towards foreign policy issues.

shifts of white opinion revealed in 1984 concerned the question of Pretoria talking to Swapo.

In 1982 about a third of the respondents supported such talks, while in 1984 just over 50% did. The latest survey put the figure at 52.7%.

But despite substantial support for talks with Swapo, most respondents believed SA could ultimately win a war against Swapo if it proved impossible to resolve the Namibian independence issue through direct negotiations.

In the survey 67.8% of whites said the police and SADF were strong enough to control internal unrest indefinitely.

But Geldenhuys said there were considerable doubts about their long-term ability to control the unrest situation because only 26.3% of those supporting the view expressed "definite agreement".

Only 40.1% of whites in 1986 agreed that government needed to negotiate directly with the African National Congress (ANC) to find a solution to SA's

racial problems.

And it was found 70.9% believed Robert Mugabe's government constituted a threat to SA. This was considerably up on the 1984 figure of 62.7%. Afrikaans-speaking people felt the most threatened.

Although whites in 1986 see large-scale internal violence and upheavals ahead, they have become more wary or

conciliatory on domestic political issues over the past two years.

The issues referred to concern racially-mixed school sport, desegregation of cinemas and black representation in Parliament.

Geldenhuys said it seemed public opinion had followed government's lead on issues like negotiation with Swapo and parliamentary representation for race groups other than whites.

"If true, this obviously holds far-reaching implications for government in introducing further political reforms — including perhaps, the thorny question of negotiation with the ANC," Geldenhuys said.



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President to get powers to deregulate economic activity

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Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A joint Committee of Parliament has agreed that President Botha should be given substantial powers temporarily to remove restrictions on economic activities.

However, following representations from both labour and business, the committee has recommended to Parliament that some of the provisions of the Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Bill should be tightened up.

The most significant of these was that there should be no suspension of the payment of contributions to the Unemployment

Insurance Fund or the Workmen's Compensation Fund.

The committee has also recommended that:

- Any changes should first be published in the Government Gazette to enable interested parties to make representations before they are finalised;
- The bill should be divided into two parts with issues dealing with labour being separated and that the Minister of Manpower should be consulted by the President on any issue affecting labour;
- The professions be added to the list of bodies which may be affected by deregulation;
- No agreement existing between an employee and employ-

er before a regulating agreement was proclaimed could be affected.

In a report tabled in Parliament the joint standing committee of the three houses found there was "a great need for deregulation in order to create economic opportunities for people, bring about competition and create job opportunities."

The deregulation would best be achieved by granting special powers to the State President as it "could not be accomplished by means of the usual legislative/regulatory" means.

The committee said there would be sufficient Parliamentary control on the President.

The report said organised trade and industry and other bodies had welcomed and supported the legislation but felt there should be consultation before measures were adopted.

There were however organisations, especially in the labour field, which opposed the measure.

"In most cases they saw the provisions of the bill as interfering with sound labour practices and relations, which they felt had been built up over years.

"Fears were expressed that the hard-won rights of workers in respect of working conditions, workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance would be adversely affected."

Own Affairs:

Staff complement

89. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether the staff complement of his Department at central level has been or is to be increased in the 1986-87 financial year; if so, (a) by what posts is it to be so increased and (b) to what public service salary scale will these posts be attached;

(2) whether the staff complement of his Department at provincial level has been or is to be reduced in the 1986-87 financial year; if so, (a) by what posts is it to be so reduced and (b) to what salary scale were these posts attached;

(3) whether his Department will increase its overall staff component, other than practising college, university, technician and school staff, in the 1986-87 financial year; if so, (a) why, (b) by what total number and (c) at what total cost?

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) Yes,

(a) (i) as far as administration is concerned the Sub-directorates Personnel and Finance were transferred from Budgetary and Auxiliary Services to Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly with effect from 1 April 1986.
The posts concerned are—

Sub-directorate: Personnel—52 posts varying from a Registry Clerk to a Deputy Director: Personnel Management, Personnel Management, Sub-directorate: Finance—51 posts varying

from an Accounting Clerk to Deputy Director: Financial Administration,

(ii) as far as CS Educators are concerned the establishment was enlarged by 31 posts which is within the post-level ratio norm for Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly:

Post level 7—9 posts
Post level 6—15 posts
Post level 5—7 posts

(b) (i) the salary scales of the posts mentioned in (a)(i) vary from R5 412 × 309 – 6 030 × 339 – 8 064 × 384 – 9 216 to R38 568 × 1 626 – 41 820.

(ii) the salary scales for the posts mentioned in (a)(ii) are based on a key salary scale for CS Educators and are as follows:

Post level 7—R45 069
× 1 638 – 46 707 × 2 136 – 48 843
Post level 6—R41 793
× 1 638 – 45 069
Post level 5—according to qualifications from R20 109 (minimum) to R41 793 (maximum);

(2) yes,

(a) Post level 7—3 posts
Post level 6—14 posts

(b) see (b)(ii) above;

(3) as a result of an extensive investigation into the provision of posts which is at present under way, a further adjustment to the establishment may be made.

TUESDAY, 17 JUNE 1986

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Special Cabinet committee

*1. Prof N J J OLIVIER asked the State President:

(1) Whether the appointment of a special Cabinet committee to consider the position of Blacks outside the national states was announced on or about 1 February 1983; if so,

(2) whether this committee is still in existence; if not, (a) what steps were taken in respect of the committee and (b) why; if so,

(3) whether this committee is still functioning; if not, (a) why not and (b) when did it cease functioning; if so, (i) what are the names of the persons who have been appointed and/or invited to serve on the committee, (ii) when last did the committee meet and (iii) what matters have been considered by it;

(4) whether, since the establishment of this committee, any of its members have withdrawn from it; if so, (a) what are their names and (b) in what capacity did they serve on the committee;

(5) whether this Cabinet committee will be dismantled when the proposed statutory council for Blacks is established; if not, what function is it intended that this Cabinet committee will perform?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) Yes, on 3 February 1983.

(2) Yes, (a) and (b) fall away.

(3) Yes, (a) and (b) fall away.

(i) Members of the committee:

Mr J C Heunis (Chairman)
Mr F W de Klerk
Mr R F Botha
Mr L le Grange
Dr G van N Viljoen
Mr H J Coetsee
Mr B J du Plessis
Mr J C G Botha

(ii) Various subjects were discussed which led to many concrete results. Some of the results are reflected in bills presently serving before Parliament or in legislation already passed during the present session as well as a number of administrative steps that were taken.

(4) No, except Dr P G J Koorhof who has been appointed as Chairman of the President's Council.

(5) No, functions which may still be necessary.

†Prof N J J OLIVIER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the State President's reply, can he tell the House whether the proposals with regard to the Statutory Council of which we were informed, are a result of discussions between the special Cabinet Committee and other Blacks?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the reply is yes.

Delville Wood Memorial

*2. Mr R A F SWART asked the State President:

(1) Whether he proposes to visit the Delville Wood Memorial in France during June 1986; if so,

(2) whether he has received any communications or representations from

Declare June 16 a holiday PFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Progressive Federal Party's federal executive yesterday called for June 16, the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots, to be declared an official public holiday that would be commemorated as a day of national reconciliation.

The executive also resolved at a meeting in Cape Town at the weekend to use both Parliament and public meetings to ensure that as much news as possible was made known and appealed to the public to contact PFP MPs with information.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night. "There can be no better time to start on the road to reconciliation than June 16."

Mr Eglin said it was his earnest hope that "out of the past and present anguish and agony of our people", a future based on reconciliation could still be forged.

"We South Africans simply cannot continue to tear this country apart and destroy its future

prospects by violence — whether that violence comes from within or outside of the law.

"There can be peace, there can be unity, there can be a future — but only if we South Africans start on the road to reconciliation," Mr Eglin said.

The PFP, meanwhile, have launched a major drive to bypass official censorship of events during the state of emergency. The party's federal executive has pledged to make every effort "to prevent the truth from being hidden from the people of South Africa".

Since the declaration of a nationwide state of emergency last week, a battery of regulations has made it virtually impossible for the media to

publish independent reports on unrest or other emergency-related matters.

The government's Bureau of Information has created a media centre in Pretoria at which its version of the situation in South Africa is presented at daily press briefings.

However, the PFP's federal executive resolved to step up the monitoring work of MPs and to use both Parliament and public meetings to inform the general public.

Alternatives

At the meeting held to discuss the crisis facing South Africa, a range of alternative actions open to the PFP were considered, the chairman of the party's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said.

"The increased importance of the role of MPs in keeping debate on national issues alive and on informing the public of what is going on was emphasized," Mr Andrew said.

To do this effectively, PFP MPs would extend their monitoring activities further, he said.

"In addition members of the public are being invited to contact PFP MPs or their local party offices to report incidents so that every effort can be made to prevent the truth from being hidden from the people of South Africa."

Mr Eglin said last night. "Parliament, with all its limitations, now emerges as a critically important place where debate on the critical issues facing South Africa can take place."

The PFP intends holding a series of public meetings around the country to keep the public informed and to stimulate debate on important issues.

Rally

Today a lunch-time "citizens' rally to express concern" will be held in Cape Town City Hall. The rally will be addressed by Mr Eglin, the PFP's veteran civil-rights campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman, and a number of prominent religious leaders.

Tomorrow the chairman of the PFP's caucus, Mr Ray Swart, and the party's law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, will address a meeting in Fish Hoek.

Call for peace, dignity today

By CLARE HARPER

THE Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and the Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town, Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, yesterday appealed for peace and calm today to mark June 16.

"I pray tomorrow will be peaceful and that we will observe this great day with the dignity it deserves for our sakes let us show restraint," Bishop Tutu said at a small church service in Evaton, near Johannesburg, yesterday.

He named several Anglican clergymen who were among nearly 2 000 activists believed to have been detained since the emergency was proclaimed.

"We don't want to oppress anybody, to drive anybody into the sea. Black people want nothing more than what white people want. We want the freedom truly to be citizens of South Africa. freedom to be truly human," he said.

Bishop Matolengwe said. "We pray all parties involved will use their wisdom, so that they do not get caught up in things that they should not."

Strength and power

The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, said last night. "At a time when emotions are running as high as they are, to call for cool heads and careful action could be construed as a cop out."

"And such it could be. But if it is coupled with a real determination to deal with the root causes of distress in this land it is not."

"I call therefore for both of these thrusts (cool heads and careful action) in the strength and power of Him alone who can give true peace," he said.

Leaders of opposition organizations such as the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organization could not be reached yesterday.

It is understood they have been "in hiding" since before the declaration of emergency and the police swoop on organizations.

Black Sash national president Mrs Mary Burton yesterday called for "restraint on the part of the authorities and the release of all detainees".

Offices of the Black Sash will be closed today, but the Sash will be operating telephones for people in need of advice.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, said earlier. "There was no black dissent about June 16 as a day on which we should all be mindful of all those who suffered under the brutality of apartheid."

Case for and against open beaches in PE

By KIN BENTLEY

TOTALLY divergent calls relating to tomorrow's municipal referendum on open beaches in Port Elizabeth were expressed today by leading advocates of "for" and "against" points of view.

Mr Ivan Krige, a former mayor of PE, has called on white voters to send a positive message of reform to the Government, while another councillor, Mr Chris Meyer, said open beaches could lead to racial confrontation.

Tomorrow, between 8am and 7pm, municipal voters will respond to the following:

"Are you FOR or

AGAINST the opening of all beaches within the PE municipal area which at present are zoned for the exclusive use of whites and which border white residential areas for use by members of other population groups?"

Mr Krige, who proposed the open beach motion approved by the City Council, said: "The Government states almost daily that it is totally committed to reform. I therefore find it incomprehensible that it should take up its present negative stand on a comparatively minor issue like open beaches.

"It is obvious that sooner or later our beaches

will be open and if we open them now, as approved by the council but not yet by the Administrator, the change will come about peacefully and quietly. If not, the change will still occur, but only after open defiance resulting in unrest."

Mr Krige said he was convinced that, as with the city's libraries, if the beaches were opened to all races, the pattern of beach usage would not, in the long run, change significantly from what it was at present.

"I therefore urge all Port Elizabethans to vote positively, and for the Friendly City to set the Government an example

in reform which it will find difficult to ignore."

Mr Chris Meyer, the councillor who moved the motion opposing open beaches that led to tomorrow's referendum, said the ratepayers of PE should prove tomorrow that the council's 14-7 vote in favour of open beaches was not representative of the city.

Mr Meyer, a supporter of the Conservative Party, said he did not think the opening of facilities, especially beaches, was the solution to South Africa's problems.

He believed opening the beaches could be "the spark in the powder keg" which could lead to con-

frontation.

Mr Meyer said he was opposed to the opening of Humewood Beach only, as advocated last week by the three PE National Party MPs, saying because it lay between other beaches he wondered "what fence will keep the black people out".

The regional director of the PFP, Mr Bobby Stevenson, today urged voters to support a "for" vote. He said the party would man all eight polling stations and would have an information centre at 17 Clyde Street. The office number is 521770.

● Editorial comment
— Page 10

Standard bearer of the white far right

SO we now
JAAP Marais, leader of the Herstigte (Reconstituted) Nasionale Party (HNP), is the political heir to some of the more fundamental (and crazier) ideological apartheid notions of Hendrik Verwoerd, the former Prime Minister of South Africa who was assassinated in 1966.

For nearly 20 years that political stance virtually guaranteed him a place in the wilderness, as the governing National Party — which expelled Marais in 1969 — became more pragmatic and reformist. His right-wing party, the first to break away from the ruling party, fought 350 parliamentary contests without a single victory.

Last Autumn that changed, when a co-founder of the HNP, Louis Stofberg, was elected MP in an Orange Free State provincial constituency. It was, said Marais, the first loss in that province by the Government since 1953. Together with the militant, separatist Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) led by Eugene Terre'Blanche, and other right-wing groupings, the HNP is cashing in on a growing white backlash.

Marais is almost a laboratory specimen of the traditional Boer cast of mind. His parents were both interned by the British during the Boer War, and his first school was in a remote Afrikaans-speaking farming district where children of all ages were taught together. His break with the National Party was precipitated by the decision to allow multi-racial sports.

Now 63, he is a slight man, with thinning white-grey hair: he almost trots along on two tiny feet. Sometimes he needs help in understanding

12/6/86
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an English question. He has never been out of South Africa. Not even to Rhodesia? I asked, using the colonial name for Zimbabwe. "I think I know more about the world by reading than others do by going and looking", he replied. (A cynical opponent suggested the real reason he never went abroad was to avoid inadvertently sleeping in a hotel bed previously occupied by a black.)

Marais's analysis of South Africa today is that President P W Botha's piecemeal reforms, taken together with tentative flirtations with the African National Congress (ANC), will lead to "total chaos". Botha, he said, "is bringing into operation the law of rising expectations, which the Government will be unable to control. We are opposed to any form of multi-racial government. It has been tried many times in Africa and failed many times".

His aim is a "white" South Africa, occupying most of the present territory of the republic, which would require comparatively little black labour to be viable. Labour-intensive industry should be located in "black" homelands. White business, he accused, motivated by greed, had encouraged the Government to bring blacks into white areas so that businesses would not only have their labour, but also blacks' captive spending power.

By not smashing the ANC in exile, and cutting off all relations with the 'Frontline States' that harbour them, he said, the Government promotes "the fiction that we cannot contain terrorism, and this boosts the morale of blacks and depresses whites. These states are at war with South Africa".
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EVE POST 17/6/86

'PFP could win 52 parliamentary seats'

304A

Post Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party could win 52 of the 168 seats in House of Assembly in the next general election, the MP for Central, Mr John Malcomess, said in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Addressing a "Save South Africa" meeting in the Port Elizabeth City Hall, he said he believed that PFP candidates could win the seats currently held by the New

Republic Party.

It was possible that the choice of a successor to the State President, Mr P W Botha, could cause 30 to 40 verligte National Party members to split from the party.

Responding to a question, Mr Malcomess said he did not believe there would be another election under the current constitution.

The Government had undertaken to bring

blacks into the Government and the next election would probably take place against the background of another new constitution.

Mr Malcomess called on the business community to become involved in the political "dog fight" and support the political party of their choice openly, stand as candidates in elections and give financial support.

PFP calls for national reconciliation

Govt must lead — Eglin

Chief Reporter

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Collin Eglin, said in a full Cape Town City Hall yesterday that there could be no better time than June 16 for South Africans to start on the road to national reconciliation.

And, he said, the government must give a lead in this direction.

Speaking at a lunch-hour public meeting called by the PFP, he said the recognized leaders of the people must be brought together in a serious attempt to find a way of living together in peace. "This will not be easy. It will require courage, and it will require bold and imaginative action on the part of the State President."

At the end of the meeting a resolution was adopted calling on the State President to appoint an independent judicial commission of inquiry to investigate and report on the causes of conflict in Crossroads and KTC.

It also called for June 16 to be declared a "national day of reconciliation."

Madness of violence
Mr Eglin said the "madness of violence" which had the country in its grip must stop before it destroyed South African society.

The mindless violence of the mobs, the violence of repression and the violence that was inherent in the apartheid laws must be condemned by all, and ended before it tore the country apart and destroyed its prospects for the future.

While the level of violence in the country must be the first concern of all South Africans, the second concern must be "the appalling incompetence of the Nationalist government."

Regrettably for all South Africans, Mr Eglin added, the country had a government that had lost its way, and which stumbled "from one monumen-

tal managerial mess-up to another.

"It can't manage foreign affairs, it can't manage constitutional development and it can't manage the economy."

Events at Crossroads and KTC in recent weeks bear tragic testimony to the insensitivity and the incompetence of the government.

"I believe that at the very least it should have taken two steps — to declare Crossroads and KTC, with the street's 60 000 homeless, a national disaster area, and to make the resources of the State available to provide effective relief for the people of that area."

"Secondly, it should still appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the whole sad affair of Crossroads and KTC."

Mr Eglin said in a normal, democratic country a government which had made such a mess of almost everything it had touched would either resign or split, or call in other people who had the vision and the competence to lead the country out of crisis.

"But here in South Africa, the government responds to its own failure by grabbing more power."

Mr Helén Surin, PFP spokesman on law and order in Parliament, was applauded when she said that after 38 years, in power the National Party government had learnt nothing, and had repeated the mistakes of the past.

"All the government starts negotiating with the acknowledged leaders of the people, instead of locking them up, I'm not very hopeful of the future," she added.

● PFP told meeting banned, page 4



Mr Collin Eglin, leader of the PFP, addresses a lunch-hour public meeting in the City Hall yesterday. With him on the platform are Mrs Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, and the Rev John Freeth, rector of Christ Church, Kenilworth.

Picture: Anne Laling

Death threat to De Lange at closed US conference, but . . .

ANC and Broederbond mee

South Africa

The Star-Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Broederbond has met the outlawed African National Congress at a private conference in the United States.

Broederbond head, Professor J P de Lange, met three ANC officials at the two-day think-tank, which saw a death threat against the Afrikaner leader.

ANC official, Mr Seretse Choadi, admitted to the *New York Times* that he had issued a threat.

"I told him 'this is a civil war and I can assure you that I can and may have you shot,'" Mr Choadi said.

Professor De Lange was momentarily dumbfounded. Sources said Mr Choadi's ANC colleagues rebuked him for the outburst.

The meeting was confirmed by the State Department today. Three department officials attended the closed conference.

US Government sources also confirmed an incident between Professor de Lange and Mr Choadi, describing it as an "extremely sharp exchange". The ANC man, sources said, had been "quite shocking".

Foundation

The conference, on May 30 and 31 at the Ford Foundation on Long Island, near New York, was attended by representatives of other groups. However, it is understood the main goal was to bring the ANC and Broederbond together.

The clash apparently occurred when Professor De Lange said there was continuing debate in the Broederbond between enlightened and conservative factions on how to deal with black aspirations. Mr Choadi told *The New York Times* he responded that a debate within white circles was "completely irrelevant" and "we don't have the patience to wait until they end their debate".

Other ANC representatives were Mr Thabombeki and Mr Mac Maharaj.

Professor De Lange, rector of Rand Afrikaans University,

Fleet Street spotlights the silence in South



"There's nothing in the papers, let's see what's on the telly!"

● The London Standard, June 16.

would not have met the ANC without the knowledge of the South African Government, *The New York Times* suggested, but reliable sources said the Government played no part in Professor De Lange's arrangements.

A Ford Foundation spokesman said the conference was the fifth in a series staged by a group studying South Africa.

The foundation's president, Mr Franklin Thomas, had been chairman of a study commission in 1981. He and the commission investigated US policy towards South Africa for two years, she said.

Mr Thomas is a member of President Reagan's panel of distinguished Americans appointed to advise on policy towards South Africa.

N/17/6/86

The

Blacks' 'say in new processes'

Mercury Reporter

THE Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, said it was now quite clear that the Government planned to introduce black representation at central government level.

Speaking at the 60th annual congress of the Sugar Technologists' Association in Durban, Mr Cadman said the proposed new National Council was intended to provide an opportunity for blacks to participate in the planning and preparation of a new constitutional dispensation.

Second, it would provide black South Africans with a say in governmental processes on an interim basis pending the introduction of the new constitution.

At provincial level, it was proposed to replace the present all-white administrators and executive committees on July 1 with Excos representative of all races, Mr Cadman said.

He added that at municipal level it was proposed through the establishment of Regional Service Councils to introduce the principle of 'multi-racialism' with the inclusion on those

councils of blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites.

Mr Cadman said he did not believe it could be validly said by critics abroad that South Africa was not going through a process of reform or that reform was not genuinely intended.

In his speech Mr Cadman said it should not be unexpected that extraordinary measures had to be taken from time to time during the process of reform to ensure that that process could 'continue to its desired conclusion'.

'Such measures can be justified only if they are invoked in order to restore peace and stability so as to enable the reform process to proceed. They should not, in these circumstances, be seen as the antithesis of reform but as part of the sometimes painful process of reform,' he said.

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N/17/16/6/86

Report is propaganda, says Worrall

London Bureau

SOUTH Africa's Ambassador to London told Britons yesterday that the report issued by the Eminent Persons Group was a 'report of propagandists'.

Several members of the group were well known as severe critics of South Africa, Dr Denis Worrall said in a hard-hitting debate with Independent TV newscaster Jonathan Dimbleby.

'In fact, it speaks for the South African Government's statesmanship that it actually agreed to receive the EPG originally.'

It had done so knowing the group contained outspoken critics of South Africa, Dr Worrall said.

The whole exercise had been very important to South Africa.

It had had a creative potential which had been

ended, not because of South Africa, but because of certain heads of government who had 'pulled the rug' from under the group.

Mr Dimbleby faced Dr Worrall with an excerpt from the group's report which said there had been no major changes to apartheid and that when the Government said there were, the group simply did not believe it.

No credit

Dr Worrall said the South African Government had received no credit for changes which it had brought about.

The situation was seen in highly simplistic terms. The nature of the conflict was seen as a simple race-relations one. Differences of culture, of nationalism, evident in the South African situation were not recognised.

The whole issue was seen

in straight moral terms — the whites were wrong, the Government was wrong; the blacks were right, the churches were all in favour of the blacks.

Rights

But there were different moral claims. The minorities in South Africa — the Asian minority, for example, which was African, and the Afrikaners, who were also African and were as indigenous to South Africa as the Americans were to America or the Australians were to Australia — also had rights.

Mr Dimbleby quoted from the group's report again, pointing out that South Africa was predominantly a country of black people. To believe that they could be suppressed indefinitely was an act of self-delusion, he said.

Dr Worrall said the allegation was 'utter nonsense'.

True, South Africa was a

very strong state, and only a fraction of that power had been used up to now, but suppression was not the intention.

The objective was to find peaceful ways of sharing political power and the economic benefits of the country because that was the only way South Africa could secure the future of all its people — the brown people, the black people and those whites for whom that part of Africa was home.

The debate was one of many in which Dr Worrall has taken part in the past few days.

He has appeared on television several times and has been interviewed repeatedly on radio.

Even critics of South Africa admit that he has put across his country's views in a restrained, thoughtful and articulate manner — and that he has done so tirelessly.

that Department for May 1986; if so, (i) from whom, (ii) when and (iii) what was the (aa) nature of the complaints and (bb) response thereto;

- (2) whether any banks or building societies have refused to cash salary cheques paid to teachers of the said Department in May 1986; if so, (a) what are the circumstances surrounding this matter and (b) what steps are being taken by this Department as a result;

- (3) whether this Department experienced any problems recently with regard to the payment of salaries to teachers; if so, (a) what problems, (b) why and (c) what steps are being taken as a result;

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

†THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

- (1) (a) and (b) The Department is not aware of any complaints received.

- (2) (a) and (b) The Department is not aware of any such cases.

- (3) Yes.

- (a) In some cases salaries have not always been paid on time.

- (b) A new key-scale has been introduced resulting in interpretation problems; as well as the fact that appointment documents were not submitted timeously by the schools concerned.

- (c) (i) Since 1985 all heads of schools are undergoing management training, including among others, the handling of personnel matters.

- (ii) Deputy-Directors (Administrative) have been appointed at all the regional

offices. They have been instructed that salary matters must continuously receive priority attention.

- (iii) Procedures have been introduced some time ago whereby heads of schools must report at the end of every month about outstanding salary matters.

- (iv) Procedures were implemented at regional offices as well as at Head Office whereby such matters are rectified urgently.

- (4) No.

Reservists

*14. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether persons who become police reservists are required to disclose their membership of any organisations, political parties or other groups; if so, (a) why, (b) in terms of what statutory provision and (c) what organisations, parties or other groups are included in this requirement;

- (2) whether police reservists who are members of or join such bodies are required to resign (a) from these bodies or (b) as police reservists; if so, (i) why and (ii) in terms of what statutory provision;

- (3) whether any (a) police reservists or (b) applicants have been dismissed or rejected because of their being members of such bodies; if so, (i) how many during the latest specified two-year period for which information is available and (ii) of what organisations, parties or other groups were they members?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) to (3) No, although police reservists

and members of the South African Police may belong to legal political parties, it is required of members not to have any alliances with radical organisations. I have therefore in this House emphatically stated that members of the Reserve Police Force and the South African Police will not be members of the AWB and UDF.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he view the AWB as a radical organisation? [Interjections.]

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker ... [Interjections.]

†THE SPEAKER: Order! Only one hon member will reply to the question and that is the hon the Deputy Minister. The hon the Deputy Minister may proceed.

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I shall repeat part of the hon the Minister's reply to Question 14:

I have therefore in this House emphatically stated that members of the Reserve Police Force and the South African Police will not be members of the AWB and UDF.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, the hon the Deputy Minister did not answer my question. I asked whether he views the AWB as a radical organisation.

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I shall repeat the first part of the hon the Minister's reply as well:

... although police reservists and members of the South African Police may belong to legal political parties, it is required of members not to have any alliances with radical organisations.

†Mr J H HOON: That is not an answer.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he aware of the fact that right-wing political parties are referred to as "reactionary" and not "radical", and that the AWB should therefore not be viewed as radical? [Interjections.]

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am very glad to hear that the hon member for Jeppie views the AWB as a reactionary party.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, can the hon the Deputy Minister tell us whether members of the South African Police may be members of the Broederbond?

†THE DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not think that question has anything to do with this matter. [Interjections.]

Alexandra

*15. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether, with reference to the reply of the Minister of Law and Order to Question No 9 on 3 June 1986, a date has been determined for the inquest into the deaths of persons killed in or in the vicinity of Alexandra Township in February 1986; if not, (a) why not and (b) when is it anticipated that the date will be determined; if so, what is that date?

†THE MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

No.

(a) and (b) The matter is still being investigated by the South African Police. The date will be determined after the investigation has been completed.

Films on Sundays

*16. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 21 on 3 June 1986, a decision has been reached regarding the (a) application to open cinemas on Sundays and (b) representations for the repeal of restrictions on the exhibition of films on Sundays; if not, when is it anticipated that a decision will be taken; if so, (i) when and (ii) what was the decision in each case?

- (2) (a) No steps are being taken since, in terms of section 183(b) of the Liquor Act, 1977 (Act 87 of 1977), the contravention of section 164 constitutes an offence which is punishable by law.

(b) Falls away.

- (3) No, there is no reason for such an investigation.

- (4) The Department of Trade and Industry is not responsible for the institution of criminal proceedings, neither is it informed if and when such proceedings are instituted.

- (5) No.

Mr G B D McINTOSH: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he not aware that the tot system is still being used in certain districts of which I know, for example in Tullbagh, and probably also in other parts of the Western Cape? Furthermore, does he not believe that it is his responsibility to make sure that the law which should prevent this from happening is properly implemented?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the law specifies clearly that people cannot receive liquor in lieu of wages. As far as I know, the department has not had any complaints in that regard and, therefore, we have not done anything about it.

As far as the Liquor Act is concerned, the hon member should know that the Act is under review at the moment; it is being rewritten completely. The hon member is free to make any suggestions he has in respect of the Liquor Act to the chairman of the Liquor Board and, if he would wish me to, I will direct those inquiries to him. Secondly, the hon member should know that the new Bill will be submitted to the standing committee where he will have the full opportunity to discuss the matter.

19/6/86 Marks Building
WANSBURG
*26. Mr G B D McINTOSH asked the Minister of Public Works:

- (1) Whether his Department has leased any premises in the Marks Building in Cape Town to any political party represented in this House; if so, (a) to which party, (b) why, (c) what total area in square metres is being so leased and (d) what is the monthly rental for these premises;

- (2) whether his Department has been informed of the purpose for which these premises are used; if not, why not; if so, what is that purpose?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

- (1) No.

- (2) Falls away.

Mr G B D McINTOSH: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could he tell us where the information department of the NP is located on these premises, and does he expect any rental from this organisation for the use of the premises for their party-political purposes?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not the Minister of Information; the hon member can find that out for himself. [Interjections.] The reply to the question he asked me is no, and that is all that is relevant in this regard. [Interjections.]

Mr G B D McINTOSH: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I think he has just indicated what the state of mind of the Government is which seems to regard the information department of the NP as the same as that of the Minister of Information! I am asking the hon the Minister this question as the landlord of that building which was donated to this country by the late Sammy Marks. Why does the hon the Minister not know who its occupants are? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS: Mr Speaker, I should like to inform the hon member that I am not the landlord and therefore the occupants have no responsibility to me. The hon member is young enough to acquire that information himself and

thereby become a more suitable member of this House.

Mr H H SCHWARZ: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is he so out of touch with the affairs of the NP that he does not know where the information office is? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not think there are any more questions I have to answer in this regard. What the hon member has now asked is completely irrelevant, as are a lot of his other speeches in this House. [Interjections.]

†Mr R P MEYER: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, is it not so that each office of each hon member of the Official Opposition, the CP and the other opposition parties are also an information office for those parties concerned? [Interjections.]

Salaries
*27. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

What is the starting salary of (a) White national servicemen and (b) Coloured persons and Indians who join the South African Defence Force voluntarily for a specific period of service of two years?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) and (b) There is no difference in the remuneration of White national servicemen and Coloureds and Indians who join the SA Defence Force voluntarily for a service period of two years. In all cases the starting salary is R11.44 per day for married members and R5.72 per day for single members.

Pietersburg meeting
*28. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether, as a result of the meeting of the National Party held in Pietersburg on 22 May 1986, any members of the South

African Police laid complaints against persons who had allegedly threatened them; if so, (a) how many such complaints were laid and (b) what (i) was the rank of the member concerned and (ii)(aa) was the nature and (bb) were the circumstances of the complaints, in each case?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he aware that the hon member for Johannesburg West says that Police Officers were indeed threatened at those particular meetings?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I answered the hon member's question about complaints which were laid against people who threatened the Police. The reply is no, and there is nothing more to say. [Interjections.]

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply on behalf of the hon the Minister of Law and Order, is it not the duty of any good citizen to bring the threatening of police officers to the attention of the Department?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is the duty of every good citizen to do this, and the Police act as I indicated.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Now you are insulting the Police. [Interjections.]

Own Affairs:

Parent bodies
*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 8 on 4 March 1986, further consideration has been given to the establishment of criteria for

frequently, it is difficult to categorise cases with regard to Government Departments and Development Boards and the particulars are therefore not readily available.

Uitenhage: NP meeting

*5. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police arrested persons at a meeting of the National Party held in the Uitenhage town hall on 29 May 1986; if so, (a) how many (i) men and (ii) women; (b) what were the charges against these persons and (c) in terms of what statutory provisions were they arrested;
- (2) whether any further action is to be taken against these persons; if so, (a) what action and (b) why;
- (3) whether any incidents of violence occurred during the meeting; if so, what was the nature thereof?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) (i) 21.
 - (ii) 3.
 - (b) None.
 - (c) Section 50 of the Internal Security Act, 1982 (Act 74 of 1982).
- (2) No.
 - (a) and (b) Fall away.
- (3) No.

Note: All the persons were released again at the end of the meeting.

†Mr J H HOON: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, can

he inform the House why the persons concerned were arrested if, according to him no incidents of violence occurred at this meeting? [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply that I gave the hon member, did answer his question. His question read inter alia: "Whether members of the South African Police arrested persons . . .", and I said that persons were indeed arrested. He also asked how many persons were arrested and in my reply I said how many were arrested.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Yes, but why did you arrest the people?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Sir, we arrested the people in terms of section 50 of the Internal Security Act. [Interjections.] I think the hon member should go and read section 50 of the Act. Then he will see what it is all about. [Interjections.]

Uitenhage: political meeting

*6. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police in (a) uniform and (b) plain clothes were on duty in and in the vicinity of the Uitenhage town hall during a political meeting on 29 May 1986; if so, (i) on whose instructions, (ii) how many policemen from (aa) Uitenhage and (bb) elsewhere were on duty in Uitenhage on that day and (iii)(aa) what is the rank of the most senior police officer who attended the meeting and (bb) why did he attend the meeting;
- (2) whether it is the policy of the South African Police to attend all public political meetings; if not, what policy is followed in this regard?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b) Yes.
 - (i) The Divisional Commissioner of

the South African Police, Eastern Province Division.

- (ii) (aa) 62.
- (bb) 93.
- (iii) (aa) A Lieutenant-Colonel of the South African Police.
- (bb) To be in command of the members on duty.

- (2) No, only in cases where the organisers of political meetings request the police to perform duties and also in cases where a reasonable suspicion exists that the public order and peace may be disturbed.

Fisheries Development Corporation

*7. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism:

- (1) Whether the Cabinet has (a) considered, and (b) reached a decision on, the phasing out of the Fisheries Development Corporation of South Africa; if so, when;
- (2) whether this Corporation is to be phased out; if so, (a) why, (b) what is the target date in this regard and (c)(i) in what manner and (ii) to whom will the (aa) assets and (bb) shares of the Corporation be transferred;
- (3) whether any arrangements have been made for the continued employment of the staff; if so, what arrangements; if not, (a) why not and (b) what re-trenchments have been made;
- (4) (a) in what manner and (b) by whom is it proposed that the present functions of the Corporation will be carried out?

The MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND TOURISM:

- (1) (a) Yes.

(b) 12 September 1985.

(2) Yes.

(a) Rationalisation.

(b) 30 June 1986.

(c) (i) Research functions to be transferred to the Sea Fisheries Research Institute of the Department of Environment Affairs;

finance functions to the Small Business Development Corporation; and

functions related to fishing harbour construction and maintenance to the Chief Directorate Marine Development of the Department of Environment Affairs.

(ii) (aa) A portion of the cash reserves to be transferred to the Small Business Development Corporation while the building in Cape Town and the construction equipment will be transferred to the State;

(bb) A decision on the transfer of the shares of the Corporation will only be taken after receipt and consideration of the recommendations contained in the Diemont Commission report.

(3) Yes. Certain staff members have been transferred to the small Business Development Corporation whilst the rest have been to the Department of Environment Affairs.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(4) Please refer to my reply to 2(c)(i) above.

Good turnout in poll on beaches

EVE. POST

1971/8/6

304A



A long queue of municipal voters seeking information from voluntary Progressive Federal Party workers at the Hellenic Hall in Parsons Hill, Port Elizabeth, today. There was an unusually enthusiastic turnout for today's poll on the issue of open beaches in PE.

By KIN BENTLEY

A STEADY stream of voters turned out for today's municipal poll in Port Elizabeth — nearly two a minute at some polling stations — to vote on whether or not the city's beaches should be open to all races.

Though the City Council recently voted 14-7 in favour of opening the beaches, the final decision rests with the Administrator. However, the right-wing HNP and Conservative Party have forced a referendum on the issue in terms of a municipal ordinance.

Many polling stations reported a "steady flow" of voters, but the returning officer and Town Clerk of PE, Mr Paul Botha, said the final percentage poll should be about the same as for a municipal election.

He said the result would be announced around 9.30pm on the steps of the City Hall.

By lunchtime about 570 people — 5% of the voters in Wards 12 and 13 — had voted at the Italian Club in Charlo.

By early this afternoon, 550 had voted at the Hellenic Hall in Parsons Hill and at the Davies Stadium in Humewood the figure was 520.

By lunch 330 people had voted at the Pieter Rademeyer Hall in Algoa Park while at the Linton Grange Library the figure was 340.

Voting was slower at the Methodist Church in Newton Park, where by mid-morning only about 130 people had voted, and at St Agnes Church Hall, Swartkops, where after two hours' polling, only 55 people had voted.

These are the polling stations:

Wards 1 and 2 (Humewood, Summerstrand, South End and Central, up to Western Road): Davies Stadium, Humewood.

Wards 3, 4 and 5 (Mill Park, Linksie, Glen Hurd, Mount Croix and Central, from Western Road): Hellenic Hall, Conyngham Road.

Wards 6 and 11 (North End, Sydenham, Bluewater Bay and Swartkops): Dutch Reformed Church Hall, Sidwell.

Ward 7 (Fernglen, Sunridge Park, Newton Park): Methodist Church Hall, Newton Park.

Ward 8 and 9 (Linton Grange, Westering, Framesby, Kabega): Linton Grange Library Hall.

Ward 10 (Algoa Park): Pieter Rademeyer Hall, Algoa Park.

Ward 11 (Swartkops and Bluewater Bay): St Agnes Church Hall, Swartkops.

Wards 12 and 13 (Walmer, Charlo and Lorraine): Italian Club, Charlo.

● See Page 3

Kwa/Natal bill 'step' towards power-sharing

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Bill represented consensus between the province of Natal, KwaZulu and the government, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday while introducing the bill.

"As such, the bill is proof that negotiations

can and do succeed." He regarded it as a very important step towards real power-sharing between black and white in South Africa.

As a result of the expansion of the membership of the provincial executive committees, Indian and coloured leaders would also become involved in "this co-operative endeavour".

He said the co-operative mechanism would "provide for getting the job done without entering into the thorny area of political rights, group domination and other pitfalls which abound in our heterogeneous society".

Mr Heunis said the State President, if asked to do so, could fully transfer the administration of a KwaZulu or pro-

vincial law to the joint authority.

Speaking in second-reading debate on the bill, Mr Pat Poovalingam (Sol Reservoir Hills) said: "Unlike two other bills we had to reject in this House last night (Public Safety Amendment Bill and Internal Security Amendment Bill), this minister's bill is not humbug."

He hoped it would be

put to good use "as a unit of a future federation".

The Minister of the Budget, Dr Jayaram Reddy, said he supported the bill which, for the first time, enabled "people of colour" to share authority as equals.

The Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, Mr Baldeo Dookie, said the bill was paving the

way for people of colour to live and govern together.

"It will give South Africa a new image," he said.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the Natal-KwaZulu move heralded the dawn of a new era not only for Natal but for the country as a whole. — Sapa

Broederbond head denies seeking talks with ANC

By Susan Fleming

The head of the Broederbond, Professor J P de Lange, had attended a conference in the United States recently in his educational capacity — and not with the aim of making contact with the African National Congress (ANC).

ROLE OF EDUCATION

Responding to an article in *The Star* yesterday headlined "ANC and Broederbond meet", Professor de Lange said the conference had focused on the role of education and the church.

"The aim of the conference was not to bring the ANC and the Broederbond closer together," he stressed.

The conference, held on May 30 and 31 at the Ford Foundation on Long Island, New York, had been attended by representatives of other groups. It was the fifth in a series by a group that had been investigating US policy towards South Africa for two years.

An ANC official, Mr Seretse Choadi, had issued a threat to the head of the

Broederbond during a debate.

Mr Choadi had told the *New York Times* that he had said: "This is a civil war and I can assure you that I can and may have you shot".

It had been reported that Professor de Lange had been "momentarily dumbfounded" by this statement. The professor rejected this.

"I had answered a question when Mr Choadi exploded. He said: 'We will shoot you'. I was not flabbergasted.

"The chairman of the conference took exception to what Mr Choadi had said. Mr Choadi accepted this ruling."

IN THE DARK

In April it had been reported that the Broederbond had approached the ANC through an intermediary.

"We have not approached the ANC for talks. I am completely in the dark as to where this rumour originated," Professor de Lange had said in April.

"The ANC is a terrorist organisation and we could not hold talks with them," he added.

REFORMS still needed, but ...

Business gives nod to Barend's package

GERALD PROSALENDIS
and HAROLD FRIDJHON

GOVERNMENT'S package — announced yesterday — has largely been welcomed by the private sector although, as is to be expected, it has evoked some criticism.

It will give a thrust to the economy in the short-term. It is not a long-term measure, nor is it intended to be, but is designed to pull the economy out of its trough.

There is, however, a unanimity of view that the package must go hand in hand with socio-political measures and deregulation, if confidence — the real target of the package — is to be lifted off the ground.

"This is a new approach by govern-

MAIN FEATURES AT A GLANCE

MAIN features in Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' package:

- ☐ R750m for low-cost housing for all population groups;
- ☐ Repayment on June 20 of the 1980 loan levy amounting to R292m, with R206m going to individuals;
- ☐ R50m for job-creation and training;
- ☐ Selective reduction of surcharge on

imports at a cost of R180m this year;

- ☐ Amendments to perks tax covering the private use of cars;
- ☐ Transfer of technology at a cost of R5m;
- ☐ Additional drought relief of R100m;
- ☐ R50m for the Small Business Development Corporation;
- ☐ Reduction of certain excise duties on cars at a cost of R70m.

ment and is very welcome. It is straight stimulation, which will not increase the Budget deficit," says Anglo American economic consultant Aubrey Dickman.

"It is important, however, that this does not merely herald a new era of government encroachment in the eco-

nomy. This makes it essential that the package be flanked by deregulation, with new opportunities being opened to the private sector."

This implies that the further grant of funds to the Small Business Development Corporation (SBDC) is a constructive move.

Trust Bank MD Chris van Wyk describes it as a modest package with the right emphasis.

"It focuses on job creation through low-cost housing and a grant of R50m as well as appropriating an additional R50m to the SBDC.

However, there is a second important focus, says Van Wyk, and that is socio-political. It cannot be overlooked.

The package will not upset the import bill, nor the downward trend in interest rates.

"Neither the private consumer nor the business sector can afford to pay exorbitant interest rates," says Van Wyk, who feels it should not have an impact on inflation.

SA Breweries chairman Meyer Kahn says inevitably it will positively affect socio-political perceptions. "The package is substantial."

While some critics maintain the package does not extend widely enough, Standard Bank senior economist Nick Czypionka believes it has the right focus.

"A few targets have been selected, which means its impact will not be scattered. The repayment of the loan levy will have a favourable, if temporary, impact on confidence. This needs to be reinforced by action on the political front."

Barclays MD Chris Ball says it is important that most of the R750m for low-cost housing should be spent on site clearance and infrastructural development as soon as possible.

This would allow the private sector to contribute to building houses.

The massive boost to housing has a low-import component and should protect the Balance of Payments and add little more pressure to inflation.

Kahn says: "The large allocation for housing will have a considerable multiplier effect, with job creation in the construction industry and among building-material suppliers. In due course this will lead to a demand for furniture and appliances."

Secrecy crumbles

Business Day Reporters

GOVERNMENT secrecy about detainees began to crumble yesterday, as the names of some of the 2 000 said to be in detention began to emerge.

In separate developments:

☐ Graham McIntosh, PFP MP for Maritzburg North, surprised Parliament yesterday by reading out the names of people and asking if they had been detained in the last five days.

McIntosh asked Adrian Vlok, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, if he could "tell us whether Bantu Julius Fuzile, Nabel Swart of the Alexander Sinton School, Khalieb Desai of the Alexander Sinton School, Eric Applegreen, Janet Applegreen, Peter Kershoff, Martin Wittenberg, Mr C Merret, Mr S C Jocelyn, Prof Colin Garner, a number of people from Mpolweni, Moses Mkhize, Edna Mkhize, Nora Mkhize, Nkosinathi Mkhize, Swart Mkhize, Nkululeko Mkhize, Mondli Ndlovu, Simo Bhengu and Koli Mngadi ..."

McIntosh said his aim was to find out who had been arrested on charges of public violence. The exchange ended amid loud interjections.

☐ Charges of illegal possession of a firearm against Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa, secretary-general of the SA

THIS newspaper has been produced under conditions amounting to censorship.

Permission to publish certain items of news has been sought from government's information bureau and refused. In other cases, officials would neither confirm nor deny reports put to them.

The bureau spokesman yesterday denied that it had "willfully withheld information". But he added: "The bureau cannot comment on every incident and the daily Press conferences will clarify possible questions in this regard."

Business Day stands by its report that in some cases it has been unable to obtain confirmation or denial of information which, but for the restrictions, it would check for itself.

Catholic Bishops Conference, were withdrawn in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday because, it was revealed in court, he is being detained.

☐ Four Americans were arrested in Cape Town over the weekend under emergency regulations, a State Department spokesman said in Washington.

One, a Lutheran pastor, was later released. Another was detained at church services on Sunday.

US diplomats had not been allowed to see the two men. There were few details

● To Page 2 ➡

CBS man in court drama

A TRANSVAAL Supreme Court judge yesterday threatened to order security policemen from his courtroom for disturbing the proceedings.

He believed they intended to arrest CBS cameraman Wim de Vos.

De Vos was due last night to leave SA after his last-minute application failed in ordering that his deportation warrant, issued on Friday, be set aside until fur-

ther legal proceedings could take place.

After four hours of legal argument, Mr Justice A J Van Niekerk said he could not find that the Minister of Home Affairs, who signed the deportation order,

● To Page 2 ➡

Poll on beaches NP is blamed

6/6/2004
19/6/2004

304A

By KIN BENTLEY

THE blame for the "poor result" of the poll on the beach issue should be laid at the door of the National Party for calling for a boycott of the voting, a former Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Ivan Krige, said today.

He was reacting to the 6 104 to 4 957 vote by PE's white municipal voters against opening the beaches to all races. There was a low 16,6% poll.

Mr Krige said the Government's "outrageous lack of guts in not giving a clear lead to its followers" had been largely instrumental in the victory for segregation.

"It will help materially to harden the views of the overseas protagonists of sanctions and disinvestment."

He said he was heartened by the fact that a majority of voters living near the beaches, in Humewood and Summerstrand, had voted in favour of opening them.

Happy with the result was the councillor for Algoa Park, Mr Chris Meyer, who said the result proved the council's 14-7 vote in favour of open beaches was not representative of the people of PE.

Mr Meyer said the fact that beachfront residents voted in favour of open beaches was not significant, as most of the Forest Hill voters would have opposed the move had they been able to get to the polls.

Mr Jay Kathan, acting chairman of the PE Indian Management Committee, and Mr Martin Jansen, chairman of the Northern Areas Management Committee, said the poll would have gone in favour of open beaches if Indian and coloured ratepayers had been afforded their democratic right to vote.

Mr Kathan said he was delighted that residents of the suburbs nearest the beaches had voted 959 to 646 in favour of opening them.

Mr Kathan, local chairman of the National People's Party, ruling party in the House of Delegates, said the NPP would urge the Administrator to go ahead with opening the beaches. Mr Jansen said the NAMC would make similar representations.

A spokesman for the PE Town Clerk's Department said a special meeting of the council would be convened within 30 days of the poll. Whatever resolution the council took on the matter would then be conveyed to the Administrator, who is currently considering the council's call for open beaches.

Beach issue: varied reaction from politicians

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Today's reaction of MPs at Parliament to last night's referendum result on the Port Elizabeth beach issue referendum result ranged from profound disappointment, to outright elation.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, strongly criticised the National Party for having failed to give its followers a clear lead.

"History has proved that it has no place for fence-sitters," Mr Savage warned.

An elated Mr Louis Stofberg, the HNP's lone MP, said the result showed that "the masses of whites are not prepared to accept social integration".

He said it was a "stunning" sign of a swing to the right — "and in Port Elizabeth, not a city like Pretoria where one may have expected it more".

The NP MP for Algoa, Mr James Kleynhans, commented: "What has it now actually proved?"

The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, was not available for comment at the time of going to Press.

Mr Savage said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had 10 months ago in Port Elizabeth said that if apartheid meant racial discrimination, he was against apartheid. "This so-called reform Government has failed to give its followers a clear lead in PE. History has proved that it has no place for fence-sitters," Mr Savage said.

PW's office: No comment

Own Correspondent

PRESIDENT P. W. Botha's office has declined to comment on reports that he had "defiantly rejected" President Ronald Reagan's appeals to steer away from a state of emergency and and spurned the US President's urging of restraint.

Sapa-AP, quoting a New York Times report, said White House officials had told Botha the administration's "patience was wearing thin", and he reacted in a manner they described as "obstinate".

When Reagan appealed for an end to the state of emergency, Botha indicated it would continue regardless of interna-

tional criticism, the officials were quoted as saying.

The report did not identify the officials.

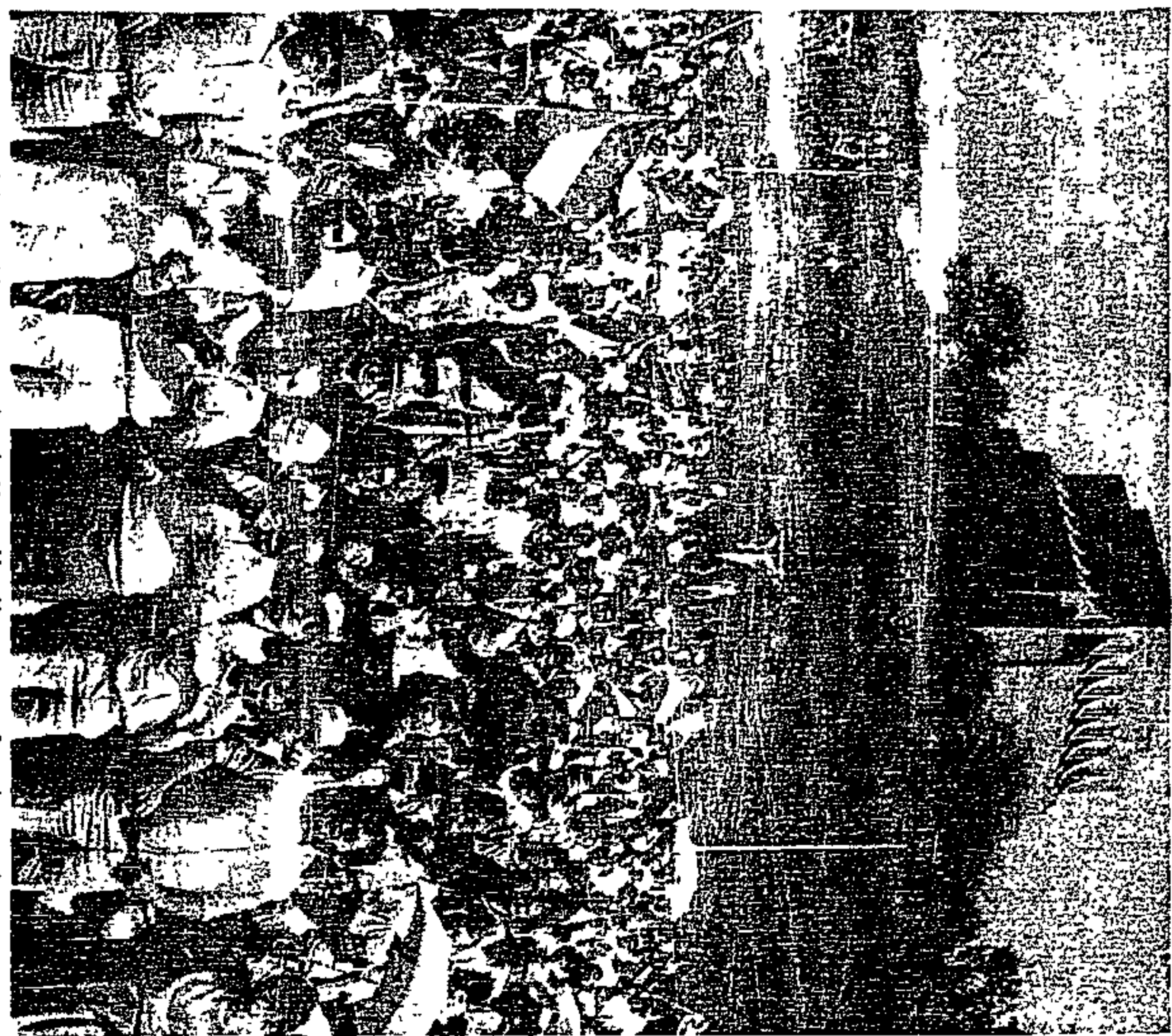
In Washington, White House spokesman Larry Speakes refused to comment specifically on the private communications, which were passed to and from the leaders through US Ambassador Herman Nickel, who met Botha last week.

But Speakes told reporters he "wouldn't steer" them away from the published report.

June 1988

Well rule fatherland alone — TerreBlanche

304x



Part of the 15 000-strong crowd at the Voortrekker Monument on Saturday morning

Back to the ou Transvaal, say separatists

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

A group calling itself the "Transvaalse Separatiste" (Transvaal Separatists) made its presence felt at the rally by handing out pamphlets calling for reconstruction of the old Transvaal Republic.

The leaflets also exhorted Afrikaners to recognise the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Vrystad as "the promised land".

In many of its aims, the movement does not differ substantially from the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, with its concept of a "Boerevolkstaat" or the Orange-Weekers Land.

However, the movement makes particularly strong demands for a separate Transvaal Republic and calls on conservative Transvaal "Boere"

to elect the independent candidates to seats which can then be incorporated into the new republic.

The Transvaal "Boere", the organisation maintains, could once more rule themselves from the old Raadsaal in Church Square.

The organisation takes a hard line against "Party political propaganda", which it sees as a "monster" and a heritage from the British imperialist system.

● The term "Afrikaner", because this was forced on the nation by party politicians.

● The South African flag, choosing instead the Vierkleur — old flag of the Transvaal Republic — as its banner.

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

About 10 000 defiant right-wing Afrikaners vowed on Saturday to continue their fight for their own white fatherland.

Vierkleur flags aloft, they stood below the Voortrekker Monument to reaffirm their desire for self-determination in a sovereign state and pledged to make this a reality soon.

The event was supported by a number of political groupings, including the Conservative Party, Hertsigse Nasionale Party, Afrikaner Volkswag and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

The ultra-right Orange-Weekers Unie was also represented, as was the South African Bureau for Racial Affairs.

A triumph

The gathering was regarded as a particular triumph by the organisers, who were at first refused permission by the monument's controlling council to use the amphitheatre below the stone colossus.

The committee gave in at the last moment — but stipulated that the function should not have a party-political flavour.

From early in the morning, cars began ascending Monument Koppe, until a traffic jam ensued and the municipal traffic police were called in.

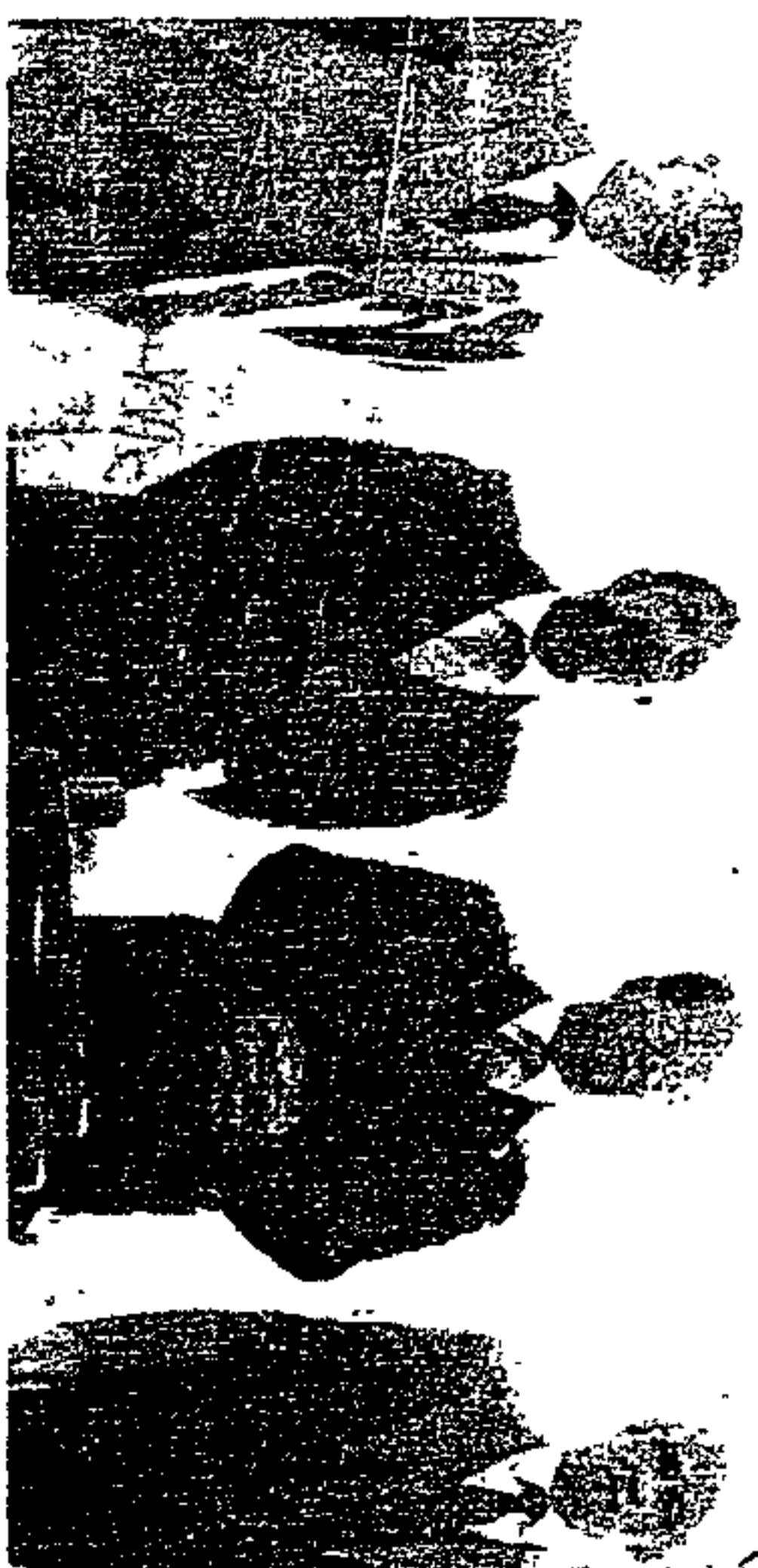
At the foot of the hill, near the Fountain pleasure resort, about a dozen riot police with dogs kept an eye out for trouble. However, the event proceeded peacefully.

'Stormvalke'

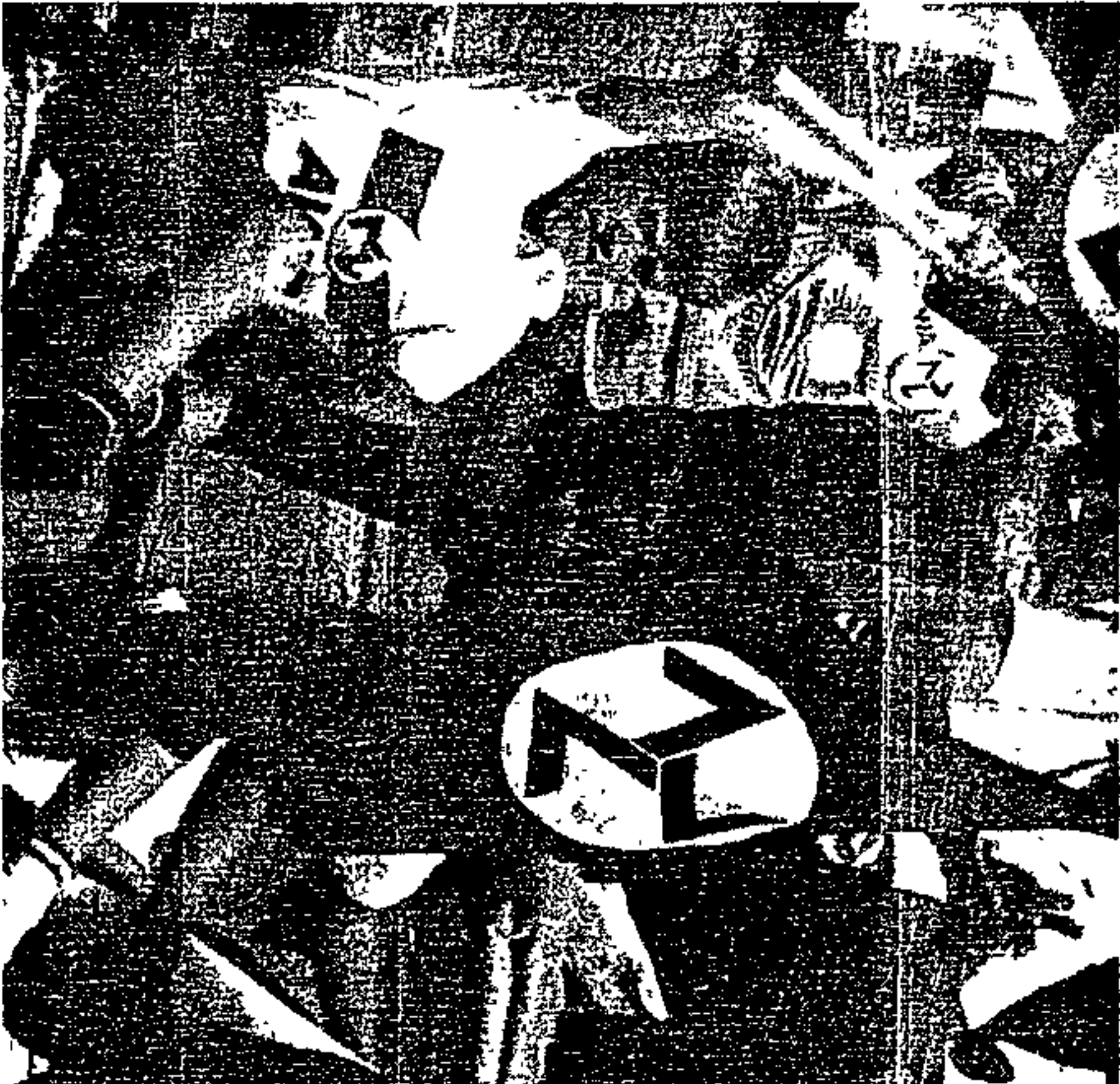
At one of the entrances to the amphitheatre, a phalanx of stoeky, khaki-clad AWB "Stormvalke" formed a welcoming line.

Waving their Vierkleurs, they waited anxiously for their leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, to arrive. One black man who put in an appearance was promptly hustled away by "Stormvalke".

Mr TerreBlanche arrived late and was escorted to the flag-bedecked platform — where the other speakers were already seated — by his troopers, who virtually brought the



Professor Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging, Mr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party and Mr Jaap Marais of the Hertsigse Nasionale Party.



Wielding the swastika-like banner of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, children were part of Saturday's rally to pledge support for a continued fight for a white state

proceedings to a halt with their cries of "AWB, AWB".

Community singing was followed by a poetry reading and Professor F J M Potgieter of Stellenbosch gave a sermon on the evils of communism.

Then there was a ceremony in which 40 stones were laid in a cairn to commemorate the "heroic deeds of Afrikaners of the past".

There were jeers when two South African Defence Force helicopters flew overhead, one trailing a South African flag and the other what appeared to be an SADF banner.

The first speaker was leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said

the Afrikaner nation had come to a crossroads in its history.

"We have a choice between self-determination in our own state or black domination in an integrated country."

"We will fight for white authority and to establish our own white fatherland."

"We want not domination but freedom, not integration but self-determination."

Hard core

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said those present at the monument represented "the hard core of Afrikaners who refuse to give in."

"We will fight as our forefathers did. The march of the Afrikaner people has begun."

Mr TerreBlanche said conservative Afrikaners were the true freedom fighters because they were doing battle for the honour, self-respect and sovereignty of their nation.

"We are committed to keeping what is ours. This is our promised land and we cannot give it away — not do we have the right to. We are the reality of Africa, we live here and we will rule our fatherland alone."

Professor Carel Boshoff, who heads the Afrikaner Volkswag, said the monument showed that the Afrikaner nation prized freedom above everything else.

Many could not vote

EVE POST
19/6/86

304A

A NUMBER of rate-payers were upset and suspicious when they discovered they were not eligible to vote in the referendum on the open beaches issue.

Their names were not listed on the municipal voters' roll.

The anti-voters suspected "a PFP plot" and the pro-element pointed towards the right.

One right-winger calling the Evening Post said: "It was all rigged — sheer crookery.

"We've lived in our house 14 years, now they've never heard of us."

A doctor's wife with leftist leanings rang in high dudgeon 20 minutes after polling opened.

"My husband has been to vote at the Italian Club and he's the third person there already to be told he's not on the roll. We've been paying rates on this house for eight years."

Who was to blame?

Neither the right or the left. But the ratepayers.

They had not checked the municipal roll or registered themselves when the roll was open for inspection. Their names are not entered automatically when the city collects the rates.

Non-South African citizens can't vote anyway — unless they were on the roll before 1971.

Strikes follow detention of union leaders

Big business is to protest to Le Grange

Staff Reporters

Leaders of big business in South Africa are seeking an urgent meeting with Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange about the widespread detentions of trade unionists under the state of emergency regulations.

The detentions have led to a collapse of established labour practices and a wave of strikes.

According to Johannesburg shoppers who have contacted *The Star*, stores affected by the strikes include Checkers, Pick 'n Pay, Woolworths and OK Bazaars. Checkers has been particularly hard hit.

The detentions are having a devastating effect on some businesses and many trade unions.

Mr le Grange's office confirmed today that he had been approached by business leaders who wished to discuss the situation with him. The meeting is expected to take place today.

Most trade unions — their leaders in detention or hiding for fear of detention — have been prevented from operating effectively. Most are afraid to operate from their offices.

The detention of unionists has resulted in a wave of protest strikes by black workers at a number of retail outlets and could jeopardise wage negotiations now in progress.

At least one of the retail bosses seeking a meeting with Mr le Grange will complain about direct interference in industrial relations matters.

In another development, the chairman of Premier Group Holdings, Mr Tony Bloom, has sent a telegram to Minister of Manpower Mr Piet du Plessis and Mr le Grange protesting at the detention of unionists.

Dairy stoppage

Mr Bloom said management was now faced with running factories by dealing with "the mob", because leaders were in custody.

Several retail chains have been hit by sit-down strikes by members of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of SA (CCAWUSA).

A number of CCAWUSA shop stewards and union officials are being detained. Their names may not be published because of the emergency regulations.

Nel's Dairy has also been affected by a work stoppage. The company has declined to divulge details, but milk deliveries to the Johannesburg northern suburbs have been disrupted, according to housewives. Some deliveries to supermarkets have also been affected.

Comments on the strikes by company spokesmen may not be published in terms of the emergency regulations.

"There has been a genuine effort on the part of many South African companies to negotiate with unions, and vice versa," said Mr Bloom. "For this reason we find it deeply disturbing that many leaders of the union movement and shop stewards have been arrested and placed in detention without trial.

"Apart from the humanitarian aspects of detention without trial, this will create a legacy of bitterness in the business sec-

iviale professor a star at US hearings on SA

Capl Times 19/6/86 3040

THE advisory committee on South Africa of the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, displayed itself to the public for the first and last time recently. The committee's final recommendations are expected at the end of the year.

A studied act of veil-lifting, the show was evidently devised to prove that the panel and its 12 serious-minded members had no intention of rubber-stamping "constructive engagement". A largely theatrical gesture.

Its real hope was to add a certain appearance of truth to its conclusions, which, all things being equal, will not differ too dramatically from the official policy.

The group is comprised of such eminent figures as Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, a former Under-secretary of State, Mr Frank Carey, a former chairman of IBM (he was not present), a former National Urban League president, Mr Vernon Jordan, and Mr Franklin Thomas, president of the Ford Foundation, it is not a radical group.

Left to its own devices — which is to say, if the South African government does not continue to force its hand with actions inside the country or in neighbouring states — it will not offer radical prescriptions.

Protest too much

Many, including the State Department, differed with this analysis because, on the surface, the committee made a lot of noises critical of what the Reagan administration was trying to do. In particular, it sought to establish that there had been no reform whatsoever in South Africa.

On this point, the co-chairman, Mr William Coleman, a black Republican who once served in President Nixon's cabinet, was adamant. In his view, as stated repeatedly for the benefit of the audience, not even the suspension of the pass laws could qualify as a step forward because, while they might no longer be applied in fact, they still existed in statute.

Methought, however, that Mr Coleman and his colleagues did protest too much. Of about 30 witnesses who paraded through the stifling, klieg-lighted chamber, there were only a few they listened to with true attention. One was Prof Willie Esterhuysen, the Stellenbosch philosopher and Nationalist guru.

Prof Esterhuysen was a late addition to the witness list, having been included after the South African Ambassador, Mr Herbert Beukes, formally complained about the absence of South Africans invited to put their country's case.

Washington
Letter
by SIMON BARBER



Prof Willie Esterhuysen, Nationalist guru who admitted government's mistakes.

Few on the committee had the faintest idea who Prof Esterhuysen was. Judge Griffin Bell, President Jimmy Carter's Attorney-General, even admitted after considerable cross-examination he thought Prof Esterhuysen was Fleur de Villiers, deputy editor of the Sunday Times, whose name happened to be on the programme in his slot; but by the time he was finished all were palpably awed.

The competition, it should be noted, was stiff with sanctioners of the shrillest sort. Congressmen Mr William Gray, Mr Howard Wolpe and Mr George Crockett, Trans-Africa's Mr Randall Robinson and the Washington Office on Africa's Ms Jean Sindab And, most vehement of all, the American Friends Service Committee's Mr Brooke Baldwin.

To these the panel listened dutifully (doodling prolifically and draining great draughts of coffee) as they proclaimed their moral worth by running through the litany of apartheid's horrors. The art and the desperate attempts to stay awake ceased for Prof Esterhuysen.

South Africa, he told the panel, could roughly be divided into three categories: the radical left, the reactionary right and the "in-betweens" — a vast, divided and directionless majority stretching from President Botha through Chief Gatscha Buthelezi, Bishop Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak to broad elements of the ANC, united only by a desire for a truly democratic future.

The reactionary right, though it might comprise as much as 35 percent of the white minority, was not such a problem. In fact, said Prof Esterhuysen, "what happened at Pietersburg is one of the best things that could have happened in my country... The split has been finalized."

The left — he used no inflammatory ideological labels — was more frightening because it was out of control. "Anyone believing that the ANC can restore order should go and talk to the comrades in the townships. They say the ANC is living in luxury while they fight in the streets. The ANC is too conservative for their liking."

It was therefore up to the "in-betweens" to coalesce and take charge of their own destiny before the left took it totally out of their hands. For there to be any hope of this happening, the South African government would have to take three immediate, dramatic steps: clear, unequivocal citizenship for all, regardless of whether they lived in the homelands, repeal of the Group Areas and Population Registration acts and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

These steps, plus the reining in of the security forces, could pave the way for genuine, unfettered negotiations on a new, multiracial constitution.

Prof Esterhuysen spoke urgently, yet almost apologetically, openly admitting his government's crimes and horrendous mistakes — among them the last new constitution — but at the same time making it passionately clear there was still hope.

The panel pressed him to say what the United States should do, but he was loath to prescribe what was "not my responsibility".

He tentatively suggested that sanctions might not be a good idea because the surest way to make apartheid untenable was a strong, open economy (one, for example, in which 53 percent of white employment was not in the public sector), and that besides, the government, driven by the imperative of what it perceived to be national security, would "react in a quite different way than you expect".

"There are many in-betweens, I must be honest, who are now for sanctions, but I can't agree with any move whose outcome cannot be predicted and whose sponsors will not feel the pinch."

When it was over, the panel seemed to forget that it was on camera. There were expressions of sincere gratitude. Even Judge Bell, who had earlier called the Gray sanctions bill a "good idea", pronounced Prof Esterhuysen "a thoughtful man".

Without him and his testimony, it would have been easy to conclude that the committee had every intention of recommending a far tougher line against Pretoria — one closer to that espoused by Congress — than in all likelihood it will.

Others, like Mr John Chettle, Washington representative of the SA Foundation, who came equipped with mounds of charts and papers demonstrating South Africa's reformist strides, were handled roughly, even though their basic thrust was the same.

Interestingly, though, Mr Chettle dwelt at length on the communist tendencies of the ANC and on the progress Pretoria has been making, at least by its own standards. Prof Esterhuysen did neither, offering no excuses, only diagnosis and possible treatment.

There is a moral here: If the government stops trying to be understood and instead gets on with doing as Prof Esterhuysen suggests, the men of goodwill and common sense in the US may be able to stop those who would turn the country into a wasteland.

FINNAN 20/6/86 **QUICK ON THE DRAW**

For arms dealers, it was June 1976 all over again. Fears about a violent anniversary of the Soweto riots sent demand for weapons soaring. A three-week sales boom, particularly for handguns, has left retail shelves virtually empty.

Handguns sell for anything from R300 to about R3 000, depending on calibre and make.

But, undeterred by price, customers are buying whatever is left, in most cases the more expensive models. Indicative of the rush, one retailer on Monday asked the *FM* to phone back next week when demand subsides.

Another dealer reported 50 customers in a lunch hour, and at least 12 people in the shop at other times. Normally he has two or three customers at any one time.

An arms wholesaler adds: "Our existing stock is just about cleaned out, and the way things are going we might not have a full stock again until September."

All handguns readily available to the public are imported, landing some six weeks after the order.

Taking advantage of the rush — and of a forecast price increase of 12% for the next imports — local manufacturer Clarbex is making its first deliveries of a new 9 mm semi-automatic pistol, the Varan PMX 90, to retailers next week. "Our suggested retail price is R981, which compares with about R2 000 for a comparable imported piece," says Clarbex sales manager Mervyn Ullman. "So far, demand exceeds our manufacturing capacity — we can't make enough," he adds.

Arms dealers say gun buyers are becoming increasingly impatient at licence delays — generally about six weeks. "Normally it takes about three weeks, but the sudden demand for guns has caught the licensing department on the hop."

A WRIST-SLAP FOR BUSINESS

304A

THE business community in South Africa is "to some extent" out of touch with black opinion, according to the report of the EPG.

In its recently published findings, the group judged that "the business community was seeking peaceful reform along the middle-ground", but did not seem fully appraised of black attitudes and aspirations.

It called on business to "exert greater pressure on the government".

The EPG recognised in the business community "potential for exerting (these) pressures", and noted that a number of businessmen had been on record "calling for radical change in the apartheid system". But that was not enough, they implied. The potential remained for a more active role in promoting change.

Business leaders attached great importance to "achieving improvements in black purchasing power and the creation of more

skilled jobs for blacks", said the report. "The predominant need was to strike a viable balance between political *desiderata* and economic reality."

The EPG took note of the businessmen's concern at the various "strong pressures in play" in South Africa: high black unemployment, a stretched economy, disinvestment and increasing white emigration. "Political repression and violence should give way to the broadening of political freedom and genuine black participation in governing South Africa."

It was clear that most businessmen preferred dealing with "moderate" blacks, who represented their "best hope for a peaceful and prosperous future", the report said. But the group argued that business needed to adopt a more open-ended and aggressive approach to discovering the true timbre of black feeling.

down by numerous Supreme Court verdicts.

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b) This information is not readily available.

1120. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether any members of the (a) South African Police and (b) South African Defence Force were charged with rape during the latest specified period of two years for which information is available; if so, (i) how many in each case and (ii) what was the outcome of each of these cases?

Detentions
1132. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many persons detained under section 28 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, (a) made written representations to him in 1984 and 1985, respectively, relating to their detention or release and (b) had been released from detention as a result of these representations as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) Yes.

(i) 40.

(ii) Guilty: Rape—3
Innocent—16
Trial pending—13
Withdrawn—4
Guilty: Attempted rape—2
Guilty: Attempted immorality—1
Guilty: Assault—1

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 1984—1; 1985—8.

(b) None on 12 June 1986.

Stock theft

1142. Mr W L VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

With reference to his reply to Question No 14 on 3 June 1986, (a) how many persons were arrested from 1 December 1985 to 30 April 1986 for stock theft in the police station districts of Alberton, Deur, Germiston, Heidelberg, Klip River, Meyerton and Vereeniging, respectively, (b) how many prosecutions were instituted in each case and (c) what sentences were imposed in this connection?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) Alberton 5 persons
Deur 13 persons
Germiston None
Heidelberg 5 persons
Klip River 2 persons
Meyerton 3 persons
Vereeniging 2 persons

Wives assaulted/killed

1121. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many legal or common-law husbands were charged with (i) assaulting and (ii) killing their wives during the latest specified period of two years for which information is available and (b) what was the outcome of each of these cases?

(b) In all the cases mentioned in paragraph (a) persecutions were instituted.

(c) Alberton 5 persons were acquitted
Deur 1 person was sentenced to 5 months imprisonment, suspended for 5 years.
2 persons were each sentenced to 9 months imprisonment, suspended for 5 years.
2 persons were each sentenced to 6 months imprisonment.
8 persons are still awaiting trial.

Heidelberg 1 person was acquitted.
1 person was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment.
1 person was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.
2 persons are still awaiting trial.

Klip River 2 persons were each sentenced to 6 months imprisonment.
Meyerton 1 person was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.
2 persons are still awaiting trial.

Vereeniging 2 persons were each sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

Requirements to join Force

1144. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether persons who join the South African Police are required to disclose their membership of any organisations, political parties or other groups; if so, (a) why, (b) in terms of what statutory provision and (c) what organisations, parties or other groups are included in this requirement;

(2) Whether members of the South African Police who are members of or join such bodies are required to resign (a) from these bodies or (b) as members of the Police Force; if so, (i) why and (ii) in terms of what statutory provision;

(3) whether any (a) policemen or (b) persons applying to join the South African Police have been dismissed or rejected because of their being members of such bodies; if so, (i) how many during the latest specified two-year period for which information is available and (ii) of what organisations, parties or other groups were they members?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) to (3) No, although members of the South African Police may belong to legal political parties, it is required of them not to have any alliances with radical organisations. I have therefore stated emphatically in the House of Assembly that members of the South African Police will not be members of the AWPB and UDF.

Charges against detective sergeant

1145. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 16 on 6 May 1986, the investigation into the charges against a detective-sergeant laid at the Parow police station has been completed; if so, (a) what were the findings and (b) what action has been taken as a result?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Cape Town Gardens: telephone services

1147. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Communications:

IN THE HOUSE

Under the cloak of privilege

IN the days since the State of Emergency was declared, PFP MPs have lost no opportunity of saying during debate what they think of it and the way it has been handled.

Graham McIntosh (Pietermaritzburg North) reeled off the names of a number of people who had been detained, all of which were duly reported next day in the press.

If he had not done so, newspapers publishing the names could have been for the high jump: but he, and they, were protected by parliamentary privilege.

PFP leader Colin Eglin, speaking in the third reading debate on the budget this week, hammered home the fact that in the circumstances created by the State of Emergency, parliament remains the only platform for free political expression in South Africa today.

"It remains the only place where the facts about what is going on can be probed — and debated," he said.

He asked that parliament should remain in session until the end of the State of Emergency.

Moreover, he added, it was "not good enough for parliament to rely on the limited information provided by the Bureau for Information, supplemented by rumours that are flying around the country".

The minister responsible for handling the regulations "must use parliament as a base for keeping MPs and the public fully informed about what is going on in the country.

"We must tell parliament how many people have been detained. What are their names? Have their next of kin been informed? Rumour has it that Mrs Winnie Mandela has been house arrested once again. Is this so? How many other people have been placed under house arrest?"

The reason Eglin and other MPs have been able to criticise the handling of the State of Emergency so freely is that there is absolute freedom of speech in parliament.

Moreover, the right to publish what has been said in parliament has never been assailed, although the government came within a hair's breadth of doing so when it tried to stop newspapers publishing particulars about an oil scandal referred to in a speech by John Malcomess (PFP, Port Elizabeth Central) in the early 1980s.

The privilege of parliament was also invoked in 1979 when the speaker stepped in to stop the police from questioning members of the press gallery in parliament in 1979.

The speaker's ruling was that police might not enter parliament except in the course of their ordinary parliamentary duties without his permission.

Just as judges are jealous of the independence of the courts, so are parliamentarians jealous of the privileges of parliament.

Freedom of speech in the South African parliament is one of the Westminster traditions which has not been abandoned.

It is entrenched in the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act of 1963, itself a virtual repeat of the Act with the same title of 1911, after union.

The handbook of joint rules and orders of the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates "printed by order of parliament" and distributed to all MPs, confirms the Westminster origins of privilege.

"Privilege": is actually indexed as "Commons, House of, same as ..."

To delve deeper, it is necessary to go to the parliamentarian's bible, Erskine May's "Parliamentary Practice".

Erskine May was a Brit (more accurately, a Scot) but his book is used as the supreme authority wherever the Westminster tradition, or remnants of it, survive.

