SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

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5/11/86 BUS DAY (304A) (259)

Song for peace was planned 'at the top' says government source

HAMISH McINDOE

TWO secret government committees — code-named Nassem and Minkom — were responsible for launching the controversial peace song long before the project was taken over by the Bureau for Information.

Government's embarrassment at the R4,3m attempt to sing for a better future is now so acute that there is a clamp on who sat on these two inter-departmental committees.

And government officials have been quick to distance themselves from the project.

But *Business Day* was told by a well-placed government source yesterday that "while government officials are passing the buck, the decision to go-ahead with the project rested with the highest policy makers — Cabinet and State President P W Botha".

The source revealed that two inter-departmental committees — operating under the acronyms Nassem and Minkom — were set up last year to launch the project.

Minkom is thought to have been a cabinet committee.

The "launch committee" sat for the first time last August — one month before the Bureau for Information was established. Bureau participation in these meetings is thought unlikely since it did not become operational until April.

Bureau for Information head Dave Steward said yesterday that it had only taken on the song in July.

One of the secret committees was set up to launch the project, the other to approve it. But attempts to find out more details — including the membership of the committees — was thwarted by an information clamp.

The bureau directed questions to Constitutional Development and Planning, this department redirecting inquiries back to the bureau.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development and Planning director-general Andreas van Wyk told SABC's *Netwerk* that his department was not prepared to "take the blame" for the project.

304A WE 00 1/11/86

Getting down to business

The meeting next week between Government and business promises to be a seminal event.

Over the past two years the South African business community has established itself as a credible agent for fundamental political change in the eyes of the international community.

There has been a wide measure of consensus achieved between SA business and Western business interests on the necessary steps leading up to a negotiated settlement between black and white.

An important element of that process has been establishing the African National Congress (ANC) as an essential actor on the stage

And when Anglo American chief Gavin Relly led a small party of businessmen to meet Oliver Tambo and his ANC colleagues in the Zambian bush just over a year ago it was widely perceived in the West as an imaginative and significant development which boosted the chances for negotiations.

Since that meeting the prospects for negotiation and peace have suffered an alarming setback and both South Africa and the whole the sub-continent have drifted into deeper conflict.

Growing international isolation and the first concerted economic sanctions by the West have put immense strain on the business community's new-found unity and much of its collective energy and resources have been directed towards the need to circumvent sanctions and find new ways of prospering in an increasingly hostile world.

It is not surprising, therefore, that President Botha should have chosen this moment to

MR RELLY

seek a rapprochement with the captains of industry

The manner in which business responds to this awkward challenge will be closely watched in Washington and Whitehall as well as by US and UK-based multinationals.

The world will be watching to see whether SA business is able to look after its short-term economic interests in the face of sanctions without emasculating its role as an agent of change cajoling the government into negotiations with credible black leaders to discuss political power-sharing.

Their actions are also being closely watched by the ANC leadership which has been given an enormous propaganda boost by recent meetings with the British and US governments.

Significantly, the ANC has opened its armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and its ANC and SA Communist Party leadership to the full scrutiny of the international media Profiles of and interviews with ANC leaders have become commonplace in the past week.

The ANC values its contact with the captains of industry but feels that the time has come for SA business to take a more decisive stand to show its rejection of apartheid.

I understand that a significant proportion of the 200-odd businessmen invited to attend next week's indaba will find themselves conveniently out of town on the day of the meeting. Others have not been invited and they will acquire a status of their own.But the list of absentees is likely to become more important than the list of those who attend.

Given the Government's propaganda coups with the Carlton Conference (1979) and Good Hope Conference (1980) it is not surprising that businessmen are wary of being duped a third time, particularly at such a critical juncture.

Shell MD John Wilson articulated this concern in unusually frank terms when he addressed a Shell staff conference at the beginning of August.

"There was a period when businessmen thought they had broken through the communication barrier, and that the age of close consultation had arrived. Government seemed ready to talk and listen to the private sector through the Carlton and Good Hope conferences.

"What we, rather naive, businessmen failed to realise was that we were, in fact, being set-up — that those con-

John Battersby: London Bureau

ferences were nothing more than a forum for the propogation of government policies.

"What government was trying hard to achieve, and indeed for a while did, was the creation of the impression that business and government were one," Mr Wilson said.

His vision of change also reflected the impact of the business dialogue with the ANC about a future economic compromise

PRESIDENT BOTHA

"In post-apartheid South Africa, the negotiated compromise between free enterprise and socialism could well lie in the greater involvement of capitalism and labour in industrial planning, strategy formulation and direction, and the allocation and use of resources to allow for more equitable distribution of wealth."

Recent speeches by Mr Relly and Mr Jan Steyn, director of the Urban Foundation who spoke at the South Africa Club here last week, have reflected the same pre-occupation with a more equitable allocation of wealth.

Mr Wilson's speech amounted to a treatise for continued investment in South Africa which presents a challenge to the more opportunistic disinvestment of US companies such as General Motors and IBM which, in fact, paves the way for expanding their share of the market by circumventing US-monitored employment practices and restrictions on trade

But the deep doubts raised by Mr Wilson about President Botha's intentions with the business community mean that those businessmen who attend next week's meeting bear an even greater burden.

The controversy surrounding the reported remarks of Finance Minister Barend Du Plessis — that the Government was monitoring businessmen who spoke to the ANC and would deal with them when at the appropriate time — is a pointer to the Government's McCarthyist strategy.

The controversy has certainly served to alert businessmen to the danger of being manipulated for the third time.

I understand the government agenda, and the business response to it, promise to be the most re-drafted documents in contemporary history.

It is clearly the Government's intention to use the occasion for a

MR WILSON

united stand against sanctions, launch the State President's 10-year blueprint for economic change and — possibly — a new political initiative on city states for blacks

But the priority for business must surely be to press the Government to spell out how it intends to restore local and international investor confidence in the SA economy. It is now common cause that investor confidence can only be restored with an act of political vision.

Unless the Government is able to take politicl action leading to renewed access to the international capital markets and to draw the necessary foreign investment to finance reform, the alarming tinpot dictatorship prophecy by the US Consulate in Johannesburg might come to pass.

To avoid this scenario the Government will have to show that it is capable of restoring the necessary stability for businessmen to take the long-term decisions which will restore healthier levels of fixed capital investment.

Business will also need to challenge the Government on its own commitment to the long-delayed deregulation and privatisation of the economy which appears less likely than ever in the current drift towards a siege-like situation and increasing international isolation

The businessmen who do not attend next week's meeting might be making as important a contribution as those who do.

There is a school of thought, and I believe it is gaining ground, that business should withdraw entirely from the political arena. As an act of self-interest this argument is compelling because it would at once satisfy the demands of the ANC for business to withdraw from its collaboration in the Government's security machinery and present it with a defence to government that "it is not the role of business to meddle in politics."

There are already signs that the white business community in Zimbabwe has accepted that South Africa is drifting into a state of cold war with the Frontline States and they are looking increasingly to the Western plan to open the Beira corridor as Zimbabwe's main trading route.

There is much more than the credibility of the South African business community at stake next week.

The meeting could well mark the turning point between war and peace in southern Africa.

Saunders: wrong to back new system

304A DD 1/11/86

Dispatch correspondent

DURBAN — The chairman of the multi-million rand conglomerate Tongaat-Hulett group, Mr Chris Saunders, said he was wrong to have supported the tricameral system of government.

Speaking at the annual dinner of the Natal Society of Chartered Accountants here yesterday, Mr Saunders said when he supported the introduction of the system he believed "it would eventually destroy Afrikaner hegemony and be the first step in the process of moving towards a common and shared society and away from the South African society based on group division and ethnic fanaticism".

He said said the result was "fresh in our minds. We have steadily gone downhill from relative [illegible] and order to endemic unrest and regular death; from a legal and lawful society to one in which arbitrary imprisonment is rife; from prosperity to deep recession".

Mr Saunders went on to laud the progress being made at the Natal—Kwazulu Indaba and said the new society would have to be built like a pyramid upwards from grass roots at the four corners in a step by step process.

● Meanhwile, Sapa reports that the number of squatter communities in South Africa will grow as the government continues its "orderly urbanisation" policies, according to the Community Research Group.

In a report released in Johannesburg, the organisation also said the rent boycott affecting 54 townships countrywide was not likely to end while people believed their money was being spent "by discredited local government structures on housing schemes they have not agreed to."

The report said the State intended "forcing the urban poor into badly serviced townships on the metropolitan peripheries and selling off the houses in the older, formal townships to those who can afford it.

"The communities are uniting around the demand for more houses at affordable rates in areas where they choose to live.

"The black communities have attempted to resist what the government calls 'orderly urbanisation' by taking matters into their own hands," the report said.

Squatter movements had emerged in Uitenhage, Cape Town, Brits, Soweto and now in Tembisa.

"We can expect similar kinds of squatter struggles to spead to other communities as the State proceeds with its current 'orderly urbanisation' policies," the organisation predicted.

A spokesman for the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning denied that the government's urbanisation policies were aimed at forcing poorer people to the outskirts of townships.

Probe campus violence — call

DURBAN. — The National Student Federation and its affiliates have appealed to the Minister of Justice to appoint a commission of inquiry into the violence on South African campuses.

The Federation said that as concerned students on these campuses "we believe that the future of academic institutions is under direct attack by radical militants who disregard the very principles on which the universities were founded".

It said that the time had come for a judicial commission of inquiry to be appointed to investigate the situation and that action be taken to protect students whose primary objective was to pursue their academic studies free from violence and intimidation. — Sapa.

Cark Times 1/11/86 (304A)

Opinion

Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

Business must say no to siege option

THE third summit meeting between President Botha and the South African business leadership will take place next week in a rather less cordial atmosphere than the first — the so-called Carlton conference — which joined the Botha administration and big business in informal alliance in November 1979.

Afrikaner Nationalist business leaders may be expected on grounds of ethnic loyalty to stand by their party. And some expect to do well out of a state-regulated siege economy.

The majority of businessmen will opt out of a relationship which promised much and delivered little.

Yet it was never on the cards that President Botha would agree to negotiate away Afrikanerdom's political control of the country. Power-sharing in any real sense was never in view.

The National Pary would lose much of its traditional support to the reactionary right if it abandoned this position — or if it abolished the Group Areas Act and cast aside group representation as the basis of constitutional policy.

President Botha would never consider such a course anyway. Neither is there any question of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, unbanning the ANC or entering into negotiations which would include the ANC — in any foreseeable circumstances.

So there is stalemate and steady deterioration both in the political and economic life of the country.

The ANC, without the means of enforcing its will by revolution, is at the same time much too strongly supported in the country to succumb to the government's efforts to crush it.

MEANWHILE, business confidence is not going to return until an acceptable political solution is in sight. A siege economy may offer some temporary respite and benefits for a favoured few. But for how long?

A political accomodation is not in prospect. Blacks are not going to negotiate as long as group representation is insisted on by the Nationalists as the basis of any such negotiation. The tricameral parliament or any other group-based system is rejected out of hand by blacks, even as a transitional system, because such systems are seen as apartheid in another guise.

When President Botha and his advisers reviewed the state of play early this year the options were effectively down to two — to negotiate with the ANC or to go into siege. They opted for siege, inviting the sanctions lobby to do its worst.

Hamstrung by internal divisions on constitutional policy and conscious of vulnerablity on the right, the government opted to dig in, which it much preferred to do anyway.

So there is a political vacuum at the moderate reformist centre of South African politics. That section of the NP which favours substantive reform will have to expel the rest or break with them, yet is likely to do neither.

President Botha, in the closing phase of his career as a Nationalist leader, is not about to preside at the dilution or dissolution of Afrikaner Nationalist power.

Meanwhile, pending the final implosion of NP unity, a behind-the-scenes power-play seems to be developing to gain control of the strategic portfolios of broadcasting and information. The outcome will appear, eventually, in the comings and goings of a cabinet reshuffle.

Apart from the security establishment, which controls the ultimate means of coercion, the television and information arms of the state, controlling the means of manipulating public opinion, will command the high ground in a final battle for supremacy.

As part of the internal Nationalist power struggle, a school of thought seems to be developing which advocates a return to a Rhoodie-style clandestine propaganda drive with no holds barred.

ONCE again, under pressure, the tendency in Nationalist leadership circles is to seek scapegoats instead of addressing the hard questions of constitutional policy.

Rather than enter a non-racial political realignment with the PFP and others in the centre — which provides the only parliamentary way ahead for reform — President Botha would rather shore up the crumbling unity of Afrikanerdom, in the interests of retaining Afrikaner control.

What is good for Afrikanerdom is good for the country, we are expected to accept, and we are called upon to take our places at the battlements.

We are invited to join Nationalist Afrikanerdom as it prepares for a ghastly re-enactment of the battle of Blood River.

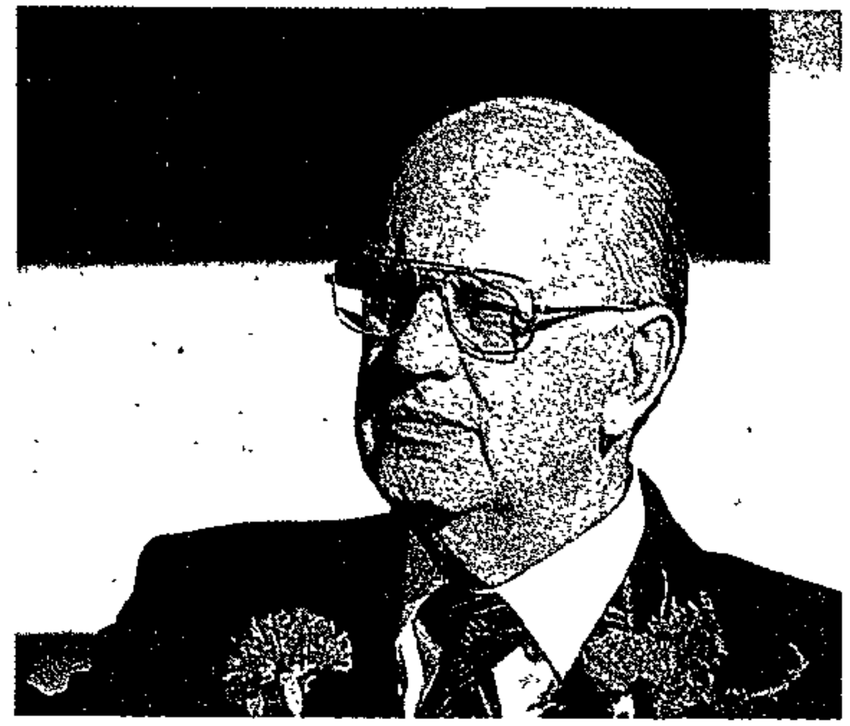
This is not an invitation which everyone will accept. If there are enough people in the white electorate who refuse to go into laager, surely the government can be brought to more hopeful and positive insights?

Is it not time for the business leadership to show the way, withdrawing their support from the siege option?

The large corporations such as Anglo-American could quickly reach an understanding with the African National Congress if the ANC seemed set to have a hand in government.

There is no way that an ANC-led government could do without the big multinational corporations if it hoped to keep the South African show on the road — with millions of mouths to feed and an insistent demand for rising standards of living in the black community.

THE ANC knows this full well. Certainly the present generation of ANC leaders is realistic enough to appreciate such evident truths and to accept the need for compromise and a mixed economy.



Mr P W Botha

Once the communist bogey is laid to rest, there is much scope for a developing understanding between black nationalism and multinational capitalism. If Afrikaner Nationalism and its business cohorts want nothing of such a deal, they could in time find themselves dealt out of the game.

At next week's meeting the opportunity will arise for the business leadership to offer President Botha their whole-hearted support on condition he calls off the siege and arranges talks with the African National Congress, Inkatha and every other significant constituency in the black community.

If this offer is turned down, business should publicly withdraw its support from the government and opt to seek a separate peace with the ANC.

The alternative is to stand by helplessly while the propaganda machine whips up anti-sanctions emotion to stampede the white electorate once again into the Nationalist breach — to fight the ANC to a finish and in time reduce the country to a slag-heap.

Unless business is prepared to stand up to President Botha, the country will be condemned to yet another fist-shaking, brow-beating election campaign, rallying the white ranks to take on the world while South Africa bleeds to death.

NP spies 'monitor CP'

w/t ARGUS 1/11/86

30 (A)

Political Staff

OPPONENTS of the Government are facing threats and intimidation in the Public Service, claims Mr Daan van der Merwe, MP, the Conservative Party's spokesman on home affairs.

He says that officials who are members of his party now live in fear of being identified as CP supporters.

The issue first cropped up at the CP's congress at Durban last weekend when delegates passed a motion which insisted that there should be no discrimination against bureaucrats who do not support the NP.

Mr van der Merwe this week provided details of the harassment being experienced by CP members. He alleges that NP "spies" monitor office conversations — "If you tell a P W Botha joke it goes straight to the boss."

He says: "They are given the straight warning that they will lose their jobs. At the very least they are told that their promotional opportunities will be jeopardised.

"They are told: 'If you are unhappy with the Government then you should look for work elsewhere.'

"Often these are people with many years of service who will not be able to get a job easily again."

He said he knew of instances where CP branch chairmen have resigned from the party because of political pressure at work.

Mr van der Merwe says that this extends to business as well. Firms which depend heavily on Government contracts have told CP members that they cannot afford to keep them on the books. They are given the ultimatum: change your politics or leave the firm.

Mr van der Merwe

P W, business seem set to clash over conference

W/ARGUS 1/11/86 (BOTHA)

By TOS WENTZEL and DEREK TOMMEY, Weekend Argus Staff

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA faces a clash with businessmen next week unless he allows discussion on political as well as economic issues at his conference with them in Pretoria.

Some businessmen are threatening to hold a separate conference if they are not allowed to have a proper say about political matters.

A spokesman for the President's Office said yesterday that more details of the congress would be available next week. Many of the 200 people who had been invited had accepted the invitations.

Much of the congress would be in workshops of groups of Ministers and businessmen.

The original announcement of the conference said that two main issues would be discussed — proposed long-term strategies on the national economy and privatisation.

Unemployment

But some businessmen who have been invited are adamant that political issues must also be discussed.

The poor state of the economy, sanctions, the high level of unemployment and the claim that the Government is not showing real leadership, are all spurring businessmen to adopt a more aggressive stance.

Many businessmen believe that the Government should use the conference to show imaginative and sensible thinking on ways to overcome the country's problems.

The threat of sanctions will also be raised. Mr Botha has called on the business sector to get together with the Government on this issue.

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick'n Pay, said he hoped that businessmen would be allowed to get their views across crisply and clearly.

If they could not do so it has been suggested that they call their own "Carlton Four" which members of Government would be invited to attend.

Mr Ackerman said that every businessman who had been invited to the conference next Friday should attend. He did not agree that businessmen should stay away in case this was interpreted as endorsing Government policies.

Many businessmen will be looking to see the Government's reaction to the call by the Associated Chambers of Commerce for a speedy end to apartheid.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, the Progressive Federal Party's main spokesman on financial matters, said the agenda would have to be "considerably expanded" to enable the conference to discuss the real problems facing the country.

The country should also be told who had been invited and whether the conference would represent workers' representatives as well as capital and management.

Mr Schwarz said his main concern about the first two conferences was that there had been no proper follow-up.

'We'll talk to Botha'

BUSINESSMEN will demand the scrapping of the Group Areas Act when they meet President PW Botha for the so-called Carlton III Conference in two weeks' time, supermarket chief Raymond Ackerman said.

Ackerman said a businessman's most important task was to tell the government "in no uncertain terms" that people had to be able to live and go to school where they liked.

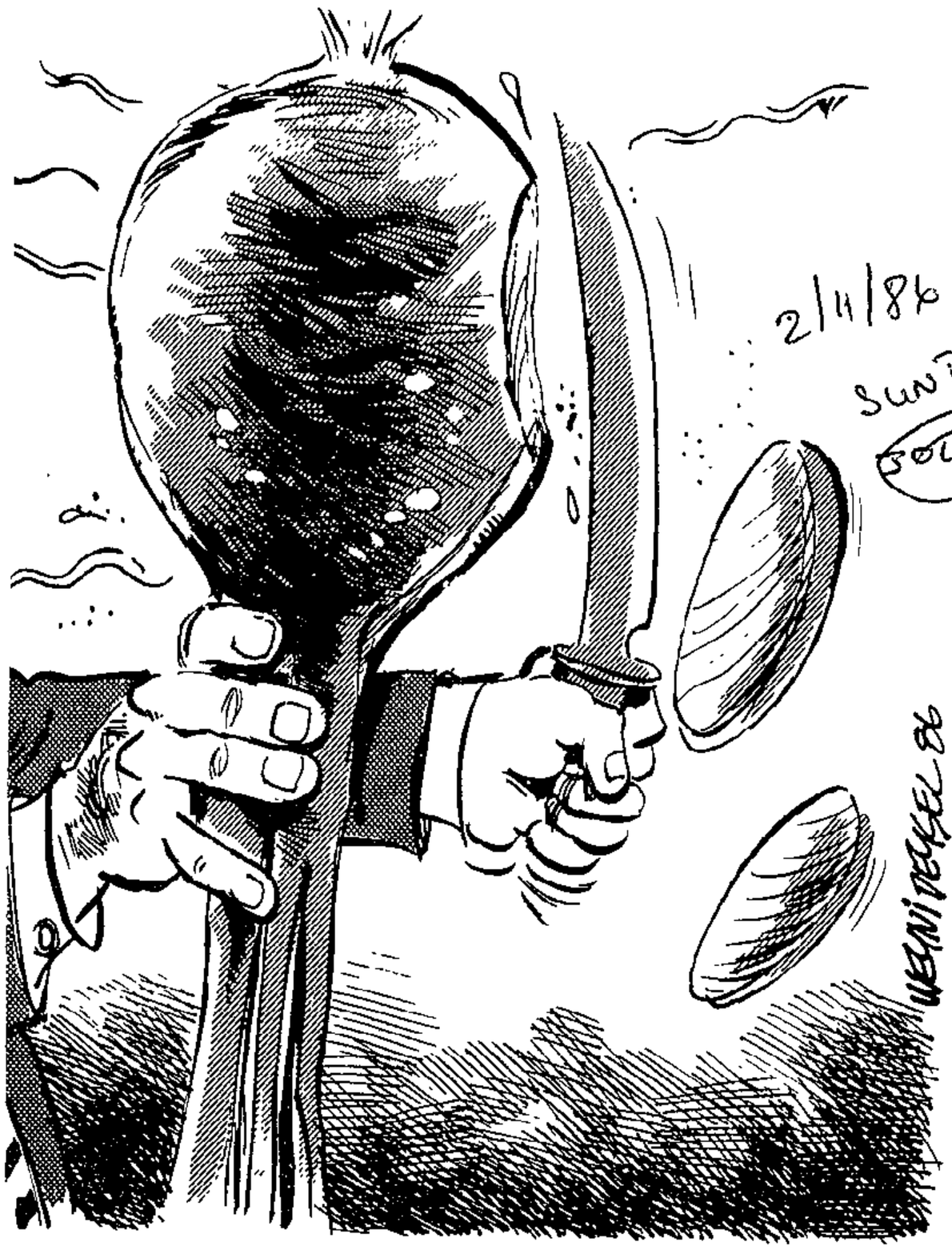
"Believe me, businessmen are getting their act together before this meeting to do just that.

"This is not a political speech. I have been to all universities – black, white, coloured and Indian, English and Afrikaans – and 98% of them want exactly what I've said.

"They want the Group Areas Act and apartheid taken away," Ackerman said.

"We have seen IBM, General Motors and Red Cross stories in the past week and I say that whatever the government and black leaders have to do, we business people have so much we can do to create jobs."

N FACTOR



Every time you peel off one layer of apartheid you expose the layer under it. The only way to protect the core is not to peel anything off at all

For the forseeable ıture, the maintenance f political apartheid is a ore interest. Social partheid, university partheid, and CBD ecoomic apartheid have ow become marginal isıes.

Apartheid in sport is ecoming a thing of the ıst. The important point not where the dividing ıe is, but the fact that it ifts.

All of the issues I have ted as marginal interts were core interests not so very long ago.

The key questioni for political strategists is to identify the issues that are becoming marginal, or which, through the suitable application of pressure, can be rendered marginal.

Remaining segregation in hotels and restaurants is already marginal, while continued enforcement of racial segregation in teacher training colleges can soon be rendered marginal with appropriate pressure.

Social, economic, residential, and educational apartheid will disappear before political apartheid does. But even there, where the foundations are supposedly firmest, the process of erosion has begun.

The 1983 constitution, which was supposed to be the culmination of the separate constitutional development of black and white, was actually the turning point — the point where the Government was forced to start retreating from that very policy.

In now declaring its commitment to bringing blacks into decision-making at the "highest level", the Government has signalled a change of tack in that it is repudiating the idea that the "homelands" provide the whole solution.

It seems in fact to have given up hope that it can lever more "homelands" into "independence."

The Government, because it is committed to white self-determination, will spend the next few years seeking to incorporate blacks at the "highest level" within a racially structured framework that aims to prevent straight majority rule.

Its plans will fail — are already failing — because blacks will not co-operate with segregated constitutional structures.

The Government will eventually have to concede the majoritarian principle and will then involve itself in legitimate bargaining about checks and balances to safeguard the rights and reasonable interests of minorities.

It will find that many blacks have been polarised to the point that they will have no part of such bargaining, but that those who are willing to participate are sufficient in number to make the process viable.

These include major internal leaders, as well as some presently denied access to the political process, and it is up to the Government, since it holds the keys to the cells, to create such access.

Business needs to understand that the battle for fundamental change in South Africa is going to be a long haul, and that it will require staying power above all else.