Absolute freedom of speech in parliament was entrenched in the Bill of Rights of 1688, as every schoolchild probably no longer knows.

JEAN LE MAY

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President accuses world of 'great lie'

CAPE TIMES 21/6/86
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Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday accused the international community of resorting to "hypocrisy, double standards and twisted morality" in its relations with South Africa.

Speaking at a passing out parade of students at the SA Police College in Pretoria, Mr Botha said the notion that national and international action and relations were supported by deep moral convictions and honesty was "a great lie".

"According to this great lie, South Africa is one of the greatest sinners on this planet, and evidently one of a very small group

Influence of Moscow

"Our enemies latched on to the word 'apartheid' and in a sly manner transformed it into the strongest weapon in the onslaught against our country

"In the Western world, naive persons are also jabbering under the skillful influence of Moscow," he said.

Mr Botha said a "carefully calculated propaganda game" was unfolding against South Africa internationally and even internally, "especially with the assistance of some of the media".

When "South Africa" and "apartheid" were mentioned, common sense disappeared, he said. "Then hypocrisy, double standards and a twisted morality come to the fore."

Mr Botha said a false impression was being created that the only thing that could be done in South Africa to rectify matters was through a process of "so-called 'genuine negotiation' with so-called 'genuine leaders'."

When South Africa's "leftist critics" abroad and even "radicals" in South Africa spoke of genuine reform, "they speak of a final transfer of power to

the South African Communist Party and its front, the African National Congress, of a power monopoly by a radical left power clique".

While South Africa was now reaching the "height of reform in our history", this was being passed off "as nothing, as pretence", Mr Botha said

● Mr Botha also announced that a proposal to get the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia started by August 1 had faltered.

The UN secretary general had informed South Africa that the Angolan Government was not prepared to accept any linkage between Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Resolution 435 — a stance firmly opposed by South Africa.

No May Day holiday

● Mr Botha rejected calls for public holidays on May Day, June 16 (Soweto riots anniversary) or June 26 (Freedom Charter anniversary), saying that holidays could not be instituted by decree and that the government would "not allow anyone to force us in this regard".

But he added: "Where black communities which are autonomous and self-governing want to institute such a holiday for themselves, I will not oppose it."

● During the past two years of unrest, 38 policemen had died, 660 had been injured and 910 had had their property destroyed, Mr Botha disclosed.

Parliament and Politics

PC man: 'Many may go missing'

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL — The Internal Security Amendment Bill opened the possibility of people going missing in large numbers — as had happened in Argentina, a Progressive Federal Party member of the President's Council, Mr P C Schoeman, said here yesterday.

The bill — which provides for 180 days' detention without trial — was approved last night by the President's Council by 35 votes to 22, with the PFP, NRP and all parties represented in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives voting against the measures.

National Party and Conservative Party members backed the bill. Speaking during earlier debate, Mr Schoeman said that in terms of the bill, the Commissioner of Police had to give detainees' names to the Minister of Law and Order.

'No answer'

"But what will the minister do when he gets the name of a detainee? Will he put it in a file for purposes of record or put it in a drawer somewhere?"

"Or will he inform Parliament? Because when you ask for the names of detainees you get no answer."

Mr Schoeman asked whether the bill was being rushed through the council because people held recently in terms of the 14-day detention provision would soon have to be released.

"If so, we already have tyranny in our midst."

Mr Schoeman gave examples of a Bloemfontein chemist who had been arrested at his work place "because he was a member of a trade union". One of the chemist's colleagues had also been held.

Not humans?

In Middelburg, a priest had been detained and there were reports that a community of 600 had been held.

Provision was being made for the opponents of the State to be viewed not as humans but as part of a broad category of enemies, such as "communists".

Government policy had created conditions under which Marxism could flourish, said Mr Peter Marais (Freedom Party).

"We must make the Marxists uncomfortable by introducing full democratic values which they detest," he said in opposing the bill.

He said one could not

"destroy theatre by removing the actors".

"As long as there are enthusiastic audiences, there will be other actors, more talented actors and more popular actors."

"Unless you kill the need for radicalism you'll never kill the supply of radicals."

The President's Council enabled the white House of Assembly to ignore the other two black Houses he said.

Mr Japie Basson: The one weakness of democracy was its inability to deal with those who wished to destroy it by undemocratic means.

"We can put through unpopular legislation. Detention without trial had been a bitter experience for him and his people."

The law represented its makers.

"They represent white domination. Domination over us from the cradle to the grave."

The one weakness of democracy, said Mr Japie Basson (NP), was its inability to deal with those who wished to destroy it by undemocratic means.

"Until we have the answer to the present-day terror and totalitarianism we have no option but to pass measures of this kind," he said in support of the bill.

The government had accepted the principles of non-discrimination and participation at all levels of decision-making.

"There is no justification if there ever was for political violence and intimidation."

The South African Communist Party, documented released by the State President last week was nothing short of a declaration of war on South Africa said Mr J A Jooste (NP).

"This is unconventional war and we can only deal with it in an unconventional manner."

Mr Fanie Herman (CP) said that since imposition of the state of emergency the exchange rate of the rand had improved, calm had returned to the country and boycotts and sanctions had not increased as predicted.

The world had recognized that the emergency would return the country to stability.

The government should give the ANC one

month to renounce violence and come to the negotiating table "otherwise we will build a new South Africa without them". Mr Bill Sutton (NRP) said yesterday.

Opposing the bill, Mr Sutton said that if the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had accepted the amendments proposed by the NRP consensus could have been reached on the legislation.

The President's Council debate on two controversial security laws was "the beginning of the burial of the tricameral Parliament", said Mr R V Carlisle (PFP).

'Furtively'

"We are not even burying it with full military honours. We are burying it furtively, with haste and in a cheap coffin, probably some time tonight."

The NP was saying it could not manage, "so we'll put the lid down. However, it was not able to hold that lid down."

The State President, Mr P W Botha, had said in imposing the previous state of emergency that no one would stop him restoring order. However, neither that state of emergency nor the present one had broken the rhythm of violence.

It was inconceivable that the NP, having built up apartheid, could dismantle it.

Mandela

What was needed was to bring together the best South Africans to abolish apartheid unconditionally, "to release Nelson Mandela now and negotiate with him now so we don't have to negotiate with (ANC military leader) Joe Slovo later" and to start discussions on a new constitution.

The council's passing of the bill would amount to giving the cold shoulder to members of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, who were clearly moderates, said Mr James Rennie (PFP).

Opposition members, excluding the CP, opposed extended sitting hours to allow debate on this bill and the Public Safety Amendment Bill to be finalized yesterday.

The deputy chairman of the council, Mr Pen Kotze, dismissed the arguments, saying that because of other obligations most members favoured the reports being finalized. The extended-hours motion was passed by 48 votes to 11 — Sapa.

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Opposition forces yesterday fought a last-ditch battle against the new provincial system with its nominated administrators and executive committees.

The PFP was fighting to extend representation in the councils to all races and the CP to keep them for whites only.

CP speakers said the proposed system was on course for integration.

Mr J H Visagie (CP Nigel) said he had refused to attend the closing ceremony of the Transvaal council because he would not attend the "funeral of a white man's system which has served us well for years".

By last night the CP had had 11 speakers and the PFP seven in the debate which started on Thursday afternoon.

Sapa reports that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, denied in his reply to debate that he was

Provco bill opposed

rushing the bill through Parliament.

He said the Standing Committee on Constitutional Development and Planning had discussed 30 bills and put 61 amendments which were accepted this year.

bill, he said the all-white provincial councils, especially the one in Natal, had a history of raw deals to people other than whites.

"We should really be in a hurry to get rid of those last vestiges of

Mr Baldeo Dookie: "I know for a fact that people of colour will be appointed to the excos."

The demise of provincial councils should be "celebrated with champagne", Mr Salazam Abram-Mayet (NPP Nominated) said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Speaking in second-reading debate on the

British colonialism," he said in support of the bill.

The Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the move to replace the present provincial council system was in accordance with the reform

programme of the State President and deserved full support of the House.

People of colour believed that democracy in provincial government was being removed just as they were being included in the political system, Mr Pal Poovalingam (Sol Reservoir Hills) said in opposing the bill.

The Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Mr Baldeo Dookie, said he approved of the bill because people of colour would be appointed to the excos and could set in progress machinery for further changes.

Asked by Mr John Dymally (Sol Camperdown) if there was anything in the bill which said people of colour would be appointed to excos, Mr Dookie replied that there was no mention of colour or ethnicity in the bill.

"But I know for a fact that people of colour will be appointed to the excos," he said. — Sapa

Bid to break sports boycott

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The sponsorship clause in the Income Tax Bill was the best method of breaking the sports boycott, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to second-reading debate on the measure, he said unless foreign sportsmen were financed they would have great difficulty in accepting invitations.

Opposing the bill, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said legislation providing for tax concessions to sponsors of international sporting events provided cheap advertising for them at the cost of taxpayers.

In terms of the bill, the sponsors of the recent international rugby tour would have to pay only 10 percent of the cost of their sponsorship, the rest being tax deductible.

Mr Du Plessis would be subjected to enormous pressure from sponsors seeking concessions.

"I warn the Minister, if this sponsorship clause is taken up it will be a hot potato that will burn his fingers," Mr Schwarz said.

Mr Du Plessis agreed that the measure was a "hot potato", and said it would be handled with care.

Mr Mike Tarr (PFP Maritzburg South) said companies which built sports facilities in black areas should receive tax concessions in the same way as companies which sponsored sports tours — Sapa.



in brief . . .

Questions tabled on UWC

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES — Mr Willie Dietrich (LP Bethelsdorp) has tabled questions here as to how many UWC students were involved in rendering services in the Crossroads area in June, whether university vehicles were used and the cost. He has asked whether any lecturers or students residing in university hostels were involved and whether lecturers applied for leave for this period.

35 635 arrested for trespass

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Police arrested 35 635 black people for trespass during the first five months of this year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday in reply to a question from Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton). This means on average more than 230 black people were arrested every day for trespass between January and May this year. However, Mr Le Grange's figures reflect a steady decrease in the number of black people being arrested for trespass. In January this year, 8 065 black people were arrested for trespass, but this dropped to 7 662 in February, 7 501 in March, 6 638 in April and 5 769 in May.

57 charged with rape

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Mr Le Grange told Mrs Suzman 57 members of the police force and the Defence Force had been charged with rape over the last two years. He said three policemen and 7 members of the Defence Force had been found guilty of rape and 20 trials were still pending. In two cases, policemen were found guilty of attempted rape, one policeman was guilty of attempted immorality.

322 burned to death

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Some 322 people were burned to death in unrest situations in the last 12 months, Mr Le Grange told Mr Pat Rogers (NRP King William's Town). Those apprehended in the 150 cases where people were arrested belonged to various "radical organizations affiliated to the UDF or which support and propagate the same objectives as the UDF". People had been charged in 150 of the cases and convicted in two. Replying to another question in the House of Representatives from Mr Willie Dietrich (LP Bethelsdorp), Mr Le Grange said 67 people had died by the so-called necklacing method in the Eastern Cape between May 1985 and May this year — Political Staff and Sapa.

Broadbill swordfish: Warning to trade

Political Staff

COMMERCIAL fishermen are to be banned from directly catching broadbill swordfish, the most prized of all game fish, the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, announced last night.

In a statement, Mr Wiley said that a 83kg broadbill swordfish was recently boated some 60 miles from Hout Bay by anglers using a new technique.

"The significance and importance of this cannot be over-estimated."

"If, as I believe to be the case, broadbill swordfish frequent our waters in quantity, then South Africa will attract game-fish anglers with consequential benefit to our tourist trade and to the promotion of deep-sea angling."

The catching technique referred to above has been used with success elsewhere and apparently is the most effective way of catching broadbill swordfish.

"As this much sought-after game fish appears readily able to be caught by the new technique, I would like to warn commercial interests that commercial angling of broadbill swordfish will not be permitted."

He said "a notice prohibiting the catching of such famous game fish will shortly be published in the Government Gazette."

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Magazine banning made her see red

Weekend Post Reporter

NOTHING she'd seen on the screen recently quite aroused the passion in Miss Miriam Lithins that did the banning of the film magazine she had ordered from Britain.

Because of the political situation, the British Film Institute (BFI) will not fulfil orders from South Africa of its *Sight and Sound* magazine.

"I was really livid about the whole thing. As far as I am concerned it is all a load of sanctimonious rubbish," said Miss Lithins, who lives in Central, Port Elizabeth.

Miss Lithins said the magazine contained reviews of current films from top critics, as well as articles about film directors, philosophies and trends.

"I feel very frustrated. We do not see many films that are really worthwhile in P.E. I used to be a member of the film society, but that collapsed and I decided that reading about films was the last — and perhaps the best — resort," she said.

"For somebody like myself who is not involved in politics, this gives one a tremendous sense of isolation and the whole situation is really brought home."

Miss Lithins said she had applied for the subscription through the International Subscription Services (ISS), who had subsequently written a letter to the Prince of Wales as he is a patron of the BFI.

Asked whether he had had any reaction to his letter, Mr E. Polakow, proprietor of the ISS, said he was still waiting for news from the Palace.



Miss MIRIAM LITHINS has had her dream of subscribing to a British film magazine thwarted because of the present political situation. The publication is no longer sent to SA subscribers.

at praises Suzman for pass law battle

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The historic final scrapping by Parliament this week of the much-hated influx control laws went almost unnoticed in the turmoil of events in which South Africa is caught up locally and internationally.

Yet, as even the National Party's most bitter opponents to its left in Parliament have conceded, it is probably the most important concrete step in the Government's reform plan so far.

With the official Opposition Progressive Federal Party wholeheartedly supporting the Abolition of Influx Control Bill, a senior NP MP, Mr Albert Nothnagel (Innesdal), took the unusual step of publicly praising the long-standing PFP human rights campaigner, Mrs Helen Suzman (MP for Houghton since 1953), for the fight she has put up through the years against the pass laws.

Firmly allied to these laws, of course, is the migrant labour system, the phasing out of which the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said during the debate was one of the objects of the Abolition Bill.

This was hailed by Mrs Suzman as "very important — that is something which we welcome with

have been expounding on the evils of the migrant labour system ever since I can remember".

Needless to say, Mrs Suzman's gallant efforts over the years were also warmly recognised by her colleagues on the PFP benches. After the vote in the Assembly on Thursday (the Houses of Representatives and Delegates passed the Bill earlier this month), a number exclaimed: "Well done, Helen!"

This, as any Prog would concede, was, however, par for the course (which, naturally, does not in any way detract from the merits of her efforts — and one can place on record here again that she was the sole Progressive MP for 13 long years between 1961 and the Prog breakthrough in the 1974 general election).

But, notwithstanding that Mr Nothnagel is an acknowledged leading Nat verligte, his words of praise — and of regret at the harm influx control had done — undoubtedly raised a few eyebrows in traditional Afrikaner nationalist ranks. They merit fairly fullsome recording.

Speaking shortly after Mrs Suzman during the debate in the Assembly, he said:

"I am not one of those people who are concerned at the fact that one apologises for things you have done in the past. There are many things in a country's



Mrs HELEN SUZMAN

"In my opinion there will hardly again be somebody in the history of this country who will be able to tread the deep path as she did in the field of human rights." — Mr A l b e r t Nothnagel, (NP MP, Innesdal)

things in a party's history, and there are many things in an individual's life about which one can unabashedly say one is sorry that one has made a mistake.

"Come, let us in all fairness be honest and admit that although we meant many things well — let me say immediately, I don't believe the NP ever meant it badly — we caused immense harm with influx control and we caused other people to live immensely difficultly."

Turning to Mrs Suzman, Mr Nothnagel said: "It may sound terribly liberal and completely off the rails to

would like to say, as a completely ordinary parliamentarian of South Africa, and as one person to another, to the honourable member for Houghton: as far as these measures, about which she fought in this chamber over many years — sometimes completely alone — are concerned, she in many regards identified the problems better than many other people in South Africa.

"I want to add that although she sometimes fights us very hard, and is very critical about matters about which we feel she is very unfair towards the CP benches).

In her speech earlier, Mrs Suzman said that it was the study of the migrant labour system that

politics and it had largely been responsible for her staying there.

In the mid-1940s, when she had prepared evidence for the SA Institute of Race Relations to the Fagan Commission, she had become acquainted with the iniquities of the system and the accompanying pass laws.

There is no doubt that a major milestone in South Africa's history was reached this week.

Apart from the efforts of the Helen Suzmans, there have of course been numerous other strong indictments of the pass laws and the migratory labour system over the years by commissions of inquiry, by churchmen and institutions, civil rights organisations, and — most important — by the victims (blacks) themselves.

Here it must be mentioned that a major impetus for the passive resistance campaigns of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the 1950s had been blacks' fundamental objection to the slight to their human dignity contained in the pass laws.

As mentioned at the start of this article, the milestone scrapping this week almost went unnoticed, however.

President P W Botha lamented at an SA Police passing out parade yesterday: "Where we are now

form in our history, it is passed off as nothing, as prelude."

Mr Botha's prognosis was that this was so "because, if our reform measures were to succeed in South Africa, the charges and the so-called excuses for the onslaught against us would fall away".

Mr Harry Scwarz (PFP, Yeoville) put it differently in a debate in the Assembly yesterday when he told NP MPs: "If you'd have listened to the member for Houghton when she stood here alone, how different South Africa would have been today."

Mrs Suzman's view, stated during the abolition debate, is that she felt it was "a very sad thing indeed that a Bill of this nature, which I believe to be the most important reform measure this Government has ever passed, should be introduced at a time like this, when the country is under a state of emergency and where it will receive absolutely no attention whatever from the millions of people who should be welcoming it with open arms — I mean, of course, the black population who have been harassed beyond endurance all these years by pass laws."

Mrs Suzman added that the measure "will now also receive no attention in the outside world, which has badly been looking for some positive sign from the Government for the reform measures it has promised".

US puts screws on PE company

By JACK DEWES

A BIG company in Port Elizabeth is losing business in the United States because potential customers there are loath to have anything to do with a product from South Africa.

Mr Selwyn Jacobson, chairman of the clothing manufacturing company, Mentone, said yesterday: "Potential customers are not interested in our goods, even though they say our product compares favourably with the products of other countries."

"They say they don't want any hassles, they don't want boycotts and pickets."

"The irony of it is that they don't have any hassles buying from Iron Curtain countries."

The feeling against us was "not all over the States", Mr Jacobson said. "In Texas they don't give a damn where a product comes from. But in California they certainly do, and in New York they do."

This trend against South African products began about 12 months ago.

It was "purely a political matter" of lobbyists activating an anti-South African attitude, he said.

"I can't speak for our competitors, so I can't say that they are getting the same feedback."

"But as for ourselves, the hard fact is that we can't broaden our base in the States."

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WORLD WATCH

SANCTIONS against South Africa threaten devastation to the fragile economies of neighbouring black-ruled nations.

Ironically, black states form the vanguard in demands through the United Nations for a blockade of South Africa.

And few doubt that the same black states will suffer more from the backlash of boycotts than South Africa itself.

Mr John Mkishi, president of the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries, warns that, since most of his landlocked country's trade is ferried through South African railroads, highways and ports, Zimbabwe's economy will collapse "in a matter of months" if Pretoria carries out threats to pass on the impact of sanctions to neighbouring states.

"By howling for sanctions the African countries in the region are inviting economic suicide," said a Western diplomat in Harare.

Migrants

"All the South Africans have to do is to close their borders with the black states round them and that will lead to the black states' ruin."

Statistics tell one side of the story:

- Malawi, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe move up to 80 percent of their trade through South Africa.

- More than 350 000 migrant workers from black states send \$1 000-million in foreign currency to their home countries, supporting two-million people who are dependants.

- South Africa controls 77 percent of the region's electricity output.

- South Africa produces almost 80 percent of the area's maize, 87 percent of its wheat

Black states in a cleft stick

By NORMAN ELLIS
Harare

and 87 percent of its sugar cane.

- A customs union linking South Africa to the former British colonies of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland provides those landlocked countries with up to 61 percent of their government incomes.

- And more than half of the continent's locomotives and rolling stock is owned by South Africa, which routinely leases them to neighbouring states

To blunt the impact of sanctions — and to make these neighbouring nations independent of South Africa's trade, transport and communications links — nine African nations in 1980 formed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. Its members are Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

But the grouping, representing 60-million of Africa's 550-million people, annually trades more than US\$1 500-

million with South Africa — and a mere US\$290-million among its members.

"South Africa can demolish these countries' terms of trade by simply cutting the existing contracts," said an importer in Lusaka.

"Every time our President (Dr Kaunda) opens his mouth to call for sanctions against South Africa, we win."

But African leaders like Dr Kaunda, Mr Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and President Samora Machel of Mozambique contend they are willing to court South Africa's wrath, and the whiplash of sanctions, to set an example to Western powers.

Zimbabwe's Minister of Economic Planning, Mr Bernard Chidzero, believes that a sanctions backlash will not collapse his country's economy, now picking up after three years of drought, but will slow it down.

Britain, the US and West Germany fear that sanctions will stiffen white South African defiance,

heap hardships on South Africa's blacks and irreparably cripple the economies of the neighbouring independent nations.

The fall-out from a trade blockade might even be felt in African countries thousands of kilometres away. South African coasters routinely dock at most African ports to off-load anything from apples to air-conditioners. Its air transporters land in capitals ranging from Kinshasa to Khartoum, with medical supplies, food and machinery.

"Nowhere do we have this situation in which so many countries are so dependent on a powerful neighbour they hate and want to destroy," a Zambian diplomat said.

Pull out hint over

Botha may call a November poll

by MAX DU PREEZ
AS PARLIAMENT prepared to adjourn yesterday, there was mounting speculation among MPs that the Government may hold a general election in November this year.

A commission to review the delimitation of constituencies will be appointed any day now and could complete its task in two months, the Sunday Times was told.

State President P. W. Botha has repeatedly said that any substantial change in the constitution will be put before the electorate.

Trumpcard

The National Party's trump-card for negotiation with blacks, the National Statutory Council (NSC), will be put to the party's federal council in August. The NSC will, for the first time, give blacks a say in central government.

For some time there has been speculation that the principle of shared power between whites and blacks would be tested in a referendum, but lately a number of MPs have expressed the belief that President Botha would call a general election.

One of the main arguments against the holding of a general election was that it would mean a coloured and Indian election as well as that could lead to another humiliating small poll and more violence.

But many Nationalists believe that the coloured and Indian parties which are represented in Parliament have recently increased their standing in their communities, and that the explosion of black violence has had a moderating effect on both communities.

The extreme rightwing parties, such as the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, have been waging an emotional campaign for an election for months now.

Senior Nationalists are confident that the NP will retain a large majority in an election.

They believe that the declaration of the state of emergency has demonstrated to conservative white voters that the Government has not "gone soft".

All political analysts agree that a new delimitation of white constituencies can only be to the disadvantage of the right wing.

304 BY NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives, has slammed the President's Council, railroading of objections to two highly controversial security measures.

The two Bills, which will give enormous powers to the Minister of Law and Order, were opposed by both the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

On Friday night, the deadlock-breaking President's Council, with its built-in National Party majority, passed the laws.

Concern

Mr Hendrickse believes the PC action has severely damaged the image of the tricameral Parliament and his party will have to carefully review the terms of its participation.

Mr Hendrickse said the turn of events "was grave cause for concern".

The PC decision was not unexpected, he said, since the PC was "nevertheless" cast a slur on the "morality of the tricameral Parliament". He said he and his Cabinet col-

LEADERS

EXPRESS

SERIOUS

CONCERN

League, the leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Amieland Rabhansi "were, of course, very disappointed".

Mr Hendrickse said Friday's decision by the PC showed the National House of Assembly could push through any legislation, despite objections from the two other Houses.

"This PC decision has stripped the other two Houses of whatever credibility they had gained by democratically resisting these Bills."

"The National-dominated PC and Assembly must take full responsibility for having armed our critics — who were against our participation in the tricameral Parliament — with fresh ammunition to attack us with."

"The PC, on Friday night, put the biggest question mark yet against our continued participation in the tricameral Parliament."

"Whereas we are not as yet thinking of pulling out of Parliament completely, we will have to take a fresh look next week at the present structure of the tricameral Parliament in terms of our participation," Mr Hendrickse said.

One PC member, the lone representative of the opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Ismail Omar, announced he would withdraw from the proceedings in the PC for the whole of August in protest against its decision to overrule the rejection of the Bills by the two Houses.

Mr Rabhansi could not be contacted for comment yesterday, but had said earlier a PC decision against the wishes of the two Houses "would seriously question the effectiveness of the tricameral Parliament, as a body based on consensus and negotiation."

The PC did exactly that on Friday night when it decided the Bills passed by the white House of Assembly should become law.

The PC, after a marathon debate which lasted almost ten hours, decided the Bills — in the form passed by the House of Assembly and without the amendments sought by the other two Houses — should become law.

Yesterday coloured and Indian MPs polled reacted with dismay at what some called the "futility" of their efforts.

Secret make cut in

BRITAIN'S national airline, British Airways (BA), has drawn up secret contingency plans to fly alternative destinations the British Government gives in to pressure cuts air links with 80 Africa.

Meanwhile, however, BA mounting a strong campaign to resist the imposition sanctions.

An airline spokesman in London that strong peals had been made to government not to cut links with South Africa.

"We do not see the wisdom of commercial air routes being used to achieve sh-

Botha may call a November poll

By MAX DU PREEZ

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WHITES JOIN STRUGGLE FOR NEW, JUST SOCIETY

WHITES sing a black anthem at a church service. White students face police whips to demonstrate. White women picket in wealthy suburbs.

The number of whites actively protesting against apartheid is still not large, but the demonstrations underscore a striking shift in South African white attitudes in recent years.

In opinion polls, in letters to the editor, in anguished debates among friends over dinner, signs of changing thinking abound. There is a new sense that change is inevitable; that blacks are on the move; and that compromise, not confrontation, holds the key to averting all-out war.

The change in attitudes has become increasingly evident in the past two years, since the start of a new round of violence that has claimed 1 800 lives.

A May survey result: 53,4 percent of 2 000 whites polled said integration of neighbourhoods should be a local decision, not barred by national law, that was up from 36,6 percent five years earlier.

Last Monday, thousands of whites attended

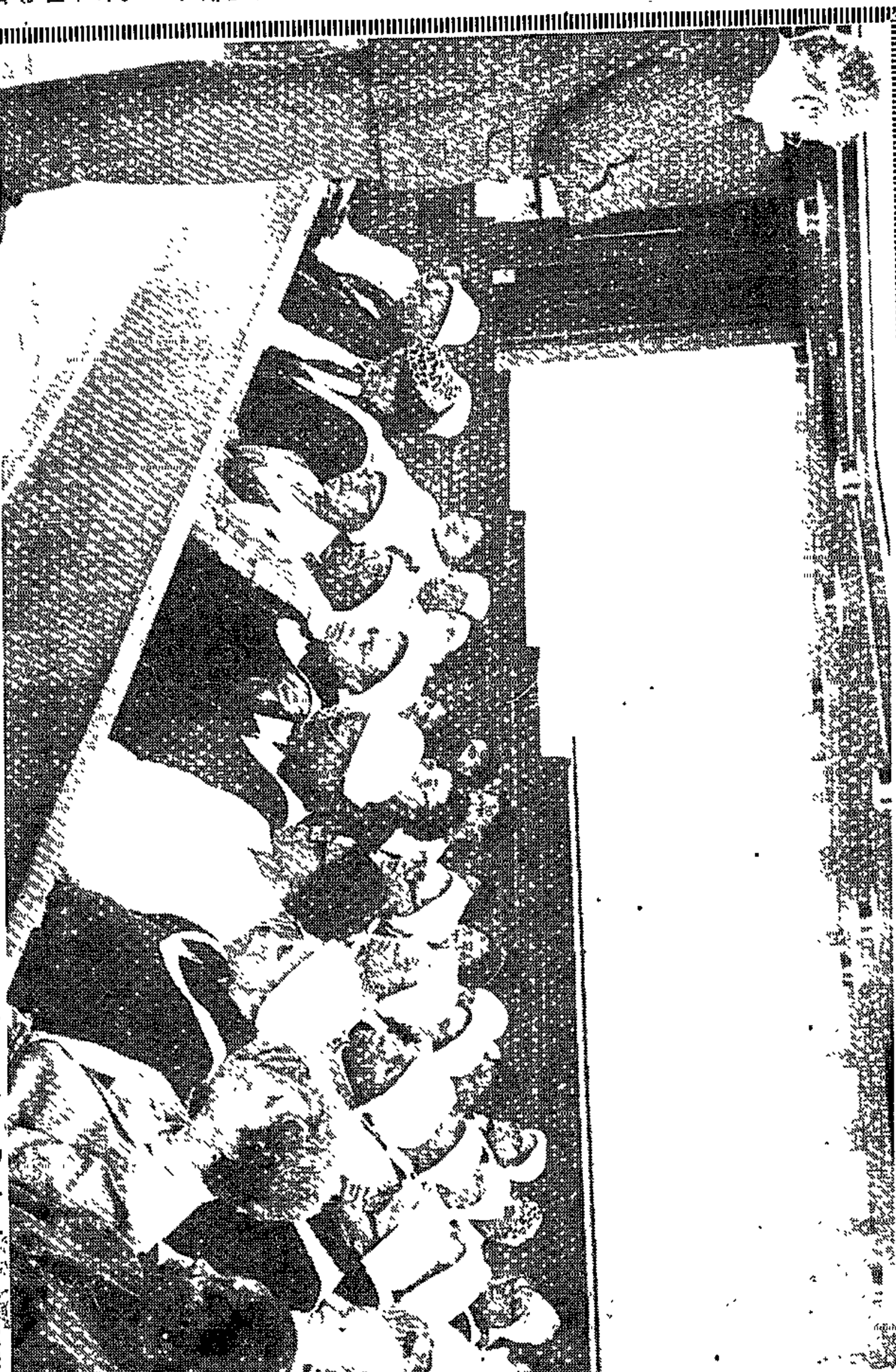
SOWETAN Correspondent

prices of imports are out of sight. The rand has plunged from 1,25 dollars four years ago to about a third that value now.

"Let the run on the rand shake some of us out of our lethargy," Bishop Tutu said.

Apart from the ultra-conservative right, which has grown more reactionary, the shift in thinking manifests itself across the political spectrum.

The National Party, which has held power since 1948, has said discrimination must end and blacks must be given a share of power at the highest levels. That openly conflicts with traditional apartheid doctrine of exclusive white dominance.



THE Inter-denominational Prayer Women's League (IDPWL), yesterday inaugurated the Johannesburg Region in a ceremony opened by the Rev Peter Storey. Women of all races attended the occasion which was held at the Central Methodist Church.

PICT: MOFFAT ZUNGU

the country to show support for blacks on the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots. To demonstrate solidarity, they brought bouquets of flowers to be taken by the carload to the black townships.

"I've never known white South Africans to express their feelings like this," said Mr Graham Hardy, an organiser.

"Many whites feel a profound sense of sadness and shame at what happened in 1976 and what continues to happen in 1986. We were searching for a gesture to show black South Africans that we care and that we too would like to see creation of a just and open society," Mr Hardy said.

At one service, a crowd of about 500 people, nearly all white cheered black Anglican Desmond Tutu and joined him in singing "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika," the unofficial black anthem heard often at black rallies and funerals.

It was a gathering that would have been unthinkable a decade ago.

Bishop Tutu saluted those who attended. But he also pointed to one person for the shift in white sentiment.

The township violence has largely left whites physically unscathed, but the turmoil at home and abroad has ravaged the economy. House prices have plummeted, bankruptcies have soared,

Confidence

A Rapport poll in February showed that nearly 86 percent of 2 000 whites agreed that the system requiring blacks to carry passes should be scrapped, up from 75 percent in 1984. And 58 percent said blacks should be allowed to own property in urban townships, not just rent there, up from 44 percent a year earlier.

The UDF has mounted a "call to whites" campaign, to get them to join activist groups like the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee. The Committee led a solidarity trip by about 250 whites to Alexandra township last month and got a tumultuous welcome by black residents.

Another venture is the End Conscription Campaign, formed to oppose the compulsory draft of white males.

The traditional white left also reflects a new confidence. Poet Jeremy Cronin, who served seven years in prison for distributing A.N.C. material, said, "In the three years since I got out of jail, I've been able to feel I am part of the non-racial movement for justice in this country in a way I could never have felt in years past.

"The new spirit allows us (whites) to stand shoulder to shoulder with the ranks of the liberation movement," he said.

LP urges Botha not to sign bills

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

PARLIAMENT. — Two bills have been ignored: cabinet ministers, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday said the President's Council decision to approve the two controversial security bills on Friday was "not a moral" one.

In a special announcement in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, said the PC decision had caused "disappointment" and a "sense of disillusionment".

The announcement follows a special LP caucus meeting which discussed the party's position after the Nationalist-dominated

It is unlikely that the LP will further their protest against approval of the security measures by blocking other bills, as both the House of Representatives and Delegates will rise today for an adjournment till August 18.

Mr Hendrickse's statement comes after he had threatened that the PC decision forced his party to review its role in the tricameral Parliament.

He told the House yesterday his party's "constructive engagement" in negotiation politics had been "negated" by the PC decision.

"It would appear that 159 parliamentarians voted against the bills while 146 supported

Mr Curry: Just as the NP had learnt to repeal apartheid laws it would have to repeal security legislation.

PC approved the security bills — which were unanimously rejected by both the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has to give his assent to the Public Safety Amendment Bill and Internal Security Amendment Bill for them to become law.

Several LP MPs yesterday appealed to Mr Botha not sign the bills and restore the "credibility" of the two Houses whose opposition to the

them. The PC decision can therefore not be a moral one," Mr Hendrickse said.

"This House believes that the PC decision has done more harm than good and has reflected upon the good intentions of this House. We further believe that in spite of the disheartening situation our presence and participation is essential as an investment for the good of our country."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Cabinet Minister without Portfolio and leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, yesterday issued a similar statement on behalf of his party.

Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, said that just as the NP had learnt to repeal apartheid laws it would also have to repeal security legislation.

Afrikaners, he said, had experienced discrimination and poverty in their history and should therefore be more careful not to subject others to the same treatment.

"If you break the rules of democracy you must be careful that the same rules are not used against you when the tables are turned in South Africa," Mr Curry warned during debate in the House of Representatives.

Mr Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus) appealed to the State President not to sign the controversial bills.

Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Nominated) said that if Mr Botha signed the two security bills he would make the NP's claim to adhere to consensus and minority rights look "ridiculous".

It appeared as if the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament were being treated like "doll's houses", Mr Lockey said.

Bills not yet signed

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has not yet signed into law the two controversial security bills passed by the National Party-dominated President's Council at the weekend after a marathon 9½-hour debate.

However, it is likely that the bills will be published in the Government Gazette later this week, according to government sources.

The government used its built-in majority in the PC to pass the Public Safety Amendment Bill — which allows for the declaration of "unrest areas" — and the Internal Security Amendment Bill — which allows for detention without trial for up to 180 days — on Friday night.

After being approved by the PC, the bills were sent to the Speaker of Parliament, and must now go to President Botha for his signature.

A spokesman for the State President's office said last night that Mr Botha was obliged, in terms of the constitution, to sign the bills into law.

Govt, business talks 'delicate'

He said Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange had not been present at the meeting, but it was hoped there would be constructive developments by today.

Employers want more than 70 detained trade unionists to be either released or charged.

Strikes are still affecting 23 branches of OK Bazaars, 13 stores and one warehouse of Woolworths, about 11 CNA undertakings, 37 Checkers stores, 12 stores and a warehouse of Frasers Ltd and one Pick 'n Pay hypermarket.

Association of Employers (Assemp)

BUDDAY
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24/6/86
chairman and personnel director of Metro Cash and Carry Don Findlay said most retailers had put their case to government and had adopted a "wait and see attitude".

Le Grange has told employers that no union officials are being detained only because of their labour-related activities.

A spokesman for Le Grange's office refused to comment on yesterday's developments.

From Page 1

Military to have voice in local decisions

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The Argus
Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Government has set up an extensive structure of advisory bodies which enables the military to have a voice in decisions affecting local communities.

Constitutional experts said it was clear the Government regarded Regional Development Advisory Committees as essential components of the controversial Regional Services Councils system which would soon be in operation.

Machinery

The machinery to set up the RDACs was formulated in 1982.

The stated aim was to create an efficient structure to further regional economic planning in the nine development regions.

The boundaries set up by the RDACs now form the blueprint for the RSCs.

Advisory

Although Government spokesmen emphasised the RDACs were "purely advisory bodies" it was clear they would play an important role in the new dispensation.

The system operates at various levels.

At the top is the Cabinet, then the Minister of Constitutional Development followed by the National Regional Development Advisory Council, chaired by Dr Piet Rautenbach.

Dr Rautenbach said the RDACs were the "local effective parliaments of those communities".

Channels

He said they were the direct communication channels between the various communities and the Cabinet.

To enable them to convey advice, the RDAC relied on inputs from regional development associations and district development associations of which there are about 300.

The national council consists of the nine chairmen of the RDACs and the director-generals of most State departments and included representatives from Armscor and the business sector.

Appointments

At RDAC level, representation includes businessmen and leaders from various sectors. All appointments are made by the Minister but the RDACs have the power to co-opt members.

The Eastern Transvaal region has recently exercised this function and Major-General Hans Paetzold, commanding officer of the region, and other State officials are now ad hoc members.

At district level, State officials and army personnel are also members or chairmen of various sub-committees.

Invited

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Affairs in Pretoria said: "All Government departments have ad hoc representatives which the RDACs may or may not invite to attend meetings. The Defence Force and the police can be called on to give inputs."

Co-ordinated

A constitutional expert said of the committees: "They are obviously carefully co-ordinated — with regard to business and the military — and it will give them some sort of limited capacity to state policy in the form of advice or recommendations."

Robert Cameron, a senior lecturer in public administration at UCT, said: "The RDACs don't have executive powers, but I know they have the ear of the Cabinet."

"The inclusion of Defence Force personnel in the RDACs can be seen in the same light as in other structures — the gradual bringing in of the military into decision-making."

Reagan believes Botha is sincere about reform

By Neil Lursen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan believes that President P W Botha is sincere in his search for a solution to South Africa's race problem.

"He is faced, as is anyone in his position — as I am here in our government — with a faction in his own government that disagrees and doesn't go along with what he's trying to accomplish," Mr Reagan told reporters in Washington yesterday.

President Reagan said the Botha Government had shown its willingness to move towards reform and had expressed its wish to get rid of apartheid.

The South African leader had made some gains, the President said, with regard to the pass laws, single citizenship, racial mixing such as mixed marriages and the establishment of black labour unions.

"So I have to believe in his sincerity — that he wants to find an answer to this problem."

"We think that answer has to come from negotiation with some of the black leaders."

The President said the South African Government would be closer to "some kind of negotiations" without the state of emergency.

"Right now, the big setback is the — literally — civil war in the black community where they are now fighting each other — and this is where I think

Mr Botha's most recent action could aggravate rather than ease it."

Asked about the perception in Washington that the United States was prepared to impose tough sanctions on Libya and Nicaragua while treating South Africa with kid gloves, President Reagan repeated his view that further sanctions would punish blacks — "the very people we are trying to help".

'A TERRIBLE ECONOMIC SITUATION'

Sanctions would result in great unemployment and a terrible economic situation. Withdrawal from South Africa would remove America's ability to communicate and its efforts to persuade and talk.

American firms, following the employment code drawn up by the Rev Leon Sullivan, had set a standard for South African firms to follow.

"Now, what we think would be truly counter-productive and disastrous is for us — out of sheer pique and anger — to remove ourselves and lose all contact with that Government," President Reagan said.

The President's off-the-cuff remarks were made against a background of rising concern in Washington that the South African Government, forced into a corner by international sanctions, might retaliate with sanctions against its black neighbours.

The feeling in the US is that a further sharp de-

cline in the South African economy could be disastrous for neighbouring states, all of which are dependent on South Africa.

In a front-page report today, the *Washington Times* quoted "highly placed sources" as saying that the South African Government was preparing a counter-sanctions strategy that would wreak havoc among its black-ruled neighbours, destabilising some of them politically.

The *Times* said Zimbabwe had been chosen for a "first hit". Its Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, who had been more vocal than other black leaders in calling for sanctions, was likely to suffer the worst political fallout from Pretoria's economic reprisals.

"Zimbabwe is 90 percent economically dependent on South Africa and its collapse would be swift, dramatic and highly visible — giving the rest of the world cause to ponder," the *Washington Times* report said.

Asked to comment, a spokesman for the US State Department agreed with the assessment that the Frontline states would be hit hard.

He said: "We have no way of knowing what steps South Africa will take in the face of further sanctions. We believe deliberate reprisals would be most unfortunate and have serious effects on all the other countries of the region."

Powerful push for SA-ANC peace talks soon?

Political Staff 30 KA
A HIGH-powered new international initiative to bring the South African Government and the African National Congress together for peace talks may soon be under way.

This follows the Britain's invitation to ANC president Oliver Tambo to hold talks to bring home to the ANC the importance of a suspension of violence, to promote contact and dialogue.

It was reported from London today that Mr Tambo has accepted the invitation.

Britain has also confirmed that a special peace mission to South Africa by the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was one of the options under consideration.

Although there is a great degree of scepticism among South African officials about the new peace initiative, it was understood that developments were being closely watched.

It is understood that South Africa would have no objection to a new attempt to promote dialogue.

WELCOMED

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Foreign Affairs, said the British decision to meet with Mr Tambo was a very encouraging sign.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, said any effort by an influential and old ally and trading partner to induce a climate for negotiations between South Africa and the ANC was to be welcomed.

The British decision to invite Mr Tambo to hold talks with Mrs Lynda Chalker, the junior Foreign Office Minister responsible for Africa, is being interpreted as a major policy switch on the part of London.

Britain's invitation has, however, angered rightwing Conservatives and could widen the party split over South Africa.

"I think it's disgraceful," said Mr John Carlisle, MP.

"Although there has been talk at official level, they have always shunned having any Minister sitting round a table with a terrorist."

"ASTOUNDED"

Mr Terry Dicks, MP, said he was "absolutely astounded" that Mrs Thatcher, with her known views on terrorism, should have made such a decision.

"She could just as well instigate discussion with the IRA."

But Mr Hugh Dykes, a founder member of Conservatives for Fundamental Change in South Africa, which wants to meet Mr Tambo, said the ANC case had not been put over properly in the House of Commons.

The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Britain's invitation comes at a time when the United States government believes the ANC should be part of a peace process in South Africa.

But it is unlikely that the ANC, because of its commitment to violence, will be invited to talks at the State Department in Washington in the near future.

tion in the 1984/85 financial year.

(iii) The granting of yearly increments to personnel who are remunerated according to salary scales.

(iv) The granting of achievement rewards to personnel for meritorious service.

(v) The promotion of personnel to higher posts.

(vi) An increase in the establishment to provide for a greater demand for services and the implementation of new services.

(2) No.

Unrest

1136 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many persons had been (a) killed, (b) injured, (c) arrested and (d) detained in connection with unrest since 7 March 1986 as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) how many incidents of (a) sabotage, (b) arson, (c) stonethrowing, (d) public violence and (e) malicious damage to property occurred and/or were reported to the South African Police during the period referred to above?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) and (2) I do not deem it in the public interest to furnish the information at this stage

Glenanda, Johannesburg

1140 Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any members of the South

African Police attended a political meeting of the National Party in Glenanda, Johannesburg, on 2 June 1986; if so, (a) why, (b) how many, (c)(i) what is the rank of the most senior officer who attended the meeting and (ii) why did this officer attend the meeting, (d) what equipment was issued to the members concerned on this occasion, (e)(i) how many and (ii) what types of vehicles were used for this purpose, (f) what was the (i) total cost and (ii) cost per item involved in this operation, (g) who was the main speaker at the meeting and (h) how many members of the public are estimated to have attended the meeting;

(2) whether any members of the South African Police took any other action on this occasion; if so, (a) what action, (b) why and (c) in terms of what statutory provision?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) To maintain law and order.

(b) 107 members.

(c) (i) A Brigadier.

(ii) Because as District Commandant he has a direct interest in matters which occur within the boundaries of his district. The commissioned officer who was in command of the members was a Captain.

(d) Adequate equipment to meet the given situation.

(e) (i) 13 vehicles.

(ii) A bus and various patrol vehicles.

(f)(i) and (ii) The information is not readily available.

(g) The Minister of Foreign Affairs.

(h) Approximately 750 persons.

2	Tembisa
1	Nyanga
Total 15	

(2) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

Particulars are furnished until 11 June 1986.

Emergency regulations

1150. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) (a) What total number of persons were killed in unrest during the first six months of 1986 by (i) members of the South African Police and (ii) other persons and (b) in what town, suburb or township was each killed;

(2) whether any members of the South African Police were killed during the first six months of 1986 while on duty in unrest areas; if so, (a) how many and (b) in which towns, suburbs or townships in each case?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) (i) By the South African Police: 191.

(ii) By other persons: 379.

(b) The Particulars are not readily available.

(2) Yes.

(a)

(b)

1	Jacobs
3	Umbumbulu
1	Khutsong
2	Alexandra
2	Bekkersdal
3	Soweto

1152. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons have been detained under emergency regulations since the declaration of the state of emergency on 12 June 1986 and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) and (b) I do not deem it in the public interest to make the information known.

Internal Security Act

1158. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether a restriction order in terms of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, has been served during the current year on a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply: if so, (a) on what date, (b) what are the terms of this restriction order and (c) what is the name of this person?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No. (a) to (c) Fall away.

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PFP to raise R650 000 in Eastern Cape

Dispatch Reporter
QUEENSTOWN — The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said at a meeting here yesterday, that his party was at present in the best position ever to rule the country in a democratic, non-racial way.

He also outlined the party's objective, which he said was to achieve power in South Africa, in order to settle the country's problems by negotiation.

Mr Eglin was addressing a group of about 60 party supporters at a cheese and wine function.

The PFP has launched what is called Operation Outreach, in the hope of forming the most broadly based political party in the history of

South Africa.

Volunteers country-wide have been and will continue to call on people in order to gain support for the party and raise R10 million, needed to bring about a non-racial government.

Mr John Malcomess, Member of Parliament for Port Elizabeth Central, said at the meeting that volunteers would be calling on householders in Queenstown to get their donations and support for the operation.

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Ray of light at session's start turns to dark

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first part of the 1986 session of Parliament is drawing to a close — with the country in a dark mood of despondency and confusion.

This is in stark contrast to the upbeat, almost euphoric, mood that marked the start of the year.

President P W Botha opened Parliament with a slickly delivered speech in which he said: "We have outgrown the old outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

He also set out a seven-point credo of his Government's commitment to certain fundamental human rights, and he announced the establishment of a national council on which black leaders could sit with Government leaders to consider matters of mutual concern, including legislation.

With the launch of a mass-media advertising campaign to market the President's speech, including a promise that the pass laws would be scrapped by July 1, the political climate seemed most favourable for real progress and reform.

SLABBERT RESIGNS

Barely one week after Mr Botha's opening speech, the first of this year's political shocks rocked Parliament when the charismatic and highly respected Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, resigned because of his disillusion with the Government's sincerity and real ability to change.

On the same dramatic afternoon, President Botha bluntly repudiated Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for daring to admit he would personally be prepared to serve under a black President in certain circumstances.

In doing so, one observer said, the President had taken the Government back over the Rubicon, to the land where whites would always remain supreme.

Mr Pik Botha's public humiliation was to have far-reaching consequences, although the ebullient Foreign Minister soon bounced back.

BUTHELEZI INSULTED

The repudiation and the release of transcripts of a private conversation between President Botha and Dr Slabbert virtually put paid to kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's participation in the proposed National Council.

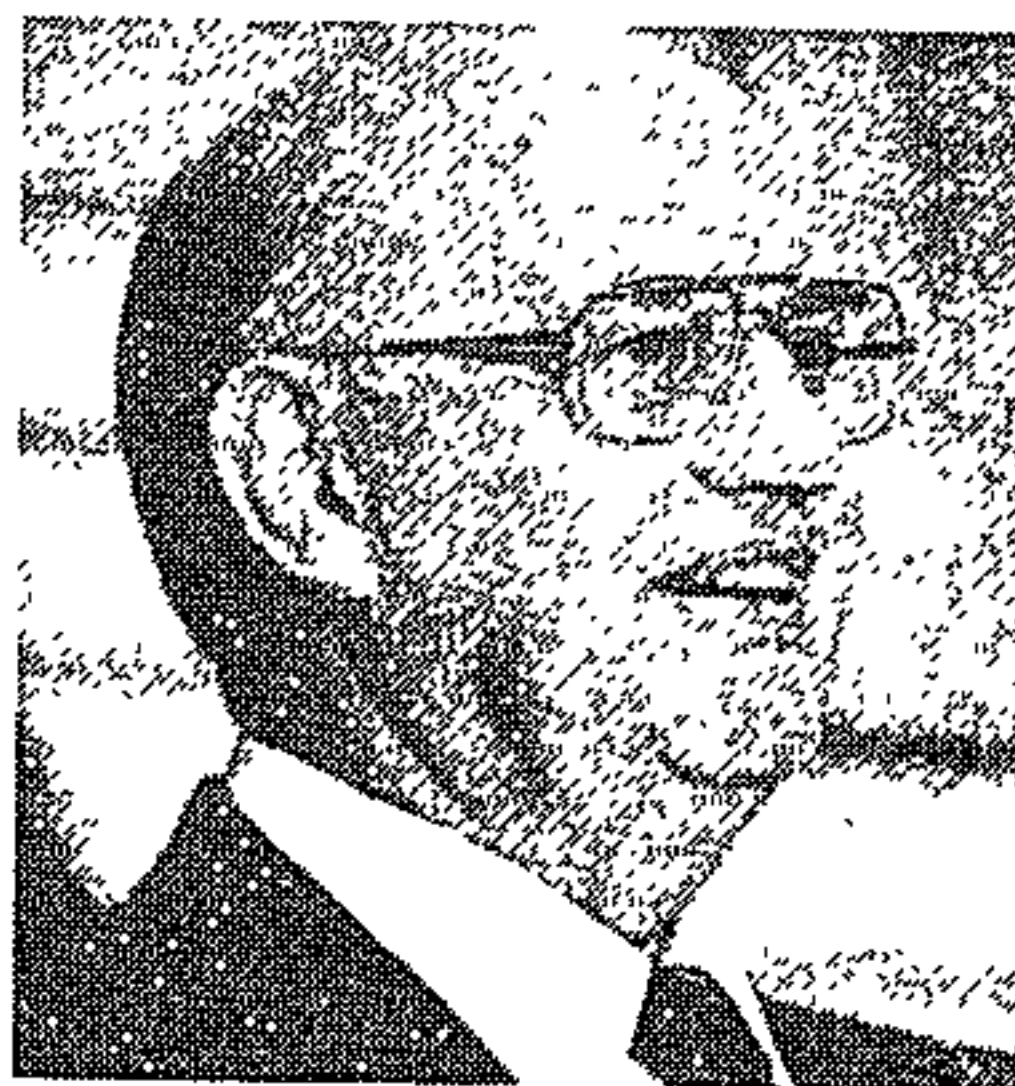
"It was like two whites pontificating about an uppity, difficult kaffir," the Chief said of the transcripts.

Dr Slabbert's departure, after the initial shock and trauma because of its total surprise, made very few waves.

Within a week, the Progressive Federal Party closed its ranks (except for the resignation of Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands). Mr Colin Eglin was re-elected party leader and his new "young lions" team moved swiftly to establish the party's credentials as a potent political force inside and outside Parliament.

Important reforms which were delivered this session were:

- The first central business districts were finally opened to trading on a nonracial basis (although



State President Mr P W Botha promised much at the opening of Parliament.

they remain closed for integrated residential purposes).

- The law prohibiting Indians from residing and working in the Free State and Northern Natal was repealed (although Indians must still live within their own group areas, and there are none in those areas).

- The entire system of influx control and the pass laws was repealed, and with it 34 laws or proclamations which discriminated against or restricted the movement of blacks.

- Provision was made for restoring South African citizenship to millions of blacks who lost their nationality when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda took their independence.

- A uniform identity document which makes no mention, in code or otherwise, of race classification, was introduced for all population groups.

- Full property rights were made available to all South African citizens (as long as they were in the relevant group areas).

- The Bill providing for a National Council on which black leaders could sit with Cabinet Ministers and the leaders of other communities to draw up a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa was published for comment.

OWN AFFAIRS

"Reforms" which have attracted much criticism include the proposed new provincial government system which seeks to give appointed administrators and executive committees enormous powers, and the transfer of greater powers to the various "own affairs" administrations, especially education.

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis presented a Budget designed to stimulate economic growth and to uplift sections of the population most in need.

Critics of the Government said it failed to provide an urgent solution to an emergency situation. It was not doing enough to put people back at work.

As the session neared its end the Government appeared to agree, and Mr du Plessis announced an additional R1 500 million package to boost growth and create jobs.

Midway through April, Professor Tjaart van der Walt's report on the causes of the 1984 unrest in the Vaal Triangle was tabled at last.

He found the entire crisis situation could have been prevented had there not been such an incomprehensible lack of sensitivity and communication.

"It should never have happened. But, unless the necessary measures are taken in good time, the same thing could occur at

various other places in the country," he warned.

The state of emergency was lifted by President Botha early in March, and the official death toll for its duration was 787, with 2 000 injured and 18 500 people detained.

Mr Botha said, when lifting the emergency, existing laws would have to be adapted to enable the authorities to cope with unrest.

When the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill were introduced it became clear that what the Government had in mind was in fact the power to declare virtual "mini-emergencies" in selected areas of unrest.

The Labour Party and the National People's Party took a dim view of the Bills, and after much soul-searching and behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, rejected them.

This forced the Government to use its constitutional safeguard, the President's Council, to impose its will on Parliament.

NEW EMERGENCY

The passing of the Bills in this way angered the coloured and Indian MPs, who felt their credibility and that of the entire consensus system had been badly undermined.

Nonetheless, the delaying tactics of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in getting the Bills passed prompted the Government to impose a new state of emergency and with it a severe clamp on the publishing of information on unrest.

Of the many major political events which occurred outside Parliament during the session, the activities of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) held much promise for a breakthrough in the negotiations stalemate.

However, in the end, probably because the group and the bulk of the Government were never on the same wavelength, the EPG wrote a bitter report which called for measures to be taken against South Africa if the biggest bloodbath since World War 2 was to be averted.

'ANC TRUCE'

At the core of the EPG's peace package was the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and the unbanning of the African National Council in exchange for a suspension of violence while constitutional talks proceeded.

Nelson Mandela was reported from prison to have told Mrs Suzman that if the ANC was unbanned it would lay down its arms and call a truce.

Pretoria wanted a complete and permanent renouncing of violence before it released prisoners or unbanned organisations.

The language that sounded so similar was in fact quite different, and the peace initiative collapsed.

Parliament now goes into a brief recess with the country in the grip of a draconian state of emergency (the Government doesn't like people to call it that).

Constitutional negotiations appear to be as elusive as ever.

The very substantial reforms of the session have been hidden in the dark shadows of uncertainty and growing repression.



Rev Allan Hendrickse...
a lot more at home.

Stars of the show (and some that fell to earth)



Mr Amichand Rajbansi
... let Govt feel it.

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — As Parliament rises for a short recess in an extended session this week, it is perhaps appropriate to review the performances of the MPs.

It was difficult to determine who was the star of the show this year. Was it President Botha, who made all the major announcements? Was it Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development (dubbed Minister of Everything), who continued to spin his arcane constitutional web?

Or was it Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, who finally got his two security Bills, even though they had to be forced through Parliament via the President's Council?

Another Cabinet Minister who featured prominently during the session was Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

His emphasis on the own affairs aspects of the Constitution and Government policy did much to bolster his image as natural leader of the conservative element in the National Party.

Two Ministers who irritated the Government were the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, his counterpart in the House of Delegates.

They and their colleagues on the Ministers' Councils were a lot more at home with their powers and

privileges this year, and they let the Government feel it in the form of deadlocked legislation and numerous amendments to Bills.

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis had a tough time trying to revive the economy, and was frequently involved in fiery exchanges with the shadow Minister of Finance, Mr Harry Schwarz.

A Minister who took a bruising in the session was Mr Pk Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was publicly humiliated by the President because he said in public that he would not object to serving under a black president.

IMPRESSIVE DEPUTY MINISTERS

Three deputy ministers who continued to impress government colleagues and opposition MPs alike were Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid; Mr Adriaan Vlok, Deputy Minister of Defence and of Law and Order; and Mr Luwellyn Landers, Deputy Minister of Population Development.

In the ranks of the Official Opposition in the Assembly, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin moved quickly to consolidate his party after the shock resignation of Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP Houghton) continued to harass the Government at every turn.

Mr David Dalling (PFP Sandton) made outstanding speeches on the security Bills, at one stage reading into the Assembly record a long series of affidavits on alleged police maltreatment of detainees.

Mr Brian Goodall (PFP Edenvale) impressed with a carefully prepared speech on the impoverishment of South Africa, while Mr Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North), this year tabled close to 250 questions to Ministers, eliciting an avalanche of information on a wide range of contentious subjects.

Members on the Government benches in the Assembly who made impressive contributions, particularly when it came to reform, included Mr Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal), Mr Wynand Malan (NP Randburg), Mr Roelf Meyer (NP Johannesburg West) and Mr Andries van der Walt (NP Beville).

Among Conservative Party MPs, Mr Casper Uys (CP Barberton), Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan), Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg), and Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Rissik) kept the Government on the hop.

The lone Herstigte Nasionale Party member, Mr Louis Stoberg (HNP Sasolburg) made close to 60 speeches, many of which had the effect of pulling the CP more to the right.

In the House of Representatives, a Minister who was consistently capable was Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

In the House of Delegates, two Ministers who impressed with their hard work were Mr Ismail Kathrada, Minister of Health Services and Welfare; and Mr Baldeo Dookie, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

SA 'coming ever closer to total police state'

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

Cape Town

The Government has been accused of coming "ever closer to becoming a total police state" as it clamped down on certain information about the emergency being revealed in Parliament.

The Opposition has attacked the extension of the information clamp.

In reply to a number of questions tabled in Parliament for written reply relating to the state of emergency yesterday, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said: "I do not deem it in the public interest to furnish the information at this stage."

The questions related to the number and identity of people, killed, injured, arrested and detained since the start of the state of emergency on June 12.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP, Houghton), who warned South Africa was moving closer to a "total police state" held up a list of 1 500 detainees, of which she named some.

Mrs Suzman yesterday opposed Government moves to bring Parliament to an end in marathon session today.

In an interview Mrs Suzman said: "I think it is a total disgrace that the Minister of Law and Order does not deem it in the public interest to inform Parliament, and through Parliament the public of South Africa, the required details on the emergency state."

Never revealed

"By refusing to give this information he puts South Africa in the same category as El Salvador and Argentina where thousands of people went missing and their whereabouts were never revealed."

"We shall have to glean the information from whatever source we can use."

She warned there would be no way of checking the accuracy of the information if official sources were denied and the "result will be an alarming escalation in rumours".

In another incident a number of PFP MPs walked out of the House of Assembly when Mr David Dalling MP (PFP Sandton) was prevented from continuing a speech about the role of judges in dealing with detentions.

Govt holds back unrest details from Parliament

STAL
304A
25/6/86

Despite the latest steps PFP speakers again used every opportunity under the protection of Parliament to bring to public notice actions taken by the Government and the security forces in the emergency.

Mr le Grange, however, gave some details of the unrest up to the day before the emergency and some information relating to Duncan Village near East London on the first day of the emergency.

Replying to a question asked by Mr Tian van der Merwe MP (PFP Green Point), Mr Le Grange said this year until June 11, 191 people had been killed by security forces in unrest while a further 379 had died at the hands of "other persons".

In the same period 15 on-duty policemen had died in unrest areas.

Mr le Grange confirmed that 85 people including Mr Julius Fuzile were detained in Duncan Village on the first day of the emergency.

●See Page 4.

AS A means to an end the national state of emergency can at best be only a limited instrument. The danger, of course, is that in politics the actual means often prove of much more consequence than the ostensible ends they are supposed to serve.

And in this case, that is a very real danger indeed. That is why there is rightly so much concern with the government's use of the extraordinary powers it now wields. But the state of emergency has not yet become an end in itself.

For the time being we must suppose that the government remains committed to its overall policy objectives much as before. And if the government is to continue with the reformist policies on which it has embarked, if it still wants to rescue some part of its economic and political relations with London, Washington and the wider world, and if there is to be any hope of getting the economy going again then the extraordinary curbs, imposed under the emergency regulations, can at best serve only limited and temporary purposes.

30 million

And at worst? Well, what might that be? There is no lack of alarmists and rumour-mongers around but they generally tell us more about their own fears and insecurities than about the actual political dangers in any realistic sense. For the duration the state of emergency may grant the government and the security forces extraordinary powers. But this does not and cannot change the basic facts of political and economic life.

South Africa today, as before June 12, is a people approaching the 30 million mark of which less than 14 percent are whites. It has a total police force of only some 47 000 and the small standing army has to rely heavily on civilian conscripts and reservists, drawn overwhelmingly from the white minority.

Even if we add in the supportive roles played by the homeland structures, elements of the coloured and Indian communities, conservative and vigilante forces in the black townships, and so on, the fact remains that this is not the stuff of which successful and fully fledged totalitarian police states are made. The manpower and ideological preconditions for that simply do not exist.

Changes

It takes time for the worse and they certainly can then that is still likely to be closer to old-fashioned South African baasskap than to any Orwellian vision of total control.

Even so, a number of changes have taken place in the fabric of South African society during the last decade and more which no emergency powers can simply undo. There is the massive growth of black secondary education. It remains a social and political fact given that there are now upwards of a million African children in secondary school (10 times the number in 1970) and some 80 000 in matric (30 times the number in 1970).

And the state of emergency has not changed the very real defects, frustrations and grievances which have made the black secondary schools into crisis points for the last decade. Nor has it improved the employment opportunities of the growing number of products of this defective educational system.

There are the changes in the labour market. It remains an economic and political fact

Emergency won't make political realities go away

CITE TIME 25/6/86 304A

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Black pupils at their desks . . . more than a million children in secondary schools

that large numbers of black workers have moved into semi-skilled and skilled positions. It remains a massive political fact that they are now organized in powerful trade unions, such as the 500 000 brought together in Cosatu. There are the changes in mobility. Influx control and the 'pass laws' were in large part killed, because these controls had become too difficult and costly to enforce — and that is not going to change because of the state of emergency.

There are also the constraints set by those things which have not yet changed. Such as the levels of affluence and the measure of civil liberties, including a relatively outspoken and reliable press which the majority of whites have on the whole continued to enjoy.

The partial dismantling of old-style apartheid has only marginally affected the living environment of most whites. And to a quite extraordinary degree the proliferation and escalation of political violence since September 1984 has been contained in the townships, leaving most whites free to carry on with their daily routines as usual.

Whatever they might say about the prospect, the reality of a 'garrison state', is something for which whites are as yet far from prepared. During the partial state of emergency of 1985 the government evidently attempted to accommodate these concerns as far as possible.

While attempting to cope with protests and unrest by coercive means, it still allowed

some measure of press and media coverage as well. Even the courts retained some scope to curb executive actions — and showed a surprising willingness to make use of this.

In effect, as far as possible the appearances of 'normal' political life (for whites) were retained. For many whites the only ways in which they were exposed to the crisis situation were the indirect economic consequences of the falling rand (or, in some cases, effective consumer boycotts).

This time round the government has evidently decided to have no half-measures. That is a momentous decision and the full political and economic consequences cannot yet be assessed by any means.

But there are political limits to what even full-blooded emergency measures can achieve. Even if the government should have proved wholly successful in its immediate objectives of curbing the mass unrest feared in connection with June 16, and its aftermath, that cannot be the end of the story and life must go on.

At the moment the majority of black schoolchildren and students are still on holiday. Last year the major problems with boycotts and protests at the schools did not really take off until after the declaration of the state of emergency.

It is hardly conceivable that even full emergency powers can be intended to bring and keep children at school on an ongoing basis, should any thing like the same conditions

as last year prevail. And the same goes for stayaways and strikes, given the demonstrated power of the trade union movement.

Nor does the newly passed security legislation provide much of an alternative for the present emergency powers in this respect. The government's ability to declare a state of emergency in selected areas only would simply reintroduce the ambiguous conditions of the partial state of emergency of 1985, when the government, from its point of view, ended up having the worst of both worlds.

In short, the state of emergency and the wholesale clampdown on independent reporting is a reality. But in any realist perspective it can only serve limited purposes for a limited time. Sooner or later we will have to come back to the main political questions and the longer we have to wait the more intractable they may prove to be.

André du Toit teaches politics at the University of Stellenbosch.

3061

Kwazulu may not nominate executive

Political Staff

KWAZULU may refuse to nominate anyone to Natal's new multiracial provincial executive.

It is understood that a major reason for the possible refusal of Kwazulu putting forward names to the Government is the sudden chopping of all four members of the current elected executive committee.

Mr Oscar Dhlomo, Kwazulu's chief indaba negotiator, said yesterday it was unthinkable "that in this day of reconciliation and co-operation men such as Mr Frank Martin (Natal's senior MEC) who have served Natal so expertly are jettisoned by the Government as easily as that".

NO DETAILS

There is no indication whether the functioning of the Joint Executive Authority, which is being established by legislation going through Parliament now, could be affected.

The Government is keeping quiet about details of the new executives appointed by President P W Botha.

Mr Botha announced yesterday that the four administra-

tors, including Natal's Mr Radclyffe Cadman, are to be reappointed.

It is understood that the Government plans to appoint an enlarged six-man executive in Natal under the Administrator.

Of the six it appeared that three would be white, one black, one Indian and one coloured.

Meanwhile Mr Frank Martin has vowed to continue fighting for the Natal-Kwazulu indaba.

SACKING

The veteran New Republic Party politician said it was vital for the country that the indaba continue. He was determined that his sacking would not in any way emasculate it.

Asked whether the fact that they had no more political "clout" would detract from the indaba's influence, Mr Martin said that he did not believe so.

Meanwhile, Natal leaders were still reacting with shock at the abrupt dismissal of the four MECs. It had been widely believed that Mr Martin would be asked to serve on the executive committee under Mr Cadman.



Rev Allan Hendrickse



President P W Botha



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Nats' allies must keep promise — and get out

CPK TMS 26/6/86 304A

WHEN the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi went into the new tricameral Parliament, they pledged that if it turned out to be a sham they would exercise their ultimate censure and walk out.

They should fulfil that pledge now.

The way the government has overridden the opposition of the coloured and Indian houses in passing the new security bills has exposed more vividly than ever how phoney its reform intentions are.

The government has shown complete contempt for its own constitutional creation.

It has shown that it does not care a fig for the views of the people with whom it claims to be sharing power. It has demonstrated that when it talks of power-sharing with non-whites it means giving them the right to agree with the National Party.

Opposed the bill

If they disagree, their opposition will be brushed aside as being of no account. Nationalist domination will prevail.

The coloured and Indian houses could hardly have been more emphatic in their rejection of the bills. They protested against them by walking out of the joint parliamentary standing committee. They rejected the bills in the most forceful terms when they first came before the two houses.

Determined to have its way, the government repeated the process. Again the coloured and Indian MPs opposed the bills in the standing committees and voted them down in the strongest possible form in

the two houses.

In all, 159 MPs voted against the bills and 146 MPs voted for them. But they have been rubber-stamped by the National Party in the President's Council and made law.

Now the State President is making a show of hesitancy about signing them, and the SABC is suggesting that he is doing so only because he is obliged to by the constitution. What humbug!

It is President Botha himself who is responsible for overriding the opposition of the majority in Parliament. It is he who referred the bills to the President's Council after the coloureds and Indians had voted against them.

This is not the only issue on which the coloured and Indian representatives have been overridden in recent weeks. One must assume from the vigorous opposition of their parties to the new bills that Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi strongly opposed the declaration of a state of emergency in the cabinet. They would be guilty of the most appalling duplicity if they did not.

Cabinet decisions are supposed to be taken by consensus. If Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi did not concur, then their opposition must have been overridden in the cabinet — just as it was later in Parliament.



By
ALLISTER SPARKS

Mr Hendrickse has expressed his "disappointment and disillusionment" at this treatment. Both he and Mr Rajbansi have said that the passing of the bills cannot be morally justified.

But the point is, are they going to continue operating within a system that has treated them with such blatant contempt? Are they going to continue giving credibility to a system which in their own judgment has done an immoral thing and with which they are disillusioned?

At the very least it is difficult to see how they can honourably remain part of a cabinet which is collectively responsible for these actions.

If they were to carry out their original pledge they might yet redeem themselves and exercise some meaningful pressure on the government. If they do not, then the only potential restraining influence they have ever had will be gone and they will scarcely even rate the appellation of tokenists.

Equally important is the message the government's action has sent to those blacks it is trying to persuade to participate in its newly established National Statutory Council. They have been given a fine illustration of the kind of political participation that is being offered them.

A major purpose of the

emergency declaration, we are told, is to re-establish stability in the black areas so that "moderate" leaders can be drawn into negotiations about the role of the statutory council.

The government is pursuing a pet theory in following this course, that if radical "intimidation" can be ended the genuine "moderate" leaders of the silent black majority will come forward.

It is a theory beloved of all white minority governments that have existed on this continent, who have consistently failed to learn from each other's experiences. In the case of the National Party it also involves a failure to learn from their own experience of Afrikaner nationalism, where it was never the "moderates" or the "joiners" who were regarded as the true leaders of the people.

Credibility

But at the very least if one is going to make this attempt one should do everything possible to build up the credibility of the "moderates" one hopes to co-opt as allies. Not even Ian Smith in all his short-sightedness set out to discredit Bishop Muzorewa before installing him as a figurehead.

Yet that is what has been done in advance to any black leader who comes forward now to participate in the national council. It has been demonstrated for the whole black population to see that he will be offering to participate in a forum where he will be heeded as long as he says "ja baas" and ignored when he does not.

It is difficult to imagine any one of substance running that kind of risk to his credibility.

Cape Times
Naude: 26/6/86
Reforms (304)
not just (304)
cosmetic

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The series of reforms announced by President P W Botha during the past year should not be seen as purely cosmetic, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, said yesterday.

Addressing the SACC's national conference held at St Barnabas College, Dr Naude said: "During the past year, the government has announced a number of reforms in response to the demands for the meaningful change to abolish the policy of apartheid."

Dr Naude said recognition should be given to Mr Botha for his willingness to undertake the changes despite growing bitterness and opposition from many whites, even if some of them were initiated only after severe pressures from either the blacks in the country or from the outside world.

"Within the framework of the policy of apartheid, the State President has displayed, from the viewpoint of the white constituency, remarkable courage to tackle these issues in the face of bitter opposition.

"The tragedy of these reforms, however, lies in the fact that they are seen by the majority of the people, especially blacks, as too little, too slow and therefore too late, whereas for many of the whites they are regarded as too radical and revolutionary," Dr Naude added.

Cape Times

26/6/86

304A

Govt

sets up 'task force'

Chief Reporter

THE Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, announced yesterday that a "small task force" of top businessmen had been formed to identify ways in which the private sector could help stimulate the economy through mass building and housing schemes.

This "task force", under the chairman of Sanlam, Dr Fred du Plessis, comprised Mr Meyer Kahn, managing director of SA Breweries, and Mr Derek Cooper, director of Barlow-Rand and other companies. They had held their first meeting a few days ago.

The minister, speaking at a Cape Town Press Club lunch, said building and housing were labour-intensive "and not so import-orientated".

'Star of Africa'

He sharply criticized "bureaucratic" practices and procedures in housing and rehousing schemes and said serious efforts must be made to eliminate them.

He said the stimulation of the South African economy, which he compared to "pushing a piece of string", had to be done in such a way so as not to endanger South Africa's foreign commitments.

The Republic must stabilize itself so that it could take its rightful place as "the star of Africa".

The government, Mr Du Plessis added, realized it could not generate sufficient funds on its own to provide the necessary economic stimulation, and had taken steps to involve the private sector as far as was possible.

SA cannot go it alone, warns Oppenheimer

By Craig Kotze

South Africa was not in a position to "go it alone" internationally, Mr Harry Oppenheimer said at the South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA) in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking in his capacity as national chairman of the SAIIA — situated in Jan Smuts House on the Witwatersrand University campus — Mr Oppenheimer said the country was in a worrying condition.

He was attending a function at which the chief executive officer of Gold Fields of South Africa, Mr Robin Plumbridge, presented a R350 000 cheque to the Smuts Memorial Trust.

The donation was made on behalf of the Gold Fields Foundation for the Trust to maintain Jan Smuts House for the use of SAIIA and the development of the building's library.

Mr Oppenheimer said the les-

son — that South Africa was not in a position to go it alone — was one learned by observing the country's relationships with the international community.

"The institute has succeeded in its work and no political party can doubt its integrity," Mr Oppenheimer said.

The function, attended by the Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, and the Director-General of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, also celebrated the 25th anniversary of Jan Smuts House.

A memorial plaque to Dr William Busschau, the founder and first chairman of the trust, was also unveiled at the same ceremony.

The trust was formed by SAIIA, the Jan Smuts Memorial Committee and the university.

In appreciation of Dr Busschau's contribution to the trust and his involvement in the building of Jan Smuts House, the large boardroom in the campus building was named after him.

Suzman and Boesak 26/6/86 differ on Howe visit

LONDON — Two staunch critics of the SA government, Alan Boesak and Helen Suzman, disagreed yesterday about the usefulness of Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, visiting South Africa.

Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, in London at the request of the Labour-ruled London borough of Brent, said Howe "might as well stay at home".

Black people in South Africa would not even see him.

But MP Suzman said in a BBC radio interview from Cape Town yesterday that a possible troika of EC foreign ministers, possibly headed by Howe, certainly would serve a useful purpose.

As long as they came with an objective approach, and government did not get the impression they were going to make demands far beyond anything it could concede, they could prove very useful in creating at

MARGARET SMITH

least the climate for negotiations.

Suzman was asked by the BBC whether, in the present climate in South Africa, negotiation was still "really on".

She replied it was, as long as the South African government negotiated with the people the blacks in South Africa considered to be their leaders.

A prerequisite was the release of Nelson Mandela. He commanded the support, and respect of the vast majority of black people.

Boesak, questioned by the BBC about the opinion of blacks regarding the British government, said SA's black people felt it was not only economic reasons that influenced the British government's attitude towards South Africa, but also racial reasons.

They felt that if the situation had been reversed, the British government would have acted long ago.

FUNNIAL 27/6/86

STATE OF EMERGENCY — 2

Parlaying info

Using the privilege of parliament (guaranteed to editors by Deputy Minister of Information Louis Nel recently), the Progressive Federal Party lifted the lid slightly in the past week to expose what is happening behind the State of Emergency screen.

Much to the annoyance of government,

Financial Mail June 27 1986

PFP speakers repeatedly mentioned names of detainees and actions by security forces. They also slammed government in terms that could be regarded as contraventions of the emergency regulations if uttered outside the House of Assembly.

However, with parliament recessed until August 18, the shutters have effectively come down again. There will, as Helen Suzman remarked, now be a grim hiatus in the flow of information.

Last Tuesday, the PFP's Graham McIntosh caught the Nats napping by reading out a list of names of people detained in Natal. The following day, the party's Natal leader Ray Swart detailed the arrest of nearly 200 people at a church service in Cape Town. Among the detainees was *Cape Times* reporter Andre Koopman, who had been sent to cover the event. Swart also reported the detention of student leader Sandy Jocelyn in Maritzburg, and of the local chairman of the End Conscription Campaign in the city, Jacky Boule.

He charged that "thousands" of people had "disappeared" under emergency regulations.

On Thursday, Roger Burrows of Pinetown said 600 people had been arrested at a church service in Graaff-Reinet. The general secretary of the African Teachers' Association of SA (Atasa), H H Dhlamlenge, was also arrested, he said.

In the President's Council on Friday, the

PFP's Robin Carlisle said a 17-year-old Westerford High School pupil, Helene Thornton, had been arrested for being in possession of a United Democratic Front magazine, *Upfront*. Carlisle said the magazine was perfectly legal. He also revealed that a PFP worker in Galeshewe near Kimberley, Solly Modisenyane, had been repeatedly detained and questioned.

Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal and Durban Central's Peter Gastrow mentioned more names on Saturday. On Monday, Soal repeated the names of detainees. He has also tabled a series of questions to Nel on media restrictions in terms of emergency regulations. Included in the list is a query on whether the Bureau for Information has ruled that the word "draconian" and the term "white minority regime" may not be used in media reports.

During the recess, the PFP intends to continue gathering information on the emergency and compiling a list of alleged detainees.

Two worlds in South Africa, says Suzman

NR 6/15 27/6/86

3047

Staff Reporter

THERE were two worlds in South Africa — one inhabited by whites and the other by blacks, Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP, said at the University of Cape Town's mid-year graduation ceremony today.

Mrs Suzman was one of four South Africans to receive honorary doctorates from the chancellor, Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

The others were Professor Thomas Bothwell, head of the department of medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr D J du Plessis, former vice-chancellor of Wits and Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Chamber of Commerce.

Author Nadine Gordimer was also to have received an honorary doctorate but was unable to attend and will be capped at the December ceremony.

"Miserable"

Mrs Suzman said most white citizens had never set foot in the world of blacks.

"They have never been in a township, know nothing about the miserable conditions endured by people compelled to live in those areas — the wretched overcrowded houses, inferior schools and unpaved streets."

Mrs Suzman said most Nationalist MPs were among the millions of whites who had never been inside a black township.

"Heavily disguised"

"It was for this reason that I suggested during a debate that it would be a salutary experience for every Nat MP to attend a black funeral, heavily disguised as a human being, instead of sitting in Parliament, insulated like fish in an aquarium."

Mrs Suzman said this did not mean she went along with the "fashionable claim" that Parliament and white politics were irrelevant.

"Nor does this mean that I therefore dismiss extra-parliamentary activities as being of

no consequence. On the contrary, I think they are of great value.

"They complement the opposition inside Parliament, which I believe is very relevant indeed.

"Parliament is the only forum where laws can be repealed; where apartheid can be dismantled.

"It is in Parliament that the Government can be called to account for its actions and where vital information can be gleaned.

"Indeed, with the declaration of the state of emergency and the regulations to impose restrictions on the media, Parliament has become the major source of information.

"Whites are in power and are likely to be so in the foreseeable future, sanctions and disinvestment notwithstanding.

"As long as exclusive white power remains I believe it is essential that a vigilant white opposition continues to function."

● New honour for Helen Suzman — Page 15.

Learning who's the boss in Parliament

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
Political Reporter

THE first half of the parliamentary session, which ended this week, will be remembered for the way in which the Nationalist government showed its Indian and coloured "partners" who was boss.

The last three weeks of the third tricameral Parliament session fulfilled most prophecies that the tricameral constitution was tailor-made for the NP's ends.

This was demonstrated by the way in which the controversial security bills were bulldozed through the President's Council (PC) after both Houses unanimously rejected them.

Most MPs, particularly those on the left of their parties, said they were "disappointed and disillusioned".

The NP made it clear that because it was the author of the 1983 constitution, it reserved the right to apply it. But in the process the NP undermined the constitution and the system of "consensus".

Sore point

What makes it "humiliating" for the government's allies in political terms, as Mr Denis de la Cruz, leader of the Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) in the House of Representatives put it, was that the "junior partners" became targets of vilification and political ridicule by their extra-parliamentary opponents.

A sore point for both



Mr Denis de la Cruz



Mr Allan Hendrickse



Mr Ismail Kathrada

Ministers without Portfolio, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is the "stepfatherly" treatment they receive from the government, which they had thought was sincere about reform.

Both men are likely to be pondering moves they might make in the August session in a bid to recover some credibility.

In a new development this session, the ruling parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates — the LP and NPP — struck an effective informal alliance to counter the NP. The alliance has the potential to bring the tricameral system to a grinding halt and there are indications that it could be used more frequently.

The session started off with some small victories for the LP after a series of defiant protests

succeeded in forcing the government to open the whites-only coffee room to MPs of all race groups.

In overall performance, the House of Representatives overshadowed the House of Delegates which was caught up in a number of squabbles, charges of corruption, the toppling of ministers and the reshuffling of MPs in senior positions.

The House of Delegates scored a first when Mr Rajbansi became the first black person to speak in the House of Assembly. Mr S V Naicker, Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, followed soon after, with his maiden speech.

Most of the reform legislation introduced by the NP was welcomed by the coloured and Indian MPs, but the latter hastened to qualify their approval by stating that

these measures were not the "end of the road" for reform. MPs also earned praise from the National Party for their contribution in the formulation of legislation which would serve the interests of their own groups.

Disclosed

In own affairs education, there were few if any visible creative moves made by either Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister for coloured education, or Mr Kassie Ramduth, his Indian counterpart. The crisis in coloured education is far from over.

On housing, both Mr David Curry, Minister for coloured housing, and Mr Baldeo Dookie, his Indian counterpart, disclosed that major relief packages would materialize soon.

In both Houses the Opposition has virtually been neutralized. In the

House of Delegates the strategy to form a coalition between the ruling NPP and the opposition Solidarity Party hinges on a pending Natal Supreme Court decision.

A temporary interdict served on the party leadership spearheaded by a dissident group within Solidarity, which is led by Mr Pat Poovalingam, MP for Reservoir Hills, halted the move.

Mudslinging

Although Mr J N Reddy, the leader of Solidarity, now serves in the ruling NPP Ministers' Council as Minister of the Budget, and Mr Ismail Kathrada, another Solidarity MP, serves as Minister of Health Services and Welfare in Mr Rajbansi's Ministers' Council, political hostility between the two parties has not ended.