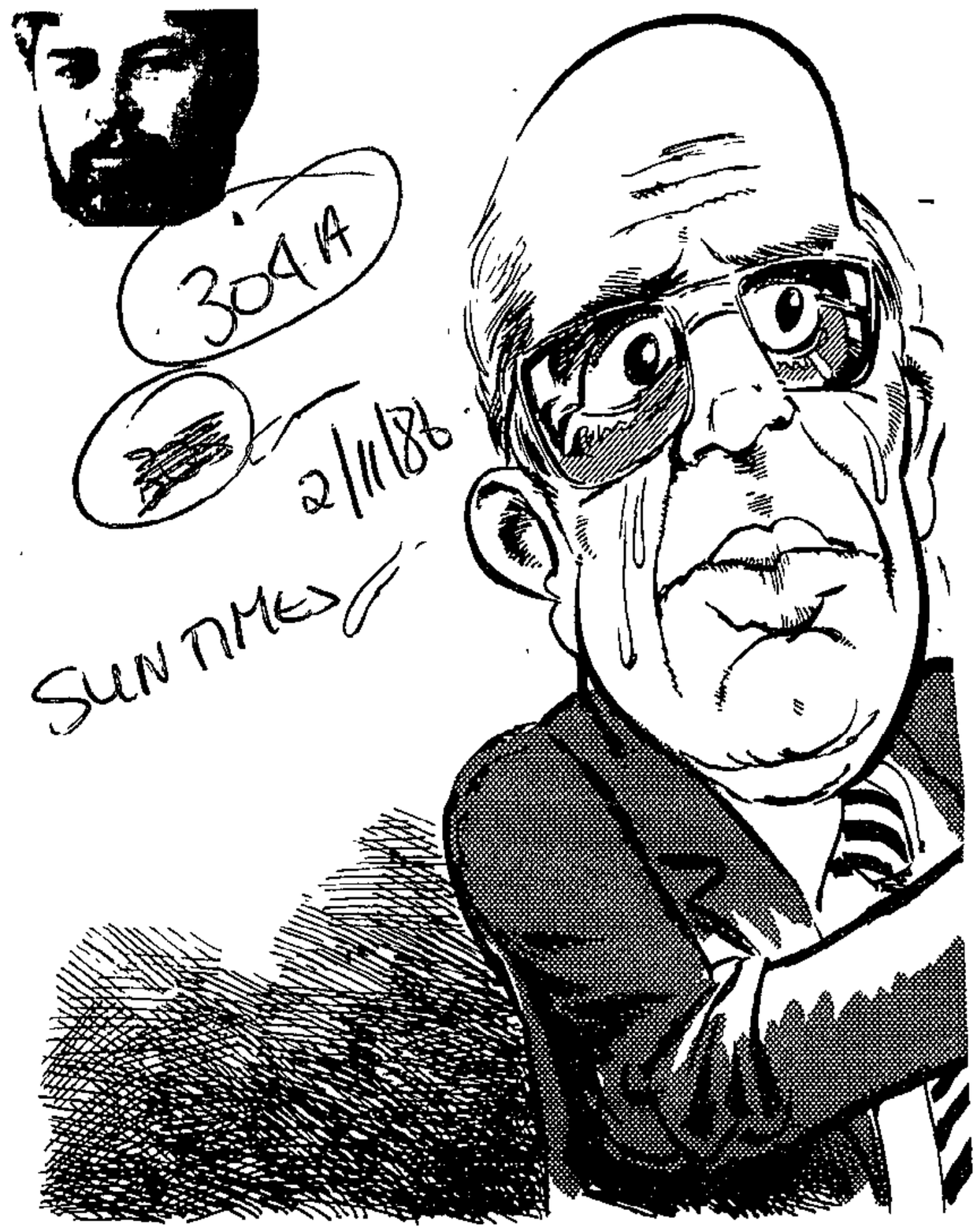
The setting of unrealistic deadlines on core issues probably serves more to heighten frustration among the Government's opponents, and harden the Government's attitudes, than it does to advance the change process.

A more strategic approach, involving longer-term commitments, which some companies have made, is therefore necessary. In other words, business really needs to hang in there.

Excerpt from address to a US Business Council meeting in New York this week.

THE ONIC

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN, Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations



LET me begin by confessing to be a member of an endangered species — those who feel reasonably optimistic about South Africa.

Apartheid is on the way out — not because the Government wishes it so, but because it has become unenforceable.

The pass laws, for example, were repealed a few months ago because they became impossible to enforce. The Government has now dug in its defences behind the Group Areas Act.

But it makes no sense to reconcile oneself to increased black urbanisation in the context of a gigantic black housing shortage and a white housing surplus and refuse to let black people buy houses that whites can't sell to anyone else.

Businessmen seeking to promote blacks to supervisory jobs where they will be able to fire people sometimes find that the promotions are refused unless they are accompanied by accommodation in a white suburb, because the supervisors are terrified of being "necklaced" in the black townships if they ever do fire black workers.

The Government is now toying with "improving" the Act, applying it "more flexibly" and "wherever practicably possible", and so on — all the while proclaiming its adherence to the basic priciple of group areas.

Make one "improvement", however, and you expose yourself to demands for others — be "flexible" here and you invite pressure to be "flexible" there. Eventually, inevitably, you will erode the very foundations of the principle you are trying to preserve.

One day the President says the Group Areas Act is not a "holy cow", but the next he says it is a "cornerstone".

What would one think of a priest who said of the commandment "Thou should not commit adultery", that it was a "cornerstone" but not a "holy cow" and that it had to be "flexibly" applied? You'd think he was either confused, or up to something

I don't rule out that the Government is confused, but I suspect it is up to something — preparing the ground for a retreat from the Group Areas Act, but trying to pretend otherwise to some of its supporters.

Once this Act has been repealed, maybe within three years, the desegregation of schools will move up the change agenda — not because the Government wants it to be there, but because segregated education is more difficult to enforce if living areas become racially mixed.

Apartheid, in other words, is like a huge onion. Each time you peel off a layer you expose the one underneath it.

Eventually you get to the core, the Population Registration Act. The only permanent way to protect the core is not to peel anything off.

Dr Verwoerd knew this; today's rightwing parties know it too. I suspect that in his heart of hearts, Mr P W Botha also does.

Change is a dynamic process which takes on a momentum of its own. Each change was eventually conceded by the Government in the belief that it could be limited: the Government thus said that allowing blacks to do industrial training would not lead to their obtaining property rights.

But investment in training is likely to be squandered unless it is accompanied by labour stability, so trade union rights and then property rights had to be conceded as well.

Social change has a multiplicity of causes. Among them are underlying structural trends — the drying up of the white labour surplus, for example, forcing the economy to turn to blacks.

This in turn opened up possibilities for social organisation: it was not mere coincidence that black unionisation grew in the '70s at the very time when blacks were climbing up the jobs ladder.

Changes in the intellectual climate are also important: once key people in Government recognised the unworkability of Verwoerdian apartheid, they had no ideological lodestone to which every decision could be referred.

Inevitably this created more space for pragmatic, as opposed to ideological, decisions.

Black resistance is also a vitally important component of the change process.

Resistance may take violent form, as was the case in Soweto in 1976 when rioting forced the Government and the private sector to try to improve the quality of life of urban black communities.

Or it can be passive, as has been the case with influx control; or, thirdly, resistance can take institutional form, such as the use of an institutional power base by Chief Buthelezi to block the Government's plans to extend its homeland "independence" policy to KwaZulu.

If one wants to help the process along, it is necessary to understand it and devise appropriate strategies.

The selection of targets is crucially important. A year-long analysis by the South African Institute of Race Relations of the dynamics of change has shown that a useful distinction may be drawn between the Government's core interests and its marginal interests

Indian heads Young Progs

By DAYA PILLAY

THE Progressive Federal Party has appointed an Indian as a youth organiser.

Mr Ranjay Maharaj, 18, will work in coastal Natal.

Said Ranjay, a University of Durban-Westville physiotherapy student, this week: "I see the PFP as the party of the future. That's why I joined them."

Ranjay, from Tongaat, on the Natal north coast, took over the job of Natal Coast Region Youth Organiser two months ago.

Ranjay said the Young Progs, the party's youth wing, had a signed-up membership of 400 in the Durban township of Phoenix.

"Our success in breaking down barriers has been immense.

"The response in the Indian townships has been very encouraging.

"The youth, especially, are an important facet of our political future, and they must not be ignored."

But, he said, newspapers and the public in general did not have a keen enough interest in the party.

"People are in the dark about the PFP because the public and the newspapers are not well versed with the workings of the party."

2/10/86 SUNTIMES

Top businessmen to get tough with PW on reform

30AA

TOP businessmen will call for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in a face-to-face confrontation with State President P W Botha this week.

And they will demand an opportunity to say what other steps they think the Government should take along the reform road.

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

They are still smarting from the Carlton and Good Hope conferences where, they believe, they were talked into supporting a reform policy that has failed to deliver the promised goods.

An indication of their ire was the recent claim by Mr John Wilson, President of the Federation of Chambers of Industry (FCI), that businessmen were "set up".

Apparently, the Government wants to restrict this week's discussion — the meeting will be held at the State President's guest house in Pretoria on Friday — to privatisation and deregulation, and the long-range plan of the State President's Economic Advisory Council.

But Pick 'n Pay boss Mr Raymond Ackerman said: "The economic future is so intrinsically bound up with political and social matters that we at the cutting edge, who have been fighting sanctions because they are evil and wrong, must surely get an opportunity to say where we think the country should be going."

His comments are typical. Mr Botha will face a business community almost unanimous in its resolve not to allow the private sector to be identified with anything less than aggressive and meaningful political reform.

The Government has been coy about its expectations for the meeting, Mr Botha's office declining even to say who has been invited.

The message was put out that Mr Botha "did not want to talk politics". But a top businessman said: "He will never get away with that one."

Recently, Assocom called formally for the abolition of the Group Areas Act, and the FCI, which will also be represented, backed the stand, adding that it wanted the scrapping of all statutory racial discrimination, including the Population Registration Act.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut would not comment.

FCI 'Bill of Rights' for SA's industry

304A

Cape Times 5/11/86

JOHANNESBURG. — A powerful case for a scientific wealth-sharing programme in which all in SA should participate was advanced at the annual convention of the Federated Chambers of Industry (FCI) here yesterday. The plea came as part of a report on the FCI's ambitious Business Charter.

Intensive work on implementing the charter had already been undertaken jointly with the management and staff of 120 private sector and para-statal organizations

Reinforced by a determined grassroots, blood-sweat-and-tears programme, the injection of the charter into the economy is ahead of schedule and the results are "most encouraging", it was revealed.

Reporting on the practical implementation of the charter, the chamber's Christo Nel said intensive work on implementing it had already been undertaken jointly with the managements and staff of 120 private sector and para-statal organizations, and the figure should reach 150 by the end of this month.

The FCI Charter is essentially a "Bill of Rights" which seeks to replace confrontation in the workplace, and more widely, with co-operation under a system in which labour can achieve a greater stake in decision-making and in both existing wealth and in wealth creation.

Nel told Sapa: "The gist of the first objective is that managements and labour should approach joint enterprise in partnership not confrontation.

"Secondly, we are committed to installing monitored programmes to equalize opportunity in recruitment, training and education.

"This is an enabling exercise to break the historical disadvantages which many workers have found themselves locked into.

"Thirdly, we recognize that business is currently the only area of contact on a major scale by blacks and whites at all levels. That is why we are concentrating our initial thrust within corporations and industries.

"But business needs to help expand the interface to also encompass political and socio-economic sensitization.

"More broadly, many of the people in this country need a far broader access to decision-making and wealth — in housing, education, community development and many other areas.

People in this country need a far broader access to decision-making and wealth — in housing, education, community development and many other areas

"Next the informal sector and small businesses need intensive lobbying at local government level for more deregulation and easier access to trading and markets.

"Of course the Charter has to be understood from grass roots to the boardroom.

"Also, there has to be a consolidated drive drawing support from across the entire spectrum of industry and commerce . . ." — Sapa

Nel's axing expected any day

CAPE TIMES 3/11/86

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE axing of Mr Louis Nel — adoptive parent of the government's controversial "peace" ditty — is expected any day now.

Mr Nel's exit is expected to be announced once President P W Botha has put the finishing touches to planned sweeping changes to the cabinet and senior government posts.

However, in an intriguing new twist to the "Louis's Lied" saga, the Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday disclosed that the R4,3-million song was actually conceived in Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

A source in the Bureau of Information yesterday confirmed that it had in effect adopted what has become an unwanted child spawned by another department.

Mr Heunis and a spokesman for his department have so far been reluctant to admit paternity.

Mr Heunis has declined to comment on the genesis of the tune and an aide yesterday at first denied that the "peace" song concept had its origins in his department. He later, however, withdrew this comment pending clarification.

Government sources have indicated that Mr Nel's departure as Deputy Minister of Information is not related to the storm which has blown up over "Together We Will Build a Better Future", which appeared on TV1 for the first time on Thursday.

If ultimate responsibility for the controversy-dogged tune is finally pinned on Mr Heunis, it is not expected to enhance his prospects in the presidential succession stakes.

Mr Heunis reacted angrily to inquiries about the origins of the song from Rapport, which is edited by the brother of Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Heunis's chief rival for the presidential mantle.

The imminent departure of Mr Nel coincides with reports that his bureau — along with the security establishment and the Department of Foreign Affairs — has been involved in a disinformation campaign against the government's extra-parliamentary foes.

Organizations like the UDF and Sacos, reports the Weekly Mail, have been the chief targets of a bureau-sponsored "dirty tricks" operation aimed at discrediting and sowing disunity within anti-apartheid bodies.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin has already called for an all-party parliamentary select committee to investigate the burea's tactics "before South Africans are trapped in a quagmire of government-sponsored misinformation".

Meanwhile, it is not clear who Mr Nel's successor will be as political head of the Bureau for Information.

Names that have been mentioned include: Mr Riaan Eckstein, SABC chief; Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, MP for Helderkruin; Mr Roelf Meyer, MP for Johannesburg West; Mr Leon Wessels, MP for Krugersdorp, and Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti.

There is also speculation in political circles that South Africa's ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, may be recalled to head the bureau as a full minister.

Should Dr Worrall return, he is expected to challenge Mr Ken Andrew for the Gardens seat in the next general election.

Another possibility is that Dr Worrall may be asked to become Minister of Foreign Affairs, with Mr Pik Botha taking over from Mr Louis le Grange as Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Le Grange is being tipped by some political pundits to become the next Speaker of Parliament.

However, other observers believe that any attempt to dump the experienced foreign minister in the politically sensitive law and order portfolio will amount to a calculated attempt to curb his popularity.

CP man in leaflets row

Derby-Lewis accused over tax offer to sponsors

304A

STAR 3/11/86

By June Bearzi, Star Line

The Conservative Party's Johannesburg chairman, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, has been accused of using controversial income tax practices in soliciting funds and of distributing racially inflammatory and grossly offensive anti-Semitic literature.

These charges have arisen from a Stallard Foundation document in Star Line's possession in which he solicits cash, and from brochures of ultra right-wing literature sent out to members of the public.

Mr Derby-Lewis launched the Stallard Foundation in June 1985 and asked for funding of the R6 050 monthly running costs.

Of this amount, R2 500 a month was earmarked for himself as director, R1 750 for his administrative secretary, Mrs Gabrielle Graser, and R1 800 for petrol and general expenses.

The legality of a paragraph in the Stallard Foundation letter in which donors are told their "monthly sponsorship" will be tax deductible has been questioned by a tax consultant.

Invoices

Donors are told their funds will be reflected in invoices as "consultant's fees for public relations services rendered" and their "sponsorship will be totally confidential and, if necessary, withheld from the trustees of the Foundation".

Star Line has passed the letter on to the Department of Inland Revenue.

Contributors to the running costs of the foundation are told: "Sponsors are readily available for funds to save the white rhino; it is more important to save the white South African."

Members of the Jewish community have been grossly offended by several books in a brochure, "The Right Books". It lists highly anti-Semitic books, among them "The Holocaust - 120 questions" and "The Hoax of the 20th Century".

Reacting to the criticism Mr Derby Lewis said:

"How we fund our projects is confidential so I am not going to share this with The Star as it does not share the same objectives as we do.

"If Stallard Foundation donors give donations in the form of stamps and envelopes it is tax deductible. Subscriptions to the foundation are not taken into account."

"The Stallard Foundation did not distribute 'The Right Books'. In fact 'The Right Books' offered us the facility of distributing information about Stallard at their expense so they sent Stallard pamphlets out with the book brochures."

DD 3/4/86 (304)

SACC's tribute to Muslims

JOHANNESBURG —The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has paid tribute to Muslims for their part in the struggle for "justice, peace and freedom in South Africa."

The SACC's view was contained in a message to a meeting in Lenasia yesterday, to protest against the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk synod's declaration of Islam as a "false religion." The message from the SACC general-secretary, Dr C. F. Beyers Naude said: "On behalf of the SACC and its member churches, I wish to assure you of our wholehearted support in your justified protest."

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak of the NGK Sendingskerk, said in a message to the meeting: "We stand by the call of Islam and the Muslim community in this hour of hurt — a deliberate and callous hurt because the Muslims have taken up their rightful role in the struggle for justice in our country. Let the NGK repent for 40 years of sin, for so stubbornly holding on to a false version of christianity."

Other organisations that sent messages of support included the United Democratic Front-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress and Jews for Justice. Archbishop Desmond Tutu also sent a message of support. — Sapa

4/14/86

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Never to bu

MORE and more young couples are realizing that if they don't buy their first home now they may never again get the chance to do so on such attractive terms.

Conditions have never been more favourable. Bond rates have come down to 16 percent and money is freely available from building societies. On the other hand, building costs are increasing and if people wait too long they could find building costs have increased by 25 percent over those of last year.

Nevertheless, we are mindful that young couples, in particular, would have difficulty in financing a home of their own. We are thus offering an attractive package for first-time buyers — a 90 percent bond, where most other institutions will advance only 80 percent of the purchase price.

With the 90 percent bond a couple need only earn R3 260 a month between them — with half of the wife's income — to qualify for a 90 percent bond on a R65 000 home, provided of course, that they are first-time buyers and have the 10 percent deposit, plus costs, available from their own resources.

If the loan also qualifies for a government subsidy, the monthly income needed is reduced to R2 560.

The government subsidy applies only to first-time buyers purchasing new homes with a ceiling value of R40 000, excluding the value of the land.

To help buyers even further, we will accept an income of R2 610 a month if surety is provided by either parents or employers.

If, in addition, the
subsidy, their income
This is what first-ti
subsidy can expect t

Cost of land .....
Cost of house .....
Total .....
Less 90 percent bond

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d. The contractual agreement will further regulate a the factual situations arising on the retirement of a partner or the dissolution of the business for some or other reason. Similarly, what happens to the insurance policies should the last-mentioned situations arise, will also be dealt with in the contract.

Each partner would own and pay for an insurance policy on the other's life and the Estate Duty Act provides that such a policy will be free of estate duty on the partner's death. Premiums paid on the policies are not tax deductible and the death claim payout is not taxable.

Without the legal agreement and insurance policies severe financial and pratical problems will certainly arise on your partner's death. A Buy-and-Sell agreement funded by life assurance is an essential element in prodent, financial planning for all partners.

Investment that earns you income

By JOHNNY KIPPS
MD Personal Trust

IF YOUR fixed deposit matures tomorrow, where will you invest your funds? If you receive an inheritance, or a maturing endowment provides you with a large inflow of cash — how will you go about deciding on investments?

You will naturally want to provide income which after tax is adequate to meet your expense requirements in this inflationary world. And you would be looking for capital growth. The purpose of this article is to help you choose the correct income-earning investment.

Some alternatives

As an investor seeking the highest income, you will be faced with a plethora of different investments. For instance, there are participation mortgage bonds which are fully taxable, fixed period and paid-up shares which are one-third tax-free, and fully tax-free deposits in a building society. As an alternative, one might consider what is known as a "back-to-back" annuity and endowment investment scheme. Or you may invest your money on call, in bonus deposits or on a term deposit in a money market fund or in the post office.

Part bonds generally have floor rates, which indicate the lowest rate to which your interest may drop. Certain investments pay interest in advance, but most will pay in arrear. Some investments allow you to capitalize interest, some do not. Rates on certain investments are quoted on a nominal basis, others are "effective".

Important issues

The term of the investment is a major consideration, as there is a big difference between the money market funds on call where you have immediate liquidity, an investment in a part bond which is a minimum of five years or an investment in a 10-year back-to-back scheme. Term is related to both risk and inflation.

The longer your money is invested in one avenue without your ability to negotiate it, the longer it is exposed to risk, and the more time is available for inflation to eat away at your capital. It follows that in today's high inflationary times, longer investments without some form of capital growth are less attractive.

Income tax is levied on South African individual taxpayers on a progressive basis*. At a taxable income of R10 000, a married person pays 15,2 percent tax on each additional R1 000 of income. Where taxable income is R20 000, the "marginal" rate of tax is 28,85 percent. This changes the priority ranking of investments as the level of taxable income increases.

Partially tax-free fixed-period shares on current rates of tax and dividend will be a more attractive option for the investor with R30 000 pre-tax income than a part bond, ignoring the differences in period.

If term is not a consideration, then the back-to-back endowment outstrips them all on investment returns — at each level of taxable income. While tax-free shares should be attractive, the partially tax-free fixed-period shares make more sense.

If your minimum income requirements have been provided for, then investing in growth is essential to outstrip inflation. We recommend your funds be placed in unit trusts or, if your portfolio is over R100 000, into a directly managed share portfolio.

*Primary and standard minimum insurance ...

New bill makes RAs even more attractive

Brian Hewitson of Liberty Life answers questions on life insurance

QUESTION: I have just heard that retirement annuities are now an even better investment than before, as there has been a very recent substantial increase to the maximum amount which is tax-free on retirement. Is this true?

Answer: Yes indeed it is! The rules of an RA fund allow you to take up to one third of your total fund in cash. How much of this one third will be tax-free will depend upon whether you are a member of any other funds and the total tax-free amount (inclusive of lump sums from other RA, pension or provident funds) is the greater of R120 000 or R4 500 multiplied by the longest number (N) of continuous years of membership of any of these funds.

This R120 000 or R4 500 is the increased amount to which you refer. The recent Income Tax Bill increased the old maximum of R80 000 or R3 000 X N by a generous 50%, i.e. to R120 000 or R4 500 X N.

For example, an individual who was a member of his/her RA fund ... maximum tax-free amount of 40 X R4 500 = R180 000.

This latter fact shows that it's a good reason to take out at least a small RA early in one's working career since most persons change jobs, and therefore pension funds, whereas the RA can keep going and create the maximum years of membership to maximize the tax-free amount.

Question 2: I am now 26 years old and recently went into partnership (on a 50:50 basis) with my uncle who is 54 years old. While we share all the assets, liabilities and profits made equally, it is intended that I acquire 100% of the partnership on my uncle's death. How can I acquire the funds and secure my legal right to purchase such half share?

Answer: Your solution in what is called a Buy-and-Sell agreement funded by a life assurance policy. The Buy-and-Sell agreement is merely a legal contract which will bind each partner's estate/executor to sell to the surviving partner, at a price determined and calculated as per agreement, the deceased's share of the partnership. The funds to buy the share are obtained by the partners cross-insuring each other's lives for the required amount, taking future growth potential of the partnership into account.

Contractual agreement

4/4/86

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A pension fund that outstrips inflation

By GERHARD VAN NIEKERK

General Manager Pensions, Old Mutual

OLD MUTUAL'S Omnifund, an innovative service for pension funds introduced last year, reported total assets of R56,5 million, with investment returns of well over 30 percent.

Considering that the inflation rate was close to 17 percent, Omnifund's investment performance in a competitive market can only be described as a resounding success.

It has proved very popular with small to medium-sized pension funds. It has the special feature of offering clients the opportunity to participate in the fund through the purchase of units.

The concept is similar to that of a unit trust. The assets underlying the units will change in line with market values and Old Mutual's active portfolio management, ensuring the best possible investment returns for clients.

Omnifund consists of three fully market-linked investment funds in one.

Investments in cash and prescribed securities, spread over periods ranging from 12 months to 12 years, came to R25,5 million (45,1 percent) in the year to end June.

The market value of investments in mining and industrial shares amounted to R26,9 million and includes blue chip holdings such as Anglo American, De Beers, Barlow Rand and Sasol.

The balance of the total market value of assets of R56,5 million were invested in industrial, retail and office properties owned by Old Mutual, as well as property trusts quoted on the JSE.

The broad range of investments in shares, fixed interest securities and property investments greatly reduces the risk to clients as the spread and size of the assets, together with our proven financial expertise, frees clients from making difficult investment decisions.

They are, however, kept fully informed of developments through a monthly Omnifund Investments Brief detailing holdings, investment performance and unit price history.

to your policy to your benefit

By GRAEME D HILL

he Institute of Life and Pensions Advisers)

Disability benefits: Often referred to as "living death", disability is financially demanding yet frequently overlooked in financial planning.

Today several forms of disability cover are obtainable as extra protection. The costs involved obviously depend on the scope of the protection provided. For example, protection against disability through accident or disease resulting in loss of employment in your own occupation is more expensive than cover against loss of employment in your own or a similar occupation. This again is more expensive than cover against loss of employment in your own or any other occupation.

The amount of disability cover which may be paid to any one person is limited in terms of an agreement between member offices of the Life Offices' Association in order to prevent massive over-insurance and the consequent possibility of fraud through intentional disability.

The benefit is usually in the form of a lump sum on disability, as specified in the policy. As this is effectively an acceleration of the amount that would otherwise be paid only on death, the life cover enjoyed under the policy is reduced by the amount of the disability payment. Monthly income protection is also available from some life offices.

Unlike some forms of disability or accident cover available from short-term insurance companies where the contract is renewable every year and subject to changes in premium rates, the cover provided by life assurance is negotiated at the outset for the full period agreed upon.

Several life offices now allow the disability protection to be linked to the inflation rate to preserve the real value of the cover provided. Check that you can obtain this important facility.

Waiver of premium benefit: Various forms of this benefit are available to meet a variety of needs or circumstances. The benefit is a very useful tool in designing a policy to give the right form of protection. In essence the benefit "pays" all future premiums under the policy in the event of a claim.

For example, a father who takes out a policy to pay for his child's university education will want to ensure that if he should die before the maturity date, the sum assured will still become available to pay his child's university fees. However, he would not want payment to be made before the child goes to university.

So, instead of selecting a policy with life cover, he takes a savings-type policy (which is cheaper) and includes the premium waiver. In this way, if he should die before maturity, all further premiums are waived but the policy continues in full as if the premiums were still being paid. Then, at the specified maturity date, the policy pays out to meet the original intentions of the father.

This benefit can be applied in different ways to ensure that a policy achieves its real objectives.

Generally the purpose of the waiver of premium benefit is to "pay" future premiums in the event of the death or disability of the life assured or the premium payer if he or she is not the life assured. (For example, a husband may pay the premiums under a retirement annuity taken out for the benefit of his wife).

Conclusion: When you discuss your policy with your financial adviser, be sure to ask how the policy can be improved by the inclusion of some of the benefits discussed above. By doing this you will extend your cover and gain valuable extra protection for you and your family at a very reasonable cost.

r a better time y your home

04/14/86

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NOT for many years has the market been so attractive to the first-time home-buyer. KEVIN DONNELLY, Natal Building Society Cape Town branch manager, explains.

qualify for the government can be as low as R2 050.
e buyers with a government pay:

.....	R25 000
.....	R40 000
.....	R65 000
c	R58 500

Deposit required	R6 500
Transfer costs on land and house	R2 100
Bond costs	R600
NBS inspection fee	R170
First annual premium for insurance	R70
One-off premium levy of 8,5 percent	R558
Total funds required	R9 998

The one-off 8,5 percent premium is for loans of up to 20 years and is to secure the cost of the guarantee which the insurance company provides. If the life of the loan is more than 20 years, a 10 percent premium is payable.

Without a government subsidy, the money bond repayment based on these figures would be R813,75.

However, with a government subsidy, the bond repayment is only R640 a month.

At the Natal Building Society we give priority to first-time buyers and we recognize the need for young couples to acquire a home. The 90 percent bond and the government subsidy brings home ownership within the reach of many more people.

Adding will be t

(President of t

IN previous articles we discussed different types of basic policies. We also looked at the need to include protection to prevent the erosion of benefits and savings by inflation. Today, we look at various extra benefits which can be added to your policy. These benefits can increase the value of your policy substantially by giving greater protection at relatively low cost.

However, it is important to understand that your job, hobbies or state of health, by their very nature, will be taken into account by the life assurance company when deciding whether or not to grant the extra protection to you.

The actual terms and conditions of the different benefits vary from life office to life office, so ask for full details. The outlines which follow represent the general approach of the major life offices.

Guaranteed insurability benefit: This is a very valuable benefit, usually only available to people under age 40, which allows you to insure your future insurability. In other words, it will guarantee that you have options to take out more life assurance at certain prescribed future dates without providing any further evidence of health. Usually the benefit provides that marriage and the birth of a child also qualify as times when you may exercise an option. Depending upon your age when you take out your policy, the option may be exercised as many as seven or eight times.

The benefit is inexpensive and several life offices now link it to inflation as well, so that the real value of the benefit is assured into later years.

The guaranteed insurability benefit is highly recommended but often overlooked, especially by the young, healthy client who is confident that his good health will last indefinitely!

Accident benefit: This benefit usually comes in two forms. One relates to accidental death only, while the other includes injury benefits as well.

The accidental death benefit usually provides for an additional sum to be paid should death occur as result of an accident. The amount involved is specified in the policy.

Where the injury benefit is included, an additional sum is paid out on the loss or permanent loss of the use of eyes or limbs as a result of an accident.

Bearing in mind that statistics show that up to 16 percent of all death claims arise through accidental means (and that one out of every two deaths before the age of 30 is due to an accident) the importance of this extra protection, which is relatively inexpensive, is obvious

Eve. Post 4/11/86 (304A)

NGK accused of betraying Afrikaner

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The recent decision by the General Synod of the NG Kerk to open the church to all races is still being strongly opposed in right-wing quarters.

Several prominent right-wing members met in Pretoria at the weekend to draw up plans to oppose this decision.

A study commission has been appointed to organise a protest meeting and to seek legal advice.

The meeting has been scheduled for November 28, but the venue has still to be arranged.

Professor Willie Lubbe, an executive member of the Afrikaner Volkswag and former editor of the Kerkbode, has been appointed chairman of the study commission.

Leader of the Afrikaner Weerestandsbeweging (AWB) Mr Eugene TerréBlanche, told more than 2 000 people at a Krugersdorp meeting at the weekend that the NG Kerk had "mortally wounded" the Afrikaner nation.

He said educated members of the NGK had stabbed the Afrikaner and that "his blood is lying on the ground".

He asked whether the Afrikaner was going to lie down or whether he was going to get up and fight for his existence.

He also accused the Afrikaans Press of betraying the Afrikaner.

Mr TerréBlanche said the AWB had been wrongly accused of propagating violence.

"We do not advocate violence, but if violence is the only way to counteract violent people, then we will use it in the name of God."

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, was running scared of the Afrikaner. "True leaders do not need hundreds of troops and barbed wire when they address people" (referring to his meeting in Potgietersrus recently).

He added that Mr Botha was appeasing the enemy by making peace with them and had even arranged a "wedding march" for the event which cost the taxpayer R4,3 million.

Top businessmen not available

Economic summit has major setback

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The State President's economic summit, scheduled for Friday, has been dealt a major setback — at least nine leading businessmen, including Anglo American chief Mr Gavin Relly and National African Federated Chambers of Commerce president Mr Sam Motsuenyane, will not be attending.

Mr Motsuenyane and the other Nafcoc representatives are boycotting the conference because "the Government has not heeded previous advice from businessmen".

Pessimism over the conference is growing, with industrial leaders dissatisfied that political issues are not on the agenda.

Mr Relly, as well as Premier Group chief Mr Tony Bloom and Toyota chief Mr Colin Adcock, were invited to the summit — but they will all be overseas.

Leading businessmen who were not invited include the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries, Mr John Wilson; Barclays Bank chief Mr Chris Ball; Tradegro chief Mr Mervyn King; SA Perm head Mr Bob Tucker and JCI chief Mr Gordon Waddell.

Mr Motsuenyane told The Star that he did not believe anything constructive would arise from the talks.

"We are getting disillusioned about the pace of change."

He said the conference agenda, dealing with a long-term economic strategy and privatisation, could not be properly addressed "until we begin to address the crucial political problems that face our country".

A spokesman for Anglo American, Mr Neville Huxam, confirmed that Mr Relly would not attend but said a "top-level group of executives" would be representing the company.

Mr Huxam denied that Mr Relly had snubbed the conference, saying he had long-standing engagements in the United States and Canada.

Earlier, Mr Bloom questioned whether "these mega-summits accomplish anything".

Mr Ball confirmed that he had not been invited. "I'm not sure on what basis the invitations were issued. Maybe they don't like me," he said.

The Star has made several inquiries but the State President's Office has not yet released the names of the 200 delegates.

Mix-up over PW's November 11 visit to open memorial

4/11/86 (302AA) STAR

The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — The South African Embassy is embarrassed by a ministerial mix-up over the visit to France by the State President, Mr P W Botha, on November 11.

Confusion has been caused by reports that French War Veterans Minister Mr Georges Fontes would accompany him when he inaugurated the War Memorial Museum at Longueval.

His presence had been formally announced several weeks ago by Mr Denis Baudouin, chief spokesman for Prime Minister Mr Jacques Chirac. Mr Fontes is also a member of Mr Chirac's Gaullist RPR party, but Mr Fontes has now publicly announced that he will not be greeting Mr Botha.

He said in an interview with the local Radio-France Herault: "It is impossible for me to be at Longueval as I shall be attending the French national ceremony with President Francois Mitterrand at the Arc de Triomphe. I only learnt I was supposed to be with President Botha when Mr Baudouin announced it without first contacting me.

"I am opposed to apartheid and I'm rather glad I have a more pressing engagement in Paris," he added.

It is understood the highest French official functionary to greet Mr Botha will be the Prefect of Picardie.

A South African Embassy spokesman said they never expected the War Minister to be with President Botha as they were well aware he would have to be in Paris.

"His statement on the radio is not seen as a snub as President Botha never expected to see him."

Foreign Minister Mr Jean-Bernard Raimond told the National Assembly when questioned about the Botha visit that: "My government is unconditionally opposed to apartheid."

He told left-wing deputies protesting against the visit: "Mr Botha laid the foundation stone of this memorial in June 1984 when there was a socialist-communist government in power."

Cape Times 4/11/86

Businessmen want politics at summit

30(A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pressure is mounting for the State President, Mr P W Botha, to include political issues on Friday's summit agenda as business leaders hold intense discussions over the issues.

The giant Anglo American Corporation added its voice to the call for the critical social and political issues facing the country to be debated.

Deputy chairman Mr Graham Boustred, who will attend the summit, said the executive committee of Anglo had debated the crucial common items to be raised and reached the view that "there can be no meaningful conference unless the political dimension is included as a crucial component".

'Normalize'

"You cannot debate this attempt to get the economy going again and to normalize our relationships with our trading partners without referring specifically to what is happening on the political front."

Mr Boustred said Anglo and its associates would be "well represented".

The summit agenda consists of the government's White Paper on Privatization and the proposals of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) on economic strategy.

Political issues also came to the fore in discussions held by a group of business leaders who met secretly in Johannesburg recently in preparation for the conference. The decisions reached are not being disclosed.

And the executive council of the Federated Chamber of Industries, which is meeting in Johannesburg this week, will be discussing the issues on the agenda and formulating its views, FCI president Dr Johan van Zyl said.

Assocom president Mr Harold Groom, who flew from Cape Town yesterday, said he and Assocom advisors would meet on Thursday to study the relevant documents and arrive at a position.

Meanwhile, economists said yesterday that SA was looking to Mr Botha to announce urgent measures to reactivate the stalled reform programme. They said the country did not need a defiant state president ignoring the harsh realities of SA's growing isolation, and its causes.

The PFP finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the representatives of big business should raise as a priority the political issues which stood in the way of solving the country's worsening economic problems.

Unrest and massive unemployment had political roots, and it was only political action that could significantly relieve the problems.

Trade unions

Mr Schwarz said it was essential that representatives of trade unions should also be heard on Friday.

His call was supported by the Transvaal region of the Black Sash which in a letter to 84 top businessmen called on them not to be co-opted by the government into helping it deal with sanctions.

The Black Sash said they should — as a "last remaining strategy for peaceful change" — act together in impressing on the government the need to put the country on the road to peace and justice for all.

'Horrendous' white fifth column warning

BONN—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned an international conference that South African whites would form 'an horrendous internal revolutionary fifth column movement' if a new government were brought about through the barrel of a gun.

The overthrow of the present Government by black military violence would lead only to a counter military force in turn taking over the new government, he said here.

He was addressing heads of state, ministers and other representatives of Asian, European, American and African countries at a seminar organised by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The first speaker was West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Democracy

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said that, for the next South African government to work, it was an absolute prerequisite that blacks and whites co-operated in replacing apartheid with an open democracy.

The country was now ripe for a democratic ousting of apartheid. But it was also nearly ripe for the kind of violent ending of apartheid which would in itself lead to the destruction of such a democratic prospect.

There was a race against time between democracy and violence, Chief Buthelezi said. And the struggle had to be waged in South Africa by South Africans.

However, whether it could be won by democracy might well be decided outside the country. There was now a danger that sanctions would tip the chances in favour of violence.

Refusal

He appealed to the West to look very carefully at the consequences of sanctions. If the world increased their scope and bite, the future of democracy would be deeply prejudiced.

The sooner it was realised that sanctions were not going to stampede President Botha into capitulating, the less danger there would be for South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said that the black people's most powerful form of democratic opposition to apartheid at present was their refusal to participate in any Government move which was not a meaningful step forward.

Abandoning

The South African Government had in fact now recognised that apartheid had to be scrapped, that South Africa was one country and that political reform had to be radical and far-reaching. It really did see the need for reform and was abandoning its homeland policy step by step.

Chief Buthelezi said Western observers should consider how much worse Frelimo's and Mr Robert Mugabe's present positions would have been if Frelimo had destroyed Mozambique's industrial heartlands in Maputo and Beira and if Mr Mugabe had done similarly in Harare and Bulawayo

'As a black South African I have no intention of leading my country into the desolation which would result from destroying its industrial heartlands,' he said. — (Sapa)

3044

agan President

With things so tight, electioneering has become extremely nasty.

The South African issue has surfaced in some fights, especially in California were Senator Alan Cranston, an arch-foe of Mr P W Botha's Government, has accused his opponent, Mr Ed Zschau, of being soft on South Africa.

● Voters were electing a new Congress today. Voters in 36 states were electing governors, those in 34 were choosing Senators, and all 435 House of Representatives seats were being filled. In addition, thousands of state and local elections were being held. — AP.

Contributions to hunger fund nearly R126 000

Argus 4/11/86 (244)

Staff Reporter

CONTRIBUTIONS to The Argus Food Campaign, in association with the Mayor's Relief Fund, today reached R125 729.

The Consul-General of the Republic of China in Cape Town, Mr H C Chan, sent in a cheque of R1 000 from him and his four vice-consuls.

In a letter to he said: "My colleagues and I have been closely following with concern The Argus Food Campaign which is aimed at helping the underprivileged on the Cape Flats.

"To respond my colleagues and I donate a cheque for R1 000, which is a collection from our personal salaries. We hope in this way that we can join in helping the needy."

The pupils of Diocesan College (Bishops) raised R424,70 from a collection during a college chapel service.

Celtic Football Club and Glenville Dart Club each contributed R50.

● Cash contributions should be sent to The Argus Food Campaign, PO Box 15399, Vlaeberg 8018 or to PO Box 298, Cape Town 8000. Cheques to be made out to the Mayor's Relief Fund.

The Divisional Council also has a feeding scheme in association with Santa. Cheques, made out to Santa, to be sent to Santa, Mezzanine Floor, Monte Carlo Building, Foreshore, 8001.

● Collection points, Back Page of Classifieds.

Dr Anton Rupert

Whites must face the facts — Rupert

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa would cross the Rubicon only if whites faced the challenges of a new set of facts and concentrated on the development of the black community to the year 2000, Dr Anton Rupert, head of the Rembrandt business empire, said last night.

Dr Rupert, also vice-president of the Urban Foundation and chairman of the Small Business Development Corporation, was speaking at a banquet in Johannesburg.

Whites, he said, enjoyed probably the most advanced infrastructure in the southern hemisphere. The time had arrived to help blacks to advance by the creation of black schools, universities, housing and small business ventures.

There were tremendous opportunities for everyone if the challenges were seized to create a new future.

REACTIVE

Earlier at the banquet, Mr D Paxton, on behalf of the Allied Building Society, presented the 1986 Visionary of the Year award to Mr Jan Steyn, head of the Urban Foundation.

Mr Steyn said he was deeply concerned over the possibility that under pressure the Government might become increasingly reactive.

He said: "If it does so, it could drag us deeper and deeper into a mentality and an economy of siege which will ultimately undermine our capacity to respond to the development needs of our subcontinent."

Fortunately, there were increasing signs that inside both the Government and the deeply alienated black community there was a desire to escape from the present stalemate.

4/11/86 STAR (304A) STAR 4/11/86

Visiting Zimbabwe MP clashes with Pik at Rosebank meeting

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

In an extraordinary clash at a National Party meeting last night, a visiting MP from Zimbabwe disputed a claim made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs that there was no freedom in Zimbabwe.

Mr Charles Duke, a member of the ruling Zanu-PF party who is visiting South Africa, stood up at Mr Pik Botha's public meeting, attended by 700 people in Rosebank, and said he disagreed that Zimbabwe was not free.

Zimbabwe MP Mr Charles Duke: disagreed that his country was not free.

Mr Pik Botha: would visit Zimbabwe if assured he could "cross the border alive".

Speaking during question time, Mr Duke asked the Minister how the South African Government could claim to have a multi-party system and still pass "extremist legislation".

He said the South African Government had no new proposals for solving problems in the region.

In his reply, Mr Botha attacked Mr Duke "for criticising my Government". He questioned whether any South African politician would be allowed to do the same in Zimbabwe.

He said he would take up Mr Duke's offer to visit Zimbabwe to see conditions for himself, providing Mr Duke could provide the assurance he would be able to "cross the border alive".

Mr Botha criticised the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, warning that his "totalitarian and Marxist" plans would mean the end of freedom in that country.

He said the Government would not allow South Africa to be taken over by the forces now in control of many countries to the north of it.

Earlier in his address, Mr Botha said apartheid had not been the problem in Zimbabwe but now the country had independence "there is hardly a person who can say it has freedom".

Mr Botha also criticised the African National Congress, saying it was dominated by the South African Communist Party and was not interested in peaceful negotiation.

He said the country's enemies had realised many years ago that South Africa's "pluralist" policies made it an easy target of criticism — and outside pressure had steadily increased over the years.

Sanctions were inevitable but "the people of South Africa cannot be boycotted in respect of their capacity to adapt and change and negotiate", he said.

Referring to a possible general election, Mr Botha said support for his meeting showed the National Party would seriously challenge the Progressive Federal Party in Johannesburg.

SAA will continue US flights

Transport Reporter

South African Airways will continue to operate its scheduled flights to the United States until further notice, an SAA spokesman said yesterday.

He said the twice-weekly New York flights would be resumed from Friday "until we are told to stop".

The airline lodged an objection with the US Department of Transportation last week against immediate termination of SAA flights to the US following the Anti-Apartheid Act passed recently by the US Congress.

LEGAL RIGHT

SAA wanted its flights to continue for a 12-month period until October 27 1987, arguing that it was the airline's right under the 1947 Air Transport Services Agreement between the US and South Africa to receive one year's notice.

The Department of Transportation was expected to decide on SAA's objection this week.

The spokesman said SAA had not decided whether legal action would be taken if the decision went against the airline.

4/11/86 DD

Discuss real issues, says big business

Pressure on PW's summit

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Pressure is mounting for the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to include political issues on Friday's summit agenda as business leaders meet to hold discussions over the issues.

The giant Anglo-American corporation added its voice to the call for the critical social and political issues facing the country to be debated.

The deputy chairman, Mr Graham Boustred, who will be attending the summit, said the executive committee of Anglo had debated the crucial common items to be raised and reached the view that "there can be no meaningful conference unless the political dimension is included as a crucial component.

"You cannot debate this attempt to get the economy going again and to normalise our relationships with our trading partners without referring specifically to what is happening on the political front," Mr Boustred emphasised.

He said the Anglo group and its associates would be "well-represented" at the summit.

The summit agenda consists of the government's White Paper on privatisation and the proposals of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) on economic strategy.

Economists said yesterday that South Africa was looking to Mr Botha to announce urgent measures to re-activate the stalled reform programme and said what the country did not need was a defiant State President ignoring the harsh realities of South Africa's growing isolation, and its causes.

Copies of the white paper and the EAC proposals are expected to reach delegates this week. No official list of invitees will be released.

Progressive Federal Party finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, said the representatives of big business should, as a priority, raise the political issues, which stood in the way of solving the country's worsening economic problems.

De Kock defends the money squeeze

Benefits of gold boom squandered

Finance Staff

The financial authorities squandered the benefits of the gold boom in the early 1980s, according to Reserve Bank governor Dr Gerhard de Kock.

He told a seminar last night the authorities were guilty then of unjustified expansionary policies, a lack of proper financial controls and excessive pay rises in the public sector.

And, he said, the circumstances which led to the drastic tightening of monetary policy in August 1984 could have been avoided.

Addressing a Mercabank seminar in Johannesburg, he said they could have been prevented by more appropriate fiscal and remuneration policies in the public sector in the previous two years.

But, he said, once a situation such as that in 1984 had come about, a tightening of monetary policy was imperative in the interests of the economy.

"The moral of the story is that, if at all possible, monetary authorities should not allow situations like that which prevailed in South Africa in August 1984 to arise."

Dr de Kock said it was unfortunate for the Reserve Bank the burden of policy at the time had to fall on monetary policy.

"It would have been better if, in accordance with earlier Reserve Bank advice, fiscal policy had been less expansionary and if more appropriate remuneration and administrative pricing policies had been followed in the public sector during the preceding two years.

De Kock

"justified spending spree of 1983/84 would then not have occurred to anything like the same extent and it would not have been necessary for interest rates to rise as much as they had to in August 1984."

Dr de Kock said events further back in history also had an effect on the situation.

It was evident the gold boom of 1979 and 1980 was not handled as well as it might have been, he said.

When the gold price moved up sharply in 1979 and 1980 to a peak of $850 an ounce in January 1980, steps should have been taken to prevent the money supply rising as high as it did and interest rates from falling to levels abnormally low in nominal terms and substantially negative in real terms.

Such steps could have included a relaxation of exchange control and special issues of Government stock aimed at building up a large stabilisation fund.

"In retrospect, it is also clear that a policy of adhering to a predetermined money supply target in the years 1979 to 1981 would have greatly eased the handling of the subsequent adjustment problems that inevitably followed the decline in the gold price, the drought and the capital outflow."

Dr de Kock said the "spending spree" that preceded the 1984 tightening of monetary policy could have been prevented by more effective demand management policy at a time when the gold price was declining and the drought was taking its toll.

The Budgets of March 1983 and 1984 were excessively expansionary, he said, and so were the large wage and salary increases in the public sector in those years.

"In addition, the Reserve Bank's monetary policy was too accommodative.

"But when the gold price suddenly slumped further in July 1984 (by about $40 an ounce) the writing was on the wall.

"Given the inadequate amount of fiscal policy in the overall policy mix at that time, there was no alternative in August 1984 but to tighten monetary policy."

Is NGK really 'the National Party at prayer'?

4/11/86

MAX DU PREEZ, Political Correspondent

☐ BOSHOFF . . . supported the decisions

THE NG Kerk has, with its recent synod decisions to open membership to all but to remain a separate white church, merely caught up with NP policy after having fallen behind since the last synod in 1982.

This is the assessment of NG theologians on the left and in the black and coloured NG "sister" churches — and of the rightwing in the church. *Die Afrikaner*, mouthpiece of the HNP, said last week the church now again deserved the label of "the National Party at prayer".

The synod decisions echoed the new base of government policy: that of "own affairs" and "general affairs". The NP has opened up membership of political parties to all, but insist on separate political structures for different population groups.

One dominee quipped: "Like the NP, we've also gone open but tricameral."

There is another obvious parallel: Verligte new moderator Johan Heyns explained after the synod that what they had in mind when they condemned apartheid, was "negative" apartheid. President P W Botha has also rejected the "outdated concept" of apartheid.

The synod decisions are seen as a severe psychological setback for the CP and the HNP, as most of their supporters are also members of the NG Kerk. That is why the CP leader Andries Treurnicht and HNP leader Jaap Marais have reacted hysterically to the decisions, while rightwing church leaders seem to be quite happy.

The acid test was going to be what the congregations were going to do with the decisions. After two weeks, most dominees consulted believed there was not going to be any major split. Reports of rightwingers going over to the ultra-rightwing Hervormde Kerk have come from western Transvaal and the Vaal Triangle, but these were few and far between. All the members of the "commission" formed in Pretoria last weekend to "study" the controversial synod decisions are prominent radical political figures.

An influencial dominee said: "The synod decisions and Heyns's explanations are open to virtually any interpretation. Verkrampte dominees in verkrampte congregations are explaining it in their way, and verligte dominees in verligte congregations in their way. That way everybody is happy".

Some verligte elements believed a split in the NG Kerk would actually do it a lot of good, as the split in the NP had done it a lot of good. The church is the only Afrikaner establishment group that has not yet split since the CP breakaway. Even the Broederbond, of which moderator Heyns is still, by his own admission, a prominent member, has split.

The NG Sendingkerk's Johan Retief, who attended the synod, said all decisions were overshadowed by the decision to maintain the separate character of the white church. He said: "It means it is still an apartheid church." His reaction is typical of ministers in his "sister" church.

One pointer made it clear the synod decision on separate churches was based on race: it was decided that the group of Portuguese NG congregations should remain in the same synod and not become a separate church. Unlike the Sendingkerk, whose members are overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking, members of the Portuguese congregations are mostly first generation Protestants.

Still, the decision had some symbolic importance for Afrikanerdom. Prominent Pretoria theologian Piet Meiring said: "The NG Kerk is representative of Afrikanerdom, so everybody from the far right to the far left were represented. For most of them it was a momentous decision. It is true that most decisions are open for different interpretations, but one is not: that membership is open to all races. It will be interesting to see how the regional synods are going to react next year."

SA will emerge stronger – Steyn

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Jan Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, is not pessimistic about South Africa's future.

He warned today against falling into despondency and apathy in the belief that "there is nothing we can do".

Receiving the Allied Building Society's Visionary of the Year Award, he said he was convinced the country would emerge "from the present period of stress and uncertainty a more confident, a more unified and significantly more just and responsive society than we have ever been before".

He was "highly conscious of the very real dangers in our present situation" and was deeply concerned that the Government might respond to current pressures in a way that made it increasingly reactive.

"If it does so, it could drag us deeper and deeper into a mentality and an economy of siege which will ultimately undermine our capacity to develop and respond to the developmental needs of our sub-continent."

He was also aware of the utter frustration and despair of blacks, many of whom had unrealistic expectations which found expression in slogans such as "Liberation now".

Many of the more articulate leaders angrily perceived the very real changes and reforms which had occurred as not "really relevant", as "cosmetic" and as an inadequate response to their rising expectations.

"I am also aware that this anger which will be coupled with the anger of the growing army of unemployed people and the frustration of hundreds of thousands of black school children, will inevitably mean that whatever we do will take place against a background of protest and instability.

"We are, however, receiving increasing signs that both within Government and within the deeply alienated black community there is a desire to escape from the stalemate," Mr Steyn said.

The present response to the situation by Government reflected their view of a need to consolidate and review options in the face of internal and external threats.

He believed that "this view will give way — perhaps under different leadership — to a more forward-looking and courageous stand which will press forward even more dynamically with changes". — Sapa

Blueprint for SWA

Business wants politics included

Summit: PW faces pressure over agenda

BUSDAY 30/4/A

PRESSURE is mounting for President P W Botha to include political issues on Friday's summit agenda as business leaders meet to discuss SA's future.

Anglo American has added its voice to the call for the critical social and political issues facing the country to be debated.

Deputy-chairman Graham Boustred, who will be attending the summit, said Anglo's executive committee had debated the common items to be raised and reached the view that "there can be no meaningful conference unless the political dimension is included as a crucial component.

"You cannot debate this attempt to get the economy going again and to normalise our relationships with our trading partners without referring specifically to what is happening on the political front."

Boustred also said Anglo and its associates would be "well-represented" at the summit.

LINDA ENSOR and GERALD REILLY

The summit agenda consists of government's White Paper on privatisation and Economic Advisory Council (EAC) proposals on economic strategy.

Political issues also came to the fore in discussions held by a group of business leaders who met secretly in Johannesburg recently in preparation for the conference. The decisions reached are not being disclosed.

One said: "Obviously we do not want to only talk about privatisation and EAC proposals on Friday. There can be no economic plan for the future unless we tackle the social and political issues of the country."

And the executive council of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), which is meeting in Johannesburg this

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4/1/80 BUS DM 30/4/A

PW faces pressure over agenda

● From Page 1

week, will discuss the issues on the agenda and formulate its views.

Assocom president Harold Groom, who flew up from Cape Town yesterday, said he and Assocom advisors would meet on Thursday to study the relevant documents and arrive at a position.

Economists said SA was looking to Botha to announce urgent measures to reactivate the stalled reform programme. They also said what the country did not need was a defiant President ignoring the harsh realities of SA's growing isolation and its causes.

The State President's Office secretary-general, Dr Jannie Roux, said government's White Paper on privatisation and the EAC proposals were expected to reach delegates this week.

No official list of those invited would be released.

PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said the businessmen should, as a priority, raise the political issues which stood in the way of solving the country's worsening economic problems.

Schwarz said it was essential that aside from capital and management representatives, those representing trade unions should also be heard on Friday. Unrest and massive unemployment had political roots, and it was only political action that could significantly relieve the problems.

His call was supported by Black Sash's Transvaal region which, in a letter to 84 top businessmen, called on them not to be co-opted by government into helping it to deal with sanctions.

They should — as a "last remaining strategy for peaceful change" — act together in impressing on government the need to put the country on the road to peace and justice for all.

CAPE TIMES 5/11/86 3044

ANC appeal to SA business

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC telexed an appeal from Lusaka yesterday to SA businessmen "not to allow themselves to be diverted" from their efforts to end apartheid.

Spokesman Mr Tom Sebina said State President P W Botha's invitation to the business community to attend an economic summit on Friday was intended "to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".

And in Pretoria, Mr Botha told a press conference that reports of a number of prominent businessmen staying away from the meeting made him laugh. But he also took the strongest exception to the reports.