Many of the debates resulted in bouts of mudslinging between Mr Rajbansi and his longstanding political foe, Mr Poovalingam and his coterie of Solidarity rebels.

Ineffective

In the House of Representatives there has been a semblance of harmony restored between the three-man Opposition DWP and the LP.

However, the numerical disadvantage of the DWP makes it and the two-man Freedom Party virtually ineffective against the giant LP.

Both Houses now face the task of fending off opposition from extra-parliamentary forces and enforcing their political will inside Parliament.

Concept of business is 'politically disastrous'

27/6/86

By Kym Hamilton, Pretoria Bureau

One of the most extraordinary facets of the Project Free Enterprise report was the unanimous rejection of many Government policies and the perception of the causes of the country's present dilemma, said Mr Leon Louw, director of the Free Market Foundation.

But the finding that the Government was equated with business was politically disastrous, he said. It was shocking that this view was prevalent not only among unskilled workers, but also many of the country's managers.

Addressing a seminar in Pretoria yesterday on Project Free Enterprise's final report, Mr Louw said South Africa at present did not have a free enterprise economic system.

The basic issues which had to be addressed were the lack of black participation in the political process, undue centralisation of executive power, economic ignorance, and over-regulation.

Part of the problem was the failure by business in the past to communicate, and the wrong perceptions by many South Africans of the realities of a free enterprise system.

Big business was only now making a stand and committing itself to a dynamic political role to bring about change.

The perception among South Afri-

cans — black and white — of free enterprise had to be changed, said Mr Louw. Economic education was a priority.

There was nothing unreasonable in semi-skilled and unskilled workers demanding a 100 percent pay rise, he said. It was a logical demand based on their (wrong) beliefs.

These included a belief that Government and business were one, that capital for a business was easily obtained from the Government and bank — the bank was identified as an extension of Government — that managers took home a large slice of the company profits, and the way to redress the imbalance between poor blacks and rich whites was to pay whites less.

These prejudices were not a result of skin colour, but were based on socio-economic issues.

Mr Louw said South Africans had to be taught at all levels what was meant by a free enterprise system.

The over-regulation of the economy was seen as capitalism, and Marxism was seen as the opposite.

Mr Louw said the companies which took part in Project Free Enterprise envisaged a devolution of power and a limited central government.

He pointed out that South Africa was one of the few countries in the world with such a powerful centralised system of government.

Sanctions guarantee revolution, says Relly



The chief matron of Groot Schuur hospital, Miss June du Preez, left, presents Dr Hannah-Reeve Sanders with a Persian carpet as a farewell gift.

Groote Schuur's chief leaves

Staff Reporter

Dr Hannah-Reeve Sanders, chief medical superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital for the past 10 years, has left to take up a new post as senior deputy director of hospital services in the Cape Province.

Dr Sanders said farewell to her colleagues at a gathering yesterday. She assumes her new position at the beginning of July.

Dr Sanders, who obtained her MB ChB in 1952, has also published works on a variety of subjects.

In a farewell address Professor G Dall, dean of the faculty of medicine of the University of Cape Town, said that Dr Sanders's love for people ex-

plained her choice of a career in which she had excelled.

He said she had an enthusiasm for all aspects of life, especially her work.

Dr Sanders said it was the fourth time she would be leaving the hospital. She left it in 1953, in 1957 to marry and in 1972 to take up a post at Hospital Services.

"Malcolm Muggeridge said that few men of action, and I am sure he meant women, can make an exit at the right time gracefully, but I am trying," she said.

"Human affairs have no finite solutions but as long as we are true to our motto — Servamus — so long will this institution live.

World wave-riders zip into city for R36 000 Surfabout

By ROBIN de KOCK

Surfing Correspondent

TWENTY-SIX international surfers are in Cape Town to compete in next week's R36 000 world-circuit Spur Surfabout.

Among them are third-seeded Hawaiian Hans Hedeman, former amateur world champion Scott Farnsworth of California and Brad Gerlach, second in the Gotcha Pro in Hawaii a fortnight ago.

Also in the contingent who arrived last night is tour representative Al Hunt who, with international judges Mike Martin and Dave Reed of the United States and Steve Fooks of Aus-

tralia, will officiate.

More competitors are expected to arrive today and tomorrow but Australia's world championship runner-up Barton Lynch has decided, under pressure, to withdraw.

Other Australians who cancelled arrangements are Gary Elkerton, Bryce Ellis, Kingsley Looker and four-times world champion Mark Richards.

But pressure from the group who tried this week to have the South African leg of the world surfing tour cancelled has not stopped the flamboyant and popular young Australian Mark Occhipupo from making the trip.

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, says effective sanctions against South Africa "will in the long run guarantee that we have revolution".

In a letter to the Financial Times on Friday he said: "Gesture sanctions, while they may assuage all sorts of feelings of rage and frustration or intend admonishment or retribution, will take the international community on to a slippery slope of action which may not be controllable and which will certainly contribute to the greater impoverishment of Southern Africa as a whole."

Negotiation

Mr Relly said that with South Africa's highly complex agglomeration of existing and emerging power blocks, proper negotiation towards a new society and the constitutional structure which will allow it to operate would take several years.

Simple "quick fix" solutions were unlikely to be effective, permanent or democratic and he doubted that the international community, for all its urge for speed, really wanted that.

"No process of negotiation can take place successfully against a backdrop of diminishing wealth and as it is we are severely constrained by our international debt problems."

Ackerman

● Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick'n Pay, has warned Britons that sanctions could turn South Africa into a second Ethiopia.

"Is this what the world wants?" he asked in a BBC radio interview on Thursday.

Sanctions would devastate South Africa. They meant more unemployment and more and more violence. Unemployment was already terrible. Port Elizabeth had an unemployment rate of 45 percent.

At least 90 percent of South African businessmen wanted apartheid to go, detainees to be released and the real leaders to get around a table and sort out power-sharing.

A new constitution was needed, but sanctions would not bring this about.

"The average black man — not leaders with comfortable and secure jobs, but the man struggling to get work — does not want sanctions."

Seeking work

Mr Ackerman said he had seen thousands of people outside the gates of his stores in the Western Cape looking for jobs because sanctions were already taking effect.

"Is this right, is it moral, can it be correct? It cannot be. It cannot be the right way to solve our problems."

South Africans did not need to be told what a serious situation they were in.

"We don't need the world to whip us and thrash us. What we need is a few carrots."

Unrest the No 1 worry — SA's white managers

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 80 percent of white South African managers believe political unrest is the factor likely to cause them the most serious concern in the next five years, a survey shows.

Three-quarters of the white managers who responded to the survey also believed that the laws governing influx control, separate amenities, universities, transport and entertainment, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act should be scrapped.

However, many felt that separate schools, the Population Registration Act and the tricameral Parliament should remain.

SLOW REFORM

The survey to establish white management's attitudes to future social, economic and political change, was conducted by Professor Jill Nattrass, of the University of Natal development studies unit, among more than 700 managers at all levels countrywide.

Addressing a Southern African Stainless Steel Development Association conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Professor Nattrass said 81 percent of managers believed political unrest would be their No 1 concern over the next five years.

The slow pace of reform was the second factor managers felt was most likely to cause them serious concern by the year 1990, followed by difficult business conditions, sabotage and terrorism and family security.

PRESSURE

Asked to select factors which they felt were the major reasons for the present economic climate, 57 percent said poor management of the economy, 42 percent said tardy reform, 31 percent said international pressure and 25 percent said internal unrest. Withdrawal of foreign capital ranked fifth.

Professor Nattrass said: "Eighty-seven percent said they believed political reform to be a prerequisite for a sustainable economic recovery."

CAT-Trans
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Slabbert to consider post as facilitator

By CLARE HARPER and PETER DENNEHY

THE former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is considering a position offered him by the City Council as an "independent agent" to promote the aim of a Cape Metropolitan Conference for non-racial democratic government.

Last night, Dr Slabbert said he had not yet been formally approached by the council, but he "was in favour of exploring the idea of non-racial democratic local government and would like to help".

Cape Town's Town Clerk, Dr Stanley Evans, stressed yesterday that Dr Slabbert would not be an employee of the council if he accepted the appointment as facilitator.

The position became available after an urgent motion was passed in October last year expressing concern over escalating violence and

At this conference, it is envisaged that a blueprint for non-racial democratic local government will be drawn up.

Dr Slabbert will not represent the views or policies of the council, but will act on his own initiative to persuade various groups to come together with the object of drawing up a manifesto for local government.

Manifesto

The manifesto will then be submitted to the government as the future basis for local government.

Dr Evans said press reports that Dr Slabbert's role was to establish and advise the council on grievances and viewpoints emanating from "particular sections of the community" were incorrect.

deteriorating race relations, and urging that leaders from all sections of the community should meet at a "peace conference".

3 Africans appointed to second-tier govt

Cape Times 28/6/86 *30 4A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AFRICANS have been appointed to executive posts in second-tier government for the first time with the announcement of Executive Committees (ExcOs) that will replace the provincial councils from July 1.

However, only three of President P W Botha's 20 exco appointees for the four provinces are African and Natal has no African appointees.

And there are fundamental unanswered questions about the legitimacy of the three Africans appointed.

Whites will have the majority of members in each province except Natal, where the Exco (including the administrator) will comprise three whites, two Indians and one coloured person.

Two parliamentary by-elections

The administrators of all four provinces, who will chair the ExcOs, will be white.

Of the Exco appointees, two are MPs — one in the House of Assembly and the other in the House of Delegates — four are members of President's Council and eight are current members of provincial councils, seven of whom are MECs.

The appointments will necessitate two parliamentary by-elections, both in Natal, in the seats of Mr Val Volker

(NP Klip River) and Mr Mohammed Joosub (NPP Brickfield).

The five Cape Province appointees are: Mr Deon Adams, a President Councillor and member of the Drubanyville Relations Committee; Mr Themba Nyati, the Mayor of Galashewe township outside Kimberley and chairman of the Northern Cape board of community councils and black local authorities; Mr Jacobus Theron, an MEC and former vice chairman of the Provincial Council; Mr Andreas van Wyk, an NP organizer in the Cape and former chairman of the provincial council, and Mr Petrus Schoeman, a former district leader of the NP and member of the Border regional development advice committee.

The other members are:

TRANSVAAL: Mr J M Griffiths MEC, Mr D P Kirstein MEC, Mr Ismail Mayet, Mr J S Mavuso, Mr S J (Fanie) Schoeman MEC and Dr Willie Hoods.

FREE STATE: Mr R P G Dreyer MEC, Mr C L Henney, a newspaper reporter and current vice-chairman of the Heidedal Management Committee, Mr R J Mokotjo and Mr H J R Simes.

NATAL: Mr M A G Joosub MP, Mr Peter Miller MEC, Mr Shunmoogam Naidoo, a retired school principal from Stanger who has served on various local authority committees, Mr C J Pierce and Mr Val Volker MP.

First step to voice for blacks?

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — One major reform earmarked for the extraordinary session of Parliament in August could finally get constitutional negotiations on track and give blacks a say at the highest level of central government.

It is the National Council Bill,

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and speculation is that a new referendum will be held before it is finally implemented.

Deadline for representations and comment from the public and interest groups on the scope and form of the proposed provisions of the new council closes on Monday.

In terms of the Bill, published last month, the State President is

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to chair the council, which will be composed of the leaders of various black communities, the self-governing homelands, experts on black affairs, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils (white, coloured and Indian administrations) and certain Cabinet Ministers.

The council's dual role is to advise the Government on matters concerning all groups, including legislation, and to draw up a new constitutional dispensation which would be acceptable to all groups.

From Monday, when the deadline for public comment expires, officials of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning will consolidate the various proposals and draw up a report for the Government's consideration.

The end result could see a National Council radically different from the one currently provided for in the Bill.

The National Party is likely to want to test the Bill at its special federal congress in Durban on August 12.

White bosses see a rise in unrest

28/6/86 SMR 304A

By Sheryl Raine

More than 80 percent of white South African managers believe that increasing political unrest is the number one factor likely to cause them serious concern over the next five years.

Three-quarters of white managers who responded to a recent attitude survey also felt that the laws governing influx control, separate amenities, universities, transport, entertainment, the Group Areas Act and the Land Act should be scrapped.

But many felt that separate schools, the Population Registration Act and the tricameral Parliament should remain.

The survey to establish white managements' attitudes to future social, economic and political change, was conducted by Professor

Jill Nattrass of the University of Natal Development Studies Unit among more than 700 managers at all levels countrywide.

Addressing a Southern African Stainless Steel Development Association conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Professor Nattrass said 81 percent of managers believed political unrest would be their main concern over the next five years.

The slow pace of reform was the second factor managers felt was most likely to cause them serious concern by the year 1990, followed by difficult business conditions, sabotage and terrorism and family security.

Managers believed that by the year 2000, family security would be their number one concern, followed by increased political unrest and the importance of black nationalism.

Asked which party they would vote for if an election were to be called, 48 percent said they would vote for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) followed by 45 percent for the National Party (NP), 24 percent for the New Republic Party and only 2 percent for the Conservative Party.

Professor Nattrass noted an interesting correlation between age and choice of political party: there was a swing to the PFP among younger managers — a sign she found positive in a changing environment.

Asked to list the three things they liked best about South Africa, most (89 percent) said the environment, followed by the economic aspects (79), and political aspects (45 percent).

Notwithstanding the poor economic climate of past years, economic factors were still part of the country's attractions, said Professor Nattrass.

Asked to select factors which they felt were the major reasons for the present economic climate, 57 percent said poor management of the economy, 42 percent said tardy reform, 31 percent said international pressure, and 25 percent said internal unrest. Withdrawal of foreign capital ranked fifth. "It is evident that management place the responsibility for the present economic climate largely on the shoulders of Government."

As far as the future outlook of the country was concerned, she said management now clearly accepted that politics and economics were intertwined.

In general, management remained optimistic about the future, but pessimistic about the short-term political situation.

PLAN OF ACTION

Asked to give their opinions of the present Government, a high proportion saw the Government as committed to reform, but with no plan of action. Both NP and PFP supporters held this view.

Looking to the future and whether or not they believed blacks would dominate the Government within their life-time, 56 percent of managers said Yes, 27 percent said No, and 17 percent did not know.

Interestingly, 44 percent of NP supporters believed blacks would dominate, 40 percent of Conservatives and 70 percent of PFP supporters.

hit

Healey: Central issue in SA majority rule

By Craig Kotze

As long as the South African Government refused to see majority rule as its objective, discussions with anti-apartheid groups would be impossible, Mr Denis Healey, Britain's Labour Party shadow Foreign Secretary, said yesterday.

"Now the issue is majority rule and there cannot be the slightest disagreement about that," Mr Healey said at Jan Smuts airport, shortly before leaving to meet ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka.

"All that needs to be negotiated is what rights the minority will have and the length of the transition period," he said.

He said the impression the Nationalist Government

linked to give of blacks fighting blacks was a "patent attempt to mislead the world". Although some of the Government's reforms had been more than cosmetic they did not address the "real situation," he said.

South Africa appeared to be much more of a police state now than during his last visit in 1970.

He said he had not previously realised the majority of black opinion was in favour of sanctions, and had been struck during his four-day visit by the "depth of disgust most anti-apartheid leaders felt for British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher".

"Dr Allan Boesak and the Reverend Beyers Naudé told me black leaders would not meet Sir Geoffrey Howe (Mrs Thatcher's Foreign Secretary) if he came out to South Africa," Mr Healey said.

'Ohio doesn't know his art from, h

Disenchanted with the National Party she quietly stopped paying her dues **Too little, too late, says Erika Theron**

SHE did it quietly, without fuss and without announcement.

This woman who stirred controversy and wrath among her National Party colleagues in the late seventies and early eighties; this woman who made big headlines and even bigger waves, up and made a decision one day. She stopped paying her dues to the Party.

Nearly 80 now and bathed in the winter sunlight which streams into her small Stellenbosch flat, Dr Erika Theron smiles serenely.

"I can't remember exactly when it was, but let's say it was not too long ago that I decided I no longer wanted to be, a National Party member and I stopped paying up."

That's all. No fuss.

But from this woman who for years fought from within the ranks of the National Party in an effort to bring enlightenment to their ranks and who chaired the controversial (some thought quite futuristic) Theron Commission of Inquiry on Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, this quiet resignation is some symbol.

Why?

"Let's just say I was fed up with the things going on now. 'Own affairs'! Tell me what that means. I can't understand. It's nonsense. I am no longer a member of the party because I found enough reason to be disappointed, disillusioned and ontgogel, ontgogel ... now what's that?"

So we consult a dictionary.

"Disenchanted. Yes, that's a good word."

It is 10 years this month that the Theron Commission was tabled and a good time to reflect on what has changed since the recommendations contained in the report suggested a whole new approach to National Party thinking.

It is also a good time to note what has not changed.

"It's the same old government syndrome of too little, too late. There have been changes, yes. Ten years ago we had a Coloured Representative Council. Now we have a House of Representatives. Ten years ago we had old apartheid ... now we have new apartheid. I had hoped that after 10 years we would have had a mixed parliament."

The House of Representatives is an improvement on the CRC, she believes, but again, too little, too late and not enough.

"We knew when the new constitution was drawn up that the coloured and Indian houses were junior partners in the system but this recent affair over the new security legislation has proved just how junior they really are."

There were initially 19 members appointed to the Theron Commission and after one died the 18 members split into an 11-seven vote on all controversial issues within the report.

"The 11 included the six coloured members, a United Party member, the three Stellenbosch professors and a surprise outsider in the person of Mr de Villiers Loubser, a farmer, an agricultural leader and a member of the Establishment.

"The seven members of the minority group submitted a minority report. You should read it ... unbelievable ... so



DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter

strange to read their nonsense today. And they were so cross with us for 'going along with the coloured'. Mind you, the report made Vorster very cross too."

She smiles and recalls the fight she had to establish communal toilet facilities for all commission members on the floor of the government building where they were provided with office space.

"They said the 'kleurlinge' had to use the lavatories in the basement."

For three years, Dr Theron and her group travelled the country gathering information in preparation for the report. Hours were spent on elaborate arrangements about accommodating a "mixed" group but embarrassments were still not entirely avoided.

'They just disappeared'

"In one town we were received by the municipality in the mayoral chambers. But when it came to lunchtime they obviously didn't know what to do with us; they just disappeared. I managed to get us tea and then I said to everyone: 'OK, off you go to the cafés, get us food.' And there we were, around the council table, having fried fish and chips out of packets ... a whole feast ... and I don't know why but I'll never forget that we had green bananas too."

The completed report was tabled on June 18.

"And, two days after June 16, 1976, it was already out of date," says Dr Theron. "It had been overtaken by Soweto. The report was quite futuristic in terms of National Party thinking but all in all, really moderate. I've always felt that it wasn't strong enough, but we bent over backwards to try to accommodate that minority group who had very close links with Vorster."

There were 178 recommen-

dations which fell into three categories. Over 100 of the recommendations concerned the social and economic upliftment of the coloured people.

"In this category all the recommendations were accepted in principle ... but very little was done to put them into practice. The amount spent on coloured people is only marginally, incrementally more than it was 10 years ago. The Theron report was a failure in that it did not change the spending priorities of the budget."

Dr Theron believes that the pressure of events in Soweto and thereafter around the country demanded an immediate focus on black issues — and greater government spending.

"Since then the upper echelons of coloured society have made remarkable strides, due mostly I think to a shift in attitudes which meant opportunities opened up for them. But the lower 40 percent is in as bad a position now as 10 years ago.

"We hoped in this respect that the tricameral parliament might succeed where the Theron report failed but there is no excuse for the House of Representatives having supported the March budget. It was a rich budget, a white man's budget."

Dr Theron feels now that, though it is a difficult one to measure, this change in attitude was something to which the Theron report contributed quite significantly.

"Definitely among Afrikaners ... It's all very well for the State President to say now that apartheid is outdated, a concept we've outgrown, but after years of Verwoerdian miseducation, we needed — and still need — re-education. On our travels in those three years before the report we met thousands of people eager for new opinions. They knew something was wrong and they were open to conviction."



Dr Erika Theron ... 'The Group Areas Act must go as soon as possible'

Dr Theron sits forward in her squeaky armchair to stress the point: "I think the Theron report can be associated with the time at which the tide began to turn after the years of brainwashing by apartheid ideology. Yes, this is its greatest achievement."

'Beneficial rub-off'

She notes too that her thinking was not pro-coloured to the exclusion of blacks. She saw the upliftment of coloured people as the beginning of the process in which blacks would follow soon after. And although she lives with the disappointments of what the commission failed to achieve, she believes the changes in attitude had a beneficial rub-off on the black population too.

"It was more successful in this respect than we anticipated and that's a bonus."

The second category of the report lists recommendations about opening facilities and abolishing certain legislation. Controversial among those was that the Mixed Marriages Act should go — a recommendation which was flatly rejected at the time.

"That caused a lot of bad feeling. And funny, so much of what we recommended has since been accepted and put into practice ... but all so much too late."

She believes too that the changes that have occurred (like the scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and a section of the Immorality Act in 1985) have been reactive changes in response to pressure rather than enlightened and creative changes.

And so too with the Group Areas Act, long the big bee in her bonnet and a topic on which her outspokenness earned the cold shoulder of many a party colleague. (Her call for its abolition was not a significant part of the report with the exception of a recommendation concerning District Six. In 1976 she felt it was just too sensitive to include importantly in the paper and much of her public debate on the matter followed in the wake of the report.)

"The Group Areas Act is the foundation of it all; the cruellest act of all. But it must go — they have no option."

She shakes her head like a schoolteacher saying 'now that wasn't too difficult was it?': "Scrapping the Mixed Marriages Act didn't have any disastrous effect. And scrapping the Group Areas Act won't have negative consequences either, they'll see."

The third category of recommendations concerned political structures for which the report favoured the inclusion of coloured people in the parliamentary system. But as Dr Theron says now, changes in that area have been a process of replacing the old apartheid with a new form and instead of the mixed government which was her vision, the House of Representatives is — 10 years later — nothing more than a system of junior partnership.

But for all the disappointments, she has no regrets. Her work on the commission was in many ways a climax to her career and a stimulating time. Although she has registered her disapproval by throwing in her party card, although she says "too little, too late" with growing impatience, it is still not, she believes, too late.

"Take that Group Areas thing. It's not too late to scrap that but it must go as soon as possible and as dramatically as possible."

es fragile formula over sanctions

inge threat by SA

28/6/86 STAR 304A

But in a simultaneous placatory message to Britain, which has opposed sanctions, Mr Botha said the British Foreign Minister, Sir Geoffrey Howe, was welcome to visit South Africa if he sought first-hand knowledge and wanted to make a contribution towards ending the violence.

Earlier at The Hague, the European Community (EC) agreed with great difficulty to a common reaction to the South African emergency. It fell far short of calls within the group for economic sanctions.

Heads of government of the 12-nation group argued for two days over the sanctions question, described by Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, as a "hot potato".

The majority in favour of immediate action was unable to bend the will of the two leaders.

All they obtained was a promise that in three months' time, and after consultations with other major industrialised states, the EC may impose a ban on new investments in South Africa and on imports of South African coal, iron, steel and gold coins.

Told to lift ANC ban

To prevent sanctions the South African Government has been told to free jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, and to lift its ban on the ANC.

Mr. Pik Botha's statement emphasised the Government was not prepared to permit foreigners to prescribe how the problems of the country would be solved.

Mr. Botha found it surprising Western governments had so much time to keep themselves busy in such a single-minded manner in discussions about South Africa instead of giving attention to their needs.

He said it was also surprising that European governments did not concentrate their attention on the economic depression and misery increasing in many countries of the world.

Reacting to the sanctions threat, Dr Johan van Zyl, chief executive of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries, said he was pleased that "no precipitate action had been taken" because South Africa could now "keep its options open".

He added that South Africa's best interests did not lie in being isolated from the rest of the world.

"We believe that the Government understands this and is sincere in its reformist intentions. The FCI calls on the Government to create the conditions for meaningful dialogue among all South Africans."

The general manager of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Marius de Jager, said holding back on sanctions meant that "good sense had prevailed".

Mr de Jager said he believed it was unrealistic to attach a time scale to demands laid down by the EC. "This will achieve nothing. We need time to put our house in order without ultimatums from outside," he said.

At The Hague Greek European Affairs Minister Mr Odore Pappalos said:

"We are disturbed because we make our agreement

By David Braun, Bruce Cameron, Sue Pleming
Sue Leeman and Sapa-Reuter

The Government last night warned the world that, if sanctions were applied, it would hit back at neighbouring states.

A tough statement issued on behalf of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned that not only would foreign workers be expelled but neighbouring states would also be denied access to South Africa's infrastructure, partially or totally.

COME AND JOIN US!

The National Statutory Council not only must but will succeed — despite the pre-unfavourable climate.

The council has not been proposed unilaterally or as fait accompli. Every aspect is open to discussion and can develop in any direction the people want.

The Government — merely by publishing this Bill — in draft legislative form declared its commitment to a new constitutional dispensation based on sharing.

Apart from this commitment, the Government's dramatic reforms, such as the ending of influx control, also enhance the credibility of the Bill. It is wrong to claim that people who participate in such a process are not truly representative.

There are many leaders engaged in talks with the Government or are prepared to participate in a peaceful process.

The absence of representation for black people is a serious problem. It is very difficult for anybody to identify leaders who are beyond doubt representative — or for that matter, for anybody to claim that somebody is not an accepted leader.

For this reason, clauses (a) and (b) of the Bill provide for any organisation or group to nominate persons who in its opinion are representative of black communities outside the national states.

We believe as a starting point is a practical way which to ensure that identified, nominated persons in this category are representative of the black communities as possible under the circumstances.

It is crucial that the council not be regarded as just another advisory body. The truth is that the council, by reason of the executive State President's involvement, will be a very influential and powerful body, as all bodies are in which the State President participates.

Supporters allow them that opportunity, there is no reason why the council cannot develop into an even more powerful body.

I believe that the council, as a body which includes members of the executive authority, will function in the same way as the Cabinet.

As chairman, the State President will determine the agenda for meetings, but members will be able to propose any matter for consideration.

Normally, as is the case in all bodies at an executive level, meetings of the council will be confidential, but decisions reached will be made public.

Thus the council will be able to consider existing laws and proposed legislation, as well as all steps taken or contemplated by the Government in all fields, including the socio-economic upliftment of our communities.

As it is an objective of the council to further sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all South Africans, the council will undoubtedly consider the further elimination of discrimination and undesirable legacies of apartheid still on the statute books.

The council may thus develop into an effective instrument for further change. The Government is well aware of the difficulties experienced by leaders who wish to participate in peaceful processes. It is our duty to create a stable and peaceful climate in which they can participate freely and without fear.

This must be done first by rectifying legitimate grievances where they exist in the black communities. For this I believe the National Council is, among others, ideally suited.

But a positive climate must be ensured through protective and stabilising actions by the security forces. Clearly effective and safe participation in democratic structures becomes impossible in a climate of escalating intimidation and violence.

That is the statesmanlike attitude that we need in these turbulent times in our history.

That is the attitude we need if we really wish a democratic society in which fundamental values and freedoms are upheld and protected.

in our Rainbow Coalition



IN two months' time, the Government will present its National Statutory Council Bill to Parliament for approval. What does the council hope to achieve? Does it hold out a hope for the end of violence?

CHRIS HEUNIS, Minister of Constitutional Development, looks at the council's intent, composition and prospects

drawn from all population groups.

There is a wide range of issues which the council can handle all matters of national interest, in particular a new constitution which provides for participation in government by all South African citizens.

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It is the duty of the security forces to protect people from these actions and thus enable them to participate peacefully.

For this reason the state of emergency became unavoidable. It is not intended to oppress and to undermine reform, but to free people from the threat of violence and to ensure the continuation of peaceful processes.

Therefore, the state of emergency and the actions of the security forces are in support of our reform initiatives and must be judged in that light.

However, all leaders should be well aware that those of us who have made the fundamental choice between reform and revolution are under attack from the forces of destruction.

The time has come to stand by our choice. I am convinced that the time has come for all leaders wishing for peace and democracy to come forward and support a peaceful and sincere initiative, such as the National Council.

As there are among the members of militant organisations many who abhor violence and who wish to participate in peaceful processes, I call on them as well to make use of the opportunity now presented by the National Council.

The cycle of violence

By participating, black leaders in particular can demonstrate that much more can be attained through peaceful processes than through violence and thus help to break the senseless cycle of violence.

I therefore call on leaders to refrain from stating preconditions for participation.

There is no time left for that. Bring your viewpoints, reservations and preconditions to the council itself, where we can discuss them at the highest level and reach agreement on them.

Participation will not prejudice the position or viewpoints of any leader, but will serve to facilitate honest, open-minded dialogue between leaders which is so vitally important for peace.

That is the statesmanlike attitude that we need in these turbulent times in our history.

That is the attitude we need if we really wish a democratic society in which fundamental values and freedoms are upheld and protected.

No closer link possible

In fact, as the State President will chair both the council and the Cabinet, there is no closer link possible between the council and the executive authority of the Republic.

This means that he will convey the consensus of the National Council to the Cabinet.

Naturally, these consensus decisions of the council of which he will be part will be an important input in the Cabinet of which he is the chairman. In this regard the National Council will therefore augment the Cabinet.

The power and influence of the National Council depends on the attitude and actions of the participants themselves.

Should all participants enter the council with a positive attitude of co-operation in the interest of all South Africans, and should their

The choice is between reform and revolution

Blacks may have a voice in Parliament

BLACKS may soon indirectly have an input in Parliament via a new Special Committee for Provincial Affairs.

This new body is likely to be created to review the activities of the new multiracial provincial executive government which comes into operation on June 30.

Controversial

This follows the dropping of a controversial clause in the new Provincial Government Bill which, in its original form, would have given sweeping powers to administrators and made them responsible to the State President only — thereby bypassing parliamentary accountability.

The activities of the new multiracial provincial system will now probably be reviewed by the new specially

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

created Provincial Affairs Committee.

As an extension of Parliament, this committee will, therefore, give blacks serving on the new provincial systems an indirect input in parliamentary affairs.

The new provincial government is to replace the phased-out previous provincial councils system which consisted of only white councillors elected by white voters.

It would consist of an Administrator and Executive Committee appointed by the State President, and will be multiracial, including blacks who will answer to the multi-

racial Parliamentary Committee for Provincial Affairs.

At one stage it was feared MPs from the House of Representatives and MPs from the House of Delegates were preparing to take a hardline attitude against the wording of the Bill.

Recently they dumped the tricameral system in a constitutional crisis when the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, would not agree to further amendments to twin-security Bills — the Internal Security Amendment Bill and the Public Safety Amendment Bill.

The aim of the new Bill is to provide for the dissolution of provincial councils and for

the administration of provincial matters by administrators and other members of the executive committees, appointed by the State President.

But the Bill, introduced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, hit a serious snag when it came before the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs this week.

Agreement

Certain members of the committee insisted on public parliamentary accountability for the provincial government.

But it is understood agreement was reached and a constitutional deadlock similar to the one that torpedoed Mr Louis le Grange's plans to have his Bills on the law books before June 16 has been averted.

Policy-makers battle it out

New market split erupts over controls

20/6/86 BUDDAY

THE ideological split among SA's economic policy-makers, between free-marketeers and direct controllers has once again burst into the open.

Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock said last week certain accusations, that market-orientated policy was responsible for depreciation of the rand and low growth, were completely unfounded, or rested on either misunderstandings or fallacies.

The debate has been simmering for some time but it appears De Kock has finally thrown down the gauntlet to the direct controllers, many of them leading businessmen and civil servants, who have been lobbying against his free-market approach, as laid out in the De Kock Commission Report.

De Kock has long been seen as an

GERALD PROSALENDIS
Economics Editor

ardent critic of further controls on financial markets, as he says they would open the way for bureaucratic corruption. And markets, being what they are, would find ways of circumventing any official restrictions.

● Comment Page 4.

The battle is, to a degree, one for the ears of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis who startled free-marketeers last week with a threat to penalise economic development in urban areas and to compel investment where government preferred to see it.

Some have interpreted De Kock's speech last week as a swipe at Sanlam

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

FIN MAIL 20/6/86
THE EMERGENCY — 2

Another voice

Given stringent controls on the media, parliament has become literally the last forum of genuine free speech in South Africa. Deputy Information Minister, Louis Nel, has given the assurance that parliamentary privilege will continue despite the emergency regulations.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) has used parliament to attack government for declaring the emergency and to raise issues that could not be published if they were mentioned outside parliament — without the possibility of action being taken by the authorities in terms of the emergency regulations.

Last week, in one of the strongest attacks on government this year, PFP leader Colin Eglin said South Africans were living in a police state.

He said the emergency regulations had given police "quite horrific powers" and the emergency would create only a "temporary facade of peace."

"But behind the facade the problems, the bitterness, the frustrations, the anger will be mounting up. The declaration of the State of Emergency will do nothing to remove the fundamental causes of the conflict that is tearing our country apart," he said.

This week, PFP MPs continued to raise emergency-related issues and have promised to do so whenever possible until parliament adjourns next week. Natal PFP leader, Ray Swart, said there was now less freedom in SA than in the Soviet Union. He said government appeared to be "outdoing the Kremlin" and accused it of trying to "terrorise your

political opponents into submission."

Other PFP MPs said:

- People were disappearing "in large numbers" in terms of emergency regulations;
- Telephones to many black townships were cut this week;
- The media in SA were being "totally muzzled" in a way that was associated with Communist countries; and
- "The white minority regime," a term which foreign correspondents have been forbidden to use by the Bureau for Information, was a completely appropriate description of the government.

At a public meeting in Cape Town on June 16, Eglin said the declaration of a State of Emergency was an admission by government that it was unable to govern modern SA by democratic means. He said it showed that after 38 years in power, the National Party did not have a policy which would enable South Africans to live in peace together.

Eglin's speech was among the strongest public condemnations of the government since the emergency was declared.

Wide-ranging restrictions on statements considered "subversive" or "inciting" have inhibited vigorous opposition comment until now.

In parliament Helen Suzman said the police had attempted to ban the meeting and had arrested some of the party's officials handing out pamphlets announcing the meeting.

At the meeting, Eglin appealed for an end to the violence in the country "before it destroys our society." He said in a "normal democratic society," the mess the country was in would have forced government to resign or call on new leaders with "vision and competence" to lead SA out of its crisis.

According to Eglin, a question South Africans needed to ask themselves was: "How many more detentions, how many more Crossroads, how many more states of emergency must this country endure before this Nationalist government discovers a policy that will enable our nation to live in peace?"

He said the best emergency treatment for SA would be for President Botha to sack "half or more" of the members of the Cabinet and replace them with a "temporary crisis Cabinet" with the skill and vision for the future.

To rescue SA from its crisis would require bold and imaginative leadership including the release of the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Suzman said the country was facing its worst racial conflict since 1976, and its worst economic crisis in history. The press restrictions in terms of the emergency had resulted in "rumours unlimited." The key to peace in SA was a socio-economic system acceptable to all citizens and the only way to achieve this was to give people political rights.

"Until the government starts negotiating with black leaders instead of locking them up, and until it releases Nelson Mandela — who may be the only hope of restoring stability — there is not much hope for the future,"

Suzman said.

The PFP has appealed to people to pass on information about the unrest or actions under the emergency, and has promised to raise the issues in parliament.

At a church service in Cape Town on Monday, the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Allan Boesak, warned against the use of violence which he said was not a sign of power, but of "weakness, blind panic, desperation and powerlessness." Much of his sermon cannot be reported as it may be regarded as "subversive" or "inciting."

Action on unionists slated

LEADING SA businessman Tony Bloom has described the detention of trade union leaders and shop stewards as a formula for conflict which will create a legacy of bitterness.

Bloom, Premier Group's chairman, has sent telegrams to Manpower Minister Pietie Du Plessis and Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange saying it was deeply disturbing that so many union leaders had been arrested and detained without trial.

Emergency regulations prevented him disclosing other action taken against them.

"Apart from the humanitarian aspects of detention without trial, from a practical business point of view a legacy of bitterness will be created if people are detained and subsequently released without trial," he said in a statement yesterday.

30413 BUD DAY
19/6/86
CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

He added: "These are the people with whom SA management will have to negotiate, and a surer formula for conflict would be harder to devise."

"These actions fundamentally undermine relationships between management and the workforce and are detrimental to long-term management/labour relations and industrial peace."

"We have been making this plea since 1981 and are now faced with attempting to run our factories and enterprises by dealing with the mob as the leaders are in custody. We urge you to reconsider your policy."

"If trade union leaders or shop stewards have broken any of the laws of the land, then the proper place for that to be decided is in the courts and not by administrative decision."

SAC Govt POLITICS

1986

July 1st — 31st.

16 FIELD E4,15 AS JD\$,1 AS C1\$,1 AS C2\$,2 AS JC\$,108 AS JA\$

16 FIELD E4,15 AS JD\$,1 AS C1\$,1 AS C2\$,2 AS JC\$,108 AS JA\$

16 FIELD E4,15 AS JD\$,1 AS C1\$,1 AS C2\$,2 AS JC\$,108 AS JA\$

30 OPEN "R",F1,"WDINDS",127

26 CAZ=VAL(LEFT\$(AR\$,3))

24 GET F2,17Z

22 FIELD E2,25 AS AR\$

20 OPEN "R",F2,"AREAS",25

16 FIELD E4,15 AS JD\$,1 AS C1\$,1 AS C2\$,2 AS JC\$,108 AS JA\$

14 OPEN "R",F4,"WDJOBS",127

12 17Z=1

10 REM WDINDS

4 DIM IP\$(18),MM\$(18),YY\$(18),HR\$(18),WG(18)

2 REM Compatible version of WDINDS 11/6/86

1 REM WC60

Right-wing election pact sought

DATA new 11/7/86
3041A

Political Reporter

AN AGREEMENT to field a single candidate in an attempt to win the safe National Party parliamentary seat of Klip River is being considered by the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Mr Chris Wolmarans, chairman of Action White Natal, a Right-wing umbrella group which includes CP and HNP members, said the matter was being discussed, but a decision would be made by both parties' headquarters.

The by-election has become necessary after the nomination of Mr Val Volker to the new Natal provincial executive committee.

Progressive Federal Party sources have indicated that the PFP is considering fielding a candidate.

Mr Renier Schoeman, National Party Natal secretary, said the NP would

contest the seat and had started the process of choosing a candidate.

Mr Volker won the seat with a massive majority in 1981, before the CP was launched by disgruntled NP members.

With a high percentage poll of 67.5, Mr Volker polled 5 331 votes to the 1 402 for the HNP candidate and 1 329 for the PFP.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said that after Mr Volker resigned his seat, the State President would decide when to make a proclamation to set up a nomination court, which must be held between 21 and 28 days after the proclamation.

The spokesman said the by-election date must be between 35 and 45 days after the proclamation.

This means that if the proclamation is made this week, the by-election will be held in the middle of August.

Pik speaks out on proposed visit to SA

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday his British counterpart, Sir Geoffrey Howe, could make a contribution to South Africa if he could persuade inciters and perpetrators of violence to cease their activities.

However, Mr Botha was also sharply critical of Sir Geoffrey's reported statement that he was coming to South Africa with the best moral weapon — that it was essential apartheid had to go.

Mr Botha was being interviewed on the SABC radio programme "Monitor".

Sir Geoffrey is expected to head towards South Africa next week on a fresh initiative to promote dialogue in South Africa, this time on the part of the European Community.

Mr Botha said: "If Sir Geoffrey has been correctly reported then I am amazed he can make such a statement.

"Of all people he ought to have been informed by now of what steps South Africa has taken to dismantle racial discrimination.

"I refer to the so-called pass laws, influx control regulations, sport and the opening of hotels.

EDUCATION

"In the area of education we have set a goal of equal standards and our labour legislation does not discriminate on the basis of race.

"On the whole I think it would be good for Sir Geoffrey to come so we may have a chance to inform him directly about the actual situation in South Africa.

"Perhaps we may ask him to visit a number of Southern African countries so he may establish how many hundreds of thousands of the workers of those countries stream over our borders in search of work, medical care and training," Mr Botha said.

Nevertheless, Anglo will, be true of the group. of the economy, the same show

Early general election unlikely

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ALTHOUGH speculation continues in political circles, that a general election may be on the cards before the end of the year, several factors weigh heavily against such an event occurring so soon.

Chief among these would be the appointment of a Delimitation Commission, seen as a necessary precursor to a general election being held.

Suggestions that government is seriously giving thought to a new delimitation of electoral divisions was first provided by Homes Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha — in an unsolicited remark in the House of Representatives some weeks ago — and subsequently reinforced by comments made by officials in his department.

The likelihood of a Delimitation Commission being appointed has been further fuelled by two other

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

factors:

□ The last delimitation occurred in 1980 and the time is now ripe for another to be held, since in terms of the country's constitution, the electoral divisions shall not be altered until five years have elapsed since the last delimitation took place;
□ Since 1980, the structure of the country's voting population will have changed considerably, with the movement of people concentrating more in the PWV region.

The last has seriously disadvantaged the Transvaal, providing the other three provinces with a disproportionate amount of electoral power.

Given that a Delimitation Commission is now necessary, it is esti-

ated it would take about nine months, after announcement of its intended appointment, to fulfil all its functions before a general election could be held.

A commission of this kind usually comprises three judges and a government official acting as secretary, who would be provided with government guidelines on how the new delimitation should be structured.

Before proceeding with the delimitation, the State must indicate a three-month cut-off date, providing sufficient time for voter registrations to take place.

The commission is then required to hold public sessions to hear evidence on the proposed delimitation, to present new maps outlining constituency borders and to issue ordinances covering the delimitation.

MICHAEL MORRIS of the Argus Foreign Service in London reports South African ambassador Dr Denis Worrall's appearance before Britain's all-party Foreign Affairs Select Committee to answer questions on the situation in the country.

Worrall's answers

Album 5/7/86 (220) 304A

THE success of British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's EEC peace mission to South Africa will depend on "how the state of emergency develops and the mood of the Government at the time," according to South Africa's ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall.

He told Britain's all-party Foreign Affairs Select Committee yesterday he could not speculate on the outcome of the visit or the likelihood of its success.

But he said South Africa approved of Mrs Thatcher's approach. "It's a more constructive approach, rather than just hammering South Africa. There is room for outsiders to attempt to break the cycle of violence and facilitate discussion and dialogue. That will be the basis on which South Africa will receive Sir Geoffrey."

On the Government's stand on the release of Mr Nelson Mandela — the key element of Sir Geoffrey's brief from the EEC — he said: "There are two problems and the Government must face up to these consequences. I sense that it is in the interests of South Africa that Mandela be released, but the fact is that the decision has to be justified to the white electorate because there is a reason he is imprisoned."

"And the fact is that every car bomb that kills people and every speech calling for the maiming of South Africans, the more difficult it is to release this obviously important figure if he persists in his view that the armed struggle is necessary."

The use of violence as a bargaining factor in negotiations was "unacceptable", but

the Government's view was that "if the ANC and other organisations renounce violence, there is no reason why we should not be involved in a negotiating process".

In an attack on the EPG initiative, he said: "The fact that they came for three weeks and failed, and said it was going to be a bloodbath and that no other diplomatic initiatives are needed — this is some presumptuousness."

He believed the EPG had not been given a chance to succeed. It was an initiative that had needed "time and flexibility".

The "most difficult" problem in South Africa was creating "a fully representative government" because there were no "clear answers" and no political models that would meet the country's multi-cultural needs.

He stressed the need for blacks to recognise "the self-interest of white Africans".

The Government, however, was committed to reform the constitution through the National Statutory Council once order had been regained through the state of emergency.

"I would disagree that the state of emergency means the Government is not reforming."

HE denied that South Africa was "on the brink of revolution" and said "no government can reform in an era of chaos. It's essential to re-establish order for reform to take place. The alternative constitutional form is something that has to be negotiated and the Government will deal with all people who renounce violence."

The notion that sanctions would bring change in South Africa was founded on a

"completely mistaken psychology". He warned that South Africa could take drastic retaliatory steps that would cause "chaos in southern Africa" if severe sanctions were imposed.

South Africa could also refuse to pay its international debts and set a precedent for nations like Mexico — and that "would bring down the whole Western financial system. I am not saying that is being considered. But it could happen if sanctions were imposed."

South Africa could also repatriate the "hundreds of thousands" of foreign workers now employed in the country and possibly deny its Front Line neighbours the transport infrastructure, fuel supplies and electricity they presently received.

"I am worried about sanctions. I want South Africa to grow, because it is the industrial giant of Africa, not just southern Africa."

Sanctions would have "serious economic consequences for South Africa and the psychological effect will be something else". President Botha had made it clear South Africa would not be influenced by measures taken against it.

"Sanctions and punitive action will be used by the Government to bolster its (domestic) support. We are already hurting from measures taken so far, but the notion that this is going to bring change involves a completely mistaken psychology."

Negative measures would be "very unhelpful". They would lead to higher unemployment and "it would mean that the eventual cake that has to be shared would be so much smaller".

HE said South Africa's Press was engaged in a "vigorous" and "critical" debate on the country's political future, despite curbs on reporting the state of emergency.

Closely questioned by the committee on the capacity of the Press to reflect events under the state of emergency, he the present restrictions on newspapers "relate only to the emergency and the handling of the emergency."

For the rest the media was able "to report freely on developments in the country and there is a vigorous political debate going on now. That has not been significantly affected by the restrictions."

The restrictions on reporting details of the emergency clampdown were aimed at preventing the "Government's opponents from using the media — it's a serious situation the Government faces and it's taking the kind of action any democracy would take if it were faced with similar circumstances".

He described the Press, particularly the English-language newspapers — he offered three copies of The Star from June 24, 25 and 26 to the committee as evidence — as "a vigorous and critical Press".

"The restrictions are temporary, but I would like to say that a vigorous debate is going on which is inconceivable in any socialist or communist society. Despite the restrictions, there is a high degree of Press freedom in South Africa."

The Press ban on the ANC — which was "committed to violence" — was to prevent its ideas "gaining credence".

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Ditching of influx control passes almost unnoticed

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Staff

THE historic final scrapping by Parliament of the much-hated influx control laws went almost unnoticed in the turmoil of events in which South Africa is caught up locally and internationally.

Yet, as even the National Party's most bitter opponents to its left in Parliament have conceded, it is probably the most important concrete step in the government's reform plan so far.

With the Progressive Federal Party wholeheartedly supporting the Abolition of Influx Control Bill, a senior NP MP, Mr Albert Nothnagel (Innesdal), took the unusual step of publicly praising Mrs Helen Suzman (MP for Houghton since 1953), for the fight she has put up through the years against the pass laws.

Labour system

Firmly allied to these laws, of course, is the migrant labour system, the phasing out of which the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said during the debate was one of the objects of the Abolition Bill.

This was hailed by Mrs Suzman as "very important — that is something which we welcome with open arms because all of us have been expounding on the evils of the migrant labour system ever since I can remember".

Notwithstanding that Mr Nothnagel is an acknowledged leading Nat verligte, his words of praise — and of regret at the harm influx control had done — undoubtedly raised a few eyebrows in traditional Afrikaner nationalist ranks. They merit recording at some length.

'Made a mistake'

Speaking soon after Mrs Suzman during the debate in the Assembly, he said: "I am not one of those people who are concerned at the fact that one apologizes for things you have done in the past. There are many things in a country's history; and there are many things in an individual's life about which one can unabashedly say one is sorry that one has made a mistake.

"Come, let us in all fairness be honest and admit that although we meant many things well — let me say immediately, I don't believe the NP ever meant it badly — we caused immense harm with influx control and we caused other people to live

immensely difficultly."

Turning to Mrs Suzman, the sole Progressive MP for 13 years between 1961 and the PP breakthrough in the 1974 general election, Mr Nothnagel said:

"It may sound terribly liberal and completely off the rails to many people, but tonight I would like to say, as a completely ordinary parliamentarian of South Africa, and as one person to another, to the honourable member for Houghton: as far as these measures, about which she fought in this chamber over many years — sometimes completely alone — are concerned, she in many regards identified the problems better than many other people in South Africa.

"I want to add that although she sometimes fights us very hard, and is very critical about matters about which we feel she is very unfair towards the NP, such as for instance as regards security legislation, in my opinion there will hardly again be able to be somebody in the history of this country who will be able to tread the deep path she did in the field of human rights."

Lighter vein

Mr Nothnagel ended this section of his speech in lighter vein: "This is however as far as the 'declaration of love' goes, because I know that everything I say further will be used against me!" (Interjections from the CP benches).

In her speech earlier, Mrs Suzman said that it was the study of the migrant labour system that had first brought her into politics and it had largely been responsible for her staying there.

In the mid-1940s, when she had prepared evidence for the SA Institute of Race Relations to the Fagan Commission, she had become acquainted with the iniquities of the system and the accompanying pass laws.

Strong indictments

So, there is no doubt that a major milestone in South Africa's history was reached this week.

Apart from the efforts of the Helen Suzmans, there have of course been numerous other strong indictments of the pass laws and the migratory labour system over the years by commissions of inquiry; by churchmen and institutions; civil rights organizations and — most important — by

the victims (blacks) themselves.

A major impetus for the passive resistance campaigns in the 1950s had been blacks' fundamental objection to the slight to their human dignity contained in the pass laws.

The milestone scrapping almost went unnoticed, however.

President P W. Botha lamented at a police passing-out parade: "Where we are now reaching the height of reform in our history, it is passed off as nothing, as pretence."

Mr Botha's prognosis was that this was so "because, if our reform measures were to succeed in South Africa, the charges and the so-called excuses for the onslaught against us would fall away."

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) put it differently in a debate in the Assembly when he told Nationalist MPs: "If you'd have listened to the member for Houghton when she stood here alone, how different South Africa would have been today."

Mrs Suzman's view, stated during the abolition debate, is that she felt it was "a very sad thing indeed that a bill of this nature, which I believe to be the most important reform measure this government has ever passed, should be introduced at a time like this, when the country is under a state of emergency and where it will receive absolutely no attention whatever from the millions of people who should be welcoming it with open arms — I mean, of course, the black population who have been harassed beyond endurance all these years by pass laws."

Mrs Suzman added that the measure "will now also receive no attention in the outside world which has badly been looking for some positive sign from the government for the reform measures it has promised."



Mrs Helen Suzman



Mr Albert Nothnagel

'Jobs for pals' protest over Ministers plan

MBus 2/7/86 (304A)

Political Staff

A NEW series of political appointments, possibly to be known as Assistant Ministers, are being considered for the various own affairs administrations at regional level.

The plan drew a strong response from the Progressive Federal Party today. It slammed the proposed new appointments as "bureaucracy gone mad".

PFPP Information spokesman Mr Peter Soal said that if the Government went ahead with the plan, it would be creating jobs for pals in an outrageous degree.

"At a time when there is a need for economic discipline it is madness to consider additional appointments."

Abandoned

"Rather than puffing up own affairs administrations, they should be abandoned," said Mr Soal.

It was understood today that the appointments are considered necessary because some of the own affairs ministers are unable to cope with their new duties.

"What is needed is someone who is a political appointee to be able to take representations and who can make localised decisions," said one source today.

The envisaged new posts would be on a par with the 20 new Members of Executive Committees (MECs) who have just been appointed to deal with general affairs at provincial level.

MECs and the proposed new appointees would have the same status as Deputy Ministers.

It is apparently felt that the own affairs Ministers need political representatives at regional level to facilitate communication between central government and the local authorities which are the basic units of own affairs.

National Council nettle

The Government is in a growing dilemma over its proposed National Council which is to include black leaders in negotiations and top-level decision-making.

As preparations are going ahead to get the plan off the ground, prospects for getting adequate black representation in the council appear to be dwindling.

The difficulties facing the Government have caused concern even in National Party circles.

A Nationalist MP suggested recently that the plan might have to be changed to make it more attractive to potential black participants.

Opposition MPs said the proposed council could not succeed without adequate black representation from a wide spectrum of political opinion.

By Frans Esterhuyse, of The Star's Political Staff, reporting from Cape Town

There were indications, however, that the Government was having some difficulties in attracting even the most moderate black leaders.

The rejection of the proposed National Council by Nafcoc president Mr Sam Molsuanyane, was seen as a major setback for the plan.

Nafcoc (the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce), representing 15 000 black businessmen, has been described as an organisation noted for its moderation in black politics.

Another moderate black leader who has distanced himself from the

proposed council is kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said he would not sit on the council unless the imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was also free to do so.

At this stage it is not known to what extent the Government has succeeded in attracting other black leaders through negotiations behind the scenes.

A spokesman in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning said public comments on the proposed legislation for setting up the council were still being studied.

When the National Council Bill

STW 304A
was published in May, comments and representations about the proposed legislation were invited from any person, organisation, institution or interest group.
The deadline for such response was June 30.

The proposed legislation, or a revised version of it, is to be introduced in Parliament at its resumed session which begins next month.

But now there is talk in Government circles that certain people had requested an extension of the deadline for comment.

A new dilemma facing the Government is said to be that a refusal to meet the requests could result in accusations that some people were denied an opportunity to have their views considered.

If, on the other hand, the deadline were to be extended, the proposed legislation would be delayed.

Starting point

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has said the proposed National Council should be viewed as the starting point for power-sharing and the beginning of a government of national unity.

He told Parliament the Bill made it clear that:

- The council represented an interim measure only.
- The aim was to provide an instrument and process through which a new constitution could be arrived at.
- Until such time, it could serve to provide black communities with the opportunity to participate in the processes of government on an executive level.

Provision was made for including in the council the chief ministers of the self-governing black territories or their nominees, at least 10 urban

...s, such members of the South African Cabinet as the State President deemed fit, the chairman of the Ministers' Councils of the three Houses of Parliament, and not more than 10 other persons who in the opinion of the State President could make a contribution to the functions of the council.

Provision was made for the appointment of urban black leaders chosen from nominations by organisations, institutions and interest groups.

PW broadcasts appeal to blacks

The Argus Correspondent

ARGUS 2/7/86 304A

PRETORIA. — In a broadcast on all nine black-language radio stations President P W Botha last night appealed to blacks to join him at the negotiating table to work for a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

In the broadcast, excerpts of which were transmitted by Radio South Africa, Mr Botha assured blacks that the Government was "aware of your problems and aspirations".

"On January 31 this year I promised that change would come to our land. Most of you took me seriously. For that I am grateful.

"Some of you doubted my sincerity. Others who were terrified by the prospect of peaceful change planned to plunge our country into violence and despair."

Mr Botha said he had kept his word; influx control and the pass laws had been abolished. The first of the new uniform identity documents were due to be issued today.

"But I said too that change would come about by peaceful means. That, my friends, is why I have imposed a state of emergency."

Plans to start a "bloody revolution" on June 16 had been foiled.

"Greater peace and normality have returned to our lives."

PUNISHMENT

However, Mr Botha warned that the Government would relentlessly pursue and punish those who were committed to violence.

"We will have a climate where the representatives of the decent majority of the people can sit down together to discuss the future of this land we love."

Mr Botha added that the problems of blacks could not be dealt with by Government alone and solutions needed to be discussed with all black leaders in a peaceful atmosphere.

A national statutory council would be established soon and Mr Botha said he had extended his hand in friendship to all those committed to peaceful change.

"Let us go forward together to the new South Africa," Mr Botha told listeners.

Bill of rights: Support and some doubt

Staff Reporter

THERE IS "considerable support" for the concept of a bill of rights among more than 200 prominent lawyers — including a noteworthy number of judges — who attended a recent symposium on the subject in Pretoria, the attorneys' magazine De Rebus reports.

Summarizing discussions at the two-day symposium in May, Dr J van der Westhuizen notes that the government has been "unenthusiastic about the concept of individual rights".

However, shortly before the symposium, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, announced that he had instructed the SA Law Commission to investigate the issue, with the significant proviso that particular attention should be paid to "group rights".

Privileges

At the same time, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, was reported as saying that a bill of rights could form part of negotiations on power-sharing and could be a means of protecting minority interests.

Against the background of these pronouncements, several speakers at the symposium expressed severe doubts about the introduction of a bill of rights.

"It is seen by some as a transparent device to se-

cure white political power, a veto or a means to preserve minority rights and exclusive white privileges," Dr Van der Westhuizen says.

"A serious lack of confidence in the courts and the legal system of the country, after years of enforcement of apartheid laws and harsh security legislation, was evident . . .

"A bill of rights introduced in such a situation would tend to lend credibility to the system and could even present an obstacle to a real change towards a fully democratic society."

Among the points highlighted by Dr Van der Westhuizen were:

- The apparent tension between group and individual rights received considerable attention. However, the granting of legally enforceable rights to racial or ethnic groups was said to be neither morally sound nor theoretically viable.

- The ANC Freedom Charter, the United States Constitution, the German model and the Federated Chamber of Industries charter were referred to as relevant to the contents of a bill of rights.

- The conflict between capitalism and socialism and the possible redistribution of wealth emerged as important points of contention particularly concerning whether private ownership should be protected as a basic right.

AWB-Team could take heroes at Face Value

Brandwag branches of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have allegedly been advised to equip themselves with panel vans similar to the one the A-Team uses in the popular television series.

Sources say the vans are to be fitted out with racks for firearms, and with seats and other accessories, as in the black van seen weekly on television.

It is said that the vehicle, with its sliding side-door, will enable Brandwag branches to act as mobile fighting units in their local neighbourhood.

According to our sources, at least one Brandwag branch on the East Rand has already obtained such a panel wagon. *The Star* was told that the Security Police were aware of this.

The word that Brandwag branches should procure A-Team vans evidently went out shortly before the state of emergency was announced.

Sources said AWB members in some areas were ready for any spillover of black unrest into white areas on June 16.

AWB Brandwagte, consisting of about

2786 seven members, were specially established as "a precaution against the danger of unrest situations".

A spokesman for the AWB headquarters in Pretoria denied the allegations, saying "it is a very interesting story".

"I just wonder where our branches would get the money to buy A-Team vans," the AWB spokesman said.

A spokesman from the Directorate of Public Affairs at Police Headquarters said the police were not aware of the Brandwag panel vans.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Political congress season starts in August, and it will be crucial for all parties involved.

The most important event will be the National Party's extraordinary federal congress in Durban on August 12 and 13. Party sources say the occasion will be used to consolidate and re-define the party's position following the string of reforms of the past two years.

Black voice

A new reform expected to feature in discussions is the proposed National Council which would give blacks a voice at highest level in central government. President Botha sees this as the main negotiating mechanism to draw up a new constitution.

If the federal congress endorses this plan, the four provincial congresses of the National Party are expected to do likewise.

The Natal congress on August 14 is followed by Free State (September 2 and 3), Transvaal (September 19 and 20) and Cape (September 29 and 30, October 1).

The last three fall during the short session of Parliament are there is speculation the Government is considering a year-end referendum on the National Council.

Crucial party congress season now lies ahead

Parliament sits on August 18 to deal with the National Council Bill and to complete a heavy legislation programme.

The Labour Party, majority group in the House of Representatives, holds its congress in Port Elizabeth on January 2, 3 and 4 (the last event of the congress season).

At the top of the agenda will be whether the LP should continue its participation in the tricameral Parliament. Many members are furious at the way the Government rammed the Public Safety Amendment Act and the Internal Security Amendment

Act through Parliament via the President's Council in spite of objections from two of the three Houses.

They feel their role of the House of Representatives, and the House of Delegates has been badly undermined.

The FFP has postponed its congress until November, when the party will attempt to boost its role outside Parliament.

The Conservative Party is the first to hold a congress this season, at Uvongo on August 1 and 2.

The CP has been trying to make inroads in this province, but has so far not been much threat to the FFP or the NP.

Other CP congresses will be the Free State (August 8 and 9), Transvaal (August 15 and 16) and Cape (September 26 and 27).

All four events are expected to yield the usual litany of wailing and gnashing of teeth at the Government's reform programme and management of the economy.

The New Republic Party, stripped now even of its Natal provincial councillors and its control of Natal provincial affairs, is to hold its Natal congress on October 1 and 2, probably in Durban.

The party is right down to its last five Members of Parliament, four of which are from Natal.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party is to hold what is expected to be a sort of victory congress when it meets for its annual conference in Pretoria on September 5 and 6.

Upset election

It will be the first congress since its Member of Parliament, Mr Louis Stoberg, was returned to the House of Assembly last year in an upset election in which it snatched a seat from the National Party in Sasolburg.

Mr Stoberg has been an extremely active MP, making close on 60 speeches this first session. He will no doubt have a lot to report back.

The West can go to hell, says furious Bishop Tutu

July 1986

Reagan's speech aids Howe mission



Sir Geoffrey Howe



Mr George Shultz

Staff Reporters

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe — bolstered by last night's steadfast refusal by President Ronald Reagan to give in to sanctions — arrived today to make an urgent effort to promote change in South Africa.

South Africa's two most important international partners, the United States and Britain, are still holding out against punitive sanctions.

But South Africa will be told bluntly that, unless there is change, it may become impossible to avoid sanctions.

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, in a shift in policy, has announced that he was prepared to meet ANC leaders publicly.

The stance of Britain and the US is infuriating opponents of apartheid.

Sir Geoffrey, who was meeting South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, today, is being shunned by black leaders.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has said her husband has refused to see Sir Geoffrey.

Anglican archbishop-elect, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has refused to see him as have leaders of the UDF and other influential black groups.

But Sir Geoffrey is likely to see Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

'The realities of Southern Africa'

Mr Pik Botha today welcomed President Reagan's policy speech on South Africa and said the Government would be willing to talk to the United States and other countries "regarding the realities of Southern Africa".

But an angry Bishop Tutu said that he found the speech "nauseating". "The West can go to hell," he told AP Network News in a telephone interview.

South African businessmen welcomed President Reagan's speech in the White House last night as "a note of realism" and said America's opposition to sanctions would help South Africa to develop a stable society.

Progressive Federal Party spokesmen said President Reagan's speech was probably the last chance for South Africa to avoid isolation.

In his reaction, Mr Pik Botha warned that South Africa would withdraw into the laager if the international community's threats continued.

"If foreign intervention and threats continue, South Africa will be obliged to withdraw into the laager as this will be the only way to maintain the values which the West claims to uphold," Mr Botha said.

He said the Government still believed that dialogue could take place with the United States

"The South African Government stands for the same ideals as the American people. It is time for the misunderstanding regarding the methods of achieving those ideals to be discussed at the highest level."

'Last chance'

PFP spokesman Mr David Dalling said President Reagan's speech was "probably the last chance for South Africa to avoid world isolation and sanctions and contains proposals eminently fair and which the Government should not hesitate to implement".

Mr Dalling said threats of withdrawing into the laager made things more difficult.

Bishop Tutu attacked Mr Reagan's speech in bitter terms, saying he "sits there like the great, big white chief of old".

● See Page 13.

Talk to ANC now, Premier chief urges Government

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

Premier Group chief Mr Tony Bloom has called for discrimination not only to be abolished but to be "outlawed and made a punishable offence".

He has also urged the Government to release Nelson Mandela and begin talks with the African National Congress.

He is the second top businessman to make such a call in the last week. At the weekend Barclays National Bank's chief executive, Mr Chris Ball, said it was "essential to extend communication with the ANC".

In a statement in the Premier Group's annual report for 1986, Mr Bloom said: "Negotiations with the ANC are an historic inevitability and the question is not whether, but rather when such negotiations will take place."

Mr Bloom warned that "no one side in the South African struggle can impose its will on the other without tragic human casualties and widespread destruction of property".

He said that "the Government's resort to intensified force is no answer, as negotiation and not further repression is the only road to stability".

"Political power-sharing is the ultimate issue to be addressed before South Africa can aspire to being a just society with equal treatment before the law for all its citizens."

Sanctions pressure increases

Commons told of US gloom on SA crisis

4/7/86

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The Star Bureau

LONDON — The House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee went into secret session yesterday to hear a gloomy assessment by a senior American diplomat of the crisis gripping South Africa.

Mr Robert Frazure is understood to have given the committee the impression that Washington felt it no longer had much leverage with the South African Government.

The Reagan Administration was resigned to accepting the reality that the black-white conflict in South Africa could grind on into the 1990s before any sort of settlement was likely to emerge.

Mr Frazure is in close touch with developments and has accompanied Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Dr Chester Crocker on many missions to the area.

It is understood that Mr Frazure expressed his dubiousness over the readiness of the South African Government to meet any of the requirements demanded by the Commonwealth for a meaningful dialogue with representative black leaders.

Fierce pressure

Reflecting on the latest State Department information, Mr Frazure apparently feels there is little chance that President Botha will agree to the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, that the ANC will be unbanned, or the apartheid system dismantled.

On the crucial issue of imposing comprehensive sanctions on South Africa, Mr Frazure's view is understood to be that President Reagan will resist the move despite fierce Congressional pressure to do so.

In an effort to head off the pressure, the Administration is planning to publicise the level of its long secret contacts with leaders of the ANC and other black groups.

The Americans are said to have been in contact with the ANC since 1981 although it is learned in London that the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, has refused to see Dr Crocker.

The ANC are said to be holding out for a meeting at a higher level, either with the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, or President Reagan.

Mr Frazure, currently in charge of African affairs at the United States Embassy in London, is due to be transferred shortly to the American Embassy in Pretoria.

**Please don't
quote me**

By Willem Steenkamp

CAN. TIMES
4/7/86
3041

Political crystal ball of Prof Jan

I DON'T know how many people can remember hearing of one Professor Jan Lombard of Pretoria University, but it's a reasonable guess that all the mysterious goings-on as regards nominated provincial councils and so on can be traced back to a daring (at the time) concept he and a bunch of other leading verligte Nationalist academics came up with just over six years ago.

At that time Professor Lombard was head of the department of economics at UP and also one of Mr P W Botha's key advisers (and I expect he still merits both these labels), and the concept — revealed at a business seminar in Johannesburg on July 29 of 1980 — mooted the following:

- Division of the RSA into a number of multiracial confederal regions.

- Extensive restructuring of provincial boundaries.

- Massive devolution of government to local authorities.

- Creation of four metropolitan areas, namely Durban, Johannesburg-Pretoria, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

- Limited powers for the central government, such as defence, foreign affairs and transport.

The provinces, most of them heavily rationalized (translation: chopped around), would consist of the Cape, the Eastern Cape (including Transkei and Ciskei), the Free State, Natal-KwaZulu, Eastern Transvaal (including KaNgwane), Northern Transvaal (including Venda, Ndebele, Gazankulu and Lebowa) and Western Transvaal (including Bophuthatswana).

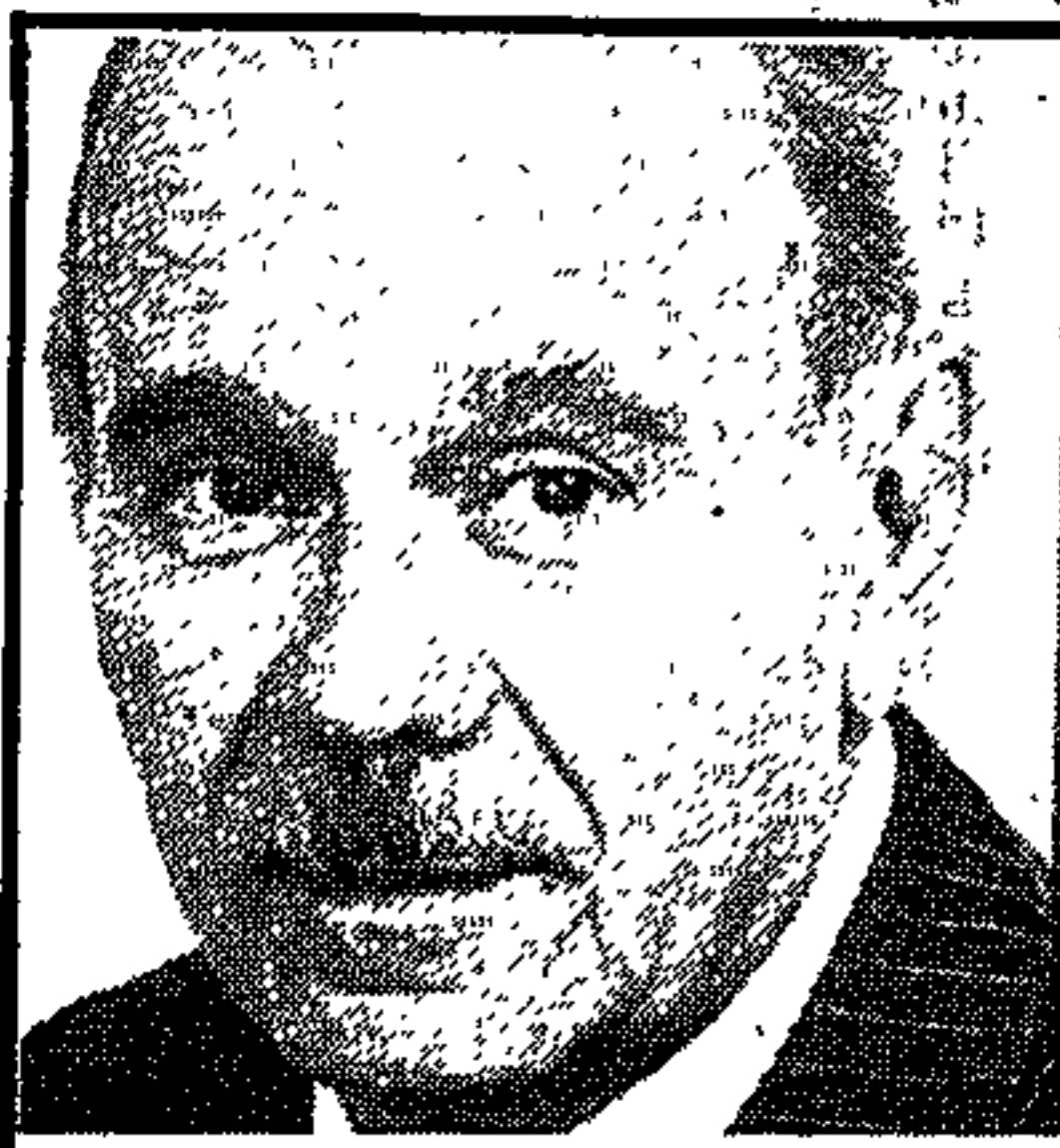
In terms of the concept each confederal unit would reach consensus on its regional government, and when this had been accomplished the confederal units would agree on restructuring the central government.

At the time observers noted that although the concept did not actually say so, it implied that the belief that people in the four metropolitan areas would opt for non-racial systems without any racial barriers.

When the concept was published Professor Lombard was also working on a plan envisaging Natal as a highly autonomous multiracial region comprising three segments — a non-racial metropolitan area, the white rural areas and KwaZulu, enjoying equal representation in the legislature.

The leader of the region would be elected by a one-man-one-vote process, and an independent judiciary would test all bills against an entrenched Bill of Rights protecting group and individual rights.

Does much of this all sound so



Professor Jan Lombard . . . he said it first, maybe.

ed Western Province Command now conforms pretty much to the Western Cape industrial development area published by P W Botha in November of 1981.

And so on. It's all quite fascinating, isn't it?

ARGUS: 4/07/86

A necessary addiction

THE
VAN ZYL
SLABBERT
COLUMN



I AM addicted to reading newspapers. Nothing gave me greater pleasure on a recent trip overseas than to buy two to three morning newspapers, sit myself down at a corner café with a pot of coffee and disappear into the world of columnists and editors. To read competing points of view on the same events or to compare the reports of different newspapers on them, is not only educative, but challenging. It forces one to weigh up events and arguments before rushing to conclusions or to defending a standpoint.

From this point of view, we in South Africa are in a terrible mess and getting deeper and deeper into it. We like to think we have a free press, but in fact we have not. A free press does not depend on the fact that newspapers appear every day, but far more on what they are allowed to write and also what they themselves want to publish.

When editors become un-

sure what they can or cannot publish and prefer to err on the side of caution rather than to offend the authorities; when ordinary people secretly sigh a sigh of relief when bad news no longer dominates the pages because it is not allowed to, the result is obviously a less informed, less prepared, less adaptable society.

Of course, the fact, as one newspaper put it last week, that there is no weather report in the press today, does not mean there is no bad weather about. It only means we do not know about it.

But what is more, it also does not mean that we are not going to make up our minds about things in any case. Ignorance is not even the cause of indecision. On the contrary the standard response to an error of judgment is still: "If only I had known, I would have done differently." Ignorance is bad enough, but even worse is to make up one's mind on the basis of distorted or misleading information.

Is it not extraordinary how some people insist on assuring us how much better things are now that there is a state of emergency? One gets the feeling of "if everything is so good, why is everything so bad?"

To some all this may sound like a typical old liberal lament, and of a white liberal at that. I suppose to a certain extent, also here in South Africa, to read the morning newspaper over a cup of coffee is like getting my fix for the day. But to find blank spaces in them and little notices saying "this edition has been censored" or even a reporter saying that he attended a fascinating debate between key individuals involved with future pros-

pects of violence or peace in this country, but is not allowed to tell us what was said, is to experience a deep frustration.

It is like trying to eat soup with a fork — you are getting something, but never enough. I do not only get frustrated, I also become angry as well.

I was sitting in just such frustration and anger one morning a little while ago, when a thought struck me that continues to fascinate and puzzle me: I live in a good middle class suburb where the delivery of newspapers is as regular as the trains that run through the local station and the bus that stops at the bus stop down the road. I need these newspapers to set me right for the day. They help me make up my mind about things.

But the vast majority of South Africans living in townships and villages, how do they make up their minds about things? How do they decide on issues like a revolution, violence, sanctions, strikes, boycotts? Who presents the pros and cons on these issues, if this is ever done?

In the absence of newspapers and in many cases there are none (and in those cases where there are) they function under the most difficult circumstances, what is the regular, effective system of communication? Does it depend on institutions and personalities; the church and preachers; school pupils and teachers; civic associations and executives; pamphlets, tracts and broadsheets?

Maybe so, because why do these people always get detained or arrested whenever the Government seems to be losing control over the situation? What are they saying to

people? How are they informing them?

One thing is quite certain from my own experience, people in townships and villages are making up their minds on a whole range of issues in a far more uniform way than ever before. In fact, it is quite amazing how common attitudes have developed on a number of key issues.

Take the state of emergency for example. It must be quite obvious that a person living in a township and one living in a white suburb are experiencing the state of emergency in totally different ways. For example, I live in the lovely little village/suburb of Rondebosch in Cape Town. Village life to all intents and purposes carries on very much as it would anywhere in the world, but when you drive past Guguletu, Crossroads and Langa on the way to the airport, you just know it is not the same "there".

You wonder what "they" are thinking about you living in Rondebosch. I know there is no way of finding out unless you actually go there personally and find out for yourself.

If one is really interested in finding out what is going on in one's country, I would recommend this very much. Sometimes it is not so easy, but it is always worth it.

In any case, now that newspapers are no longer what they used to be and that cup of coffee does not quite taste the same, this can become a very necessary way of checking out the kind of information that is being dished out to us by those who not only claim to know "what the facts are", but also claim the sole right to get them and make them public.

ARGUS: 4/22/86

Call for unity 'in face of sanctions'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Sanctions were inevitable and would cause harm to South Africa — but the Government would rather face this than give in to international pressure, according to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

In a blistering attack on the "selective morality" of the West, Mr Botha called for unity in the face of economic pressure.

Addressing a National Party meeting in Witbank attended by about 800 people last night, he said: "More punishments are coming. Don't let it make you afraid. The quicker it comes the better because we will show the world we will not be made soft."

Mr Botha made only passing mention of the coming visit to South Africa by the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

He strongly criticised the European Economic Community, saying these countries did not have the interest of black South Africans at heart.

South Africans had the choice of either submitting to international demands or standing together and accepting the economic "punishment" meted out by the world community.

"Either we are going to capitulate and give in to the demands that are being made, or say in one firm voice to the world: Up to here and no more meddling."

Mr Botha said that South Africans should not underestimate the extent of pressure for sanctions. There was no doubt that these would be imposed.

The attack on the country was broadly based and intensive, ranging from moves in the United States legislature to calls in Europe by various groups for sanctions.

The world community was placing impossible demands on the Government.

The West was not interested in the Government's reforms.

"To them reform means handing over to a majority not sharing of power, but based on one man one vote in a unitary state."

The only black South African leaders regarded by Europe as authentic were those committed to violence.

Sanctions inevitable, Pik tells Witbank

4/7/86 STAR 30412

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Sanctions were inevitable and would cause harm to South Africa, but the Government would rather face this than give in to international pressure, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said last night.

In a blistering attack on the "selective morality" of the West, Mr Botha called for unity in the face of economic pressure.

Addressing a National Party meeting at Witbank attended by about 800 people, he said: "More punishments are coming. Don't let it make you afraid. The quicker it comes the better because we will show the world we will not be made soft."

The mood of the meeting was subdued, and there were no incidents by right-wing supporters.

Mr Botha made only passing mention of the coming visit to South Africa by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe.

He strongly criticised the European

Community, saying its members did not have the interests of black South Africans at heart.

South Africans had the choice of either submitting to international demands or standing together and accepting the economic "punishment". "Either we are going to capitulate and give in to the demands that are being made, or say in one firm voice to the world: up to here, and no more meddling."

Mr Botha said the West was not interested in the Government's reforms. "To them, reform means handing over to a majority — not sharing of power, but based on one man, one vote in a unitary state."

He added that the only black South African leaders regarded by Europe as authentic were those committed to violence.

The communist element in the ANC was opposed to negotiations. "They want to seize power and exercise it for their own purposes."

'He's like Ian Smith' — PFP

Defiant Pik says: bring the sanctions

STAR 30/4/86 4/7/86

By David Braun, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The rift between South Africa and its major Western trading partners has cracked wide open after tough statements by both sides.

In a defiant speech at a National Party meeting in Witbank last night, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the sooner the world implemented sanctions the better.

"We will show the world that we will not be soft," he said.

His defiant stand came only days before British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe — who is now also president of the European Community (EC) — begins his last-ditch initiative to promote dialogue on the abolition of apartheid.

West Germany is increasing pressure on South Africa, and has expressed "outrage" at the treatment of some of its citizens in South Africa. The United States Government is also reported to be reviewing its policies on South Africa with a view to possibly taking a tougher line.

In his speech, Mr Botha said most people in South Africa did not want the Government to capitulate to international demands.

South Africa would have to pay a heavy price to carry the burden of punitive measures.

Mr Botha's remarks will give little encouragement to Sir Geoffrey, who is expected in South Africa next week on the first of two planned visits to promote dialogue in the country.

The Progressive Federal Party's deputy spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said today that he was appalled by Mr Botha's "arrogance".

"He is inviting sanctions as if he has some sort of death wish. He sounds like a latter-day Ian Smith. This is the sort of thing the Rhodesian Government used to tell the world."

Mr Swart said the Government had taken a conscious decision to go into a siege economy, but Mr Botha appeared to be trying to hasten this on with provocative statements.

This was particularly disturbing because they were made in the face of serious attempts by Western countries to try to keep the door open.

Compromise

Sir Geoffrey's mission is a compromise attempt by the EC to give South Africa three more months to start internal negotiations or face further sanctions.

Meanwhile West Germany, one of the few countries which holds out against the imposition of immediate sanctions, yesterday expressed "outrage" at the treatment of its citizens under the state of emergency.

A statement by the German Foreign Ministry in Bonn said the arrest of a South African Council of Churches official who was a German national, and the expulsion of ARD television correspondent Heinrich Buettgen, put a strain on relations between the countries.

Washington's response to the scrapping of the pass laws was muted, with US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman saying: "Regrettably, the South African Government's continued repression of political dissent undermines the effectiveness of this step since it casts doubt on the Government's commitment to change."

● See Pages 3 and 4.

FIGUS: 4/07/80 304 A

Pik's tough talk widens rift between SA and West

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

THE rift between South Africa and her major Western trading partners has cracked wide open following tough statements on both sides.

In a defiant speech at a National Party meeting in Witbank last night Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha said that the sooner the world implemented sanctions the better.

"We will show the world that we will not be soft," he said.

HEAVY PRICE

The overwhelming majority of people in South Africa did not want the Government to capitulate to international demands, he added.

South Africa would have to pay a heavy price and would have to carry the burden of punitive measures.

Mr. Botha's remarks will give little encouragement to European Economic Community President Sir Geoffrey Howe, who is about to embark on a "last-ditch" mission to promote dialogue in South Africa.

Progressive Federal Party deputy spokesman on Foreign Affairs Mr. Ray Swart said today he was appalled by Mr. Botha's "arrogance".

"He is inviting sanctions as if he has some sort of death wish.

"He sounds like a latter-day Ian Smith. This is the sort of thing the Rhodesian Government used to tell the world."

Mr. Swart said the Government had taken a conscious decision to go into a siege economy but Mr. Botha appeared to be trying to hasten this with provocative statements.

This was particularly disturbing because they were made in the face of serious attempts by Western countries to try to keep the door open, said Mr. Swart.

Sir Geoffrey's mission is a compromise attempt by the European Community to give South Africa three more months to start internal negotiations or else face further sanctions.

"OUTRAGE"

West Germany, one of the few countries which holds out against the imposition of immediate sanctions, meanwhile yesterday expressed "outrage" at the treatment of its citizens in South Africa.

A statement released by the German Foreign Ministry in Bonn said the arrest of a South African Council of Churches official who was a German national and the expulsion of ARD television correspondent Heinrich Buettgen put a strain on relations between the two countries.

It was reported yesterday the United States is reviewing its South African policy to possibly take a tougher line as well as to revive US credibility with Pretoria's opponents.

Washington's response to the scrapping of the pass laws on July 1 was muted. A State Department spokesman, Mr. Charles Redman said: "Continued repression of political dissent undermines the effectiveness of this step since it casts doubt on the Government's commitment to change".