The ANC's appeal was distributed at the meeting of FCI's executive council in Johannesburg. It has also been sent to Assocom, Nafcoc, the SA Foundation, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and the Chamber of Mines.

Mr Sebina said it would be unfortunate if business people allowed themselves to be used to "improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis. We are of the view that this can and must be avoided".

It was necessary for all SA's peoples to treat meaningful communication with the utmost seriousness. South Africa was heading for a catastrophe as the Pretoria government persisted with its present course.

Meanwhile, Mr Botha, objecting to reports of businessmen staying away from the summit, said yesterday that he "took the strongest exception to a part of our press that is bent upon sabotaging SA at every corner. I call it nothing else but economic sabotage, and I do it with repulsion (veragting)".

"If we had more space, we would probably have had 400 people. We sit with a long list of applicants who have been nominated, but we cannot admit them, because we don't have the space."

Mr Botha said government did not invite individual businessmen.

"We asked different interest groups to nominate their own people. But as is the case with busy businessmen, some had long-standing appointments overseas. They wrote us letters expressing regret that they could not attend."

Our London correspondent reports that the text of the ANC appeal, in the name of Mr Tom Sebina, reads as follows: "We believe that the convening of this meeting on November 7, 1986, is a matter of public interest.

"It is for this reason that we send you this letter.

"We are convinced that there is a pressing need for the people of South Africa of all races and walks of life greatly to increase the amount of meaningful communication among themselves.

"The certainty that we are all heading towards a catastrophe as the powers-that-be in Pretoria continue to persist on their present course, makes it necessary that all people of goodwill in South Africa should treat such communication among themselves with the greatest seriousness.

"It is clear both to ourselves and to many people throughout the world that those who hold power in our country are not interested in any meaningful communication with anybody except themselves and those who agree with them.

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C.T. 5/11/86 3044

ANC

"Any discussions they may hold with those who do not fall in these categories are only intended to give the impression of interest in dialogue in order to buy time to continue and entrench old policies.

"Over the last few months we have noted with interest the increased number of public statements issued by business people and their organizations dealing with important political questions facing our country.

"We have entertained the hope that this marked the beginning of a process which could lead to the serious involvement of the business community in the efforts of the majority of our people to end apartheid and bring into being a democratic society.

"It would be most unfortunate for our country if concerned business people were to allow themselves to be diverted from this path and to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis.

"We are of the view that this can and must be avoided.

"We would be grateful if you could circulate this communication to all your members as some of them will have been invited to the meeting of 7th."

CAPE TIMES

5/4/86

304 A

They're IN

Mr Adriaan Vlok the new Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch who takes charge of the SABC as Minister in the Office of the State President

M

Big cabin

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday announced a sweeping shake-up of his government, removing Mr Louis le Grange from the Law and Order portfolio and retiring Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Mr Lapa Munnik and Mr Louis Nel.

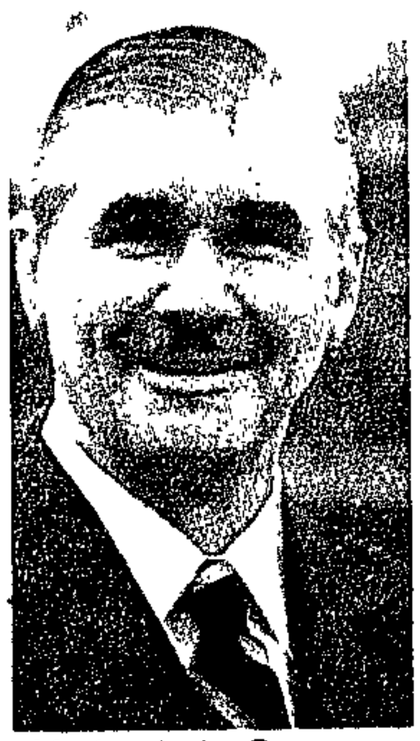
The move brings the former Vice-President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, back into politics.

While Mr Botha has trimmed his 20-member cabinet by three, he was able to dispense considerable political patronage by allowing the number of

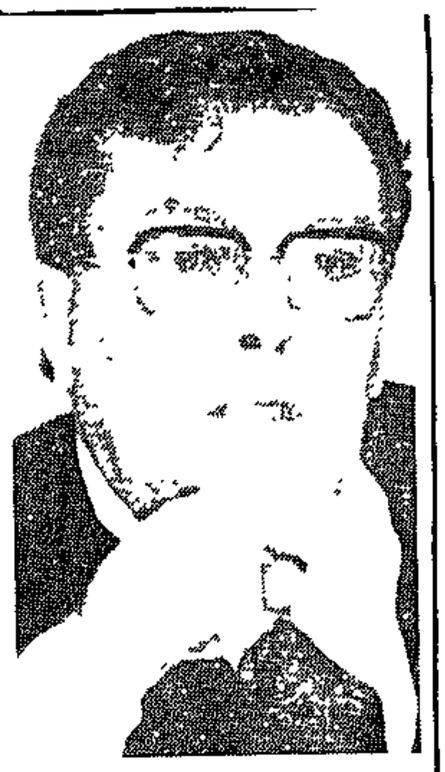
They're OUT

Lapa Munnik

Mr Hendrik Schoeman


Mr Louis le Grange

Mr Sarel Hayward


Mr George Morrison

CAPE TIMES 5/11/86 (304 A)

...et shake-up

deputy ministers to rocket from 10 to 20.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin last night slammed the shake-up as "doing nothing more than increasing the already considerable length of the National Party's gravy train".

Mr Botha justified the "rationalization" by saying that there was "so much talent in the ranks of the National Party" that he had decided to appoint more deputy ministers to improve administration.

The restructuring could well precipitate a mini-election next year if the government does not opt for an early general election.

Political observers did not see the reshuffle as heralding a major "verkramp-verlig" shift but the house-cleaning operation has allowed the government to flush out some of its more controversial and political bunglers which is likely marginally to improve its public image.

Botha's statement — see page 3

Also noteworthy is that virtually all the former United Party or New Republic Party members who have crossed the floor have now been given major responsibilities at ministerial or deputy ministerial level.

This development could well influence the remaining members of the NRP with the party on the verge of disappearing.

The most notable changes are:

☐ The wresting of the SABC from Mr Pik Botha and placing it in the hands of former deputy State President and political hardliner Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, who has been brought back from retirement to become a full minister in the State President's office.

The move resolves a long-standing battle between presidential aspirants Mr Botha and Mr Chris Heunis for control of the vitally important parastatal organ and also indicates the weight placed on the broadcast media by the President.

☐ After a stormy seven-year reign as Law and Order Minister, Mr Louis le Grange hands over to the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The personable and pragmatic Mr Vlok, although tough beneath the suface, is expected to improve the public image of the police force.

☐ As expected, the controversy-dogged Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, finally got the chop. He has been replaced by constitutional expert and top NP thinker Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

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☐ The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, gets a new ministry that will include the portfolios Trade and Industry, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Tourism.

The Minister of Trade and Industries and former rising star, Dr Dawie de Villiers, was dropped from the cabinet, but appointed Minister of the Budget in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

☐ Four ministers will be retiring: Mr Hendrik Schoeman (Transport), Dr Lapa Munnik (Communications and Public Works), Mr Sarel Hayward (Agriculture and Water Supply) and Dr George Morrison (Own Affairs, Health Services and Welfare.)

Mr Le Grange had "expressed the wish that he would welcome a change" and from December 1 will become the government candidate for the post of Speaker of Parliament. The current Speaker, Mr Johann Greeff, will become chairman of the President's Council.

Among the surprise omissions in the promotion stakes was Mr Gene Louw, the Administrator of the Cape, who had been widely tipped for a cibinet post.

Another surprise was Dr Denis Worrall, South Africa's Ambassador to Britain, who was also expected to be given a position in the restructured cabinet.

New deputy ministers appointed are MP for Paarl Mr Jacobus Meiring (Foreign Affairs), MP for Ermelo Mr Hendrik Tempel (Development Aid), MP for Kroonstad Mr Wynand Breytenbach (Defence), MP for Malmesbury Mr Gert Kotze and MP for Prieska Dr Andre van Niekerk (Agriculture), Tourism Board chairman Mr Danie Hough and MP for Amanzimtoti Mr George Bartlett (Economic Affairs and Technology);

MP for Waterkloof Dr Georg Marais (Finance), MP for Gordonia Mr Jacob van Wyk (Water Affairs), MP for De Kuilen Mr Myburgh Streicher (Transport), MP for Rustenburg Dr Michael Veldsman (Health Services) and Johannesburg West MP Mr Roelf Meyer (Law and Order).

The Ministers' Councils in the coloured and Indian Houses were left unchanged.

304A

Business Report

Business must 'help to keep SA governable'

Assistant Financial Editor

ALTHOUGH business does not govern SA it has "a special role to play in keeping the country governable," the CE of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), Raymond Parsons, said last night.

He told members of the Orange Free State Chamber of Commerce, in Bloemfontein, that the private sector "must promote black advancement, contribute to the constitutional debate and concentrate on neutralizing intensified economic sanctions."

Parsons said it was in everyone's interests that the summit meeting between the Cabinet and business leaders on Friday should "make a positive impact on the mood of the nation and on business confidence in particular".

Reform process

The meeting came at a propitious time economically in that, with a business upswing just under way, there were important questions of economic strategy to be addressed.

"From the social and political angle, the timing of the conference is also important, as there are a number of questions about the reform process which are currently relevant to business decisions."

Economic performance and the reform process were interdependent in SA, and positive co-ordination of strategies between business and the authorities to deal with these important matters was desirable.

"The road ahead needs new signposts."

Parsons said there must be a flexible approach to the subjects discussed at the summit conference.

Credibility

Although the main items on the agenda were economic strategy, privatization and deregulation, political and social questions had also to be given an airing.

There must be genuine two-way communication between the public and private sectors, with each side willing to express its hopes and fears in a frank manner.

"Let neither side be suspicious of the other but let all be watchful.

"The credibility of both the public and the private sector is at stake."

Cape Times 5/11/86

New cabinet portfolios, ministers

(304A)

Mr George Bartlett

Mr Myburgh Streicher

PRETORIA. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday announced the retirement of numerous senior members and the promotion of a phalanx of deputies to assist the remaining members of the cabinet.

Mr Botha said a number of his cabinet colleagues had informed him they wished to retire from the cabinet and that it had become necessary to make adjustments.

The ministers are Mr Hendrik Schoeman (Transport), Dr Lapa Munnik (Communications and Public Works), Mr Sarel Hayward (Agriculture and Water Supply) and Dr G de V Morrison (Own Affairs, Health Services and Welfare).

Mr Louis le Grange (Law and Order) had indicated he would welcome a change.

Mr Botha said he had decided to reduce the number of general affairs ministers. There were no changes to the composition of the Ministers' Councils of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

The former Vice-President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, was appointed from December 1 "Minister in the office of the State President concerned with the Commission for Administration for the South African Broadcasting Corporation".

Mr Schlebusch would also assist the State President with ceremonial duties.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, would retain his post, but would have two deputies due to the heavy responsibilities involving the TBVC states, Southern Africa and in the broader international sphere. The present Deputy Minister, Mr Ron Miller, will be joined by Mr Kobus Meiring, MP for Paarl.

The Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, retains this post and that of Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, and takes Mr Schoeman's place as Leader of the House.

The Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, retains his post as well, but the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, will be joined by Mr Hendrik Tempel, MP for Ermelo, who will be responsible for Development Aid.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, retains his post, and will also take responsibility for Public Works, which "as a result of the devolution of power" had transferred much of its activities to other State institutions.

Mr Kobie Coetsee retains the Justice portfolio.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, retains his portfolio and he will be assisted by Mr W N Breytenbach, MP for Kroonstad, as Deputy Minister of Defence.

The Minister of Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs, Mr Greyling Wentzel, has been appointed Minister of Agriculture for both general affairs and own affairs in the House of Assembly.

His present Deputy Minister, Mr Gert Kotze, is to be joined by Dr A I van Niekerk, MP for Prieska.

The present Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, is to head a new ministry — of Economic Affairs and Technology — which will include Trade and Industry, Mineral and Energy Affairs, and will also implement the policy of deregulation and privatization.

Due to the heavy work load, two deputies have been appointed: Mr Danie Hough, former Administrator-General of Namibia and current chairman of the Tourism Board, and Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti.

Mr Barend du Plessis retained the Finance Ministry; and Economic Advisory Services are to be added to his department of Finance, Treasury, Internal Revenue and Customs and Excise.

The present Deputy Minister, Mr Kent Durr, will be joined by Dr Org Marais, MP for Waterkloof.

Mr John Wiley, Minister of Environment Affairs, will also take responsibility for the Department of Water Affairs. The Deputy Minister for Environment Affairs, Mr S V Naicker, will be joined by Mr J A van Wyk, MP for Gordonia, as deputy minister concerned with Water Affairs.

The cabinet members without portfolios, Mr Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, remain unchanged.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, is to become Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, which will include the Department of Posts and Telecommunications. Responsibility for the Government Printer will also be transferred to him.

Mr Eli Louw, Minister of Economic Advisory Services, is to take over the Transport portfolio and Mr Myburgh Streicher, MP for De Kuilen, has been appointed his deputy minister.

Dr Willie van Niekerk retains his portfolio of National Health and Population Development but will also take over the own affairs health portfolio in the House of Assembly.

The Deputy Minister of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, is to be joined by Dr M H Veldsman, MP for Rustenburg, as Deputy Minister of Health Services.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, as the new Minister of Law and Order, will be joined by Mr Roelf Meyer, MP for Johannesburg West, as Deputy Minister, who will also succeed Mr Vlok in the security management.

Mr Botha said that because a new Ministry of Economic Affairs was being established, Dr Dawie de Villiers, at present Minister of Trade and Industry, had agreed to take over the post of Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly Ministers' Council.

Mr Botha said the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Johan Greeff, had agreed to be the government's candidate for chairman of the President's Council.

The Ministry of Constitutional Planning and Development under Mr Chris Heunis, and its departments, had transferred a great number of its tasks to the provincial administrations.

The deputy ministers for this ministry would be Mr Ben Wilkens and Mr Piet Badenhorst, at present Deputy Minister in Mr Heunis's office. — Sapa

The State President, Mr P W Botha, announcing his cabinet shake-up yesterday.

Cape Times 5/11/86

Govt opponents are not impressed

By RENEE MOODIE

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY organizations and the Progressive Federal Party were last night unmoved by yesterday's cabinet reshuffle, which was described as "unimpressive".

They were also indifferent to the removal of Mr Louis le Grange as Minister of Law and Order, saying that the government's policies would now simply be carried out by his successor.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the new cabinet inspired no more confidence than the old and Mr Botha had once again missed an opportunity of revitalizing his "jaded" cabinet with new blood.

He added that the new cabinet remained desperately short of members with specialist knowledge and experience in business.

Imam Omar Nordien, provincial president of the Muslim Youth Movement, said the cabinet reshuffle was "unimpressive". "It is cosmetic change which does not mean anything to the millions of oppressed people in this country."

To Page 5

Joint govt seen as answer

30(A) Eve Post 5/11/86

JOHANNESBURG — Without an all-new government, there was only one way for South Africa to break out of isolation and return to international respectability — via a government in which blacks were the senior partners, whites the juniors.

This was argued by Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University at the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) today.

Speaking on "South Africa's international isolation," Prof Geldenhuys said the answer was to be found in "domestic legitimacy".

This, he said "in turn requires, at the very least, a power-sharing arrangement involving the black majority".

"It seems inconceivable the blacks will accept a system in which their numerical preponderance is not reflected in both the legislature and the executive.

"Under such an arrangement, the National Party — as an exclusively white party — could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government.

"And that, of course, means that the National Party will have lost, probably irredeemably, its monopoly of political power."

Prof Geldenhuys said he "begged to differ" with Mr Kobie Coetzee, Minister of Justice, that a Government, whose policies lead to international ostracism, could reform itself out of isolation — and still remain in power.

Mr Coetzee said at the recent National Party Congress in Bloemfontein: "The NP can lead South Africa out of isolation without reforming itself out of power . . . ."

Prof Geldenhuys said it was instructive that in the case of recent outcast states, their return to international acceptance was preceded by a change of government and not merely of policy.

"One can refer to Greece, Spain, Portugal and Argentina, as well as the pariah par excellence, Rhodesia.

"Admittedly," he said, "the cause of the changes of government was not in the first case the states' ostracism, but the lifting of isolation was . . .

"Could we nonetheless conclude that the chances are generally small that a Government, whose policies led to that state's ostacism, can reform itself, while remaining in power, out of isolation?"

His answer was that it could not. — Sapa

Criticism of talks 'economic sabotage'

A report in an afternoon newspaper that the economic conference on Friday had suffered a heavy blow because a number of leading businessmen would not attend were ridiculous and an attempt at economic sabotage, President Botha said yesterday.

Responding to questions at the Press conference in Pretoria where he announced his new Cabinet, he said the report "made me laugh".

Sapa reports that the facts are that there is place at the venue for only about 200 people. More would have been accommodated if it were possible.

Mr Botha said: "The fact is that we allowed certain important groups in South Africa to nominate their own representatives to the conference, and they did so . . . these people are coming."

A number of "very busy businessmen" who had long-standing appointments to be overseas on Friday had written to say they regretted they could not attend.

EXCEPTION

"I don't know if this newspaper wants me to publish these letters as well.

"I take the strongest exception to a section of our Press who are out to sabotage South Africa at every point.

"I call it nothing less than economic sabotage . . . I do so with contempt," said Mr Botha.

Responding to another question, the President said he hoped all members of his new Cabinet would attend the conference, "except those who have other appointments".

● In its Stop Press, Africa and Late Reef editions yesterday, *The Star* published as its front page lead, the report President Botha has criticised. It was published with lesser prominence in later editions. The front page lead in the Nationalist afternoon newspaper, *Die Vaderland*, yesterday also spotlighted the absence of leading businessmen from this week's summit with President Botha, highlighting particularly the absence from the conference of business leaders who have held meetings with the ANC.

PW's Cabinet surprise pack

NM 304A 5/11/86

CAPE TOWN—In a surprise Cabinet reshuffle yesterday President Botha increased the number of deputy ministers from 10 to 20 while reducing the actual Cabinet by three to 18 including himself.

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

Opposition leader, Mr Colin Eglin immediately slammed the move saying all it did was 'increase the length of the Nationalist gravy train'.

After the increase in the number of deputies, the biggest surprise was the recall of former Deputy State President Mr Alwyn Schlebusch

He will be Minister in the State President's Office responsible for the Commission of Administration and the SABC. Mr Schlebusch will also assist Mr Botha in ceremonial duties

The only other new fully fledged Cabinet minister is Mr Adriaan Vlok who takes over the controversial Law and Order portfolio from Mr Louis le Grange who will be the National Party's candidate for Speaker.

Confidence

Mr Eglin said last night if the old Cabinet could not inspire confidence, the new one would not either

'Doubling the number of deputies is totally unjustified and it will not increase efficiency in administration — only the length of the gravy train,' he said.

'The Cabinet reflects the stand-still mentality Mr Botha seems to have adopted and will not get us out of the log jam the country is in.'

Mr Eglin thought that about half of the National Party's MPs were now in positions where they earned extra salaries

He believed Mr Botha was using the shuffle to consolidate his party.

Some of the departures from the Cabinet have been predicted for some time.

Retiring are Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Transport, Dr L A P A Munnik, Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Sarel Hayward, Agriculture and Water Supply, Own Affairs, and Dr de Villiers Morrison, Health Services and Welfare, Own Affairs

Out of the central Cabinet are Mr le Grange, and Dr Dawie de Villiers who becomes Minister of the Budget, Own Affairs

Mr Johann Greeff, Speaker, has agreed to take over as chairman of the President's Council in the place of Dr Piet Koornhof who is getting a diplomatic posting.

Mr Botha did not say where as negotiations were still under way.

The future of Mr Louis Nel, former Deputy Minister for Information has not been settled

Mr Botha said he had been offered some other posts and Mr Nel was still considering the situation

Two former United Party members, veteran politician Mr Myburgh Streicher and Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti, have been promoted to deputy minister.

By-elections

It is not clear yet whether Mr Botha is planning an early general election or whether he will first hold a 'mini-election' to test the political waters

It is possible for the former ministers to stay on as ordinary MPs after the shuffle becomes effective on December 1 but 'assistant ministers' are to be appointed next to assist the new provincial executives

This would mean that several constituencies would be without representation in Parliament and there would have to be a series of by-elections.

● See also Page 2

New pool to open soon

Workers were still putting the finishing touches to the new Kings Park Olym-

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THREE ring

Cape Times 5/11/86 (304A)

The new cabinet

State President: Mr P W Botha.
Minister of Foreign Affairs: Mr Pik Botha.
Deputies: Mr Ron Miller and Mr Kobus Meiring.
Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning: Mr Chris Heunis.
Deputies: Mr Ben Wilkens and Mr Piet Badenhorst.
Minister of National Education: Mr F W de Klerk.
Minister of Education and Development Aid: Dr Gerrit Viljoen.
Deputies: Mr Sam de Beer and Mr Hendrik Tempel.
Minister of Defence: General Magnus Malan.
Deputy: Mr W N Breytenbach.
Minister of Manpower and Public Works: Mr Pietie du Plessis.
Minister of Justice: Mr Kobie Coetsee.
Minister of Agriculture (general and own affairs): Mr Greyling Wentzel.
Deputies: Mr Gert Kotze and Dr A I van Niekerk.
Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology (including trade and industry, mineral and energy affairs and tourism): Mr Danie Steyn.
Deputies: Mr Danie Hough and Mr George Bartlett.
Minister of Finance (including economic advisory services): Mr Barend du Plessis.
Deputies: Mr Kent Durr and Dr Org Marais.
Minister of Environment and Water Affairs: Mr John Wiley.
Deputies: Mr S V Naicker and Mr J A van Wyk.
Minister without portfolio: Mr Allan Hendrickse.
Minister without portfolio: Mr Amichand Rajbansi.
Minister of Home Affairs and Communications: Mr Stoffel Botha.
Minister of Transport: Mr Eli Louw.
Deputy: Mr Myburgh Streicher.
Minister of National Health and Population Development, and of own affairs health: Dr Willie van Niekerk.
Deputies: Mr Llewellyn Landers and Dr M H Veldsman.
Minister of Law and Order: Mr Adriaan Vlok.
Deputy: Mr Roelf Meyer.

Ministers' Council, House of Assembly
Chairman: Mr F W de Klerk.
Minister of the Budget and Welfare: Dr Dawie de Villiers.
Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply: Mr Greyling Wentzel.
Minister of Local Government and Housing: Mr Amie Venter.
Minister of Education and Culture: Mr Piet Clase.
Health Services: Dr Willie van Niekerk.

Ministers' Council, House of Representatives
Chairman: Mr Allan Hendrickse.
Minister of the Budget: Mr Andrew Julies.
Minister of Education and Culture: Mr Carter Ebrahim.
Minister of Local Government: Housing and Agriculture: Mr David Curry.
Minister of Health Services and Welfare: Mr Chris April.

Minister's Council, House of Delegates
Chairman: Mr Amichand Rajbansi.
Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr Baldeo Dookie.
Minister of Education and Culture: Mr K Ramduth.
Minister of the Budget and Auxiliary Services: Dr J N Reddy.
Minister of Health Services and Welfare: Mr I Kathrada.

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Suzman meets UK Minister for SA 'update'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mrs Helen Suzman and Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, met for a 45-minute "update" on South Africa yesterday.

Afterwards, Mrs Suzman described the meeting as "frank, friendly and useful", and spoke of Mrs Chalker's "concern".

Mrs Suzman also repeated her deep concern about the growing sanctions movement, particularly in the United States, where she has been lecturing and campaigning in an effort to off-set some of the boycotts planned by the US administration.

She earlier described the anti-sanctions campaign in the US as "a lost cause".

The Foreign Office said Mrs Chalker was particularly interested in the prospect of an election in South Africa, and of peaceful change resulting from it.

This was Mrs Suzman's first meeting with Mrs Chalker, although she has met Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe before.

Kentridge argues for SA bill of rights

The Star Bureau

LONDON — There is still time for change in South Africa, and one of the most positive things the Government can do in the time available is to accept a bill of rights.

This was one of the points made by Mr Sydney Kentridge, QC, the South African-born barrister, when he gave the John Foster Inaugural Lecture at the University College of London yesterday.

He said he did not see "revolution around the corner ... my own guess is that it (blacks dominant in government) is likely to come about by the end of the century".

Speaking on "Civil rights in Southern Africa — the prospect for the future", he said the present conflict was one which both sides should realise could not be won outright.

ENDLESS STRUGGLE

Reason suggested that both sides could be brought to see that a negotiated settlement was preferable to an endless struggle.

By a bill of rights, he said, he meant a statute which would:

- Provide a real restraint on arbitrary executive action:
- Preclude indefinite detention without trial:
- Prevent forced removal of communities:
- Undo bans on political organisations and individuals.
- Dismantle apartheid by making discrimination on the grounds of race or colour actually illegal.

Mr Kentridge said the South African public itself had been educated on the advantages of a bill of rights, though not academically.

What had educated it had been "the manifest and disastrous failure of the Government's racial legislation and of its security legislation as well".

There was growing realisation that unbridled police powers did not bring peace and were self-defeating because of the resentment created.

There was good reason to believe that the African National Congress, notwithstanding the Marxist element within its ranks, did not exclude a bill of rights from its thinking.

On the future, Mr Kentridge said he believed the South African Government would remain in control for many years to come.

But the numerical composition of the population, and the growing political consciousness and economic power of the black population must in due course end the present state of affairs.

He said he was optimistic enough to believe that although it was unlikely that change would be entirely non-violent, events in South Africa would lead to a negotiated settlement which in turn would lead to a form of government with a black majority.

He went on: "I must add this: the African National Congress is bound to have an important part in that process.

"That means that there is likely to be a strong, but not necessarily dominant, socialist element in a future South African Government."

- Sir John Foster was a British jurist deeply involved in human rights. He died about three years ago.

Shake-up in info, economics, finance depts

Bus Day 5/4/86

304A

Major changes in PW Cabinet shuffle

MAX du PREEZ

IN a major reorganisation of the functions of government, President P W Botha has shuffled a number of Cabinet Ministers.

Botha has centralised control of propaganda and information — the Bureau for Information already falls under the State President's Office, and now the SABC will as well.

The President has also drastically revised the financial and economic Ministries, creating two supremos:

☐ Mineral and Energy Minister Danie Steyn gets a new ministry called Economic Affairs and Technology. It will include Trade and Industry, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Tourism.

Steyn has been given two deputies — Danie Hough and George Bartlett.

☐ Barend du Plessis retains Finance, Treasury, Inland Revenue, Customs and Excise. Economic Advisory Services is added to his portfolio, as well as extra responsibilities in the President's Priorities Committee.

● VLOK

● LE GRANGE

He will have two deputies — Kent Durr and Georg Marais.

Botha's new Cabinet is more streamlined than its predecessor, with 10 additional Deputy Ministers.

But it was not expected to bring any political changes.

Other important appointments are:

☐ MP for Helderkruin Stoffel van der Merwe takes over as Deputy Minister of Information from Louis Nel, who was fired earlier by Botha;

☐ Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence Adriaan Vlok becomes Minister of Law and Order, replacing Louis le Grange, who will be the next Speaker of Parliament;

☐ Former Deputy State President Alwyn Schlebusch was brought back from retirement as Minister in the State President's Office responsible for the Commission of Administration and for the SABC. He will also assist the President in ceremonial duties;

☐ Dawie de Villiers was dropped from the Cabinet, but appointed Minister of the Budget in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly; and

☐ Eli Louw becomes Minister of Transport.

The new posts will be effective from December 1.

Botha said four ministers asked to retire: Hendrik Schoeman, Lapa Munnik, Sarel Hayward and George Morrison.

He said Le Grange "expressed the

● To Page 2 ⇨ P.T.O.

304A

PW reshuffles Cabinet

● From Page 1

wish that he would welcome a change". He said Le Grange performed an immense task and deserved thanks, particularly because he recently had to overcome a serious health problem.

Botha said there was "so much talent in the ranks of the National Party" that he decided to appoint more Deputy Ministers to ensure more effective administration.

New Deputy Ministers are Jacobus Meiring (Paarl MP) in Foreign Affairs, Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo) in Development Aid, Wynand Breytenbach (Kroonstad) in Defence, Gert Kotze (Malmesbury) and Andre van Niekerk (Prieska) in Agriculture, Danie Hough (Tourism Board chairman) and George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti) in Economic Affairs and Technology, Georg Marais (Waterkloof) in Finance, Jacob van Wyk (Gordonia) in Water Affairs, Myburgh Streicher (De Kuilen) in Transport, Michael Veldsman (Rustenburg) in Health Services, and Roelf Meyer (Johannesburg West) in Law and Order.

Nine deputy ministers will keep their positions.

Botha also announced President's Council Chairman Piet Koornhof "has agreed to accept an important foreign post", but because of international negotiations he could not be more specific.

The present Speaker of Parliament, Johann Greeff, will take over from Koornhof.

Chris Heunis retains the drastically trimmed Constitutional Development and Planning, but it will now have two Directors-General: Andreas van Wyk for Constitutional Development, and E G de Beer for Development Planning. Ben Wilkens and Piet Badenhorst will be the two Deputies in the ministry.

F W de Klerk retains National Education. In addition to being Chairman of the white Ministers' Council, he will also replace Hendrik Schoeman as Leader of the House of Assembly.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha gets the added responsibility of Communications, which includes Post and Telecommunications and the Government Printer.

The new Ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology will in future also be responsible for putting into practice the policy of deregulation and privatisation.

The Ministers' Councils in the coloured and Indian Houses were left unchanged.

By-elections in 6 seats will test Govt's strength

304A

5/11/86 STAR

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

A major test of the Government's strength is looming in the form of a mini-election in at least six parliamentary seats — five of them following the resignation of four senior Cabinet Ministers and the appointment of a new Speaker to the House of Assembly.

The retiring ministers — Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Dr Lapa Munnik, Mr Sarel Hayward and Dr De Villiers Morrison — all indicated last night they would resign their parliamentary seats.

The Speaker of the House, Mr Johann Greeff, who will be nominated by the Government as the new chairman of the President's Council, is also expected to retire as an MP. The position of Mr Louis Nel, who has been dropped from the Government, has still to be clarified.

The five seats affected by ministerial changes are Delmas, represented by Mr Schoeman; Durbanville, represented by Dr Munnik; Graaff-Reinet, represented by Mr Hayward; Cradock, represented by Dr Morrison; and Aliwal North, represented by Mr Greeff.

There is already one by-election pending in the North Rand constituency which is being contested by the National Party, the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, head of political science at the University of South Africa, said with the exception of Delmas, the five new vacancies were safe National Party seats.

Senior Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Soal said: "The seats have been carefully chosen so as not to upset the balance and to test the support of the NP against the Conservatives."

He said it was likely the by-elections would take place in the first half of next year to "test the water" for a general election.

CP deputy party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the composition of the new Cabinet indicated that an election was on the cards.

Axing of Nel highlights controversy on information

The axing of Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel and the row over the spending of R4,3 million on the Bureau for Information's peace song has once again brought controversy to the Government's information initiatives.

The launch of the bureau and the appointment of Mr Nel in September last year was seen as giving a fresh start to the Government's communication efforts — an opportunity to bury the bogie of the Info Scandal.

The row over the peace song promotion has focused attention on the bureau's R29 million budget and has prompted calls from the Progressive Federal Party for the closing of the Bureau.

Officials insist Mr Nel was not shifted out because of the song issue. Some Ministers are thought to have been dissatisfied with Mr Nel's job performance.

The bureau is frequently in conflict with newspapers and Government opponents who say it is not giving the full story on political unrest.

A Star telephone survey in Soweto in September showed that 95 percent of respondents said the bureau gave out inadequate information and 86 percent that it was inaccurate.

The bureau claimed that other surveys had found black residents satisfied and grateful to the Government for restoring stability in the townships.

It is not the first time Mr Nel's career has taken a nose dive. He often enraged conservative colleagues with "verligte" statements and, in 1979, made public a hostile letter he had written to the then leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Andries Treurnicht, over the "Bols" joke Dr Treurnicht had told at a party. Mr Nel would not apologise and was expelled.

He was re-admitted, becoming Deputy Minister of Development and Land Affairs, then of Foreign Affairs.

His appointment as Deputy Minister of Information was cautiously welcomed by some in the media who thought he would "save" the local and foreign Press from strict new controls.

But in the past year Mr Nel criticised foreign correspondents for painting a distorted and negative picture of South Africa. Several were expelled.

The second State of Emergency declared in June resulted in censorship of most unrest news. In most cases newspapers were permitted to print only the official bureau version of events.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe . . . no second chance.

Louis Nel dumped, Vlok gets Law and Order

(304A)

5/11/86 Star

PW reshuffles the team for 1987

The State President yesterday announced major Cabinet changes, including the appointment of four new Ministers, 12 new Deputy Ministers and a new Department of Economic Affairs.

The new Cabinet will take office on December 1.

Casualties of the reshuffle are Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel and Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, who becomes Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the Ministers Council of the House of Assembly.

Mr P W Botha said he had decided to reduce the number of Cabinet posts for general affairs. There has also been a dramatic pruning of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning — with about 70 percent of its development functions taken over by provincial authorities.

The reshuffle was sparked by the resignation of Minister of Transport Mr Hendrik Schoeman, Minister of Public Works Dr Lapa Munnik, Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply Mr Sarel Hayward, and Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly Dr George Morrison.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, who asked to be moved, has been nominated the Government's choice for Speaker in the House of Assembly. He takes over from Mr Johan Greeff, who is the Government's nominee for position of Chairman of the President's Council.

OVERSEAS POST

Mr Botha said current chairman of the council, Dr Piet Koornhof, was in line for an important overseas post.

Mr F W de Klerk has been given a significant boost. He rises to the important position of leader of the House of Assembly in the place of Mr Schoeman.

New Cabinet Ministers are:

● Mr Alwyn Schlebusch — Minister in the Office of the State President responsible for the Commission for Administration and the SABC. He is a former deputy State President.

● Mr Adriaan Vlok — Minister of Law and Order, formerly Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

● Mr Danie Steyn, Minister of Economics Affairs and Technology. This new department will be responsible for trade and industry, mineral and energy affairs and tourism. He is currently Minister of Energy Affairs.

● Mr Eli Louw — Minister of Transport. He is currently Deputy Minister of Administration and Economic Advisory Services in the Office of the State President.

The State President said Mr Pietie du Plessis will keep the Department of Manpower and will run the rationalisation of the Department of Public Works.

Mr Greyling Wentzel runs agriculture in the own and general affairs sections while Dr Willie van Niekerk holds both health portfolios.

Mr John Wiley loses tourism from the Department of Environment but gets Water Affairs.

The present Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, has been given the added responsibility of the Department of Post and Telecommunicatons and the Government Printer.

A number of departments now have two deputy ministers. Notable among the "rising stars" are Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who steps into Mr Louis Nel's shoes as Deputy Minister of Information.

The new Deputy Minister of Defence is Mr Wynand Breytenbach who was elected MP for Kroonstad in 1981.

HOMELANDS

The State President said the extra appointment in this department had been made in view of increased responsiblities relating to the independent homelands and the Southern African region.

Mr Roelf Meyer (Johannesburg West) becomes Deputy Minister of Police; Mr Danie Hough becomes Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs' and Dr Org Marais (Waterkloof) Deuty Minister of Finance.

In his annoucement, the State President thanked the departing ministers for their cooperation and loyalty.

Mr Adriaan Vlok . . . Minister of Law and Order

Mr Danie Steyn . . . Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology

Mr Eli Louw . . . Minister of Transport

Reports by Colleen Ryan, Sue Leeman and Kym Hamilton.

Public has right to know (some things), says Stoffel

The new Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said last night he believed in the public's right to know — but there were "some facets of political policy which cannot be divulged to the public".

"This right to know has been exaggerated, especially in the United States," he said.

"We would like to see that what comes out of the bureau is reliable information and therefore the truth."

The new ministers and deputy ministers were reacting to their Cabinet appointments in interviews on SABC TV's Network.

Mr Roelf Meyer, the new Deputy Minister of Law and Order said his new post was a difficult one, but he would try to improve the image of South Africa's "excellent" police force.

Mr Eli Louw, the new Minister of Transport, said transport services were becoming more "market-related".

REAPPOINTMENT

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, appointed as Minister in the Office of the State President, said he was greatly honoured to be reappointed to the Cabinet.

He declined to make any pronouncement on his special responsibility for the SABC, but said he would make an in-depth study of the organisation.

Mr Org Marais, appointed to the newly-created post of Deputy Minister of Finance, said his post was created because a section of the President's economic services was transferred to the Department of Finance.

Mr Stoffel Botha is now also Deputy Minister of Post and Telecommunications.

Dr M H Veldsman, new Deputy Minister in the Department of Health and Population, said the department was being rationalised for efficiency.

Mr M Streicher, new Deputy Minister of Transport Services, said his post had been reinstated because of imminent privatisation.

Constitutional issues: advice body formed

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has been streamlined and a new advisory section has been created to deal with constitutional issues.

Announcing changes to the Government, State President Mr P W Botha said about 70 percent of the development functions of the department had been devolved to provincial authorities.

"A special section to assist the Minister with advice and help on constitutional matters has been created," he said.

The present Director General of the Department, Dr Andreas van Wyk has been appointed to head this new section. He will retain the status of Director General.

Mr E G de Beer has been appointed Director General of Development and Planning.

Deputy Ministers who will assist Mr Chris Heunis are Mr Ben Wilkens and Mr P J Badenhorst.

The new-look Cabinet has a number of new faces, a new department and the appointment of two Deputy Ministers in several departments:

Mr P W Botha — State President.

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch — Minister in the office of the State President in charge of the Commission for Administration and the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Mr Chris Heunis — Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Pik Botha — Foreign Affairs.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen — Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Mr Magnus Malan — Minister of Defence.

Mr Pietie du Plessis — Minister of Manpower. He will also be responsible for the devolution of public works.

Mr Kobie Coetzee — Minister of Justice.

Mr Greyling Wentzel — Minister of Agriculture for white Own and General Affairs.

Mr Danie Steyn — Minister of the new Department of Economic Affairs and Technology. Tourism, trade and industry and mineral and energy affairs will fall under Mr Steyn.

Mr Barend du Plessis — Minister of Finance. He will also be in charge of economic advisory services.

Mr John Wiley — Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs.

Mr Stoffel Botha — Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications. This includes the Department of Post and Telecommunications and the Government Printers.

Mr Eli Louw — Minister of Transport Services.

Dr Willie van Niekerk — Minister of National Health and Population Development and will also have the portfolio of health in the Minister council for Own Affairs, House of Assembly.

Mr F W de Klerk — chairman of the Ministers and leader of the House of Assembly. Retains portfolio of national education.

Dr Dawie de Villiers — Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the House of Assembly.

Mr A A Venter — Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Mr Piet Clase — Minister of Education and Culture.

The Ministers councils for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates remain the same.

Deputy Ministers:

Dr C J (Stoffel) van der Merwe — Deputy Minister for Information in the office of the State President.

Mr Ben Wilkens and Mr P J Badenhorst — Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Ron Miller and Mr J Meiring (MP for Paarl) — Foreign Affairs.

Mr Sam de Beer and Mr J J Tempel (MP for Ermelo) — Education and Development Aid. Mr Tempel to control development aid.

Mr W N Breytenbach — Department of Defence.

Mr G J Kotze and Dr A I van Niekerk (MP for Prieska) — Department of Agriculture.

Mr Danie Hough, former Administrator-General to Namibia and Mr George Bartlett (MP for Amanzimtoti) — Department of Economic Affairs and Technology.

Mr S V Naicker and Mr J A Van Wyk — Department of Enviroment Affairs and Water Affairs.

Mr M Streicher (MP for De Kuilen) — Dept of Transport Services.

Mr L T Landers (population development) and Mr M H Veldsman (MP for Rustenburg and in charge of health services) — Department of National Health and Population.

Dr Org Marais (MP for Waterkloof) — Department of Finance.

Nothing but the truth . . .

Deputy Information Minister-elect Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, (47) says he would like to "sell" the Government — "but only as far as selling it is consistent with the truth".

He said he would like to see the Press as a partner rather than an opponent.

Dr van der Merwe takes over the reins from Mr Louis Nel, whose brief tenure of the position has been controversial.

A political scientist who has served as a diplomat, Dr van der Merwe said he was assuming an "awesome responsibility" in taking over the Bureau for Information.

"My job is to disseminate information rather than propaganda, although the line between them is very fine".

NOT AN ENEMY

"The Press is not to be seen as an adversary. There must be responsibility on both sides. We have only one country, if we squander it there will not be another."

Born on December 18 1939 in Postmasburg, Dr van der Merwe matriculated at the Hoërskool Germiston before doing his military service in the Army Gynmasium.

He obtained a masters degree in international politics at the University of Pretoria and a doctorate at the University of Stellenbosch.

Between 1962 and 1971 he worked for the Department of Foreign Affairs before becoming Professor in political science at RAU.

He was elected MP for Helderkruin in 1981.

ANC plea to business

MAX DU PREEZ and LINDA ENSOR

THE ANC, in a telexed message from Lusaka, has appealed to SA businessmen not to allow themselves to be diverted from their efforts to end apartheid.

Spokesman Tom Sebina said yesterday that President P W Botha's invitation to the business community to attend an economic summit on Friday was intended "to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".

● BOTHA

And in Pretoria, Botha told a Press conference that reports that a number of prominent businessmen were going to stay away from the meeting "made him laugh". But, he added, he also took the strongest exception to them.

The ANC's appeal was distributed at the meeting of the Federated Chamber of Industries' executive council.

Sebina said it would be unfortunate if business people allowed themselves "to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis."

Botha said yesterday he "took the strongest exception to a part of our Press that is bent upon sabotaging SA at every corner. I call it nothing else but economic sabotage, and I do it with revulsion, (*veragting*)".

He hoped all the members of his new Cabinet would attend the summit. He said the hall where the summit was to be held had room for only 200 people.

● To Page 2

Military rule in SA possible in 5 years says US prof

DD 5/11/86 304A

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — South Africa faced the possibility of a military dictatorship within five years, Professor Joel Stern said here yesterday.

Professor Stern is president of a New York corporate financial consultancy and has been a regular visitor to this country for the past decade.

He is presently visiting major businesses here.

In a gloomy comment, he forecast a military solution: "It will only need a major event, such as a bomb explosion at an airport or shopping complex, to tip the balance."

There were, however, other routes the country could follow. In the case of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba concept it was too late by several years, while the possibility of people of goodwill getting together "was never really on".

America and other countries wishing to improve the situation in South Africa should support the democratisation and privatisation of Southern African states, Professor Stern said.

The most significant recent event was the legitimisation of the African National Congress (ANC) by America as a result of pressure from American black leaders and the failure of the Democrats to secure any other victories.

This development had been overlooked by South Africa, which now faced a power struggle between the ANC and the Nationalist government.

He criticised black American leaders who had never commented on the economic failures of most African countries, which meant that with limited job and wealth-creating opportunities Africans were "driven" to South Africa to improve their situation.

If Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and other such countries were to allow private enterprise and the economic development of their countries, they would deprive South Africa of skilled manpower and put pressure on the country to change.

However, the Americans had not thought beyond sanctions and had not yet tackled the "fake divestment" of GM and IBM — and the desire to install the ANC in power.

They appeared as uninterested in the economic welfare of black Africans as they were of black Americans, many of whom "had been destroyed by the American welfare system".

Concerning the American scene, he said the present Senate elections were important for the continuation of the Reagan administration.

There was also the question of the oil price, which he thought would affect inflation and hence the gold price.

His forecast for American inflation was that it would double, to about 6 per cent, fairly soon.

Mini-general election likely

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

SA could have a white mini-general election next year if government decided not to have an early general election.

Transport Minister Hendrik Schoeman said yesterday he was also resigning as MP for Delmas after retiring from the Cabinet.

The Speaker of Parliament, Johann Greeff, is to take over as chairman of the President's Council, which means that he will have to resign as MP for Aliwal North.

North Rand is also vacant after the death of Hans Schoeman.

Other MPs affected by yesterday's Cabinet reshuffle, who have not indicated whether they will also resign as MPs are Cradock's George Morrison, Graaff Reinet's Sarel Hayward, Durbanville's Lapa Munnik and Pretoria Central's Louis Nel.

(304A) N/M 5/11/86

Prof warns of military dictatorship in S Africa

Finance Editor

SOUTH Africa faced the possibility of a military dictatorship within five years, Prof Joel Stern said in Durban this week.

Prof Stern is president of a New York corporate financial consultancy and has been a regular visitor to this country for the past decade. He is presently visiting major businesses here.

In a gloomy comment he forecast a military solution. 'It will only need a major event, such as a bomb explosion at an airport or shopping complex, to tip the balance,' he forecast.

There were, however, two other routes the country could follow. In the case of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba concept it was too late, by several years, while the possibility of people of goodwill getting together 'was never really on'.

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The most significant recent event was the legitimisation of the African National Congress by America as a result of pressure from American black leaders and the failure of the Democrats to secure any other victories.

Failures

This development had been overlooked by South Africa which now faced a power struggle between the ANC and the Nationalist Government.

The options were limited, Prof Stern said.

He criticised black American leaders who had never commented on the economic failures of most African countries which meant that with limited job and wealth-creating opportunities Africans were 'driven' to South Africa to improve their situation.

If Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and other such countries were to allow private enterprise and the economic development of their countries they would deprive South Africa of skilled manpower and put pressure on the country to change.

And voting rights where many countries had 'one man, one vote, once' might also encourage Africans to 'stay at home'.

However, the Americans had not thought beyond the imposition of sanctions (and not yet tackled the 'fake disinvestment' of GM and IBM) and the desire to install the ANC in power.

They appeared as uninterested in the economic welfare of black Africans as they were of black Americans, many of whom 'had been destroyed by the American welfare system'.

On the American scene, he said yesterday's Senate elections were important for the continuation of the Reagan Administration.

Cape Times 5/11/86

Louis Nel can choose his post

30/11

Mr Louis Nel

PRETORIA. — The outgoing Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, would have to decide for himself which post he would accept out of a number he had been offered, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to questions at a press conference here at which he announced his new cabinet, he said the deputy minister would have to announce his decision on his future himself.

"Mr Nel will be able to tell you that himself," he said.

"He had been offered a whole number of posts, but I don't think he has decided yet.

"He is busy saying 'I love it, I love it not'," said Mr Botha, before asking whether there were any more questions about the cabinet changes.

Political observers say Mr Nel has been offered an overseas ambassadorial post.

● In a brief statement last night, Mr Nel congratulated all the new members of the cabinet and newly appointed deputy ministers.

He made no comment on the statement by the State President that he had been offered "a number of posts" but was still deciding.

Mr Nel especially singled out his successor, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and wished him well.

He said Dr Van der Merwe was extremely capable and ideally suited to make a success of his task.

"My best wishes go with him," Mr Nel said. — Sapa

FCI taken by surprise by warning from ANC

By Michael Chester

Members of the National Council of the Federated Chamber of Industries have been taken "completely by surprise" by a telex from the banned African National Congress, warning them about the November 7 summit called by President P W Botha.

The telex, signed by ANC spokesman Mr Tom Sebina, said the summit discussions were "only intended to give the impression of interest in dialogue in order to buy time to continue and entrench old policies".

Dr Johan van Zyl, executive director of the FCI, said he did not plan to reply directly to the ANC.

"They will see our response when they read the Press statement we intend to issue at the end of the summit session," he said.

Mr Sebina's telex said: "It would be most unfortunate for our country if concerned business people were to allow themselves to be diverted from the path towards a democratic society and to be used to improve the public image of those who have plunged our country into a deep crisis."

PE community problems tackled at joint meeting

6/11/86 Eve Post

By MZIWAKHE HLANGANI

TALKS about community problems have been held between a representative of commerce and the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee (CBC).

Confirming this today, the committee's acting head, Mr Mike Xhego, said "informal and fruitful" talks had been held with the director of the PE Chamber of Commerce, Mr Tony Gilson.

Mr Xhego, who is also vice-president of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, said it appeared that the chamber was committed to trying to find solutions to current problems.

"As a result of the frank discussions with business representatives, certain issues were cleared and we have taken note of the problems being experienced by the white business community," Mr Xhego said.

He pointed out that the committee stood by its short-term demands for ending the boycott in Port Elizabeth. These included the release of detained CBC spokesman Mr Mkhuseli Jack, Mr Henry Fazzie and other community leaders.

The informal talks followed a call by the president of the PE Chamber of Commerce, Mr Carl Coetzer, on Tuesday for CBC members to come forward and present their grievances to the business sector following the reinstatement of the consumer boycott on Monday.

In a statement issued after the meeting, Mr Gilson said the chamber would be making representations to various authorities in the near future.

● Mr Xhego dismissed reports that there was confusion about the boycott in the townships, saying that boycott organisers were conducting a door-to-door campaign, explaining the aims of the boycott to residents.

Atmosphere subdued, but businessmen are better prepared for PW this time

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The atmosphere on the eve of the State President's economic summit tomorrow is rather subdued — but business leaders are going into the indaba more prepared and realistic than they were before the Carlton and Good Hope conferences.

A group of delegates has already met to discuss important issues and an Assocom delegation will meet today to map out a strategy for the conference.

Some delegates have expressed disappointment that the agenda will not deal directly with political issues and that it has been confined to discussing a long-term economic strategy and privatisation.

Although the conference is unlikely to come to grips with central problems, such as how to begin talks with recognised black leaders, political issues will certainly be raised, said Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance.

"There is no way politics will not be discussed — politics and economics go together.

"If the State President does not raise further steps in reform, there is little doubt business leaders will, because the reform programme is absolutely connected to getting the economy right," he said.

He said the most pressing economic problem facing the country was growing unemployment. "Unless you deal with the problem of mass unemployment, all political and economic reform is absolutely academic."

Friday's meeting at the State Guest House in Pretoria will deal with recommendations made by a sub-committee of the Economic Advisory Council (EAC), on a long-term national economic strategy.

The report is believed to deal with issues such as the need for labour mobility, possible scrapping of the Group Areas Act, redistribution of wealth, promoting equal opportunity, urbanisation and home ownership for blacks. Other subjects are the Government's industrialisation policies, export strategies, rural development and a long term fiscal policy.

Delegates will also deal with the White Paper on a strategy for privatisation with a view to practical implementation.

Mr Schwarz said that it was important to examine the social implications of privatising certain State-controlled operations.

"Hospitals, for example can only be privatised to a certain degree. You are going to create problems for millions of South Africans who need free hospitalisation," he said.

Professor Blackie Swart of the University of Stellenbosch Business School told The Star the mood of the private sector was less optimistic than before the Carlton Conference on 1979 and the Good Hope Conference of 1981.

He said the decline in economic growth, high inflation, political unrest and world sanctions had drastically changed perceptions since 1981 when businessmen had looked forward to greater freedom in trading.

Best NP can hope for 'is a junior role'

The National Party could at best be a junior partner in a government that enjoyed domestic legitimacy and ensured South Africa's return to international respectability, Professor Deon Geldenhuys told the Federated Chamber of Industries conference.

Professor Geldenhuys, head of political science at Rand Afrikaans University, said it was inconceivable blacks would accept a system in which their numerical preponderance was not reflected.

He added: "Under such an arrangement, the National Party — as an exclusively white party — could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government."

Professor Geldenhuys detailed South Africa's isolation:

- Pretoria had ambassadors in only about 16 percent of UN states. Malawi was the only internationally recognised black state which maintained links.
- Of the 219 treaties concluded by South Africa between 1980 and 1984, 192 were with Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Transkei.
- In the 24 years of the republic, South African state presidents paid only eight official foreign visits.
- The last leader of a major Western power to visit this country was Mr Harold Macmillan in 1960.
- Compared to other "pariah states" (Israel and Chile), South Africa was worse off.
- The Simon's Town Agreement (1955-75) was South Africa's first and last post-war military treaty with a Western power.
- South Africa was the only country against which the UN Security Council maintained a mandatory arms embargo.
- Paraguay was the only country with which South Africa had a cultural agreement.

He said a return of pariah states to international acceptance was preceded by a change of government and not merely of policy.

6/11/86 BD DAY 304A

FCI EXECUTIVE CONVENTION

SA too sophisticated to turn back on world

DAVID FURLONGER

SA WOULD never be accepted back into the international community as long as the National Party remained in power, RAU Professor Deon Geldenhuys told FCI delegates.

He said history showed that where "pariah" states were accepted back into the fold, their return was preceded by a change of government and not merely a change of policy.

Governments in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Argentina and Rhodesia had all learned that the hard way.

For a country to survive isolation comfortably, it should be either highly-developed and self-sufficient, or so under-developed, agrarian and traditional that its population's basic needs could be met from domestic resources.

Geldenhuys said: "SA, as a relatively developed country, is heavily integrated into and dependent on the outside world. This applies not only to our economic, financial and technological requirements, but also to socio-cultural needs. Ours is too sophisticated a society to turn its back on the world."

If it was in SA's interests to break out of isolation, and recognising there was a direct correlation between isolation and apartheid, Geldenhuys said the country should address a crucial question: "Is government willing or able to introduce the necessary political changes that would end the republic's isolation?"

The key to SA's return to respectability was a political system enjoying domestic legitimacy. That required, at the very least, a power-sharing arrangement involving the black majority.

6/11/86 (30 4A) BUSDAY

Director warns on PW summit

DAVID FURLONGER

OBSERVERS should not expect too much from tomorrow's business "summit" with State President P W Botha, Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) executive director Johan van Zyl said yesterday.