● Pik calls for unity 'in face of sanctions' — Page 4.

tswana all the necessary documents, like the citizenship certificate, which were issued to him at the time of independence," says Motsatsi.

Bophuthatswana Cabinet ministers have said repeatedly in the past that their government would not allow any citizens to have dual citizenship because of "the evil system of apartheid." However, blacks have often said they suspect homeland governments feared dual citizenship would undermine their "sovereignty," and result in a loss of tax revenue.

Nearly eight million blacks became foreigners and lost their SA citizenship when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) were granted independence. The Restoration of SA Citizenship Bill, still to be ratified by parliament, makes it possible for them to reclaim SA citizenship.

Naturalisation

In terms of the Bill, individuals can apply for a restoration of their SA citizenship if they were born in the Republic, or are children of parents who were born in SA. People could also apply for citizenship by naturalisation.

The Black Sash's Sheena Duncan has said the new legislation does not restore citizenship to those from whom it was taken away. It provides, she explained, for a limited granting of citizenship on stringent conditions only to some of those who were denationalised.

Those who do not qualify by birth have to regain their SA citizenship by naturalisation, which requires obtaining permanent residence, then living in the country for five years. "People who cannot read and write English and Afrikaans satisfactorily may not regain their citizenship," she observed.

Duncan estimates that five million people living in the TBVC states will not regain their SA citizenship because the Bill is "more stringent and complex" than people realise.

When State President P W Botha first announced the reform, he promised to restore citizenship to those who had lost it under the government's policy of giving independence to some of the black homelands, but once again "this is just one more example of broken promises," Duncan claimed. ■

Our report last week (Western pressure mounts) stating that while in London, the ANC leader, Oliver Tambo, lunched with the British Industry Committee on SA (Bicsa) was incorrect. While some of its leading members were present at the lunch, it was not a Bicsa affair and included South Africans Chris Ball of Barnat and Tony Bloom of the Premier Group, as well as leading UK and US investment and banking groups.

In addition, Johnstone Makatini was unable to give evidence for the ANC to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee. His place was taken by Aziz Pahad.

THE CONSTITUTION

Awaiting moderates

One official reason for the State of Emergency is to remove the threat of intimidation and flush out black moderates to parley about a new constitution.

According to Bureau of Information spokesman Leon Mellet, the emergency is succeeding in cutting down violence. Hopefully, such moderates will soon emerge from the barricades to get aboard President Botha's proposed National Council (NC).

The proposed NC, to be chaired by the State President, will comprise the five self-governing homeland leaders or their nominees; 10 people nominated by interested groups; not more than 10 people deemed by the President to be qualified to make fruitful contributions to its deliberations; and a variable number of Cabinet ministers, with the President having the final say in the appointments.

However, the NC, officially seen as "starting point for power-sharing and the beginning of a government of more national unity," continues to arouse mixed feelings —



KwaZulu's Buthelezi ... will he join the National Council?

even among "moderates" in the black community.

The Urban Councils' Association of SA (Ucasa), a national representative body of community councils, has opted for participation in the NC "without any pre-conditions." However, 20 of the 46 councils have resigned.

Aside from some homeland leaders like Lebowa's Cedric Phatudi, other moderate black leaders have virtually ruled out their involvement so long as organisations like the banned African National Congress (ANC) and their leaders are not given the chance to participate fully in the proposed new body.

Sam Buti, former Alexandra Council chairman whose home was firebombed, has rejected participation in the NC. Buti warned that the failure of earlier, similar structures would befall the NC too.

KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza

perceives little sense in his participation if Nelson Mandela, other political prisoners and political exiles are denied participation. Mabuza is also critical of the composition of the NC: "In terms of the provision of the Bill under which the NC is to be created, the five homeland leaders or their nominees, for instance, automatically become members of this council; but the majority of the black people have rejected the homelands. . . I believe it would be wrong for me to go into the NC pretending that I represent all the people in KaNgwane. . . They should have the right to elect their own people. Another flaw in the new body is that it is to act only in an advisory capacity."

Mabuza believes the whole issue of an NC hinges on the political organisations and the leaders who were banned, imprisoned or exiled because of their opposition to the status quo.

KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, viewed as a key potential participant, has said it would "not be possible for me to participate if Nelson Mandela was precluded from the possibility of participating" (see *Letters* June 27).

Ucasa, which last weekend decided it will take part in the NC, also suggests that Mandela and others be given the choice. It plans to convey this idea to government. However, Ucasa deputy president Tom Boya stressed that the "suggestions are not pre-conditions" but should be seen as an "honest and sincere request to ensure the NC can achieve its intended purpose." Boya also said Ucasa felt that the scrapping of the Group Areas, Population Registration and Separate Amenities Acts would create the right climate for negotiation.

In its report to the Commonwealth, the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) speaks of a "considered view that, despite appearances and statements to the contrary, the South African government is not yet ready to negotiate for a future non-racial SA — except on its own terms. Those terms, both in regard to objectives and modalities, fall far short of reasonable black expectations and well-accepted democratic norms and principles.

"In the government's thinking, there were a number of non-negotiables; for example, the concept of group rights — the very basis of the apartheid system — was sacrosanct; the homelands created in furtherance of that concept would not disappear, but be reinforced with the emergence of an 'independent' KwaNdebele; the principle of one man, one vote in a unitary state was beyond the realm of possibility; the Population Registration Act would continue; and the present tricameral constitution which institutionalises racism must be the vehicle for future constitutional reform.

"Negotiations leading to fundamental political change and the erection of democratic structures will only be possible if the South African government is prepared to deal with leaders of the people's choosing rather than with puppets of its own creation," the EPG concluded. ■

Whites 'ready to share power'

Weekend Argus

Correspondent

ULUNDI. — White South Africa is now overwhelmingly ready to share political power, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu, told thousands of Inkatha members here today.

And he said that blacks were prepared to consider a federal system and to heed white fears about one-man-one-vote in a unitary state.

The State President per-

ceived that the tricameral Parliament had deficiencies which could not be remedied and he had been honest enough to indicate in the draft Bill establishing the new statutory National Council that it would prepare for a constitution providing for the participation of all South African citizens in the process of government.

Chief Buthelezi said it was this which enabled him to look carefully at the National Council. But he would go into it only if his people wanted him to.

"No self-respecting black would accept an appointment to a white-conceived political body with executive powers conceived behind closed doors by the National Party's caucus and debated in Parliament and in public only to give the decisions taken democratic respectability," he said.

"I will not go to a table to ratify whites-only decisions which are against the interests of the black majority in this country."

CAPE TIMES 5/7/66

Afrikaner fighting: Archbishop's plea

306A

Staff Reporter

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, has urged Afrikaners to stop fighting among themselves and start addressing the serious issues facing the country.

In a message in the latest Anglican newsletter "Good Hope", Archbishop Russell said: "Let us stop fiddling around with what might be called inter-Afrikaner quarrels (though I recognize that there are also some disturbingly significant aspects to the matter) while the real wounds of Crossroads are burning."

He noted that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, called for an inquiry into the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging breaking up a National Party meeting in Pietersburg recently. However, no such inquiry was ever called to investigate the NP breaking up United Party meetings in the Fifties, he said.

Archbishop Russell said the enormity of the situation could be seen in having an investigation into "a display of what can only be described a sheer loutish behaviour, while nothing is done about setting up a commission to inquire into something which calls for deep, urgent investigation, namely, the situation in Crossroads".

"The Christian is concerned with truth, for it is only as the real facts and dynamics of any situation are investigated and made known, that the opportunity is given for the operation of God's love, justice and peace, in the sharing of which every one of us is called to take part."

CAC Traits 5/7/86 (306A)

Experts examine SA's future

A REMARKABLE group of academics — political analysts and social scientists of various disciplines — gathered at a remote spot in the mountains of the south-west Cape this week for a conference on liberalism in South Africa.

The setting was the Houwhoek Inn, South Africa's oldest hostelry, and in all ways an appropriate retreat for scholarly deliberation.

Meeting for three days of almost continuous discussion, this distinguished assembly presented papers on the origins, present condition and prospects of survival of liberal values in this country.

With the country in the grip of a state of emergency and bombs going off in the big cities, the discussions were anything but academic in the dismissive sense of the word.

Those who took part included two leading figures in Southern African studies from the United States, Jeffrey Butler and Rick Elphick. And there were a number of South African academics with international reputations in their own disciplines and some — such as Van Zyl Slabbert, David Welsh, Laurie Schlemmer, Johann Degenaar, Hermann Giliomee and Andre du Toit — who are also known beyond the university community as leading analysts of the South African scene.

It is unlikely that any group of people has come together in recent times which is better qualified to form a judgment of the state of the nation.

Marshal trends

How do they see the future? Do the wise men of Houwhoek believe that this country can weather the storm?

Academics are no better able to foretell the future than are the rest of humankind. But they are well-equipped to identify and marshal possible trends in orderly fashion. And the very best of them are sometimes capable of prophetic insights.

The assembled scholars were hardly brimming over with optimism. They do not doubt that there is a rough ride ahead whatever happens. But there are various scenarios, not all of them apocalyptic in their thrust. And there are various hopeful options still open.

Such conferences do not discuss or adopt resolutions. The usual form, if there is sufficient interest, is to bring out a book. This will be undertaken on this occasion by the Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, USA, and it promises to be a best-seller of its kind.

Pending publication of the book, a sketchy journalistic account of some of the views expressed may be of interest.

The Nationalist government is not thought to have any in-

tention of sharing power, if by that is meant giving up or sharing ultimate political control.

The Botha-Heunis strategy, however it is wrapped up in fancy language and presented as a genuine negotiating package is nothing of the sort. It was described by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert this week as as "co-optive domination" leading to "non-racial autocracy" and it means in plain language that Afrikaner nationalism will continue to rule the roost in South Africa in its own way and on its own terms. Although it is put forward as a policy for negotiation, it is really an attempt to sanitize a repressive policy of confrontation and make it seem moderate, reformist and respectable.

As one eminent scholar put it, successful reform politics requires as its precondition free political activity. As things stand, the African National Congress, for example, remains a banned organization. Its leaders are banned, in prison or in exile.

But the government has no intention of unbanning the ANC, it appears. It is just possible that Mr Nelson Mandela might be set free in a gesture to ease the pressure on President Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher as they fight the good fight against sanctions. But to free Mandela into a state of emergency and without a free ANC in prospect is little more than a humanitarian gesture. It hardly changes anything.

If it does not mean genuine negotiations with significant black leaders including Buthelezi, Mandela and everyone else in this category what does the Botha-Heunis plan involve? It seems that the State, in setting up a National Statutory Council, is offering to co-opt blacks into the system in much the same way as coloured people and Indians have already been co-opted into the tricameral Parliament. They will be required to play a supportive role but they will exercise no ultimate power, having to acquiesce whenever President Botha is really determined to have his way, as recently with the security bills.

The logic of this system will lead to further dismantling of apartheid and even, in time, to modification and ultimately abolition of the Group Areas Act.

But this is ultimately of secondary importance. The logic of the conflict in South Africa concerns power and

Political Survey By GERALD SHAW



Heribert Adam... gift for getting it right

privilege rather than ideology or racism, according to one scholarly view. It is the question of political power that is primary.

Does the Botha-Heunis strategy provide real scope for bargaining and compromise about political power? Has the co-optive strategy any chance at all of working — in the sense of restoring peace and confidence in the South African economy and the government's reformist intentions? Hardly any chance at all, it seems.

The situation is pretty well stalemated. A polarization of attitudes between white and black nationalists and hard right and hard left is far advanced. The fanatics and zealots are in the saddle.

So is the middle ground becoming untenable?

Are people of liberal-democratic views facing a choice between joining the "stability" camp, having to condone frightful infringements of civil liberty — or the "freedom" camp, and so inviting increasing persecution and harassment by the State?

What options remain for those South Africans who cannot be part of a repressive co-option system, who reject violence and terrorism from whichever quarter it comes and in whatever interest it might be employed?

Is the only possible scenario a nightmare of violence until the country is reduced to a slagheap?

By no means. As the stalemate continues and it is clear that the country is bleeding to death, some scholars believe, the hardliners on all sides will lose ground and political discourse will be forced back into the middle ground.

According to this rather more optimistic analysis, the

door is not closed. Opportunities will again arise for negotiation and the assertion of democratic liberal values.

Liberal democracies elsewhere in the world are riding the crest of a wave. They are buoyant and confident and they are moving closer to intervention in South Africa than ever before. Increasingly, they are insisting that the ANC must be part of the solution. In such a situation, it is argued, South African liberals, maintaining excellent communications with the outside world, could play an important role. So could the Christian church, divided as it may be, in maintaining internal communication.

Some see the business community and the unions as the key players. With financial power concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of giant corporations, the capacity of business to stand together and exert its enormous clout to good effect is considerable. Business and the burgeoning trade union movement, if acting in concert, could form an irresistible pressure group.

Clear-sighted

Some of the most important insights at Houwhoek this week were presented in a paper prepared by the Canadian sociologist Heribert Adam which contained the gist of the ideas put forward in a book just published in the United States and Britain*. Adam was the author of the classic "Modernizing Racial Discrimination" which led the field in the 1970s in perceptive understanding of the South African dilemma. Adam has a remarkable gift for getting it right.

His new work is as calm, clear-sighted and humane as ever. He believes it is quite possible that an alliance of white and black non-socialist forces will carry the day — provided that the excluded impoverished majority can be brought into a concerned capitalist system, both politically and economically, through equal citizenship and genuine social democracy.

We may hope that Adam has got it right once again. His guarded optimism must assume that the government's present disaster-bent course is abandoned before too much irreparable damage is done.

It must also assume that the loss of press freedom is temporary and that the right of South Africans to know what is going on and to talk to one another will soon be restored. Otherwise there will be no room at all for optimism, guarded or otherwise, as South Africa stumbles into the night.

* South Africa Without Apartheid. Dismantling Racial Domination. Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. (University of California Press.)

Argus, 7/07/86 (2) 304

'Howe visit definite, only date to be set'

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

THE visit to South Africa by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is definitely on, but the two governments are still negotiating on a suitable date, a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said today.

A spokesman for the British Embassy in Pretoria said earlier the matter was "still up in the air" but that an official announcement could be expected later today.

The Foreign Affairs spokesman said South Africa and Britain were still negotiating on a "mutually agreeable and suitable date" for Sir Geoffrey's visit.

"It's only a question of setting a date," the spokesman said.

Informed sources today dismissed as wild speculation reports that Pretoria had snubbed Sir Geoffrey.

Sir Geoffrey, as president of the European Community, proposes to visit South Africa on a last-ditch mission to promote dialogue and dismantle apartheid before further sanctions are imposed.

A visit by Sir Geoffrey to African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has apparently not been ruled out.

CORDIAL

The sources pointed out that President P W Botha and British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher still enjoyed a cordial relationship. There was no question that Mr Botha had snubbed her government.

"Negotiations are under way at this very moment to work out a suitable date. As far as we are concerned we are talking to the British, so there is no need for wild speculation in the newspapers that we are snubbing Sir Geoffrey," one senior source said.

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NEWS FOCUS

Business urged to help black workers play a bigger role

THERE would have to be a major redistribution of benefits within the economy if workers were to believe there was something for them in free enterprise, former Project Free Enterprise (PFE) leader Christo Nel said.

In an interview with *Business Day* Nel, who has joined the Federated Chamber of Industries as personal assistant to chief executive Johan van Zyl, said he believed business would have to become much more involved in politics.

Business would have to become more "politically sensitive" and willing to position itself as a mediator between workers and the authorities.

"The current political system has been rejected to such an extent that there is no way blacks will be convinced to follow it," he said.

Nel said the major task facing business was to "demonstrate to the workforce it is sincere in its intent to give the workforce a greater stake in business and the benefits of business".

This had been narrowly viewed by both business and trade unions as mainly increasing wages, while crucial issues such as giving the worker a greater say in the day-to-day running of the business, had been ignored.

"Let the shop-floor operator run the shop floor to a much greater

PETER WALLINGTON

extent. Strategies and techniques must be worked out to enable the worker to be involved in decision-making on a regular basis, not just at infrequent intervals."

Nel said the political environment had castrated the worker "because we have said to him: You have no say over your environment."

"We have totally isolated the worker from control over his macro-environment and business has reflected it on a micro-level".

The attitude had been that the worker was paid to do a job, not to think. But Nel pointed to the Japanese saying that "if you only use a worker's hands and feet, then replace him with a machine".

Business had not allowed the worker to use his creativity and the human urge to impact on the environment.

Business had lost the opportunity of allowing black advancement to evolve naturally. "So we have to go for enforced and monitored black advancement along the lines that Barclays Bank and Mobil have."

Nel cautioned against black advancement programmes being carried out in isolation because "they will not be performing in an isolated environment".

He said to just offer black development programmes would be

viewed as an affront to the black man's dignity and could also raise the prospect of whites charging that reverse discrimination was occurring.

Nevertheless companies must understand they must give disproportionate attention to developing and advancing black workers for the foreseeable future.

SA business had to look at unique and innovative reward systems. Salary and wages had been seen as discriminatory — "the wages received has not been seen to match the input offered".

"Business has to make workers aware how wages are generated by utilising participation systems correctly. By doing so workers will be set increased targets, but then they must benefit directly when achieving or surpassing those targets."

One way to adequately address the problem was through group production bonuses.

"We have to give the worker access to the top of the system, give him the opportunity to directly input at a senior level".

Nel said of the companies surveyed in the PFE report, no cases were found where workers had shares in the company. Nel said the whole question of reward policies was an important one — "we have to get more involved in rewards for performance".



● BUTHELEZI

White SA is 'ready to share power' now

3041

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11/11

Own Correspondent

WHITE SA was now overwhelmingly ready to share political power, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the annual Inkatha conference in Ulundi on Saturday.

And on their part, blacks were prepared to heed white fears about one-man, one-vote in a unitary state and to consider a federal system.

Buthelezi also said there was more hope for negotiation now than ever before in the country's history.

But the National Party (NP) was under-achieving in mobilising white goodwill for the negotiations necessary to bring that about.

Buthelezi said all those present were convinced that one-man, one-vote in a unitary state, with the rule of law and entrenched individual and group rights, provided the ideal solution to the country's problems.

They also knew, however, that white fears and perceptions made them hesitant about venturing into such a future right now.

Blacks had, therefore, to ask themselves whether there was any other way in which their "deeply valued and hallowed ideals" could be expressed politically.

Buthelezi said: "We know that they can. All over the world there are demonstrations that federal solutions provide an alternative to the Westminster model in a unitary state. In a federal system, the country's parliament is no less sovereign."

Other options, including the Swiss canton system, could also be investigated.

Buthelezi said: "We do not negotiate to dominate, subjugate or to establish black racism."

The negotiating task would be to harmonise white and black values into a single political system.

Buthelezi said it had become patently clear to black and white that apartheid was destructive to the economy, to sound relationships with other countries and to justice. White society had tried to avoid facing such facts when it voted in favour of the tricameral constitution.

Now, however, the State President perceived that the tricameral Parliament had deficiencies which could not be remedied. Although he had balked at saying specifically that it must die, he had been honest enough to indicate in the draft Bill establishing the National Council that it would

prepare for a constitution providing for the participation of all citizens in the process of government.

It was this which enabled him (Buthelezi) to look carefully at the council. But he had no personal choice in the matter and would go into it only if his people wanted him to.

Buthelezi said he had growing fears about the "under-utilisation of this grand historical opportunity for blacks and whites to get together" as government was continuing to force its unilateral decisions on blacks.

There was no reason why it could not have pended the introduction of Regional Services Councils and the disbanding of the Provincial Councils until after the council was constituted.

The "unseemly haste" with which this had taken place foretold of intentions to use the council to entrench decisions already made by the NP caucus.

Buthelezi said: "I will not go to a table to ratify whites-only decisions which are against the interests of the black majority in this country."

His fears about the future use of the council were heightened with the State President's appointment of the new provincial MECs.

Lift ANC ban, say businessmen

309A
CAPT. T. J. 7/7/86

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Top business leaders at the weekend called on President P W Botha to release ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and lift the ban on the movement immediately.

The call came amid warnings that South Africa's future would be jeopardized unless the

ANC participated in dialogue with the government.

A Sunday newspaper spoke to several key businessmen after Barclays Bank chief executive Mr Chris Ball two weeks ago outlined the advantages of unbanning the ANC and freeing Mr Mandela.

Joining Mr Ball's call were Premier Group chairman Mr Tony Bloom, Anglo American chairman Mr Gavin Relly, Pick 'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman, Shell SA chairman Mr John Wilson, BP Southern Africa chairman Mr Ian Sims, Southern Life Insurance chief executive Mr Neil Chapman, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment chairman Mr Gordon Waddell and Prudential Assurance managing director Mr Dorian Wharton-Smith.

"I believe the ANC should be challenged for what it is and therefore we must release its leaders," Mr Relly said.

This was echoed by Mr Waddell, who said South Africa would not find a solution "unless Mandela is part of the process".

"As businessmen, we must appeal to sanctions-seekers not to go ahead and convince them that all of us will suffer as a result," said Mr Ackerman.

And Mr Wilson maintained that a distinction should be drawn between the ANC's "internal and external wing, and talk to the moderate faction just as we must talk to right-wing groups like the AWB, HNP and the CP".

NP opts out of contests

GAA Times 8/7/66
309A

Political Correspondent

THE National Party has opted out of both the Claremont and Pinelands parliamentary by-election contests on September 3.

Confirming the NP's decision not to fight the two seats, the party's chief secretary in the Cape, Mr Frikkie van Deventer, said yesterday: "Claremont and Pinelands are not priority constituencies for the National Party and are not part of our future planning."

Claremont and Pinelands were traditional Opposition seats and there was no reason for the NP contest them.

Mr Van Deventer would not disclose when the decision was taken not to contest the seats. Nomination day is on July 21. However, the NP had not approached anyone to stand for either of the seats, he said.

The Pinelands seat now appears likely to be a straight race between Mr Jasper Walsh of the Progressive Federal Party and Mr Norman Barrett of the New Republic Party.

And it seems likely that the PFP's Mr Jan van Eck will be allowed to take the Claremont seat uncontested.

A spokesman for the NRP yesterday declined to say if his party would be fielding a candidate in Claremont. "We're playing this one close to our chests for the moment," he said.

But the NRP has been doing virtually no canvassing in the Claremont constituency and the prospects of a last-minute surprise candidate being announced by July 21 appear slim.

The Claremont and Pinelands seats became vacant in February this year when Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine walked out of Parliament.

CAPL- Tm's 8/7/86

Sanlam boss slapped down

Political Staff

DR Fred du Plessis, the chairman of Sanlam, was slapped down yesterday by Dr Sam Motsuenyane, the president of Nafcoc, after he urged black businessmen to learn from the history of Afrikaners in business.

Dr Du Plessis, who opened the annual congress of National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), said the "first lesson to be learned from our history is that political power does not make it any easier to advance in business — this is in almost all respects is a fallacy".

Afrikaners obtained a position of power in 1924 until 1929 but "if I look at the advancement of Afrikaner business it is clear that very little came to the Afrikaner from politics".

But Dr Motsuenyane, who spoke immediately after Dr Du Plessis, said there were important differences between the history of the Afrikaner and the black man.

"The Afrikaner has never been deprived of the right of the vote in his own country," he said to loud applause from the 1 500 delegates.

"Another distinct difference is that the Afrikaners never had Bantu education," he said.

The Afrikaners had never been exposed to lower standards as the blacks had been.

"We had job reservation for a long time. Black people could not aspire to positions of responsibility in this country — until recent history."

'Never have peace'

Black people were also paid low wages so that they could not build resources to make a meaningful contribution.

"Until we get (to Parliament) and make our contribution we can never have peace in this country."

Afrikaners and black people did not seem able to get together to obtain a safe country across the differences between them.

"We do not believe black people can stay out politics where the Afrikaners have always been."

In his speech, Dr Du Plessis said he believed it was relevant to learn from Afrikaner history.

"The Afrikaner can look back not because he was privileged to receive State grants but because he was capable of putting himself forward and fighting for his economic position."

The most important lesson was that the Afrikaner people had mobilized their capital and he urged black people to do likewise.

12-year decline in economy, initiative stifled — bank chief

Staff Reporter

THE South African economy had been going backwards for the past 12 years because of the interplay between the forces of discrimination and bureaucracy, the managing director of Barclays Bank, Mr Chris Ball, said today.

He told delegates to the annual conference of the National African Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) at the Good Hope Centre that he was frustrated by the lack of imagination and lateral thinking in South African society.

"Irrational"

"The rigidity in our community during the past 40 years and determination to enforce a futile concept, come what may, have constrained our initiative.

"To be an intellectual has meant either to be ostracised or banished and it is a great tragedy that society has been deprived of the rich contributions of people like Breytenbach and his counterparts in the black community".

Mr Ball said he considered the detention of executives of the National

Education Crisis Committee as "irrational" and he did not understand the arrest of people such as Zwelakhe Sisulu.

He said the welfare of South Africa would require business to define and limit the role of Government so that people could be free to use their energies productively.

"Economic analysis in South Africa is generally dull, narrow and incomplete — certainly it is hardly appropriate as a contribution towards our future."

Mr Ball said the environmental history of black businessmen had given them little opportunity to develop the technical and commercial skills of their white counterparts.

"Secondly, the lack of wealth in the black sector means that there is not the availability of financial resources among the peer group of would-be black businessmen to meet their needs on an informal basis.

"There has also been a communication problem in that the available funds have been in the sector with alternative languages and behavioural norms."

Two-party fight in Pinelands

Political Staff

News 8/7/16 3064A

THE parliamentary by-election in Pinelands is expected to be a straight fight between the Progressive Federal and the New Republic parties.

The possibility of a similar contest in Claremont has not been ruled out by politicians, but at this stage it seems likely that the PFP candidate, Mr Jan van Eck, will be returned unopposed.

These are the latest prospects following an announcement by the National Party that it will not contest the two seats.

The by-elections are to be held on September 3. Nomination day is July 21.

Candidates announced so far for Pinelands are Mr Jasper Walsh (PFP) and Mr Norman Barrett (NRP).

The Claremont and Pinelands seats became vacant in February when Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine resigned.

The National Party's chief secretary in the Cape, Mr Frik van Deventer, has said the NP would not contest the two seats. They regarded them as opposition seats which had "never been part of the NP's mandate".

Howe's mission to SA postponed

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The faltering EEC peace mission by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is going ahead today — but he will not visit South Africa this week.

The postponement of Sir Geoffrey's visit to South Africa was announced by the British Foreign Office yesterday following 48 hours of drama and behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity involving President P W Botha and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Now Sir Geoffrey will not meet either President Botha or Mr Nelson Mandela — the two most important figures on his list — on the first leg of his mission.

Instead, the British Foreign Secretary will visit Zambia and Zimbabwe while the British Government "considers" alternative dates proposed by Pretoria for a meeting with President Botha.

Taunts

Still smarting from what is regarded here as a humiliating diplomatic snub from Pretoria, the Foreign Office could only say yesterday that a further mission "cannot be excluded".

Facing opposition taunts in the House of Commons yesterday, Sir Geoffrey said he intended to pursue his mission "with patience and determination and to see all those whom I need to

see to promote dialogue and negotiation".

This confirmed the British Government view that, while it understands the frustration of black leaders, it does not regard their public statements as the final closing of the door on further dialogue.

Whitehall officials were clearly angered by President Botha's cold-shoulder which is seen as playing directly into the hands of the sanctions lobby.

It is understood that a trip to South Africa is being arranged for immediately after Sir Geoffrey's summit with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, in London from July 13-16.

This would leave open the possibility of a further visit to the region during the last week of July ahead of the crucial Commonwealth summit on August 3.

Diplomatic sources said Sir Geoffrey had turned down a meeting with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Last night Mr Botha said in a statement to the Cape Times that he was in contact with Sir Geoffrey "in order to arrive at a date which will suit both governments".

A clearly embarrassed Sir Geoffrey told the House of Commons yesterday that he was prepared to meet the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) in Lusaka "because it is important to urge them to turn away from violence and take the path to dialogue and negotiation".

Later he told the Commons Foreign Affairs Committee that the British Government had moved towards "increasing recognition of the importance of the ANC" as one of the bodies representing black opinion in South Africa.

Anxious

It was not clear last night whether ANC leaders were prepared to meet Sir Geoffrey.

It is understood that Sir Geoffrey is anxious to pave the way for a meeting with jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela without which his precarious mission would be almost sure to fail.

President Botha's refusal to meet Sir Geoffrey this week has deeply embarrassed Mrs Thatcher's government which holds the presidency of the European Community (EEC).

The Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr Leo Tindemans, told BBC radio that Mr Pik Botha's statement that the "quicker sanctions come the better" was the reaction the EEC had feared. He said, however, that Pretoria's reaction was likely to harden EEC attitudes.

'Attitude'

Anthony Johnson reports that diplomatic sources indicated yesterday that Sir Geoffrey was still hopeful about meeting a broad cross-section of political leaders when he visits this country.

But the sort of reception Sir Geoffrey will receive once he finally gets here, according to one government source, will depend on the "attitude" of the EEC president and "the spirit of his mission".

"If he is coming here to prescribe to us or to try to boss the South African Government around, he will be wasting his time," he said.

And in yesterday's SABC "Comment" programme — regarded as an accurate barometer of government thinking — Sir Geoffrey was warned of "hostility and even suspicion" he was likely to encounter when visiting here.

US swordsman kills 2 tourists

NEW YORK. — A man with a sword hacked a man and a woman to death and wounded nine other passengers aboard a New York ferry just after it passed the Statue of Liberty yesterday.

"He said God told him to do it," Mr Richard Condon, the acting police commissioner, said.

He identified the suspect as Juan Gonzales, 43, who told police he had bought the weapon, a 61cm curved blade with a fake pearl handle, at a New York City shop. He sneaked it aboard the ferry wrapped in newspaper.

Mr Gonzales described himself as "a boat person who arrived in March 1977" from Cuba, Mr Condon said.

Among the wounded were a prominent Kansas banker and his professor wife and a visitor from Austria. — Sapa-AP

WINTER SELL-OUT



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Careless talk is costing SA-lives says Institute of Race Relations

By Claire Robertson

As negotiations on British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit to South Africa continue, the director of the Institute of Race Relations has sharply criticised "foreign visitors". "They can help foster a climate which tends towards violence," Mr John Kane-Berman said in an address entitled "South Africa — A Society in Crisis" at a Johannesburg conference yesterday.

Mr Denis Healey, for example, is reported to be saying there is no alternative to violence in the struggle against apartheid.

"Careless talk of this kind — after a bare four days in the country, in his case — helps to polarise things. There are thousands of people in South Africa working for non-violent change. It seems Mr Healey is telling them to stop wasting their time."

Mr Kane-Berman told the conference on Crisis Intervention, held at Tara Hospital, that foreign

visitors needed to have a realistic assessment of how much constructive influence they had.

"The South African Government obviously sabotaged the Eminent Persons Group initiative in the most calculated way when it raided neighbouring states, but that is no reason for the EPG to throw in the towel and polarise things further."

"No member of the EPG really has an interest in what happens here," Mr Kane-Berman said.

"South Africa is paying a terrible price for the adoption of the tricameral Parliament. Anger among young black people has reached new heights."

On unrest-related violence, he said there was a strong case for a comprehensive inquiry into riot control methods.

"But we have taken polarised positions on violence. You will find few people to condemn neck-lace executions as strongly as they condemn killings at the hands of security forces. The reverse is also true."

Date set for P.W. Tutu talks

AKG 8/7/86

304/11

Staff Reporter

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has agreed to meet Bishop Desmond Tutu on Monday, July 21 in Pretoria.

Bishop Tutu, Archbishop-elect of Cape Town, was "very happy" at the response to his request for a meeting, his executive assistant, Canon Norman Luyt, said today.

"This is the only way we are going to get things straight in this country — by talking. This is right for the two of them. Apparently, they had a good time at the last meeting in Cape Town," Canon Luyt said.

"I think they are getting to know each other."

Canon Luyt said that Bishop Tutu's telegram requesting the meeting was sent to President Botha's Cape Town office a week ago.

"But he was already back in Pretoria so there was a delay while it was sent on to him. We received a telephone call yesterday to say that the President had agreed."

"I would imagine they will have an open agenda."

The last meeting between the two men, for 90 minutes on June 13, was "cordial", Bishop Tutu said at the time.

He did not give details of the talks except that they had concerned "the situation".

"He put his point of view and I put mine."

They had agreed they were both South Africans and that neither liked communism.

President Botha declined comment on their meeting. His office said it was regarded as a private conversation.

The latest developments reflect a considerable change in their relationship, which has often been strained in recent years. This was particularly so a year ago when Mr Botha turned down Bishop Tutu's request for an urgent meeting on the unrest in the country.



President Botha



It was suggested that Bishop Tutu might join a church delegation which met Mr Botha on August 19 last year for talks on defusing the unrest situation. But Bishop Tutu turned down the invitation.

The climate between them started to change towards the end of last year when the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said that the Government was prepared to talk to men of influence like the Bishop and Dr Allan Boesak.

While Bishop Tutu said he would explore the possibility of talks with the Government, Mr Miller afterwards explained that the Government was not in favour of "one-on-one" talks between the President and such leaders, but that they could talk to the Minister of Constitutional Development or the special Cabinet committee on black political rights.

Cape Times 9/7/86 (THU) 306110522

Ball attacks detentions

BARCLAYS MD Chris Ball made a strong attack at the conference against the detention of both the executives of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the editor of the New Nation, Zwelakhe Sisulu.

"Today we see action aimed at suppressing constructive thought and it is as difficult to comprehend as it is to accept.

"I consider the detention of executives of the NECC as being irrational and I do not understand the arrest of people such as Zwelakhe Sisulu," Ball said.

He said he was frustrated by the lack of imagination and the lack of lateral thinking in SA.

"The rigidity in our community over the last 40 years and the determination to enforce a futile concept, come what may, have constrained our initiative," he said.

● Some accounts were withdrawn from Barclays Bank last week after the bomb attacks in Johannesburg and Pretoria, Chris Ball, said.

"My bank is apparently being associated with the ANC because of my contacts with the organization," he said.

He later refused to say how many accounts had been withdrawn.

Ball said he rejects the ANC's violence and "I do plea with the ANC that if you talk in terms of dialogue and reconciliation, hitting soft targets is not the way to go about it."

PFP criticises NP for not standing

THE failure of the National Party to field a candidate for the Pinelands and Claremont parliamentary by-elections on September 3 was "bitterly disappointing", Pinelands Progressive Federal Party candidate Jasper Walsh said yesterday.

On Monday, NP Cape chief secretary Frikkie van Deventer said: "Claremont and Pinelands are not priority constituencies for the National Party and are not part of our future planning."

The Pinelands seat will probably be a straight contest between Walsh and the National Republic Party's Norman Barrett.

But it is likely the PFP's Jan van Eck will be allowed to take the

Own Correspondent

Claremont seat uncontested.

Walsh said: "It is bitterly disappointing that the NP can see no reason for contesting the by-elections."

"The PFP saw this as an opportunity to debate with the Nationalists the real issues affecting the future of our country and to test their (the Nationalists') commitment to resolving the crises which face us."

"Their mismanagement of the economy — which has led to a severe depression affecting the lives of all South Africans — has to be addressed as a matter of top priority."

"In addition, there are no signs of a plan to resolve the constitutional crisis which has led to the instability prevalent in all our lives."

Walsh said the situation in SA had never appeared more bleak, and the opportunity to debate the critical issues facing the country had been lost by the NP's refusal to field candidates.

Turning to the NRP, he said having only that party as opposition in Pinelands was "disappointing".

"This party has been losing support over the past few years and its inability to offer a political alternative, while clearly not opposing the Nationalists, merely endorses their irrelevance," he said.

P W challenged by Brink

IN A searing open letter to State President P W Botha published in yesterday's *New York Times*, Afrikaner novelist Andre Brink directly challenges the government to arrest him.

"If that happens," he writes, "you may do your best to ensure that people in SA will not even know that I am among the innumerable nameless ones who are disappearing every day."

The article, datelined Grahams-town, is an extraordinary *cri de coeur* in which Brink accuses Botha of adopting Soviet totalitarian models, likens the SA security apparatus to the Gestapo and draws parallels between the SA government and the Argentinian military junta of the 70's.

"How many times has your own regime allowed itself to be inspired

SIMON BARBER

by the Kremlin — in your state control of the economy, your interference with production and marketing, your restrictions on free expression and your police state methods?" the author asks.

"Now . . . no-one can expose your lies and evils, no-one can speak up for the oppressed, hounded, turned out of their burning homes, tortured or killed . . ."

The current crackdown is self-perpetuating, Brink argues. "With your arrogance, intransigence and organised campaigns of terror against the oppressed, you created the circumstances you required for the declaration of a state of emergency."

The writer contends that Botha

is deliberately trying to deceive "gullible Western leaders like Ronald Reagan and Margeret Thatcher" because every apparent step forward is double-edged.

"You end forced removals; then 'coincidental' violence involving your security forces happens to encourage the homeless to move voluntarily. You abolish the pass laws, then set about arresting countless blacks for 'trespassing' . . ."

"You bring a handful of coloureds and Indians into parliament . . . but the moment they hesitate to co-operate in passing some of the most Draconian legislation this country has ever seen, you treat them like schoolboys."

● This report has been abridged to comply with the security regulations.
— Editor.

9/7/86 DD
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MPs predict general election by year-end

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — Senior politicians have forecast that a general election will be held in South Africa towards the end of this year.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, said the situation was similar to that in 1977 when the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, called an election.

"Mr Vorster fought the election on the manifesto of the 1979 constitution, which was the precursor to the tricameral system. But the campaign was on a 'tell the world where to get off' theme," Mr Hulley said.

He anticipated that the National Party's federal congress in Durban in August would produce a platform for a

proposal that black people be included in central government on a nomination system.

"The election campaign will have a tub-thumping 'vote against the outside world' theme

"The recent spate of tub-thumping speeches by the government indicates they are trying to draw people into the laager again."

He said an election this year would allow the government to prove that the right wing was overrated.

"They are overrated in terms of their seat-winning strength because their support is spread widely but relatively thinly," Mr Hulley said.

General elections are due every five years and the life of the pre-tricameral system Parlia-

ment would have run out on July 31 this year.

The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has been criticised regularly for the fact that, because the present Parliament was set up in 1984, the next election is now due in 1989.

Mr Hulley suggested another reason an election might be held this year was because, with the abolition of the old provincial government system, there were several aspirant National Party parliamentary candidates.

"A similar situation occurred with the scrapping of the Senate at the end of 1980 and an election was called in 1981," he said.

The PFP MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, said this year would be a good time for an election for the government because the

state of emergency would attract some Conservative Party supporters back to the National Party

The government might also consider that an election would be better for it now than in a few years because of the effects on the economy of economic boycotts on South Africa, he said.

The New Republic Party's federal secretary, Mr Hennie Brink, said the NRP congress set for October 18 might be brought forward if an election or referendum were called after the NP congress.

Another pointer to a possible general election this year is the lack of the proclamation of a parliamentary by-election in Klip River to fill the seat vacated by Mr Val Volker, who has been nominated to the new Natal Provincial Executive Committee.

Hulley: civil rights the issue

DURBAN — The only political debate that should be held in South Africa was what system would replace apartheid, Mr Roger Hulley, PFP MP for Constantia, said here.

Speaking at a report-back meeting, Mr Hulley said the vast majority of blacks in resistance to apartheid were making their challenge from a civil rights point of view.

"They are not com-

heid society and a post-apartheid society.

It was exciting that the country had reached the transition stage and the many agonies were, by definition, part of the process, he said.

"The depressing aspect is the violence which we are experiencing and the feeling that the government is unwilling or unable to provide a lead to enable the country to get through this transition without destroying itself.

"The sooner we, as whites, go through the difficult mental process of accepting that a post-apartheid South Africa is coming and that it offers exciting prospects, the sooner more of us

can throw our weight behind achieving it."

Mr Gastrow said the National Party talked about power-sharing but actually meant power-sharing without losing control.

"The logjam can be broken only by negotiating a new constitution with recognised leaders of all groups. That must involve the release of Nelson Mandela and others and freedom of association within the country."

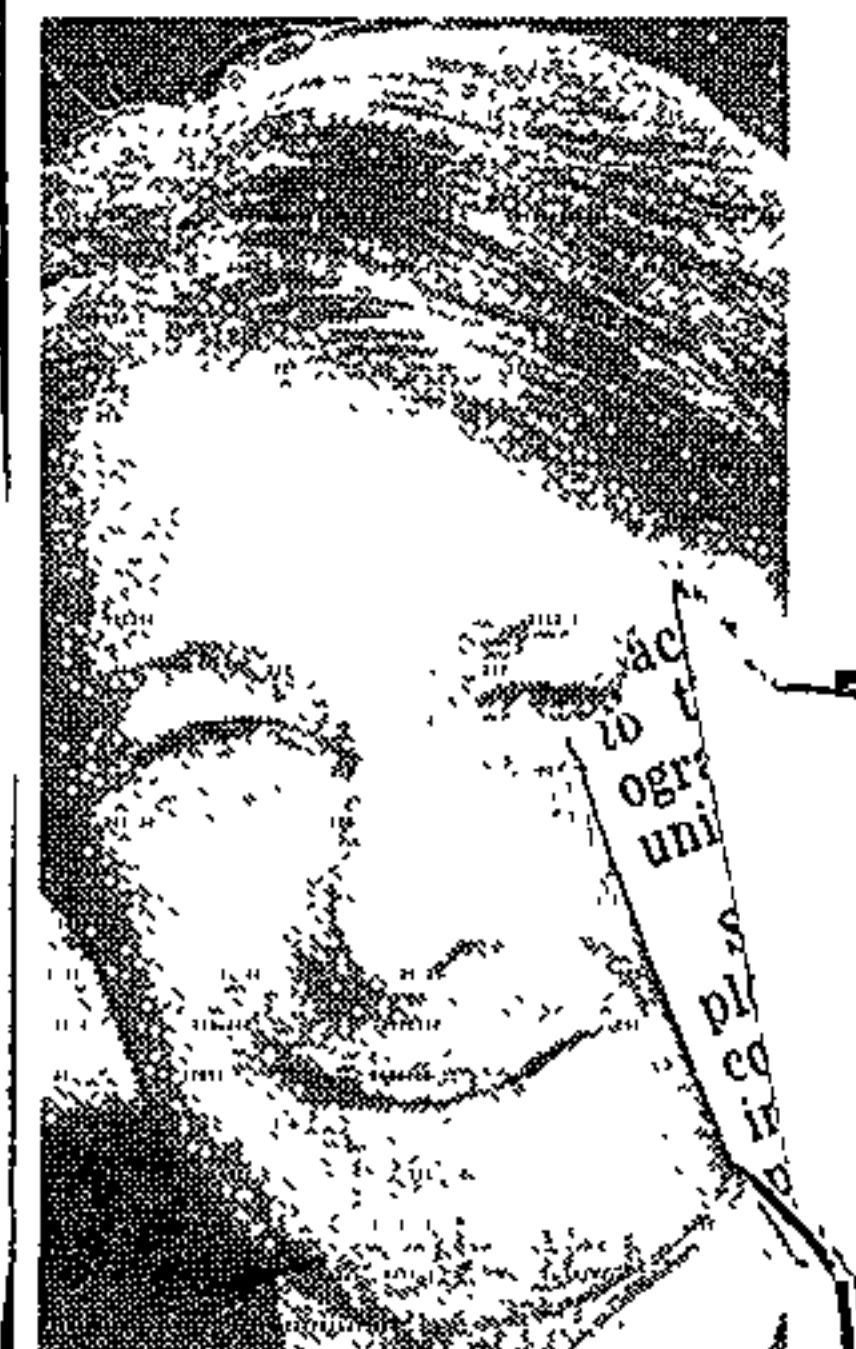
Mr Gastrow said whites who were starting to lose hope must pull themselves together and do something about the situation.

"In Natal it could involve working for and



MR GASTROW

supporting the goals of the (Kwazulu/Natal) Indaba," he said. — DDC-Sapa



Govt booklet is cited in challenge to emergency

9/7/82
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By Jo-Anne Collinge

Can the Department of Information booklet "Talking to the ANC" be considered a "subversive statement" because it might have the effect of promoting the object of an unlawful organisation?

Or because it might aggravate feelings of hostility within a section of the public towards the African National Congress?

The questions — illustrating the "wide and uncertain net cast by the definition of 'subversive statement' in the emergency regulations" — were posed in papers before Mr Justice Didcott in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday.

They formed part of an unprecedented challenge to the emergency regulations, brought by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union. It will be argued next week before a full Bench by Johannesburg advocate, Mr Ismail Mahomed SC.

The union is seeking an order declaring that the emergency regulations ceased to be of force and effect after June 26 because of a failure by the authorities to lay them on the tables of the three Houses of Parliament within 14 days of the declaration of the state of emergency.

Statement in newsletter

A lesser object is to get the court to declare as "not subversive" a statement which the union hopes to publish in a newsletter.

Journalists and publishers are looking to this case for the real guidelines on where "subversion" begins in the print world.

Dr Bernard Fanaroff, Mawu national organiser, stated in papers before the court that the vague definition of "subversive statement" con-

Subversive, precisely stated

The definition of a "subversive statement" — as contained in the regulations governing South Africa's third state of emergency — covers statements which are *calculated or likely* to have the effect of:

- Promoting any object of an unlawful organisation,
- Inciting the public or any person to participate in an unlawful strike, take part in or support any boycott action, participate in any unlawful demonstration or gathering, perform any act of civil disobedience or discredit or undermine the system of compulsory military service.

A statement is also subversive:

If it is calculated or likely to incite anyone to resist or oppose the Government, any Minister, any official, any member of the police force, defence force or prison service in connection with any measure adopted in terms of the emergency or in order to maintain public safety and order.

If it encourages disinvestment or sanctions.

If it is likely to create hostile feelings in the public or any section of the public towards any person or category of persons.

If it might undermine the confidence of the public in the termination of the state of emergency or encourage anyone to act in a way which endangers public safety and public order.

It is an offence to produce a "subversive statement", to disseminate or make it public in any way — or even just to possess it.

stricted, confused and prejudiced the union. He gave examples of positions which Mawu wished to publish but feared it might "offend the definition (of subversive)" by doing so.

● Mawu remained convinced, said Mr Fanaroff, that the policies of the present Government were "unwise and dangerous and that it is necessary to oppose those policies, including the policy of apartheid, the policy of compulsory military service and the emergency measures".

● The union was also convinced that as long as the Government maintained its policies and sought to avoid opposition to it by "draconian laws promulgated under the state of emergency, the unrest will continue in the country and the state of emergency will not be terminated".

Puzzling provision

Dr Fanaroff said the provision declaring any statement likely to encourage any "foreign action" against South Africa to be "subversive" was particularly puzzling to Mawu.

"Among the many groups in foreign countries who oppose, criticise and act in different ways against the policies of the present Government are foreign trade unions," his affidavit said.

"Mawu does not know whether, if it acts in a way which might have the effect of causing such a foreign union to act against the Republic by issuing a statement of condemnation, that this would constitute a contravention of the definition of 'subversive statement'."

The language of the regulation left people uncertain. This had been compounded by the authorities refusing to clarify the matter and that the police, while searching Mawu offices, seized general policy documents of the union contending that these were subversive statements.

Mr Fanaroff asked whether possession of the Government booklet "Talking to the ANC" might be considered an offence since the document might have the effect of promoting the ends of the ANC or engendering hostility against it.

Mawu attorney Mr Peter Harris of the Johannesburg firm Cheadle, Haysom and Thompson said in papers that he had approached police on whether the Mawu statement was subversive.

It was clear that the policeman he spoke to was in no better position to express with any degree of certainty whether the statement might offend the emergency regulations, Mr Harris said.

"I concluded that my clients ... had to approach the Supreme Court," he stated.

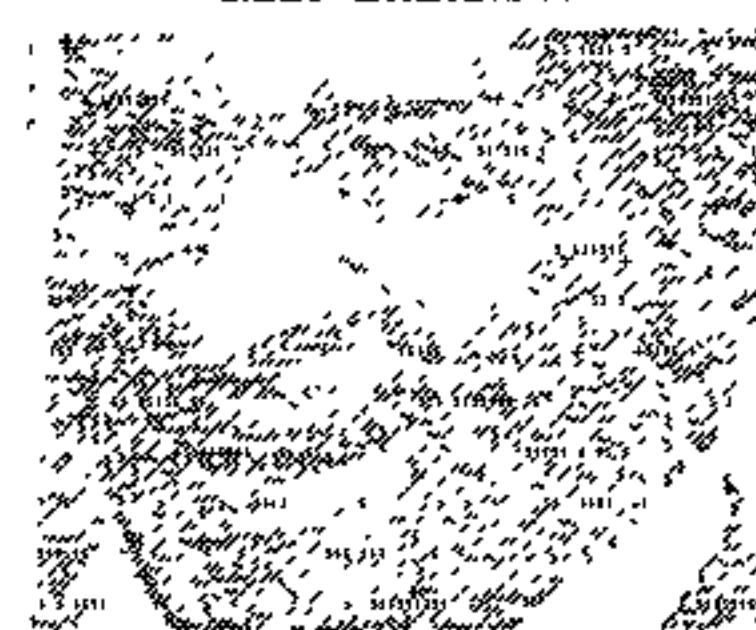
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Business leaders differ with Nafcoc on ANC's policy

Congress supports socialism — Relly



MR RELLY



DR MOTSEUNYANE

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Several businessmen who held talks with the African National Congress (ANC) last year said yesterday they could not support the view of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) that the ANC would support private enterprise.

The president of Nafcoc, Dr Sam Motseunyane, who recently met ANC representatives, told Nafcoc's annual conference this week that the ANC believed in a mixed economy, such as existed in South Africa at present, and encouraged the spirit of entrepreneurship.

But it was opposed to racial or monopoly capitalism, he said.

The chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, who led the business delegation to the ANC's headquarters in Lusaka, said on their return that the ANC's ideas for running the country "fell within the Marxist-socialist area".

He described the position of the two groups as very far apart.

Yesterday the executive director of the Anglo American Corporation and the chairman of LTA Construction, Mr Zach de Beer, said he had no grounds to be as optimistic about the ANC's economic plan as Nafcoc seemed to be.

Based on the meeting with the ANC and on documents and statements since then, he said there was no doubt the ANC supported a mixed economy.

"But this is, as I understand it, a mixed economy based upon the Freedom Charter of the 1950s.

"That document proposes the nationalisation of the banks, the mines and certain other major businesses. This would imply a wholly undesir-

able degree of government intervention in the economy," he said.

The executive head of the South Africa Foundation, Mr Peter Sorour, said the foundation understood that the ANC would initially nationalise large companies, with smaller companies participating in a scheme along the lines of a 50 per cent shareholding with the government.

The ANC appeared intent on a socialist economy "of some kind", he said. Business had always held that the ANC was more concerned with wealth distribution than wealth creation.

The editor of Leadership SA magazine, Mr Hugh Murray, said he had made contact with the ANC several times. The interpretation of the ANC line appeared to be dependent on whom one spoke to.

He said there was an element of hard-line Marxists to whom some of the Freedom Charter provisions were non-negotiable, while others took the view that a new South Africa should be based on a Zimbabwe model.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that opposition MPs have expressed concern about an apparent hardening of attitudes among moderate black business leaders.

The MP for Durban Central and national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Peter Gastrow, said serious note should be taken of the view taken by the Nafcoc leadership.

He was commenting on the rejection of the government's proposed National Statutory Council by Dr Motseunyane.

"Coming from a very moderate organisation, it is an indication of their strength of feeling against any attempt to co-opt black people without real power-sharing," he said.



Mr Frank Poessnecker (with beard), Miss Ruth Muller and Mr Simon Cooper in Pretoria yesterday after spending a month in a Zambian prison accused of spying for the South African Government.

Tourists tell of torture and 'filthy' Zambian jail

By Don Holliday

Freedom has a hollow ring for two West German and one British tourists released last week from a Zambian jail after being accused of spying for the South African Government.

Four South Africans from their tour party accused of the same offence are still languishing in a Lusaka prison and their future is uncertain, despite diplomatic action by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

BEATINGS

"We cannot enjoy our freedom while our friends are still in that filthy prison, perhaps being subjected to beatings and psychological torture," said Mr Frank Poessnecker (42), a West German economic engineer living in Pretoria.

He, Miss Ruth Muller (31), a West German technician at the Transvaal Museum in Pretoria, and Mr Simon Cooper (27), a Pretoria-based agricultural engineer, were re-

leased from prison on June 28 and 29.

They said they had had been held for a month and physically and psychologically tortured by Zambian security officers to force them to incriminate their South African friends in the collecting of information on strategic Zambian installations for use by the South African Defence Force.

Mr Rudolf Otterman (28), a Rustenburg agricultural engineer, Mr Bernhard Koch (23), a Natal farmer, Mr Randolph Keyser (27), a Natal agricultural engineer, and Mr Duncan Vause (28), from Natal, are being detained without trial by presidential order.

Mr Cooper said he believed the men had been forced to sign "confessions" of spying for the SA Defence Force.

The arrests on May 27 near Lake Tanganyika in the north of Zambia occurred eight days after the Defence Force raided ANC bases in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia.

It is believed the Zam-

bians' suspicions strengthened when photographs of bridges and buildings were found in their possession.

Yesterday Mr Cooper, Miss Muller and Mr Poessnecker spoke of their intended "purely recreational" tour of Southern Africa which ended in a prison they described as "filthy and ridden with cockroaches and lice".

They crossed into Zimbabwe from the Transvaal on May 9 and reached the Zambian border at the Kariba Dam bridge on May 22.

Their travel documents were approved.

On May 27 they were stopped at a roadblock near Imbala in the north.

The party was arrested and taken to the Imbala police station. Their passports were confiscated.

They were all told on June 11 they were being held on suspicion of collecting clandestine information about strategic installations to be passed on to the SADF.

The next day Mr Poessnecker, Mr Cooper

and Mr Keyser were taken to the interrogation centre and kept in solitary confinement.

"On the night of June 14 I was taken to a room and stripped," said Mr Cooper.

"They accused me of spying and threatened me with cigarette burns if I did not admit it.

"I was told they would feed me to the crocodiles if I did not."

IMPOSSIBLE

He said he was forced into "impossible physical contortions" while being questioned at length.

"I tried to convince them I was just a tourist but they would not listen," he said.

The interrogation lasted about six hours.

The detention orders on the West Germans and the Briton were revoked and they were served prohibited immigrant orders on June 26.

Mr Poessnecker and Miss Muller were released on June 28 and Mr Cooper the next day.

STAL
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Alhambra Theatre
LAST 3 WEEKS
TUES TO FRI 8.15; SAT
BILL FLYNN AS

THE FOREIGN

Leonard Rayne The
MON TO FRI 8.3
SAT 8.45 & 9.1
MAY NEXT WED 2.3
SANDRA DUNCAN

ANASTASIA

Book at Theatre/Comp

CIVIC THEATRE

TOMORROW AT 7
SAT AT 2.30 & 7
(SAT 2.30 SOLD)
PACT BAL

CARM

Pacquita/Graduate
Book at Computicket

Market Theatre

LAST 3 D
Tonight & Tomor
Sat 6 & 9
YOU MUST N

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STRICTLY ADU
Book at Theatre

Galaxy Theatre

MONDAY
WED TO FR
SAT 8.30
SUN 3.00
THE NAUGHTY
SHOW

PLAY

Time for talk is running out, says PFP man

Own Correspondent

GOVERNMENT clearly had no intention of negotiating with radical black organisations, PFP candidate for Pine-lands, Cape, Jasper Walsh said last night.

Government failed to recognise that more than 85% of the people living in SA were not white, he said in a prepared speech at a by-election meeting.

"It is dangerously unrealistic to think that whites can continue to make all the decisions for all the people of South Africa. It is therefore in the interests of whites to sit down now and negotiate an equitable and peaceful future with recognised black leaders."

Walsh said there was still sufficient goodwill for different races to plan for a peaceful future together, but time was running out.

"For Nationalists to suggest that they are under pressure from countries overseas is absolute rubbish; it is our own people's demands which have to be met."

Walsh said talk by the New Republic Party of a local option was merely another form of apartheid and a last-ditch attempt to preserve white privilege.

AK 10/7/86

Right wing's high by-election hopes

3044

Political Staff

THE right-wing parties have high hopes of capturing a Natal seat in the Klip River by-election for the House of Assembly.

Both the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party claim there has been a swing in their favour among voters there.

While the by-election date has yet to be announced, both parties have already indicated that they intend to fight the by-election.

The two are now negotiating over whether one or both parties will field a candidate or candidates. Spokesmen said today a decision was expected within a week.

DISILLUSIONED

The Natal Conservative chairman, Mr Koos Groenewald, said his party had been active in the constituency for some time and had seven branches there.

Meetings had been well attended and there were signs of a big swing towards the conservatives, especially among English-speaking voters and disillusioned National Party supporters.

Mr Louis Stoffberg, the HNP's MP for Sasolburg, said his party was also active in Klip River where its support was now "considerably stronger" than it was in the 1981 general election.

Then the seat was won by Mr Tino Volker of the National Party with a majority of 3 929. He was opposed by the HNP, which polled 1 402, and the Progressive Federal Party (1 329) in a 67 percent poll.

In the by-election the PFP is expected to stand again. It seems unlikely that the New Republic Party will put up a candidate.

The Klip River seat became vacant as a result of Mr Volker's appointment to the new Natal provincial executive committee.

MICK COLLINS

SOUTH AFRICA'S role as a major economic power will be highlighted at an international conference organised by the Department of Business Economics at Witwatersrand University today.

Ten top speakers from Britain and the US will attend the conference.

The keynote address will be delivered by Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Conference convenor Professor Duncan Reekie said: "SA is an important part of the world economy generally and a critical part of the sub-continent.

"We depend on the world and the economic health of the sub-continent depends on us. The conference will highlight just how this interdependence affects them and how the political does, but need not, impinge."

Overseas speakers include: Simon Jenkins, political editor of *The Economist*; John Burton, research director of the Institute of Economic Affairs, London; Sam Peltzman, professor of business economics at the University of Chicago; and Morgan Reynolds, economics professor at Texas University.

Local speakers include: Gavin Relly, of Anglo American; Conrad Strauss, Standard Bank; Peter Searle, Volkswagen; and Nigel Bruce, editor of the *Financial Mail*.

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Whites were impressed by Govt's efforts

Political Reporter

THE majority of urban whites believed the Government was doing a good job of controlling terrorism inside the country and starting dialogue with black leaders... before the state of emergency was imposed.

But they were less impressed with its ability to control inflation and reduce unemployment, according to a recent survey.

The survey, conducted by the Johannesburg-based Markinor research company before the announcement of a state of emergency on June 12, found that 79% of the respondents thought the Government was doing well in controlling terrorism.

Seventy-three percent thought the Government was doing well in initiating

dialogue with black leaders, and 67% were positive about the handling of demands for equal education for blacks.

Sixty-two percent of respondents thought the Government was not doing very well or not at all well in reducing unemployment and 61% thought they were not doing well in controlling inflation.

The respondents were not happy about the Government's communications and 57% thought it was not doing well in informing foreigners what was 'really happening' in South Africa and 48% were not impressed with its efforts to inform the public of future Government policy.

Fifty-four percent thought the Government was doing well in controlling township unrest and handling racial conflict.

This year's reforms 'most far-reaching'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Government has this year enacted the most far-reaching reforms since the NP's election victory in 1948, but they have been overshadowed by economic recession, intensifying political violence and growing international pressure.

This is according to the Quarterly Countdown report released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The reforms include the repeal of the pass laws, the granting of freehold rights to blacks and provision for S.A. citizenship to be regained by denationalised blacks, the report says.

Fully multiracial executive government has been instituted at provincial level, though on a nominated basis only.

Among the factors overshadowing these reforms are the reimposition of the state of emergency on June 12 and resurgent white Right-wing reaction such as the breaking up of NP meetings.

304A

10/7/8

UCT principal warns of more violence in SA

Staff Reporter

THE failure of the Nationalist government to engage in fundamental political reform and its persistence in enforcing apartheid policies would plunge South Africa into further violence, Dr Stuart Saunders, UCT's vice-chancellor and principal, said last night.



Dr Stuart Saunders at last night's meeting in Claremont.

Speaking at a meeting of the Young Progressives, attended by about 400 people in the Claremont Civic Centre, he called for real negotiation in South Africa "to begin to avoid the steady spiral of violence and to achieve peace".

Other speakers who also addressed the meeting were Ms Sheena Duncan, immediate past chairperson of the Black Sash, Mr Andrew Millar, national chairperson of the Young Progressives, and Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia.

Dr Saunders said that although he did not normally speak on a political platform, there were so few opportunities to speak publicly in South Africa "that it seemed to me that I must not censor and silence myself while I am still able to speak".

Quoting extensively from the recent Eminent Persons Group report, he said there was no genuine intention on the

part of this government to dismantle apartheid.

In the government's way of thinking there were a number of non-negotiables, "the concept of group rights — the very basis of the apartheid system — was sacrosanct".

The homelands would not disappear but would be reinforced with the emergence of an independent KwaNdebele.

The principle of one man, one vote in a unitary state was beyond the realm of possibility.

"The Population Registration Act would continue and the present tricameral constitution which institutionalizes racism must be the vehicle for future constitutional reform," he added.

'Future in blood'

While the government claimed to be ready to negotiate it was not yet prepared to "countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future", Dr Saunders said.

He was deeply disturbed that so many organizations — including 119 in the Western Cape alone — were prevented from having public meetings.

"I am puzzled when I read the South African press now. It takes me three minutes to read most newspapers and from some one gets the entire message in under 60 seconds."

Dr Saunders appealed to South Africans to rebel against writing the "charter of our future in blood".

"Let the real negotiations begin and fulfil the need for peace," he concluded.

CPL TMS
10/7/86 (3048)

SAIRR report on reforms

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has this year enacted the most far-reaching reforms since the NP's election victory in 1948, but they have been overshadowed by economic recession, intensifying political violence, and growing international pressure.

This is according to the Quarterly Countdown report released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

The reforms include the repeal of the pass laws, the granting of freehold rights to blacks and provision for South African citizenship to be regained by denationalized blacks, the report says, although the required application in writing for restoration of citizenship puts illiterate people at a severe disadvantage.

Among the factors overshadowing these reforms are the reimposition of the state of emergency on June 12 and resurgent white right-wing reaction such as the breaking up of NP meetings.

Brink challenges govt in letter

Cap & Times 12/7/86 3048



Prof André Brink

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Afrikaans writer André Brink said late yesterday afternoon he had just returned from an overseas visit and had "no idea of what the reaction has been" to his open letter to the State President.

Professor Brink, head of the Department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at Rhodes University, was referring to an open letter to Mr P W Botha published in Tuesday's New York Times. Simon Barber reports from Washington that Brink directly challenges the government to arrest him. "If that happens," he writes, "you may do your best to ensure that

people in South Africa will not even know that I am among the innumerable nameless ones who are disappearing every day."

The article, datelined Grahams-town, is an extraordinary cry from the heart in which Brink accuses Mr Botha of adopting Soviet totalitarian models, likens the South Africa security apparatus to the Gestapo and draws parallels between the South African Government and the Argentine military junta of the 70s.

"How many times has your own regime allowed itself to be inspired by the Kremlin—in your state control of the economy, your interference with

production and marketing, your restrictions on free expression and your police state methods?" he asks.

"Now ... no one can expose your lies and evils ... can speak up for the oppressed, hounded, turned out of their burning homes, tortured or killed ..."

The current crackdown is self-perpetuating, Brink argues. "With your arrogance, intransigence and organized campaigns of terror against the oppressed, you created the circumstances you required for the declaration of a state of emergency."

He contends that Mr Botha is delib-

erately trying to deceive "gullible Western leaders" because every apparent step forward is double-edged.

"You end forced removals; then 'co-incidentally' violence involving your security forces happens to encourage the homeless to move voluntarily. You abolish the pass laws, then set about arresting countless blacks for 'trespassing' ..."

"You bring a handful of coloureds and Indians into parliament ... but the moment they hesitate to co-operate in passing some of the most draconian legislation this country has ever seen, you treat them like schoolboys."



Mr Roger Hulley

Govt walking Smith's road

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE South African Government is walking down the same road that led to the downfall of Mr Ian Smith's white-minority regime in Rhodesia, according to the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley.

Writing in the latest edition of the PFP newspaper *Deurbraak*, Mr Hulley says the government is unwilling to learn from the failures of the Smith regime, which continued "to walk down the road of diminishing

options" until it had no more bargaining power left.

"When the security situation in Rhodesia had gone completely out of control... Mr Smith was forced into signing a treaty at Lancaster House which offered less for the white minority than any previous British package deal had offered."

President P W Botha's opening speech on the debate on his vote in Parliament this year was reminiscent of the kind of speech Mr Smith was making only 10 years ago.

"In 1976 Mr Smith and most white Rhodesians still misread the war not as a nationalist liberation struggle, but rather as a fight against communist-inspired terrorism led by agitators."

According to Mr Hulley, there are at least six important parallels between the policies of the Smith regime in Rhodesia and the NP government in South Africa which include:

- "The underlying commitment of both regimes to the doctrine of white supremacy in central government, whether or not members of

other race groups are co-opted for multiracial window-dressing.

- "The commitment to racial segregation in political institutions and also to a degree in social institutions.

- "The commitment to land segregation — in this respect the Group Areas Act is comparable to Rhodesia's Land Tenure Act.

- "The commitment to a homeland policy in respect of many blacks — in Rhodesia it was called 'provincialisation'.

- "The heavy reliance on security legislation and tough arm tactics."

AWB might cancel rally

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) is having second thoughts about participating in a public meeting here organised by the Independent Rights' Association (IRA).

This was confirmed yesterday by the chairman of the IRA, Mr Basil Niemand, who said: "Apparently the AWB has ascertained that the IRA's membership is open to all races, a fact which is in conflict with the tenets of the AWB."

He said he had been informed by the secretary of the AWB, Mr Jan Groenewaldt, that it was possible that the meeting scheduled for August 11 in the Orient Theatre would be cancelled.

He said the AWB had requested a copy of the principles of the IRA and a final decision would be taken after it had been studied by the AWB executive.

Mr Niemand said the AWB had been conducting meetings in the Eastern Cape in conjunction with the Conservative Party. This had been confirmed by a CP spokesman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, and the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

He said the matter served to prove the need for an organisation like the IRA, with its emphasis on individual rights. He criticised political parties.

"The abysmal record of party politics has frequently and vehemently been condemned by the IRA. The IRA believes it is on the right course and will not be brainwashed by unscrupulous party politicians into sacrificing its principles."

He was convinced that if the National Party could adopt the IRA principles, the party could solve the country's problems.

"Unfortunately they are hamstrung by the fear of loss of support and dither while innocent lives are lost."

The chairman of the CP here, Mr Calvyn Steyn, said he could not understand the IRA wanting to have a meeting here for the AWB.

"The AWB is a whites' only organisation to the right of the CP and I cannot understand how the IRA can want to have Mr Terre'Blanche here, although I have no problem with him coming because he would probably open many people's eyes."

"My party has problems with the IRA in that they do not believe in the constitutional process of parliament where the laws of the land can be changed."

"We are a fully-fledged political party with objectives to change the system in parliament."

Dangers in a false sense of security

N/M 11/7/86 (304A)
THE LACK of debate from extra-parliamentary groups caused by the state of emergency regulations makes it less likely for government solutions to South Africa's political problems to succeed, says Mr Peter Gastrow, PFP MP for Durban Central.

The lack of debate, he says, is likely to give the impression to a large section of the public that the extra-parliamentary groups' determination to work for the destruction of apartheid has been blunted.

"The false sense of comfort that there is greater political stability holds so many dangers for realistic policies from the whites.

"Public debate cannot address the real issues as defined by major political groups.

"In the absence of direct communication one tends to form political problems and issues in a way which makes it less risky as far as one's own point of view is concerned."

Mr Gastrow says it must be remembered that state-

Stuart Flitton
Political Reporter

ments by extra-parliamentary groups are being made within the ambit of the regulations and far more would otherwise have been said.

"We have to be careful that we do not interpret silence from groups as acceptance of the *status quo*. The impression I have gained is that there is even greater determination (to oppose apartheid) borne out of the frustration caused by the regulations."

The position of blacks perceived to be moderates and linked with 'the system' will become more precarious.

"Fingers are pointed at them that they are taking advantage of the situation and jumping into a vacuum."

Referring to a statement by National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Nafcoc) president Mr Sam Motsuenyane that it was time to reconsider Nafcoc's anti-disinvestment stance, Mr Gastrow agreed that moderate groups were under pressure to become more radical.

"They have to illustrate that the state of emergency is not widening the gap between themselves and other groups, otherwise their actions will be perceived to be reinforcing the system," Mr Gastrow said.

The price of keeping whites in control

IT IS SAID that the Shah of Iran fell because of the fatal combination of half-hearted reform and half-hearted repression.

By the end of 1985 some shrewd foreign observers thought that the Botha government was caught in the same deadlock of half-hearted reform and half-hearted repression. The state of emergency changes at least one part of the equation.

The State can yet go considerably further along the road of repression; it can try to break the strongest of the black trade unions and intervene in strikes; it can take three or four of the most critical newspapers off the streets; it can tell business leaders to shut up; meddlesome priests and academics can be silenced.

It is short-sighted to dismiss this as a road that will lead only to self-destruction. R W Johnson said in 1977 in his powerful book *How long will South Africa survive?* that the South African régime can last well into the 21st century provided it is ruthless enough.

An industrialised state resting on a stable social base (the whites in the South African case) has yet to be defeated by insurgents or a popular uprising.

In the end it comes down to a question of will — the will to impose repression and to pay the price for it.

More than 25 years ago Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, architect of apartheid, formulated the proposition that he would rather see

to see the economy implode like Argentina's did over the past five decades? Is it prepared to face the consequences of a severe economic slump expressed in a sharp rise in white and black unemployment?

It is here that the proposals become slightly more cheerful. It is one thing for a state to let the economy take a severe knock (as in the case of sanctions); it is quite another to let the economy disintegrate and collapse. Moreover, the State itself has recognised the close connection between unemployment and instability.

To a large extent South Africa is still a partial democracy because there is a substantial private sector. The share of the private sector in the total fixed investment in the economy is 50%; in manufacturing, which is the most important sector, also from the point of view of jobs, it rises to 80%.

A choice

As the Yale economist Charles Lindblom pointed out in his already famous book *Politics and Markets*, governments cannot command business to perform — they must induce rather than command. The reason is that businessmen have a dimension of choice: 'They will not risk capital, reputation, or the solvency of an enterprise in order to undertake an entrepreneurial venture unless the conditions are favourable.'

In the past five years business has exercised that choice and in so doing clearly indicated a lack of faith in the Government's reform programme.

According to a new study by the Stellenbosch Bureau for Economic Research total gross domestic investment in 1985 was down 18.2% on 1981, while that in manufacturing has fallen from 1 490 000 jobs

in February 1982 to just above 1 320 000 in February this year. This is a loss of 170 000 jobs at a time when there should have been a huge increase to ensure a sound and healthy economy.

There are voices advocating that the State should take over the investment function but this will scare businessmen even further and accelerate the (illegal) flight of capital.

As citizens, businessmen are not necessarily greater democrats than other people. But as businessmen they need independent sources of information — something only a free Press can provide. They want negotiating partners in the workplace — and only independent unions can offer this. They now perceive that South Africa needs some kind of political solution — and that means some form of democracy and not Mr Chris Heunis's undemocratic system of non-racial co-optation on the second tier of government.

Separate issue

The greatest mistake business leaders have made was to assume that the modernisation of South Africa's socio-economic system (improved black education and training and recognised black trade unions) will automatically lead to power-sharing. Political power-sharing is a quite separate issue about which the Government must still make a decision.

If they do meet again with President Botha, business leaders need do nothing more than spell out quite simply the awesome costs of a choice to remain poor and politically segregated.

It could be as fatal a combination as half-hearted repression and half-hearted reform.

● Hermann Giliomee is a professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town.

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Brink accuses PW of deceiving gullible leaders

Dispatch Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Afrikaans author, Professor Andre Brink, who has just returned from an overseas visit, said he has "no idea what the reaction has been" to an open letter he wrote to the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, that was published in the New York Times this week.

Prof Brink, who heads the department of Afrikaans and Nederlands at Rhodes University, accuses President Botha in the letter of trying to deceive "gullible Western leaders like Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher".

Prof Brink also said in the letter: "You bring a handful of coloureds and Indians into Parliament... but the moment they hesitate to co-operate in passing some of the most Draconian legislation this country has ever seen, you treat them like school-boys."

Editor's footnote: The full text of Prof Brink's letter has not been published because of restraints on criticism of government and security force actions inherent in the state of emergency regulations.

Mozambique exiles in search for peace

The Star's Africa News Service

A group of Mozambican exiles, including former members of the ruling Frelimo Party and the MNR rebel group, are to meet in West Germany this weekend to discuss measures needed to bring peace to their country.

Sources said the three-day meeting, starting today, will be held in Cologne.

The exiles will discuss, among other things, a possible meeting with MNR leader Mr Afonso Dhlakama, and the steps necessary to bring about a meeting between the MNR and Frelimo.

It is understood that the exiles have already agreed that one of the stumbling blocks to negotiations between Frelimo and the MNR is the rebels' secretary-general, Mr Evo Fernandes. The Mozambican government has constantly refused to negotiate with him, saying he is a Portuguese citizen.

'Mistaken' banning orders set aside in Govt Gazette

Pretoria Bureau

The Government Gazette setting aside the "mistaken" banning orders imposed on several major trade unions and organisations in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort areas was published Pretoria yesterday.

The ban of gatherings will now only be in force in Soweto, Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville in Roodepoort.

The unions are no longer affected.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto repealed the orders published on Tuesday and issued the new prohibition

on gatherings in terms of the Public Safety Act.

The police said in a statement earlier that no trade union official would be detained for bona fide trade union activities.

The statement added that the ban on the unions had been an error. Union involved included the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the Council of Unions of South Africa, the National Union of Mineworkers, the Commercial Catering and Workers Union of South Africa and the Metal and Allied Workers Union.

The statement said the Minister of Law and Order had been in touch with employer organisations and recognised that sound labour relations were important.

The organisations which are now affected are: all the students representative councils of any school college or university in the area, Azapo, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), the United Democratic Front (UDF), the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), the Azanian National Youth Unity, the Azanian Students Movement, the Black Students Society, the Education Charter Campaign Committee, the Federation of Residents Association, the Federation of South African Women, the Federation of Transvaal Women Association, the Lenasia Students Congress, the Lenasia Youth League, Lenz Solidarity Group, the National Education Union of South Africa, the Release Mandela Campaign, the Soweto Civic Association, the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, the Soweto Students Congress, the Soweto Youth Congress, the Call of Islam, the Young Christian Students and Young Christian Workers.

Colin has no hard feelings

Public relations officer for the Automobile Association, Mr Colin Fluxman, said yesterday he bore no grudge against the organisation, which is retrenching him and 59 other staff members.

Mr Fluxman, well known as a freelance radio and television presenter, has been asked to leave the AA at the end of July.

"With the collapse of AA Mutual, on whose membership subscriptions and commission the AA relied, it now finds itself forced to cut costs."

HNP put spanner in right-wing poll deal

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Herstigte Nasionale Party appears to have made a pre-emptive strike in the coming Klip River parliamentary by-election by announcing that it has decided to fight the seat.

A provocative front-page report in its newspaper, *Die Afrikaner*, yesterday quoted HNP administrative secretary Mr Louis van der Schyff as saying: "The HNP has decided to contest the seat and the necessary steps for the selection of a candidate have been implemented".

The article made no mention of the fact that the HNP and the Conservative Party were supposed to be negotiating which of the two right-wing parties was going to field a candidate.

The by-election is the result of the appointment of the National Party MP for Klip River, Mr Valentin Volker, as an MEC for Natal.

'A LITTLE PREMATURE'

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today the newspaper report was "a little premature".

"We were in touch with the HNP about it and they said they had problems with the newspaper's deadlines.

"In fact, we are still negotiating about who will be standing in the election," Dr Treurnicht said.

The HNP and CP are anxious to avoid repeating previous situations where, unable to agree which party should put up the candidate, both entered, with the result that the National Party cruised to victory on a split vote.

The HNP has frequently accused the CP of not giving it a fair share of by-elections to fight.

Rosholt: modify free enterprise

JOHANNESBURG

The free enterprise system in South Africa will have to be modified, the chairman of Barlow Rand, Mr Mike Rosholt, said last night.

"We must recognise that the central economic issue in future will inevitably be the process of income redistribution in favour of the lower income groups," he told a dinner for delegates to an international symposium at the University of the Witwatersrand. The topic of the symposium is "What Boundaries for Business?"

"That process of income redistribution will be easier to live with if it is voluntary rather than forced. Having said that, I cannot emphasise too strongly that at the same time we must strive relentlessly to preserve those aspects of our present system which remain valid and essential for the future well-being of the country.

"In particular we must ensure that income redistribution does not become capital distribution resulting in an inevitable diminution of the income which is to be shared. We must try to ensure that over a period we all become equally wealthy and not equally poor.

"We must aim at a situation in which our first world economy, based on increasing exports and import substitution, can finance itself and generate the wealth required to fund the third world sector."

The latter should deal as effectively as possible with the greatest single national problem, unemployment. It could do so "by investing pri-



Mr Rosholt ... central issue will be how to redistribute income.

marily in labour intensive industries such as agriculture and urbanisation."

Mr Rosholt said the modified system must be "seen as a catalyst for the redistribution of an increased national income, as being fully aware, as many of its adherents are, of its additional social responsibilities: as actively promoting power sharing rather than being an accomplice of racial oppression." Such a system had been correctly described by Professor Jill Nattrass at the University of Natal as "concerned capitalism".

Changing free enterprise in South Africa was essential because the country stood on the brink of power-sharing between the races, said Mr Rosholt. "In whatever form that occurs, the present balance in our economy between free enterprise and state socialism must tilt towards the latter."

The extent of that tilt would depend on how radicalised the new participants turned out to be and how powerful

their voice in the new dispensation. Unfortunately, "events and deprivation are hardening black attitudes to capitalism and free enterprise, and it is going to be difficult to reverse this trend."

This was especially so when "generally speaking, black trade unions have made it very clear that they are committed to class struggle and eventual economic control — their views ranging from mixed socialism at one end to Marxism at the other".

An aggravating factor, said Mr Rosholt, was the government's recent commitment to the virtues and benefits of free enterprise. "It would be better for the system if the government were to prove its commitment by discreet action rather than by public proclamation.

"The greater the latter, the stronger the black perception of the links between free enterprise and the current political system."

Mr Rosholt said it was clear that South Africa could not develop to the full extent of its great resources, human and material, without a political solution. Equally, no political solution would be workable without financial muscle.

"It is paradoxical that access to overseas funds should have been cut off at a time when partly of its own volition, but partly also because of judicious outside pressure, South Africa has introduced overdue reform processes and has raised black expectations, which can never be fully funded in the siege economy we now face." — Sapa

Buthelezi's view P13

DD 11/7/86 (304A)

Report: violence shadows reforms

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The government had enacted the most far-reaching reforms this year since the National Party's election victory in 1948 but they have been overshadowed by economic recession, intensifying political violence and growing international pressure, said a report by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The reforms include the repeal of the pass laws, the granting of freehold rights to blacks and provision for South African citizenship to be regained by denationalised blacks, the report said.

Fully multi-racial executive government has been instituted at provincial level — though on a nominated basis only — and the government has continued to phase in racially-based "own affairs" administrations.

Among the factors overshadowing these reforms were the reimposition of the state of emergency and resurgent right wing reaction.

The Group Areas Act has been referred to the President's Council and the State President, Mr. P. W. Botha, has said the Act was "no holy cow".

Although blacks were not allowed to stay in hostels at white educational institutions, it was believed some universities were ignoring this prohibition and had not been prosecuted, the report said.

However, despite the severe shortage of qualified black teachers 126 black, coloured, Indian and Chinese students were refused admission to white teacher-training colleges where there were 2183 vacancies.

Putting reform strategy under the microscope

JULY 1 marked the formal inauguration of perhaps the most substantial reforms since the National Party came to power, all approved by South Africa's tri-racial parliament before it adjourned on June 25.

But less than a fortnight before the adjournment President PW Botha declared a general State of Emergency, granting extraordinary powers to the Security Forces to contain the rebellion which has swept the land since September 1984.

The two developments seem contradictory and demand explanation.

The government's exposition is that revolutionaries, realising the reforms were genuine and could open the way to evolutionary change, stepped up their campaign to seize power.

An alternative interpretation is that the reforms were seen by the government's radical foes as part of a strategy to confuse and divide the subordinate black people and hence to be resisted at all costs.

In its latest Quarterly Countdown, the Institute of Race Relations attempts an evaluation of the government's reforms.

It does not provide a final, definitive assessment. It does, however, offer a useful overview.

Salient features of the reform programme include a draft bill for establishment of a multi-racial national council, creation of multi-racial provincial executive committees, restoration of South African citizenship to some blacks, granting of freehold property rights to blacks, and repeal of influx control and pass laws and — as a corollary to the planned phasing out of reference books — the introduction of uniform identity documents.

First mooted by Botha at the opening of parliament in January, the national council's purpose is to give blacks a say in the formation of a new constitution for all South Africans and, until then, an interim say in laws affecting them.

At present only a draft bill for the council has been tabled. A final bill will be considered when parliament reconvenes on August 18.

The formal establishment of multi-racial executive provincial committees on July 1 was a sequel to the abolition of the old whites-only provincial councils. The new all-race executive committees are nominated by Botha. The old provincial councils were elected by a racially-restricted electorate.