Speaking at the end of the FCI's three-day executive convention in Johannesburg, he said the talks should be seen as one more step in the dialogue between business and government.

He said: "The difficulty with conferences of this nature is that people think they are 'one-off' affairs, and that when they are over, that's it. But there are many other forums where dialogue takes place, and they should continue after tomorrow."

Van Zyl said the FCI convention had helped clarify the chamber's position on some of the issues it hoped to raise tomorrow, particularly inflation, deregulation and privatisation.

FCI president Hugo Snyckers said the main message to emerge from the convention was that while signs existed that the economy had bottomed-out, these were patchy and hesitant.

He said: "The environment is very sensitive at this early stage of recovery and the upswing must be protected from unnecessary shocks which could damage its momentum."

While it appeared the economy would improve in 1987, this depended on certain conditions. These included the maintenance of the substantial current account surplus; no escalation of sanctions and debt repayment; and a tightly-controlled inflation.

Durr: Govt on planned course

DAVID FURLONGER

GOVERNMENT had made a deliberate break with the past in opening the way for business and economic reform, said Trade and Industry Deputy Minister Kent Durr.

Government was not drifting "but is holding to a carefully planned course of restructuring SA society", he said.

Durr said government had already taken major steps in restructuring, particularly on the economic front. It was not just a matter of policies, but also one of philosophy.

"The present government has been willing to make a complete break with the Verwoerdian philosophy of business keeping to its own sphere.

"Government accepts today that business has an indispensable role to play in the overall reform and development process.

"To that end, we have sought to remove as far as we can those things that have hamstrung that sector and held it back from delivering the full contribution of which it is capable."

Durr listed several areas in which government had moved to co-operate with business and industry.

These included creation of the State President's Economic Advisory Council, the Margo Commission on taxation, the strategy for development and deregulation of small business, and government's commitment both to privatisation and to technology transfer.

'The only way out of isolation'

WITHOUT an all-new government, there is only one way for South Africa to break out of isolation and return to international respectability — via a government in which blacks are the senior partners, whites the juniors.

This was finely argued by Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University at the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries yesterday.

Speaking on "South Africa's International Isolation", Professor Geldenhuys said the answer was to be found in "domestic legitimacy".

This, he said: "In turn requires, at the very least, a power-sharing arrangement involving the black majority.

"It seems inconceivable the blacks will accept a system in which their numerical preponderance is not reflected in both the legislature and the executive.

"Under such an arrangement, the National Party is tantamount to excluding itself and still remain in power.

Mr Coetzee said a the recent Nationa Party congress in Bloemfontein: The NP can lead South Africa out of isolation without reforming itself out of power . . .

Professor Geldenhuys said it was instructive that in the case of recent outcast states, their return to international acceptance was preceded by a change of government and not merely of policy.

"One can refer to Greece, Spain, Portugal and Argentina, as well as the pariah par excellence Rhodesia.

sively white party — could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government.

"And that, of course, means that the National Party will have lost, probably irredeemably, its monopoly of political power".

Policies

Professor Geldenhuys said he "begged to differ" with Mr Kobie Coetzee, Minister of Justice, that a government, whose policies lead to international ostracism, can reform itself out of isolation —

(304A) Sowetan 6/11/86

Agenda set for summit in Pretoria

6/11/86 BUSDAY 304A

LINDA ENSOR

PRESIDENT P W Botha, two of his Ministers and a member of his Economic Advisory Council (EAC) will be addressing the approximately 200 business leaders attending the "Forward with Confidence" economic summit tomorrow.

Businessmen are expected to start arriving at the presidential guest house in Pretoria about 8am for registration at 8.30am.

From 9.50am, speeches providing "information on subjects of conference" will be made by Botha, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Administration and Economic Advisory Services Minister Eli Louw and chairman of the EAC subcommittee that drafted the proposals on long-term economic strategy, Joe Stegmann.

The meeting will then break up into 10 groups of 10 people, spending three

PW and Ministers set to address summit

6/11/86 BUSDAY 304A

● From Page 1

hours discussing the EAC's proposals and government's initial response to these, as well as government's White Paper on privatisation and deregulation.

At 4pm group leaders will report back to conference on the discussions held, and at 4 50pm Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis will sum up the day's proceedings.

A media conference will then be held.

Startling forecast from JSE's Norton

By Michael Chester

More than 150 members of the business elite of South Africa were startled at the outset of a debate on sanctions in Johannesburg yesterday.

The main speaker took the rostrum and gave blunt warning: "In five years' time, some of the companies represented here will no longer exist."

The warning came from Mr Tony Norton, executive president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, at the annual national convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries.

However, Mr Norton added: "The survivors will be stronger than ever if they take action now to scrap traditional notions of management and lay out brand new strategies.

"For them, the stars will shine. There will be tremendous opportunities for companies that face new facts and concentrate on short and longer term solutions."

Mr Norton forecast a widening range of trade sanctions — but riddled with leakages. The impact on South African companies would span from slight, in the case of certain minerals, to losses of up to 60 percent in exports of products such as textiles, various metals and many agricultural products.

There would be far tougher problems confronting companies. The survivors would be the ones run by managements that tackled new issues like commando units — "professional, flexible, mobile, striking out into new markets, with officer cadres close to the troopers", Mr Norton said.

Assocom calls for flexibility in agenda for PW's economic summit

3544A

SMR

6/11/86

By Michael Chester

The Association of Chambers of Commerce has appealed to President P W Botha to ensure flexibility in the agenda for the economic summit, which starts tomorrow, to allow a full airing of views on political and social issues aside from purely economic affairs, according to Assocom's chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons.

Mr Parsons said in Bloemfontein that the main items on the agenda revolved around economic strategy, privatisation and deregulation matters.

But, because of the inextricable links between politics and social questions in the current situation, a flexible approach to the summit discussions was vital.

"There must be genuine two-way communication between the public and private sectors, each side willing to express its hopes and fears frankly," he told the Orange Free State Chamber of Commerce.

"Let neither side be suspicious of the other — but let all be watchful. The credibility of both the public and private sectors is at stake.

RESPECTIVE ROLES

"There should be a clear understanding of the respective roles of business and government. There are certain political decisions which only the Government can make. But, in the unusual circumstances prevailing in South Africa, business has a special role to play to keep the country governable.

"In particular, the private sector must promote black advancement, contribute to the constitutional debate and concentrate on neutralising intensified economic sanctions.

"It is an opportunity to assess our strategy for coping with sanctions and disinvestments in a rational, calm, level-headed way.

"We must not expect the meeting to find 'solutions' but rather to put South Africa in a better position to make intelligent choices about the future."

30XA

Cabinet costs R7m more

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TAXPAYERS will have to pay "at least" an extra R7-million a year to fund President P W Botha's decision to double the number of deputy ministers to 20.

A PFP spokesman on the public service, Major Reuben Sive, said yesterday that this figure was a "conservative estimate" of the additional cost of salaries, perks and additional staffing for the 10 new deputy ministers.

"This is bureaucracy gone mad — the gravy train is running out of control," he said.

Deputy ministers would receive a combined salary and allowance of R85 182 — compared with R58 050 for an ordinary MP.

Each was also entitled to a "plush new Mercedes and chauffeur", first-class instead of economy-class travel, free furnished homes in Pretoria and Cape Town, a special office and a private secretary.

More than a third of the NP's 127 MPs in Parliament were now either ministers or deputy ministers.

In a reference to the meteoric rise of Mr Ron Miller and Mr George Bartlett since crossing the floor from the New Republic Party, he said the best way to get a first-class ticket on the gravy train was to defect to the NP.

Retiring cabinet ministers would receive a R200 000-plus gratuity and up to R114 930 a year in pensions.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the "inordinate cost of having another 10 deputy ministers is totaly unjustifiable".

The latest apointments also strengthen the executive at the expense of the legislature and put the opposition at an even greater disadvantage in debates.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the latest appointments represented a "multiplication instead of the promised rationalization or streamlining of the executive".

6/11/86 (304A) N/M

Deputies 'could cost R10 m for a start'

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa's 10 new deputy ministers could cost R1 000 000 each to establish in office, says Mr Ruben Sive, the chief Opposition spokesman on the public service.

He said yesterday: 'Mr P W Botha's creation of 10 new deputies, making a total of 20, is bureaucracy gone bloody mad.'

Earlier, Opposition leader Colin Eglin described the Cabinet reshuffle as doing nothing 'but increasing the length of the Nationalist gravy train'.

Mr Sive said that including the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly there were now 38 Nationalist ministers or deputies, which meant less than one in every four Nationalist MPs.

With all the other posts, such as Speaker, chairmen of committees and whips, about half of the Nationalist MPs were in positions where they received salaries over and above those of ordinary MPs.

'This means there is about a seven-to-four chance of a Nationalist earning more than other ordinary MPs,' said Mr Sive.

It was extremely difficult to calculate exactly what the new deputy ministers would cost the taxpayer, but he believed it would be in the region of R1 000 000 each to establish them.

'They are all entitled to official residences both in Cape Town and Pretoria and they will all have to be bought and furnished — and they only get of the best — which means something in the order of R5 000 000,' he said.

Increase

'Apart from this they will have to have newly assigned offices, new furnishings and equipment as well as staff and cars.

As deputy ministers, their salaries would increase substantially and their pension benefits and gratuities, even after only one day as deputy ministers, would go up significantly.

'It looks to me that Mr Botha's 10 new deputies will cost us in the region of about R10 million,' said Mr Sive.

New ministers under pressure

6/11/86 BUSDAY 304

Civil servants want pay hikes

GERALD REILLY

CABINET Ministers given public sector portfolios in this week's Cabinet reshuffle will come under immediate pressure from government staff associations for decisions on claims for salary increases from April next year.

Association sources say the new Ministers will have to be urgently briefed on background to the claims before they can usefully discuss them at Cabinet level.

The Ministers are Minister of State in the President's Office Alwyn Schlebusch, who is responsible for the Commission for Administration; Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, who has been given the additional responsibility of Posts and Telecommunications, and Eli Louw, who replaces Hendrik Schoeman as Transport Minister.

The Public Servants' Association management committee has its last meeting of the year on November 29, at which is is expected to decide to press for an early interview with Schlebusch.

Last night the central executive of Posts and Telegraphs Association met in Johannesburg and was expected to decide on urgent representations for a meeting with Botha.

The association has already submitted a claim to the Postmaster General for pay rises to match increases in living costs.

And although the federal council of South African Transport Services trade unions had their claim for an immediate interim increase rejected by Schoeman last month, the Minister agreed to further discussions before final decisions were made.

AIRLINE MOVEMENTS

Thursday Air Schedule

2345 0140 SA398 0735 100

Vein blood service complaint from AWB

Municipal Reporter

Blacks are getting too much blood from whites, the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging contends.

Its newsletter suggests blacks are bleeding the white man and it is time to establish separate blood transfusion services.

The AWB says its investigations show only 15 to 20 in 1 000 blood donors are black — "but seven out of 10 recipients are black".

The right-wing party says blacks get blood free while whites pay R35-R45 a pint. Similarly, whites pay for transfusion tests — free to blacks.

The newsletter says separate blood transfusion services would ensure blacks made their own donations — or went without.

Overseas survey finds despite the internal s

SA still the mightiest

Sowetan 6/11/86

(304A)

SOWETAN Africa News Service

LONDON — Despite reports of a worsening law and order situation and a weakening of hardline attitudes, South Africa continues to be overwhelmingly more powerful than any of its hostile black neighbours, both in terms of deployable armed forces, and its ability to manufacture arms.

This emerges here in the latest annual report of the International Institute for Strategic Studies on the global military balance.

The IISS reports that South Africa has 106 400 armed forces, including 64 000 national servicemen, another 167 000 active reserves, and some 150 000 men serving five years in national reserve.

Zimbabwe, by comparison, has only 42 000 regular armed forces, with about 5 000 of these serving in Mozambique.

Angola has a total armed force of about 50 000, 10 000 of whom are guerilla forces.

Of opposition forces pitted against the South African regime, the ANC's combat wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is believed to have around 10 000 trained men, 3 000 of them presently based in Angola.

Accurate estimates of Swapo's strength have been difficult to arrive at, but the IISS believes they have just under 9 000, with most units deployed in central Angola against Unita and on rail line security, and the remainder in southern Angola.

The IISS reports 27 000 Cuban troops in Angola over the period 1986-87, including 8 000 civilian instructors/advisers, and East Germany, Portugal and the USSR together have another 2 000-odd intelligence and security advisers, combat pilots and technicians.

Angola continues to be heavily dependent on the Soviet Union, the report adds, and already owes some 1-5-billion dollars to Moscow, mostly for armaments.

Between 1983 and 1986, Angola is reported to have received up to 2-billion dollars in Soviet military material, but delivery data and equipment totals are uncertain.

Arms

South Africa's other major strength is its arms industry, and the IISS points out that, while sub-Saharan Africa has 10 producers, South Africa is the only country in the area with an indigenous arms industry capable of building sophisticated weapons systems, both under licence and of its own designs.

ay out of isolation'

of Industries yesterday.

Speaking on "South Africa's International Isolation", Professor Geldenhuys said the answer was to be found in "domestic legitimacy".

This, he said: "In turn requires, at the very least, a power-sharing arrangement involving the black majority.

"It seems inconceivable the blacks will accept a system in which their numerical preponderance is not reflected in both the legislature and the executive.

"Under such an arrangement, the National Party [illegible] exclu[illegible] sively white party — could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government.

"And that, of course, means that the National Party will have lost, probably irredeemably, its monopoly of political power".

Policies

Professor Geldenhuys said he "begged to differ" with Mr Kobie Coetzee, Minister of Justice, that a government, whose policies lead to international ostracism, can reform itself out of isolation — [illegible] and still remain in power.

Mr Coetzee said at the recent National Party congress in Bloemfontein: The NP can lead South Africa out of isolation without reforming itself out of power . . .

Professor Geldenhuys said it was instructive that in the case of recent outcast states, their return to international acceptance was preceded by a change of government and not merely of policy.

"One can refer to Greece, Spain, Portugal and Argentina, as well as the pariah par excellence, Rhodesia.

(304A) Sowetan 6/11/86

Assocom in strategy talks for PW summit

Political Reporter

Delegates from the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) were scheduled to meet today to discuss a strategy for tomorrow's economic summit with the State President.

The "Forward with Confidence" conference at the presidential guest house in Pretoria will be opened by Mr P W Botha.

The 200 business leaders attending the summit will also be addressed by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Minister of Economic Advisory Services in the Office of the State President, Mr Eli Louw.

Mr Joe Steggman, the chairman of a subcommittee of the Economic Advisory Council, will discuss the report outlining a long-term national economic strategy for South Africa. Privatisation will also be on the agenda.

The delegates will then divide into 10 groups to discuss important issues and will reconvene in the afternoon for a report-back session.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said it was important that the meeting be held in a positive atmosphere. He said it was essential the conference address South Africa's most immediate problem of growing unemployment.

The acting national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in a statement today the conference "is a waste of time".

"Any attempt to help Mr Botha in his move towards a siege economy will be construed as direct business collusion in the perpetuation of white domination," he said.

● See Page 11.

'Apartheid in growing conflict with business'

ARGUS 6/11/86 (304)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — To negotiate successfully with labour organisations, business leaders would have to demonstrate that business and government were not the same, said the president of the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI), Mr John Wilson.

Delivering the presidential address at a banquet in Johannesburg for the Chamber's 69th convention this week, Mr Wilson said the political ideals of apartheid legislation were increasingly in conflict with the aims of business.

There were several issues on which business and labour shared a common purpose, he told the banquet.

"An illustration was the detention recently of trade union leaders which led to the destabilisation of industrial relations throughout the country. On this occasion there was a joint approach to government by organised business and trade union federations," he said.

"The FCI has stated its values. It has joined the calls for the release and unbanning of political prisoners and organisations and the total repeal of all apartheid legislation," Mr Wilson added.

Co-operation

Areas where there could be co-operation between business and labour organisations included the payment of unemployment insurance benefits and workmen's compensation settlements to workers living in "so-called homelands".

He urged the FCI to follow workers' and to step down from the Workmen's Compensation Board. "It would be a truly meaningful act of solidarity."

Mr Wilson stressed the FCI's commitment to the Business Charter.

He added that being in business had put members into the "thick of the struggle".

"We have learnt, sometimes painfully, that in our complex society, no business can succeed unless it shoulders the problems of this society."

The president of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, Mr Dirk Mudge, criticised the FCI for not having black businessmen present at the function.

He told the business leaders that white people in South Africa needed credibility if solutions were to be found.

Minority rights

Discussing the protection of minority rights Mr Mudge said the Afrikaner group was not an exclusively white group. "Why should I reject a coloured man who speaks and promotes my language," he stressed.

On the constitution Mr Mudge said that constitutions which were written on pieces of paper seldom worked. "Only those which are written in the hearts of the people last," he stressed.

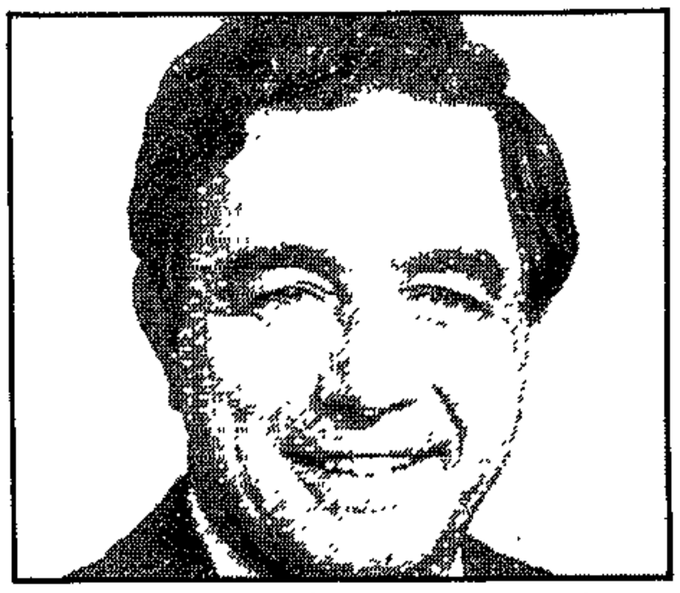
The solution to this country lay in democracy. "If you have a democratic system which allows for different political parties to be represented you will solve the problem."

Mr Mudge urged businessmen to become involved in politics and not to stand on neutral ground.

Democratic reform not an unsuitable option for SA

CAPE TIMES 6/12/86 304A

By ZACH DE BEER
Chairman Southern Life



WITH A terrible feeling of helplessness, South Africans of goodwill have spent the past few years watching the political life of our country degenerate into conflict and tyranny while the economy staggers under record unemployment, sky-high inflation, a sharply devalued currency, capital flight and international victimization.

One such South African is Hans Middelmann. A retired but very active Cape business leader, he is well known to be entirely independent, beyond personal ambition and of total integrity.

For two years or more, he has been corresponding and conferring with academics and experts about how South Africa could be normalized.

Recently, Leadership magazine published an article by Middelmann which deserves to be studied, debated and — above all — acted upon.

Essentially, he has said: why do we not try the methods which have succeeded elsewhere? Why not an open and just society? Why not equal rights?

Why not decentralized government? Why not a deregulated market economy? Why not a caring state which gives direct help to those in need?

Why not?

What is it that leads us to assume that the form of government which has worked so well in North America and Western Europe is inapplicable here? Why should we not learn from the immensely successful economies of East Asia?

In a world where countries like Brazil and Argentina are feeling their way towards more democracy, why should South Africa be governed by a minority regime under a national emergency, with a muzzled press and an omnipresent military force?

Not all Amins

When a huge country like India, with massive population problems, poverty and illiteracy, diversity of language, religion and culture, can make progress through a democratic form of government, why can't we?

Long ago, whites used to say that our black people were not yet ready for democracy. Even today, many point to the failures of Africa, implying that the same would occur here if black people were given the vote.

But — as Dr Ntatho Motlana pointed out the other day — there is no more justification for saying that all blacks are like Idi Amin than there is for saying that all whites are like Stalin.

Now that it has become unfashionable to suggest that blackness implies inferiority, certain whites theorize that democracy can't work in divided societies.

But can it not? What was homogeneous about Switzerland or the US when they got their democratic constitutions? In any case, even if democracy were doomed to fail, why should that entitle the white minority in particular to monopolize power?

Successively, our government has proposed different fictions to lend respectability to what is really a policy of racist domination.

The homeland idea was pursued for many expensive years, in the hope that it would justify the withholding of the franchise from blacks in South Africa proper.

That collapsed, and we got instead the concept of own and general affairs, which is used to justify a system where final decisive power over all South Africans rests exclusively in the hands of the majority party among the whites.

That, too, is collapsing, and now we are hearing appeals for the protection of "group rights". But what are group rights? How can the rights of a group override the right of each individual to be free?

For too long we have failed to recognize that our government is simply using whatever expedients it can find to maintain its own dominance, with the jobs for its pals and the preferential conditions for white people which that brings.

Though naturally this was never acceptable to black people, it worked after a fashion for many years. Recently, however, blacks have found and developed new methods and techniques to resist the will of the white government.

Hence the unrest and all that goes with it — and hence the certainty that there will be no peace without far-reaching change.

Government, as we were taught at school, derives its just powers from the consent of the governed: but by no stretch of the imagination can the Botha government claim the consent of more than perhaps one-fifth of those whom it insists on governing.

Therefore, its powers are unjust. It lacks legitimacy. Therefore, there is unending conflict. Therefore, however long it may take, the process of breakdown of government is under way.

Hans Middelmann's constitutional formula rests on well-proven concepts and methods:

- ☐ Universal franchise;
- ☐ A written and entrenched constitution;
- ☐ A bill of rights protecting each individual from others and from the state;
- ☐ Decentralization of power to permit local variations and to curb the power of the central authority; and
- ☐ Proportional representation, so that the voices of minorities may be heard.

There are other constructive proposals, but these are the essential features of it.

In economics, he holds that to squabble about capitalism and socialism is simplistic. What is needed are equal life chances for all and minimal governmental interference with free markets.

Socially, government must accept the responsibility to help the needy, to alleviate distress and suffering and to rehabilitate those whose lives have broken down.

Few people of goodwill will quarrel with these proposals. But, as one shrewd observer put it: "How do we get from here to there?" As matters stand, our government, illegitimate though it may be, can be removed from power only through the votes of whites — or by revolution.

The latter is a perilous course, to be avoided by all possible means. Is the former feasible?

If one looks at the record, it seems not — or not yet. We have a party in power which has shown great skill over many, many years in exploiting the regrettable but not unnatural selfishness of a white electorate.

The formula — spoken with more subtlety these days than it was formerly — remains essentially the same: you vote for us and we will look after your white privilege. Electorally, it's a winner.

It will be hard indeed to persuade Nationalist political leaders to switch direction.

Yet one opinion poll after another shows that the white rank and file have moved significantly forward. All kinds of proposals for change — from repeal of the Group Areas Act to releasing Nelson Mandela to power sharing — receive the support of roughly half the electorate, many of whom must clearly be Nationalist voters. Yet, so far anyhow, they stick to a party which rejects these ideas.

One reason why white voters remain thus hesitant is that they fear the response of blacks. In the dreadfully strained atmosphere of South Africa, will blacks co-operate even with a liberal programme like Middelmann's?

To succeed it must be supported across the colour line. A successful government will have to be non-racial in character. As Dr Motlana said recently: "We (black and white South Africans) need each other, and we need each other completely."

Live together

Middelmann has thought of all this. He states the problem as follows: "The drama unfolding on the South African political stage now threatens to turn into lingering, terrifying tragedy.

"This can be averted only if the vast majority of South Africans who support neither violence nor government's policies find a common denominator, allowing them to live together in peace and to pursue their own aims with minimum interference by any government."

And, knowing that strong leadership is needed to overcome white fears — and that one cannot look to the Nationalist politicians for this — he looks for leaders from the wider community:

"The basis for a total reversal of our deadlocked situation is within reach. It needs no more than 10 South Africans of undisputed stature — outside politics — to bind themselves together for this task: to agree on an open society policy and to propagate it.

"This small group of men and women would come from the diverse backgrounds of, say, trade unions, churches, business and the professions — across the colour line.

"What would bind them together in their task would be a commitment to the goal of achieving a South Africa in which the people, while retaining their separate language, ethnic and other identities, would be able to work and live together as a nation with a great and humane future."

There could be no grander cause for South Africans to serve.

We must pray that these men and women will come forward and give the lead that is required.

3040

Business Report

RAU prof calls for majority black govt

JOHANNESBURG. — Without an all-new government, there is only one way for SA to break out of isolation and return to international respectability — via a government in which blacks are the senior partners, whites the juniors.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Rand Afrikaans University, speaking on "SA's International Isolation" at the annual convention of the Federated Chamber of Industries yesterday, said the answer was to be found in "domestic legitimacy".

At best a junior partner

This, he said "in turn requires, at the very least, a power-sharing arrangement involving the black majority".

"It seems inconceivable that blacks will accept a system in which their numerical preponderance is not reflected in both the legislature and the executive," he said.

"Under such an arrangement, the NP, as an exclusively white party, could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government."

Geldenhuys said he "begged to differ" with Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, that a government whose policies led to international ostracism can reform itself out of isolation — and still remain in power.

Coetsee said at the recent NP Congress in Bloemfontein that the NP could lead SA out of isolation without reforming itself out of power.

Geldenhuys said it was instructive that in the case of several states, their return to international acceptance was preceded by a change of government and not merely of policy.

"One can refer to Greece, Spain, Portugal and Argentina, as well as the pariah par excellence, Rhodesia.

"Admittedly," he said, "the cause of the changes of government was not in the first case the states' ostracism, but the lifting of isolation was.

"Could we nonetheless conclude that the chances are generally small that a government, whose policies led to that state's ostacism, can reform itself, while remaining in power, out of isolation?"

His answer was that it could not.

"There are countries that have, in this day and age, voluntarily tried to seal themselves off from the world: Burma, Albania, Bhutan.

"But self-isolation provides no free lunches; these are relatively underdeveloped societies and isolation has certainly not helped them to overcome development problems.

"For a country to survive reasonably in isolation, it should either be highly developed, properous and self-sufficient enough to cater for its needs; or so underdeveloped, agrarian and traditional that the population has only very basic needs that can readily be met from domestic sources."

Isolation and apartheid

SA, as a relatively developed country, is heavily integrated into and dependent on the outside world.

"This applies not only to our economic, financial and technological requirements, but also to socio-cultural needs.

"If it is then in SA's interests to break out of isolation and if it is recognized that there is a direct correlation between isolation and apartheid, we must finally address the question: Is the SA Government willing or able to introduce the necessary political changes that would end our isolation?" — Sapa

Govt is on meticulous path — money minister

JOHANNESBURG — The government was set on a meticulously planned course to re-structure South Africa's society — and was not directionless — said the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, at the annual convention of the Federated Chambers of Industry here yesterday.

Addressing the conference on Economic Prospects in a Sanctions Environment, Mr Durr there was a change in the government's attitude to the private sector, which was not sufficiently recognised.