The institute quotes Casper Uys of the Conservative Party on the new committees.

If they are meant to symbolise the broadening of democracy, as the government claims, then Botha will ultimately be the only voter left, Uys says. But at the same time he fears they are a move to bring blacks into government via the back door.

When Botha first announced his intention of restoring South African citizenship to blacks who were deprived of it when independence was supposedly granted to the TBVC states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — his decision was hailed as a major retreat from grand apartheid, even as an advance to a post-apartheid society.

But, the Institute notes, where nine million blacks were deprived of South African citizenship by simple acts of parliament — the four status acts — it will not be automatically restored to them by an act of parliament.

Not all nine million are eligible to regain their South African citizenship. Only those who live permanently in South Africa — ie outside the reputedly sovereign TBVC states — and who have done so since the independence of the four quasi-states qualify.

A new study by the Institute of Race Relations puts the contradictions of the government's reform policies under scrutiny, reports PATRICK LAURENCE

Even so they will have to apply for their lost citizenship in writing to the Director General of Home Affairs, who may require the applicant to appear before him for questioning before agreeing to register him/her as a South African citizen.

The Institute comments: "The implications of the (Restoration of South African Citizenship Act) are that not all Africans eligible to regain their South African citizenship will do so. Illiterate people, in particular, will be at a severe disadvantage."

Freehold property, a long-cherished dream, was restored to blacks by parliament last month. But their right to freehold property can only be exercised within the framework of territorial segregation.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act restrict the right to own land to designated "black homelands" and to demarcated black townships.

The abolition of influx control was, as the Institute notes, widely welcomed by anti-apartheid opponents of impeccable credentials. Veteran opposition MP Helen Suzman labelled it the most important reform introduced by the government. Institute director John Kane-Berman compared its significance to the extension in 1979 of trade union rights to blacks.

But even here there are fears that Botha's constitutional guru, Chris Heunis, will use his extensive powers against squatting to introduce a modified form of influx control.

Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash concedes that repeal of influx control will improve the position of blacks in South Africa. But she fears that blacks from the TBVC states may be worse off unless they can get the new uniform identity documents.

Uniform IDs will replace the old reference books and, eventually, the identity documents currently used by non-blacks. They do not have to be carried around like the hated *dompas*. They will not contain any reference to race.

The racial coding reflected on ID documents was abolished on July 1, although the race classification of all South Africans will remain on record in the population register.

Duncan says: "People from the TBVC homelands who are not permanently resident and cannot get a SA identity document will still have to be recruited from the homeland concerned in terms of agreements between their own government and South Africa."

Whether government reform is a steady, incremental drive towards a nonracial society, or a confused but not entirely cynical response to growing pressures, or a calculated plan to recruit and co-opt "collaborators" and to bamboozle the public, is a matter of debate. The dispute, however, is no longer merely intellectual.

304A

Howe to see PW and Mandela

By HOWARD BARRELL, Harare

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe will meet President PW Botha on July 23 and 29 and intends to hold talks with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Howe will also be consulting with US Secretary of State George Shultz some time this month on the South African crisis.

Addressing a press conference in Harare yesterday before flying out to Maputo on the third leg of his Southern Africa shuttle, Howe described talks held earlier in the day with Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe as having been "friendly, open and direct".

But the two men differed fundamentally on how to resolve the crisis in South Africa.

"We do have different views on how the way forward is to be found,"

Howe told journalists.

He said there was no change in his government's stance against the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa.

He described his mission, aimed at fostering negotiations between the South African government and representative black leaders, as "immensely difficult".

Howe said he did not yet know if a meeting with Mandela would be possible, but this was "one of the objectives" of his trip to South Africa in late July.

The central position put forward by Zambia and Zimbabwe has been that failure by Britain, the US and West

Germany to impose far-reaching sanctions against South Africa will inevitably mean a bloody conflagration in the region.

Howe has managed to keep a brave face on his mission — a journey Thatcher has insisted upon against both Howe's and Foreign Office professionals' better judgment.

Howe has stoically maintained he is undertaking the mission on behalf of the European Economic Community (EEC), rather than Britain. Technically, this is correct.

But it has been, above all, Thatcher who has insisted he go ahead despite

the severe setbacks suffered through the initial refusal of PW Botha, the ANC, Bishop Desmond Tutu and other black leaders to see him. Thatcher will be able to tell other Commonwealth leaders Britain cannot agree to sanctions until she is able to do so together with her European partners. The seven members of the special Commonwealth Southern Africa Committee, which is due to meet in London next month to consider action on the basis of the EPG report, could thus find themselves stalled.

What has incensed many Commonwealth leaders about the trip is that they see it as a clear attempt by Thatcher personally to stall the process towards sanctions started by the Commonwealth. The six-month Commonwealth deadline on South Africa expired with the report of the Eminent Persons' Group. That report was clear on two points: Pretoria did not intend meaningful reform, and sanctions should be imposed. The unknown variable is the tactical sense of the South African government — whether it has the good sense, from its own point of view, to make a concession that could let Thatcher out of her corner.

Unless that happens, observers consider as real the possibility of the Commonwealth cracking up over Britain's — or rather Thatcher's — attitude. Now, however, by getting the European community to agree to an additional three-month deadline,

Office use

Women 9, Letters 10, Racing

(c) A floppy disk shows effort to lure stars of the fut
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Craven Wei

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Afterwards he said the mo-
tion was only a beginning and
that he and others who strongly
supported the ideas inherent in
it hoped to form a committee
to work in support of the con-
cept and to improve awareness
of the political situation among
white pupils.

Urging fellow pupils to sign
a petition in support of the mo-
tion, Jason said: "For a long
time many of our consciences
have been plagued by the hurt
and suffering which the policy
of apartheid has caused.

14 WHICH ONE OF THE F
How many bytes are
SRCs have long been de-
manded by black pupils, but it
is believed this is the first time
a significant number of white
pupils has come out in support.

UNANIMOUS
They responded unanimous-
ly.

He asked an audience of 950
pupils to indicate support for a
motion embodying a call for
equal education and SRCs by
standing up.

At the close of the 1820 Stan-
dard Bank National Schools
Festival in Grahamstown last
night, the head boy of Pinetown
Boys' High School, Jason Pro-
bert, condemned the present
education system as "unjust".

PORT ELIZABETH. — White
pupils from schools throughout
South Africa have called for a
non-racial and equal education
system and student representa-
tive councils.

The Argus Bureau

950 white
pupils call
for equal
education 3040

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09

Business Report

FRIDAY, JULY 11, 1986

Call to modify free enterprise system

Financial Staff

THE free enterprise system in SA will have to be modified, the chairman of Barlow Rand, Mike Rosholt, said in Johannesburg last night.

"We must recognise that the central economic issue in future will inevitably be the process of income redistribution in favour of the lower income groups," he told a dinner for delegates to an international symposium at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"That process of income redistribution will be easier to live with if it is voluntary rather than forced.

"Having said that, I cannot emphasize too strongly that at the same time we must strive relentlessly to preserve

those aspects of our present system which remain valid and essential for the future well-being of the country.

"In particular, we must ensure that income redistribution does not become capital distribution resulting in an inevitable diminution of the income which is to be shared.

"We must try to ensure that over a period we all become equally wealthy and not equally poor."

Rosholt said the modified private enterprise system must be "seen as a catalyst for the redistribution of an increased national income".

It must also be seen as being fully aware of its additional social responsibilities and as "actively promoting power sharing rather

than being an accomplice of racial oppression".

Rosholt said SA stood on the brink of power-sharing between the races, and "in whatever form that occurs, the present balance in our economy between free enterprise and State socialism must tilt towards the latter."

The extent of that tilt would depend on how radicalized the new participants turned out to be and how powerful their voice in the new dispensation.

Unfortunately, "events and deprivation are hardening black attitudes to capitalism and free enterprise, and it is going to be difficult to reverse this trend."

An aggravating factor, said Rosholt, was the

government's recent commitment to the virtues and benefits of free enterprise.

"It would be better for the system if the government were to prove its commitment by discreet action rather than by public proclamation.

"The greater the latter, the stronger the black perception of the links between free enterprise and the current political system."

SA could not develop to the full extent of its great resources, human and material, without a political solution.

Equally, no political solution would be workable without the necessary financial muscle.

"It is paradoxical that access to overseas funds should have been cut off at a time when partly of



Mike Rosholt

its own volition, but partly also because of judicious outside pressure, SA has introduced overdue reform processes and has raised black expectations, which can never be fully funded in the siege economy we now face," said Rosholt.

Gencor Dolly says 201 DDI show

TCR

Govt is expected to agree to Howe-Mandela meeting

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe is expected to be allowed to visit jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela during his week-long visit to Southern Africa towards the end of the month.

Sir Geoffrey and President Botha have agreed to hold discussions in Pretoria on July 23 and July 29.

The Foreign Secretary wants to discuss a five-point plan for the dismantling of apartheid and the promotion of dialogue in South Africa.

The South African Government has already indicated officially that it wishes to raise several important issues with Sir Geoffrey and will take the opportunity to brief him thoroughly on reform steps already taken.

On his visit, Sir Geoffrey may see several South African internal leaders, including Nelson Mandela — although the biggest stumbling block to this could well be that Mandela refuses to meet him.

The South African Government is unlikely to object to a meeting between Sir Geoffrey and Mandela.

Diplomatic sources expect Sir Geoffrey to visit Lusaka again, with a view to conferring with ANC leaders, either between July 23 and July 29 or immediately after his second meeting with President Botha.

● Mrs Winnie Mandela is due to visit her husband in Pollsmoor Prison today.

Details of her visit, or what she will discuss with him, could not be established. Her lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said he could not say whether they would discuss Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit.

"What they talk about is up to them," he said.

Mrs Mandela has already shrugged off Sir Geoffrey's mission.

The ANC and Anglican Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu have refused to meet Sir Geoffrey. Bishop Tutu said it would be a waste of his time.

● See Page 3.

THE ECONOMY

It's time for business to start the march to peace

STRANGE though it may seem, business in South Africa has come a fair way down the road to a more reasonable and equitable approach to the labour it employs. After all, JK Galbraith points out that it was only 60 years ago that the US steel industry worked a 12-hour day, a 72-hour week and, still more extraordinary, there was a 24-hour stint every fortnight.

Of course, there is nothing laudatory about South African employers' recognition that such practises are devoid of any morality, however much the supply of labour might outweigh its demand.

In the same text, American Capitalism, Galbraith argues that the organisation of labour as a counter-vailing power was essentially a function of the power that the US steel industry had.

It is always possible, of course, that such arguments are naive; enlightened labour policy or dismal labour exploitation may not, in the balance, affect the determination of workers to unite.

What is important for us in business in South Africa, however, is to acknowledge how selective our perception of power has become. A unionised work force and the institutionalised negotiation over a myriad of factors from overtime rates to detention of union organisers has brought us all, consciously or otherwise, to a recognition of the use of power in keeping a society in balance. Yet, at the same time, we seem unable to recognise political violence as an exercise of power (whether by the Right wing or Left) that is a response to the wide-ranging authority of the state.

Inevitably, in South Africa we will come to the recognition, as other people in other places have done so before, that the exercise of physical power by the people is better contained by freeing the channels of expression rather than by the unbridled and arbitrary use of force to shut down dissent and bury criticism.

Those who have any feeling for history whatsoever, therefore, will know that negotiation between white South Africans and black South Africans will have to take place across the widest of agenda unprescribed and, possibly, with significant eventual concessions from all parties.

Black majority rule in a unitary state is the encapsulated summary of political history in the rest of Africa, and it is the most likely end result for



The arguments of capital will ring hollow if business is not seen to have been forthright in its condemnation of state excesses, argues senior Premier Group executive BENJAMIN TRISK, who has written this piece in his personal capacity.

us as well. The critical argument now centres on how we reach that position and how we as white people, irrespective of our political colours, retain our place in the sun, enjoy the fruits of our innovation and enterprise, counter the arguments of socialists and those further to the Left and engage meaningfully in a reconstruction that will ensure a future for generations unbidden.

It is essential that business plays an increasing part in this debate because, if it does not, there will be no one to give substance to the argument of capital at the negotiation table, and the arguments of capital will sound hollow if business has not been forthright in its condemnation of each and every unbridled excess.

What were essentially two arenas for active capital's involvement have merged and become one. Ever since a few businessmen, albeit belatedly, grasped the nettle and voiced their criticism and their abhorrence of detentions, unrest, bannings, influx policies, inequitable education and the rest, there has been criticism, sometimes implied and sometimes expressed, that business should stay with the task of making money and

leave politics in the domain of the politicians. But the two are indivisible.

Lending greater weight to this position, and hopefully the lesson will be recognised by all, was the recent pre-emptive action by rank and file union members which ended with employers seeking meetings with the government to protest the detentions of union organisers.

Those businessmen who turn their face from the truth of South African politics may find a harsher truth inevitably awaits them; that their prophecies of socialist control will inevitably be father to the fact because when it was important to be counted they showed that capital bothered seldom and cared less.

Labour has to be convinced that if everything is equal tomorrow, if the means of all production are vested in the hands of the state, there is little chance that the next generation will be better off than the current one. That, at any rate, is the reasonable inference we can draw from numerous experiments in Africa. We have to bring labour to the point at which it perceives this country as a developed, reasonably industrialised model of achievement and success.

Of course, we can accept that South Africa presents a model influenced by a tortuous approach to racial thinking which, in turn, has distorted the view that the South African majority has of what the model is and means. However, it does not detract from the fact that South Africa has a vast industrial and commercial base on which to build stability and generate wealth.

Business has to be resolute in its defence of fundamental freedoms if it is to gain acceptance from that majority and, by association, acceptance of the economic structure that exists at present.

Through its defence of freedom, its constructive criticism of discriminatory, unfair and harsh practices, its even-handed treatment of people and its blindness to colour, business will increasingly be able to persuade labour that it should be regarded as a partner in its struggle for a fair deal, rather than as an oppressive influence.

SPACE

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Nafcoc is 'firm' on NSC plan

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) is prepared to talk to the government about the proposed National Statutory Council but it will not change its decision, its president, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said yesterday.

He said this after Nafcoc yesterday postponed taking a formal decision to boycott the new NSC until its meeting in October, when it also reviews its policies on disinvestment.

But Dr Motsuenyane, who earlier this week announced Nafcoc's decision not to serve on the NSC, said in an interview that this did not change the organization's position on the council.

"We are willing to talk to the government but we will not change our stance until the government has shown a willingness to accept our demands," he said.

These demands included the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC and government negotiations with credible black leaders.

Leaves door open for negotiation

The Nafcoc move leaves the door open for negotiation with the government on the proposed council, but its unequivocal pre-conditions make it seem unlikely that any compromise is possible.

The government has not yet commented about the Nafcoc decision to boycott the new body but it has been widely regarded as a setback for President P W Botha's plans to involve "moderate" black leaders in the council.

"Until and unless black people are represented on other levels of government we will not participate — and we made this very clear to Pik Botha."

Nafcoc was not being negative in making its demands, but it would not engage in anything that could be "shot down tomorrow".

"There is a very strong feeling that Nafcoc should play a positive role in the development of a political climate in this country," Dr Motsuenyane said.

Relly tells West: 'No sanctions'

304A
CAN TRIBS 11/7/86

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, has called on the West not to allow itself to be pressured into adopting punitive measures against South Africa as this would undermine both the transitional phase and the success of post-apartheid society.

In his statement to shareholders, Mr Relly said that while the will of the government and political parties would be the major factor in determining the success of this transition, the international community could make an important contribution to it.

"Any action taken now, primarily as an emotional response to the gravity of the situation here, is bound to be at the expense of freedom and justice in SA, for if our nascent and fragile democratic institutions are denied a strong economic underpinning, they will certainly give way to tyranny," Mr Relly said.

Mr Relly also called on the government to commit itself publicly to repealing the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act, Population Registration Act and other discriminatory statutes within a fixed time.

Piecemeal reform had reached the limit of its usefulness, he said. The remnants of apartheid

should be expunged from the statute book as had been done with the pass laws.

"Once that goal is in sight, negotiations can begin on the framework of a new constitution which would establish and guarantee the rights and freedoms of all people, irrespective of colour, according to the principles so admirably set down by the State President earlier this year," he said.

Mr Relly said, however, that this process could not proceed in an environment clouded by the restrictions imposed by a state of emergency and measures which had resulted in the incarceration of people who would have to be included in negotiations.

"That is all the more reason why detainees should be charged or released with the utmost urgency and why the laws now in place should be used with the utmost moderation.

"No one should doubt, however, that the attempt to replace apartheid with a functioning democracy, supported by a free-enterprise system capable of creating wealth on the requisite scale, will be extraordinarily difficult, not least because some of those who now practise violence for their own political ends will not easily be persuaded to forsake violence."

Pretoria reacted 'with savage glee'

Relly lashes out over 'welcome' for sanctions

BW DAY 3041A
11/7/85

ANGLO American chairman Gavin Relly yesterday criticised Pretoria for reacting "with savage glee" to the threat of foreign trade sanctions.

Opening the two-day "What Boundaries for Business?" conference sponsored by the University of the Witwatersrand, he called on business leaders to narrow "the gap between the achievement of what we're doing now towards change and what we should be doing."

Relly called for a new partnership between labour, management and shareholders. "Unless we break down the schism between management and labour and create something new, we will not have a functional economic entity at the turn of the century."

He applauded industry's achievements in labour relations, accomplished "without parallel political developments", but said executives should work towards instituting more profit-sharing and participatory practices for workers.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi asked business leaders to step up efforts to pressure government for reform of apartheid laws.

"Businessmen are important opinion-makers, and their attitude to change and the demands for change that they can articulate can have a profound effect on white society," he said.

He called on executives specifically to "ensure that the National Council is given teeth and will be permitted to actually achieve the objectives set out in the Bill".

Buthelezi repeated his refusal to take part in the National Council "unless other black leaders are free to accept it or reject it". Specifically, Buthelezi said he required the release of Nelson Mandela, Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners.

He condemned what he termed the ANC's strategy of violent change. "Whites have lessons yet to learn, but



RELLY



BUTHELEZI

Economics Reporter

they cannot be taught those lessons with AK rifles or bombs." SA's existing free market economy would be a critical element of any new government.

"We dare not destroy the economy in bringing about radical change.

"We dare not make the country ungovernable now because it will remain ungovernable after change. We dare not bring about change in such a way that the bridging of the gap between black and white in our polarised society is impossible."

At the conference dinner last night, Barlow Rand chairman A M Rosholt said: "We must recast our total economic strategy — that is, if we have one — distinguishing very clearly between our First and Third World sectors."

Rosholt said the First World economy, by increasing exports and by import substitution, must finance itself and generate the wealth required to fund the Third World sector.

The Third World economy, meanwhile, "must deal without the greatest single national problem, unemployment, by investing primarily in labour-intensive industries."

Rosholt called on executives to recognise that blacks would not accept either the present political system or the present economic system; that they were looking for a new society and not just a cosmetic alteration to the present one; and that planning and actions had better take these facts into account.

The economy, though based on free market principles, would move inevitably toward a process of income redistribution in favour of lower income groups.

A major challenge in determining the balance in the economy between free enterprise and state socialism after the advent of power-sharing, Rosholt said, lay in changing negative black perceptions of the current free enterprise system.

Blacks increasingly viewed capitalism as anathema, "because they perceive the private sector as being in collusion with the government in the maintenance of the present political system, which they not unreasonably equate with racial oppression".

Indaba produces bill of rights

Dispatch
Correspondent

DURBAN — In a challenge to the government to speed up its reforms, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba has produced a proposed Bill of Rights to protect individual freedoms and rights in a united KwaZulu and Natal governed by a joint legislative authority.

The bill is intended to be binding only on provincial legislation in KwaZulu-Natal, but Indaba chairman, Pro-

fessor Desmond Clarence, said the Indaba hoped the constitution would set an example for the rest of South Africa.

Prof Clarence said the bill implied that the Group Areas Act should be scrapped and schools opened to all races.

He said the bill had been released to publicise the Indaba's progress, although the rest of the proposed constitution was still being drafted.

Prof Clarence said the bill gave a clear indication of some basic principles with which the constitution would have to comply.

One of the major provisions of the bill is the protection of ethnic, linguistic, cultural and educational rights.

Another major provision is equal protection of the law regardless of race, political opinion or status.

Prof Clarence said he was proud that 35

delegations representing a wide spectrum incorporating people of all races, had shown it was possible to reach agreement on fundamental issues.

He said the bill would not be presented to the government to seek parliamentary approval until the whole KwaZulu-Natal constitution was finished.

Mr Val Volker, member of the new nominated Natal Provincial Executive Committee and National Party ob-

server at the Indaba, refused to comment.

The director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, Durban, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, said the bill gave a foundation for democracy.

"The idea of a Bill of Rights for South Africa is frequently criticised because it is thought it protects ethnic groups but it is equally important in protecting trade unions."

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DD 12/7/86

SUN TIMES 13/7/86

Rightist plan to control schools

3048

By ELSABE WESSELS

CONSERVATIVE Afrikaners have been urged to infiltrate school management committees so that they can control key decisions.

The call to give them controlling power at school management council level came at the second bi-annual congress of the ultra-conservative Afrikaner-volkswag.

Spearheaded by Tukkies theologian Dr Carl Boshoff, the sombre two-day gathering under the slogan, "The People's Right", held at the Willem Prinsloo Agricultural Museum near Bronkhorspruit, attracted an estimated 250 men, women and children.

Condemned

Various prominent academics, including Professors Alkmaar Swart of Unisa, Fanie Jacobs from Potchefstroom University, Piet Nel of Pretoria University and Dr Chris Jooste, director of Sabra, argued for the implementation of an exclusive white Afrikaner education system along the lines of the historical CNO (Christian National Education) schools.

The recently published, "The New History of Southern Africa", was criticised for "casting a bad light on Afrikaners of the past".

Members from Pretoria's Brooklyn branch said they were "shocked that children should be subjected to such a liberal interpretation of our history".

The fast-growing SOS Children's Village Association, a multiracial organisation supplying homes to hundreds of South African orphans, was also condemned.

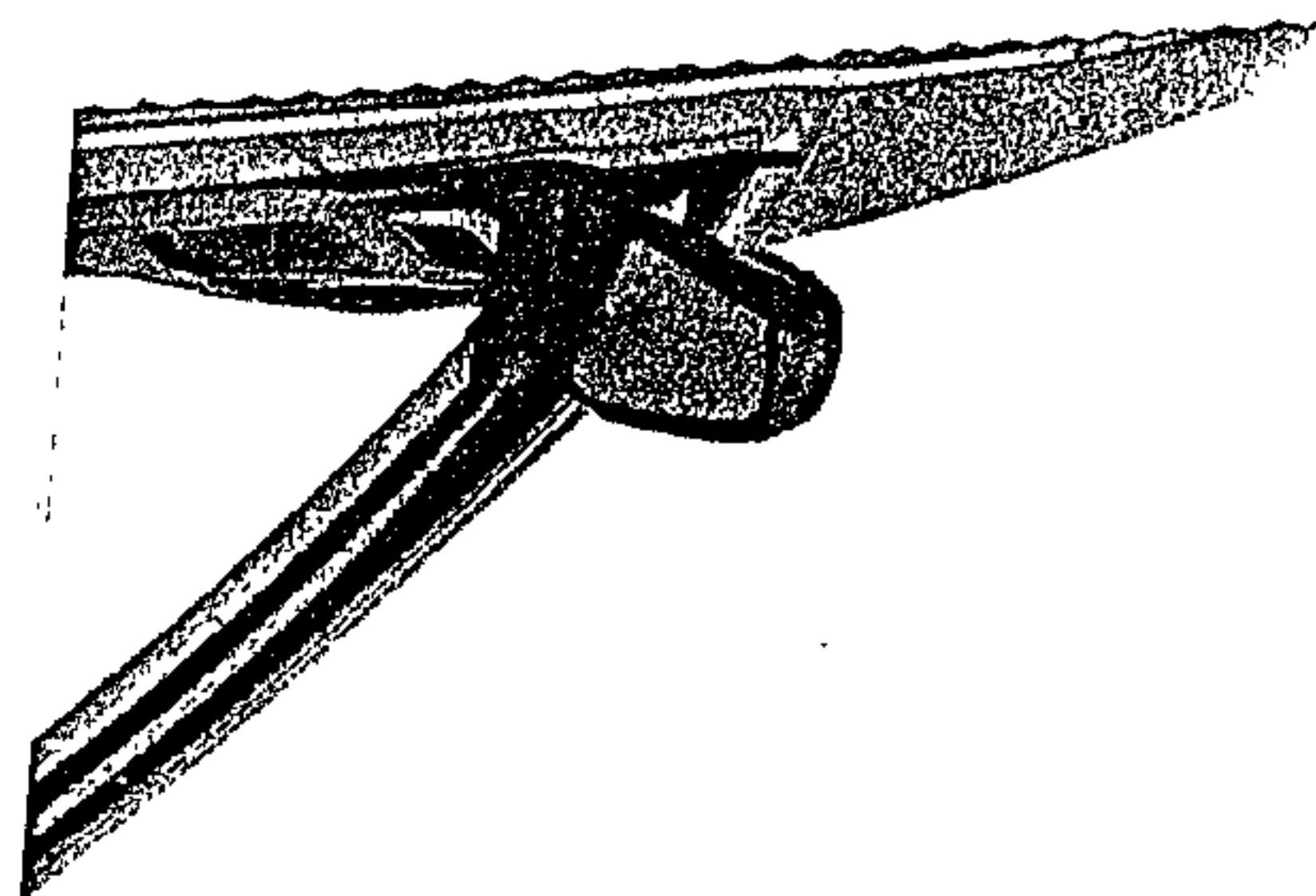
Dr Boshoff said the Afrikaner is facing the worst crisis in his history.

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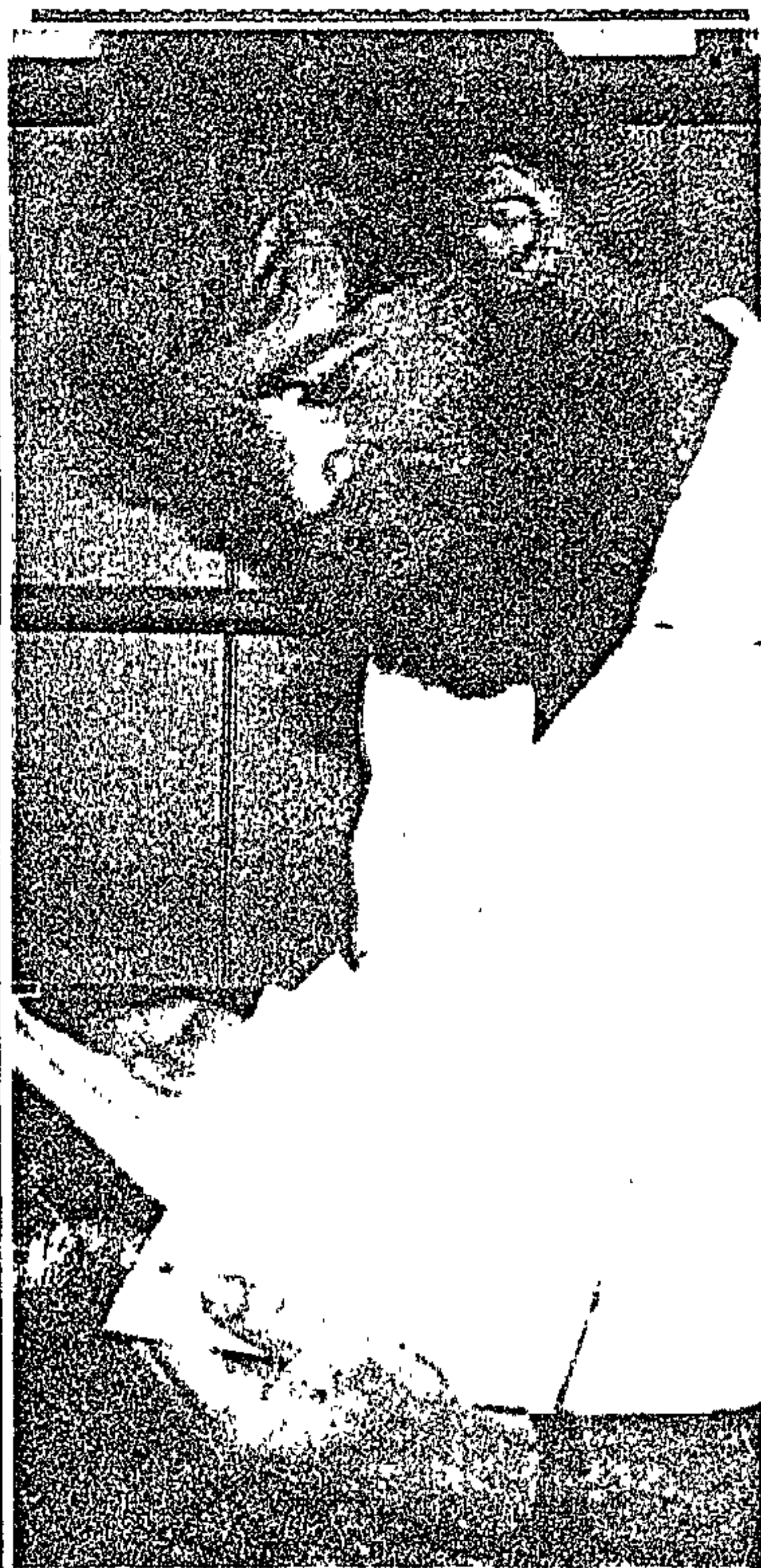
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Lonesome Wynand sends picture home

By STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

ON his 415th day in captivity, South Africa's lone prisoner in Angola reads a letter from home as he waits patiently for his release ...

Capt Wynand du Toit is healthy, but has lost weight and longs for his wife, Louwna, and son Klipple.

It was the first letter he had received from home for months.

This picture and a letter to Mrs du Toit were brought back to South Africa by a businessman who visited Wynand in Luanda this week. They will be on their way to her soon.

It will be the first news she has received from her husband for months.

Capt du Toit, captured in the oil-rich Cabinda province on a secret reconnaissance commando raid last year, was last heard of in April.



Louwna du Toit and Klipple

Guest-house

The businessman, who cannot be named, visited Capt du Toit at an Angolan guesthouse on Wednesday with senior MPLA government officials.

The man, from Europe, was allowed by the Angolan Government to visit Capt du Toit during a busi-

ness trip, watching the daily two-hour programmes on a small television set.

After his active life as a super-fit member of the SADF's elite reconnaissance commando, he finds the confinement in his small cell hard to bear, but is not complaining about his treatment.

Official sources in Pretoria said yesterday they

The way the Minister met Mandela

Sunday Times Reporter

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela pleaded with South African Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee for them to get to know each other better as human beings.

The dramatic appeal was made when the Eminent Persons Group visited Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison in May. Mr Coetzee attended part of the meeting.

Mr Joe Lelyveld, former New York Times correspondent in South Africa, has drawn the curtain slightly on that historic meeting in a report published in the International Herald Tribune.

The encounter between Mr Coetzee and Mr Mandela was briefly recounted in the EPG's official report, but gave few details.

In their report the EPG said: "Mr Mandela pressed Mr Coetzee to remain, saying he had nothing to hide and no objection to the Minister hearing the discussion."

"It was his strongly stated view that if the circumstances could be created in which the Government and the ANC could talk, some of the problems which arose solely through lack of contact could be eliminated."

Invited

The EPG report mentions that Mr Coetzee was present, but decided to retire, despite being invited to stay.

The Lelyveld amplification, however, reveals that Mr Coetzee's presence at the meeting was arranged by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who intimated that the South African Government wanted to hear first hand what Mr Mandela had to say.

But Mr Coetzee arrived late and one of the Commonwealth leaders, General Olusegun Obasanjo, of Nigeria, then had a whispered conversation with Mr Mandela in which he explained that the Minister's sudden appearance violated the understanding the group thought it had.

Mr Coetzee then offered to withdraw, but Mr Mandela insisted that he stay. It was at this point that he made his plea, arguing that a large part of the difficulty of the South African problem had to do with the total lack of personal contact between the white leaders in power and the black leadership in prison and exile.

Elections soon?

(3/7/86)
C/M/PR 304A
THE Progressive Federal Party is gearing itself to fight either a snap general election or referendum at the end of the year.

Natal PFP leader Ray Swart said this week there was a strong feeling within the party that this could be the reason behind the National Party's sudden decision to hold a mid-year convention in Natal.

Although many of his colleagues believed President PW Botha would announce a general election, he personally believed there was more likely to be a referendum, he said.

"The main problem is the Indian and coloured houses. With the state in which townships are in, it would be very dicey for them to fight an election.

"Although it is possible for Botha to call an election for only the 'white house', this would defeat his stated principles of cohesion between the houses," he said.

Right-wing sources have also indicated that they are bracing themselves for a bitter electoral campaign. —Sapa.

CHIEF ATTACKS CHURCH BODIES

Sapa 14/7/86

CHURCH bodies which took sides on political issues without consulting the people were responsible for much blood that was now being shed in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking at the annual KwaZulu National Day of Prayer in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi questioned whether church bodies were, by not consulting the people, acting any differently from "various regimes" which had ruled blacks by claiming to know what was best for them.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president made specific reference to actions by

the SACC and the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference.

He said when the SACBC sought black opinion on the issue of sanctions and disinvestment it had consulted the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, Cusa and Azapo and had left out Inkatha. He said this was because "parroting our political opponents' view," they did not consider Inkatha a genuine liberation movement.

Damage

Chief Buthelezi said the Catholic bishops had made themselves a laughing stock by deciding to support economic pressures against South Africa as long as these did not damage the economy.

"You can't give a child Epsom salts and expect its tummy not to run," he said.

"What did Jesus Christ do when people were hungry or sick or suffering in any way? Did he advocate more suffering or did he relieve their hunger and cure their ailments?"

"Do we by any of our actions either as the church, that is as God's people, or as an admin-

istration — as ministers, members of the legislating assembly or as civil servants — cause more suffering, illness or starvation among the people we serve?" he said.

Dignity

Chief Buthelezi said the blossoming of South Africa into a peaceful land depended on whether "we do respect the dignity of the people we are serving."

He called for prayers for the black leadership in Inkatha, the ANC, UDF, PAC, Azapo, Uwusa, Cosatu, Cusa, Tucsa and other political and trade union organisations for the State President, MPs and the chairman and members of the President's Council and for the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the SA Council of Churches. — Sapa.

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Afrikaans writers condemn state of emergency

The Star's Africa News Service

—WINDHOEK — The painful path to liberation — physical, intellectual, spiritual and emotional — is one that all South Africans and Namibians will have to follow sooner or later, whether they like it or not.

This message, delivered by Windhoek Professor Brian Harlech-Jones, found a receptive audience at the annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Skrywers Glid here.

Wrestling with the conference theme "The Writer and Liberation", the cream of the Afrikaans intelligentsia were debating the role of the writer in the turmoil in South Africa.

The guild voted unanimously to take a strong stand against the South African state of emergency and to condemn any measures which restricted freedom of speech or artistic creativity.

A resolution tabled at the meeting — to be conveyed to State President Mr Botha — opposed any form of censorship and said the emergency regulations, with their re-

strictions on the Press, individuals and organisations, were smothering the essential exchange of opinions needed for the growth of a healthy society and its culture.

'CUTTING EDGE'

Many of South Africa's leading Afrikaans writers were at the conference, including Jan Rabie, Abraham De Vries, Fanie Du Toit, Etienne le Roux, Doc Immelman, Christo and Jean Lombard, Klaas Steytler, Jeanette Ferreira, Gerhard Totemeyer and Lochner de Kock.

Professor Harlech-Jones, acting dean of the department of English at the Academy for Tertiary Education in Windhoek, told delegates that writers searched out the heart and soul of man as very few other disciplines did and that writers in South Africa had already come to the "cutting edge" of liberation and reconciliation in the country.

Writers, indeed all people, would have to be liberated from the "terrible baggage of

the past" and the "worn-out, dead, spent things which clutter up our hearts and minds".

It was doubtful, he added, whether the present way of life in South Africa was "worth defending for a moment" but the struggle to a new way would be one which would be a very painful experience which would require an honesty so great that "only God might support us".

Many of the writers present at the five-day conference showed great interest in the current situation in Namibia.

FORBIDDEN THEMES

Local author Olga Levinson told delegates that the territory was a "paradise" for writers, irrespective of whether they wanted to write satire, liberation drama, romance comedy or history, because Namibia offered a rich variety of raw material in its history and culture.

Arguing that the territory is a writer's "hell", writer and Swapo executive member

Dan Tjongorero outlined some of the things which made life difficult for those seeking to portray the truth in contemporary Namibia.

It would be unthinkable, he said, to write about themes such as the meeting of armed members of the same family on opposite sides of the political fence, of the flight of refugees from the country, of a white girl falling in love with a "terrorist", or of the differing "day and night loyalties" of the civilian population in the war zones.

Other sessions during the conference dealt with liberation, the position of women, the media, race, and language.

Interspersed with the public lectures and discussion periods were private meetings of guild members at which domestic business was discussed.

Sensitive topics were brought up at these closed meetings, including a proposal that the guild join the international PEN society for writers, a proposal opposed by a number of the more conservative authors.

Parliament enacts most far-reaching reform since Nats took over in 1948

SEVEN discriminatory laws have been repealed so far this year, while another 15 remain on the statute book, says the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In its second *Quarterly Count-down* of 1986 report released last week, it said SA's tricameral Parliament enacted the most far-reaching reforms SA had seen since the National Party came to power in 1948.

But overshadowing any progress was continuing economic recession, intensifying political violence culmi-

nating in the reimposition of the state of emergency last month and growing international pressure.

Highlights of reform were:

- ☐ Abolition of the pass laws;
- ☐ Legislation enabling denationalised blacks to regain their SA citizenship;
- ☐ The opening of more central business districts for trading by all races;
- ☐ The introduction of freehold rights for blacks;
- ☐ Salary differences between

coloureds and whites were phased out in 19 of 21 salary levels in the civil service;

- ☐ Duncan Village township, due for removal, was reprieved;
- ☐ Proposed racial provisions in subsidies for white private schools were withdrawn;
- ☐ Blacks were brought into provincial executive government;
- ☐ Legislation was passed enabling

people of all races to obtain diamond digging certificates.

The institute said areas of possible future reform included representation of all races on publication control committees, the removal of job reservation on the mines, the elimination of remaining salary disparities between coloureds and whites in the civil service, the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act and the enactment of legislation already introduced, for the formation of a joint executive authority between Natal and KwaZulu.

Among those discriminatory laws repealed were the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act and the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act.

Those remaining included the Republic of SA Constitution Act (1983), Population Registration Act (1950), Group Areas Act (1966), Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), Mines and Works Act (1911), Black Land Act (1913), National States Citizenship Act (1970), National Education Policy Act (1967) and Black Administration Act (1927).

Cape Times 14/7/86
30 CLA

Indaba drafts Bill of Rights

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — In a challenge to government to speed up reforms, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba has produced a proposed Bill of Rights to protect individual freedoms and rights in a united KwaZulu and Natal governed by a joint legislative authority.

The bill is intended to be binding only on provincial legislation in KwaZulu/Natal but Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence said the Indaba hoped it would set an example for the rest of South Africa.

Professor Clarence said the bill implied that the Group Areas Act should be scrapped and equal education applied in schools open to all races.

Cornerstones

"There will be no discrimination on any grounds and protection of individual and minority rights, enforceable by law, will form two of the cornerstones," he said.

One of the major provisions of the bill is the protection of ethnic, linguistic, cultural and educational rights.

Another major provision is the enshrining of equal protection of the law regardless of race, political opinion or economic status.

The bill grants anybody the right to go to the Supreme Court to seek the enforcing of the rights and freedoms guaranteed in the document.

Professor Clarence said he was proud that 35 delegations representing a wide spectrum of political and other interests, and incorporat-

ing people of all races, had shown it was possible to reach agreement on fundamental issues.

The Indaba does not include major groups such as the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions because they declined invitations to participate.

Professor Clarence said parliamentary approval would not be sought for the bill until the whole KwaZulu/Natal constitution was finalized.

Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party Natal leader and PFP representative at the Indaba, said: "If we are able to grant individual rights through the bill it will minimize the consternation about group domination."

Mr Val Volker, member of the new nominated Natal Provincial Executive Committee and National Party observer at the Indaba, declined to comment on the bill. As he left the city hall, Mr Volker was seen in heated discussions with some Indaba delegates.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, Durban, said a Bill of Rights gave a foundation for democracy in a constitution.

"The idea of a Bill of Rights for South Africa is frequently criticized because it is thought it protects ethnic groups but it is equally important in protecting trade unions," Professor Schlemmer said.

He said a Bill of Rights also prevented a one-party political system.

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DAILY DISPATCH, TUESDAY, JULY 15 1986 — 11

AV plans to take over town councils

PRETORIA — A controversial plan "to take control of town councils and other local bodies" has been formally launched by the Afrikaner-Volkswag (AV) at its annual congress here.

"Every Afrikaner who agrees with the Volkstaat concept must now join forces," AV leader

Prof Carel Boshoff said.

People with leadership qualities should be encouraged to ensure "swift and effective" action when opportunities to take effective control of decision-making bodies presented themselves, he said.

Earlier, Unisa educationist Prof Alkmaar

Swart said he "could report with pride" that the AV had already gained "hand-over-hand control" of many school committees.

"Members should act as watchdogs against liberal tendencies in our education system. We should start planning now for "Boere-

volk" education for the day that we will finally rule over our own Volkstaat," said Prof Swart.

Prof Boshoff announced that the AV would celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek over three years, starting this year.

The first celebration would take place at the

battlefield of Vegkop in the Free State on October 10, he said.

In 1987, AV members would commemorate the battle of Mosega, while the main celebrations would take place in 1988 in opposition to those of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK). — Sapa

New plan to prod Govt into action over blacks

3041A STRAL 15/7/86

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

A business initiative aimed at pushing the Government into granting blacks full economic participation is to be launched within the next few weeks.

The initiative is being developed as a follow-up to last month's Project Free Enterprise report — which contained bold proposals for political and economic reform in South Africa.

Mr Christo Nel, the leader of Project Free Enterprise, said reaction from business groups had been very positive and an announcement on the establishment of an action programme would be launched shortly.

PLAN PROPOSED

The action plan proposed by the project leaders calls for the establishment of an Economic Participation Council made up of business representatives, employer bodies and if possible, trade union representatives. The main goal of the council will be the achievement of full economic participation in a free market economy and in a politically stable country.

The council will call on the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act, create equal property ownership rights and introduce direct political representation for blacks and begin negotiations with recognised leaders.

Businessmen will be urged to formulate a new

management plan to bring about black participation in business.

Mr Nel conceded that the declaration of a state of emergency and the detention of trade unionists had led to greater polarisation in South Africa. Even relatively moderate groups such as the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), which represents black businessmen, were taking a harder line.

"On the other hand I think that managements and trade unions have seen that they are part of the same activity and that co-operation is needed," he said.

HAMPERED RELATIONS

He said an example of this co-operation was the release last week of a joint statement by the Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) and the employer bodies, Assocom and the FCI, which warned that the emergency regulations hampered industrial relations.

Mr Nel said Project Free Enterprise had been favourably received by many Western governments, as well as by groups in South Africa.

In spite of these developments, there are stumbling blocks to implementing the report. Black anti-apartheid organisations have voiced strong reservations about the project and major trade unions refused to take part in the initial research project.

The Government has not officially responded to the report.

Rightist move to rule local bodies

PRETORIA — A controversial plan "to take control of town councils and other local bodies" was formally launched by the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) at its annual congress in Pretoria at the weekend.

"Every Afrikaner who agrees with the volkstaat concept must now join forces," the AV leader, Professor Carel Boshoff, told delegates.

People with leadership qualities should be encouraged to ensure "swift and effective" action when opportunities to take effective control of decision-making bodies presented themselves,

said Prof Boshoff, who was re-elected chairman of the AV.

Earlier, a Unisa educationist, Professor Alkmaar Swart, said he "could report with pride" that the AV had already gained full control of many school committees.

"Members should act as watchdogs against liberal tendencies in our education system. We should start planning now for 'boerevolk' education for the day that we will finally rule over our own volkstaat," said Prof Swart, an influential figure in right-wing political and cultural circles.

A patron of the AV, Professor F J M Potgieter, quoted extensively from the scriptures to justify the apartheid policy.

He deplored the fact that Christians in South Africa were falling prey to Communist propaganda — and developing a "guilty conscience" about the black peoples.

Dr D Duvenhage said there were definite parallels between the crossroads faced by the Afrikaners which led to the original Great Trek and the Afrikaner of today.

On the first day of the congress, Prof Boshoff had announced that the

AV would celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek over three years, starting this year.

The first celebration would take place at the battlefield of Vegkop in the Free State on October 10, he said.

In 1987, AV members would commemorate the battle of Mosega, where the Voortrekkers "broke the power of the Matabele King Mzilikatse".

The main celebrations would take place in 1988 in opposition to those of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK). — Sapa.

No US space flights till middle of 1987

WASHINGTON — The National Aeronautics and Space (Nasa) administrator, Mr James Fletcher, said here yesterday the space shuttle would be grounded until early 1988, instead of mid-1987 while engineers redesigned its solid rocket motors to ensure flight safety.

Mr Fletcher disclosed the delay in a report to President Ronald Reagan on how the space agency would adopt findings of a presidential commission which investigated the shuttle Challenger disaster in which all seven crew members died.

Nasa had predicted earlier that one of the three remaining shuttles would be flying as early

as mid-1987.

But in a 50-page report to Mr Reagan, Mr Fletcher said: "At this time it appears that the first launch will not occur before the first quarter of 1988."

Mr Fletcher later told reporters that extensive tests on the solid-fuel booster motors would mean at least a two-year delay before another manned US space flight.

A faulty joint between segments of the Challenger's right booster rocket was pinpointed as the cause of the tragedy by the presidential commission, headed by former US Secretary of State, Mr William Rogers.

The commission said

the joint allowed hot gases to escape from the booster rocket, causing the explosion on January 28 shortly after lift-off from Cape Canaveral.

The panel recommended that the booster rockets, made by Chicago-based Morton Thiokol Incorporated, be redesigned and approved by independent experts before shuttle flights resumed.

It also proposed a number of management and communications changes at Nasa as well as technical safety reviews of the shuttle system, including a redesign of the shuttle's tires, brakes and nose wheel systems.

July 15, 1986

Clampdown urged on private forces

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The lack of Government action to prevent the proliferation of private armed groups, particularly those of a political nature, has been condemned by the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Ray Swart, a PFP law and Order spokesman, said a complete revision of legislation affecting private armed groups was urgently required.

Mr Swart made the call following revelations at the weekend that the quasi-military wing of the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging, the Boere Brandwag, had a plan which included giving youths weapons training.

A spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order said the Boere Brandwag was not breaking any law.

However, he appealed to anyone wishing to assist in the maintenance of law and order to join the police reserve.

He pointed out that there was also a junior police reserve for youths.

The master plan was revealed

at the weekend by retired security policeman Colonel A Cronwright.

Col Cronwright came under an international spotlight in 1982 as the officer in charge of the interrogation of trade unionist Mr Neil Aggett who died in detention. An inquest found Mr Aggett had committed suicide by hanging.

Mr Swart said in an interview that the Boere Brandwag followed the dangerous precedents set by similar groups in Europe in the 30s.

There was a proliferation of private organisations that were arming themselves.

'IMPUNITY'

This was unacceptable, particularly when it came to political organisations.

"Groups should not be allowed to carry arms and do their own thing with impunity, particularly not in the current volatile situation.

"There have already been shootings of innocent blacks.

"Just as there is concern about the Peoples' Courts that are handing out their form of justice in the townships, there

should also be concern about this.

"Anything that savours of a private army is not acceptable. The organised use of firearms is the prerogative of the authorities."

Mr Swart said legislation was obviously too lax and a full review was required.

Col Cronwright, one of three senior leaders of the Boere Brandwag in the Transvaal, told a Sunday paper that the master plan included a number of measures:

- The establishment of commando units in all cities and towns to help the police.
- Brandwag members would be asked to carry firearms at all times.
- The arming of women and children.
- The training of members in first aid and firefighting.
- A recruiting campaign among border farmers for horse patrols.
- Ensuring there was a firearm in every member's home.

The Boere Brandwag also wants all border fences electrified and minefields laid on the borders.

PFP councillors challenge Keenan on his Nat label

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Independent Johannesburg City Councillor Mr Lionel Keenan has been challenged to a public debate to disprove claims that he is a Nationalist in disguise.

The challenge is by four Progressive Federal Party councillors who live in or near his Kew/Lombardy ward and comes four years after his election as an Independent in 1982. Nine years ago he lost a Provincial Council election when he stood for the PFP.

The challengers are Mr David Neppe, Mr Cecil Bass, Mrs Molly Kopel and Mr Alan Gadd.

Mr Neppe said that since taking his seat Mr Keenan had never voted with the PFP or opposed the ruling National Party/Independent Ratepayers' Association coalition.

POWERFUL MEN

He said it was expected of Mr Keenan, as one of the two most powerful men in the council — he and Mr Ron Selley hold the balance of power — that he would use his discretion and vote on merit.

He was now being called on to tell voters why he had supported, without explanation, every



Mr Lionel Keenan ... voting pattern under scrutiny.

rate and tariff increase proposed by the coalition.

Mr Keenan could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Until 1982, Ward 9 was considered a safe PFP seat but Mr Keenan, standing as an Independent, was responsible for one of the shock results that year when he ousted the PFP's Mr Kendal Jordi by 200 votes — winning 1 271 votes to Mr Jordi's 1 071 in a 45,9 percent poll.

In the 1977 Provincial Council elections Mr Keenan stood in PFP colours against Mr Francois Oberholzer, representing the New Republic Party in Rosettenville.

Mr Oberholzer trounced Mr Keenan with a majority of 4 301 votes.

Assault on Western values

By Hannes de Wet

The time has come for Afrikaans and English-speaking people in South Africa to join forces and to stop living in two different compartments.

This is the view of a prominent Afrikaans cultural and church leader, Professor Johan Heyns.

In an interview with *The Star* he said:

"What is presently happening in South Africa is much more than a process to end apartheid or to change the Government. We are actually experiencing an onslaught on the Western civilisation which the white man brought from Europe to this country.

Exclusivity

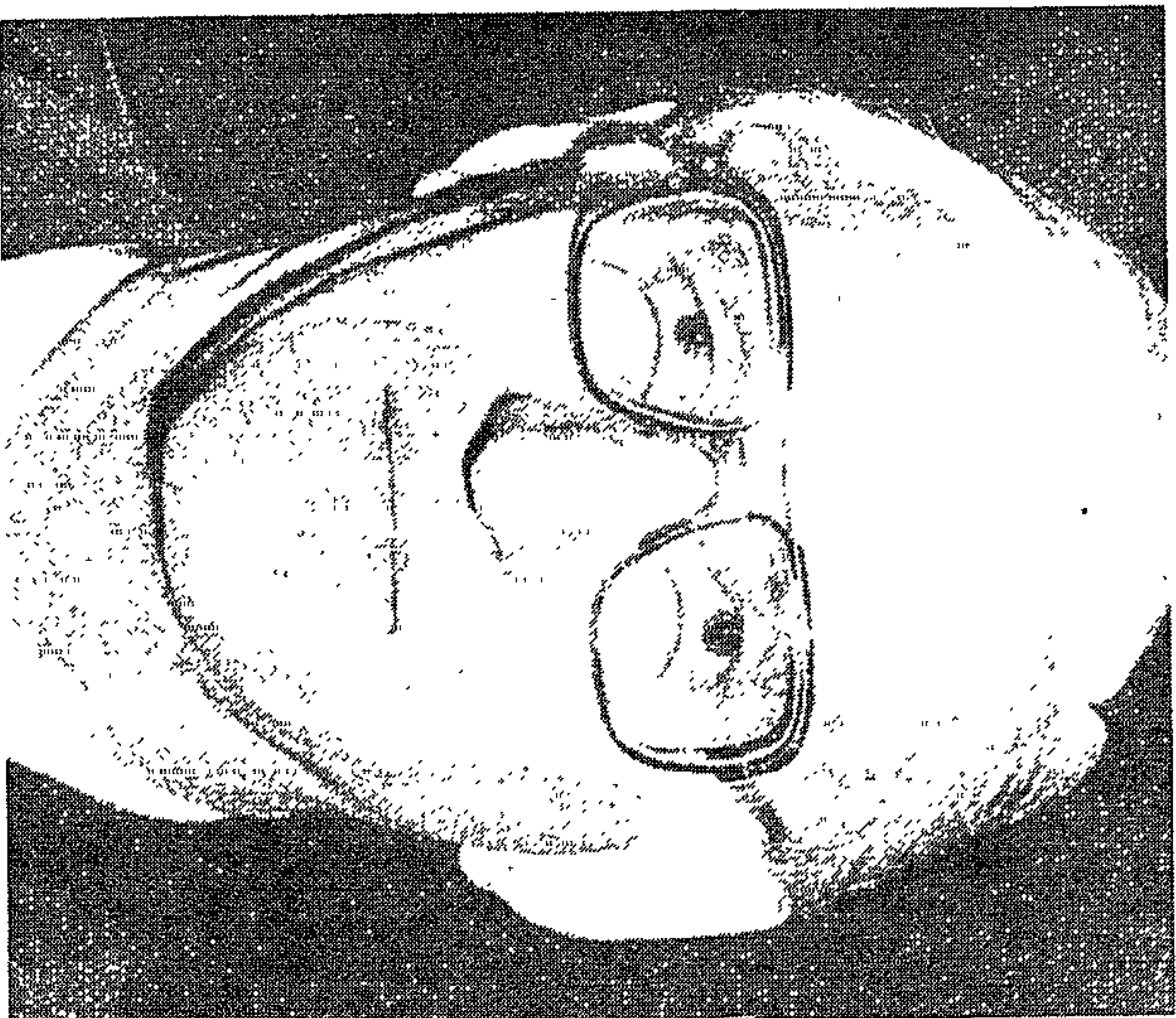
"In order to protect that civilisation, English and Afrikaans South Africans must put an end to their mutual exclusivity. We should come together and form a solid bastion for maintaining Western civilised values in South Africa."

Professor Heyns is chairman of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns and moderator of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Northern Transvaal.

The fact of the matter, said Professor Heyns, was that every South African with a Western or European descent was being endangered.

"We, as white Africans, should, clinging in unity to our umbilical cord with Western Europe. That is the only way in which we will be able to fertilise and enrich the black African culture in this country.

"It is our link with the West or Europe that makes us different from the rest of Africa. It is this connection that will enable us to make a special contribution in this part of Africa.



Professor Johan Heyns

"I am convinced that the two cultures can complement each other to the advantage of the country as a whole."

The last thing he had in mind, said Professor Heyns, was a kind of anti-black white front.

"My plea is simply for a stronghold of all white Africans to ensure that the ingredients of Western civilised values stay part of — and will keep on playing a role — in our society."

Professor Heyns saw the present turbulence in the country as a process in which people, inspired by black nationalism, were striving to move from an inferior position to a superior one.

"The complication is that these nationalistic aspirations have become mixed with communism. And then there is a clear element of barbarism, cashing in on the current state of affairs.

"My view is that the white Africans in this country must find a working relationship with those black Africans who are being inspired by pure nationalism.

"We must recognise and appreciate their aspirations and go into a partnership with them in eliminating the other elements.

"In order for such a partnership to flourish and grow into something new, Western civilisation must remain strong in this country," said Professor Heyns.

"The obvious way to achieve that is for Afrikaans and English-speaking whites to join forces.

Quality

"We need to take hands and to ensure that the highest quality is being maintained in our country. We don't have the numbers or the size. In order for civilisation to survive, we need to be intent on maintaining the highest quality in everything we do and produce."

One example where much needed to be done towards this end was the newspaper industry in the country, said Professor Heyns.

"I have to buy one English and one Afrikaans paper every day — and the one is as mediocre as the other. Why don't the two different segments join forces and produce a single bilingual newspaper of the highest standards?"

Professor Heyns said he realised that this was a very idealistic proposal.

"But just think what such a venture could achieve. Not only would we get quality but such a newspaper could do wonders to bring the two European communities in the country closer to each other.

"The time has come for us to stop bleeding each other to death," Professor Heyns said.

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — European leaders are no longer prepared to stand by idly while the South African Government steps up repression and refuses to abandon apartheid, the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said here.

"The result is that a tidal wave of sanctions are building up that will be hitting South Africa soon," Mr Eglin said yesterday, home from a two-week tour of three European nations.

In West Germany, Sweden and Finland he held talks with foreign ministers, MPs, senior government officials, and academics.

Even those European leaders who were sympathetic to the complex problems facing South Africa were no longer impressed with the ar-

Eglin: embargo wave is building

gument that more time was needed for meaningful reforms.

"Time and again I was confronted with the argument that after 38 years of National Party rule not a single black person had been granted the vote."

The imposition of the state of emergency, press censorship and the clampdown on the government's opponents had "reinforced the worst perceptions Europe had held about South Africa."

5.1% of whites armed

15/7/86 Own Correspondent
A FIREARM is possessed by 5.1% of white households, according to a recent nationwide poll conducted by the Markinor Research Group.

The survey shows that 60% of Afrikaners and 39% of English-speakers own firearms.

It adds that burglaries and theft have decreased in comparison with a similar study done eight years ago.

And 800 white households reported a 4% decrease in burglaries and attempted burglaries, a 2% drop in cash and property thefts and a 1% decrease in car thefts.

According the survey, however, vandalism of property has increased by 3% and assaults and muggings are up by 1%.

Ball now in Govt's court

NATAL and KwaZulu could become a self-governing federal or confederal part of South Africa to implement recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Advisors and delegates to the Indaba yesterday agreed that the Bill of Rights approved by the Indaba was totally contrary to existing Government positions, particularly on race classification as well as intentions on reform.

Although there has been no Government response to the Bill of Rights, approved by the Indaba last week, there have already been indications that the Government would be prepared to consider accommodating Natal and KwaZulu, in a confederal-type structure.

In an interview constitutional academic Professor Marinus Weichers, who played a large part in drawing up the Bill of Rights, agreed it was "absolutely contrary" to what the Government was doing.

It contradicted the basis of the current constitution based on the racial lines of own and general affairs and went beyond the present Government initiatives.

Natal should not ask for and be given the same status as the existing self-governing states...

He agreed that this would also present problems such as how the region would be represented in central government.

Prof Weichers pointed out that although only whites, coloureds and Indians were represented at central government level, the Government itself admitted this was an in-

15/1/86
Sweeper
304A

Cape Times 15/7/86 (3064)

Arms and the child

Staff Reporter

THE Boere Brandwag (Boer Sentry), a new wing of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, is to train children from the age of 10 in the use of firearms.

This was announced by the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, in an interview with Rapport at the weekend.

One of the three leaders of the Boere Brandwag will be former security policeman Colonel Arthur Cronwright, who took early pension in 1984.

Colonel Cronwright, who was known for his infiltration of Johannesburg's universities and his interrogation of ac-

tivists, is to use his police experience to "rid the organization of Nationalist spies and security police infiltrators".

Colonel Cronwright is also the Intelligence Chief of the AWB and aims to have members of the Boere Brandwag prepared to patrol South Africa's borders on horseback.

Rightists to refuse to pay for television

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Thousands of Conservative Party supporters, angry about the poor television coverage their party receives, intend refusing to pay their television licences.

They have given SABC director general Riaan Eksteen a list of their names.

The party has also raised R1 000 000 from private donors to finance daily — instead of monthly — publication of its mouthpiece the Patriot.

'We hope to publish the Patriot weekly before the end of the year and thereafter publish it daily. We will raise more funds through different projects to make this possible,' says CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

The party has yet to decide whether it will be a Sunday publication.

CP secretary Karel Schoeman says: 'Our people are sick and tired of the Government propaganda on television, the radio and most Afrikaans newspapers and they demand more coverage of the real situation.'

Dr Treurnicht said he agreed with the principle, but the refusal to pay television licences had been taken on members' own initiative.

'We mentioned it at the last congress but decided not to make it a party attempt. Individuals could take the matter up in their personal capacity,' he says.

'At the CP congress in August last year we demanded more coverage and a fairer presentation of the news, and we will do it again this year as no steps have been taken by Mr Eksteen,' he said.

First-quarter expenditure up 24% of budget over forecast

Government spending way over forecast

BUDGET 16/7/86 (304A)

GOVERNMENT expenditure at just over R10bn for the first three months of the current fiscal year is running at a rate of 24,4% above last year's comparable figure.

In his Budget speech, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said his estimated ex-

HAROLD FRIDJHON

penditure for the year of R37,447bn would be 13,6% higher than the revised figure of R32,977bn for fiscal 1985/86.

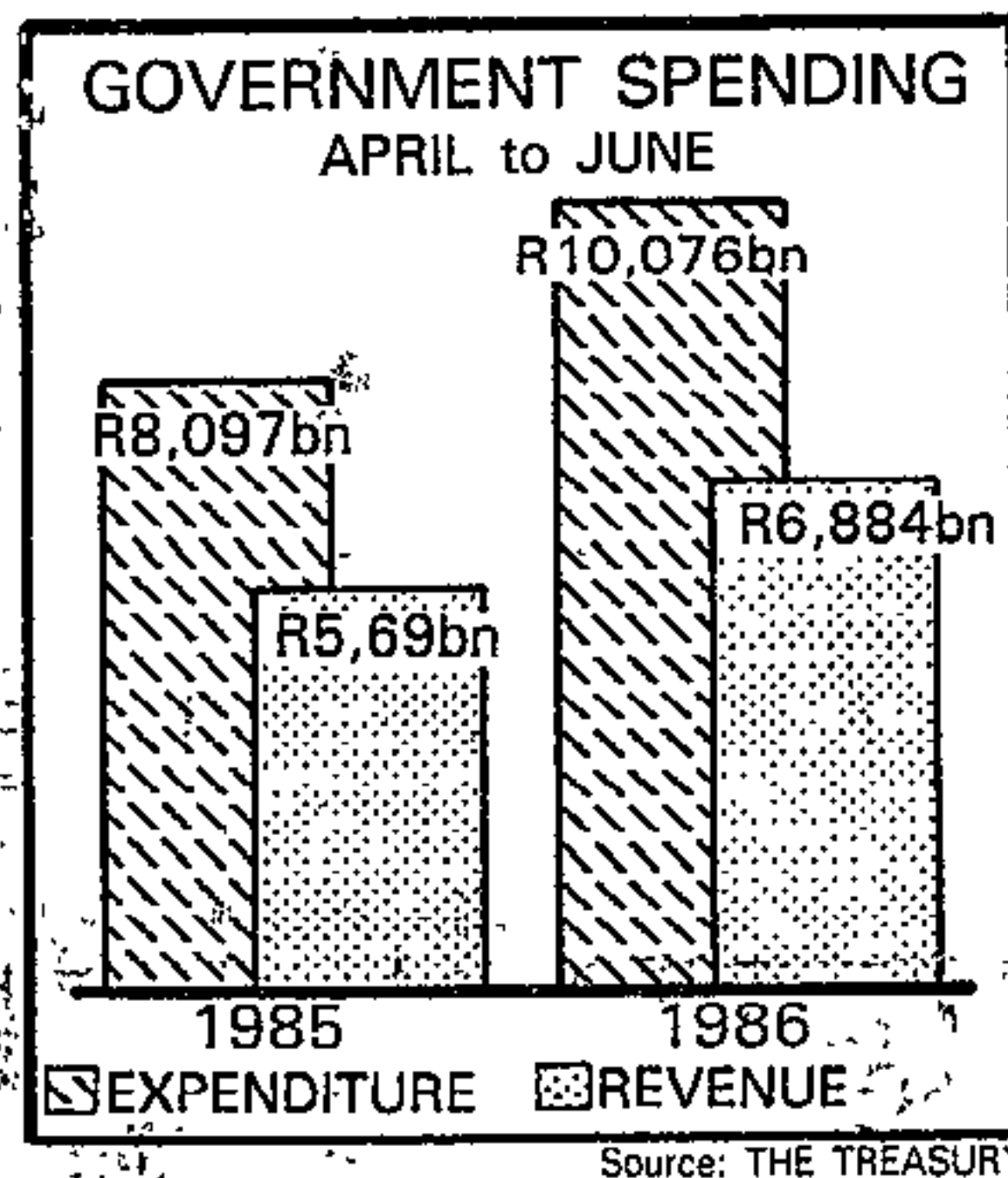
The Treasury's outlays vary from month to month and are usually higher in the first few months of the fiscal year. But the 24,4% increase compares the first quarter of this year with the first quarter of last year. It is a grim warning that expenditure is likely to overshoot Budget considerably.

Compared with last year, Defence spending is up 32,4% at R1,585bn. Police outlay is 28,4% higher at R361,5m and Prisons spending up 24,1% at R130m.

Spending by Transport is 89% higher at R186m, Trade and Industry is up 37,2% at R302m.

Spending on National Education has increased by 23% to R33,1m and Education and Training is 37,3% higher at R283m.

The largest percentage increase is in the spending of the Commission for Administration, which was 197% higher.



● To Page 2

Govt spending soars

BUDGET 16/7/86 (304A)

than last year at R112,8m.

Revenue, too, is well ahead of last year's inflow.

During the months April to June the Treasury collected R6,885bn, which was 21% more than it had garnered in the first quarter of 1985. Inland Revenue brought in R6,318bn, against R5,304bn. Customs and Excise contributed R566,6m (R385m last year).

The fiscal year is still too young for any realistic assessment to be made of the outcome of the revenue estimates.

The deficit before borrowing was R3,191bn, compared with the budgeted deficit of R3,944bn for the full year. But as revenue accrues very sluggishly to the Treasury during the first few months of a fiscal year, the borrowing was usually heavy.

The financing of that deficit, however,

suggests that Du Plessis is going to raid the private sector for a lot more than the R893m in new bonds and the R1,225 rollover of maturing bonds which he provided for in his Budget.

The Treasury raised R1,543bn in the capital market in the first quarter, of which R1bn was in the 14% 1989, R193m through the 14% 1992, about R250m in the 14% 1995, and R100m in the 14% 1987.

The Public Investment Corporation, which is down to provide R3,25bn this year, has already taken up bonds to the value of R1,25bn.

The 7,5% 1986 was redeemed to the value R464m.

Foreign loans and credits amounting to R13,6m were repaid and R1,1m was raised.

● From Page 1

PW refuses request to meet AWB leader

AK Post 16/7/86 304A

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has turned down a request to meet the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

At the AWB's first Press conference in Pretoria today, Mr Terre'Blanche quoted a letter from Mr Botha's office as saying "the State President experienced problems with the AWB's concepts".

"I'm sorry, because I wanted to solve his concepts problem," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

He said the AWB would not enter party politics or field independent candidates.

This was because the AWB did not want to lose its position as the biggest and fastest-growing national movement "to become one of many parties reduced to irrele-

vance by the new constitutional dispensation".

Mr Terre'Blanche said he feared extra-parliamentary polarisation would occur to the left.

He said the National Party would eventually be unable to maintain order within its own party, and "everything will fall apart".

"The Marxist-inspired enemy will not be in the least interested in politics but will only want to take over with violence.

"They will have to be met by a body other than a political party. It won't help to vote against a Communist assuming power with armed violence."

"In the end you will only have a choice between the AWB and the ANC."

He said the AWB was not seeking a revolution, but in view of the failure

of the new political dispensation, it called on everyone to prepare for when the Government "capitulated," as all white governments in Africa who shared political power did.

Mr Terre'Blanche announced that former security policeman Col Arthur Cronwright, who was quoted recently as having said that the AWB's para-military Brandwag would train white children as young as 10 in the use of arms, had been suspended as leader of the Brandwag branch he headed.

"He had no right to make Press statements or talk on behalf of the AWB."

He said the AWB met the Conservative Party yesterday "to seek greater co-operation" and to discuss the position of whites in SWA/Namibia,

and the establishment of "boer" republics in the Transvaal, the Free State, and Northern Natal.

Urban blacks in these areas would have to seek work elsewhere, he said.

● Policy differences between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the AWB are to be aired at the second Eastern Cape regional congress of the HNP in Port Elizabeth on Saturday.

The regional organiser of the HNP, Mr Attie Looock, said today that there were definite differences between the two right-wing organisations.

"The AWB stands for a *boere volkstaat* and their standpoint is that the Cape Province and Natal must be cut off from the rest of the Republic so that the coloureds can form their own republic in the Cape."

Govt can still win over most blacks, expert tells ASB

By Hannes De Wet

It is still possible for the Government to win over the majority of blacks in South Africa, according to Dr Johan Kirsten of the department of international and public law at Potchefstroom University.

He told the annual congress of the Afrikanse Studentebond: "The average black man in the country is not a communist. It is true that many of them feel positive towards the African National Congress or support the movement.

"But that is because they have legitimate grievances — not because they are communists."

It would, however, be no easy task to win the hearts and minds of blacks in competition with the ANC. The ANC was in a position

where it could make promises without having to deliver the goods.

Dr Kirsten said the right strategy for the Government would be to give blacks positive incentives. At the same time, it should prove to blacks that the ANC was not what it pretended to be.

"Talks with the ANC at this stage will only weaken the Government. Instead, the movement should be hammered to a point where it realises that there are also other parties which will play a role in the South Africa of the future."

He said it would be futile to try to separate the moderates from the radicals in the ANC.

"The moderates do not have much manoeuvring room. They will suffer an instant loss of credibility within the ANC if they try to distance themselves from the SA Communist Party," Dr Kirsten said.

TV coverage upsets CP members

DD/16/1/86 (454A)
Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
Thousands of Conservative Party supporters, angry at the poor TV coverage their party receives, intend refusing to pay their TV licences.

They will be presenting the SABC's Director-General, Mr Riaan Eksteen, with a list of their names.

The party has also raised half the R1 million target from private donors to finance the daily — instead of monthly — publication of its mouthpiece Die Patriot.

"We hope to publish Die Patriot weekly before the end of the year and thereafter publish it daily. We will raise more funds through different projects to make this possible," said CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The party has yet to decide whether it will be a Sunday publication.

On inadequate TV coverage, the CP secretary, Mr Karel Schoeman says: "Our people are sick and tired of the government propaganda on television, the radio and most Afrikaans newspapers and they demand more coverage of the real situation."

Dr Treurnicht agrees with the principle, but added the refusal to pay TV licences were taken on member's own initiative.

"We mentioned it at the last congress but decided not to make it a party attempt. Individuals could take the matter up in their personal capacity," he said.

"At the CP congress in August last year we demanded more coverage and a fairer presentation of the news and we will do it again this year as no steps have been taken by Mr Eksteen," Dr Treurnicht said.

cat 7615 14/186

Another new plan for SA ^{304A}

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

IN a book just published in Cape Town titled "Beyond Apartheid", a graduate of the universities of Stellenbosch and Cambridge, Mr Christopher Spottiswoode, propounds an "immediate political action plan for South Africans" which would exploit this country's "hidden potential for consensus".

Mr Spottiswoode, a computer executive, says the National Party and the ANC should be phased out as political organizations, "though they might maintain cultural roles". As the almost-exclusive organizations they are now, he adds, they would have no role in the future dispensation he proposes.

Mr Spottiswoode says with the help of a computer-assisted facility called POLLEX (for Political Exchange), voluntary democratic political organizations called Consensus Bodies (CBs) would be formed.

"They will bring about the final dismantling of apartheid in the short term, and will be the precursors of a new democracy."

The author says despite all the bitterness and enmity among South Africans, there are indications of "immense reserves of goodwill" which should be brought to the fore.

He says District Six could be used as a testing ground for the consensus process and POLLEX, and that it must be determined what steps, if any, should be taken "in an attempt to undo some of the harm done".

AWB's Cronwright suspended

FORMER security policeman Colonel Arthur Cronwright, who was quoted recently as having said the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) para-military Brandwag would train white children as young as 10 in the use of arms, has been suspended as leader of the Brandwag branch he headed.

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said in Pretoria yesterday that Cronwright had no right to make such statements on behalf of the AWB and that his organisation wanted to distance itself from them.

TerreBlanche also said President P. W. Botha had turned down a request to meet him. He quoted a letter from Botha's office as saying "the President experienced problems with the AWB's concepts".

He said the AWB would not enter party politics or field independent candidates. That was because the AWB did not want to lose its position as a fast-growing national movement "to become one of many parties reduced to irrelevance by the new constitutional dispensation".

TerreBlanche said the National Party would eventually be unable to maintain order within its own party, and "everything will fall apart". A political party would be unable to meet such a situation. The AWB had met the Conservative Party "to seek greater co-operation" and to discuss the position of whites in Namibia, and the establishment of "Boer" republics in the Transvaal, the Free State and northern Natal.

Urban blacks in those areas would have to seek work elsewhere.

TerreBlanche would not release membership figures for the AWB or its Brandwag — a network of self-defence units across the country. — Sapa.

Top-level talks on national statutory council delayed

Plumber, lecturer help avert rail disaster

By SHARKEY ISAACS
Staff Reporter

THE efforts of a plumber, a maths lecturer and a train driver prevented a potential disaster on the Simon's Town railway line when they helped to stop trains before they reached a broken section of track at St James.

The plumber, Mr Joseph Clark of Grassy Park, heard a train making a strange noise at 3.50pm yesterday while packing his van which was parked next to the line.

He investigated and saw a 10cm chunk of track had broken off. He asked Mr John Fresen who lives opposite the line to alert railway personnel.

Mr Fresen, a mathematics statistics lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, telephoned train control personnel at Simon's Town who alerted train drivers.

WARNED

Mr Fresen and Mr Clark ran to the line to make sure no trains had reached the broken section.

The driver of an approaching train had slowed down after being warned that something was wrong by a built-in device on the track which triggered a red danger light.

Two more drivers then stopped their trains.



Picture: PIERRE OOSTHUYSEN, The Argus.

Quick thinking on the part of a city plumber, lecturer and train driver averted a disaster on the Simon's Town line yesterday. A railway maintenance team replaces the broken section of rail on the Simon's Town line.

Mr Roy Granger, superintendent of operations in the Western Cape, said the broken rail had triggered a warning system built into the line and the first train driver to approach the section had seen the danger signal.

"However he did not know what was wrong and learnt the cause only when he stopped," he said.

Railway maintenance crews were sent to replace the rail and the service was restored at 5.10pm.

Food chains freeze some prices

Staff Reporter

THREE supermarket chains have frozen the prices of their no-name and house products until January.

The managing director of OK Bazaars, Mr Gordon Hood, said the prices of 121 products would not be increased until January 16 next year. Pick 'n Pay and Checkers will hold prices until January 1.

Mr Hood said the products were "highly representative, meaningful items" in the monthly shopping basket.

Mr Ray Murray, Pick 'n Pay general manager (foods) said "Consumers need lower prices — a light at the end of the tunnel."

The company had asked its suppliers to support the effort.

2-week Mercedes-Benz strike ends

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Mercedes-Benz strikers returned to work today after almost a fortnight.

A spokesman for the firm, Mrs Delene MacFarlane, said workers returned for the morning shift as agreed at a meeting with the management yesterday.

Many were absent but she hoped attendance would be back to normal soon.

"It always takes a little while to start up again," she said.

The strike was sparked by a dispute over the interpretation of short-time rules.

Paint-shop workers were sent home early on July 1 because of hold-ups in production. They demanded full wages in spite of working short time and when the management refused began a go-slow which led to the closure of the plant.

Yesterday's agreement has not resolved the issue.

A dispute has been declared and referred to the Industrial Council, said the branch secretary of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union (Naawu), Mr Wilson Monga.

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Government's work to prepare legislation for the proposed national statutory council appears to have been bogged down.

An important meeting of the high-level constitutional affairs standing committee has been postponed to a date still to be arranged.

The postponement has been confirmed by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, through a spokesman.

Mr Heunis is the chairman of the committee, which also includes six other Cabinet Ministers, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Ministers and MPs from all three Houses of Parliament.

Key instrument

The legislation for the proposed national statutory council — a potential key instrument for constitutional negotiation involving black leaders — is due to come before Parliament next month.

Mr Heunis said through a spokesman that the meetings of the constitutional affairs committee were postponed because "certain legislation" had not been completed.

Negotiations were still being held.

A later date for the committee's meeting would be set as soon as the legislation was ready and the negotiations were complete.

Mr Heunis's constitutional affairs standing committee was to have met next Tuesday and Wednesday.

Special adjustment

The dates were arranged after a special adjustment in the programme for parliamentary committee meetings.

Mr Colin Eglin, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, said he had received a notice to the effect that the meeting had been postponed indefinitely.

He was given no reasons.

"Somewhere along the line something has gone wrong. Either the legislation is not ready yet or it has had to be postponed for some reason," Mr Eglin said.

"This is typical of the whole pattern of confusion that has been the hallmark of constitutional development in South Africa in recent years."

The draft of the proposed National Council Bill was published recently for public information and comment.

Apart from Mr Heunis, other Cabinet Ministers in the Constitutional Affairs Committee are the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee; the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerit Viljoen, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The committee is known to be the body for dealing with major constitutional matters, one of which is the proposed national statutory council.

Plans for the proposed council appeared to run into trouble recently when certain moderate black leaders indicated they would not serve on the council until African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela was free to do so.

Only last week there was an apparent setback for the Government's plan when Nascoc president Dr Sam Molsuene rejected the proposed council.

Another moderate black leader who has distanced himself from the council is Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Successful test on space shuttle engine

WASHINGTON. — A modified space shuttle engine has been fired successfully for more than four minutes in the first major test since the Challenger exploded in January.

● In Huntsville, Alabama Mr Lawrence Mulloy, who directed the shuttle's booster programme at the time of the Challenger disaster, has announced his retirement. Sapa-AP.

40 MNR rebels killed

MAPUTO. — Forty guerrillas and 10 civilians have been killed in a series of rebel raids and battles between soldiers and insurgents in northern Mozambique during June, the official Mozambique News Agency reported today. — Sapa-AP.

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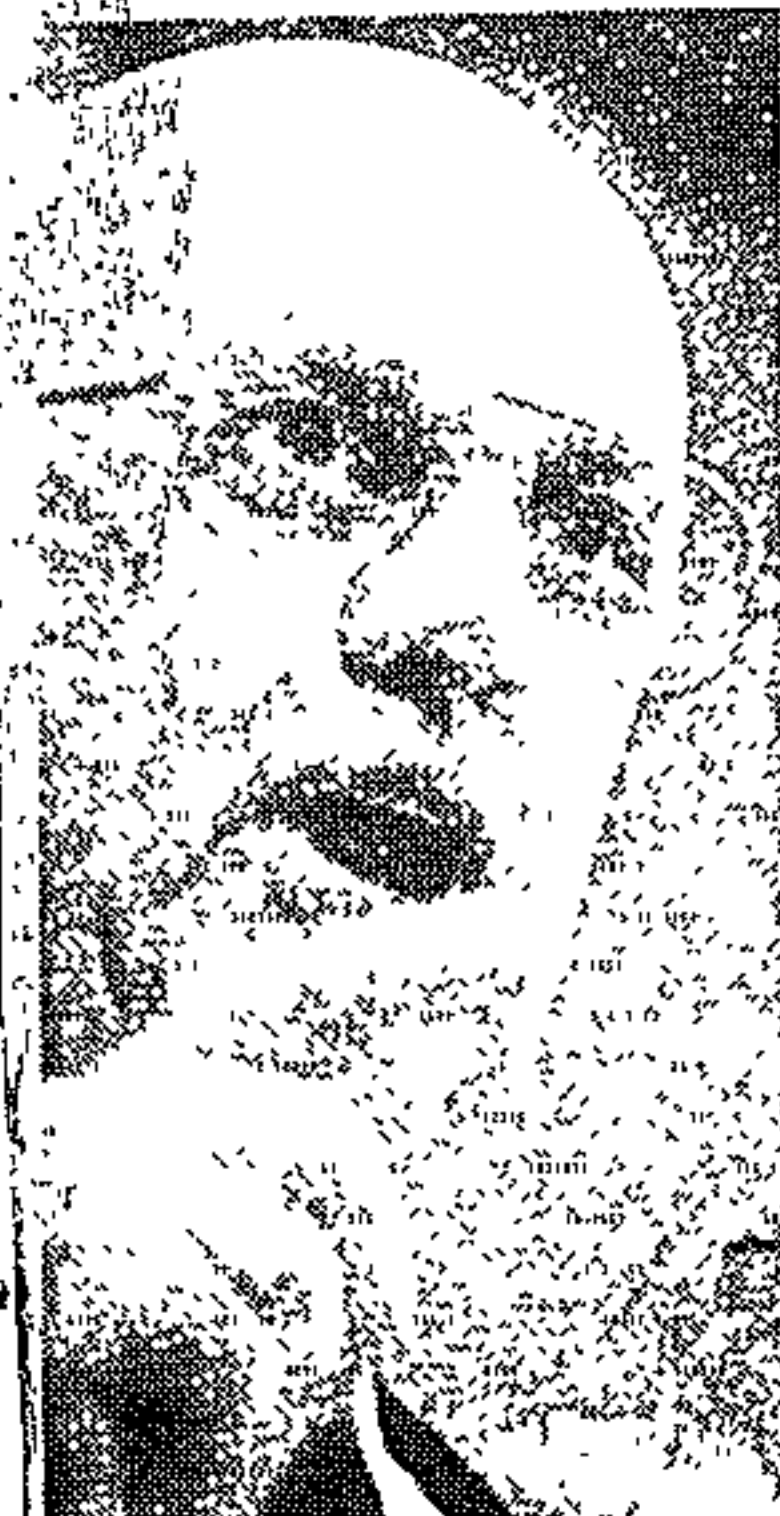
DAILY DISF

Botha rejects meeting with AWB's leader

PRETORIA — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, has turned down a request to meet the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

At the AWB's first press conference here yesterday, Mr Terre'Blanche quoted a letter from Mr Botha's office as saying "the State President experienced problems with the AWB's concepts".