"This may be because it cannot easily be backed by chapter and verse; but to my mind it is one of the leading plusses in our present equation."

"Not that it hasn't found expression in concrete form," Mr Durr was quick to add. The following are some of the "striking" examples he gave of what progress had already been made:

● The Economic Advisory Council of the state president had designed the overall economic strategy, which would

MR DURR

provide a global perspective on economic policy measures. This would serve as an integrating force guiding various policy making bodies.

● The Margo Commission had almost completed its comprehensive review of the tax system. The commission's recommendations would have a vital bearing not only on tax reform in South Africa, but also on South Africa's ability to maintain its international competitiveness.

A parallel lay in the European countries, where tax reform was viewed as an urgent priority in order to maintain competitiveness with the United States.

● Progress was being made towards privatisation: "Key areas ripe for privatisation have now been identified.

"Those that offer the private sector a change of early and fruitful participation, and simultaneously the government the opportunity to withdraw, will soon give form to our stated policy of minimising the participation of the state in the economy."

● South Africa's industrial strategy had led to the establishment of the Kleu Committee to investigate the possibility of implementing comprehensive structural adjustments to the economy.

As a first step, a review of export incentives was currently under the spotlight, to make them more cost effective and to conform with General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) requirements, said Mr Durr. — Sapa

7/11/86 BUS DAY (304A)

Business summit: foreign corporations excluded

EXECUTIVES at multinational subsidiaries and bilateral trade organisations have been excluded from President P W Botha's summit meeting with the business community today.

Leaders at major foreign corporations yesterday confirmed they had not received invitations to the day-long meeting in Pretoria. And representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce, the SA-Britain Trade Association and the German Chamber of Trade and Industry said they also were not asked to attend.

"Obviously they don't regard us as being a part of the business scene here," said Amcham director Kenneth Mason.

Business Day Reporters

Mason said he had contacted the President's office and had been told only that invitations had not been extended to American subsidiaries.

Executives at Mobil, Hewlett-Packard, Burroughs-Memorex and Kodak said they had not received invitations to the summit, and Shell SA chairman John Wilson has already stated publicly that he was not asked. Mobil is the largest US employer in SA.

American corporations employ between 80 000 and 90 000 South Africans. British multinationals are said to employ twice that number.

JOHN BATTERSBY reports the outcome of the meeting will be closely watched by the British government for signs of what it regards as the political will needed to break the political stalemate.

"What is needed now is the political will to move the situation forward," a Whitehall source said. The British Industry Committee on SA (Bicsa) is also keenly awaiting the result.

LINDA ENSOR reports a body of black businessmen distanced themselves from the meeting yesterday. A blacks-only "economic summit" later this month was announced which will seek closer co-operation with black progressive organisations.

The conference will debate the "Africanisation" of the economy and its handover by whites to blacks — in sharp contrast to today's summit which will in part be talking about the hand-over of State-controlled economic functions to the private sector.

The 15 000 strong National African Chambers of Commerce and Industries (Nafcoc) rejected participation in Botha's summit.

Nafcoc's Transvaal Regional Convention (Natreco) is organising the conference, which will be held in Johannesburg on November 27 and 28.

Businessmen likely to call for end of Group Areas

DD 2/11/86

304A

Black business group turns its back on conference

PRETORIA — Political issues and the need for government to speed up reform will feature prominently at today's "Carlton III" Presidential conference with 200 representatives of South Africa's private sector, even though economic and financial matters top the official agenda.

The "Forward with Confidence," conference, the third such meeting since the Carlton conference in Johannesburg in 1979 and the Good Hope conference in Cape Town in 1981, will be opened at the Presidential guest house here, Bryntirion, by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Minister of Economic Advisory Services in Mr Botha's office, Mr Eli Louw, will address delegates.

The deputy chairman of the State President's Economic Advisory Council, Mr Joe Steggman, will deal with the council's report outlining a long-term national economic strategy for South Africa.

The government's privatisation policy will also be on the agenda.

In spite of the official emphasis on economic and financial issues, the businessmen are expected to insist that much of the discussion revolves around politics, on the basis that the country's pressing political problems must be sorted out before, or at least together, with other matters.

It is understood one of the issues to be raised prominently by the businessmen will be the government's apparent reluctance to do away entirely with the Group Areas Act, and calls will be made for concrete action on this issue.

Delays in bringing blacks to the highest level of political participation will also be raised.

Meanwhile, controversy continues to dog the conference.

Reports that the absence due to "other long-standing appointments" of some of South Africa's most respected business leaders was a "heavy blow" to the conference have been rejected by Mr Botha.

He explained that the list of businessmen — which government has so far refused to release — had to be limited to 200 due to limited facilities.

MR BOTHA

Critics have responded by saying that if Mr Botha had wanted more private sector representatives to attend, he could easily have used a larger venue.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that a body of black businessmen have distanced themselves from the conference. A blacks-only "economic summit" has been organised for later this month.

The conference will debate the "Africanisation" of the economy and its handover by whites to blacks.

The 15 000 strong National African Chambers of Commerce and Industries said no meaningful discussion on economic strategy could take place without a debate on critical political issues.

A spokesman for Mr Botha said she could not confirm the exclusion of foreign multinationals from the summit.

Executives at Mobil, Hewlett-Packard, Burroughs-Memorex and Kodak said they had not received invitations to the summit, and Shell SA chairman, Mr John Wilson, has already stated publicly that he was not asked. Mobil is the largest United States employer in South Africa.

The director of the American Chamber of Commerce, Mr Kenneth Mason, said he had contacted the State President's office, and had been told only that invitations had not been extended to executives at American subsidiaries.

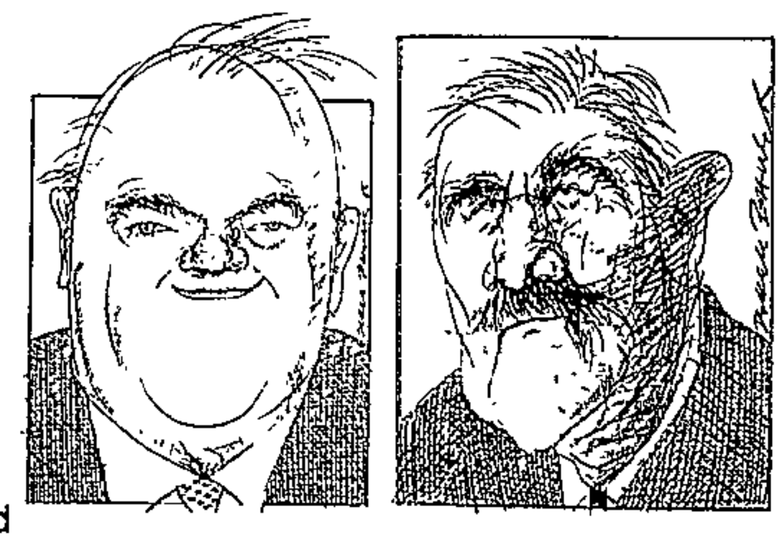
The Daily Dispatch London bureau reports the outcome of the meeting will be closely watched by the British Government for signs of what it regards as the political will needed to break the political stalemate.

"What is needed now is the political will to move the situation forward," a Whitehall source said — Sapa.

Musical chairs, but PW's tunes sound the same

7 to 13/11/86 W/Mail (30KA)

The cabinet shuffle is aimed to shield the President from party pressure, not to herald any new line, reports PATRICK LAURENCE



Out ... Nel and Le Grange

POLITICAL pundits will scrutinise President PW Botha's cabinet reshuffle in vain for signs of major ideological shifts within the National Party.

But that does not mean that the changes, triggered by the retirement of three cabinet ministers and effective from December 1, are without political significance.

The surprise recall to the cabinet of former vice president Alwyn Schlebusch, as Minister in the President's Office, will strengthen Botha's position and almost certainly prolong his stay as President.

Schlebusch is a trusted confidant who helped Botha triumph over former Information Minister Connie Mulder in the succession struggle which followed the retirement of BJ Vorster as Prime Minister in 1978.

He will bolster Botha in his task as President and help shield him from any pressure from within the NP to ease him into retirement.

Schlebusch, 69, will lighten the 70-year-old Botha's load by fulfilling some of his ceremonial duties.

Schlebusch has a reputation for iron integrity and administrative competence. But, it should also be recalled, he spearheaded the McCarthy-like probe into "un-South African" activities of four organisations in the 1970s, in which the commissioners were both the prosecutors and the judges.

The recall of Schlebusch enables Botha to enlist the aid of a trusted colleague without favouring any of the main contenders to succeed him: FW de Klerk (National Education), Chris Heunis (Constitutional Development), Gerritt Viljoen (Education and Training and Development) or Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs).

PW Botha thus remains the uncommitted king-maker, a position which strengthens his hold on power which, it is reported in ruling circles, he has a new zest to exercise.

The changes further centralise his power. The President's office already controls the Bureau for Information. It will now control the SABC, through Schlebusch.

unsuitable for the role of seducing journalists into accepting censorship by the Bureau for Information. His role in prompting the R4,3-million "patriotic" song *Together We Will Build a Brighter Future* did not help.

Nel will be succeeded by Stoffel van der Merwe, an apparatchik in the NP's information office.

The outwardly affable Van der Merwe is a former professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University who often gave expert evidence for the state in political trials. He certainly is better equipped to deal with journalists. But whether he can make state censorship less unpalatable by his special mix of congeniality and intellectual ingenuity, if not sophistry, is doubtful.

Another salient feature of Botha's reshuffle is establishment of 10 extra deputy ministers, bringing the total to 20.

It may have been prompted in part by a reduction in the size of the cabinet by two. Former Springbok rugby captain Dawie de Villiers surrenders his portfolio of trade and industry to an enlarged Ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology, headed by Dame Steyn. Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha takes over responsibility for posts and telecommunications from the retiring Minister Lapa Munnik. Botha retains his home affairs portfolio.

But there may have been another motive for doubling the number of deputy ministers: creation of more patronage for PW Botha to dispense to MPs nervously looking over their right shoulders at the vociferous ultra-rightists clamouring for a general election.

With 10 more posts at the penultimate tier of the hierarchy, Botha may be able to still their anxiety with the promise or actuality of reward.

The promotion of two more former United Party MPs to the ranks of deputy ministers — George Bartlett and Myburgh Streicher — completes the process of rewarding these men for joining the NP. Three of their colleagues are already NP notables: John Wiley, Kent Durr and Ron Miller.

These changes do not reflect a change in the NP's place on the ideological spectrum so much as a consolidation of its centrist position in the white community. They further signify the increasing number of English-speaking voters who back the NP — more than a third — and the NP's hopes of capturing still more as the New Republic Party stumbles to its political death.

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was never a general under Shaka) and. Co a holocaust which, insofar as one occurred, the whites themselves unleashed over a hundred bloody years after 1806. — **Julian Cobbing, History Department, Rhodes University, Grahamstown**

IN reply to EN Robsom (WM October 24-30, 1986):

Dr O'Brien is a man who, when in Ireland, held a cabinet ministry for Posts and Telecommunications, at the time that his small, and mildly liberal party was part of a very comfortable governmental coalition with the then staunchly rightwing Fine Gael party.

During that period, O'Brien won himself a special place in the hearts of the Irish people as he used every available public platform to launch his uncompromising attacks on all shades of republicanism and cowardly hunger-strikers etc. He became so courageous and candid in his views at one stage that even his conservative Prime Minister was reported to have requested him to try to restrict himself more closely to his portfolio.

O'Brien is a man who has refused to accept popular rhetoric and has spoken highly of Buthelezi and the Inkatha Youth Brigade. He has also shown great understanding for the Afrikaner, in his terrible dilemma, and has been unsparing in his brave and outspoken condemnation of "the comrades", giving them the more appropriate label of "the children". Yet these hooligans and bullies, who want to ram their primitive ideas down our throats, fail to see that O'Brien is truly a friend to their liberation. They can't accept that he has a much better understanding of how it must come, and what form it must take, than they have.

It is so reassuring for us to have a clear-thinking and candid overseas intellectual come to our country to help us put some things in perspective.

The absurdity of an academic boycott is surely highlighted by the fact that it would deny us access to the comfort and wisdom of such ideas as those of O'Brien. I say, isolate the country; if you must, but leave UCT alone. — **T O'Neill, Durban**

Controversial summit gets under way

PW says no to political demands

STAR 3044 7/11/86.

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

Mr P W Botha ... "change will take place in an orderly and well-considered way".

President Botha firmly told business leaders attending his economic summit in Pretoria today that he would not accept political demands.

But he said in his opening speech that the Government was not holding the summit for "its own purposes to stage a monologue".

This follows controversy over the summit. Some business leaders are boycotting the event, while others have said they will use it to make political demands.

President Botha emphasised that he expected the private sector to play a greater part in developing a sound economy and creating confidence.

He told the 200 people attending the conference that it was not a party political congress.

"On several occasions this year I have set out the policy of the Government, and obtained the support of my party for that policy."

He said the conference was being held to engender confidence, seek solutions for the future, and increase co-operation between the public and private sector.

Dealing with the two main topics on the agenda — privatisation and a new economic strategy — Mr Botha gave only brief and broad outlines.

Privatisation would be considered only if, in the long run, it was to the advantage of the consumer of the service, the taxpayer, or the community generally.

The new economic strategy was aimed "at further extending our modern economic sector against the background of continued constitutional and socio-economic reform".

He emphasised that the conference would not deal with sanctions. Combating sanctions would be handled in other ways

"I maintain my viewpoint that public discussion concerning sanctions could only be to the disadvantage of our country."

Criticisms

Despite his attitude to political criticisms, Mr Botha dealt extensively with reform and negotiation.

He said there were no instant solutions, although the Government was "keenly interested in representations and proposals for reform".

But he warned: "The state authority will in no circumstances be compromised.

"The reforms which we introduce, the changes we make, and the negotiations we have will be effected in an orderly and well-considered way by the Government."

He pointed out that reform involved the economic, social, scientific and educational fields — all of which cost money.

He said delegates would have to accept that both the Government and the private sector would have to meet this cost.

Orderly government and reform were important to the private sector. In the same way an active, positive and constructive private sector was important to the country and Government.

Mr Botha said sanctions were being adopted ostensibly to speed reform. "When we do reform, for whatever reasons, the foreigners say: 'Sanctions are working, impose some more'."

See Page 13.

7/11/86
BusDAY
304A

All the President's men

IDEOLOGICALLY, President P W Botha's Cabinet reshuffle this week represents his approach of late — preserve the status quo and don't rock the boat.

But strategically, the reorganisation of people and portfolios is important. It tells South Africans more about government's plans for the future than any Cabinet Minister has done.

It represents a further shift towards almost total executive rule, more power to the President and a greater role for a handful of senior public servants.

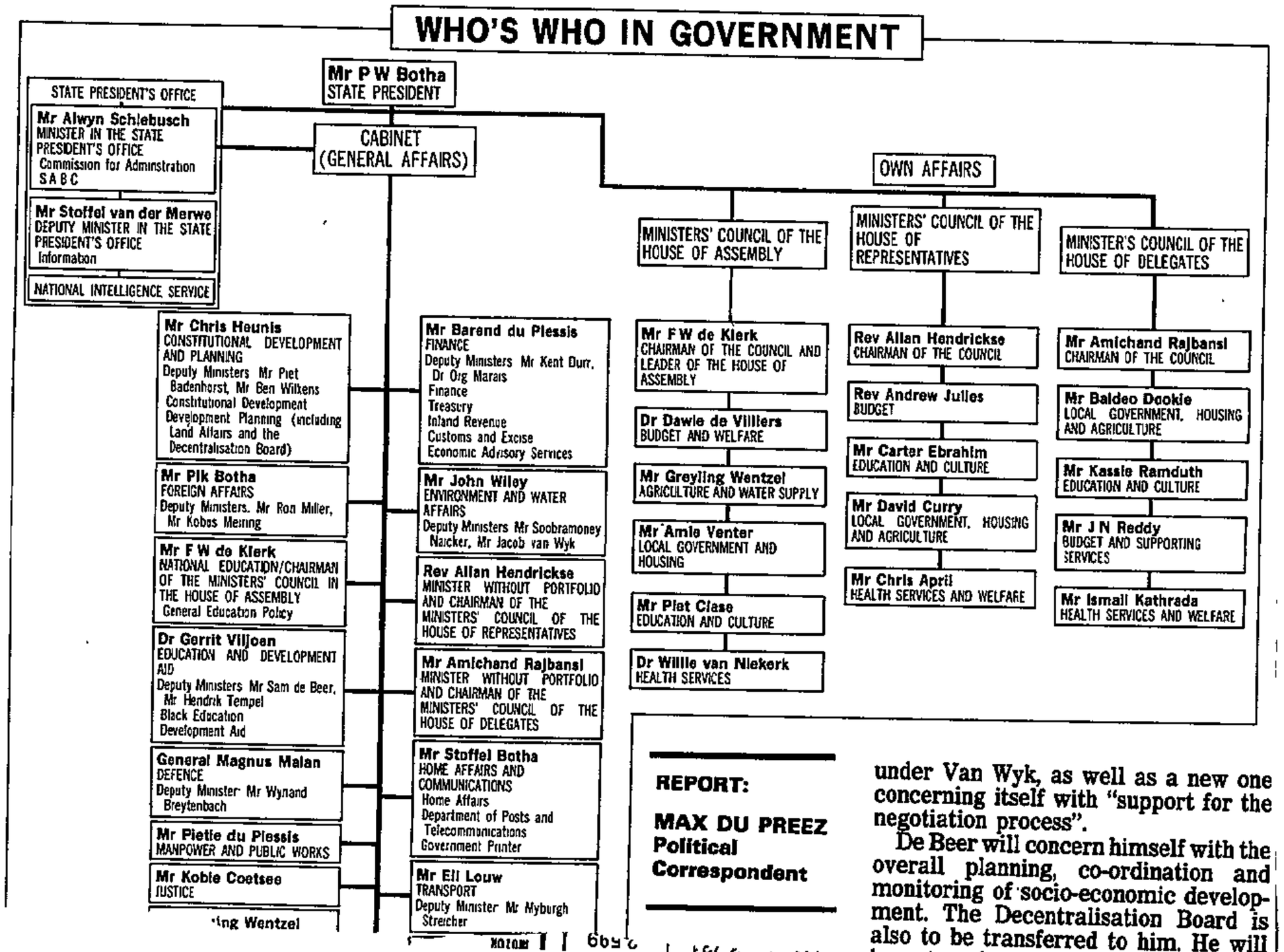
In the words of the leader of the Opposition, Colin Eglin: "It is a strengthening of the executive at the expense of Parliament and the private sector, and will make the role of opposition groups, inside and outside Parliament, more difficult."

The consolidation of 10 departments related to the economy and finance into two powerful ministries with two deputy ministers each is seen as a preparation for increasing foreign economic punitive action.

Big role for Schlebusch

The State President's power is increased considerably by the appointment of the National Party's "elder statesman," former Vice State President Alwyn Schlebusch, in the President's Office. More important than his responsibility for the public service is his stature as the most senior Minister in the Cabinet — he is seen as Vice State President in all but name — and is under Van Wyk, as well as a new one concerning itself with "support for the negotiation process".

De Beer will concern himself with the overall planning, co-ordination and monitoring of socio-economic development. The Decentralisation Board is also to be transferred to him. He will have three deputy Directors-General.



REPORT:
MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

responsible for the most powerful mass medium of all in SA, the SABC.

Eglin believes Schlebusch was appointed because Botha needed a deputy but could not appoint one because of the presidential succession stakes.

Schlebusch's appointment, whether intended or not, would also help keep the Free State in the hands of the NP.

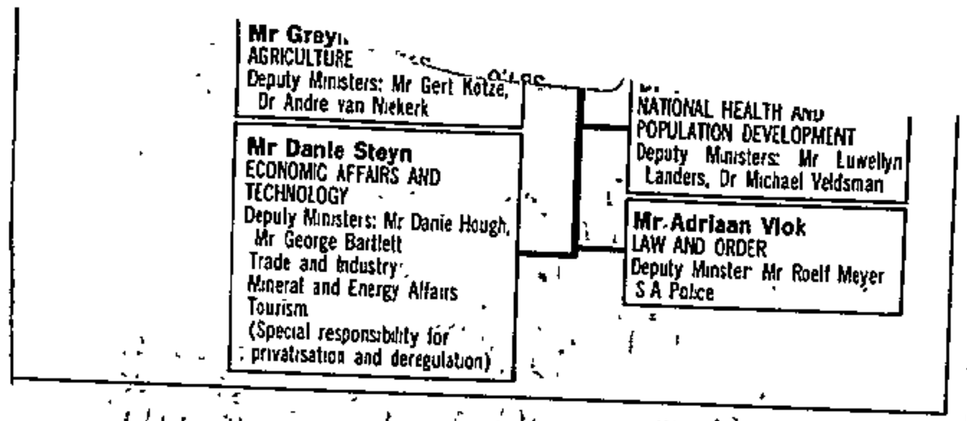
Also in the President's Office is the Deputy Minister of Information, who is in charge of the Bureau for Information, with its monopoly on official information. The new appointee, Stoffel van der Merwe, is widely expected to be more effective than his deposed predecessor, Louis Nel, and has a deep loyalty to Botha.

Despite its delegation of numerous but less important functions to the newly-appointed Provincial Executives, the Department of Constitutional Development under another close Botha ally, Chris Heunis, remains a key ministry.

Significantly, constitutional supremo Andreas van Wyk is now getting his own special section, Constitutional Development, and is expected to be even more powerful and influential than when he was Director-General of the whole department.

Van Wyk will now have the title of Head of Constitutional Development, while Deputy Director-General of Commerce and Industry E G de Beer will become head of Development Planning in the department.

A spokesman for the President explained that the two existing Chief Directorates of Constitutional Planning and Constitutional Promotion will fall



GRAPHIC: FIONA KRISCH

Economic Advisory Services and extra responsibilities in the Priorities Committee are to be added to Barend du Plessis's Finance Department. He is already responsible for Finance, Treasury, Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise.

Danie Steyn's new ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology includes Trade and Industry, Mineral and Energy Affairs and Tourism.

The department will also put into practice the policy of deregulation and privatisation. Senior officials in the two departments believe this rationalisation is logical and would make integrated action in the case of sanctions a lot easier.

7/11/86

7/11/86 **SHUFFLING A WORN-OUT DECK** (304A)

FWM

Under present circumstances, any time is a good time to change the Cabinet of the government of SA.

As most people with a sense of poker will confirm, players on a losing streak will almost always welcome a new deck of cards for the simple reason that it brings hope of a change of fortune.

As it turned out, President Botha's "reshuffle" is no more than an exercise in discarding worn-out numbers and, in the case of the hapless Louis Nel, the elimination of a marked card.

If there is anything to be welcomed in the new line-up, it is the elimination of chiefs in favour of more Indians.

Out goes the wise-cracking Hendrik Schoeman, whose buffoonery will be missed, to be replaced by the relatively unknown, but likeable Namaqualander, Eli Louw. So too go unlamented Sarel Hayward, Lapa Munnik, George Morrison and last, but not least, Louis le Grange, who intimated to Botha he would welcome a change. No doubt millions of people will agree. He will probably be elected Speaker of the House of Assembly. Adriaan Vlok, who should stop wearing those dreadful hats, takes over his portfolio. Pik stays put, but he loses SABC, which goes to the Office of the State President, to be administered by P W's geriatric deputy, Alwyn Schlebusch. Energy and Mines Minister Danie Steyn gets Economic Affairs and Technology. Dawie de Villiers confirms he is too nice a chap for politics and is demoted to Minister of the Budget in the white House. "Heavy-weights" F W de Klerk, Gerrit Viljoen, Magnus Malan, Pik Botha and Chris Heunis hold fast, but get deputies. Barend hangs on.

An extraordinary thing about the new team is the elevation of United Party retreads Myburgh Streicher and George Bartlett to junior Cabinet jobs. Is P W moving to the Right? Will Harry Schwarz be next?

304A

'SA will have martial rule'

By LEN MASEKO

SOUTH African will have martial law within the next five years which will — among other developments — result in a "mass flight of people", Professor Joel Stern said in Johannesburg this week.

Prof Stern, president of a New York corporate financial consultancy, is presently visiting major businesses here.

He forecast a military solution which would lead to — among other developments — "people being told what to do; what to write".

There were, he said — two other routes the country could follow: in the case of the KwaZulu/Natal indaba concept it was too late, by several years, while the possibility of people of goodwill getting together "was never really on". The Government should — among other things scrap the Group Areas Act and eliminate controls of capital.

The most significant recent event was the legitimisation of the African National Congress by the United States as a result of pressure from US black leaders. "Significantly, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is not legitimate in the eyes of the US liberals," he said.

He said he stood by Chief Buthelezi's principles, adding that the KwaZulu/Natal indaba was "an experience worth supporting."

"There are a number of well-meaning people in the right positions not given credit outside South Africa," he said.

SAPA reports that Prof Stern said in Durban that the United States and other countries wishing to improve the situation in South Africa should support the democratisation and privatisation of southern African states.

(304A) DD 7/11/86

Politicians puzzle over Schlebusch's return to cabinet

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Most MPs canvassed here did not see the return to the cabinet of the former Vice-President of South Africa, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, as affecting the presidential succession stakes.

There was some early speculation that the 69-year-old Mr Schlebusch may have been brought back into politics as a compromise presidential candidate when State President P. W. Botha retires — possibly a few months after the next general election.

Concerns have been expressed in the National Party in recent months that the constant jockeying for position between the two presidential frontrunners — the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, and the Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis — might damage the party and retard the reform process.

The installation of a Free State man in a pivotal position, responsible for both the civil service and the SABC, has raised speculation that Mr Schlebusch could be on the road to an unprecedented political comeback.

However, most politicians regard the appointment, as one MP put it, as "the installation of an entirely faithful lap-dog who will dispense advice and do exactly as he is told".

By making Mr Schlebusch a minister within his own office, Mr Botha had centralised control of both the information and propaganda functions within his own office, it was also claimed.

Acording to the Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, "P. W. Botha is both state president and a party politician and, as such, he wants to see his department control both the written and electronic media".

"This is just another example of the further concentration of power within the executive."

Mr Eglin was also critical of the promotion of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe from senior information officer within the NP, to Deputy Minister of Information.

"Personal abilities aside, this amounts to a shift from party propagandist to state propagandist and reflects the increasingly close identification between party and state within the government."

Mr Eglin added that Mr Botha had missed an ideal opportunity to revitalise a jaded cabinet.

The Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he found Mr Schlebusch's sudden promotion "puzzling". It appeared to be a case of Mr Botha promoting a trusted friend.

MR SCHLEBUSCH

Dr Treurnicht said the placing of the SABC under a senior minister in the office of the state president was an attempt by Mr Botha to enforce tighter control over the media.

The New Republic Party leader, Mr Bill Sutton, welcomed the Schlebusch appointment, saying he would be "a key figure in our future".