"I'm sorry, because I wanted to solve his concepts problem," Mr Terre'Blanche said.



MR BOTHA

The AWB would not enter party politics or field independent candidates because it did not want to lose its position as the biggest and fastest-growing national movement "to become one of many parties reduced to irrelevance by the new constitutional dispensation".

Mr Terre'Blanche said the National Party would eventually be unable to maintain order within its own ranks and "everything will fall apart".

"The Marxist-inspired enemy will not be in the least interested in politics but will only want to take over with violence.

"They will have to be met by a body other than a political party. It won't help to vote against a communist assuming power with armed violence," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

"In the end you will only have a choice between the AWB and the African National Congress."

He said the AWB was not seeking a revolution, but in view of the failure of the new political dispensation it called on everyone to prepare for when the government "capitulated", as all white governments in Africa who shared political power did.

The government did not offer a solution to problems facing the country, he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche announced that a former security policeman, Colonel Arthur Cronwright, who was quoted recently as saying the AWB's paramilitary Brandwag



MR TERRE'BLANCHE

would train white children as young as 10 in the use of arms, had been suspended as leader of the Brandwag branch he headed.

"He had no right to make press statements or talk on behalf of the AWB."

The AWB wished to distance itself from the statements, he said. — Sapa

LY 17, 1986

By KIN BENTLEY

PRINCIPAL former leaders of the Opposition Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine will be in the Eastern Cape next week on a visit sponsored by commerce and industry.

The two are scheduled to arrive in PE on Sunday. Over the following two days they will have several meetings with local industrialists, businessmen, professional men, academics and opinion leaders of all races in the Eastern Cape, the trip coordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell, said today.

There has been considerable interest in political circles about their activities following their resignation from Parliament at the beginning of the year.

Dr Slabbert was leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly for six years and Dr Boraine headed the PFP's federal council.

Mr Mitchell said the two-day tour of the Eastern Cape, which will include visits to East London and Grahamstown, was "sponsored by local commerce and industry concerned about the need to throw direct light on the political situation in the region".

He declined to comment further on the involvement of commerce and industry.

Slabbert for top level EC talks

over post 3041 17/7/86

The reason for the visit, he said, was for them "to gain first-hand knowledge of the socio-political problems in the Eastern Cape, which is regarded as a good barometer of political events in South Africa".

Mr Mitchell said following their resignation from Parliament, the two had been involved in the establishment of a "political research institute".

Part of the institute's aim was to act as a "think-tank on various democratic alternatives available to South Africa and to promote peaceful internal dialogue. A number of alternatives have been explored in discussions with black and

white leaders up to now," he said.

Mr Mitchell said they had undertaken other tours in the country, laying the groundwork for the institute.

Both arrived back in South Africa on June 7 after a tour of the United States, United Kingdom, France, Italy and Senegal, where they spoke to various academic institutions and addressed seminars.

They also met politicians, representatives of multi-national companies involved in South Africa and "influential US foundations, with a view to raising money for the institute".

July

STREET.

Mercury: 17/07/86

School system

'has failed white pupils'

Political Reporter

THE education system failed white schoolchildren because it did not prepare them for a changed South Africa, the Progressive Federal Party's youth chairman, Mr Andrew Miller, said in Durban yesterday.

Mr Miller, a 22-year-old final-year education student at the University of Cape Town, is visiting PFP youth branches around the country.

He said one of the most important roles of the PFP youth was to point out to white schoolchildren that they would no longer get privileges because they had white skins.

'In these times when there is so much to oppose, we forget our right to affirm certain values such as a free Press, the rule of law and the right to peaceful protest.'

'These are insecure and frightening times in which to live, but young people are realising that instead of sitting back and doing nothing they can play a role in determining what's happening in South Africa,' Mr Miller said.

He said the PFP's relationship with extra-parliamentary opposition groups had improved recently.

Mr Miller said this was partly because of the PFP deliberately becoming involved with some of the groups and partly because of the state of emergency.

He said the PFP was able to use its limited protection to do things such as urging the authorities to allow visiting rights and food parcels for detainees.

'The groups are accepting that liberal people have a role in the struggle against apartheid,' Mr Miller said.

During his national tour, Mr Miller is also publicising a PFP youth pamphlet called 'The facts of life — beyond the birds and bees — young Progressives building a non-racial, democratic future.'

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Botha 'no' to AWB talks

PRETORIA. — President P.W. Botha has turned down a request for him to meet the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

At the AWB's first press conference here yesterday, Mr Terre'Blanche quoted a letter from Mr Botha's office as saying "the State President experienced problems with the AWB's concepts".

Mr Terre'Blanche said he was sorry as he "wanted to solve his concepts problem".

He said the AWB would not enter party politics or field independent candidates.

This, he said, was because it did not want to lose its position as the biggest and fastest-growing national movement "to become one of many



Mr Terre'Blanche

parties reduced to irrelevance by the new constitutional dispensation".

He said the National Party would eventually be unable to maintain order within its own party and "everything will fall apart".

A political party would be unable to meet such a situation.

"In the end you will only have a choice between the AWB and the ANC."

He said the AWB was not seeking a revolution, but in view of the failure of the new political dispensation, it called on everyone to prepare for when the government "capitulated".

Mr Terre'Blanche announced that former security policeman Colonel Arthur Cronwright, who was quoted recently as having said that the AWB's para-military Brandwag would train white children as young as 10 in the use of arms, had been suspended as leader of the Brandwag branch he headed.

Mr Terre'Blanche also said the AWB met the Conservative Party on Tuesday "to seek greater co-operation". — Sapa

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Right unites to fight seat

Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party will not contest the Klip River by-election, choosing instead to support a Herstigte Nasionale Party candidate in a concerted Right-wing attempt to take the hitherto safe National Party seat.

Yesterday the CP and the HNP announced that Mr Chris Wolmarans, chairman of Action White Natal, would stand on an HNP ticket, while the NP announced they would field Mr Thys Wessels, former Klip River MPC and leader of the opposition in the Natal Provincial Council.

There is a strong possibility that the Progressive Federal Party will turn the by-election into a three-way fight, but it has not yet decided whether or not to field a candidate.

It seems the chances of there being a New Republic Party candidate, unlikely at present, would be strengthened if the PFP did not stand.

In a joint statement the CP and HNP said they had decided to field only one candidate to ensure a combined Right-wing front against the National Party in view of the 'serious situation in which the Govern-

ment has dumped the whites.'

Mr Wolmarans, 48, said from his Hattingspruit home yesterday that he was thrilled to be the HNP candidate.

Mr Derrick Watterson, NRP Natal chairman, said it was unlikely that there would be an NRP candidate but a final decision would be made soon.

The Klip River seat became vacant recently when Mr Val Volker, of the NP, was appointed to the new nominated multiracial Natal provincial executive committee.

The by-election will be on September 17, and the nomination court will sit on August 11.

Law expert hails Natal judgment

By Hannes de Wet

17/7/86
Star

304A

The Natal Supreme Court's rejection yesterday of key clauses in state of emergency regulations was a "remarkable activist judgment", an expert in constitutional law said today.

"It confirmed that the judiciary in South Africa is prepared to lean backwards to look after individual rights — despite the fact that we have no Bill of Rights," Professor Dion Basson, an expert in constitutional law at the University of Pretoria, told *The Star*.

Professor Basson said not even English courts would go to such lengths to meet the rights of the individual.

The three judges on the Natal Bench upheld the legality of the state of emergency, but rejected several clauses concerning subversive statements and detainees' rights of access to lawyers.

Professor Basson said: "The Government will now probably simply replace them with new, clearer clauses which cannot be rejected by the court on the basis that they are too vague."

"Had the Durban Bench ruled that the state of emergency was illegal, the Government could simply have issued new regulations this morning. The only condition would have been that these regulations be ratified by Parliament at the next session."

The constitution did not allow the judiciary to rule on the content of any law. There were only technical loopholes — on procedural matters and the clarity of clauses in the law.

"The series of judgments on state of emergency clauses we had in the past few weeks indicate that the courts were going all-out to apply these loopholes."

"Similar court actions on the emergency regulations and judgments in favour of the individual, where possible, can be expected in the future," Professor Basson said.

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P W turned down request to meet AWB, says leader

PRETORIA—President Botha has turned down a request to meet the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

At the AWB's first Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Terre'Blanche quoted a letter from Mr Botha's office as saying 'the State President experienced problems with the

AWB's concepts'.

'I'm sorry, because I wanted to solve his concepts problem,' Mr Terre'Blanche said.

He said the AWB would not enter party politics or field independent candidates.

This was because the AWB did not want to lose its position as the biggest and fastest-growing

national movement 'to become one of many parties reduced to irrelevance by the new constitutional dispensation'.

Mr Terre'Blanche said he feared extra-parliamentary polarisation would occur to the Left.

He said the National Party would eventually be unable to maintain order within its own party, and 'everything will fall apart'. A political party would be unable to meet such a situation.

'The marxist-inspired enemy will not be in the least interested in politics but will only want to take over with violence.'

'They will have to be met by a body other than a political party. It won't help to vote against a communist assuming power with armed violence,' Mr Terre'Blanche said.

'In the end you will only have a choice between the AWB and the ANC.'

He said the AWB was not seeking a revolution, but in view of the failure of the new political dispensation, it called on everyone to prepare for when the Government 'capitulated', as all white governments in Africa who shared political power did.

No right

The Government did not offer a solution to problems facing the country, he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche announced that former security policeman Col Arthur Cronwright, who was quoted recently as having said that the AWB's paramilitary Brandwag would train white children as young as 10 in the use of arms, had been suspended as leader of the Brandwag branch he headed.

'He had no right to make Press statements or talk on behalf of the AWB.'

The AWB wished to distance itself from Col Cronwright's statements, Mr Terre'Blanche said, but this did not detract from the right of parents to train their children in self-defence.

He said the AWB met the Conservative Party on Tuesday 'to seek greater co-operation' and to discuss the position of whites in South West Africa, and the establishment of Boer republics in the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal. — (Sapa)

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Days of permissive govt over — Krause

DURBAN — The era of "permissive" government in South Africa had come to an end, a political commentator, Mr Otto Krause, told a Trust Bank economic seminar here yesterday.

In the "old days" the government would not have allowed the freedom afforded to opposition groups like the United Democratic Front (UDF).

"Their leaders would have been locked up" and foreign television teams kept out of the country, Mr Krause said.

This freedom had been allowed by the government "together with somewhat premature" new labour laws. But that era had now come to end with the state of emergency.

Mr Krause sketched four possible scenarios for South Africa:

- An attempted or successful revolution;
- Foreign intervention;
- Continuing unrest and a slow erosion of order, strengths and values; or

● The restoration of order and a political settlement.

He discounted the first two possibilities, saying the country was too far away for a military campaign. He did not think the present black nationalist opposition was sufficiently strong or would gain the support of the army.

The last two were possible, with the fourth strongly favoured.

A strong, disciplined, government was a requirement as the country industrialised, he noted.

"Look at those countries which have industrialised in recent years. They have only got through it by having a tough, strong, disciplined government, or even a dictatorship," Mr Krause said.

In this situation the government should be firm in maintaining law and order.

He said the government had "painted itself into a corner" and this was a major problem.

On the way to a nego-

tiated settlement the government had to remove every "apartheid law" from the statute book.

It also had to be recognised that South Africa, as a "country without borders", needed a unique constitution to meet the needs of the population. No other country had the same situation, he said.

Another speaker, Professor Grant Schutte, forecast that a negotiated settlement would be in place within three to five years and businessmen had to take this into account when planning.

Mr Krause said there

were signs that black moderates were mounting resistance against the radicals and that the "exhaustion factor" was starting to show in black communities.

While radicals were able to generate enthusiasm for short strikes or stayaways, they did not appear to have funds or resources for substantial industrial stoppages.

He said the Group Areas Act would have to be scrapped and where people lived would revert to the pre-1948 "social pressures" system.

Mr Krause said government was facing a managerial crisis. — Sapa

'Vague' definitions in emergency regulations are scrapped

PW acted beyond his powers, judges rule

17/7/86
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Own Correspondent

DURBAN President Botha had acted beyond his power in denying emergency detainees access to lawyers, a Full Bench of the Supreme Court ruled yesterday.

In a marathon two-hour sitting before a jam-packed courtroom, the judges ruled that parts of the emergency regulations forbidding "subversive statements" and legal access to detainees were invalid.

An urgent application had been made by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) and the wife of one of its members, Mrs Dudu Mchunu, to have the state of emergency nullified, the emergency regulations lifted and detainees freed.

Mr Justice Didcott, Mr Justice Kurler and Mr Justice Thirion upheld the validity of the state of emergency.

However, they ruled that six clauses or parts of clauses in the regulations were invalid, either for being too vague or because President Botha had acted beyond his power.

Mr Justice Didcott said regulation 1.8 (a), which forbade statements promoting "any object of any organisation which has ... been declared to be an unlawful organisation" was "hopelessly uncertain" and had no ascertainable meaning.

On regulation 1.8 (c), which outlawed statements inciting anyone to oppose the Government or any of its officials "in connection with any measure adopted in terms of any of these regulations or in connection with any other measure relating to the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order or in connection with the administration of justice", the judge said President Botha was not empowered to make regulations relating to the administration of justice.

"If I say to someone: 'Don't obey that sub-poena', am I not inciting that person to resist the official serving it?"

Another example was that of a man tell-

ing his wife not to allow a police officer without a search warrant into their house. The man could be regarded as having incited another to oppose a Government official in connection with the administration of justice.

It was ruled that the words "... or in the administration of justice" be deleted.

On regulation 1.8 (d), which forbade statements "engendering or aggravating feelings of hostility in the public or any section of the public or any person or category of persons towards any section of the public or person or category of persons" the judge said the clause was "unintelligible" as it stood.

"It is quite imperative to sever the clause," he said.

Remain in force

On regulation 1.8 (e), the judge said the part of the clause that outlawed statements "weakening or undermining the confidence of the public or any section of the public in the termination of the state of emergency" was too vague.

"I have no idea what it means."

The rest of the clause, about endangering public safety, remained in force.

On regulation 1.8 (f), which outlawed statements "encouraging or promoting disinvestment or the application of sanctions or foreign action against the Republic", the judge said he knew what disinvestment and sanctions meant.

"But I don't know what 'foreign action against the Republic' means."

Those words "must go", he said.

On regulation 3.10 (a) and (b), which forbade anyone except a Government official from having access to or information about emergency detainees without ministerial permission, the judge asked: "Is the State President empowered to say a detainee may not see a lawyer about any matter?"

A detainee's legal representative might

need to see him urgently about, for example, paying his child's school fees or any other matter unconnected with the state of emergency or the maintenance of public order.

It was ruled that President Botha had acted ultra vires.

The right to be allowed access to a lawyer had been recognised by the Appellate Division in the case of *Mandela v Minister of Prisons* 1983.

"The State President had no power to go beyond this," the judge said.

He rejected the union's argument that the emergency regulations as a whole were invalid.

Mr Ismail Mahomed SC, for the union, had argued that the law required a state of emergency to be declared before emergency regulations were promulgated.

Mr Justice Didcott said the Bench was prepared to assume in favour of the applicants that the emergency declaration and the promulgation of regulations occurred simultaneously.

The judge said: "To my mind, when two things are done simultaneously, one has been done when the other is done."

On the union's argument that the state of emergency was without effect from June 26 as the announcement had not been tabled in all three chambers of Parliament within 14 days, he said the crux of the matter was whether or not Parliament could be considered to be in "ordinary session" during the adjournment between sittings.

The Bench was willing to assume that the required procedure had not been complied with.

The judge said his view was that this procedure had been conceived of and was enforceable by "no one but Members of Parliament".

President Botha and the Government, represented by Mr Jan Combrink SC, were ordered to pay half of the costs incurred by the union and Mrs Mchunu in bringing the application.

AWB leader gets standing ovation at Cape meeting

SMK 304A
18/7/86

UITENHAGE — An overflowing Uitenhage Town Hall was last night told that the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging had come to the Eastern Cape to "gather" the descendants of the Boers who had fought for freedom as a nation.

The statement won the leader of the movement, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, a standing ovation from an audience of more than 700 who packed the hall and clustered outside to listen to his speech on loudspeakers.

DRUM UP SUPPORT

Mr TerreBlanche was speaking at a public meeting in the town which was the first of a series to be held in areas such as Cradock and Humansdorp in the following few days to drum up support for the AWB.

From a stage decorated with banners proclaiming "Return to our beliefs, return to our land" and "South African Police, thank you for law and order," Mr TerreBlanche addressed the audience for more than an hour.

He made an impassioned plea for the "volk" to come together as one and be prepared to fight for their existence as a nation. (1)

During his speech, Mr TerreBlanche ordered a newspaper photographer to stop taking photographs, saying: "I think you have now taken enough photographs. No more. You have enough cartoons."

He was heartened, Mr TerreBlanche said, to learn that groups were already being formed in Uitenhage to "protect each other in times of need".

Speaking on his frequently voiced plan to establish a white Afrikaner republic in the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal, Mr TerreBlanche said whites in the Cape also had a rightful claim to the land.

Generations of their forefathers had lived there, "turned the arid Karoo into a garden," and made it their own, and they must be prepared to do anything to keep that land.

"If people ask why the AWB is in the Eastern Cape, I say to them the AWB is in the Eastern Cape to gather the descendants of the Boers who fought for freedom," he said amid thunderous applause. — Sapa.

Govt unmoved by court's decision on emergency

By Sue Leeman and Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

The Government has weathered a week in which the onslaught against its emergency powers reached a peak — but it remains convinced that it has chosen the right course for South Africa.

"The status quo remains" is the message from government sources after a major challenge in the Natal Supreme Court which altered certain definitions in the emergency regulations and entrenched the right of detainees to see their lawyers.

Government spokesmen say the state of emergency could continue for many months despite repeated assertions by the authorities that law and order have been restored.

The Natal court's refusal to overturn the

emergency has been hailed by the Government as a victory.

The Bureau for Information has been particularly firm on the matter with bureau chief Mr Dave Steward saying the judgment did not "really have much of a practical effect".

When a transcription of the oral judgment had been received the authorities would decide if any action should be taken, Mr Steward said yesterday. But he refused to be drawn on whether the definition of a subversive statement would be rewritten.

He conceded that the court had changed the definition but warned that speculation in the media up to now had been precipitate and misleading.

"The main elements of the definition were left intact," he said.

Mr Steward said the Government did not regard the decisions as a "landmark" or as an example that the country was returning to the rule of law.

"Our courts have always been independent," he said.

The bureau has maintained repeatedly that the security forces have everything well in hand and that the number of daily unrest incidents has been sharply reduced.

But the number of unrest deaths rose by 19 to 157 this week and there were several outbreaks of violence in areas such as KwaNdebele.

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the Minister was delighted that the Natal Bench "has ruled so completely in the Government's favour".

But he made little reference to the fact that five of the six definitions of "subversive" in the emergency regulations were thrown out on the grounds of vagueness. It appears that the Government will not appeal this point — although it may reword the rejected definitions.

Nevertheless, the ruling by the Natal tri-umvirate of judges opened some doors for those most deeply affected by the state of emergency.

After the judges' decision that detainees must be allowed access to lawyers, applications are flooding in for attorneys to visit their clients.

This, according to legal experts, has entrenched an important principle.

Several detainees were released this week, among them prominent Pretoria medical

practitioner and soccer boss Dr David Isweng.

There are now plans to try to secure the court's release of the editor of the *New Nation* newspaper, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, at the same time again challenging the emergency.

In another significant move, the courts have restrained police from assaulting a 15-year-old girl in detention in Natal. She was allegedly picked up for wearing a June 16 T-shirt.

The challenge to the state of emergency in the Natal Supreme Court was launched by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) which contended that the emergency was illegal because it was not tabled in all three Houses of Parliament. Other procedural objections were also raised.

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Govt unmoved by court's decision on emergency

By Sue Leeman and Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

The Government has weathered a week in which the onslaught against its emergency powers reached a peak — but it remains convinced that it has chosen the right course for South Africa.

"The status quo remains" is the message from government sources after a major challenge in the Natal Supreme Court which altered certain definitions in the emergency regulations and entrenched the right of detainees to see their lawyers.

Government spokesmen say the state of emergency could continue for many months despite repeated assertions by the authorities that law and order have been restored.

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emergency has been hailed by the Government as a victory.

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Sanctions

will drive us
into laager,
says Beukes

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South African ambassador here, Mr Herbert Beukes, has warned Americans that sanctions will drive white South Africans into a laager.

"The better way for Americans to influence events in South Africa ... is to press those who refuse peaceful negotiation and pursue violence to enter negotiations for black political rights and genuine power-sharing," writes Mr Beukes in his latest monthly newsletter.

The ambassador writes that in Afrikaner tradition the laager symbolised a deeply rooted survival instinct, a willingness to turn inward toward self-reliance and self-defence, and reject outside interference.

Today, following a seven-year period of unprecedented changes, in which the Afrikaner-led government had opened the political system for the first time to non-whites and had rejected apartheid as the basis for the country's future, the laager was once more being urged by some as the national strategy to be adopted.

REVERSED

"Rightly or wrongly, the perception in South Africa is that the changes of the last seven years, in which the great majority of whites fundamentally reversed the way they had conceived of their place in South Africa and their relationship to the other peoples of the country, have earned little else but derision and contempt from abroad," Mr Beukes adds.

He could understand those who were impatient with the pace of change. But for a people to reverse in such a short time their pattern of thought was worthy of more than mere notice.

Sanctions would not have the effects envisaged by their advocates.

"Rather they will force South Africans to withdraw into a laager. If this occurs, America's influence inside South Africa will in real terms be lost," Mr Beukes warns.

Dutch fugitive De Jonge completes year in embassy

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Tomorrow marks the first anniversary of Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge's year of exile in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria.

An embassy spokesman yesterday said it was hoped that negotiations for his freedom would continue with the appointment four days ago of a new Cabinet in the Netherlands.

Diplomatic negotiations, including a meeting between the foreign ministers of the Netherlands and South Africa, over the past year have proved fruitless in breaking the deadlock.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman yesterday

said there had been no new developments.

Mr de Jonge, 47, is wanted by the South African authorities on arms charges and their threat to arrest him the moment he sets foot outside the embassy has rendered him a prisoner in its offices.

He was arrested on June 23 last year, together with his former wife Helene Passtoors, on suspicion of running arms for the African National Congress.

Two weeks later he led police to the Nedbank building in Pretoria, which then housed the embassy, to point out arms cache locations.

Once there he ran into the offices hoping for diplomatic sanctuary and the police followed, rearresting him and breaking international law.

Following an international outcry and the threatened withdrawal of the Dutch ambassador, Mr de Jonge was returned to the offices on July 19 but the building was heavily guarded by police to prevent his escape.

The South African authorities demanded that he face charges under the Arms and Ammunition Act but the Dutch said they had no obligation to extradite Mr de Jonge as the charges were political.

Passtoors was convicted of terrorism earlier this year and was sentenced to 10 years in jail.

Mr de Jonge presently occupies a section of the embassy's old premises kept to prevent his arrest when embassy staff moved to new premises.

Cape Times
18/7/86

30/07

Where does Mandela stand?

Staff Reporter

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is probably a "nationalist", not a "communist", and under certain conditions, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, would be prepared to talk to him.

This has emerged from an interview with Mr Le Grange by the editor and publisher of Leadership, Mr Hugh Murray, in its latest edition.

Referring to Mr Mandela, the minister says that "from what I have learnt lately of him, I am not sure that he is any longer communist controlled."

"If I am right in accepting that he would rather classify himself as a nationalist in the ANC, then I would expect Mr Mandela to make himself clear on this particular issue."

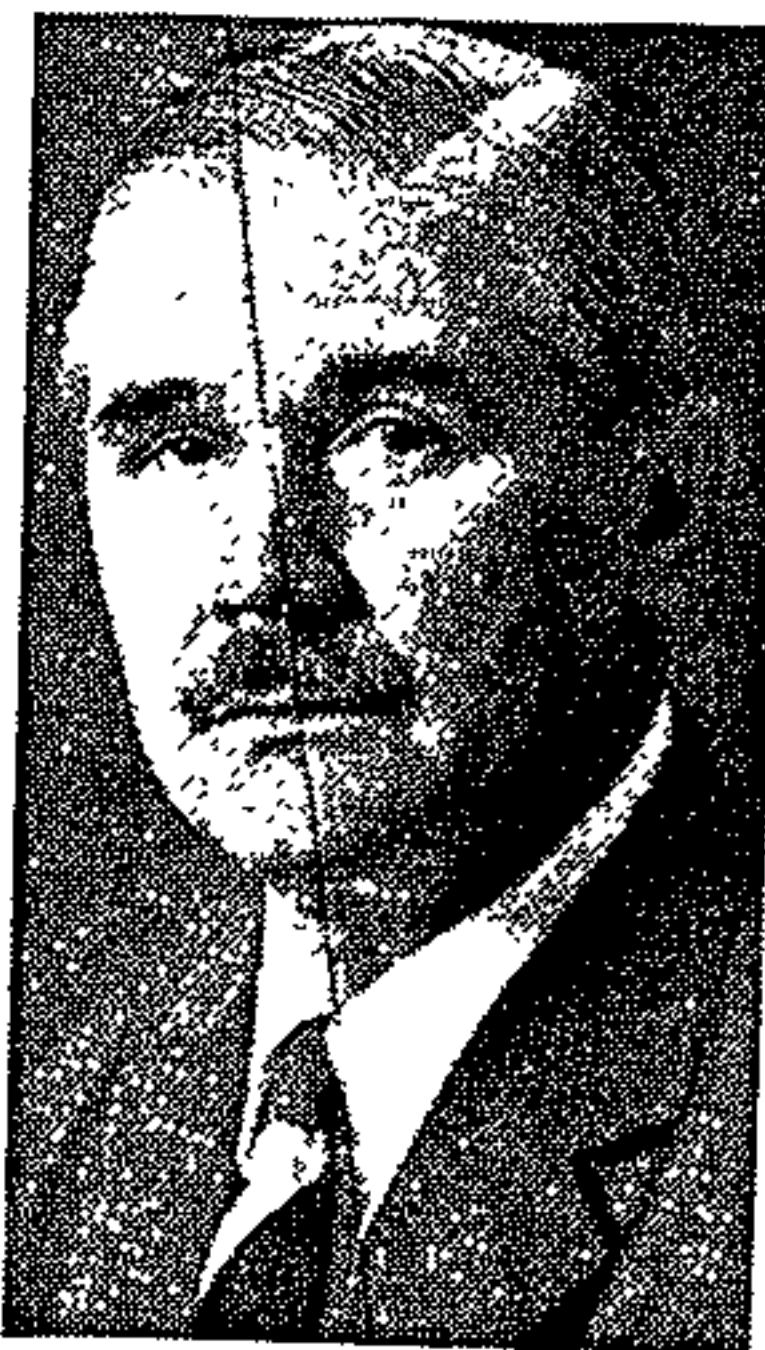
"It would be of great importance for people surrounding the ANC to get clarity on this particular issue. If one talks about two different factions within the ANC, where does Mr Mandela fit in?"

"He is regarded as the leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo is presently the official leader, but I would like to know where Mr Mandela stands on this particular issue."

Mr Murray asked Mr Le Grange: "Are you saying that although he is in jail, he still has a leadership network that operates?"

Mr Le Grange: "Oh yes, he is very well informed."

Mr Murray: "Can he re-



Mr Le Grange

lay messages in any way?"

Mr Le Grange: "That I don't say. I don't say he relays messages, but the fact is he knows very well what the present ANC policy is in regard to the violent onslaught against South Africa."

"All of us in South Africa would like to know where Mr Mandela stands in respect of nationalism in South Africa. If anybody suggests that there are two groupings in the ANC — a communist group and a nationalist group — then I personally would like to know the answers to these questions."

Mr Le Grange later says: "I personally accept that he (Mr Mandela) is the leader of the ANC, and that if he wants to give a lead, if he wants to give a strong lead to the ANC, he can do so."

He also says that "you can't say that because a

man today is your most bitter enemy, you will not be prepared to talk to him tomorrow to try and find a solution for your country."

He would be prepared to be "part of a team talking to Mr Mandela" if the ANC leader would renounce violence, he said, and it was up to the ANC to make it "possible for the government to unban it".

Responding to the suggestion that the government could "not afford" to ban the United Democratic Front, Mr Le Grange says:

"Don't be so sure of that. I don't suggest that the UDF is presently under consideration to be banned, but the fact of the matter is that the government is quite adamant that it will apply the law of the country if necessary."

"So let's just get that very clear. It is not a question that the government is backing down in respect of this responsibility. There mustn't be any doubt about that."

Turning to the ultra-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Mr Le Grange says: "I don't think he is that important, I don't think he has influence either ... but that does not mean we are not taking a serious interest in what he says, or in his and his organization's operations."

"The activities of the AWB are being constantly monitored, and if action must be taken against them, action will be taken," he says.

CHRIS HEUNIS

Pleading the case for reform



Constitutional affairs Minister Chris Heunis had six meetings with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG). Even he would concede that this reflects rather

more on the complexity of his constitutional schemes and dreams than on his personal magnetism.

One of those meetings was alone with former Nigerian military ruler General Olusegun Obasanjo — "a man who understands Africa" — with whom he struck marvellous rapport. Thus it was with some disappointment that he noted that the tenor of the EPG report was somewhat at variance with the comprehension and understanding the group seemed to display when they spoke with him.

Few people understand what Heunis and his works are about. Not unkindly, one is reminded of the little girl who, after watching the fulminations of Randolph Churchill at a public meeting, asked her mother: "Mummy, what is that man for?"

But Chris Heunis is neither a fulminator nor a blusterer. As anyone knows who has watched him on television, he is a patient, if prolix, speaker. He is emphatic rather than forceful. His theories are complex and his structures (see page 37) labyrinthine. But be it by stealth or by obfuscation, or both, he seems to know the way.

The best way to explain what he is about is to recall what he told a BBC interviewer in 1981. He assures us it still holds good.

"The response of the P W Botha government to these challenges is reflected to a large extent in its national strategy, which is a unique plan ... that addresses itself to domestic, regional and international issues simultaneously.

"It also underscores the value that reforms, made from a position of strength, are durable and meaningful. And this is the reason why this government cannot tolerate the destabilisation of society and polity through civil disobedience, unrest and agitation.

"Because this is a society in transformation, it is unavoidable that tensions will arise — some whites are uncertain while many blacks are caught up in the spiral of rising expectations. It is this volatility of society that creates opportunities for agitators...

"This government shall never renege on its responsibility to maintain law and order, a

Chris Heunis would be king if the job were vacant and if his caucus would have him. Meanwhile, he is trying to cope with the appallingly complex task of trying to create a genuine democracy out of anarchy and racial conflict.

commitment that must not be construed as 'more repression' or 'greater control.' It is simply our answer to confrontationist politics and to those who obstruct reformist initiatives.

"Someone (Machiavelli) once said that reforms are dangerous, but experience has taught us that no reforms are worse. This is our dilemma and predicament."

Compare this with the mandate of the EPG, which was to encourage Pretoria "to adopt a genuine approach to power-sharing: an approach which accepted the ending of apartheid and sought a negotiated settlement under which a non-racial and truly representative government would be established, and the legitimate rights of minorities protected." The gap on paper is not all that wide.

"I am trying to get Black people to learn the processes of democracy. Then we can take the next step."

Caught between a simmering white right-wing revolt and what seems to be a black civil war, Heunis doubtless feels compelled to move by strange and barely comprehensible ways in order to lay the groundwork of his "special South African democracy." Here one is confronted by a flagrant contradiction: if it is right and necessary to lock up black trouble-makers on the Left, why not white trouble-makers on the Right? Nationalist Afrikaners do not answer questions like that — at least not for publication.

Of all the dismal jobs in the Cabinet, however, Heunis's is probably least unpalatable. He seems to sleep well, though not much, and is never happier than at meal-times with his wife and five children, most of whom are lawyers like their father. Conversation round the table centres on politics and effective constitutional dispensations of the future. There is a saying in George, the family seat, that two Heunises make a con-

versation, three a symposium.

Last week the FM spent 150 minutes with him in his Cape Town office. As our respective tape recorders patiently absorbed the proceedings, the *leitmotif* of his narrative seemed to be of confidence and hope that *alles sal regkom* if all the loose ends can be brought together.

But reflecting upon the conversation, comes the disillusionment: not even a blind man would call Chris Heunis a two-eyed politician, let alone an impartial one.

The most disconcerting thing about him, once the agreeable spell of his company had worn off, was the total absence of confusion or uncertainty. Here was a man without doubt or misgiving about the future course of South African history. Not even off the record.

This should not have come as a surprise. For Chris Heunis epitomises the character of the government in power.

Tough, determined and reformist, but loyal to the tribe and its history: Heunis quotes D F Malan: "Bring together those who belong together" — but adds a qualification, "in principle." He finds the rift in Afrikaner ranks disagreeable.

His detractors dismiss his intricate schemes for power sharing as, in reality, the "modernisation of apartheid." To sympathisers, Heunis is, in terms of who and what is available, "invaluable" to progress.

He is credited with the reformation of old-style apartheid, the ubiquitous force and prime mover of change. Thus he expedited the scrapping of the pass laws, which was achieved within six months of his taking over most of the functions of the Department of Co-operation and Development; the removal of the Mixed Marriages Act and the racial clause in the Immorality Act were swiftly achieved under his deputy, Piet Badenhorst, the man from Calitzdorp where they don't come more conservative; he was chiefly responsible for getting rid of the coloured labour preference system in the western Cape. And his main "achievement" to date, even though it virtually crumbled in government's hands, was that he made the 1983 constitution.

Since then, the minister's boundless energy has been largely tied up in reforming the vast second-tier government structures, chiefly reorganising provincial government and implementing the regional services councils (RSCs). In this connection, he refers to a description of himself as the "crea-

(Continued on page 38)



Emergency orders on township life pile up

Pretoria Bureau

After five weeks of the state of emergency, hundreds of orders restricting township life have been signed by the State President, the commissioner of police and various divisional police commissioners.

There have been almost 20 extraordinary Government Gazettes detailing banning orders which cover the whole spectrum from funerals to curfews.

First to appear, on June 12, were the basic emergency regulations which set the seal on strict new governmental control of the country.

They gave wide powers to the security forces to detain people and search their homes without warrants and to seize any possible evidence of an alleged offence.

Another set of regulations, this time to govern emergency detainees, soon followed. Among them was a ban on singing or whistling in prison.

These regulations were extended to apply to the homelands.

During this time the controversial amendments to the Public Safety and Internal Security acts were promulgated. These gave the authorities the right to detain a person for 180 days without trial and without ministerial review.

Over the next few weeks there was a rapid volley of new orders which effectively:

- Restricted funerals in the Western, Eastern and Northern Cape, Boland, Witwatersrand, East and West Rand and the Northern and Western Transvaal.

- Imposed 9pm to 4am curfews in townships in the Eastern Cape, Northern Orange Free State, and Western Transvaal.

- Prevented Crossroads and Nyanga residents from returning to rebuild their homes.

- Added to pre-emergency restrictions on June 16 gatherings a ban on indoor gatherings in the Northern Orange Free State, East Rand, Eastern Province and South Western Districts.

- Banned office bearers of about 120 organisations in the Western Cape from being quoted, holding meetings or distributing publications.

A controversial ban on indoor gatherings held by major organisations, including trade unions and student bodies in Johannesburg and Roodepoort, was soon changed to affect only Soweto, Diepkloof, Meadowlands and Dobsonville.

Since black schools reopened for on July 14, pupils have been required to re-register. Many schools are heavily patrolled and pupils are being strictly regimented into standards chosen for them by the teaching authorities.

18/7/86 F.N. MAIL

THE PRESIDENT AND THE FCI

3024A

Despite attempts at government-business *toenadering* at the Carlton and Good Hope conferences a few years ago, their views and interests in the political sphere have understandably often diverged.

A most graphic illustration of this comes in a remarkable letter (a copy of which was sent anonymously to the *FM*) from the State President to the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) last month. In it, President P W Botha gives the chamber a strong dressing-down as a result of an FCI press statement on June 12. The FCI had said, among other things, that it "strongly disapproves of the declaration of the State of Emergency and the further detention of trade union and community leaders." It "dissociate(d) itself from the strategy of political repression and economic isolationism to which the SA government is apparently committed."

Botha fired off a reply from Tuynhuis to FCI president John Wilson the next day. It reads:

"There is no reason for the government to recommit itself and the country to the politics of conciliation and negotiations as you have requested.

"If you have taken the trouble of studying my address in Parliament and message to the South African nation yesterday (the day the emergency came into effect), you would have known that I have reiterated the government's commitment

to reform.

"Kindly do not trouble me with your points of view if you are not prepared to take the trouble of familiarising yourself with mine.

"Your assessment of the government's position is quite ridiculous.

"Unless you too come to grips with the realities of the security situation in this country and act accordingly, you are bound to pay a heavy price. This is not a threat — it is a considered warning.

"Instead of criticising the government in the most irresponsible fashion you should be helping it. That is your duty as a South African.

"I assure you that I have a very clear picture of the dangers with which we have to contend. I have a moral and statutory duty to combat these dangers with all the powers at the disposal of the State.

"Take my word for it that I know that I am doing what is in the interest of my country and its citizens — including members of the FCI.

"I enclose a copy of my address to the nation of 12 June. You will be well advised to recommend to your members to heed the words that I have spoken with particularly the business community in mind." (Signed P W Botha, State President.)

Wilson (who asked the *FM* not to publish this private correspondence) replied in somewhat more statesmanlike tones,

pointing out that FCI decisions "are not lightly taken and that any press statements that we make are considered against the background of what is best for the socio-economic and political future of SA."

He also noted the FCI's concerted attempts at countering the disinvestment campaign and general vilification of SA. Wilson also said in his reply that FCI members fully recognised the President's duty to safeguard the State and its people, and appreciated the magnitude of this task. "We merely differ as to the methods employed.

"As you know," Wilson's letter continues, "the FCI believes that a negotiated solution for our country's problems is vital if a viable economy is to be sustained. In fact, I would suggest this is more than an FCI view. It is an aim towards which every individual in the private sector who recognises a duty towards his country strives.

"It is our very real fear that the polarisation which must follow the declaration of the State of Emergency and the detention of black leaders will significantly retard, if not kill, the negotiating process." The letter ends by commending Botha's leadership in the reform process and his commitment to universally accepted democratic principles, and says the FCI would be pleased to meet the president if he wished.

Merc. 18/07/86 (304) (30)

Right-wing strength test

By Stuart Flitton
Political Reporter

THE forthcoming Klip River by-election will be a major test of the strength of the Right-wing threat to the National Party.

The Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party are fielding 48-year-old Mr Chris Wolmarans, who will stand on an HNP ticket.

Mr Wolmarans is chairman of Action White Natal, an umbrella Right-wing group with the long term aim of uniting the Right.

A staunch HNP member, Mr Wolmarans has initiated co-operation with the CP and other groups, including English-speaking organisations in Durban.

During the by-election campaign the NP is likely to highlight the differences which have kept the CP and HNP apart until now.

The ability of the two parties to stay together during the campaign will be a major indicator of their potential united strength.

The NP candidate is Mr Thys Wessels.

Mr Wessels, 53, was Klip River MPC and leader of the opposition in the re-

cently disbanded Natal Provincial Council.

He has been active in the NP for the past 30 years and was unanimously nominated as the party's candidate at the Klip River constituency council meeting.

An indication of the importance of the by-election to the NP is that the meeting was attended by its parliamentary chief whip, Mr Nico Pretorius, as well as its Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, and Natal vice-chairman, Mr Jurie Mentz.

The Progressive Federal Party is considering putting up a candidate if a voter survey this week reveals that a split in votes between the NP and HNP/CP could help give the PFP an upset victory.

NP's doubts on alliance

Political Reporter

THE alliance between the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party in the forthcoming Klip River by-election was based on convenience and not conviction, National Party Natal secretary Renier Schoeman said yesterday.

Mr Schoeman said he wondered how long the alliance would last.

'It is another example of the strange bedfellows which politics produces,' he said.

Mr Chris Wolmarans, HNP candidate in the by-

election, said the NP was selling the whites down the river and the Right-wing opposition was uniting against the NP.

'The first signs were at Sasolburg (where the HNP's Louis Stofberg with CP backing won a by-election) and you will see it again at Klip River,' Mr Wolmarans said.

Missing

CAPE TOWN—A driver disappeared after his lorry went out of control in Du Toit's Kloof Pass and crashed down the mountainside yesterday. — (Sapa)



Mr Michael Manley

Mystery surrounds death of manager

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

A GREYTOWN farm manager who was found shot dead at his home on Prospect farm this week had been saving up to bring his American fiancée out to this country for their wedding.

Mr Michael Geoffrey Anthony Manley, 59, was employed as manager of DIV Farms.

Mr Manley, who had relatives in the US and had recently spent time there, was engaged to an American woman and both had been saving for their wedding when he was killed.

Greytown residents expressed surprise that anyone should want to kill the British-born farmer who they described as extremely friendly and outgoing.

No motive has been established for the killing.

Mr Manley was shot in the chest at his desk while working late on Tuesday night, police said.

His body was discovered slumped over the desk the following morning by farm worker Paulus Mhlakwana.

Police said the fatal bullet penetrated the prefabricated wall of Mr Manley's home,

where he stayed alone, and struck him in the chest.

The bullet passed through the wall directly beneath a window, and police believe the shot was intended to go through the window but went slightly astray.

Yesterday a large police contingent was combing the area for the killers.

The Divisional Criminal Investigations Officer for Natal Inland, Col Christo Marx, said yesterday afternoon the police had not made any arrests.

Details of the type of firearm used in the killing were not yet available.

Mr Manley, who had been married previously, did not have children.

Mr Manley had started with DIV Farms less than three months ago.

His employer, Mr Bill Daly, described him as 'a helluva nice guy'.

'Obviously we didn't know him that well but we did see quite a lot of him and he was a very friendly person.'

He said he did not know anyone who could have had a grudge against the shot man.

'That is really the mystery of it,' he added.

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AWB bid for EP support

Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH —

An overflowing Uitenhage Town Hall was last night told that the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had come to the Eastern Cape to "gather" the descendants of the Boers who fought for freedom as a nation.

The statement won the leader of the movement, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, a standing ovation from the audience — numbering more than 700 — who packed the hall and clustered outside to listen to his speech on loudspeakers.

Mr Terre'Blanche was speaking at a public meeting in the town which was the first of a series to be held in areas such as Cradock and Humansdorp, in the next few days, to drum up support for the AWB.

Mr Terre'Blanche addressed the audience for more than an hour. He made an impassioned plea for the "volk" to come together as one and be prepared to fight for their existence as a nation.

He was heartened, Mr Terre'Blanche said, to learn that groups were already being formed in Uitenhage to "protect

each other in times of need."

Particularly policemen needed to know that while they were performing their functions of protecting lives and property, their own families — known targets for Marxists and "the most vicious assassins" — were also being looked after.

Referring to rumours that legislation would be introduced in the near future requiring all whites to hand in firearms for registration and re-licensing, Mr Terre'Blanche said: "I want to tell the government that an unarmed white man in Africa is a dead white man."

The AWB did not seek revolution or to challenge the government, but was merely telling "the powers outside" and the ANC, that while other nations such as the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English had been driven from Africa, the Boers would never leave.

Speaking on his frequently voiced plan to establish a white Afrikaner republic in the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Natal, Mr Terre'Blanche said whites in the Cape also had a rightful claim to the land.

State President angered by employers' stand on emergency

W/C Argus 19/7/86

3044

RIDICULOUS

Mr Wilson this week conceded that the FCI recognised that "there were many ways of skinning a cat" but said that in this instance, it disagreed with the emergency measures.

Members of the FCI represented a large slice of the listed companies on the Stock Exchange and FCI had a duty to work for a strong and stable economy.

"Unless you too come to grips with the realities of the security situation in this country and act accordingly you are bound to pay a heavy price. This is not a threat — it is a considered warning."

"Instead of criticising the Government in the most irresponsible fashion you should be helping it. That is your duty as a South African."

"I assure you that I have a very clear picture of the dangers with which we have to contend. I have a moral and statutory duty to combat these dangers with all the powers at the disposal of the State."

"Take my word for it that I know that I am doing what is in the interest of my country and the citizens — including members of the FCI."

In his reply to the State President Mr Wilson said that FCI decisions and Press statements were "not lightly taken" against the background of what was best for the socio-economic and political future of South Africa.

"It is our very real fear that the polarisation which must follow the declaration of the emergency and detention of black leaders will significantly retard, if not kill, the negotiating process."

Weekend Argus Correspondent
DURBAN. — Angered by criticism of Government emergency actions the State President, Mr P W Botha, has told South Africa's largest employer organisation, the Federated Chamber of Industries, that its attitude is "quite ridiculous".

Leaked documents show that Mr Botha reacted angrily after the FCI put out a Press release saying that it "strongly disapproved of the state of emergency and the further detention of trade union and community leaders".

The president of the chamber, Mr John Wilson, confirmed this week that a row had erupted between the chamber and the State President after the state of emergency was declared.

"Repression"

In its statement the FCI "dissociated itself from the strategy of political repression and economic isolationism to which the South African Government is apparently committed".

In a private reply the next day Mr Botha said the FCI's assessment of the Government's position "is quite ridiculous".

He said there was no need for the Government to recommit itself and the country to the politics of reconciliation and negotiations because this had been done in his address to Parliament and to the nation the previous day.

"Kindly do not trouble me with your points of view if you are not prepared to take the trouble of familiarising yourself with mine."

IN 1978 Anton Mostert, then judge, felt compelled to disclose the Info scandal. Then Judge King and others began expressing their revulsion at influx control and the Group Areas Act. And now we are experiencing a series of tough judgments striking at such Ministerial actions as detentions and proclamations. From this approach, after this week's historic Natal decision on the terms of the emergency regulations, there can be no return . . .

The courts and the executive

IT would be easy, but wrong, to underplay this week's judgment of the Natal Supreme Court on the emergency regulations. True, it did not nullify the proclamation but, in striking out major portions of the definition of a "subversive statement", it raised three issues which lie at the heart of the public weal.

The first is the notion that in some way the Government (i.e. the Executive or the Cabinet) is "above the law" or "superior" to Parliament. Nothing, as the Natal case shows, could be further from the truth. Parliament makes the law, the Government administers it.

This principle applies from the State President to the lowliest village management board. In the present case, Parliament gave the State President (i.e. in effect the Minister of Law and Order) the power, in the Public Safety Act, to issue regulations under the state of emergency. But this power is subject to two constraints, both enforceable by the Supreme Court — the Minister may not go beyond the power granted him, and his regulations must not be vague.

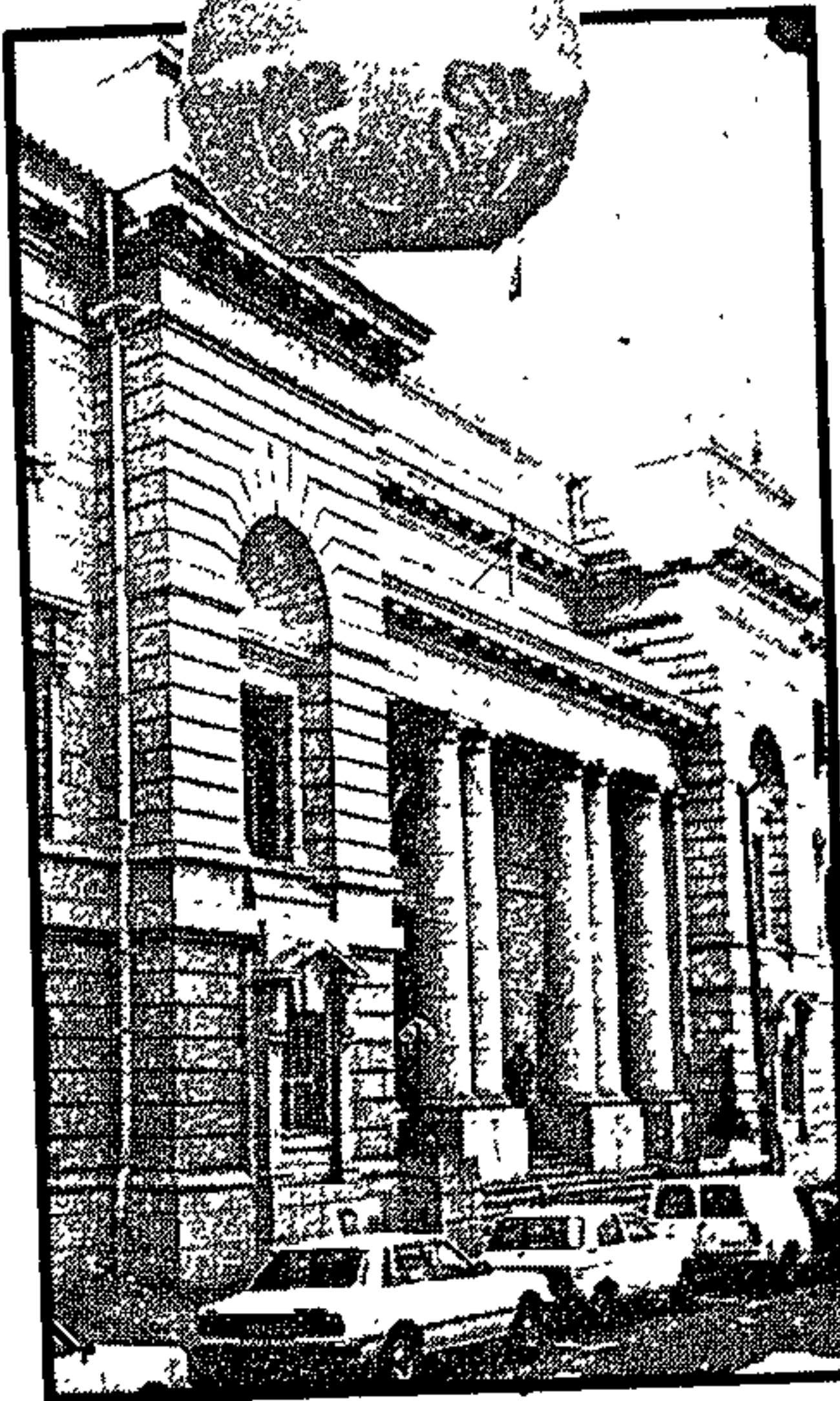
This concept of the Government being subject to the law, like every ordinary citizen, was dramatically restated in 1981 in the Groote Schuur case. The Government started to build houses for six deputy ministers on land to which the public, in terms of a 1910 Act of Parliament, had access. The Cape Supreme Court had no difficulty in ordering the Government to demolish them.

The second issue raised by the Natal judgment is that we have been living through what can be described only as a judicial revolution — quiet and orderly, one hastens to add — as it may be.

IN South Africa, as in most countries, there have always been two schools of thought as to the proper role of judges. The conservatives believe that a judge's task (in the context of Government action) is merely to implement its will as expressed in its legislation.

I believe the conservatives are wrong. For two reasons. First, they are denying their — our — inheritance, Roman-Dutch law. That law, which we received by a quirk of history, was distilled and purified by the two greatest groups of lawyers the world has ever known — the Romans of the 1st and the Dutch of the 18th century.

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Justice — 'Now we are experiencing a series of tough judgments striking at such Ministerial actions as detentions and proclamations . . .'. ABOVE: The Cape Town Supreme Court . . . "There has been some idle talk that the Natal judgment "applies" only to that province. I do not see it so."



By BRIAN BAMFORD SC, MP.



Mr Justice Centlivres

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Roman-Dutch law is perfectly explicit. There shall be no discrimination — e.g. on grounds of race — and the power of the State must be held constantly in check.

Let me give one example of the strength and, if you like, the "liberalism" of the Roman-Dutch law.

We are often told that we should return to the rule of law and *habeas corpus*. But the latter is the English concept. We have a better remedy a thousand years older — the Roman interdict *de libero homine exhibendo*, literally "concerning the showing of a Free man".

The second reason the conservatives are wrong is that they fail to understand that every government should at all times be treated with the deepest suspicion.

EVERY government ducks and weaves, prevaricates, flouts the public's right to know, betrays confidences, tells lies. Every government would like to suppress a hostile newspaper or detain a dissident (all this of course in the national interest, which happens to equate with the need to maintain power).

If this is so, then the other schools are correct. They believe that the Supreme Court, so far from being an instrument of government will, is the ultimate protection of human rights, of the Roman-Dutch ethos, and in this sense stands adversary to the government. Not only should it so stand, but it should proclaim it, and take pride in it.

This was in fact the position, suitably muted, during the 50 years of Union, culminating in the peerless court of Centlivres, Greenberg, Schreiner, van der Heever, Hoexter and Fagan.

But then disaster struck. The Government, determined to remove coloured men from the common roll in the Cape, and by so doing to prevent a possible United Party victory in the following general election, packed the Appeal Court with five new appointees, none of whom by any stretch of the most benevolent imagination could have aspired to such high office.

The next 20 years saw the Appeal Court heavily Government-orientated in its attitudes to discriminatory legislation and executive action. The breakthrough came in 1978 when Anton Mostert, then judge, felt compelled to disclose the Info scandal, and when Judge King and others be-



Justice — 'Now we are experiencing a series of tough judgments striking at such Ministerial actions as detentions and proclamations...'. ABOVE: The Cape Town Supreme Court... "There has been some idle talk that the Natal judgment "applies" only to that province. I do not see it so."



Le Grange... did not resign.



Mr Justice Didcott, of the Natal Bench of the Supreme Court... striking out major portions of a "subversive statement".



Mr Justice Centlivres

gan expressing their revulsion at influx control and the Group Areas Act.

And now we are experiencing a series of tough judgments striking at such Ministerial actions as detentions and proclamations. From this approach, after the Natal decision, there can be no return.

The third issue raised by the case is Ministerial responsibility. The meaninglessness of the definitions of a "subversive statement" were a monumental blunder in the Department of Law and Order. Not only that. In the light of the awesome penalties prescribed, the definitions, now mercifully struck down, imposed a rigorous self-censorship on all our newspapers. It is a real wonder that in the past few weeks we have read a single word of criticism of South Africa.

In any other country such a blunder would have cost the Minister his head.

IT must be remembered that the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility does not require that the Minister be personally at fault — a British Agriculture Minister resigned because a form had gathered dust in his department; a West German Defence Minister when an air force fighter crashed; a Japanese Aviation Minister when a passenger jet's tail-fin sheared off owing to faulty repairs. The point is, a Minister voluntarily seeks the salary and perks of his high office, and just as he may claim the kudos of a department well run, so must he pay the price when mistakes are made.

In Mr le Grange's case, this is not the first episode. It was he who believed that the Seychelles mercenaries were only running around in the bush shooting out of a few windows. "Now you tell me what law they contravened" — as if the perpetrators of the forcible deviation of an Air India jet from Mahe to Durban were fortunate to land in a country which knew not the crime of hijacking. And when convictions ensued, still he did not resign.

Mr le Grange it was, also, who gave an account to Parliament last year of the Uitenhage shootings which was later shown (however unwittingly) to have been false. And still the Minister did not resign.

Finally, there has been some idle talk that the Natal judgment "applies" only to that province. I do not see it so.

It would be a brave Attorney-General indeed who would indict an editor for a "subversive statement", the definition of which had been struck down by three judges, unanimously and in the strongest language, and with no appeal being noted. I would not like to be that Attorney-General when he rises before his Judge-President to lead the case for the prosecution.

No place for 'sacred cows' in SA's future

W/E Post 19/7/86

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INDUSTRIAL relations practitioners will have to be prepared to knock the "sacred cows" of South Africa as the country evolves on its path to a post-apartheid society.

And leading the charge will be Mr Malcolm Calf, national president of the Institute of Personnel Management (IPM), who was in Port Elizabeth this week for a meeting of the organisation's local branch.

"Organisations like the IPM have to play a more forceful role in preparing for the post-apartheid era.

"We must look at a lot of the 'sacred cows' and draw up new methods and criteria for handling the rapidly evolving situation," he said in an interview.

"This may involve re-assessing how we draw up the specifications for jobs as we are currently using First World criteria and may have to take into account that these are not entirely valid as there are also Third World factors.

"The challenge lies in developing totally new criteria to suit our specific conditions," said Durban-based Mr Calf.

He also revealed that the IPM was drawing up a new "value statement" with guidelines and checklists to consolidate various codes of employment practices, such as the Sullivan Principles and the European Economic Community code.

"We are not saying that codes already practised are insufficient, but are rather providing this unique code to enable local companies which do not subscribe to any



By Bob
Kernohan
Business Editor

principles to adopt the one suggested by us, either formally or informally.

"It will provide a measure of what companies are doing and what they eventually wish to achieve," said the president of the 5 500-member national organisation.

Mr Calf said the IPM had drawn up an "optimistic scenario" for the future of South Africa — "We also had a pessimistic one, but discarded that as it was just too terrible to think about," he said — among the assumptions of which were:

- The Government would scrap all discriminatory legislation as the result of extra-parliamentary pressure, including that from boycotts, trade unions, big business and the international community.
- Constitutional reform would be stepped up, but still may not be acceptable by a large percentage of the population.
- Black education would remain a major problem.
- The economic situation would not improve until

the political situation progressed, so leading to increased unemployment.

Against this background, the IPM had decided that it had to play a more forceful role in pressing for change by way of stands and statements on important issues.

"Individual members will be urged to influence their own companies on the micro-level, and the institute as a body will, on the macro-level, provide greater information and training of members to prepare them for the new South Africa which is coming into being. We will also make greater use of public platforms and statements to put across our viewpoints," said Mr Calf.

He added that maintaining links with international industrial relations practitioners — particularly in the United States and Europe — was also essential, although this was becoming increasingly difficult.

"There is mounting resistance to being associated with South Africa, and I have already been barred from attending a meeting in Sweden," he disclosed.

"Britain is also becoming more sensitive, but so far America has presented no problem.

"We need these links to learn what developments are taking place in the personnel management field, and to gauge how we are performing.

"So far, that feedback has been positive and we are regarded overseas as being leaders in some fields."

HNP ^{for} call to refuse black ^{304A} envoy ²¹¹

Weekend Post Reporter

THE leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, today called on the Government to refuse to accept Mr Robert Brown as the new US Ambassador to South Africa.

Opening the 1986 Eastern Cape congress of the HNP in Port Elizabeth, Mr Marais said the appointment of a black man to the Pretoria post was an attempt by the Americans to make direct contact and gain influence with black people.

"If the State President has any self-respect, he will refuse this proposed ambassador," he said.

Mr Brown, a US businessman, has been widely tipped to succeed Mr Herman Nickel as Ambassador to South Africa.

In a wide-ranging speech, Mr Marais dealt in detail with the current situation.

He blamed the country's problems on the National Party's "misguided" attempts to satisfy international opinion by making concessions on the social, economic and political fronts and faulty belief that it could bring equality between whites and blacks through economic measures.

"Power sharing must lead to a black dictatorship," said Mr Marais.

His 105-minute address was greeted by a standing ovation from the 60 delegates attending the one-day congress in the Ethel Valentine Primary School hall in Sidwell.

Mr Marais also warned the Government against meeting the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and claimed his telegram to Mr Botha recently had led to the delay of Sir Geoffrey's visit.

He said the British Government wanted to do the same for SA whites as it had done for Rhodesian whites — "replace a white, Christian government with a black, Marxist government".

"He is not coming to mediate, he is coming on behalf of the ANC."

On open beaches, Mr Marais said a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey had found that only 8.1% of whites wanted public amenities open to all races.

On the relationship between right-wing political groups, Mr Marais said a meeting would be held on August 11 to discuss their differences.

Nats can't find 'right' blacks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

PLANS to get the National Statutory Council (NC) on the road this week, have unexpectedly gone awry.

The Parliamentary Select Committee on Constitutional Affairs will no longer meet on Tuesday and Wednesday, as planned, to start shaping the final draft of the National Council Bill.

Concerned

It is believed the postponement is linked to problems the Government is encountering in efforts to gain the support of "credible" black leaders.

As far as is known, all non-homeland black leaders have refused to publicly support the establishment of the NC, saying they could not do so while other black political

activists remain in jail or in detention and are prevented from participating.

Conservative but influential black businessmen have also expressed grave reservations about the NC.

At the Cape Congress of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc), its chairman, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, a banker, rejected the NC so long as ANC leader Nelson Mandela remains locked up in Pollsmoor and not able to serve on it.

A spokesman for the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who chairs the Constitutional Affairs Committee, confirmed the meeting would now take place on a date still to be arranged.

The spokesman said "certain legislation" had not been completed and that "negotiations" were still being held.

It's a town in death's grip: houses stand empty, its only hotel has been closed, school numbers are dwindling. But it has been chosen as the growth point of the Great White Homeland...

THE sun is setting over Morgenzon. The dusty little Transvaal dorpje, carefully selected by over-zealous Oranjewerkers to be the embryo of their own white Canaan, is shadowed by the falling sun of "White-stan" zealots.

The Vereniging van Oranjewerkers' dream of an all-white homeland — totally reliant on white initiative and white labour — remains a figment of a few apartheid-riddled imaginations.

If Morgenzon is anything to go by, the Oranjewerkers' pipedream of an exclusively white Oranjestad is going up in smoke — or more appropriately — Highveld dust.

With the exception of two factories bearing the organisation's emblem, there is no sign of a white Utopia. As a matter of fact, one's lasting impression is the work force of black women from neighbouring Sivukile township tidying Morgenzon streets and pavements.

Brainchild

And while Morgenzonners are trying to stop the sunlight from falling behind the town's horizon, the white homeland prophets are hard at work in Pretoria trying to secure the town as the growth point for their whites-only Oranjestad.

The creation of a white homeland is the brainchild of Professor Hercules Booyen, of Unisa's Constitutional Law Department and leader of the Oranjewerkers.

Working shoulder-to-shoulder with Prof Booyen is Mr Hendrik Verwoerd, son of Dr Verwoerd, former Prime Minister and architect of grand apartheid.

Mr Verwoerd gave up his career as dominee to become secretary of the

Report:
ELSABE
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St Elsewhere



Morgenzon's once-thriving hotel ... closed down



Mr Rafik Jassat ... not allowed to live or trade in Morgenzon



Oom Daen Grobbelaar ...

Will turn into a ghost town if they have their way

two hands.

There is Dr Willem van Heerden, professional engineer and father of the Oranje-
workers in Morgen-
zon, the Town Clerk, Mr Frik Jooste, the Jordans who opened a small glass fibre factory, and three farmers in the area.

Philosophy

Mr Pieter Stolz, a worker in Mr Jordaan's factory, arrived last month. "Yes, I'm an Oranje-
worker," he says. "I live in one of their houses. I don't pay rent."

Many residents were open-

ly critical of the whites the Oranje-
workers are import-
ing. "They are not selective. They are bringing any out-of-work white into the town," one resident remarked.

Retired railway worker Com Daan Grobbelaar has his own philosophy. "This white homeland is not a bad idea — but they are too late. We are here to stay — and so are the blacks."

"Anyhow, apartheid is in the heart — everyone knows where his place is."

But both the supporters of grand and small apartheid are "safe." Town founder Jan de Jager, who donated part of

his farm in 1912 to establish the town, made sure that no other race group will ever settle there.

The deed of transfer determines that no Indian, coloured or black person is allowed to hire or buy any property in Morgenzon.

"A nice apron to hide behind," a resident who wished to remain anonymous added.

Mr de Jager's wishes are still exercised today, and the two general dealer stores owned by Indian families on the town borders serve as reminders.

"I'd like to open up a business in town," says Mr Rafik

Jassat, whose father bought the store on Morgenzon's border 22 years ago.

marked for a future power station by industrial consultants, but the Government might decide to establish it elsewhere if the Oranje-
workers take over the town, one prominent resident said.

Earmarked

To the outsider, Morgenzon could be any plateland dorp fighting for its existence.

There is little life in the streets, and with the children from both the high and primary schools on holiday, the dire effects of depopulation and a fierce recession are clearly visible.

Morgenzon has been ear-

marked for a future power station by industrial consultants, but the Government might decide to establish it elsewhere if the Oranje-
workers take over the town, one prominent resident said.

"We will fight them tooth and nail in the next civic election," said one shop-owner.

But if the Oranje-
workers succeed in buying up enough property, they might stage a coup.

But Mrs Roux has the last word: "If these people think they can hoist their flag over Morgenzon they are underestimating us."

Vereniging of Oranje-
workers, an offshoot of the rightwing SA Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra).

Unhappy

But when I asked to speak to Mr Verwoerd this week he refused.

Apart from the ultra-right-wing white homelands, few people know where Morgen-
zon is. Now made famous by the Oranje-
workers, the south-eastern Transvaal town is less than a three-hour drive from Johannesburg — taking a route via Springs, Secunda and Bethal.

It is two years since the invasion of the "Whitestan" — the feeling of most Morgen-
supporters. And townsfolk are still unhappy about the

They are killing our town. Morgenzon w

Oranje-
workers' presence. Bitter battles were fought when the homelands settled in town. And today battle lines are still drawn between "us" and "them."

"They are killing our town," outspoken anti-Oranje-
worker Mrs Joy Roux says from behind the counter of her general dealer store.

"Morgenzon will turn into a ghost town if they have their way. Without the blacks there will be no buying power in town."

Mrs Roux's opinion echoes the feeling of most Morgen-
supporters. Their opposition to the Oranje-
workers is not

based on moral grounds but on economic survival.

Residents from the black township of Sivukile keep Morgenzon storeowners alive, and employers rely on cheap black labour — easily obtainable from Sivukile where unemployment is rife.

Dwindling

After two years of Oranje-
workers' presence Morgenzon is still in the grip of death. White numbers are dwindling and the local primary school was forced to advertise for pupils from the cities.

Primary school numbers have fallen from 187 to 170 in less than six months, and only 48 children are in the hostel built for 150. If they lose more children, one of the seven teachers will have to go.

Decline is evident: houses are standing empty, several shops, including garages, have put up the shutters and for visitors to spend a night in Morgenzon has become impossible — the once-thriving hotel has fallen on bad times.

But the less than 1 000 inhabitants, most of them born, bred and staunch Morgenzon-
ners, are not putting the

lights out yet.

The neighbouring towns of Bethal, Ermelo and Standerton serve as their inspiration. With the advent of Sasol II at Secunda, these towns have been turned into vital industrial centres — and Morgen-
zonners hope to follow suit.

To blame the decline of the town wholly on the presence of the Oranje-
workers would be unfair. But their well-publicised dream of making Morgenzon the heart of their strategically planned white homeland has remained an empty ideal.

The Oranje-
workers in Morgenzon can be counted on

Only Afrikaners on Vaal boards

JOHANNESBURG. — White Afrikaans-speakers dominate new appointments to the Transvaal's road boards — to the exclusion of all other race and language groups.

Of the 297 people appointed to the road boards by the Administrator of the Transvaal 296 are white Afrikaans-

speaking men. The other is a white Afrikaans-speaking woman.

English-speaking South Africans are presumably not suitable or important enough to be appointed, Mr Douglas Gibson, Transvaal chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday.

"I suppose black, col-

oured and Asian South Africans are considered to be insufficiently trained in democracy to be allowed to sit and discuss matters relating to the roads of the Transvaal," Mr Gibson added.

"How will people react when a future gov-

ernment decides that the road boards should consist of 296 North Sotho-speakers, male, and one North Sotho-speaking woman?"

Mr Gibson said Nationalists will have to learn that "deeds speak louder than government promises". — Sapa.

Botha and Tutu have frank talk

20/7/86

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JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, told Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday he expected him "as a South African" to take a stand against sanctions and foreign intervention in the country's affairs.

In a statement on yesterday morning's two-hour meeting between the two men in Pretoria, Mr Botha said he had told the bishop he expected him to take a stand against sanctions. He also said Bishop Tutu represented only a segment of the churches in South Africa.

All churches in the country should come together and find a unified view on both religious and non-religious matters "so that the Christian church in South Africa can as far possible be seen to be speaking with a single voice", Mr Botha said.

"Unless and before they do so, the views expressed by individual church spokesman cannot be regarded as more than just a reflection of a part of the diversity."

He described the discussions with Bishop Tutu as "frank and relaxed".

Harassment

Bishop Tutu said that among issues discussed were the state of emergency, the crisis in education and the harassment of church people.

Both had agreed they wanted the country to return to a state of stability and prosperity.

Bishop Tutu had told Mr Botha that the emergency did not help to restore stability. He said it failed to deal with fundamental issues.

On the subject of political prisoners and detainees, he said Mr Botha had told him as soon as they renounced violence their situations could be reviewed. He undertook to refer claims of harassment of church people and the problems of education to relevant government ministers.

They failed to agree on the detainee issue. Though the exchanges were candid and friendly, "we did not mince our words".

Bishop Tutu said he made the point again

that there were enough laws in South Africa without resorting to detention without trial.

Asked whether his position had changed and that he would agree to meet the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, Bishop Tutu said: "I am still where I was on this issue."

Result

Mr Botha claimed the state of emergency was bringing about the desired results.

He said that he had pointed out to Bishop Tutu that when the partial state of emergency was imposed in July last year, it had been seen by critics as a cause of increasing unrest and injustice.

It was, however, the result rather than the cause of unrest.

When the previous emergency was lifted in March, Mr Botha said, a new wave of violence had flared.

Country-wide, there was now a decline in the number of unrest-related incidents. From May 12 to June 11 there had been 2 459 incidents. From June 12 to July 20 the figure had declined to 1 465.

Mr Botha said a greater general sense of security had returned to black townships and that attempts to intimidate black consumers into

From page 1204
boycotts had scaled down.

He said the planned mass disruption on June 16 did not occur and an atmosphere of greater calm had prevailed throughout the country.

"There was a noticeable upswing in financial and economic faith as the business community supported the stronger security action against lawlessness," he said.

The negative effect of the media exploiting unrest for the sake of sensation was largely neutralized.

"I told Bishop Tutu the churches and their clergymen shared a moral responsibility to help in normalizing the situation of unrest."

The crisis in education, Mr Botha claimed, had abated since the imposition of the emergency.

Referring to action taken against certain individuals, including clergymen, Mr Botha pointed out that freedom of religion should not be abused.

"I undertook, however, at Bishop Tutu's request, to have certain individual cases again considered."

Mr Botha told Bishop Tutu that churches should find a unified approach on religious and non-religious matters so they could, as far as possible, be seen to be speaking with a single voice. — Sapa

To page 2



New S A Ambassador for Israel

Political Reporter

THE Bureau for Information in Pretoria has announced that Mr Eduard Antonie Loubser has been appointed South African Ambassador to Israel.

He succeeds Mr David de Villiers du Buisson, Ambassador there since 1982, who will take up a Depart-

ment of Foreign Affairs post in South Africa.

Mr Loubser, 51, who has an M A in international politics from the University of Pretoria, joined the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1958.

He is currently Chief of Protocol at the department in Pretoria and has held

various positions in South African embassies in Paris, Brussels and Luxembourg.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Durban said a date for the exchange had not yet been set.

Capetonian Mr Richard Davis will become South Africa's most senior black diplomat when he takes up a posting as First Secretary (political) in London on August 1.

Indian

Mr Davis, who will serve under S A Ambassador Dr Dennis Worrall, will replace Mr Henry Raubenheimer.

Meanwhile, Mr Viveka Naicker, an Indian from Durban, will be posted to Canberra in Australia as Second Secretary (political).

A South African diplomat in Canberra, Mr Jacobus Alberts, was transferred from there last month after using a broomstick to beat a woman anti-apartheid demonstrator attacking the embassy.

However, a Foreign Affairs spokesman has emphasised that Mr Naicker was not being sent to Australia as a replacement for the broomstick-wielding diplomat.



Queen Elizabeth's Commonwealth problem, as seen by William Steyn of the Vaderland.

AWB 'convulsions' a thing of the past?

HAS THE extremist Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) shot its bolt? One of Beeld's political columnists, Willie Kühn, believes there is evidence that it has.

He said it looked as though the 'short-lived, futile, foolish Far-Right revolt' was over. 'No doubt the emergency situation has something to do with it, but it suddenly appears as if the violent convulsions of the AWB and its militant associates are a thing of the past.'

Government ought to 'hammer' the ANC with all the power at its disposal to show South Africa's black population that the organisation was not such a mighty factor as it pretended.

BEELD was not impressed with the recent congresses of the two top mainline cultural bodies, the FAK and the Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns.

The discussions, it

Afrikaners to defend abroad their right to a national existence.

THE Afrikaans Press noted sorrowfully that Nafcoc, the black chamber of commerce, had become obliged to take a political stance.

Beeld said it did not like this politicisation, but unfortunately it was the price South Africa had to pay for the enormous pressure it was living under.

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Boraine Slabbert in PE talks

By KIN BENTLEY

DR FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT and Dr Alex Boraine met 18 top Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage industrialists mainly from multinational companies — at a beachfront hotel today.

The former council leader and federal council chairman of the official Opposition PFP respectively were in the city today to lay the groundwork for the establishment of an Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa. They hope to launch the institute next year.

After the meeting they were scheduled to meet black community leaders and clergy, before heading for East London this afternoon.

Both have recently returned from extensive overseas tours, during which they met academics and corporate leaders. In a brief interview between meetings this morning, Dr Slabbert said:

"At this stage we are busy with preliminary talks right across the country and outside to establish to what extent support there is for the creation of an institute that would focus on a democratic alternative for South Africa."

He said they were meeting mostly with people outside the normal parliamentary political spectrum: business, community leaders, church, academic and they would see "what kind of interaction can be had with Government."

The institute was "trying to get people involved on different levels to discuss a democratic alternative to, for example, local and national government structures."

He said their ultimate aim was to see if they could clarify, in the minds of key sectors of South Africa, what a democratic future should look like in a post-apartheid society. At the moment, both whites and blacks were "apprehensive about the future and confused at present."

He said they had "set aside most of this year to getting the project and infrastructure off the ground."

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More support for NP

JOHANNESBURG. — There is currently more support for the National Party — mainly among English speakers — than there was in December last year, but fewer Afrikaners now approve of government policies, a poll in the Sunday newspaper Rapport shows.

The poll, a survey of 2 000 whites conducted by an independent marketing group for Rapport, also showed a decline in support for right-wing groups such as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The percentage of Afrikaners who were dissatisfied with government policies rose to 41,5 percent from 35,9 percent in December.

English speakers dissatisfied with government policies dropped from 61,7 percent in December to 44,8 percent.

The percentage of Afrikaners who said they would still vote for the National Party rose from 57 to 60 percent.

English speakers were evenly split on party support, with 37,2 percent for the National Party and 37,3 percent for the Progressive Federal Party.

The sharp rise in English support for the National Party, up from 25 percent in December, was the main factor in the National Party's increased voter support, from 47 to 52 percent.

The poll showed that overall support for the PFP fell from 18,2 to 16,2 percent in the past three months, from the December figure of 20,1 percent.

The CP and the HNP also slipped from a total of 18,2 percent to 15,6.

A total of 13,4 percent said they would not vote if an election were held.

The poll indicated that respondents were evenly divided on whether government should try to negotiate with "black nationalists" as opposed to communists within the African National Congress. — Sapa

Mercury: 22/07/86

Govt expects U S sanctions news today

22/07/86
W.P.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The South African Government is waiting expectantly to hear today what sanctions or other economic measures the Reagan Administration might apply against the Republic.

United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz is scheduled to give the first indications today and there is general agreement in political circles that America will have to tighten the screws on South Africa, if only to satisfy domestic opinion.

On Friday President Ronald Reagan is expected to present his Government's plan to ward off tough sanctions already approved by the legislature

A spokesman for the South African Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday declined to comment on the situation.

It is clear from recent reports that the U S is not against economic pressures as such against South Africa but does not favour all-out sanctions

However, the South African political situation has become a massive and highly emotional component of the American domestic scene and it is expected that President Reagan will have to take firmer economic action against South Africa than he did in his executive order in September last year to appease American opinion.

The reintroduction of a state of emergency in South Africa has spurred on American calls for tough action but Washington appears to believe that sanctions or boycotts will reduce its ability to influence Pretoria diplomatically to make further social and political changes.

America's resistance to all-out sanctions — which is supported by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — should therefore not be seen as a pro-apartheid stand.

President Reagan has already warned South Africa that the American people could become 'impatient' at the lack of meaningful political reforms.

He could veto full sanctions but already in the pipeline are moves to bar all new American investments and loans, ban the sale of all computer technology to South Africa, prohibit coal, uranium and steel imports, withdraw South African Airways landing rights and ban South African banks from operating in the U S.

In his executive order last year President Reagan banned future bank loans, except for use in education, housing or health services on a non-discriminatory basis, computer and software sales to security forces and other Government agencies, the sale of nearly all nuclear related technology and the sale of Krugerrands in the U S.

PW and Tutu meet as Howe waits in wings

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The State President and Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu are meeting today to discuss the national situation at the start of a vital week.

Pressure on the Government is mounting and international concern over apartheid has reached fever pitch.

The President, Mr Botha, will also meet British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe at the Union Buildings on Wednesday and on July 29. Sir Geoffrey's European Community peace mission is seen as a final attempt to avoid sanctions.

America's President Reagan will make a speech tomorrow to unveil the results of a review of his policy of "constructive engagement", which emphasises quiet diplomacy but shuns economic sanctions against South Africa.

Republican senators planned to see him today to discuss his refusal to impose sanctions.

Bishop Tutu requested today's meeting with Mr Botha to discuss his deep concern over developments since the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12.

This is their second such meeting — the first, for 90 minutes, was on June 13 and about the imposition of emergency rule.

Bishop Tutu told *The Star* he was hopeful about today's talks, which he requested "to discuss the troubles of this country and how to get out of them".

Sapa reports that Bishop Tutu met a 12-man delegation from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

He said the meeting had been very good and without disagreement.

'Important'

Bishop Tutu said after the hour-long meeting: "They've come to express their solidarity with trade unionists in this country."

"It's quite important for our country to know that our trade unions have very, very powerful friends."

The delegation, including British union leader Mr Norman Willis, arrived on Friday to investigate the plight of trade unions under the emergency.

The ICFTU represents 82 million workers in 99 countries.

Mr John Vanderveken, head of the delegation, said today the Government had not said whether they could visit detained unionists.

He said an appeal was made yesterday to the Minister of Law and Order to reply urgently to their telexed request to see detainees.

A spokesman for Mr le Grange said he had received no official approach from the ICFTU.

'Why not ask Soviets to help?'

PARIS — Bishop Tutu says South African blacks have as much right to seek the support of the Soviet Union as Britain did during World War 2 when it fought alone against Hitler.

He told a weekly magazine: "We have the right to seek support from all who wish to help us, including the Soviets. After all, they helped the West defeat Hitler."

"If communists want to help us

in our fight, why not?" he asked. Bishop Tutu said ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo was not a communist but "a practising Christian".

The bishop said he could no longer counsel caution.

"I know there are people who say that when the revolutionaries take power I will be one of the first they will hang. But do I have any alternative?" — *The Star's Foreign News Service*

vent hymn singing during his farewell service at the Ellis Park tennis stadium yesterday. Bishop of Cape Town, joined about 2,000 members of his Johannesburg community in a final farewell service. Picture by Herbert M. ... See Page 6

Hayden and Lange criticise boycott but still back sanctions against SA

21/7/76 STAL 304A
SYDNEY — Australia's Foreign Minister and New Zealand's Prime Minister have both criticised the Commonwealth Games boycott but both still favour sanctions against South Africa.

Australian Foreign Minister Mr Bill Hayden said during an interview on radio that Australia had expressed grave concern to Britain about the issue.

"We do not believe the boycott will be appropriate or effective," he said. It could lead to the collapse of the Commonwealth.

He added that African nations would feel much less committed to the Commonwealth unless Britain changed its stance and attacked South Africa economically because of its racial policies.

"There is the prospect that the Commonwealth may fall apart but it may not fall apart in one dramatic bang," Mr Hayden said.

Mr Hayden said Australia was committed to economic sanctions but they would not be effective without support from Britain and South Africa's other major trading partners.

He believed the feeling was growing in Africa that Britain wanted to use the Commonwealth for its own benefit and would sacrifice black African interests to protect its flourishing trade with South Africa.

In Wellington today, Prime Minister Mr David Lange said the Games boycott was only likely to harden British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher's opposition to sanctions.

Mr Lange said the boycott was counter-productive. It would not necessarily affect future Games — New Zealand is to host the 1990 Games — but could harm the Commonwealth.

"The sure way to make Margaret Thatcher carry on on her present course is to be as strident and obstructive as possible," he said. "The real revolting stuff makes her tougher."

Mr Lange sympathised with nations that had pulled out of the Games but said New Zealand would not follow.

The Commonwealth had a remarkable ability to find a solution to a problem that "pleases no one absolutely but rubbishes no one".

There was still time for such a solution to be found. — Sapa-
Reuter.

Next 22/07/86
304

No major policy moves expected at Nat congress

CAPE TOWN—The National Party's much vaunted Federal Congress in Durban next month is not expected to be anything more than a rallying point for consolidating the party and reviewing Government action in recent months.

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

Political observers in Cape Town do not believe it will produce much more than a broad outline of the Government's future constitutional plans and will be used more to take stock of what shape the party is in after the policy changes it has already introduced.

The Government will be looking for support for what it has already done and a mandate from the 1600 delegates from all over the country to continue with the reform programme.

In Nationalist terms, doing away with pass laws, nominating multiracial provincial executive committees, introducing one citizenship for all, changes to the Group Areas Act and other recent actions, are important changes.

They have exposed the Government to strong criti-

cism from the Right wing which appears to be growing stronger and stronger.

It is argued that the congress's full support for these and other possible measures to come will make it easier for President Botha to continue with reform.

Premature

However, hopes that Mr Botha will be able to spell out details of how the national council will work and who will be on it are said to be premature.

Draft legislation to establish the council was published in May and was open for public comment until the end of June.

It is highly unlikely that the Government would have had enough time to negotiate with interested parties and to redraft the

legislation before the federal congress is held.

It has also been pointed out that even if the draft had been available, it could not have thrown much light on future developments as the national council's main aim is to get blacks and whites around a table to negotiate a new constitution.

Mr Botha has persistently emphasised that he does not want to be prescriptive about a new constitution and therefore would not be able to say in advance what the council would decide.

For these reasons observers believe the congress will be used to regroup party support and prepare members in broad terms for further changes which lie ahead.

search of common ground

News: 92/07/86 (X)

Tutu, P W in two-hour talks

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Bishop Desmond Tutu said after a two-hour meeting with President Botha in Pretoria yesterday that they had agreed on some issues and differed on others.

He said the source of the distressing situation in South Africa, the state of emergency, crisis in education and harassment of church people were among the issues which had been discussed.

Both had agreed they wanted the country to return to a state of stability and prosperity.

Bishop Tutu said he had told Mr Botha the state of emergency did not help in restoring stability. It might bring some relief but failed to deal with fundamental issues.

Harassment claims

On the subject of political prisoners and detainees, Mr Botha had told him that as soon as they renounced violence their situations could be reviewed.

Mr Botha had undertaken to refer claims of harassment of church people and problems in education to Government ministers.

The bishop and the President had failed to agree on the detainee issue.

Although the exchanges had been frank and friendly, 'we did not mince our words', Bishop Tutu said his position on sanctions 'came into view', but he did not elaborate.

Mr Botha had said the state of emergency was bringing about the desired results. Bishop Tutu said he had made the point again that there were enough laws in South

Africa without resorting to detention without trial.

Mr Botha had assured Bishop Tutu his door was always open for discussions.

He had told the bishop he expected him to take a stand against sanctions.

The President said in a statement after the meeting: 'I told him I expected him to take a stand against foreign intervention in the affairs of South Africa.'

He had pointed out to Bishop Tutu that when the partial state of emergency had been imposed in July last year, critics had seen it as a cause of increasing unrest and injustice — but it had been a result rather than a cause.

When the previous emergency had been lifted in March, Mr Botha said, a new wave of violence had flared.

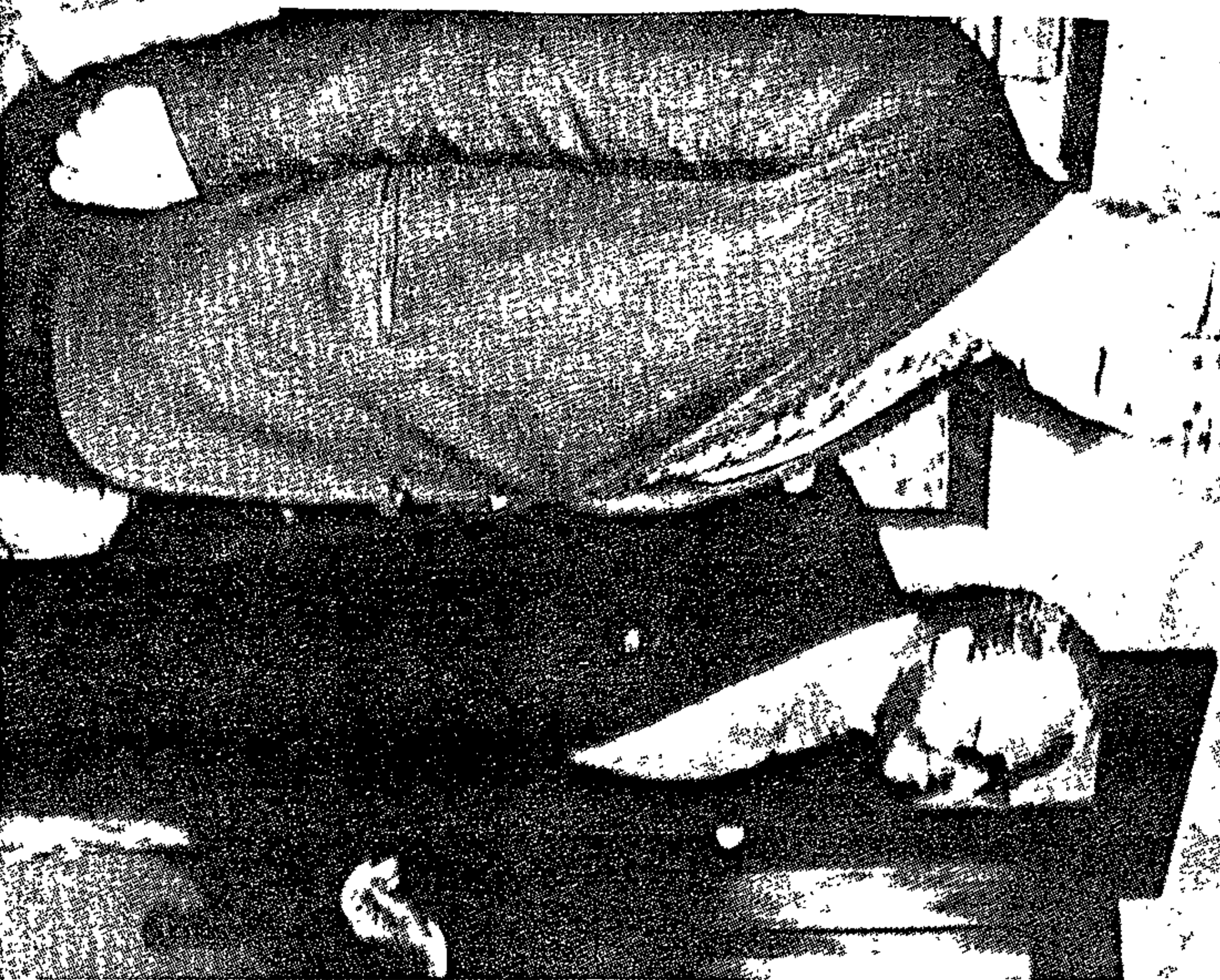
Now, countrywide, there was a decline in the number of unrest-related incidents. From May 12 to June 11, there had been 2459 incidents. From June 12 to July 20, the figure had declined to 1465.

Mr Botha said a greater general sense of security had returned to black townships, and attempts to intimidate black consumers into boycotts had scaled down.

He said mass disruption which had been planned for June 16 had not occurred, and an atmosphere of greater calm had prevailed throughout the country.

'I told Bishop Tutu the churches and their clergymen shared a moral responsibility to help in normalising the situation of unrest.'

The crisis in education, Mr Botha said, had abated since the imposition of the state of emergency, which was proved by the turnout at black schools.



President Botha and Bishop Tutu after their two-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

MEXC 27/8/86
304 A

Parties join forces to back Baron Stander

Political Reporter

SUPPORTERS of the National Party, New Republic Party and Progressive Federal Party have joined forces to back Point by-election candidate Mr Baron Stander.

Yesterday Mr Geoff Oldfield, former NRP Member of Parliament and chairman of the disbanded Natal Provincial Council, announced that he supported Mr Stander.

Mr Stander, who is standing as an independent, already has the support of the other Point city councillor and NP member, Mr Laurie Kaplan.

Mr Stander's election workers consist of NP, NRP and PFP supporters.

One worker, who did not wish to be named, said he was a PFP member and was working for Mr Stander because he was strongly opposed to the other candidate, Mr Arthur Morris, chairman of the Right-wing Civic Action League.

'I would hate to see him (Mr Morris) get into the council,' the worker said.

Mr Graeme Shaw said he had worked for the PFP in various elections and in the 1983 referendum and was working for Mr Stander in his personal capacity.

Veteran NRP election workers Mrs Ann Crompton and her husband Fred said they enjoyed the experience of working with people from the NP and PFP.

'Over the years we have had to plan our canvassing around the favourite television programmes.

'People don't like you talking to them while they are watching the television,' Mrs Crompton said.

EXCO 22/07/86

Exco members can participate in Indaba

304.7 Political Reporter

NATAL Executive Committee members have not been told to leave the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, says the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman.

Confusion arose about a letter by Mr Cadman to the Indaba chairman, Prof Desmond Clarence, on the role of Exco members at the talks.

Exco members, Mr Val Volker, Mr Clyde Pierce and Mr Peter Miller, have been attending the Indaba as representatives of their political parties.

Earlier this month Mr Cadman wrote to Prof Clarence saying that the new Exco could not participate in the Indaba because it was an agent of the Government which would consider recommendations from the discussions.

This led some people to believe that Mr Cadman was instructing the three Exco members at the Indaba to leave the talks.

Mr Cadman, who has been on holiday in South West Africa, said yesterday that in his letter he was saying that Exco members at the Indaba were not there as Exco representatives.

Drama at by-election nomination

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There was drama at the nomination court for the Claremont parliamentary by-election yesterday when the New Republic Party announced a last-minute surprise candidate to oppose Mr Jan van Eck of the Progressive Federal Party.

The validity of the NRP nomination was immediately challenged by the national director of the PFP, Mr Neil Ross, who claimed the nomination paper for Mr Anthony Leisegang had been improperly filled in.

The presiding officer, Mr Ignatius Keyser, told the nomination court he would for the present regard the nomination as valid but that the PFP could "contest this with a higher authority".

Meanwhile, two candidates were nominated yesterday for the Pinelands parliamentary by-election.

They are the PFP's Western Cape chairman and deputy chairman of the Cape Divisional Council, Mr Jasper Walsh, and the former mayor of Pinelands, Mr Norman Barrett, for the NRP. — Sapa

304A DD
22/7/86

Keenan: not interested in petty politics

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Independent city councillor Mr Lionel Keenan has rejected a Progressive Federal Party challenge to a public debate because he says he is not interested in petty party politicking.

"My allegiance is to my constituents and not to the frustrated politicians who oppose me. I, in turn, challenge any city councillor to equal or better the improvements I have made in my constituency."

Mr Keenan was reacting to last week's challenge by PFP city councillors Mr David Neppe, Mr Cecil Bass, Mr Alan Gadd and Mrs Molly Kopel.

Denying that he always voted with the ruling National Party/Independent Ratepayers' Association coalition in council meetings, Mr Keenan said his vote had helped to put three PFP members on to the management committee in 1982, and he had supported Mr Gadd's nomination as deputy mayor.

VOTE NEGATED

He said it was well known that the three men subsequently resigned, leaving the coalition to rule, saying "we either control or oppose Johannesburg".

"Unlike politicians who have to abide by caucus decisions whether they agree or not, I will not simply oppose issues for the sake of opposing," Mr Keenan said.

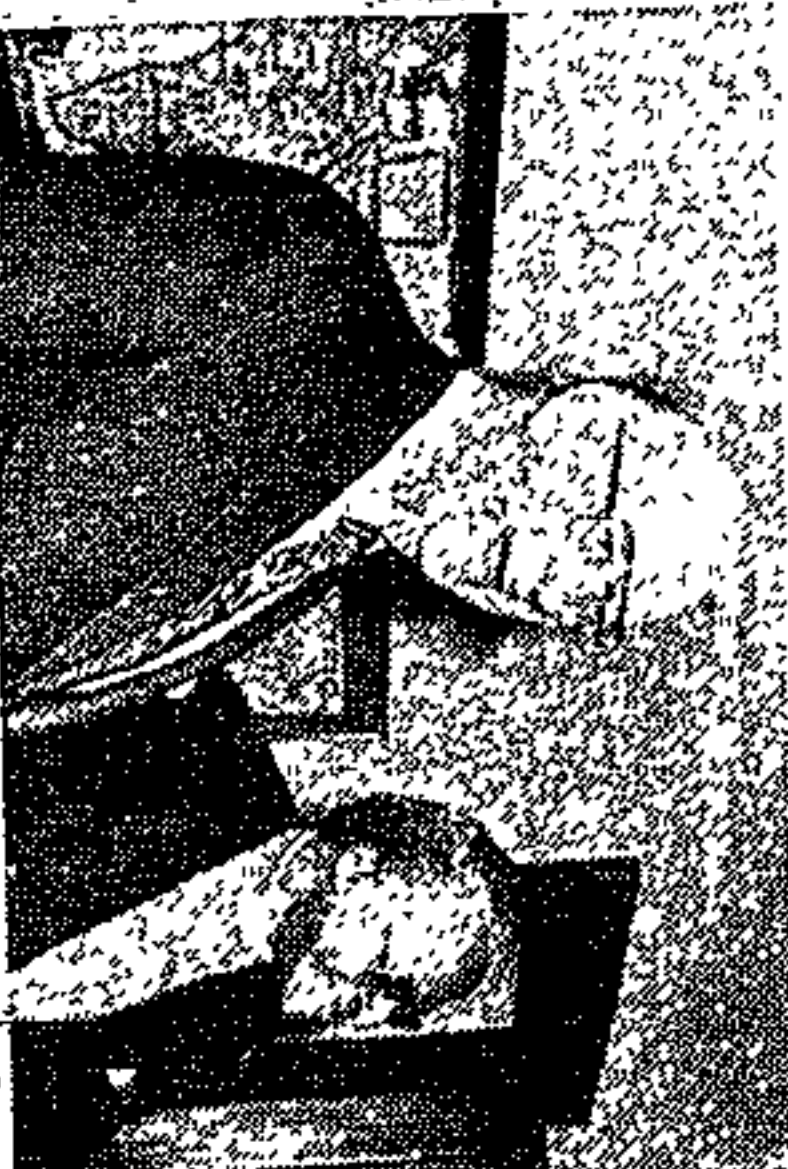
He added that his so-called crucial vote was negated by the "amazing number of PFP councillors who absent themselves from voting in favour of the management committee".

22/186-845 DAY

804A

THE VITAL VIEWPOINT

Tutu says of PW meeting: 'It could have been better'



● Botha and Tutu... smiles after meeting.

BISHOP Desmond Tutu said after a two-hour meeting with President P W Botha in Pretoria yesterday that they had agreed on some issues and differed on others.

He added that among issues discussed were the source of the distressing situation in SA, the state of emergency, crisis in education and harassment of church people.

Tutu had told him the emergency did not help in restoring stability. It might bring some relief but failed to deal with

GERALD REILLY

fundamental issues.

On the subject of political prisoners and detainees, he said Botha told him as soon as they renounced violence their situations could be reviewed. He undertook to refer claims of harassment of church people and the problems of education to relevant government ministers.

Botha had assured Tutu his door was always open for discussions. Asked to

sum up, Tutu said: 'It's always good to talk, but it could have been better.'

Botha said in a statement after the meeting: 'I told him I expected him to take a stand against foreign intervention in the affairs of SA.'

He had pointed out to Tutu that when the partial state of emergency was imposed in July last year, it was seen by critics as a cause of increasing unrest and injustice.

It was, however, the result rather than the cause of unrest.

When the previous emergency was lifted in March, Botha said, a new wave of violence had flared.

Countrywide, there was now decline in the number of unrest-related incidents. From May 12 to June 11 there had been 2 459 incidents. From June 12 to July 20 the figure had declined to 1 465.

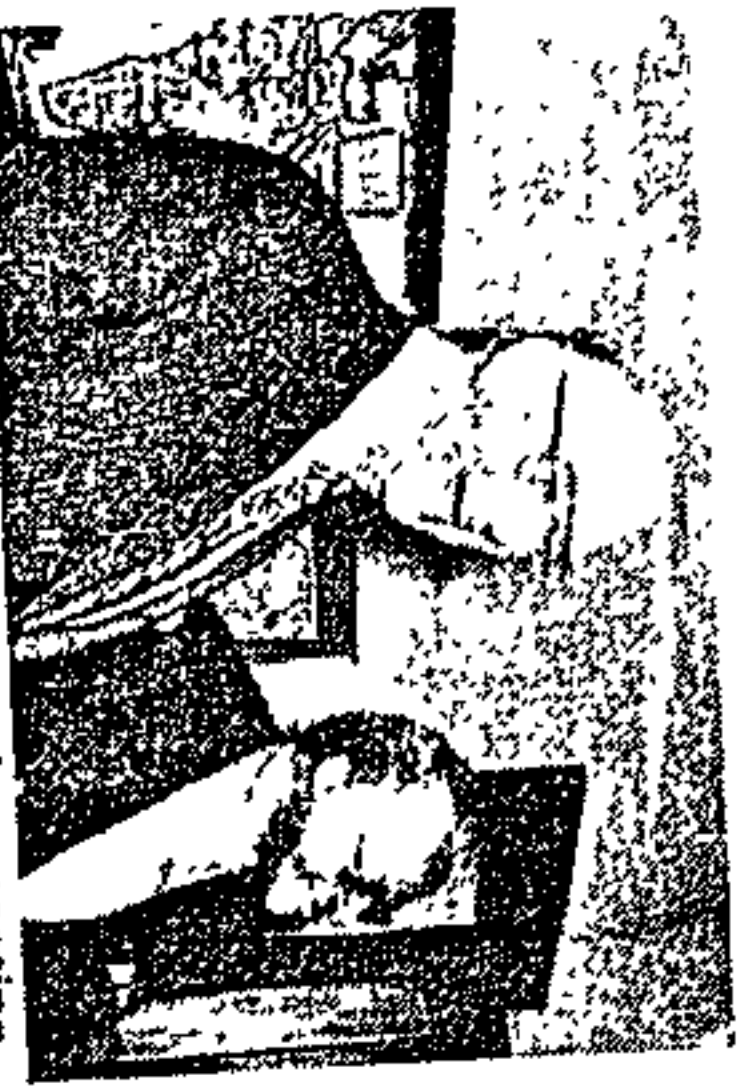
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22/7/86-BALD DAF

304A

"THE VITAL VIEWPOINT"

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23/2/86 BUD DAY

The business role in social reform

K H HAMMONDS

Last February, in an action that provoked international publicity and debate, General Motors MD Bob White wrote in a Port Elizabeth newspaper that his company would foot the legal expenses of any non-white arrested for trespassing on the city's white beaches. A month before, the Federated Chamber of Industries published a "charter of social, economic and political rights" committing itself to "influencing government and all political parties and groups" in ending discriminatory laws and practices.

And in June, 82 members of the American Chamber of Commerce in SA signed advertisements appearing in newspapers across the country. The advertisement, headed: "We must get it together", called for the release of political detainees, immediate negotiation with black leaders on power-sharing, political rights for all and repeal of the Group Areas Act.

SA business has entered the political arena. In the last year, both local and foreign-owned companies have expanded the traditional interpretation of corporate social responsibility to include actions that directly question and confront government policy.

For most executives here, it is an unfamiliar role. Only in the last decade have many SA operations concerned themselves with the question of social responsibility at all, and many say they feel uneasy with the new emphasis on political participation.

Indeed, actions like White's — which he later described as an "instinctive reaction", made without

consulting his superiors in Detroit, have left SA executives and academics with some sobering, complicated ethical questions:

□ Does business have a right and a responsibility to employ its economic resources in initiating what it sees as social change?

□ If so, can business legitimately participate in the political process? Or should it limit its pressure for social change to its own internal environment — in guaranteeing equal opportunity and equal pay, for example — and to using pre-tax profits to implement charitable educational and cultural programmes?

□ If so, what practical form of political involvement will bring results?

□ Is civil disobedience and political confrontation in general an effective route for business to take?

The answer to the first question, for most executives, is clear-cut. The long-accepted view of US economist Milton Friedman that the social good is and must be defined by market processes — and that efforts by executives to direct

resources to "socially responsible" functions that do not maximise profitability are "subversive" — appears to have lost favour in Johannesburg.

"I start from the viewpoint that we are corporate citizens, and that as citizens we are concerned about the socio-political environment we operate in," says J Walter Thompson chairman Robert Irving. "A company has a right to stand up and be counted."

Some executives say that, given the current crisis in SA and the perceived inability of government to act in the interest either of business or of the communities business serves, the decision to act in a socially responsible manner now requires political involvement.

Reluctantly, yes," answers Pickin Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman, who himself has long pushed for an end to apartheid through non-business channels. "We have a significant historical role to play, and that is why we have to get

involved in politics."

Others, like SA Perm MD Bob Tucker, say business should avoid the political route. Companies, Tucker says, should concentrate on encouraging social change by improving the way they do business — a "socially responsible way of travelling".

Most executives interviewed agreed with Tucker that direct confrontation was, most likely, counter-productive. "The last thing we want to appear is confrontational," says Hewlett-Packard MD Marius Furst.

At the same time, however, Furst and most others applaud White's initiative in PE — an action that can hardly be seen as cooperative — although some wondered whether it had any appreciable impact. "If a similar opportunity were presented to me, I'd probably go the route Bob did," says Eastman Kodak MD Dick Ferris.

The apparent schizophrenia reflects the frustration and confusion many executives feel in trying to

effect political change. Business leaders say they have been satisfied with the reaction to group advertisements, like Amchem's, opposing government policy, but have few ideas about what to do next.

Likewise, opposition political leaders like Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in recent public addresses, have cited the need for business involvement while admitting they lack a practical strategy for implementation.

What can we expect, then, of business? For the time being, it seems, politically-orientated advertisements are out. Ackerman says a questionnaire delivered to 92 SA executives recently found a consensus that "another ad would be counter-productive".

And civil disobedience is widely condemned. "Where there is an opportunity to change things, we will devote whatever resources we can," says Kodak's Ferris. "But we're not about to go around blowing things up."

Business leaders talk more often, and more comfortably about creating a "co-operative environment" for change — by initiating special programmes for development of black managers, by supporting educational programmes, and, in general, by showing increasing awareness of and sensitivity to the economic needs of their employees and their communities.

For now, it seems, these are the arenas in which business will produce substantial change — and actions like White's will remain the exception.

Political reform 'not enough'

BUS DAY

Share wealth — Harry O

23/7/88

204A



● OPPENHEIMER

CHERILYN IRETON

SOCIAL and economic issues must be tackled before changes in the distribution of political power if South Africa was to prosper, retired Anglo American Corporation chief Harry Oppenheimer has warned.

Speaking at the opening of the R1bn Western Deep Levels No 1 Shaft yesterday, Oppenheimer said people often thought only about reform and changes in a political sense — leaving economic and social problems for later.

"Changes in SA will be more successful, reasonable and desirable than those achieved in other African countries, if we tackle social and economic problems first," he said.

Oppenheimer said in spite of SA's troubles, the technical and social advances achieved at Western Deep Levels in bringing the No 1 Shaft into operation gave him hope for the future.

This was reiterated by Anglo chairman Gavin Relly who said the achievements in bringing together a partnership between labour, management and

shareholders at Western Deep Levels should be seen in a broader context.

"Unless we constantly seek to narrow the differences between management and labour by continuing to build on the good foundation blocks already in place, we will not have a functional economic entity here at the turn of the century."

Relly said not enough thought had been given to profit-sharing for employees. It was only by offering an involved stake that the interests of the company, its labour, management, shareholders and country as a whole would be upheld.

When complete, the Anglo American deep mining project will be the most advanced of its kind in the world with sub-vertical shafts reaching to depths of 4 000m.

To overcome the heat and seismic problems linked to depth mining, the No 1 Shaft has had to incorporate the most sophisticated mining technology available.

National Council 'must be bona fide'

Govt warned on stalling tactics

23/7/86 STNR 304A

By Michael Chester

Big business has warned the government that if the proposed new National Council became suspect as merely a forum for "talks about talks" its creation would be branded as no more than a stalling tactic to buy time.

The Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) urged amendments to draft legislation to put the status of the council beyond doubt by giving it clear and unequivocal standing as a bona fide and fully fledged negotiating body.

It also suggested amendments should spell out that negotiations towards a new constitutional dispensation will be the stated objective of the council.

It added in a memorandum to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning that the success of the council largely depended on the response it drew from black lead-

ers across the political spectrum.

"It is essential that the proposed council should achieve credibility in the eyes of all communities and that it assumes a meaningful role which distinguishes it from existing advisory structures", the memorandum cautioned.

Proposals as drafted at the moment gave no firm indication that the National Council would in fact serve as a negotiating forum.

Federal system

"It is our firm belief that negotiations towards a new constitutional dispensation should proceed as a matter of urgency in view of the fact that the legitimacy of the present constitutional structures in South Africa is under severe strain both within and without our borders", it said.

Assocom reiterates its advocacy of a political system based

on federalism or confederalism, which would also embrace the present national state governments and provincial councils.

In turn it strongly urges amendments to draft legislation to allow room for the participation of persons from the national states in the National Council, even if they may be excluded at its inception.

Assocom suggests that nominees of the major private sector employer organisations should also be invited to serve on the proposed council.

It goes on to query the merits of the proposed disqualification of persons who have been sentenced to prison terms of 12 months or more.

It argues that such disqualifications introduced rigidity where greater flexibility may be more desirable.

There should also be specific provision for a vice-chairman to preside over meetings of the council in the absence of the State President.

Moreover, meetings should be held on regular or predetermined intervals, rather than only at such times and places as may be determined by the State President.

This would also gainsay any perceptions or allegations of "stalling tactics" or "playing for time".

Professor slates Afrikaans writers

By Hannes de Wet

Some Afrikaans writers are making themselves ridiculous, says Professor John Kannemeyer of the department of Afrikaans/Nederlands at Wits.

The annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde in Windhoek was a case in point, Professor Kannemeyer told *The Star*.

The meeting ended on a stormy note when a motion which contravened the gilde's constitution was adopted. It condoned membership of two people who served on Government censorship committees.

This angered Professor Andre Brink and at least two others and they have resigned.

MOTION'S ADOPTION

Professor Kannemeyer said "clumsiness and inept leadership" led to the motion's adoption.

Another example of "ridiculous behaviour" was a motion that a protest on the state of emergency be sent to the State President, and that an interview be sought with Mr Botha.

"This was naive," said Professor Kannemeyer. "To suggest the State President find time for a group of writers is ridiculous."

New Skrywersgilde chairman Mr Abraham de Vries said: "The censorship motion was a mistake. We have taken steps to rectify it."

Professor Brink yesterday confirmed his resignation over the condoning of censorship.

Slabbert mission E Cape spinoff

By KIN BENTLEY

OFFICES of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, which is being launched by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, may be set up in Port Elizabeth and East London.

This was said today by Mr Wayne Mitchell, who co-ordinated a two-day trip through the Eastern Cape this week by the ex-PFP leaders in which they met about 100 top people across the political and racial spectrum.

They met 18 leading PE and Uitenhage industrialists over breakfast and had lunch with 38 businessmen in PE, as well as UPE academics.

In EL they had dinner with industrialists and professional people. Yesterday they spoke to leaders from Duncan Village and Mdantsane.

In Grahamstown they met business leaders, academics and members of the professions.

All the meetings were held behind closed doors, but Mr Mitchell said that at each they presented their proposals for a democratic SA and listened to the responses. These ranged from adherents of the National Party to members of the UDF.

They will now correlate the results and present their findings on a return trip, possibly next month.

He added that the institute would first focus on each region before considering the national level.

Share profits, Minister urges

304A
23/7/86
RTE
Post

THE Third World community in South Africa should be able to "taste the fruits of free enterprise in the form of profits rather than wages", the Deputy Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr, said last night.

Addressing the Port Elizabeth President's Club, he said there was vast scope for business to contribute to the reform process.

"If our Third World people are to be fully integrated into the free enterprise system, they must be encouraged to taste its fruits in the purest form."

He said this could be achieved by giving workers rewards accruing to initiative and enterprise.

"To be blunt, I am referring to profit rather than wages."

An intermediate step in this direction would be the granting of share options, a step which appeared to have merit and to be particularly suited to the current exigencies of South Africa.

"Our ultimate goal should, however, be the creation of entrepreneurs in the true sense of the word — those who venture rather than those who simply provide funds."

He said in that respect the Small Business Development Corporation and allied bodies were doing "a great job".

Social advance and expanding democracy were not possible without rising standards of living born of economic expansion.

"Far from trying to retard the inescapable extension of political rights and economic participation, we should ardently embrace it as a solid foundation for the peace and progress of our sub-continent," Mr Durr said.

He also called on businessmen to spread their investments more into areas like providing infrastructure and work opportunities areas where SA's Third World needs were greatest.

● Speaking at a Johan-

nesburg Executives Association of SA meeting today, Mr Durr said that countries applying punitive economic measures against SA were doing so primarily to serve their own best economic interests.

The bottom line of the increasing momentum against SA should be recognised for what it often was — the protection of industries and jobs in other countries in a difficult economic climate.

"Against this background, it remains essential that South Africa maintain its existing export markets since, once pushed out, it will be twice as hard to re-enter them," Mr Durr said.

"All the measures taken against South Africa were direct violations of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

Citing Australia as an example, he said it was not coincidental that some of SA's loudest detractors were vying for the same export markets

for coal, iron ore and agricultural products.

Similarly, in the United States the Democratic Party's Sanctions Bill targeted on the three major industries of coal, steel and uranium.

These struggling sectors in America would be the greatest beneficiaries of sanctions because they were in direct competition with SA, he said.

Describing events as "a long history of hypocritical double standards", Mr Durr said questions arose about loans which were made available when apartheid was "in full force" but which, ironically, were called up when the government was in the process of eliminating discrimination and was committed to constitutional reform.

"Possibly the very reason for this phenomenon is the picture painted by the media of reform leading to a Marxist regime, and big business anxiety about further reform resulting from this situation."

Zambia holds 2 for smuggling

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — Two whites detained in Zambia for allegedly attempting to smuggle out information on the country's mining activities will appear in court next month.

They are Zambian-born South African Mr Kelvin Joubert and Mr John Anthony Robinson, a British citizen.

Both were arrested for allegedly attempting to take to South Africa a micro-computer disc containing information on the operations, records and activities of the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines.

They were detained on June 17 on a presidential order under Preservation of Public Safety regulations.

According to the Zambian

authorities the information contained in the micro-computer disc could be used in a manner which would be detrimental to the safety, interest and security of Zambia.

A lawyer acting for four other South Africans detained for alleged spying said yesterday he would probably start court procedures next week to have the men released.

Call to reject ASB rightwing

By Claire Robertson

The student council of Stellenbosch University has initiated a nationwide repudiation of the conservative element within the Afrikaner Studentebond (ASB) — which could see it preside over the organisation's destruction.

Following the recent annual congress which saw the ASB face its worst crisis in the 38 years of its existence, the Stellenbosch council has called on the leadership at all Afrikaans campuses to distance themselves from "the conservative pressure group within the ASB".

It also asks them to hold referenda to test student opinion on "continued affiliation to the ASB".

On the last day of the ASB congress in Potchefstroom earlier this month, the body was plunged into a crisis when several "verligte" executive

committee candidates withdrew from elections for the presidency when it became clear Mr Bertus Nel of Potchefstroom University would be elected.

As a result of the withdrawals Mr Nel was elected unopposed, and with fellow student Mr Petrus van Blerk as his deputy, control of the ASB was placed firmly in the hands of the more conservative student element.

In one of his first statements in office, Mr Nel decried the negative effect of party politics on the ASB.

In a statement released yesterday, the Stellenbosch student council confirmed its "conviction that Afrikaner youth cannot be apathetic in the political process in our country".

"The ASB's definition of political participation (at recent congresses) was an unsuccessful attempt to preserve Afrikaner unity, and a denial of their responsibility to lead by taking a standpoint."

Thatcher hints at talks with Botha

STILL

The Star Bureau

23/7/86

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LONDON — Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher has opened the possibility of personal talks with President Botha.

During question time in the House of Commons yesterday she said she did not exclude the possibility.

Mrs Thatcher also disclosed that Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe may make more than two trips to Pretoria as part of his European Community peace mission.

Whitehall sources emphasised later that talks between Mrs Thatcher and Mr Botha could not be ruled out, although they did not encourage the idea that Mrs Thatcher would go to Pretoria.

During the Commons exchanges, Labour leader Mr Neil Kinnock failed to secure an assurance from Mrs Thatcher that she would impose sanctions on South Africa.

He accused her of spoiling the Commonwealth Games, rupturing the Commonwealth and sabotaging Sir Geoffrey's mission.

Mrs Thatcher replied that it was absurd to make a decision on sanctions in advance of the Commonwealth conference next month.

On the Commonwealth Games, she said: "They belong to the Commonwealth, and countries which withdraw are damaging their own Games and the chances of their own athletes."

Maggie may meet P W

Own Correspondent
and Sapa

LONDON — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said yesterday she did not exclude the possibility of meeting SA State President P W Botha in an effort to defuse the crisis in SA.

Thatcher was speaking in the House of Commons as Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe was preparing to leave Brussels yesterday for southern Africa on the second stage of his peace shuttle.

Howe, who is representing the European Community (EC) in a bid to get Pretoria to hold talks with black leaders without having to resort to economic sanctions, said: "It's difficult, but not without hope."

Thatcher also urged leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) to agree to meet Howe, saying: "If they don't... they will cast doubt on their commitment to solve the problem by peaceful means."

ANC leaders repeated yesterday, how-

President Reagan warned the US Congress yesterday that imposing economic sanctions against South Africa "would destroy America's flexibility, discard our diplomatic leverage and deepen the crisis" in the Republic.

"We must stay and work, not cut and run," President Reagan said in a White House address prepared for members of Congress and invited foreign policy specialists.

ever, that they saw no point in talking to the Foreign Secretary on his present mission unless Britain dropped its opposition to sanctions.

During his visit, Howe is due to meet Botha, and Thatcher told Parliament he might need to go to the region again later.

A vital round in the prolonged argument over whether or not the West

● To Page 2 ➡

Thatcher could meet P W

● From Page 1

should approve increased sanctions against SA will end this afternoon when Howe emerges from his first set of talks with Botha.

He will be giving Botha a message from Thatcher that Nelson Mandela

must be released and the ANC unbanned as a prelude to negotiations on a future apartheid-free SA.

Botha, who was reported to be initially reluctant to meet Howe, will probably make it clear once again his government's approach is that South Africans alone will solve the country's problems.

Balance economy and population — Rive

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23/7/86

Speaking at the annual general meeting of the SA Permanent Building Society yesterday, Dr Louis Rive said that South Africa's most basic problem was to balance economic growth with population growth.

"Empirically, we know that this can be achieved only by raising the standard of living of the masses. Let us therefore make this national priority number one," the former Postmaster-General said.

"The current syndrome of despondency is an indictment against ourselves. Surely, we have not lost our vision, our innovative ability, our drive and our will to survive? What would appear to be insurmountable problems

are in fact glorious challenges and opportunities.

"The Government's White Paper on urbanisation presents such an opportunity. I would suggest, though, that urbanisation *per se* should not be seen as the total answer. It should be seen as an integral part of the entire scene of which rural development, industrialisation and a small business development are equally important components."

TOTAL PLAN

What was needed was a total socio-economic plan accommodating all these elements.

"I am convinced that we are not serving the best interests of our country by fragmented planning and unco-ordinated action. The thing that bothers me is the lack of a comprehensive plan into which the micro-planning which is being undertaken by *ad hoc* institutions can fit in a meaningful way.

"To come back to the theme of a home for stability, it is my view that, with proper planning, deregulation and devolution of power, there is almost no limit to what we can achieve with the resources at our disposal."

If the contributions of the State, local authorities, financial institutions, the employer and the individual were judiciously channelled and synchronised with a macro socio-economic plan, the distorted face of South Africa could be changed within 10 years.

"We shall have our new South Africa," said Dr Rive. — Sapa.

NEWS FOCUS

Sasa passes resolution opposing apartheid

THE SA Sugar Association (Sasa) has passed a resolution expressing its opposition to apartheid and is to draw up an affirmative action programme to be carried out in the near future, the association's chairman Kees van der Pol said yesterday.

Speaking at Sasa's annual meeting in Durban yesterday, he said the anti-apartheid resolution should be regarded as the industry's declaration of intent to do what it could to promote changes which would create an equitable SA society.

"Traditionally Sasa has kept a low profile on political issues, but we can no longer remain silent, even though our members represent the entire political spectrum," he said.

While not taking sides for or against government, Van der Pol said Sasa "must take sides on such major issues as the abolition of apartheid, the sharing of power on an equitable basis among all sectors of our population and in the restoration of law and order in our society."

Van der Pol said although Sasa — which represents 25 000 growers, 15 mills and a central refinery, and employs more than 154 000 people throughout the KwaZulu/Natal region — had carried out its social responsibilities and had made considerable progress towards a more equitable society, much remained to be done.

"We must not only aim to alleviate the effects of apartheid, but must also work towards the abolition of apartheid by setting an example and providing leadership within our sphere of influence."

"We must openly support and encourage government to proceed in haste with its declared goal to abolish apartheid."

Van der Pol said violence begot violence and all would be losers.

"The abolition of apartheid is not an end in itself to be achieved at any price — it is the means to bring about a just, peaceful and prosperous society in which we can all share."

"I also hope and trust our overseas customers and friends of SA will accept our resolution as an expression of solidarity with their objectives to promote change, and not as an empty response to the threat of sanctions."

Van der Pol said if economic sanctions were imposed, the many forces working for peaceful change within SA would find themselves on the opposite side of those seeking change through sanctions.

"There is another way to promote change, and I refer to the Natal/KwaZulu indaba, in which Sasa is playing an active role, seeking to promote power-sharing in Natal."

"It is my honest belief that we can find a workable structure which could be an example to the rest of our country."

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THURSDAY, JULY 24, 1986

27c + 3c GST (PWT) Prices elsewhere on back page

**Fergie
weds
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prince**

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Howe in search of a solution

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe arrived in the country yesterday and immediately went into talks with his South African counterpart, Mr P W Botha, and the State President, P W Botha, in Pretoria.

Sir Geoffrey's mission to this country is to find solutions which can help eradicate apartheid.

Sir Geoffrey said he was pleased to be back in South Africa after his last visit ten years ago. His mission was no secret and was of international concern, he said. Apartheid has to go away so as to put a stop to further violence in the country, Sir Geoffrey said.

He hoped to meet a wide variety of South Africans on the issue of dis-

mantling apartheid.

Mr P W Botha said the South African Government was pleased at Sir Geoffrey's visit and he hoped the talks with the State President would be peaceful and constructive.

Both men said they could not comment further on the issues they were to discuss. Sir Geoffrey's first meeting was with Mr P W Botha at 11.30am, and was held at the State Guest House in Waterkloof. No announcements were made after this meeting.

Sir Geoffrey had his second meeting of the day with the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the Union Buildings at 2.30pm.

To Page 6



BRITISH foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe (centre), talking to the media at Jan Smuts Airport after being welcomed by Mr P W Botha (right), yesterday.

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Eve Post
24/7/86

'SA has many friends, but they are getting frustrated'

SOUTH AFRICA still had many friends in the world, but they were becoming increasingly frustrated by the seeming lack of co-operation they receive from the Government, Mr Neville Woudberg, Editor of the Evening Post, said today.

He was speaking at a meeting of the Port Elizabeth Women's Club.

"There are people in authority in both the United

States and Britain who actually want to help, but so much of what comes out of South Africa is negative, that they are powerless."

Mr Woudberg said a senior US State Department official had told him positive reform moves in South Africa seldom came across clearly overseas because the Government always seemed to link these with negative statements, no doubt aimed at

appeasing the right wing.

"The negative aspect is the one that is stressed overseas and whatever impact there may have been with the reform move is lost."

Mr Woudberg said this did not mean South Africans needed outsiders to tell them how to run their country — but they could certainly do with help and advice in getting the job done.

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — The Progressive Federal Party announced yesterday it would not contest the Klip River by-election, leaving the National Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party-Conservative Party alliance to fight it out.

The PFP's Natal Inland chairman, Mr Mike Tarr, said a recent poll showed the HNP had only about 11 per cent support in the constituency.

"We hoped that a three-way split in votes might give us a chance but the HNP are much weaker than anybody

PFP opts out of Natal election

thinks.

"We might have come second, but could not have won the seat. We are going to put our resources elsewhere," Mr Tarr said.

The New Republic Party's Natal leader, Mr

Derrick Watterson, said earlier this week the NRP would not field a candidate in Klip River.

He said the NRP's policy was that where they did not field a candidate, their supporters should vote for whoever they wished.

The NP's candidate is Mr Thys Wessels, Klip River MPC in the recently disbanded Provincial Council.

Mr Chris Wolmarans, who is fighting the seat on an HNP ticket with Conservative Party support, said he was happy the PFP was out of the running.

DD24/7/86

By Peter Fabricius, of The Star's
Political Staff,
reporting from Cape Town

Why radical solutions are imperative

An estimated three million South Africans will die in the racial conflict into which the country is sliding unless daring and radical solutions are found, says Professor David Welsh, head of the University of Cape Town's department of political studies.

In an address to the Graduate School of business Association in Cape Town recently he proposed a plan which included a government of national reconciliation — including the African National Congress — backed by aid and democratic guarantees from an international consortium.

The government of national reconciliation would hammer out a new constitution behind the "shield" of the consortium which would comprise Western and Third World nations and the Frontline states. Professor Welsh acknowledged that this "Marshall Plan-style"

solution was "radical and fantastic" but said the situation had become so "intractable and desperate" that "old styles of thinking" were no longer adequate.

The South African Government and its black adversaries were rapidly becoming deadlocked in a "no-win" conflict.

"The Government seeks by the use of massive coercion to maintain its authority and shore it up where it has collapsed — as in so many black townships."

EQUAL RIGHTS

"Black South Africa, though riven with divisions, seeks desperately to get rid of apartheid and to force the Government to grant equal rights."

"More radical blacks see themselves as fighting a war of liberation against an army of occupation; many believe that the State is on the run and with a few

more heaves will collapse."

But there was in fact no serious threat posed to the "fundamental integrity" of the State, Professor Welsh believed. It had the power to contain the violence and it was difficult to see how a revolution could occur.

"But the Government cannot eliminate the violence which shows every sign of becoming endemic."

"Neither side can secure its goals but both sides can inflict immense damage on each other — with devastating consequences for the society, its institutions and its infrastructures."

"Contemporary Lebanon is a chilling example of what might happen."

Professor Welsh said he had seen estimates of "body counts" from both sides of the conflict and the figure was three million dead before peace was achieved.

Sanctions will not break the deadlock and might in fact be counter-productive in bringing out the worst atavistic traits in a beleaguered minority and by damaging South Africa's most vital asset, its sophisticated economy, thereby making a durable settlement an even more remote possibility."

MAJOR PARTNER

Instead of using the big stick, the international community should use "a big carrot" — "an offer of massive aid to a South Africa that commits itself to abolish all forms of apartheid and to institute genuine power-sharing."

The ANC would have to be a major partner in the government of national reconciliation.

Professor Welsh estimated that in a free election today the ANC would win up to 70 percent of the vote.

"The aid plan would in some sense resemble the Marshall Plan which saved much of post-war and war-torn Europe from even further misery and communist takeover."

"It could give South Africa an annual growth rate of eight percent and the prospect of overcoming chronic poverty and historically accumulated backlogs of inequality in perhaps two generations."

The "vital political dimension" of the plan was that it would overcome white fears that relinquishing absolute power would undermine their security.

The international consortium would guarantee a non-racial democratic order and protect both individual and minority rights.

The only alternative to the plan was "a steady descent into degenerative decline" and the destruction of the country's infrastructure.

Council Bill talks going on — Heunis

5/11/72
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Pretoria Bureau

Discussion and negotiation on the National Council Bill were continuing, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said in a statement yesterday.

He rejected speculation that a meeting of the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs had been postponed because of problems with the Bill and attacked PFP leader Mr Collin Eglin's comments that the postponement was typical of the confusion which was a hallmark of constitutional development.

They showed a complete lack of understanding for negotiation, Mr Heunis said.

The Government did not intend to cut short discussion and this, with late comment, caused the postponement.

The deadline for comment was June 30 but extensions had been granted. To date, 117 written reactions had been received and 162 discussions held.

Follow-up discussions, as well as processing of input, were taking place.

PFP will not contest Klip River by-election

Political Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party announced yesterday that it would not contest the Klip River by-election, leaving the National Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, in alliance with the Conservative Party, to fight it out.

Mr Mike Tarr, PFP Natal Inland chairman, said a recent poll showed that the HNP had only about 11% support in the constituency.

'We hoped that a three-way split in votes might give us a chance but the HNP are much weaker than anybody thinks.

'We might have come second, but could not have won the seat. We are going to put our resources elsewhere,' Mr Tarr said.

Mr Derrick Watterson, New Republic Party Natal leader, said earlier this week that the NRP would not field a candidate in Klip River.

He said the NRP's policy was that where they did not field a candidate, their supporters should vote for whoever they wished.

The NP's candidate is Mr Thys Wessels, Klip River MPC in the recently disbanded Provincial Council.

Prevent

Mr Chris Wolmarans, who is fighting the seat on an HNP ticket with Conservative Party support, said he was happy that the PFP was out of the by-election.

'It will prevent the NP posing as a Right-wing alternative to the PFP and will expose the NP's Left-wing loyalties,' he said.

Mr Wolmarans, chairman of Action White Natal, an umbrella Right-wing organisation, said his first campaign meeting will be addressed by the HNP's sole MP, Mr Louis Stoffberg, in the Ladysmith Town Hall at 7 30 p m on July 29.

The following night CP MP, Mr Frank le Roux, will speak in support of Mr Wolmarans in Glencoe and on July 31 CP MP, Mr Daan van der Merwe, will also speak in Glencoe.

The by-election became necessary after the NP's Val Volker was nominated to the new Natal Exco.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

Little hope for more cash says De Loor

Mercury Correspondent

Port Elizabeth.—Little hope was held out here yesterday by Dr Joop de Loor, the Auditor-General, of South Africa obtaining substantial net new borrowings or investment capital from abroad in the foreseeable future.

Addressing the annual meeting of the EP Building Society Dr De

Loor said it was ironical that countries such as Australia, Brazil and Mexico with far worse foreign exchange reserves and uncomfortable short-term debt ratios were able to raise billions of dollars.

This was because of continued investor confidence in the longer term stability of those countries, whereas South Africa, which potentially should be a shining star in the in-

vestment world — at least in Africa, could not for the foreseeable future bank again on substantial net new borrowings or investment capital from abroad.

Dr De Loor said that in addition, to the turbulence in the economic and social scenes, South Africa had lost, through little fault of its own, its unblemished record in the credit-worthy stakes.

For the first time in

our modern history we were forced, due to insufficient foreign exchange reserves, to reschedule certain redemption payments to foreign creditors.

These creditors and investors demanded their money back simply because their confidence in the South African Government had been shaken. This confidence caused them to distrust our ability to continue to provide a safe and prosperous ha-

ven for their monies.

He said these trends hit the South African construction industry and this was reflected in the large percentage of mortgages granted for the buying of existing dwellings rather than the construction of new homes.

Yet despite these trends the EP Building Society had done well and deserved to be congratulated, he said.

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NIM 24/7/86

Sugar industry stands against apartheid

Finance Reporter

THE South African Sugar Association has emerged from its traditionally low profile on political issues to take a strong stand against apartheid.

The association has passed a resolution expressing its opposition to apartheid and is to draw up an affirmative action programme.

Dr Kees van der Pol, the association's chairman, told the association's annual meeting in Durban yesterday that the anti-apartheid resolution should be regarded as the industry's declaration of intent to promote change to an equitable South African society.

He said that although the industry had a proud record of promoting the position of blacks within the industry, it could no longer remain silent on political issues.

Restoration

'We are not taking sides for or against the Government but must make a stand on such major issues as the abolition of apartheid, power-sharing on an equitable basis and in the restoration of law and order in our society,' he said.

Dr van der Pol emphasised that although the association — which represents 25 000 growers, 16 sugar mills and a central refinery, and employs more than 154 000 people in the KwaZulu/Natal region — had carried out its social responsibilities, much remained to be done.

'But we must not only aim to alleviate the effects of apartheid; we must also work toward the abolition of apartheid by providing leadership within our spheres of influence and openly support and encourage the Government to abolish apartheid.'

Of sanctions, Dr van der Pol said that if they were to be applied successfully against South Africa, they would have serious effects on the 1 000 000 people who were employed by and who depended on the sugar industry.

Misery

The vast majority of these were black.

He said economic sanctions was a polite term for economic warfare, 'the results of which can be as devastating in human suffering and misery as a conventional war'.

The unrest in black townships, which had made orderly despatch and distribution almost impossible in some areas, had not only aggravated difficult trading conditions but was the major reason for a 3% drop in domestic demand.

He said sugar consumption among blacks had declined during the year, and he called for a renewed approach to the fiscus, for removal of sales tax on sugar, to help the poor to use a cheap carbohydrate source.

Acknowledging efforts made by the industry in reducing costs, he said further cost savings could also be expected from the introduction of the A and B Pool pricing systems and from the changed cane transport arrangements which still had to make their impact on the industry.

Surplus

Dr van der Pol said that in spite of the eldana pest and unfavourable weather, the export surplus would continue, but the present price of some US\$ c/lb was still well below total cost of production.

However, there was some good news from sugar economists who predicted that the imbalance between supply and demand was moving in favour of the producers and for the first time in recent years, world demand would exceed production.

Although the 1986/87 season appeared to hold better fortunes for the industry than the 1985/86 season had, the present crop was again suffering from drought and eldana in many parts of the industry, he said.

24/7/86
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Howe meets Eglin today

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

European Community President Sir Geoffrey Howe continues his peace mission to South Africa today, meeting prominent black and white businessmen and leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin.

Sir Geoffrey, the British Foreign Secretary, described yesterday's meeting with President Botha and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha in Pretoria as "candid, courteous and substantive".

He conveyed the European Community's message to them, which included a call for apartheid to be dismantled rapidly, for political prisoners to be freed, and political organisations unbanned.

The South African Government did not issue a formal statement after the meetings, but Mr Pik Botha said he welcomed Sir Geoffrey's visit.

Addressing a Press conference after the talks yesterday, Sir Geoffrey said outsiders could see clearly that "after 25 years, the wind of change in Africa is shaking its southern part to its roots".

"The question is not whether, but how far and how fast will South Africa change."

He said he believed reconciliation was possible.

Reconciliation

The 1955 Freedom Charter — which has the backing of the ANC — and the State President's speech this year, which promised a representative government, contained seeds of reconciliation he hoped to nurture.

Sir Geoffrey was met at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning by Mr Pik Botha with whom he held talks and had a working lunch.

He then had a two-hour meeting with the State President and later called on the Minister of

Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Today he was scheduled to meet the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, the SA British Trade Association, South African businessmen, including Anglo American chief Mr Gavin Relly, and Mr Colin Eglin.

Sir Geoffrey leaves for Lusaka tonight for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda.

On Friday he will have talks with Botswana President Quett Masire before returning to Pretoria. Visits to Lesotho and Swaziland on Saturday are also scheduled.

Sir Geoffrey will meet the State President and other Cabinet Ministers again on Tuesday July 29.

At the Press conference yesterday, Sir Geoffrey said he was not surprised his mission was viewed with hostility, but he hoped black leaders who had refused to meet him would change their minds.

● See Pages 4 and 11.

Sugar bosses to 'take sides on power-sharing'

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The South African Sugar Association (Sasa) has taken a strong stand against apartheid and is to actively "take sides" on issues such as power-sharing.

At Sasa's annual meeting here yesterday the chairman,

Dr Kees van der Pol, said the association's anti-apartheid resolution should be regarded as the industry's declaration of intent to do what it could to create an equitable South African society.

"Traditionally Sasa has kept a low profile on political issues, but we can no longer remain silent, even though we have represented among members of our industry the entire political spectrum."

While not taking sides for or against the Government, Dr van der Pol said the association could not sit on the fence on major issues such as the abolition of apartheid, power-sharing on an equitable basis and the restoration of law and order.

"These issues affect our economy and indeed our very survival as a South African nation."

He said Sasa had a proud record of promoting black advancement. However, much had to be done.

"We must work towards the abolition of apartheid."

"The abolition of apartheid is not an end in itself to be achieved at any price — it is the means to bring about a just, peaceful and prosperous society in which we all can share."

25/7/86 DW
Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN
Black community response to the "piecemeal reform" packages recently introduced had been a virtually universal rejection, the professor of Development Studies at the Institute of Economic Research, Professor W. J. Davies, said this week.

He was addressing the annual general meeting of the Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association (Gadra) as its new chairman.

He said the result was that the government had had to resort to stringent internal measures to create artificial circumstances in which the "reforms" could be ushered in.

Prof: piecemeal reform rejected

● The repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts meant nothing to local blacks because it did nothing for their circumstances.

● The abolition of influx control was a significant step and could promote an out-migration of local blacks, but it was also likely to cause an in-migration from rural areas.

● Freehold land tenure

was meaningful only if it contributed towards the availability of affordable housing and if sufficient land were available to allow for expansion.

● Uniform identity documents as a "reform" measure was little more than a symbolic gesture that would bring few tangible benefits to local blacks.

● The capacity to take advantage of open trading areas was restricted by limited access to financial resources, he added.

Participation in Regional Services Councils (RSC), was only possible through separate, racially defined local authorities created by the government and rejected by most blacks.

One day on South Africa's most northern farm ...

Report: VIVIENNE WALT
Pictures: GIDEON MENDEL



Fingers in ears as the rifles clatter during target practice

'My father told us why:
'Cos the ANC wants our
land. They're terrorists'

— MARZANNE ESTERHUYSE, AGED ELEVEN

There was a time when border farmers drove across the Limpopo every Sunday for tea in another country. No longer. In its place: a state of near-siege ...

IT is breakfast time at Overvakte, the northernmost farm in South Africa.

At the head of the table, Willie Esterhuyse says a prayer. His wife, Elene, and their children bow their heads and clasp their hands in a moment of quiet thanks. While they eat, the ever-present handgun and the Bible — the two items which allow the family to live in relative peace — are close at hand.

The front yard of the farm runs down to a dirt track, hemmed in by two metres of fencing and topped with thick coils of barbed wire. Just beyond lies the sandy, parched Limpopo — the Zimbabwe border and one of the conduits for insurgents coming back to lay mines on the farmers' land.

In the past six months, the Dongola area has been transformed. The community that has been led by attractive government incentives to farm this isolated, thorny scrubland has been bound together by fear and the determination to defeat the guerrillas.

Armed by the SA Defence Force with semi-automatic rifles, the 20 farmers and their wives living along this section of the Limpopo have one simple aim: to keep their land free of insurgents, no matter what the cost.

"We have to follow every spoor now, because it could be the ANC," says Esterhuyse. "Until three years ago, we crossed the border all the time. We used to drive across the river every Sunday during winter, when there is no water in the Limpopo, and visit the farmer on the other side. Those days are gone."

Growing up here, children get to know their enemy at a young age. At 11, Marzanne Esterhuyse has a simple explanation for the tight security on the farm. "My father's told us why it's happening. Everybody knows it's because the ANC wants our land. They are terrorists. They want us to move away from the river, so they can come into the country."

Long before last December, when a landmine placed on a nearby farm road killed six members of a family, the Esterhuyses had begun preparing



Fixing a farm pump ... 'I protect my labourers'

for a life of partial siege.

Since July last year, regional army officers have regularly travelled the 55km to the border farms, to train the women to shoot. The farmers, connected by radio to each other and to military headquarters, have formed a civil defense commando.

But the December blast, less than 8km from the Esterhuyses' gate, shook the conservative frontier communities. The first blast was followed by a series of landmine attacks on South Africa's border farms.

"I didn't sleep for three nights after the attack last December," says Elene Esterhuyse. "We expected an attack on the house. What really worries me are all the new weapons, like mortars. They could stand on the Zimbabwe side of the river, and shoot into our house."

For the Esterhuyses, who are ardent government supporters, the issue which has sparked nationwide rebellion by blacks for nearly two years is not a struggle for political power. It is the land. In the six short years since they moved here, the family has carved out their cotton and wheat fields, hectare by hectare, from the bush.

In that time, they have taken off a total of two weekends.

Some years, rainfall drops to a meagre 15cm and the pumping of

water from deep under the Limpopo's sands is a complex and tenuous affair. "We've put our lives into this, our sweat. Everything. We'll never give it up," says Elene Esterhuyse.

Instead, she is resigned to the possibility that one day she will have to fight for their survival. "I teach my children to load the magazines. So if we are attacked, they can help us load the ammunition, while my husband and I shoot. They must feel they are part of the whole thing."

Since the December attack, Marzanne and her eight-year-old brother, Piet, have ridden half-way to school in an armoured personnel vehicle, joining other farm children in a large military truck on the main road to travel the rest of the way.

At their school in the border town of Messina, "The army come to show us what landmines and grenades look like," says Marzanne. "So if we see them on the farm, we know they are dangerous and we won't pick them up. They teach us at school what to do if the ANC attacks. We have to fall down and pretend we're dead."

The scenario is more than an abstract school lesson for those who live here. On July 10, police and suspected ANC guerrillas fought an armed battle on a farm at Alldays, in the district next to Dongola, in which six insurgents were killed. In the past year alone, there have been seven such



Even the daughters are taught to load magazines

shootouts on the borders

But for many would-be farmers like Willie Esterhuyse, accepting such risks has meant their only chance to buy land.

"I always wanted a farm," he says. Then, while working in a cotton research station in a nearby town, "I heard the government was offering a good deal for farmers to move here. I bought the land for R130 000, and got to work."

"It's unbelievable how different this area is now. I think the government really needs us here for security."

Indeed, the border farmers, with their political loyalty to President PW Botha's administration and their protection of the land, form one of the most efficient para-military forces available to the government.

"We're ready for anything," says Esterhuyse. "If there's direct fighting, we'll sort them out chop-chop, that's for sure."

Aside from being able to call on the help of his own family, Esterhuyse claims to have learned a crucial lesson from the white Rhodesians, who found themselves dangerously isolated by hostile farmworkers, and easy targets for guerrillas, in the blacks' battle for independence before 1980.

"The way I protect my labourers," he says, "they'll never protect the ANC. They ask me, 'Who are these people who put down the landmines? We must kill them.'" And, says Esterhuyse, "if the local people don't help and support them, they'll never win."

Besides, he says, the farmworkers need only look across the river to discover "what freedom means. It means hunger," he says.

Last Sunday, 10 Zimbabweans crossed the border as illegal immigrants, looking for work on the South African side. "We handed them

over to the police, to be sent back. But they always return," says Esterhuyse.

So sure are the local farmers of their workers' trust that they plan to arm them in the near future. "We'll select very carefully who we give arms to," says Esterhuyse. "But they have to be part of the whole security thing."

Still, his own farmworkers live in a pitiful compound of mud huts and small brick houses, and their pay offers only bare subsistence, although it is average for the district. Women earn R1,50 a day shifting the irrigation pipes. The highest-paid man on the farm earns R250 a month.

And yet for now, Esterhuyse, who says "the government should have moved faster with its reforms," appears to have the loyalty of his workforce. "They are just as scared of the ANC as we are," he says. "The good thing about landmines is that they can kill anybody. Not just white people."

In the opinion of many political observers, the Esterhuyses and their neighbours are buying time, hoping for a solution, but facing a deteriorating security situation.

The government has begun surveying the border track to tar it, making landmine attacks on it impossible. Last month they offered to give the Dongola farmers mine-proof vehicles in which to travel around their farms. And the women have been supplied by the SADF with Israeli-made Uzi rifles.

But despite the increasing danger of attacks on its land, the community lives with a quiet confidence. The children play under the giant moshatu trees, and ride in their father's open pickup truck along the border fence.

"There are lots of dangers here," says 11-year-old Marzanne, "but we know the Lord is with us."

What PW told Geoffrey Howe Hands off SA!

By PATRICK LAURENCE

STATE PRESIDENT P W Botha this week told British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe that neither he nor his government would tolerate foreign interference in South African affairs, even at the risk of having to stand alone in the world.

At the end of Howe's lengthy meetings with Botha and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, there was no evidence the two South African leaders were listening or that there was any change in the view expressed by PW Botha barely a week ago.

Botha cautioned then against the seemingly reasonable demands of the international community, saying the demands were not really reasonable but based on "false suppositions" and powered by "doubtful motives".

Howe flew to Zambia late yesterday in a forlorn attempt to salvage his crumbling peace mission to South Africa.

He had originally hoped Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda would persuade African National Congress leaders to talk to him, in the belief that a meeting with exiled ANC leaders would open the door to the prison cell of Nelson Mandela.

But there seemed no hope last night of that happening.

Less than 24 hours earlier, the ANC once again castigated the British government for its "stubborn refusal" to impose sanctions on South Africa and called for an "all-round intensification of the struggle until apartheid is destroyed".

It further urged the people of Britain to deliver a "fitting rebuff" to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, and, implicitly, to Howe, her man in Africa.

Howe's mission was, as he so eloquently put it, to "nudge the wheel of history towards peace and reconciliation in South Africa".

That presupposed he could talk to the main opponents in the struggle, the South African government and the ANC, and that they would listen.

He certainly spoke to the SA government, spending two hours with President PW Botha and almost as long with Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Botha is understood to have told Howe in plain but polite language that neither he nor his government would tolerate foreign interference in South African affairs, even at the risk of having to stand alone in the world.

With the ANC, however, Howe has an even greater problem. It would not even talk to him, let alone heed his advice. Nor would Mandela, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak.

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P.T.O.



Howe's mission crumbles apart

●From PAGE 1

Hopes that Zambia's Kaunda would at least persuade the ANC to talk to Howe, if not accept his counsel, faded even before he boarded the plane to Zambia.

A speech by US President Ronald Reagan on South Africa on the eve of Howe's departure from Britain aroused the wrath of most of black-ruled Africa because of its endorsement of Thatcher's stand against the imposition of sanctions on South Africa.

It was roundly condemned by African foreign ministers at an Organisation of African Unity summit in Addis Ababa and rejected by Kaunda in Zambia.

Howe was associated with Reagan's speech for two reasons.

The speech strongly supported Thatcher's view that punitive sanctions against South Africa would be "immoral and repugnant". But, more than that, Howe flew to the US last week to see both Reagan and US Secretary of State George Shultz in a bid to synchronise Anglo-US policy on South Africa.

Reagan's speech was delivered only hours before Howe arrived in Africa. Britain's Foreign Secretary thus started his peace mission in the shadow of, and amid controversy over, Reagan's speech.

Howe told correspondents accompanying him that he rated the mission's chances of success as slight, but worth pursuing. Reagan's speech may well have reduced its slim chances of success to all but zero.

Taking the responses of leading black South Africans as a yardstick, the speech dealt the mission a deadly blow.

Howe's mission was to persuade the South African government to release Mandela and to unban the ANC as a first vital step toward initiating dialogue between the government and its black foes. Its corollary was, of

course, to induce the ANC to call a halt to armed struggle.

As Howe said on his arrival: "My purpose is to see if a framework can be established (for) peaceful negotiation to produce something acceptable to all South Africans."

Howe, who came on behalf of the 12-nation European Community, carried a message from Thatcher, warning if Britain were successfully to resist pressure for sanctions from the European Community, Mandela's freedom and the legalisation of the ANC were vital.

Reagan listed the release of Mandela, together with all political prisoners, and the unbanning of black political movements as "necessary components for progress toward peace". To that limited extent, his speech may have reinforced Howe's quest.

The South African government's reaction to Reagan's speech was selectively welcome, however, and that did not — on the face of it — bode well for Howe.

Official reaction was articulated by Foreign Minister Botha, who did not — perhaps significantly — comment on the release of Mandela or the unbanning of the ANC.

He did, however, focus on, and commend, both Reagan's opposition to sanctions and his negative remarks about the ANC.

Where Reagan spoke of the need for intra-South African dialogue to construct a "political system that rests upon the consent of the governed", Pik Botha said: "It is precisely what the South African government envisages. It is a pity that President Reagan is apparently not properly informed."

Foreign Minister Botha's public reaction focused on those aspects of the speech that endorsed — or were thought to endorse — South African policy. Conversely, he ignored or explained away those facets of

Reagan's speech which contradicted or condemned government policies.

Botha said: "The South African government stands for the same ideals as the American people. It is time that the misunderstandings regarding methods of achieving those ideals should be discussed at the highest level."

PW Botha is understood to have spelled out the same message to Howe as the one contained in his June 12 speech to the nation.

In that address, Botha stressed that the South African government would take whatever course it deemed necessary to contain the violent challenge to law and order and to protect the search for a "peaceful and democratic solution" to South Africa's problems.

Botha added pointedly: "We have seen clearly what happened in Angola, as well as in Vietnam, Nicaragua, Kampuchea, Afghanistan and Iran. We will consequently not allow our heritage of more than 300 years to be placed needlessly on the altar of chaos and decay."

Black reaction to Reagan's speech was strongly hostile and calculated to complicate Howe's already difficult task of even meeting credible black leaders, let alone persuading them that policies espoused by Thatcher — and Reagan — could lead to freedom.

The UDF lambasted Reagan's speech as a bid to buy time for the SA government and a "desperate attempt" to stave off sanctions.

It dismissed his criticisms of apartheid as a pretence and questioned the sincerity of his hopes for peace.

After talks with black and white businessmen yesterday Howe said: "All I can say, to every side, is that talking can solve many problems, and violence few."

The problem, however, was that the main adversaries did not seem to want to talk to one another. Neither did they accept Howe's credentials,

Botha: Cape route is vital

CAPE AGULHAS — Western political leaders often did not mention the importance of the Cape sea-route although the importance of this route was fully realised by the military leaders of the West and communist countries, the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said at the weekend.

Mr Botha, who unveiled a monument here on Saturday, accused the major powers of gambling with South Africa's stability and peace to try and see who could control the valuable sea-route.

He said South Africa was prepared to fight off efforts by the communi-

sts to bring about a Marxist government by force in South Africa and also the efforts of the West to force their will on South Africa.

He said the oil crisis of the early '70s and the shutting of the Suez Canal had shown up the importance of this strategic route.

Various arguments were used to disprove the significance of the sea route, one of which was that the next great war would be nuclear and there would not be a conventional war at sea.

"One wonders" why the superpowers were "frantically" building up their navies, Mr Botha said. — Sapa-DDC

304K 25/7/86

Hulley: peace plan for Western support

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — If the government adopts the West's peace formula for South Africa, the West countries would be locked into a supportive role in ending the present unrest and violence, Progressive Federal Party Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley said in Mandini.

Mr Hulley said President Reagan's latest policy statement on South Africa, showed there was consensus in the West on the need for the government to accept five principles, to avoid economic sanctions and achieve peaceful reconciliation.

Mr Hulley said the five principles were, a commitment to eliminate apartheid, restoring political freedom by unbanning banned organisations, releasing jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, lifting the state of emergency and starting dialogue with representative leaders on a new constitution.

"South Africans need to understand that failure to undertake these



Mr Roger Hulley ... "Western countries would be locked into a supportive role in ending the present unrest and violence" if the government adopts the West's peace formula for South Africa.

steps, will lead to escalating sanctions against us, with increasingly dire consequences for our economy.

"If the government rejects the peace formula, we will be choosing the road of rapidly increasing international isolation and civil war, similar to the Rhodesian scenario.

"If the government gives the peace formula a chance, we could open the road to an exciting, challenging, non-racial, democratic South

Africa, by means of peaceful constitutional processes."

By early negotiation from strength, whites could ensure a constitution which could protect minorities and preserve a healthy, free enterprise, economic system, he said.

"We appeal to the government and the electorate not to be bamboozled into a short-sighted emotional laager or hostility towards the outside world," Mr Hulley said.

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DAILY DISPATCH, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1986-09

Govt won't cede power: Slabbert

CAPE TOWN — The government is ready to negotiate the dismantling of apartheid but not the loss of power, according to Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the opposition in Parliament.

He told the annual dinner of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Cape Town this week that the government and

the African National Congress (ANC) differed on the timing of negotiations.

The government was saying: negotiate now about dismantling apartheid; while the ANC was saying: dismantle apartheid and then we'll negotiate about power.

Increasingly, he said, the concepts of stability and power would become juxta-

posed in our society.

Those responsible for stability would be seen as the enemies of freedom and those striving for freedom would be seen as the enemies of stability.

Those people not responsible for either would "thrash about in helpless confusion", Dr Slabbert said. — Sapa

centre, were in South Africa this week. With them is Pi

Flattened: The shacks on white doorsteps

WHILE Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the far-rightwing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, was cheered by a capacity crowd in the Uitenhage town hall last week, bulldozers were demolishing the shanty town of Kabah which borders on the white suburb of Levyvale.

By this week an estimated 400 shacks had been demolished by the Kwanobuhle Town Council or dismantled by residents.

The demolition is a victory for conservative Levyvale and Vanes Estate whites who, fearing a backlash after police shot dead 20 funeral-goers in the Langa-Kabah area in March last year, petitioned Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to move the people of Kabah to the township of Kwanobuhle, several kilometres away.

The forced removal flies in the face of the Kwanobuhle Town Council's undertaking not to demolish the shacks pending the outcome of an urgent application brought by 426 Kabah families contesting removal. Judgment is expected only next Tuesday.

It is all the more unexpected because shortly before the State of Emergency was declared on June 12, business leaders met the committee co-ordinating resistance to Kabah's removal and assured them the government had agreed not to go ahead with the removal, first threatened several decades ago.

According to Barry Erasmus, a former town clerk of Uitenhage's white municipality who was appointed administrator of Kwanobuhle following the resignation and murder

By JO ANN BEKKER and
DUNCAN McROBBIE in
Uitenhage

of the black councillors, the residents are being moved voluntarily. "My men have strict instructions not to destroy occupied shacks," he said.

Residents, however, say their shacks are being demolished if they refuse to dismantle them themselves. "If all the people were moving voluntarily there would be no need for the bulldozers," one resident remarked.

Families are being housed in tents in Kwanobuhle, but officials have told residents the tents will be withdrawn after the weekend, leaving people little option but to erect make-shift shelters.

Much of Kabah's razing occurs at night, under powerful spotlights, according to residents. Many are staying away from work to guard their homes, some sleep outside so they can see officials approaching.

Just over the hill, whites in the Vanes Estate-Levyvale area are also on the alert. They have formed armed street guards because, residents complain, burglaries have increased dramatically, making houses on the street facing Kabah uninsurable.

A Uitenhage civic leader who asked not to be named said the Ratepayers' Association had formed the guards, but P W Kapp, who represents the affected wards, refused to comment.

Terre'blanche was not shy to give the armed commandos his blessing, albeit obliquely. He congratulated the people of Uitenhage for organising themselves into groups to help each other in times of trouble.

The AWPB's still alive and shouting

By JO-ANN BEKKER

SPECULATION that Eugene Terre'Blanche's swelling following had been stemmed by the government's sweeping Emergency regulations seemed unfounded in Welkom this week, when nearly 2 000 people turned out to hear the fiery orator.

There were reports that Transvaal supporters of Terre'Blanche's far-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) had been bussed to the Free State town for the occasion, but many locals also roared approval for the man introduced as first successor to former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid.

After his hour and a half address,

while scores trooped onto the stage to greet him, Terre'Blanche dismissed reports that his support had waned since the government's heavy clampdown on black and white left-wing activists.

"We are the new factor in South African politics," he said. "We will go from strength to strength and we will surely govern this country."

Local AWPB supporters said while Terre'Blanche had drawn large crowds on previous visits to the town, Tuesday night's turnout was the largest ever.

The meeting took place amidst some of the trappings which became trademarks of the movement's revival earlier this year: an AWPB swastika-like flag was draped over the rostrum, and the flags of the old Boer Republics flanked a banner thanking the police for law and order. An addition was a young woman in a cut-away white outfit — not the khaki of the storm falcons — who rested an AWPB flag on her thigh.

Terre'Blanche expounded on the

thesis drawn up 13 years ago when he and six friends met in a Heidelberg garage and formed the AWPB: Afrikaners have a right to their fatherland not because they are white, he said, but because they are a nation; their ancestors died fighting for their land which God entrusted to them.

President P W Botha's talk of power sharing was dismissed derisively — "to share political power you have to give it away... The black man can't share, he wants everything".

Indians, until recently barred from

the Free State, bore the brunt of Terre'Blanche's racist attacks. His digs at "coolies" and samoosas brought gales of laughter from the white audience.

The immaculately-dressed former bodyguard of John Vorster said real political power had moved out of the parliamentary arena.

"You can vote until you're blue in the face, but you can only change the faces in one house; you will have to keep paying taxes for the other houses, and salaries of R84 000."

According to Terre'Blanche, the only choice is between the African National Congress and the AWPB

Newspaper report draws denials all round as...

US accused of mutual spy deal with UK, SA

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The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — America has flatly denied a report in the *New York Times* that, working closely with British intelligence, she provided South Africa with information about the African National Congress.

The British Foreign Office said only that it never commented on intelligence matters.

The report, by Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative journalist Seymour Hersh, quoted unnamed present and former officials as saying the information included political intelligence and warnings of ANC attacks.

In return, South Africa provided information on Soviet and Cuban activities in Southern Africa.

The report was promptly denied by top officials in the Reagan administration.

Secretary of State Mr George Shultz, testifying on South Africa at a Senate committee hearing, said he had spoken that day to the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, Mr William Casey.

"He told me categorically it was not true and that it was not

true in the course of his administration there," Mr Shultz said.

"I said I would like to state publicly that it was not true. He said 'help yourself'."

Equally adamant was White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes, who said the *Times* published the story despite official denials.

Mr Speakes could not answer for the Carter administration but said there had been no such flow of intelligence during Mr Reagan's administration.

However, CBS News reported on Wednesday night that it had been told the US National Security Agency had for years spied on the ANC and passed information to British intelligence.

EMBARRASSING

"The British in turn are said to have given the information to the South African secret police,"

CBS said in a TV news programme. The station did not name its source, but said it was "knowledgable".

The report is clearly embarrassing to the Reagan administration which for five years has had secret contacts, authorised at Cabinet level, with the ANC, but is now ready for open meet-

ings.

The intention is to bring the ANC and other black groups into negotiation with South Africa.

There is some speculation in Washington that officials responsible for providing information about the alleged intelligence contacts may have wanted the ANC to be suspicious about American intentions — perhaps to scuttle any chance of warmer relations.

Kentucky Republican Senator Mitch McConnell has called for a hearing by the Select Committee on intelligence to probe the *New York Times* report.

He requesting it include senior representatives of the CIA, the NSA and the Defence Intelligence Agency and said the report was troublesome in view of pending legislation on South Africa.

"Although I am reluctant to discuss sensitive liaisons in the heat of public alarm arising from Press allegations, I believe it is our clear responsibility to clarify and resolve this issue at once," he said.

The *New York Times* quoted sources who said the US and South Africa had exchanged sensitive intelligence under an arrangement dating from the '60s. The data had initially concerned Soviet shipping and submarine movements in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean.

The report said South African intelligence installations were vastly expanded in the mid-'70s as the Soviets and Cuba became directly involved, along with the CIA, in Angola.

It quoted former NSA officials as saying vast quantities of electronic equipment were secretly sent from Britain and West Germany to help South

Africa build more listening sites.

Mr Richard Moose, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa in the Carter administration, ordered an end to all intelligence communications between South Africa and America, the *Times* said, but the US Navy went "bonkers" and it was not stopped.

The report quoted a former NSA official, discussing Britain's role in the sharing of information, as describing a high-level meeting at Government Communications headquarters in Cheltenham, 140 km north-west of London, in the mid-'80s.

IN RETURN

The meeting reviewed previous intelligence programmes and future targets.

When talk turned to Africa, three South African military intelligence officers entered and were asked to continue monitoring Soviet and Cuban activity in Angola and Mozambique and to provide weekly reports on Soviet shipping and submarine movements around the Cape.

In return, they wanted intercepted information about Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana and everything available about the ANC, including the movements of Mr Oliver Tambo.

A specific request was for the US to monitor Mr Tambo's international travel and to report on his flights aboard Soviet and Cuban aircraft.

The SA officers put a special emphasis on the ANC's communications, the former official told the *New York Times*.

He said the South Africans listed the ANC's radio frequencies — and the pattern of when they talked.

Pessimism on Howe's mission

HAMISH McINDOE

VETERAN Progressive Federal Party MP Helen Suzman says she is pessimistic about a successful outcome to Sir Geoffrey Howe's mission to SA.



● SUZMAN

Suzman and PFP leader Colin Eglin were among several politicians and businessmen who met the British Foreign Secretary in mostly confidential talks at the residence of the British Consul General in Johannesburg.

Suzman said she doubted Pretoria would be willing to accept concessions before the expiry at the end of September of Howe's three-month mandate from the European Community.

Howe later attended a working lunch with leading bankers and businessmen before flying to Lusaka to meet Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

□ National African Federated Chamber of Commerce president Sam Motseunyane told Howe that sanctions were seen by many blacks as the last peaceful option to apply to dismantle apartheid and that government would not change without pressure.

PFP calls for rethink on kwaNdebele independence

Pretoria Correspondent

An urgent call has been made to the South African Government to reconsider kwaNdebele's independence.

The call, made by the Progressive Federal Party's Northern Transvaal region, follows the discovery of five more burnt bodies in the trouble-torn homeland yesterday.

According to figures supplied by the Bureau of Information, 25 people have died violently in the

soon to be independent homeland since the beginning of last month.

The PFP said the crisis in kwaNdebele was reaching alarming proportions, with the death toll increasing daily and people fleeing their homes.

"The PFP believes the crisis is directly related to the Government's apparent unwillingness to acknowledge any opposition to independence."

The PFP urged the Government to appoint a judicial com-

mission of inquiry "in order to restore calm and peace".

"The commission, which must have a wide brief, must investigate the worsening crisis in the area and advise the Government on all aspects of kwaNdebele's independence," the party said.

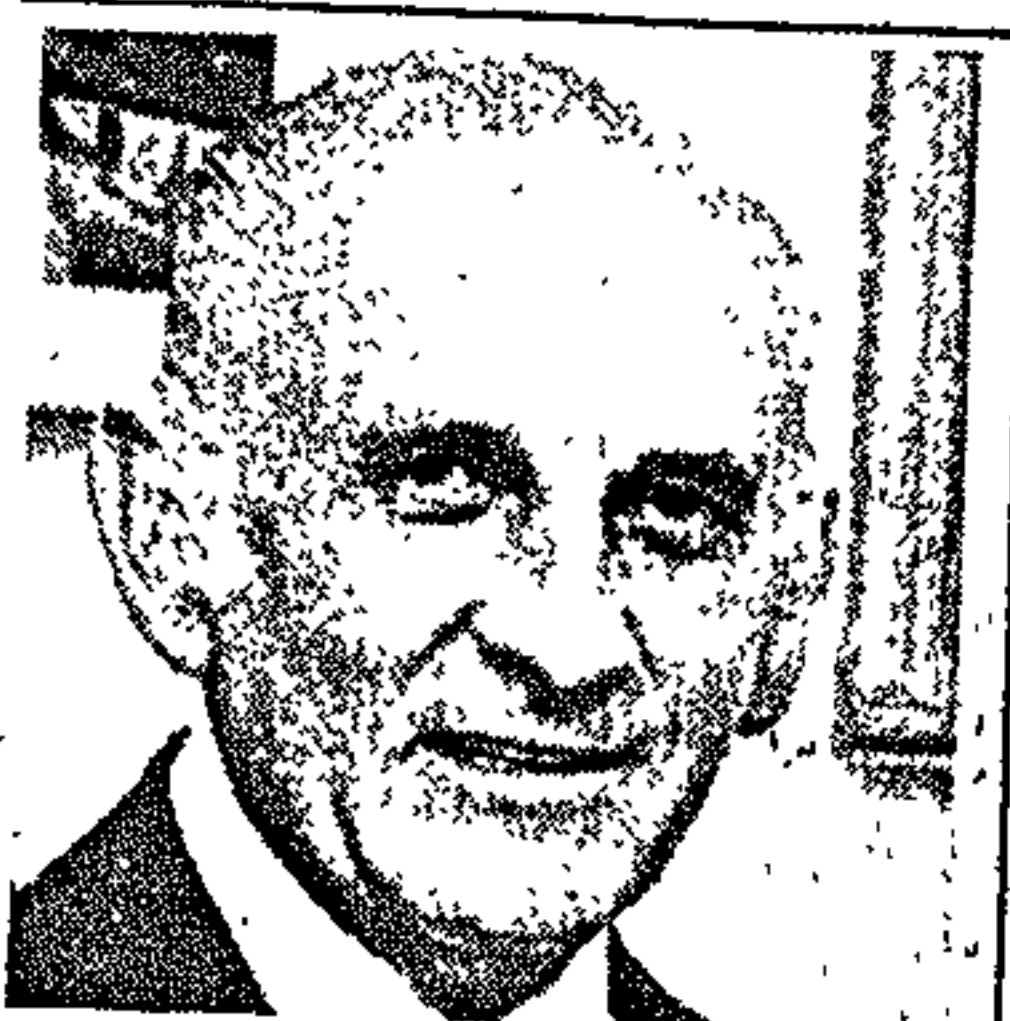
The PFP said it intended taking the matter up with the Government when Parliament resumes next month.

Trouble in kwaNdebele started three months ago after it was announced that the Legislative Assembly had opted for independence, which is due to be celebrated on December 11.

Residents have called for abolition of the Imbhokoto vigilante group which has been accused of causing many atrocities.

In the past month 25 people including a 66-year-old woman, a youngster aged about 10, and nine men from Mamelodi were burnt to death in kwaNdebele.

Businessmen fight against sanctions



Mr Abe Bloomberg

End of an era for racing

By Jan Botha
Racing Editor

AN ERA in Cape racing came to an end at Milnerton yesterday when Mr Abe Bloomberg, who was elected chairman of the old Milnerton Turf Club in 1957 before it merged with the Durbanville Turf Club to become the Cape Turf Club, retired after 29 years in the chair.

Mr Bloomberg told the annual meeting of the Cape Turf Club held at the Milnerton racecourse yesterday afternoon that he would not be available for re-election as chairman.

At the request of the committee Mr Bloomberg agreed to stay on as a member of the committee.

Mr Gideon Basson, who was vice-chairman, was elected chairman. The new vice-chairman is Mr Rex Kirton.

The rest of the committee remains unchanged.

A new race on the Cape calendar in honour of Mr Bloomberg will be run today at Milnerton. It is the President's Cup, which is sponsored by the Western Province Owners and Trainers' Association, which has elected Mr Bloomberg as honorary president.

By IRVING STEYN
Weekend Argus
News Editor

SOUTH AFRICAN businessmen may appoint their own official sanctions-buster — a "business ambassador" who will help them to put their case to the Western world.

This is part of their counter-offensive against sanctions and disinvestment.

The move follows months of lobbying in the capitals of Europe and in the United States against daunting odds and superior organisation on the part of those campaigning for concerted action against South Africa.

Since they decided to join the fray many of South Africa's most powerful men have been on frequent visits overseas.

Few people know what intense activity has been going on behind the scenes in the US and in Europe as South African big business attempts to stem the tide of sanctions and disinvestment.

One of the leaders in the battle is retail magnate Raymond Ackerman, who has just returned from a tour to Britain, Europe and the US.

Mr Ackerman addressed 11 groups and appeared four times on television during his two-week tour.

He said that leaders such as Tony Bloom of Premier Holdings and Mike Rosholt of Barlow-Rand had made similar tours.

He is convinced that the rejection of sanctions by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and President Ronald Reagan can in no small way be attributed to the efforts of South African businessmen.

"Many of us have met President Reagan's top people. I have met his top advisers on South Africa in Washington. A lot of South African businessmen have been meeting top American business leaders."

Mr Ackerman had talks with people like Mr Roger Smith, head of General Motors; Mr Mike Blumenthal, head of Bur-

roughs; and others who have direct access to Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary of State.

"I believe we have had an effect on President Reagan's attitude and on Mrs Thatcher's attitude because we've made strong representations to Conservative Cabinet Ministers and a lot has happened which the world doesn't know about," Mr Ackerman said.

The necessity had developed for South African businessmen to independently supervise their own communications in the US and Britain on a more co-ordinated basis.

"What we are thinking of doing is getting someone — not a public relations man but a communications person — to co-ordinate trips for groups of businessmen to give speeches to the right people in a planned way and to get on to TV programmes," Mr Ackerman added.

"Plans are advanced, although nothing has been finalised. We have already met various American experts and discussed this with various South African companies. It looks as if something interesting could come out of it in four to six weeks."

Influence

But, Mr Ackerman said, business would have to continue to focus attention too on the problems inside South Africa. "Very crisply, our task in the next year or two is to continue with what we are doing to influence the Government, black leaders and world business to prevent mandatory sanctions."

"Since the beginning of the year business leaders have been meeting in South Africa with black leaders in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Port Elizabeth.

"Groups of businessmen have been trying to get to know really what is going on in the hearts and minds of these leaders and I think we understand each other better than we did before."

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Racism: Employers 'have power

3048 26/7/82
Labour Reporter

SOUTH African employers are in a better position than politicians to eliminate racial discrimination because they "don't need anybody's permission" to bring about change, the former director of the National Institute for Personnel Research, Dr Dawie Gouws, said yesterday.

At the launch of a new industrial relations consultancy, of which he is a senior partner, Dr Gouws said the workplace provided "a better opportunity for the elimination of discrimination, significant participation in decision-making and the building of a just society" than similar efforts by politicians.

"You have the authority and the power to bring about change. You don't need anybody's permission," he told the gathering of top local business people.

"You must get away from believing that the political situation and the housing crisis must be solved before you can take things further."

'Adversary'

Dr Gouws said most black workers had developed an "adversary" relationship with management and the capitalist system because they felt excluded from the running of the companies for which they worked.

There were too few blacks in middle and senior management, and employers did not make enough effort to counter the "relative impotency" blacks suffered as a result of the political and economic system, he said.

If management failed to give blacks access to power within their business organizations "there are others waiting to give them a different experience of power — sometimes of a destructive kind", Dr Gouws said.

Ray Gudmanz with the 24,5 kg black steenbras he hooked on 10 kg breaking strain line. Gudmanz and his border team-mates were fishing in the Bols Inter-provincial Championships at Kei Mouth yesterday.

share your wisdom with those whom you have placed in a position of authority."

The president's office presented him with a book, *Move Your Shadow*, and Mr W. M. Tena of Via Africa Publishers presented him with a book entitled, *The African*.

Dispatch Correspondent
GRAHAMSTOWN — It had not been the intention of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine to establish an institute for a democratic alternative in South Africa (Idasa) when they walked out of Parliament earlier this year.

This is according to Dr Boraine, former Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands and chairman of its federal executive committee, who spoke at an informal gathering here.

Dr Boraine said he and Dr Slabbert, who is now a professor in the sociology department at the University of Cape Town, had travelled extensively around the country following their controversial decision to quit Parliament.

They had both come to a decision that such an institute was necessary to act as an information gathering body and as mediating force in South Africa. "All over Southern Africa we found communities in crisis," he said.

Boraine tells why he quit Parliament

"We began to see the need for new thinking and new initiatives."

Many people he said would not have agreed with their personal strategy of withdrawal from Parliament. "It was not just that we were tired and weary of banging our heads against a wall.

"The institution of Parliament itself has become a discredited body, particularly since the new constitution and it seemed to us over a period of many months that we had to put a distance between ourselves and this institution if we were to serve our country later."

The reactions had been of anger and confusion, particularly in the

white community but in the black community they had received "much feeling of warmth."

He and Dr Slabbert hoped to set up regional offices in all major towns in the country — in East London, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth. They also hoped to establish an office in "black" Africa and in Europe.

Dr Boraine said South Africa was faced on the one hand by a government whose "programme of co-option" would not succeed. But on the other hand there were too many obstacles in the way of a black "revolution."

It was one of their major aims in establishing the institute — which

will most likely be launched by next year — to continue to keep alive the "politics of negotiation."

Dr Boraine said it was quite clear that the policies of apartheid would fail, including such institutions as the racially based, proposed national council.

Thus it was also of foremost importance for the institute to be looking at alternative democratic structures for a new South Africa to be implemented after the inevitable breakdown of apartheid.

There was also an "enormous amount of work to be done on economic alternatives for the country, and finding whether there is a consensus on economic policy."

Research on the educational field was also needed.

The institute would also be involved in conflict resolution in communities suffering from consumer boycotts and other conflicts.

AWB cars escape tickets

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THREE Welkom traffic policemen face a tongue-lashing after allegations that they failed to ticket cars belonging to Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging members who parked illegally outside the Civic Centre during a meeting.

The three, who stood near the cars during the meeting, said they had not had the authority to write out tickets. One reportedly said that his hand was "too sore".

But Welkom residents whose cars were ticketed during a fashion parade at the Civic Centre last year are furious,

and have complained to the Traffic Department, making allegations of political favouritism.

"Of course it's not," said Assistant Traffic Chief Jan Hesselman. "We treat everyone the same."

"What happened is nothing like the picture that has been painted."

"The three traffic policemen were all juniors, not fully trained, and they didn't realise they were supposed to act. Because they hadn't received specific instructions to issue tickets they didn't."

"Of course the people attending the AWB meeting who had

parked on the pavement and the centre island should have been ticketed — just like the people at the fashion parade were last year.

"When cars leak oil on the paved area you can't get it off. The City Council spends a lot of money seeing that the centre islands are planted with grass, and when cars park there they ruin the grass."

"But we can't ticket those people now because we don't have their particulars."

"It's really a case of ignorance on the part of the traffic officers, not a sinister political issue. And these three young men will all be getting a severe talking-to."

CHIEF 11/11/86 26/11/86

Poll shows SA whites' attitudes

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—

About 75 percent of urban whites support the government's refusal to negotiate with the ANC as long as the organization refuses to denounce violence.

This is the result of a Markinor Gallup Poll opinion poll carried out recently among 1 000 urban whites.

Markinor managing director Mr Nick Green believes the difference could actually indicate a significant hardening of attitudes among whites.

Afrikaners seemed more vehemently opposed (83 percent) to unconditional talks than their English-speaking counterparts (72 percent).

Bloemfontein (80 percent) and the PWV area (78 percent) are the most adamant in their rejection of a violent ANC, followed by Durban (73 percent), Cape Town (71 percent) and Port Elizabeth/East London (63 percent).

CAPL Times 26/7/86 (30/7/86)

Portrait of an heir-apparent

Financial Staff
INTRIGUING insights into the makings of a top "Anglo-man" emerge from an interview with the heir-apparent to the Anglo American Corporation chairmanship, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, in the latest edition of the SA business magazine, *Leadership*.

Publisher and editor of the magazine, Hugh Murray, writes that Anglo American's upper echelons tend to be comprised of men who are not purely industrialists or businessmen.

"They tend to be

people who are politically and classically schooled. There is a very discernible culture which appears to be quite different from anywhere else."

Ogilvie Thompson agrees there is "one unifying, important factor — a sort of ethos."

He believes this ethos was best summed up by Sir Ernest Oppenheimer who said: "The purpose of this corporation is to make profits for shareholders but to do so in such a way as to make a lasting contribution to the countries in which it

operates."

Ogilvie Thompson says he thinks the Anglo American executives believe they can help to create a better situation in the sub-continent.

"It has been easier for this group to see things in a more international way. A large proportion of the people who come to the centre have had spells in non-SA offices, looking in at SA from the outside, and to my mind this is a great advantage."

Murray notes that Anglo American appears

destined to gain an increasingly higher political profile and asks if this is desirable.

He is told "it has to be like that".

Ogilvie Thompson says no business can ignore general developments in a country, including political developments.

"But business in SA may have had less influence on government or on politics because of the political system and the special composition of the electorate."

Responding to a question on the ANC, Ogilvie

Thompson says: "What one has got to do is to get the ANC to realize that this commitment to nationalization, which is fundamental to the Freedom Charter, may have been the conventional wisdom in the mid-50s when that was what the world was doing. But in the 80s everybody is going in the opposite direction."

Turning to the business front he says it is "well-nigh impossible to cement SA and international business links" in the current environment.

Phoney UDF pamphlets demand tax

By. FRANZ KRUGER,

East London

A SERIES of mysterious pamphlets has appeared in the Eastern Cape since the start of the State of Emergency, including some calling for the formation of vigilante groups along the lines of the Cape Town "witdoeke".

Others appear under the logo of the United Democratic Front organisation, but are clearly designed to cause it embarrassment. One, ostensibly signed by H M Fazzie, senior UDF leader in the Eastern Cape, announced a monthly tax of R50 for each household and R10 for each child.

The pamphlet says: "The time is hard and to this end sacrifice is required. Financial support from our overseas friends is becoming less as the racist regime applies increasing pressure.

"Also, mismanagement of funds by our previous officials, misguided in their loyalties, cause us now to have to use drastic measures in order that the struggle may continue."

Under the slogan "Amandla: Your sacrifice is our prosperity", the pamphlet outlines how street committees will conduct surveys of households to establish how many children there are, and then how "comrades" will be instructed to make the monthly collections.

"People refusing will be dealt with in the usual way," the pamphlet warns.

A second pamphlet, ostensibly issued jointly by the UDF and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), promised payment for participation in stayaways on June 16.

Up to R50 a day would be paid between 8am and 10am on June 16. A similar pamphlet appeared just before May Day, marked around the country by a massive stayaway.

The latest pamphlet ends: "People of the struggle, why work if you can receive money and collect food from soup kitchens. Build your future on today's starvation — Utopia is waiting."

The UDF and Cosatu have denied any responsibility for this pamphlet.

The third pamphlet is addressed to "Citizens of the Eastern Cape", and is signed by a self-styled "Eastern Cape Action Group".

Raising the threat of a Communist takeover, the pamphlet says the UDF should be rejected, as "they work for their own benefit, believing that their Russian masters will make them ministers in a black Cabinet".

It ends with a call to arms: "My people, I tell you to stand up now, like in Cape Town, and destroy the UDF and comrades. Unite to a nation — not a front."

SOUTH AFRICA is an outcast state with a difference: the world simply refuses to leave it alone. The country is thus subjected to a rather unique combination of isolation and interference from outside.

There is no doubt that South Africa is today one of the most ostracised states in the world. We see this in, among other things, its relatively small diplomatic network, foreign (political) restrictions on trade with South Africa, the UN's mandatory arms embargo and numerous forms of socio-cultural isolation (sport, art, entertainment, and so on).

None of today's other major "pariah" states — Taiwan, Israel and Chile — faces the same overall degree of isolation. Moreover, not one of them is at the receiving end of such persistent foreign interference as South Africa.

We are clearly paying a heavy international price for apartheid.

Enforced international quarantine is one way in which foreign countries hope to cure South Africa of its racial affliction.

The proponents of isolation apparently believe that the cost of ostracism to South Africa — particularly in economic terms — will force the Government to heed international demands.

There are also those countries which would be able to wash their hands of apartheid by severing ties with the Republic; they would no longer run the risk of guilt by association.

Other states, however, doubt whether a more ostracised South Africa would rehabilitate itself in relative peace.

They fear that greater isolation will drive white South Africans deeper into the laager, it could rally whites under the banner of resistance (and its handmaiden, repression) rather than reform. (It was, after all, Dr Verwoerd who proclaimed "In isolation in the field of racial policy lies our strength.")

As such, isolation would be a conflict-inducing mechanism, rather than a means of conflict resolution.

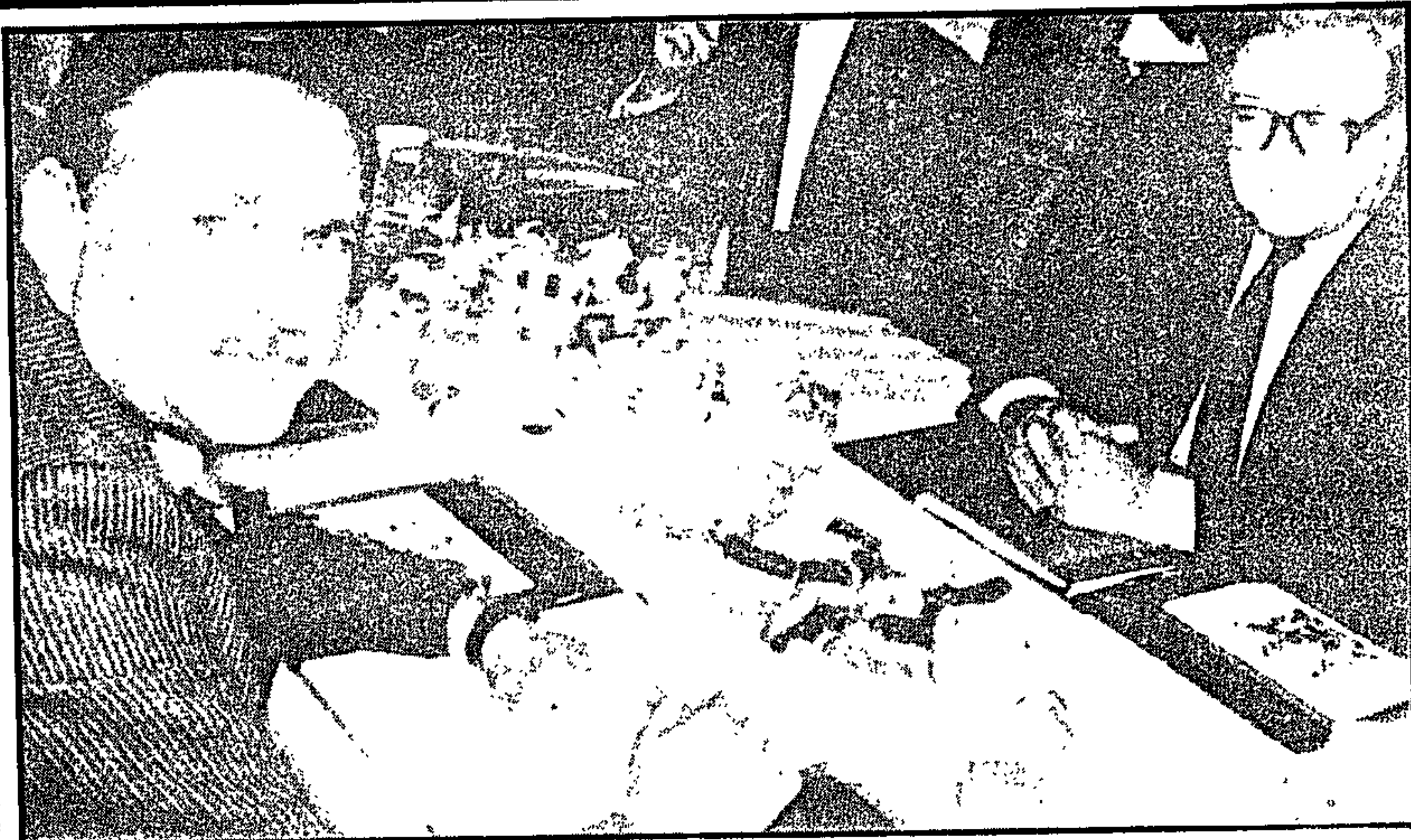
These states are also concerned that by cutting ties with South Africa they lose valuable levers of influence. Thus the major Western powers' two-pronged attack on apartheid: isolation and peaceful intervention.

The Soviet Union and its allies pursue a different brand of isolation and intervention. They actively promote South Africa's complete international isolation, while simultaneously intervening by violent means through their material support for the ANC's armed struggle.

For Western states, it is a delicate act to find the "correct" mix of isolation and intervention. They are not only, or even primarily, influenced by the impact of their actions on South Africa; they have their own domestic and international interests to consider.

And these may well conflict with Pretoria's per-

SOUTH AFRICA



ON THE MENU

By DEON GELDENHUYS

Professor of Political Science at Rand Afrikaans University and author of the highly acclaimed "Diplomacy of Isolation"



ception of South Africa's interests.

The worldwide clamour for visible and swift measures against South Africa can no longer be resisted by any Western government. Thus the present upsurge in peaceful intervention on the part of those states that still seek an alternative to the further isolation of South Africa.

As long as Western leaders regard such involvement as cost-effective, "peace missions" are likely to be despatched to our shores.

And so we have to judge the Commonwealth's EPG mission, Sir Geoffrey Howe's present visit and a possible US initiative. The foreign emissaries owe their briefs in the first instance to their own domestic and external political considerations, and not to local wishes.

On this point, the Botha Government and its black opponents seem to agree. It is, after all, not the Government that invited the peacemakers from afar; Pretoria probably felt no need for their involvement and would have preferred to do without them altogether. It must indeed be difficult for any sovereign state to accept such unsolicited intervention from outside.

South Africans should nonetheless have no doubt

that the British and US governments are staking a great deal on their current diplomatic endeavours. If these fail to produce the desired results, they are bound to lean increasingly towards greater isolation of South Africa.

The South African Government is in a sense trapped between a rock and a hard place.

On the one hand, it must, understandably, be concerned that releasing Nelson Mandela and unbanning the ANC now would be seen far and wide as a major concession to foreign pressure.

And one success for the intervening powers may well whet their appetite for more.

It is the crocodile syndrome the more you feed the beast, the hungrier it becomes. Furthermore, the Government would risk losing the initiative on the vital issue of shaping South Africa's political future to a foreign party.

The hard place, on the other hand, is South Africa's further isolation. Despite the bout of official bravado about beating sanctions, it may not be so easy to overcome them. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions, once imposed, could prove extremely dif-

ficult to lift, not least because their objectives may become more and more ambitious.

To put it in familiar terms, those applying sanctions will keep moving the goalposts for South Africa. Thus the initial objective of new sanctions might be to get the South African Government to "negotiate with authentic black leaders". But this could soon be overtaken by more radical demands, until the ruling elite transfers power to the ANC.

What is more, escalating sanctions will be accompanied by greater international support for the ANC's armed struggle, isolation and violence will go hand in hand.

Since South Africa is already experiencing isolation over a wide front, it no longer has a straight choice between accepting intervention or facing isolation.

But Pretoria could try to avoid further damaging isolation by co-operating with present Western diplomatic initiatives. To do so would, however, amount to an admission by the Government of its own inability to resolve the country's domestic problems — something that would not be easy for any government anywhere.

Perhaps the Botha Government is indeed incapable, if not unwilling, to

cross the real Rubicon to sharing power with the blacks and losing political control.

If so, involvement by Western powers in South Africa may have to go beyond merely bringing the contending parties together, extending to assistance in reaching a constitutional settlement.

The participants might then consider extending the role of foreign parties even further: Western powers and perhaps also some frontline states could become the formal guarantors of South Africa's Historical Compromise.

The Western nations could underwrite the agreement not only in a diplomatic sense, but also economically and even militarily.

Today's meddlesome foreigners would then become tomorrow's constitutional midwives and guardians of a new South Africa.

There is no certainty that Western powers intend or wish to expand their involvement in the South African conflict to a fully fledged exercise in political restructuring.

This would be a far more demanding and risky endeavour than walking away from South Africa by isolating it.

If Western nations are in fact as concerned about South Africa's future as they publicly profess, they would presumably be willing to put their money where their mouths are by going the whole hog with

their intervention, should the need arise.

Or are they, in the final analysis, more interested in getting South Africa struck off the international political agenda — thus freeing themselves of a politically highly embarrassing association — than in the nature of a post-apartheid society?

It would also be asking a great deal of the South African Government — and, indeed, of all South Africans — to place its trust in foreign princes on such a crucial matter as resolving a domestic contest for political power.

It is above all up to the Government to show the world if there is a more viable home-grown alternative to peaceful foreign intervention — and to isolation, too.

Broeder chief learns Howe's true intentions

PRETORIA.—The leader of the Afrikaner Broederbond, Prof J P de Lange, said yesterday after an hour-long meeting with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, that he had learned more about the 'true intentions of his visit'.

Asked by reporters outside the British Embassy whether the meeting had been constructive, he replied: 'Yes, certainly, I learned something, but I don't know whether he did.'

'I learned more about the true intentions of his visit.'

Prof de Lange refused to elaborate on this remark but described the discussion as 'open... there was no confrontation or anything like that'.

Besides being head of the Broederbond, Prof de Lange is rector of Rand Afrikaans University and led the landmark commission of inquiry into South Africa's education sys-

tem in 1982.

He described his meeting with Sir Geoffrey 'in my capacity as a person knowledgeable about education and the Afrikaner' as a 'worthwhile' general discussion on the situation in South Africa and the issues at stake.

Sir Geoffrey ended the fifth day of his mission with an informal, one-on-one meeting last night with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

The British minister is trying to convince the South African Government to make a number of concessions to avert stricter Western sanctions.

Earlier yesterday, Sir Geoffrey held discussions with the Black Sash and the Progressive Federal Party's unrest monitoring group.

Representatives of both organisations said afterwards the meeting had been worthwhile, but indicated they were not 'more hopeful' of a resolution to the conflict in South

Africa as a result.

Sir Geoffrey also met with Mr Raymond Parsons and Mr Rocky Ridgeway, chief executive and president respectively of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom). Mr Parsons said afterwards: 'We looked at all sorts of options to speed up the process of change.'

The view that a formula had to be found whereby all black leaders would eventually be able to participate in negotiations about the future was also emphasised.

Meanwhile, Lady Elspeth, wife of the British Foreign Secretary, visited a tuberculosis clinic in Soweto yesterday and expressed shock that a disease eliminated among whites decades ago was still rampant among blacks.

Surrounded by Pressmen, Lady Elspeth walked through the dining wards of the Charles Hurwitz Santa Centre and chatted to patients. — (Sapa-Reuter)

GM chief warns SA to 'get moving'

ENK post
3044
12/17/81

DETROIT — The chairman of General Motors, Mr Roger Smith, a leading defender of continued US business presence in South Africa, said last night he was "discouraged" by the situation in the Republic.

He called on Pretoria to take more aggressive action to end apartheid.

But Mr Smith, who co-chairs a lobby of about 100 US firms with SA links, signalled no basic change in the giant car-maker's opposition to economic sanctions or disinvestment moves.

Mr Smith, chief executive of the world's largest corporation, said that Pretoria needed a strong outside intermediary to get negotiations started between the Government and the black population on power-sharing.

"A lot of us who are working at it in various ways are kind of discouraged right now," Mr Smith said. "I'd like to see some more aggressive work toward getting rid of apartheid."

● A pessimistic note on the SA situation is struck

in the latest issue of Time magazine.

In a cover story on the crisis in SA Time says that the most likely outlook for the country is what former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, calls "violent evolution".

The report contains a personal assessment of "South African realities" by the magazine's Johannesburg Bureau Chief, Mr Bruce Nelan, who writes: "The journey from the present to the inevitable is likely to be long... and bloody."

Mr Nelan concludes: "The inherent tragedy is that the anguish and the bloodshed are unnecessary. South Africa has so much natural wealth, such hardworking and highly skilled people and, surprisingly, so much personal goodwill between blacks and whites, that a mutually agreeable solution should be possible without such suffering."

"But by the time violent evolution has come to the end of its cycle, all of those resources could be depleted." —Sapa-Reuter.



King hits at Catholics and Anglicans

KING Zwelithini.

KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus on Saturday accused the Anglican and Catholic hierarchies in South Africa of supporting violence to bring about change.

He said that, although the Zulu nation and its kings had fought in the forefront of the liberation struggle for over 100 years, he refused to call on his people to adopt violence at this stage.

The Zulu King was addressing a gathering of black worshippers from all provinces who converged at

Matebetule in KwaZulu for the July festival of the Church of Nazareth (the so-called "Shembe Church").

He warned leaders of the independent churches to beware of "false prophets" who would soon be active among them, preaching bloodshed and sanctions.

Political organisations which supported sanctions and which had made the affiliates of the SACC and the Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference "dance to their music" would now spread their gospel among them, he said.

DD 28/7/86 (304)

Zulu king: churches preach violence

MATABETULE — King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus yesterday accused the Anglican and Catholic hierarchies in South Africa of supporting violence to bring about change.

And he said that, although the Zulu nation and its kings had fought in the forefront of the liberation struggle for over 100 years, he refused to call on his people to adopt violence at this stage.

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He warned leaders of the independent churches to beware of "false prophets" who would soon be active among them, preaching bloodshed and sanctions. Political organisations which supported sanctions and which had made the affiliates of the SACC and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference "dance to their music" would now spread their gospel among them, he said. The mainline churches had called for sanctions and economic pressures on South Africans without carrying out any survey among their followers to find out if ordinary Christians supported such

steps.

King Goodwill pointed out that he was a descendant of King Shaka and of other warrior kings who had fought to resist white domination — King Cetshawo had paid the price of losing his kingdom and his grandfather, King Dinuzulu, had been banished to St Helena in the process. He therefore did not fear asking his subjects to die for their freedom: he came from a stock of people who knew how to do this.

"I would be irresponsible, though, to call on my people to take up arms in order to be moved down by the South African Defence Force and to die futilely without us achieving our freedom," he said.

King Goodwill said that the census had shown the independent churches (of which the Church of Nazareth was among the largest) to have had six million members in 1980 and that there would be many more today.

He had faith that their leadership would not emulate leaders of mainline churches by supporting what he called the "Nongawuse gospel" and foisting it on their followers (Nongawuse was a prophetess who caused great famine in the last

century by persuading Xhosas to kill their cattle). He knew that leaders of the independent churches did not despise ordinary people in the way of those church heads who had decided life and death issues without consulting their followers.

The Zulu King said he did not believe that the stage had been reached when he could call on his people to take up arms. He could not say that this day would never come, but it was not yet the time.

When President Botha had unveiled the SAAF's new Cheetah fighter aircraft last week he had well appreciated what his uncle, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, meant when he emphasised that "the present white minority in South Africa" was armed to the teeth.

"As a descendant of warrior kings, I consider it childish to indulge in sabre-rattling games with someone who is far better armed than you are." Black churches had to brace themselves to offer greater resistance to campaigns — in which the SACC and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference were in the forefront — which were bound to worsen deprivation and further compound the problems of black poverty. — DDC

Howe and Pik get together after hours

Political Reporter

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe had unscheduled talks with Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha in Pretoria last night as his delegation expressed concern over South Africa's unwillingness to negotiate with black leaders.

Sir Geoffrey, president of the European Community, declined to speak to the Press afterwards.

A senior official travelling with Sir Geoffrey said it was becoming clear that the stalemate in South Africa could only be ended by the Government but there had been little indication, when Sir Geoffrey met the State President last week, that such steps were contemplated.

Sir Geoffrey, the State President and Cabinet Ministers meet again tomorrow.

Today he sees Chief Minister of kwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kangwane Chief Enos Mabuza and Afrikaans businessmen.

He spent most of yesterday talking to interest groups, including the head of the Broederbond and rector of the Rand Afrikaans University, Professor J P de Lange.

Professor de Lange said there had been "no confrontation".

Sir Geoffrey also met representatives of the Associated Chamber of Commerce, the Federated Chamber of Industries, the PFP, the Black Sash and leading lawyers.

Assocom's chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons said he had stressed the business community's opposition to sanctions and its view on negotiations. — Sapa-Reuter.

Candidate's death has the Klip River Nats in quandary

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The shock death of Mr Thys Wessels, National Party candidate for the Klip River by-election, has thrown the Nats in a quandary.

And in what is seen as a deliberate attempt to exploit the confusion, the rival HNP — the only other party contesting the seat — are to bring in Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, the militant leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, to address a mass rally in the constituency.

Mr Wessels (53) a veteran and well-liked campaigner, was un-animously elected Nat candidate at a regional caucus meeting earlier this month.

Such was his popularity in the constituency that no other contender was even remotely considered. He died of a suspected heart attack in his sleep at the family farm outside Ladysmith early Friday morning.

Consequently, with just two weeks to go for the sitting of the nomination court, the Nats are hard-pressed to find a candidate of the same calibre and with the same community support that Mr Wessels had.

And with the election date set for September 17, that gives them barely six weeks to contest the crucial challenge posed by the far-right in northern Natal.

Political observers are at a loss to predict who will take Mr Wessels' place, although an announcement is expected to be made later today. The only suggestions so far are Mr Jaco Maree, a prominent attorney and chairman of the local branch of the National Party, and Councillor David Reynecke, the town's mayor and a staunch party supporter. But neither man is said to have the same following Mr Wessels had.

The National Party's only opponent in the constituency, traditionally a safe Nationalist seat, is Mr Chris Wolmarans, a Glencoe building contractor who is standing on an HNP ticket with the support of the combined far right wing.

Observers have also pointed out that the HNP have not been slow to exploit the confusion and shock in National Party ranks with an announcement today that AWB militant Mr Eugene Terre-



Mr Mike Tarr ... PFP decision not affected.



Mr TerreBlanche ... exploiting the lack of a strong candidate.

Blanche will be addressing a rally in Ladysmith on August 4.

In a recent announcement of the party's campaign itinerary, there was no mention of Mr TerreBlanche. His appearance is likely to cause much interest in the town, which has a strong Afrikaans-speaking community.

Mr Chris Wolmarans could not be contacted for comment today, but it was no secret there had been much concern in right-wing circles of Mr Wessels' popularity in the community.

Mr Wessels' family first crossed the Drakensberg with the Piet Retief trek party and have been farming in the Ladysmith/Bergville area since 1837. He has been involved in politics for the past 30 years and was the former MPC leader of the opposition in the now defunct Provincial Council. Apart from politics, he had also been active in community work.

Meanwhile the Progressive Federal Party Natal Inland Chairman, Mr Mike Tarr, said Mr Wessels' sudden death did not affect their decision not to field a candidate.

The extent of Mr Wessels' popularity — which cut across colour lines — has been shown in a statement from the Natal Midlands House of Delegates MP, Mr Somaroo Pachai.

"We were certain Thys would have won the election, and I was looking forward to working with him," he said. "I found him an exceptionally caring and warm person, unlike many other Nationalists I deal with."

"Together he and I could have contributed to the development of the area. His death is a blow to the whole constituency."

Howe: ball is in SA Govt's court

Dispatch Correspondent
PRETORIA — The South African Government needed to make a bold decision to start black-white peace negotiations, Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said yesterday.

However, it was not yet clear whether the government had the courage to do so, he said on the eve of his second round of talks with the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

Asked whether the South African Government was prepared to start negotiations, Sir Geoffrey said: "The question is whether the courage can be summoned up to make what would be a difficult decision, of course, but it is a key decision for which many people are pressing. The ball is in the court of the South African Government."

He is to meet Mr Botha and the cabinet today before leaving the country this evening.

Addressing a press conference after yesterday's meeting with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mr Enos Mabuza, he denied suggestions that his mission was coming to a "grinding halt".

"My task as one of persuasion will continue. The mission is going ahead under full steam. I have no intention of giving up," he stressed.

Asked whether the government had changed its attitude, Sir Geoffrey said there had been a fundamental shift in perceptions by the South African Government and many of its supporters about the legitimacy of apartheid and this deserved to be acknowledged.

"But they (the South African Government) have to acknowledge just how far they have moved away from the rest of the world and how important it is for them to make the major move to engage in dialogue with the black leaders of South Africa."

Sir Geoffrey discussed peaceful means of dismantling apartheid with Mr Mabuza and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a memorandum presented to Sir Geoffrey, Chief Buthelezi warned that "the failure of good intentions simply increases the polarisation and conflict in South Africa and among people abroad."

The most constructive thing that a foreign mission could do, he suggested, was "to act as a catalyst for constructive change."

Sir Geoffrey took a break between appointments to make a secret flying visit to Soweto yesterday afternoon.

Evading waiting journalists, security officials sneaked him and his wife, Lady Elspeth, out a back entrance of the British Embassy in Pretoria and Sir Geoffrey toured Soweto for about half an hour.

His impression was that Soweto and places like it "really reveals the heart of the problem in South Africa."

Although living conditions of blacks were often higher in South Africa than in many other parts of the continent "it is the stark separation between white and black that is at the heart of the problem of apartheid," he said.

Members of the House of Delegates, led by the chairman of the House, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and the leader of the opposition, Dr J. N. Reddy, met Sir Geoffrey yesterday evening and said afterwards they had a "frank" discussion.

A party of Afrikaans businessmen, including Dr Anton Rupert, chief of the Rembrandt group, Mr Fred du Plessis, head of Sanlam, Mr John Maree, chairman of Escom, Dr Simon Brand, chief executive of the Southern African Development Bank, and Mr Jan Steyn, of the Urban Foundation, refused to comment on their meeting with Sir Geoffrey yesterday.

Three MPs in the "new-Nat" verligte faction of the National Party — Mr Albert Botha, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and Mr Willem Cuyler — said after their meeting they had spelt out fully to Sir Geoffrey the "spirit and enthusiasm" within the NP party caucus for change in South Africa.

The negative image overseas of Afrikaner nationalists particularly distressed them and they had attempted to correct this during their discussions.

Sir Geoffrey's mandate from the European Community is to convince the South African Government to release Nelson Mandela and urban the ANC and other organisations as a prelude to negotiations on a settlement in South Africa if stricter Western sanctions against the country are to be averted.

Today, before meeting Mr Botha in the Union Buildings, Sir Geoffrey will visit the Minister of Education and Development, Aid, Dr Carri Viljoen and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, in their offices for further discussions.



Gunner Jan van Niekerk (left) and Lance-bombardier Gert Smit ... forced way into blazing house.

Soldiers save man from fire

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — Two South African Defence Force soldiers braved a raging fire to rescue a man trapped inside a burning house in Duncan Village at the weekend.

Lance-bombardier Gert Smit and Gunner Jan van Niekerk of Regiment Potchefstroom University (South African Field Artillery) spotted the fire in C-Section, Duncan Village, at about 12.10 am on Saturday.

"None of the people standing around there could understand us when we inquired what all the commotion was about. All the people had escaped from the building," Bombardier Smit said.

"Just then we heard screams coming from inside the blazing house. A man was trapped inside and had no way of escaping as the entire building was enveloped

in flames."

The soldiers forced the front door open by ramming it with a rifle butt.

"Our only thoughts at the time were to free the man," he added.

The house collapsed seconds after they had pulled the man to safety.

Two neighbouring houses also caught fire.

Other members of the army unit had called the municipal fire brigade, who extinguished the fire within 10 minutes.

Twelve people were left homeless.

The trapped man, whose identity has not been established, sustained burns. A second man, who had earlier escaped the fire, was admitted to Frere Hospital with serious burns.

The fire is thought to have started after a candle or paraffin lamp was accidentally bumped over.

Crucial talks today on DV

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — A city council delegation flies out here this morning for crucial talks in Cape Town today with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, on the future of Duncan Village.

There was a last minute re-arrangement in the composition of the delegation when the mayor, Mr Joe Yazbek, who is recuperating from flu, had to withdraw.

"I deeply regret having had to withdraw but I have been forced to do so for medical reasons," said the mayor who had his first working day yesterday after a week's absence.

The leader of the finance portfolio, Mr Errol Spring, will replace the mayor.

The delegation will be led by the chairman of the action committee, Mr Donald Card. Other members are the town clerk, Mr Les Kumm, and Mrs Elsabe Kemp.

Mr Yazbek said it was one of the most important meetings the city council had ever arranged with the government.

"I have had personal chats with Mr Heunis. He was keen to hear our troubles and this is the acid test. I know he won't fail us and I have every confidence in our delegation."

Berlin industrial area, would also be discussed.

"We have major topics concerning the financing of road building in the city as well as other matters in connection with provincial government which affect all South African cities."

Mr Card said the outcome of the meeting was of vital importance to the entire city.

"The whole future of our city will virtually be decided at this meeting and we're hoping all goes well," Mr Card said.

At issue today is the city council's attempt to resume control of Duncan Village which has had no statutory control since the disestablishment of development boards at the beginning of this month and the departure of community councillors from the area at the outbreak of unrest nearly two years ago.

A sum of R10.5 million has been earmarked by the government for upgrading the area and the council is seeking government permission to negotiate with the Duncan Village Residents' Association, with which it has had several sessions of informal talks.

Mr Card said the residents' association had emerged as the body with the following of the majority of people in the area and it was vital that upgrading of the area be

Every day so many people say:

Pull Matt, please

Also in the new

Super 30's pack

Compact and convenient

The government's gratitude for President Reagan's July 22 speech on SA could not have been more misplaced. In that one address opponents of "measures" met their Paardeberg. By week's end they had been strategically routed.

A few hardy commandos — chief among them, White House communications director Patrick Buchanan and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms — remained in the field to carry on the doomed and dreary struggle. Most of their erstwhile allies, even the president himself, had thrown up their hands and joined the winning side.

There is today in Washington an unprecedented consensus behind a series of actions aimed at making life for white South Africa increasingly lonely and unpleasant.

The US, and likely its western and Japanese allies, will seek to make the complacent majority of whites prisoners of their government's policies.

The theory is simple. Faced with such dismal incarceration perhaps the white minority will begin to practise a democratic right it may have forgotten after 40 years of National Party rule: the right to remove or dissuade an obnoxious and dangerous regime that is destroying the future for its subjects and their children.

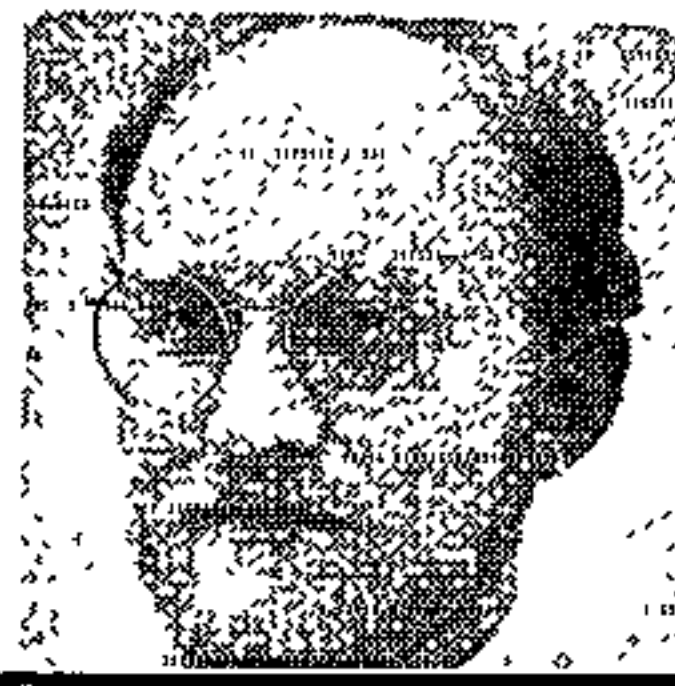
Until such time as the SA government releases all political prisoners, unbans opposition parties and starts negotiating a new constitutional order with black leaders including those of the ANC, there will be, at minimum and if the administration does not have its hand forced by Congress, what White House spokesman Larry Speakes calls a "gradual escalation" of "steps".

Visas will be denied to SA officials and made less accessible to white non-officials. US bank accounts into which

Death of constructive engagement

WASHINGTON LETTER

From
SIMON
BARBER



South Africans have been stashing escape money will be frozen. Travel to the US will be made increasingly irksome and expensive as SA aircraft are denied landing rights.

Meanwhile, the SA economy will be allowed to continue its steady rot. Aside from a few symbolic gestures like banning new loans or capital flows to SA, no attempt will be made at mandatory sanctions because they are inevitably porous and besides, as Secretary of State George Shultz put it in his testimony to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, they would "dilute the message".

Shultz was speaking directly to SA's white middle class when he told the Senate panel: "Current developments are in fact eroding the capacity of any future SA government to address the country's problems. They are causing SA's economic base to deteriorate. Skilled manpower is fleeing the country. Domestically generated capital is bleeding away. These developments are looting SA of the patrimony on which its reconstruction in the post apartheid era must rest."

If Pretoria is looking for villains to pin the new policy on, it might as well start with Shultz, the chairman of the foreign relations committee. Senator Richard Lugar, Senate majority leader Robert Dole, and

their colleagues, like Senator William Roth, in the Senate Republican leadership.

The senators had long realised that the old approach of seeking to wring sense from Pretoria with rhetoric and understanding was no longer politically tenable. "Constructive engagement", as it stood, could not muster more than half a dozen supporters in the upper chamber and had already been overwhelmingly rejected in the house which had opted, albeit on an ambiguous voice vote, for total withdrawal of US corporations from SA and trade embargo on everything except strategic minerals.

Reagan's advisers in the National Security Council (NSC), who have never been known for their close touch with reality, decided that the great communicator should use his skills to make a heroic stand. He would denounce apartheid, but hold his ground and attempt to distract the sanctions lobby by giving them a black ambassador — Nixon protege Robert Brown — to replace the unpopular Herman Nickel.

Shultz liked the speech idea, but not the content the White House was suggesting, nor, for that matter, the idea of appointing Brown. He had advocated a landing rights ban among other things, and his view was that if the new envoy had to be black, let it at least

be someone with a track record rather than a past. Though partially vindicated by the discovery of Umaru Dikko's and other skeletons in Brown's closet, he was overruled.

The final address was chiefly the work of communications director Buchanan and the NSC's outgoing Africa man, Phil Ringdahl. Neither they nor the president seemed to have the slightest comprehension of how phrases like "the SA government has the right and the responsibility to maintain order in the face of terrorists" would be taken. They remained oblivious even after the speech's delivery, confidently declaring that the president had triumphed.

The truth was rather different. Had there been a vote on total sanctions in the Senate that Tuesday afternoon, it would have passed overwhelmingly. Shultz, who had known from the moment he saw the final draft that he had a disaster on his hands, went to battle stations to salvage what he could of the administration's hold over US policy.

He and the Senate leadership, as Lugar himself admitted in a television interview on Sunday, now became de facto allies, and between them they silenced the remaining White House holdouts. Reagan was convinced of the hopelessness of his position and — not for the first time — promptly switched sides, announcing to the world on Thursday contrary to the tenor of his speech, "we haven't closed any doors" on sanctions.

Coming less than 24 hours after Reagan left

the podium, Shultz's testimony to the foreign relations committee set out the new framework for US policy so successfully that even Senator Edward Kennedy, who had previously been pushing the house bill, was sufficiently impressed to adopt its guidelines.

In an amendment offered to legislation raising the ceiling on the national debt, Kennedy dropped his demand for total disinvestment from SA, agreeing instead to codify the president's September 9, 1985, executive order (which mandated compliance with the Sullivan code and imposed several limited sanctions on the SA public sector) if he could to add to it certain measures, targeted specifically if not with precision accuracy, at the white community.

Kennedy's change of heart was not entirely Shultz's doing. The previous Monday he had chaired a forum starring the co-chairmen of the Eminent Persons Group, Malcolm Fraser and Olusegun Obasanjo, and had been struck by the kinds of sanctions — landing rights, visa restrictions, bank freezes etc — they were proposing. Lugar, who met the pair separately, was also taken with their ideas.

By week's end a strategy had gelled. "Rifle-shot" sanctions that would not impact directly on the SA economy; increased economic aid for SA's black population as well as its neighbours with special emphasis on the Beira corridor as a means to help lessen the frontline's dependency on, and vulnerability to, Pretoria; and, of course, new, urgent and open

contacts with the ANC whom Reagan had only days before denounced as Marxist guerillas.

The major questions now are implementation and timing. Dr Chester Crocker has been dispatched to Europe to sound out the allies on making common, and thus far more effective cause, with the US. While deferring to Britain's greater economic stake in and historical ties to SA, he will politely invite the Thatcher government to "take the lead" in adopting Washington's approach when the Commonwealth meets in London at the start of August.

He will be able to point to the Senate, where Lugar and his committee, not to mention Kennedy and his amendment, will be working to put the policy into law. And he will argue that a solid show of allied co-operation, aside from sending a much more formidable message to SA, will dissuade the US legislature from tying everyone's hands with legislation.

For his part, Lugar is prepared to expedite a bill in hopes that Senate passage before recess on August 15 in and of itself will send all concerned — including the White House bitterenders — the correct signal and make it unnecessary for the House and Senate to produce a compromise version for the president's signature when they return in mid-September.

It has been a critical week. Whatever the mechanics of how the decisions now being taken are put into effect, the tide has turned and "constructive engagement" with Pretoria is well and truly dead.

Washington Letter

Simon Barber



THE GOVERNMENT's almost pathetic gratitude for President Reagan's July 22 speech on South Africa could not have been more misplaced. In that one address, opponents of 'measures' met their Paardeberg. By week's end they had been strategically routed, and the conquering army was marching on Pretoria.

A few hardy commandos — chief among them White House communications director Patrick Buchanan and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms — remained in the field to carry on the doomed and dreary struggle. Most of their erstwhile allies, even the President himself, had thrown up their hands and joined the winning side.

There is today in Washington an unprecedented consensus behind a series of actions aimed at making life for white South Africa increasingly lonely and unpleasant.

This time there may be no blockhouses, scorched earth or concentration camps. Instead the U.S. and likely its Western and Japanese allies, will seek to make the complaisant majority of whites prisoners of their government's policies.

The theory is simple. Faced with such dismal incarceration perhaps the white minority will begin to practise a democratic right it may have forgotten after 40 years of National Party rule: the right to remove or dissuade an obnoxious and dangerous régime that is destroying the future for its subjects and their children.

Until such time as the SA Government releases all political prisoners, unbans opposition parties and starts negotiating a new constitutional order with black leaders including those of the ANC there

will be, at minimum and if the administration does not have its hand forced by Congress, what White House spokesman Larry Speakes calls a 'gradual escalation' of 'steps'.

Visas will be denied to SA officials and made less accessible to white non-officials. U.S. bank accounts into which South Africans have been stashing escape money will be frozen. Travel to the U.S. will be made increasingly irksome and expensive as SA aircraft are denied landing rights.

Meanwhile, the South African economy will be allowed to continue its steady rot. Aside from a few symbolic gestures like banning new loans or capital flows to South Africa, no attempt will be made at mandatory sanctions because they are inevitably porous and besides, as Secretary of State George Shultz put it in his testimony last Wednesday to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, they would 'dilute the message'.

That message is that there is no neo-imperialist seeking to take away your

Reagan's speech no matter for gratitude

country. The South African Government is doing it all by itself with policies that seem almost deliberately designed to bring about the barren pastoral nightmare that was Paul Kruger's dream.

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Jesse Helms

class when he told Senate panel: 'Current developments are in fact eroding the capacity of any future South African government to address the country's problems. They are causing South Africa's economic base to deteriorate. Skilled manpower is fleeing the country. Domestically generated capital is bleeding away. These developments are looting South Africa of the patrimony on which its reconstruction in the post-apartheid era must rest.'

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Co-operation

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Make no mistake, it has been a critical week. Whatever the mechanics of how the decisions now being taken are put into effect the tide has turned and 'constructive engagement' with Pretoria is well and

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Monday 29/01/86 304 A

PFP predicts big Nat majority in Klip River poll

Political Reporter

THE National Party will win the Klip River by-election with a large majority in spite of suddenly having to find a candidate two weeks before nomination day, says the Progressive Federal Party Inland Region chairman, Mike Tarr.

Mr Tarr said the results of a recent PFP survey, which showed that a vast majority of the voters supported the NP over the Right wing, reflected party affiliation and not support for the candidates.

The NP's candidate, Mr Thys Wessels, died last week.

Mr Wessels was regarded as a particularly strong candidate because he was Klip River MPC in the Natal Provincial Council before it was dissolved.

Mr Tarr said that in spite of the NP having to find a replacement candidate before nomination day on August 11, the NP would still win the by-election and keep the seat.

He also said that there was no reason for the PFP to reconsider its decision not to field a candidate.

'It would be very late for us to get a campaign off the ground now,' Mr Tarr said.

The Right-wing candidate Mr Chris Wolmarans, who is standing on a Herstigte Nasionale Party ticket with official Conservative Party support, believes the NP will have difficulty in finding a replacement candidate.

He said that after many years with Mr Val Volker as the MP and Mr Wessels the MPC, no one else has come to prominence in the Klip River NP.

'With Mr Volker appoint-

ed to the Natal Provincial Executive Committee and his natural successor, Mr Wessels, dead, the NP now have a problem.

'Mr Wessels was not keen to stand, but they didn't have anyone else.

'The NP might ask Mr Renier Schoeman (Natal NP secretary) to appoint someone but its dangerous to bring in strangers to an election,' Mr Wolmarans said.

Political observers say voters in rural constituencies, such as Klip River, prefer local candidates over ones from outside the area.

Important

Mr Hennie Kloppers, former NP Newcastle MPC, said the need for an MP with intimate local knowledge was even more important than previously because of the scrapping of the provincial councils.

'The MPs will have to take over many of the tasks previously looked after by the provincial councillors,' Mr Kloppers said.

He said a young replacement candidate would be ideal but not necessary.

'It is sometimes better to have a more middle-aged man with a lot of experience in public life.

'The NP will not have a difficulty in finding a suitable candidate,' Mr Kloppers said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Crocker's new warning to S.A

Mercury 29/07/86

DR CHESTER Crocker, United States Assistant Secretary of State, said yesterday the U S might impose its own 'targeted' sanctions on South Africa even if Britain decided against further measures.

London Bureau

Dr Crocker went on British television to pledge full support for Sir Geoffrey Howe's current peace mission.

He also revealed that President Reagan had sent a personal letter to President Botha urging him to accept Sir Geoffrey's arguments. A similar letter had been sent by the West German Foreign Minister, Hans Dietrich-Genscher.

The U S attached great importance to South Africa's response to these letters, Dr Crocker said.

Mood

Britain and the United States stepped up pressure on South Africa yesterday to secure the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

In a marked hardening of the British mood, an influential Tory MP said further sanctions would follow unless Mandela were released.

conclusion of this mission. 'The central purpose of my being here is the promotion of the changes we all know to be necessary, change by peaceful means. The key is clearly in the hands of the South African Government,' Sir Geoffrey said.

Our African Affairs Correspondent reports that the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned Sir Geoffrey that there was a great chance of a take-over by the security forces or right-wing parties or both if the South African Cabinet was forced to make hasty decisions under duress.

In a memorandum presented to Sir Geoffrey at a meeting at the British Embassy in Pretoria, Chief Buthelezi put forward a twofold plan aimed at bringing about fundamental change without sanctions or disinvestment. The plan calls for a 'credible agent from abroad' to try to establish a group in South Africa composed of the Government, local black leadership, and major industrialists whose task would be to debate and spell out possibilities for change and negotiation. At the same time, this agent would try to establish a similar group outside South Africa, including African National Congress and 'influential and responsible African and Western politicians', to begin to consider positions from the outside. Chief Buthelezi said it was naive to assume that pressure would tip the Government over the edge of a political precipice or lead to its capitulation.

Price

Sir Anthony has been avoiding further British action. He said the South African Government could pay to lift Sir Geoffrey's mission. The pessimism surrounding South African politicians and business leaders for a four-hour session with Foreign Minister P. W. Botha tomorrow, the Common Group meets in London, possibly for the last time to review developments since the release of its report on South Africa last month.

Our Johannesburg correspondent writes that Sir Geoffrey said yesterday that the ball was in the South African Government's court. At a press conference after his meeting with the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Sir Geoffrey said that he denied a suggestion that his mission was coming to a grinding halt. Of course my task is an enormously difficult one. It is too early to report on the

CAPE TOWN 29/7/86 (304)

Runcie to speak at City service

Staff Reporter

THE head of the Church of England, Dr Robert Runcie, the Archbishop of Canterbury, is to speak at a mass communion in Cape Town on September 7 after the enthronement of Bishop Desmond Tutu as the Archbishop of Cape Town.

Bishop Tutu is to be enthroned as the first black head of the Church of the Province of South Africa on the morning of Sunday, September 7.

A spokesman for the church confirmed yesterday that Dr Runcie would attend the enthronement and that he would deliver the sermon at an open-air Eucharist in the afternoon, to be held at the Cape showgrounds.

The spokesman said the open-air service would not be confined to Anglicans and that "the whole body of Christ" was welcome to participate in the communion.

He said a number of overseas guests and primates would be attending the enthronement of Bishop Tutu and the mass service.

Both Bishop Tutu and Dr Runcie will hold a press conference after the open-air service.

Because of Bishop Tutu's international status, and because of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner's new position as head of the Church of the Province, a large number of foreign journalists and television crews are expected to be present.

The open-air Eucharist at Goodwood may be one of the biggest church services ever held in Cape Town and thousands of people are expected to attend.

After his enthronement, Archbishop Tutu will be based in Cape Town.

Botha 'no' to Howe's conditions

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha yesterday accused the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, of "meddling in South Africa's affairs".

Mr Botha rejected the preconditions which Sir Geoffrey outlined as essential for the possibility of the dialogue necessary to bring about peaceful change — namely the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

Mr Botha accused Sir Geoffrey of having come to South Africa with the main purpose of bringing pressure to bear for these two steps. He said it was clear that Sir Geoffrey, as a representative of the European Community (EC), was not interested in positive policy matters in South Africa.

The failure of the Foreign Secretary's mission precedes the meeting of the Commonwealth next week where

the report of the Eminent Persons' Group will be discussed. The group has recommended the imposition of sanctions against South Africa, which now seem virtually inevitable.

The report of Sir Geoffrey's mission — which received the support of the European Council and the United States Government — was seen as a crucial instrument in the attempt to ward off the sanctions campaign.

During a press conference before he left for London last night, Sir Geoffrey warned South Africa that time was running out before economic measures were introduced. He mentioned early September as the latest deadline.

If the South African

Government did not offer at least the possibility of substantial and tangible progress, further measures were likely to be taken in one form or another, Sir Geoffrey emphasized.

'Suicide'

He called on the ANC to make a matching commitment to renounce violence.

Mr Botha said: "I can never commit suicide by accepting threats and prescriptions from outside forces and hand South Africa over to communist forces in disguise."

He said he hoped "this hysterical outcry of certain Western countries against South Africa will soon pass".

Referring to South Africa's past success in overcoming military and oil sanctions, Mr Botha said: "I don't believe in sanctions. But if we are forced until our backs are against the wall, we will have no alternative but to stand up in self-respect and say to the world: 'You won't force South Africans to commit national suicide...'"

Interference

"Leave South Africa to the South Africans," Mr Botha said, adding that South Africa would prefer to have normal relations with other civilized states but could not allow "uncalled for direct interference in our internal affairs".

He challenged those of South Africa's neighbours who were urging the EC to impose sanctions to take the initia-

tive themselves and to do so first.

"They should have the courage of their convictions instead of continuing to enjoy the considerable benefits of close association with South Africa while leaving it to others to pay the price of sanctions," he said.

Mr Botha also proposed joint meetings with Southern African leaders as well as with leaders of the EC jointly to identify and address regional problems.

He saw this as supplementary to, but in no way replacing or detracting from, the internal reform process "to which my government is committed and will continue until our goals are reached".

Dialogue

Sir Geoffrey emphasized that the process of change which had already begun had to address itself urgently to the fundamental issues and that blacks had to be brought fully into the political process on the basis of dialogue with freely chosen black leadership.

He emphasized that the only alternative to "violence and economic warfare" was for the government and the ANC to each make an offer which the other could not refuse.

Yesterday Sir Geoffrey met the Minister of Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, before his final meeting with President Botha. He left last night.

SA Govt has 'key to the future' — Howe

PRETORIA. — Dialogue will not be possible as long as leaders like Mr Nelson Mandela are in prison or exile and organizations such as the ANC banned, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said at a news conference here yesterday.

Sir Geoffrey declined to discuss the contents of yesterday's talks with State President Mr P W Botha.

He said however that blacks would have to be brought fully into the political process and that the key moves would have to be made by the South African Government.

"It is the South African Government which has taken the first steps to dismantle apartheid. It must be the South African Government to carry through with that process in a way which can enlist the support and involvement of the majority."

"The key to the future is in their hands," he said.

The government should agree to release Mr Mandela and other political prisoners, unban the ANC and other political parties, and to enter into peaceful dialogue — against a matching commitment from the ANC to call a halt to violence and to enter into peaceful dialogue. — Sapa

Most reaction to plan for council from blacks

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

MORE than 90 percent of the reaction to the proposed National Council Bill has been from blacks.

This was disclosed today by a spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning following President P W Botha's statement yesterday after his talks with Sir Geoffrey Howe that reaction to the proposed legislation had been "overwhelming" and he was optimistic "the

necessary progress" would be made.

The spokesman for the department said today reactions had come from black people "across the political spectrum". He indicated, however, that this did not include banned organisations such as the African National Congress.

The spokesman said the negotiations were confidential and names could not be disclosed.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said last week 117 written reactions had been received to the proposed legislation, including one from the Progressive Federal Party.

Although the deadline for comment on the Bill was June 30, the department had since received various comments and certain individuals and bodies had asked for late submissions to be accepted.

The legislation for the proposed National Council is to come before Parliament at its resumed session next month.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

'Leave SA to the South Africans'

PW rejects Howe's 'meddling' mission

30/7/86 BUS DAY

LINDA ENSOR and
DIANNA GAMES

STATE President PW Botha yesterday accused British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe of "meddling in SA affairs".

Speaking last night after his meeting with Howe, Botha said he had rejected the preconditions which Howe had outlined as absolutely essential for the possibility of the dialogue necessary to bring about peaceful change.

These preconditions were the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

Botha accused Howe of having come to SA with the main purpose of bringing pressure to bear for these two steps. He said it was clear Howe, as a representative of the European Community, was not interested in positive policy matters in SA.



● HOWE



● BOTHA

Howe's report on his mission — which received the support of the European Council and the US government — was seen as a crucial instrument in the attempt to ward off the sanctions campaign.

The Commonwealth meets next week to discuss the Eminent Person's Group report which recommended the imposition of sanctions.

During a Press conference before he left for London last night, Howe warned

that time was running out before economic measures were introduced. He mentioned early September as the latest deadline.

If the SA government did not offer at least the possibility of substantial and tangible progress "further measures are likely to be taken in one form or another" Howe emphasised.

He called on the ANC to make a matching commitment to renounce violence. "I can never commit suicide by accepting threats and prescriptions from outside forces and hand SA over to communist forces in disguise," Botha said.

He said he hoped "this hysterical outcry of certain Western countries against SA will soon pass".

Referring to SA's past success in overcoming military and oil sanctions Botha said: "I don't believe in sanctions. But if

● To Page 3

PW rejects mission

30/7/86 BUS DAY

we are forced until our backs are against the wall, we will have no alternative but to stand up in self respect and say to the world: 'You won't force South Africans to commit national suicide...'

"Leave SA to the South Africans," Botha added, saying SA would prefer to have normal relations with other civilised states "but we cannot allow uncalled for direct interference in our internal affairs".

"If sanctions are applied without taking note of all our endeavours to build this country and to develop it then we will have no alternative but to preserve our national interest," Botha said.

He challenged those of SA's neighbours urging the EC to impose sanctions to take the initiative themselves and to do so first.

"They should have the courage of their convictions instead of continuing to enjoy the considerable benefits of close association with SA while leaving it to others to pay the price of sanctions," he said.

Botha also proposed a series of joint

meetings with Southern African leaders as well as leaders of the EC, to jointly identify and address regional problems.

He said he saw this as supplementary to, but in no way replacing or detracting from, the internal reform progress "to which my government is committed and will continue until our goals are reached".

Howe stressed that the process of change already begun must address itself urgently to the fundamentals and that blacks should be brought fully into the political process on the basis of dialogue with freely-chosen black leadership.

He emphasised the only alternative to "violence and economic warfare" was if the government and the ANC both made an offer the other could not refuse.

Before his meeting with Botha, Howe held talks with Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Howe urges SA, ANC to negotiate

30/7/86 Political Reporter **STATE**
European Community president and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe yesterday urged the South African Government and the African National Congress to make concessions and begin negotiations.

Addressing a Press conference after talks with the State President, Mr P W Botha, Sir Geoffrey said the Government should release Nelson Mandela and other black leaders and begin negotiations with the ANC. The ANC should in turn renounce violence.

"The blunt truth is that sooner or later all the people of South Africa will have to get around the negotiating table. It is plain common sense that it should be sooner."

He conceded he had not made any significant progress during his EC-sponsored peace mission which ended last night.

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Sir Geoffrey did not give details of his talks with the State President, but said key moves had to be made by the Government to bring blacks into the political process.

"It is the South African Government which has taken the first steps to dismantle apartheid. It must be for the South African Government to carry through with that process in a way which can enlist the support and involvement of the majority. The key to the future is in their hands," he said.

Sir Geoffrey denied his mission had failed, saying there was a "much wider appreciation of what was needed, on the South African side, to break the logjam".

He said any proposals by South Africa for a summit meeting with European countries and the Front Line States "would be carefully considered".

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30/7/86

Cape Times, Wednesday

23 percent of whites back negotiation with ANC

Staff Reporter

TWENTY-THREE percent of urban whites support unconditional South African government negotiation with the African National Congress, regardless of whether or not the banned organization renounces violence.

According to a Markinor Gallup Poll, conducted among 1 000 white South Africans in the major urban areas in May, respondents were asked two questions.

The poll said:

"There has been a lot of talk recently whether or not the government

should negotiate with the ANC. Here are two opinions; which comes closest to your own?

● "The government should not negotiate with the ANC as long as the ANC supports violence."

● "Even though the ANC supports violence, the government should negotiate with the organization because it is backed by many blacks and is thus the true leader of the blacks."

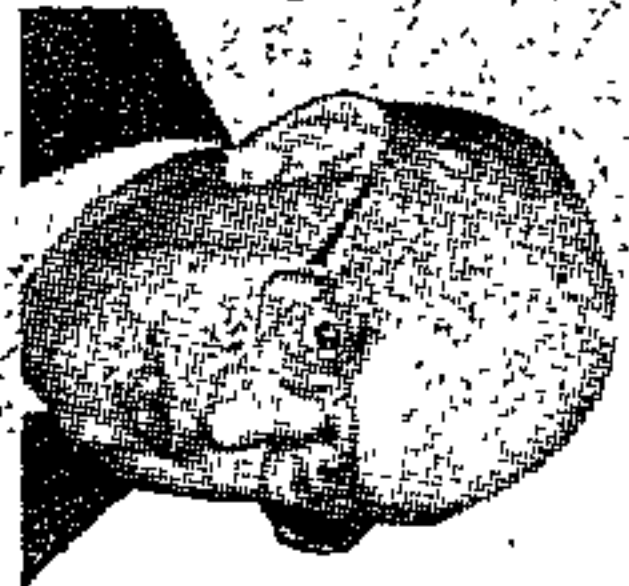
According to a Markinor statement, "the attitudes revealed by the Markinor Gallup Poll are in line with — but

more strong-handed — than the findings of a recent Institute of International Affairs (IIA) study conducted by Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University.

"Asked 'should the government negotiate directly with the ANC', 58 percent of the IIA respondents said 'no'. This is significantly fewer than the 75 percent recorded in the Markinor Gallup Poll," the statement said.

Afrikaans-speaking whites (83 percent "no") are more opposed than English (68 percent).

DURBAN, WEDNESDAY, JULY 30, 1986



'Leave S A to South Africans,' Mr Botha tells Sir Geoffrey



Hand Off!

30/07/86
Mercury
304-A

JOHANNESBURG—President Botha yesterday accused British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe of meddling in South Africa's affairs.

Mercury Correspondent

ence before he left for London, Sir Geoffrey warned that time was running out before economic measures were introduced and mentioned early September as the latest deadline.

If the South African Government did not offer at least the possibility of substantial and tangible progress, 'further measures are likely to be taken in one form or another', Sir Geoffrey emphasised.

He called on the ANC to make a matching commitment to renounce violence. Mr Botha said: 'I can never commit suicide by accepting threats and prescriptions from outside forces and hand South Africa over to communist forces in disguise.'

He hoped 'this hysterical outcry of certain Western countries against South Africa will soon pass'.

Air links

'They should have the courage of their convictions instead of continuing to en...

before the Commonwealth meets next week to discuss the report of the Eminent Persons Group which recommended the imposition of sanctions.

Referring to South Africa's past success in overcoming military and other sanctions, Mr Botha said: 'I don't believe in sanctions. But if we are forced until our backs are against the wall, we will have no alternative but to stand up in self-respect and say to the

benefits of association with South Africa while leaving it to others to pay the price of sanctions.'

Sir Geoffrey emphasised that the process of change which had already begun must address itself urgently to the fundamentals and black people brought fully into the political process on the basis of dialogue with freely chosen black leadership.

He emphasised the only alternative to 'violence and economic warfare' was if the Government and the ANC both made an offer the other could not refuse.

Our London Bureau reports that Sir Anthony Kershaw, a leading Tory MP, said yesterday the time to consider further sanctions against South Africa had arrived.

He suggested that Britain should now consider severing air links with South Africa and slapping a ban on the import of minerals, fruit and wine.

Deadline

The failure of Sir Geoffrey's mission comes

July 30 1986

20/12/86 SMM

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100

Botha issues grim warning to world after final Howe talks

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

President Botha warned last night that South Africa would accept sanctions rather than commit national suicide by handing over power to "communist forces in disguise".

In a defiant address to the world at a Press conference after his talks yesterday with British Foreign Secretary and European Community president Sir Geoffrey Howe, Mr Botha accused Sir Geoffrey of "coming to South Africa mainly to bring pressure to bear on us to release Mr Mandela unconditionally and ban the ANC". He said Nelson Mandela would be released and the ANC unbanned only on condition that they renounced violence.

Mr Botha said that during discussions it had become clear that Sir Geoffrey, as the representative of the 12-nation European Community, "was not interested in positive policy matters". "I impressed on Sir Geoffrey the necessity that South Africa should be left in peace; that there are enough authentic and representative leaders in this country with whom we can iron out our future dispensation," he said.

He acknowledged that President Reagan "and others" had sent the Government messages regarding Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit. He referred to Sir Geoffrey's statement that a "leap of imagination" by the Government was needed to end the deadlock in the country.



Senator laxalt ... can see no point in visiting SA now.



Sir Geoffrey Howe listens as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi describes their talks in Pretoria on Monday.

Howe warned of night-wing takeover

Own Correspondent
DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, on Monday that there was a very great chance of a takeover by either the security forces or night-wing parties — or both — if the South African cabinet was forced to make hasty decisions under duress.

Embassy in Pretoria, Chief Buthelezi proposed a two-fold plan aimed at inspiring reform in South Africa without sanctions or disinvestment.

His plan calls for a "credible agent from abroad" to try to establish a group in South Africa composed of the government, local black leadership and industrialists, to debate possibilities for change and negotiation.

At the same time this agent would try to establish a similar group outside South Africa, including the African National Congress and "influential and responsible African and Western politicians", to begin to consider positions from the outside.

He said the agent would shuttle between the two groups with the end view of bringing them to engage in joint discussions.

Chief Buthelezi said it was naive to assume that pressure, "whether moral or economic, internal violence or insurgency or sabotage", would tip the cabinet over the edge of a political precipice or lead to its capitulation. Its ultimate recourse would be to fight for survival.

"Short of armed invasion by major powers," he said, "the siege state could continue for perhaps decades, accompanied by deepening misery and the destruction of hopes for future prosperity for all. We can have a Beirut sort of situation for years.

"Worse still, if by virtue of a combination of pressures, the present cabinet is forced to make hasty concessions under duress or to suspend its authority, the chances of a takeover government by the security forces, the right-wing parties, or both, is very great indeed."

Chief Buthelezi said there was a popular fallacy that any alternative to the present government would automatically be something better.

This was not necessarily so, and South Africans should consider the change needed.

Mex 3/07/86
**Schoeman
appointed**

**to planning
committee**

Political Reporter

NATIONAL Party Natal secretary Renier Schoeman has been appointed to the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Constitutional Development and Planning.

All legislation from the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning goes before the committee where it is debated and amendments suggested before being presented to Parliament.

It is widely believed that legislation to include blacks in the Government will come before the committee later this year.

Some critics claim that the sort of debate which previously took place in Parliament now happens privately in the committees.

Mr Schoeman said: 'This is where the real negotiating often takes place. I am looking forward to my first meeting next week.'

Mixe beac

Municipal Reporter

THE current redevelopment of the Marine Parade end of West Street into a tree- and café-lined pedestrian mall has drawn praise from tourists — but criticism from local business people.

Owners of shops fronting the construction — still smarting from the 'arbitrary manner' in which the Durban City Council instituted the plans without consultation — are complaining that work is not proceeding quickly enough.

One manager, who asked not to be identified, said

Transit house

Mercury Reporter

THE Crusaders for Christ organisation is still looking for a place to house hoboes and destitute people in Durban before they are sent for rehabilitation to a

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

Politicians seem to have a knack of either antagonising or endearing themselves to the Press.

The Geoffrey Howe Roadshow — which finally packed up on Tuesday night — provided the opportunity to view both these styles at work.

For slickness and charm, the British Foreign Secretary's media organisation was hard to fault.

The same cannot be said for the man who was the true centre of all the attention — South

Africa's State President, Mr P W Botha. For a Government that needs as much sympathy as it can muster, it still sadly lacks that public image gloss.

In fairness, there are a number of senior liaison staffers who do their utmost to help the Press — but there is often little they can do to influence their bosses' ideas of how to handle the media.

Sir Geoffrey's aides kept journalists well informed and they managed to arrange sev-

eral impromptu picture and question sessions to satisfy the demand for news.

In contrast to this, reporters were not told until the last minute whether the State President would address the Press. When a news conference for Mr Botha was finally arranged on Tuesday night, it clashed with Sir Geoffrey's arrangements, forcing him to move his Press conference forward.

But why should the Government care about disgruntled

journalists whom they view as being negative and destructive?

Perhaps if they looked a little closer at the results of skillful media operations run by the Americans and the British, they would find the answer.

Sir Geoffrey's six-day Southern African tour is a good example.

One of his assistants explained the operation: after the decision to visit South Africa had been made, the British

Foreign Office's news department contacted newspapers to confirm Press interest.

A Royal Air Force VC10 plane was ordered and fitted with the number of seats required for Sir Geoffrey's support party and the group of visiting journalists — whose papers paid for their seats.

Then the British Embassy took over, booking hotel accommodation, a private bus and the many other arrangements that such a trip entailed.

At the same time, fielded numerous local reporters.

No local press was permitted to join the party, but it operated as if with details of Sir Geoffrey's Press conference organised. Only one official's only job technical details offered

PW's dour media relations reflect a market

k of style

The Star Thursday July 31 1986

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tape recorder was linked to the main sound system.

The main advantage the visiting journalists had over locals were the so-called "off-the-record briefings" provided each day which gave details of Sir Geoffrey's progress.

As the tour progressed, it became clear that the bulk of these influential journalists were happy to travel on the official Press bus and write the stories provided at these briefings — and not much more.

Very few in the touring group bothered to contact opposition groups who had refused to see Sir Geoffrey. One exception was a journalist who spent the day with Dr Allan Boesak.

"For the most part the group seemed happy to give the British Government view of the visit and nothing more. But I'm sure the Foreign Office is not complaining," remarked one source who was close to the tour.

While the Government has rejected Britain's peace mission message, perhaps there is still something to learn from their public relations style.

MR 644 9/7/84

Government in utter 30 44 confusion Zac de Beer

The Argus Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Government is in a state of utter confusion with no sense of direction, "because it won't face the fact that it must share power and when it does so it will lose power", according to Dr Zac de Beer, an executive director of Anglo American.

At the launching here of the Progressive Federal Party's R10-million fund-raising drive last night, he said: "When the Nats get out of power there's no coming back."

This was why they were putting up such a bitter struggle against change.

Every adult had to have a vote. The qualified franchise might have been good enough once, "but it is too late now", he said.

South Africa lived under "what amounts to Press censorship", experienced capital outflow, unemployment at record levels, almost no economic growth and a huge brain-drain.

This was the price of apartheid.

A transition to a new South Africa was inevitable, but this would be peaceful only if "there is a strong group of whites committed to negotiation".

If the PFP collapsed the alternative was confrontation.

The PFP's role was not necessarily to seek power for itself, "although we may see that", but to see that the things it had fought for were done.

The PFP MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, said the money in the Progressive Trust for a New South Africa would be used to abolish apartheid, to create a climate conducive to negotiation and to prepare for a national convention "to decide how to run the country".

Lisbon's Soares meets Botha

3/10/88
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PRETORIA — The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Azevedo Soares, visited the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, at his Union Buildings office here yesterday at the start of a five-day official visit to South Africa.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said Mr Soares was "only making a courtesy call" on the State President, but an earlier report from Lisbon said a message from the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr Cavaco Silva, would be handed over.

Only photographers and television crews were allowed to attend a photo session to record the meeting.

Mr Soares's visit follows talks with the Mozambican and Angolan Governments during which the Portuguese Government stated why it opposed sanctions against South Africa.

Portugal is one of the newer members of the European Economic Community, set to impose strict sanctions against South Africa following the failure of British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe's peace mission.

Mr Soares was also scheduled to meet his South African counterpart, Mr P. W. Botha, for further talks here yesterday.

Details of Mr Soares's programme were not immediately available from Portugal's embassy. — Sapa

Unity will come only after change — chief

JOHANNESBURG

The majority of blacks would become the natural allies of the South African Government once the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, started bringing about real political change, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was giving the keynote address at a conference organised jointly by the University of the Witwatersrand's department of business economics and the Association of Managerial Economists.

He said the minute the State President started moving forward, blacks would rally behind him as he did what needed to be done. But he warned that if the situation in South Africa remained as it was, the illusion that the problems of poverty could be resolved by completely dispossessing whites would gain more credibility with the masses.

He accepted that a certain amount of redistribution of wealth would have to take place. But for him, this meant redistribution of opportunities

That was why he supported more, rather than less, investment, "to enlarge the cake so that we can easily distribute it".

Chief Buthelezi said he had faith that his "white fellow South Africans" would survive the trauma of change and ever increasingly accept the implications of living in a true democracy.

White managements had campaigned for the liberalisation of industrial relations legislation and had provided blacks with thousands of jobs despite influx control — DDC

MPs get pay incre

NM 31/7/86

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JOHANNESBURG—President Botha yesterday announced pay rises of 35% for ministers and 22% for MPs.

The increases follow the report of a committee under former Vice-State President Alwyn Schlebusch, appointed in March to investigate the remuneration and conditions of service of political office-bearers.

Remuneration packages, which include salary and allowances, will increase from R84 920 to R114 930 for ministers; R81 800 to R113 280 for the Speaker and chairman of the President's Council; R71 390 to R85 182 for deputy-ministers; R68 090 to R81 000 for the Leader of the Opposition; and R47 300 to R58 050 for MPs.

The entire salary-and-allowance package is taxable.

The salary of the State President is not affected. It is determined by law.

Mr Botha said the report was based on a scientific investigation by private-sector consultants Hay-MSL.

Government had accepted the report *in toto* and all parties represented in Par-

Mercury Correspondent

liament were consulted.

Because of the current economic situation the new structures only partly implemented the Schlebusch committee's recommendations.

A recommendation that parliamentarians should be entitled to secretarial help, up to a maximum certified expenditure of R10 000 a year, would not be implemented at this stage.

The Government had also decided to appoint two committees to investigate and recommend on the remuneration packages for office-bearers of the new provincial system and the national states.

These investigations were necessary because changes had brought about added duties and responsibilities.

Ormande Pollok reports that Speaker Johan Greeff yesterday supported the increased salaries.

Workload

The new parliamentary dispensation calls for a system of well-considered legislation in terms of which all Bills on general affairs are referred to standing committees, also known as portfolio committees, on which all Members of Parliament serve, he said.

'MPs are obliged to serve on quite a number of committees, specially MPs of smaller parties and of Houses with fewer members.

'During the past few years, an average of 120 Bills a year were introduced in Parliament, which gives an indication of the workload of some standing committees.

'The new dispensation and system of consensus makes heavy demands on the work input of members and entails greater specialisation on the part of MPs.

UDF ^{Cape Times 31/7/86} now ³⁰⁶¹ 'fascist'

By BARRY STREEK

THE NRP's candidate in the Claremont by-election, Mr Anthony Leisegang, supported the formation of the UDF in 1983 and served on a UDF committee for nine months.

Mr Leisegang said yesterday that the motivation for his decision to stand for the NRP — which he joined on the night before nomination day — was the same as his decision to be involved in the UDF.

"It is not simply to create effective opposition to the government because the PFP is discredited, but it is also to oppose all forms of fascism and those seeking to achieve power for themselves only — and that now includes groups like the UDF who have imposed dictatorship on my friends of colour.

"The PFP has direct links with these fascists. They have even had them on their platforms," Mr Leisegang said in an interview.

He had joined the UDF when it started, and later served on its Claremont area committee, but left the UDF when he found that it was only democratic in name.

He also confirmed that he had worked with The Ecumenical Action Movement (Team), one of the organizations in the Western Cape which was listed in terms of the state of emergency, and he had been secretary of a Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) sub-committee, but he had quit both bodies when radical elements took over.

Mr Leisegang had also been "very active" in peace moves in Crossroads in attempting to bring the parties together to restore peace.

NRP policy spelt out democracy, based on the Natal indaba plan, while "the grand apartheid scheme, like that of the PFP, is utopian and merely an elitist pipe dream", he said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town)

Farmers in indaba-type pact with their workers

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A group of farmers in the Northern Natal Ngotshe district are to enter an indaba-type pact with their black labourers.

And observers in the area, which spans huge tracts of farmlands between Vryheid and Magudu, are hailing it as a giant step in "human relations".

The scheme, which is basically a goodwill pact between the predominantly Afrikaner farmers and Zulu labourers, is designed to promote mutual development and closer working and social relationships.

What is regarded as particularly surprising in some quarters is that such "progressive strides" have been made in an area described as "backwoods" when communities in more progressive areas have failed to reach similar agreement.

Although the Ngotshe agreement has been spearheaded by white farmers, the concept itself was the brainchild of a

black former union worker and community leader, Mr David Masuku.

Mr Masuku has managed to persuade the traditionally right-wing white community to accept that blacks are not just a labour force, but an integral and cultural part of the community.

"There was a lot of misunderstanding between us", said Mr Masuku. "If we had any grievances there was no one whom we could address them to."

"For example, if a farmer fired a worker and ordered him off the land, he wasn't just dismissing a man but depriving him of his home."

"I realised there was a desperate need for us and the whites to sit down and discuss our mutual problems."

Mr Masuku said he approached the chairman of the Louwsburg Farmers Association, Mr Tjaart van Rensburg, and from there the scheme was launched.

The pact, known as the

Ngotshe Co-operation Agreement, will be officially launched on August 8 at a ceremony in Louwsburg.

Special guest will be King Goodwill Zwelithini and at least 10 000 Zulu workers are expected to attend.

"While the rest of the country is talking about negotiation, we are actually doing it," said Mr van Rensburg.

The Ngotshe agreement has five main objectives:

- The recognition of the need for group inter-relationships.
- The guaranteeing of security for all in the area which is a known ANC infiltration route.
- The improvement of labour relations and the safeguarding of the traditional way of life of the Zulus.
- The development of the area and the creation of jobs to cater for surplus labour.
- Improving morale in the general depressed economic and social climate.

Mr van Rensburg said they

would also be addressing other social problems such as liquor abuse, teenage pregnancy, the soaring birthrate, crime and illiteracy in the area.

"One of our main priorities is to get a black high school here. It's ridiculous that in a community of 35 000 there is no secondary education."

He said that although the mechanics of the agreement had still to be finalised, they had formed a committee with Mr Masuku being employed as a middle man between the labourers and the farmers.

"It took me three months working non-stop to persuade the thousand or so whites here to accept the agreement but now almost to a man they are behind us", said Mr van Rensburg.

He said the major problem as far as blacks were concerned was the eviction from land where they had lived for generations.

A dispute between a farmer and a worker invariably resulted in the worker's dismissal.