Meanwhile, there was unhappiness in the ranks of the Labour Party because its leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, did not get a cabinet portfolio and no coloured MPs were among the eleven new deputy ministers.

British viewers see another face of SA

LONDON — In a rare television programme screened in London, British viewers saw another picture of South African politics — that not all blacks support the ANC, many do not want sanctions and there are fears about what majority rule could bring to the country.

The documentary was shown on Channel Four's prime-time "diverse reports" series, which deals with current affairs throughout the world.

The presenter, Christine Chapman, who went to South Africa to make the programme, said: "The Western view of South African politics is a simple morality play; a minority of stubborn whites pitted against a majority of down-trodden blacks.

"This heroes and villians view, backed up by sanctions and disinvestment, is not only naive but is also destructive, escalates conflict but offers no solutions."

Detailing the different ethnic groups making up South African society, she outlined the cultural and language differences and said: "This multi-cultural society has never been happy with simple political solutions."

In a series of interviews, blacks who were not identified said the ANC did not represent the majority view in South Africa and declared they were opposed to sanctions.

The Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in an interview: "The people in government are the very people who are unlikely to respond positively to the exertion of force applied on them from the outside world.

"And their constituency is such that it would not allow them to do so even if they wanted to. The white South Africans, particularly the Afrikaners, do not like to be bullied into situations."

He said white South Africans could not withdraw into "some sort of former fatherland" as whites in other African countries had been able to do.

Of the future, he said: "We have to bring about real and meaningful power-sharing but at the same time retain the position where we also have a meaningful influence over the whole set-up."

The programme dealt with a South African future under a federal system, and the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said that if the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba worked, it could set a model for the whole country.

"I do not see anything politically heretical in having a federal system."

The programme included street interviews with white South Africans who said they had nowhere else to go and had no plans to leave the country. — Sapa

Summit 'snub' for foreign companies

CAPE TIMES 7/11/86 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Executives at multinational subsidiaries and bilateral trade organizations have been excluded from the State President's summit meeting with the business community today.

Leaders at major foreign corporations yesterday confirmed that they had not received invitations to the day-long meeting in Pretoria.

And representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce, the SA-Britain Trade Association and the German Chamber of Trade and Industry said they also were not asked to attend.

"Obviously, they don't regard us as being a part of the business scene here," said Amcham director Kenneth Mason.

He said he had contacted the State President's office, and was told that invitations had not been extended to executives at American subsidiaries.

A spokesman for the State President said she could not confirm the exclusion of foreign multinationals from the summit. A list of those invited would not be released, she said.

Executives at Mobil, Hewlett-Packard, Burroughs-Memorex and Kodak said they had not received invitations, and Shell SA chairman John Wilson has already stated publicly that he was not asked.

American corporations employ between 80 000 and 90 000 South Africans. British multinationals are said to employ twice that number.

Linda Ensor reports that black businessmen have distanced themselves from both parties. A blacks-only "economic summit" later this month was announced which will seek closer co-operation with black progressive organizations.

The conference will debate the "Africanization" of the economy and its handover by whites to blacks — in sharp contrast to today's summit which will in part be talking about the handover of state-controlled economic functions to the private sector.

The 15 000-strong National African Chambers of Commerce and Industries rejected participation in the summit.

Nafcoc said no meaningful discussion on economic strategy could take place without debating critical political issues.

Nafcoc's Transvaal Regional Convention is organizing the conference, which will be held in Johannesburg on November 27 and 28. It is keeping top secret the list of "progressive organizations" and speakers it will invite.

The outcome of the meeting will be closely watched by the British Government for signs of what it regards as the will needed to break the political stalemate, reports **John Battersby**.

"What is needed now is the political will to move the situation forward," a Whitehall source said. The British Industry Committee on SA is also keenly awaiting the result.

7/4/86 WEEKLY MAIL 30 4A

Call to PW: Explain these removals

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE National Committee against Removals (NCAR) has called on businessmen attending today's summit to ask President PW Botha to explain why forced removals of black communities are "continuing unabated despite promises not to move people against their will".

At a national conference at the weekend, the NCAR concluded the government had launched a series of new offensives to remove communities.

The NCAR represents the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), the Natal-based Agency For Rural Action (Afra), the Grahamstown Rural Committee and the Surplus People's Project (Western Cape).

In a statement yesterday, NCAR said: "Behind the shield of the State of Emergency, often under the guise of cynically conceived policies of orderly urbanisation and consolidation of bantustans, the government has brutally broken its promise."

Among communities removed or threatened with removal in recent months, the NCAR noted:

●Langa, Uitenhage, where shortly after the State of Emergency, and with the entire leadership in detention, Security Forces surrounded the township and moved some 30 000 people to a tent town on the edge of KwaNobuhle, 15km southwest of Uitenhage.

PW Botha — asked to explain ongoing removals

●Lawaaikamp, George, where an entire informal settlement has been given a December 31 deadline to move to a site-and-service scheme at Sandkraal, out of sight of the newly-built national highway. The community's leadership is either detained or restricted.

●Crossroads, Cape Town, where the government brutally "engineered" the expulsion of 70 000 residents of the squatter complex.

●Oukasie, Brits, where 10 000 residents are under the direct threat of removal following a decision by Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, to disestablish the township last month.

●The forced incorporation of communities such as Machakeneng, Bloedfontein and Braklaagte into "independent" homelands which would mean that thousands of people would lose their South African citizenship.

"Despite local and international protestations to the contrary," said the NCAR statement, "the South African government is clearly determined to go ahead with the policy of forced removals and dispossesion of blacks.

"To achieve this it is prepared to use all the power at its disposal — including Security Forces, vigilantes, Emergency detentions and apartheid legislation."

PW calls on business 'to serve country's interests'

(304A) Eve Post 7/11/86

PRETORIA — The 200 top South African businessmen attending today's economic conference with the Government in Pretoria were told at the start by the State President, Mr P W Botha, they were expected to "act with realistic idealism towards your fatherland".

In his opening address he said: "This includes the realisation that our present economic and other circumstances cannot be attributed to a few simple causes."

Mr Botha also warned the businessmen that reform cost money and that it would have to be accepted that both the Government and the private sector had to be involved in its financing.

Orderly Government and reform were important to the private sector, just as an active, positive and constructive private sector was important to the country and the Government.

"You must also act in such a way as to serve the interests of our country."

Mr Botha rejected the "opportunistic and irresponsible way" Government was blamed in some circles as being soley to blame for South Africa's economic and political problems.

Mr Botha said he also wanted to react to the allegation that the Government was not making sufficient progress with reform and negotiation.

The Government was expected from all quarters to find what was called a "negotiated settlement" for South Africa.

"It is the old superficial story of 'find a political solution between dusk and dawn and Utopia will suddenly and magically arise'.

"Give me one country in Africa or in the ranks of the developing and underdeveloped countries where that is the case- ... show me a country that has found an instant solution along the constitutional path," he said.

Among the probable causes of South Africa's p[illegible]ere the oil cri-si[illegible]e 1970s, the world recession, severe droughts, international political factors and expediency, and the terrorist onslaught orchestrated by international forces from abroad.

On privatisation, one of the official agenda items for today, Mr Botha said the Government was in favour of it if it was to the long-term advantage of the service, the taxpayer or the community at large.

He said the formulation of strategies in the economic field was nothing new, but that what had become necessary was the combination of a variety of strategies into one coherent and all-encompassing strategy.

The Government was committed to reform, modernisation and development of South Africa, and it would follow this road with "balance and determination".

He said, that it was not a party-political congress.

A variety of "non-economic matters" might, however, be raised.

Secondly, "this is not an attempt on the part of the Government at collusion with 'big business' or the 'giants' in the business world.

"Our activities here today also involve the small businessman, farmers, employees, entrepreneurs and academics." — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 7/4/86 (304)

Business no cohort of government

AS business leaders meet President P W Botha at the economic summit, the Cape Times London correspondent provides extracts from an address by the chairman of Shell South Africa, John R Wilson, which was delivered at a staff conference of the company in Cape Town and has been published abroad.

AFTER the Durban strikes of 1973 and the Soweto uprising in 1976, business realized it would be ifficult to maintain an aloofness from socio-politi-al issues.

Politics began to hurt business and to adversely ffect the return on investments. The business sec-or tried to reason with government, but in 1976 was old in no uncertain terms by the then Prime Minis-er, B J Vorster, at a conference in Port Elizabeth, to stop meddling" and to return to the business which oncerned them.

Exactly 10 years later, the Federated Chamber of ndustries (FCI) was accused of being un-South Afri-an and ridiculous by the State President as it tried arnestly to sound warning bells of the effects of a reakdown in communication between black and hite as a result of the state of emergency regula-ons declared on June 12.

The private sector, in spite of its "ticking off" by Ir Vorster, felt a need to do something positive. his led to the launch of the Urban Foundation.

The introduction of the Sullivan Principles and EC Code of Conduct in 1977 also led business to ccept that politics, business and labour have nec-ssary complementary roles.

Business recognizes that a sound economy pre-upposes a stable political system. Its attempts to eason with government are founded on this belief.

There was a period when businessmen thought ney had broken through the communication bar-ier and the age of close consultation had arrived.

Government seemed ready to talk and listen to the rivate sector through the Carlton and Good Hope onferences, held in 1979 and 1980 respectively.

What we rather naive businessmen failed to real-e was that we were, in fact, being "set up"; that nose conferences were nothing more than a forum or the propagation of government policies.

What government was trying hard to achieve, and ndeed for a while did, was the creation of the npression that business and government were one.

When one looks at the results of exercises such as roject Free Enterprise, it is clear that it almost ucceeded — business and government were firmly ntrenched in the minds of many South Africans as ne and the same thing.

It did not take businessmen long to realize that ne honeymoon was over.

The country's economy worsened steadily, the romised "reforms" remained promises and the disastrous tricameral parliament simply entrenched apartheid in a new guise...

Also, political events were impacting on an already weakened economy, affecting business's returns. The pace of change was snail-like; things were not happening fast enough to satisfy the demands of South African blacks, backed by growing international support through calls for disinvestment and boycotts.

Business realized it had to make it quite clear that the cosy chats of the past had not made it a cohort of government.

Dialogue between government and the private sector relating to business issues and the economy has always taken place. In recent years, however, there has been a shift and socio-political issues are now key agenda items.

Those who say that this is a new development are obviously unaware of the many intense sessions that have taken place behind closed doors.

The strategy was to give minimum publicity to these meetings. It was sincerely believed that business could advance its cause far more successfully if it could speak freely and openly with government out of the spotlight of the media.

When resulting action from these meetings was not forthcoming, however, businessmen began to doubt the strategy

BUSINESS realized, too, that it had to make it quite clear that the cosy chats of the past had not made it a cohort of government: that there were disagreements as to the road which government chose to tread, and that they did not wish to be identified with the hollow promises of change.

It became urgent that business should act. It was almost too late; already, in the minds of the majority of South Africans, business and capitalism had become synonymous with the apartheid system.

The internal and external pressures I have talked of certainly spurred business into political action, but I like to think it was the true corporate citizen within us that was the real catalyst.

A great number of people, both staff and outsiders, have asked me why Shell has been singled out for international boycott action. Other companies have their problems, but these are mainly localized.

Mobil, for example, has pressures from the US, Barclays from Britain. But Shell is faced with an onslaught from no fewer than nine different countries, and the number is growing. Shell is the only company having to handle an international campaign against it.

Remember Shell is big. For the last three years, it headed the Fortune 500 list of the world's largest companies. And big is seen by many as synonymous with bad. Shell has British and Dutch parent companies and its US operating company, now a wholly owned subsidairy, accounts for 30 percent of the group's profit world-wide.

One couldn't choose a better or bigger target and the bigger your target, the more impact and publicity your campaign is likely to achieve.

In the US there was the added factor of a 20-month-old strike at a coal mine in which Shell Oil has an interest.

The Rietspruit strike, which has featured most prominently in the anti-Shell campaign, was therefore timed, fortuitously for some but unfortunately for us to coincide with the attack on Shell Oil by the United Mineworkers' Union in the States.

THIS was another barb to add to the anti-South African lash; not only was Shell union-bashing in America, but it was doing the same thing in South Africa, where it was accused of using slave labour to boot! And it was this slave labour which was furthermore depriving good, solid American citizens of their jobs on the coal mines of the US.

There has also been particular anti-apartheid and anti-Shell activity in the Netherlands.

This is understandable; not only is it the home of one of the shareholders, but the Dutch are burdened with tremendous guilt for their own part in creating the repressive system in South Africa. They seek atonement.

Indeed, the Dutch and the English share a common concern in South Africa, where their historical role in contributing towards the present system is an added dimension.

Shell's position is not comfortable.

The other countries from which we face boycott action are Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, while France and Italy are ambivalent in their attitude towards trade with South Africa.

Why is Shell taking a high-profile political stance? The answer can be summed up in one word: "survival".

If you, as employees, are looking to me for comfort and reassurance, I can't give it to you. I wish I could.

The situation is not comfortable; Shell's position is not comfortable. The threat of disinvestment is real. It is important that everyone accepts that. It is important that every member of staff realizes that the survival of this company depends to some extent on their own commitment to the [illegible] place.

As you are all aware, in the "Chairman's Review" of the 1985 Business Report, I nailed Shell's political colours to the mast.

I stated that this company condemned apartheid and would do all in its power to eradicate this unjust system. The first half of 1986 has seen Shell unequivocally choose its direction at the crossroads; Shell has started down the road towards a new South Africa and there is no turning back.

We appreciate that the path we have chosen may not be easy or without criticism from some of our employees, suppliers and customers. But we will face what lies ahead in the interests of building a stable and prosperous country.

Business and the economy will have to change.

Clearly, the entire political framework will have to change. I would not deign to suggest just how: that would be just another unilateral imposition of a solution — the solutions must come from around the negotiating table, which must include participants of all shades of opinion.

Preconditions to setting up that negotiating table must be insistence on the unbanning of political organizations, the release of all political prisoners and the reprieve of all South Africans living in political exile as international refugees.

Business and the economy will have to change. The free enterprise system, for example, is espoused by some and rejected by others. In post-apartheid South Africa, the negotiated compromise between free enterprise and socialism could well lie in the greater involvement of capitalism and labour in industrial planning, strategy formulation and direction, and the allocation and use of resources for a more equitable distribution of wealth.

BUSINESSMEN will have to change. Companies will have to become far more active in accelerating black advancement in an industrial society, advancement based on merit and not tokenism.

The argument that blacks are not competent to govern is irrelevant when these very people have been denied the opportunity and educational foundations which will render them competent to take their rightful place as equal citizens in South African society.

We will have to learn, perhaps through sacrifice, to live in an equal, fair and just society under agreed laws.

We are totally committed to the concept of freedom for all in an equal society...

304A

Top businessmen flock to PW summit

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — South Africa's top business and labour leaders poured into the State guest house today for the State President's economic summit.

While the National African Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) appeared to be boycotting the summit, a number of black delegates were seen arriving.

Top delegates to chair the group committee discussions are: Dr J A Stegmann of Sasol, Mr M de Waal of the Industrial Development Corporation, Dr Gerhard de Kock of the Reserve Bank, Dr Fred du Plessis of Sanlam, Dr Simon Brand of the Development Bank,

Mr J B Marais of Escom, Mr Warren Clewlow of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto), Mr Meyer Kahn of South African Breweries, Mr Robin Plumridge of Goldfields and Mr W P Venter of Altec.

Other leading delegates who arrived early today included Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk, Mr Raymond Ackermann of Pick'n Pay, Professor Nic Wiehahn of the University of South Africa's School of Business Leadership, Assocom chairman Mr Harold Groom, Dr Piet Morkel of Volkskas and Mr Hendrik Sloet of Saambou Nasionaal.

Top Government officials include Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Hendrik Schoeman who has just resigned his Cabinet post.

Delegates were given a leather holder and a South African flag lapel badge on arrival and milled round in front of the guest house before moving inside.

ARGUS 7/11/86 300A

No political demands, PW tells big business

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha firmly told business leaders attending his economic summit here today he would not accept political demands.

But he said in his opening speech the Government was not holding the summit "for its own purposes to deliver a monologue".

There has been controversy over the summit, with some business leaders boycotting the event. Others have said they will use it to make political demands.

Mr Botha said he expected the private sector to play a greater part in developing a sound economy and creating confidence.

PARTY'S SUPPORT

"This is not a party political congress," he told the 200 people attending the conference.

"Several times this year I have set out the policy of the Government and obtained the support of my party."

He said the conference was being held to engender confidence, seek solutions for the future and increase co-operation between the public and private sector.

Mr Botha gave only brief and broad outlines of the two main topics on the agenda of the conference — privatisation and a new economic strategy.

"Privatisation will be considered only if, in the long term, it is to the advantage of the consumer of the service, the taxpayer or the community generally," he said.

"The new economic strategy is aimed at further extending our modern economic sector against the background of continued constitutional and socio-economic reform."

The conference would not deal with combating sanctions, which would be handled in other ways by the Government and the private sector.

"Public discussion of sanctions would only be to the disadvantage of South Africa," he said.

Mr Botha dealt extensively with reform and negotiation.

He said there were no instant solutions although the Government was "keenly interested in representations and proposals for reform."

But he warned: "The State's authority will under no circumstances be compromised.

"The reforms which we introduce, the changes we make and the negotiations we have will be effected in an orderly and well-considered way by the Government."

Reform involved the economic, social, scientific and educational fields — all of which cost money.

"Both the Government and the private sector will have to meet this cost," he said.

Orderly government and reform were important to the private sector. In the same way an active, positive and constructive private sector was important to the country and the Government.

Mr Botha rejected as "opportunistic and irresponsible" that blame was put solely on the Government for the economy.

"Many factors have contributed to this — including the drought and a world recession," he said.

"International political factors resulted in disinvestment, the suspension of existing loans, a ban on new loans and the storm about our debt agreements."

Sasol boss says summit could spark 'new hope'

Political Staff

POLITICS and economics were intertwined and fundamental to South Africa's development, Mr Joe Stegman, managing director of Sasol, said today.

Mr Stegman, a key speaker at today's Government summit with businessmen, said the conference could spark new hope for the future.

But businessmen were "looking for a sign, for a reaffirmation by the Government that recent events will in no way deter the Government from proceeding with the process of peaceful constitutional reform aimed at a fair and just dispensation for all South Africans."

Mr Stegman said he had already taken heart from the Government's comments on constitutional reform in its yet-to-be-publicly released reaction to proposals for a long-term economic strategy for South Africa.

CONSCIENCE

But he said reform "will continue because it has become a matter of conscience for all South Africans".

Dealing with the new economic strategy, Mr Stegman said discipline, particularly financial discipline, ran through

(Turn to Page 3, Col 7)

Summit sparks 'new hope'

(Cont. from Page 1)

the document like a golden thread.

He appealed to people not to dwell on the analysis in the report of what had gone wrong but to concentrate on the future.

It was the first time a comprehensive long-term economic strategy had been put together in one report.

And it was also the first time a strategy had been devised from the base that South Africa was an undevelpoed rather than a developed country.

The nucleus of the strategy was to place the highest priority on economic growth and job creation.

But he added inflation was still in many respects public enemy number one.

The more foreign economic pressure increased it would become increasingly important to ensure greater productivity and take other steps to win the fight against inflation.

He emphasised the modern section of the economy remained the main driving force.

But the Economic Advisory Council had identified important new issues.

These included the urbanisation of black people "which would provide an unquestionable stimulus to future economic growth if correctly handled".

He warned there were "mischievous people" who were attempting to drive a wedge between government and private enterprise and who would like to see the conference fail.

The

Cabinet shuffle renews talk of elections

B04A NM 3/11/86

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Election fever is rising again following the Cabinet shuffle and the possibility that more Nationalist MPs want to retire.

At least five and possibly six Nationalist seats will be affected by the changes announced this week by President Botha.

More will become vacant early next year when Mr Botha appoints the new assistant ministers who will be attached to the provincial executives.

They are expected to be appointed from the ranks of parliamentarians but will not be MPs.

There has also been speculation that several of the National Party's older MPs are not likely to stand again for a full term.

The combination of all the possible vacant seats has spurred speculation about whether Mr Botha will opt for a 'mini-election', with all the by-elections on the same day, or go for a general election.

Observers believe the final decision will depend on how many seats are going to be vacant and the state of the voters' rolls.

The feeling is that if there is likely to be a large enough number of vacancies Mr Botha will probably opt for a general election.

It is felt that there would be little sense in holding expensive and disruptive by-elections on a large-scale and then having to hold a general election some 18 months later.

Missing

Mr Botha appeared to be keen to call a general election this month and it is generally accepted that one of the main reasons for his not doing so was the poor state of the voters' rolls.

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, estimated earlier that about one-third of the voters were 'missing' — meaning they had not registered changes of address.

If there is to be a general election, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, will be under pressure to reach more clarity on the future of the proposed National Council and further constitutional reforms.

Nationalist workers in recent by-elections have complained that they have been under severe pressure during canvassing as they could not explain the Government's policy in detail.

This had left them open to criticism and the lack of clarity had been exploited by opponents.

April or May would appear to be the most likely time for a general election.

FINMAIL 7/11/86 (2 copy)

NOVEMBER 7 MEETING

A confident future?

The theme might be "Forward with Confidence," but the aim of restoring business confidence and government dominance will be far from satisfied by Friday's meeting between business and State President P W Botha and his Cabinet.

The meeting, at the presidential guest house Bryntirion in Pretoria, will open with an address by the president and then break up into 10 working groups for three hours before reporting back.

There are fewer participants than in the 1979 Carlton (250) and 1981 Good Hope (500) conferences.

Some 200 invitations have been extended (80% to the private sector), including the entire EAC (42 members), a representative from each major employer body, director generals of relevant departments (notably, including both foreign affairs and co-operation and development), the chairmen of the nine Regional Development Committees, organised labour, and associations dealing with the interests of small business (such as the Small Business Development Corporation). The full Cabinet will attend.

The economic division of the president's office drew up the guest list — inviting the CEs of the ultimate shareholders of SA's largest companies, drawn from the *FM's Top 100* survey — if they are not already on the EAC. The list was submitted to Cabinet.

"There was a carefully worked out formula. The aim is for a cross-section of interests," says the president's office. Yet no economists (as such), or union groupings like Cosatu and Cusa, have been invited.

Many who attended the earlier conferences feel they became involved in an exercise of co-option with government. Coming against the breakdown of the Carlton and Good Hope euphoria and against a background of (arguably) SA's severest recession and unprecedented political crisis, this is clearly an attempt by government to regain the initiative.

With the steady deterioration of the business environment, business support for government has waned, although "government will try to coerce those not in line, back into line," anticipates Cusa's Piroshaw Camay.

Government is also frustrated and bitterly complains about the lack of private sector investment and commitment. It also gripes about business talking loudly in public, but being reluctant to come forward and talk directly with government.

A significant feature of the latest conference is the stamp of the EAC, controversially restructured in July 1985 to exclude organised business and economists. ■

Business leaders must take a stand now

(30/4/86) Cape Times 7/4/86

BY Kassiem Allie, president of the Western Cape Traders Association

THE Nationalist government has once again invited businessmen to a conference to find solutions to the economic crisis.

The Western Cape Traders Association is of the opinion that the international sanctions facing this country are directly the result of this government's apartheid policy and its arrogant attitude.

We do strongly feel that whatever short-term economic solutions this conference can produce, it will not resolve South Africa's problems. The answer lies in political solutions.

Therefore, the Western Cape Traders Association calls on business leaders to take a stand and support the demands of all democratic organizations in South Africa and the international community. The demands are:

1) Lifting the state of emergency.

2) The release of all political prisoners and detainees.

3) Unbanning all organizations; the freedom to organize without interference.

4) Removal of all apartheid legislation.

5) The institution of free and open education.

When these demands are met, we will be heading in the right direction to bring about peaceful change for a better South Africa. The need for peaceful change may pass us by, if these demands are not met immediately. This conference can go down in history or it could be just another meeting of no relevance to the majority of South Africans.

The people attending this conference must take their stand now — and be part of the future South Africa.

Businessmen throughout the ages have played an important role in changing unjust governments and creating a just society for all, regardless of race, colour and creed.

South Africa is the most industrialized country in the southern hemisphere. The whole of Africa could become our export market, provided apartheid is dismantled.

The Nationalist government is fast losing control of the country's economic fate and it has shaken businessmen's confidence.

Image of SA must improve — report

By Sue Leeman and Colleen Ryan

The State President, Mr P W Botha, and his Cabinet met 200 business leaders in Pretoria yesterday to thrash out a strategy for digging South Africa out of its economic quagmire.

The Government indicated to business heads that it had largely accepted the recommendations of an Economic Advisory Council report on long-term economic strategies, which was discussed for the first time at yesterday's meeting.

The EAC report found that the South African economy had perfomed poorly in terms of economic growth, job creation, price stability and value of the rand over the past few years.

The study warned that South Africa would not have the same access to foreign capital as in the past and that it would have to develop a policy of "inward industrialisation" to lessen its dependence on foreign markets.

Although a correct economic strategy was important "it cannot in the long term compensate for political factors and the current unrest".

The report said South Africa's international financial relations would not normalise unless the country's image improved.

It recommended that the Government give a "clearer indication of the direction which is to be followed with political reform and the maintenance of law and order".

Among the proposals of the report were:

- That manpower policy should be aimed at creating opportunities, taking into account the country's "entrepreneurial talent".
- It was also important to boost education through the provision of educational and training opportunities of equal value, exposure of blacks to senior positions and the removal of the remaining restructions on the full utilisaton of labour.
- That further political reform was needed to defuse unrest and to help normalise the country's economic relations with the rest of the world.
- It was essential to regain business confidence and to ex tend and reinforce the economy against the background of continued political reform. Financial discipline and the correct fiscal policy were essential.

8/4/86 (301A)

This is manifest in the comprehensive programme of work creation and skills upgrading on the one hand and, on the other, the provision of the physical and other infrastructures making for a better quality of life."

"The most pressing needs of the people of South Africa taking precedence will inevitably render certain other economic objectives unattainable in the present circumstances," he said. — Sapa

Involvement'

provided by the private sector?

□ And thirdly, should the public sector provide the service on an economic basis?

Mr Louw said the government wanted to achieve reconciliation between the First and Third World economies in the country, and to improve the general performance of the economy with more entrepreneurs, more competition and more jobs.

"We want to use the vital elements of the economy — capital, entrepreneurship, labour and raw materials — to the fullest degree possible." — Sapa

The chairman of Pick 'n Pay, Mr Raymond Ackerman, arrives at the conference.

business confidence in South Africa.

In a joint statement, FCI president Dr Hugo Snyckers and Assocom president Mr Harold Groom identified key political and economic issues which needed to be addressed in order to restore business confidence.

These were "a socially responsive, market economy particularly sensitive to the needs of less privileged communities" and "the complete elimination of racial discrimination".

They said economic performance and political reform were totally interdependent, and that the government and the private sector would urgently have to promote policy steps which recognized this.

"This includes the effective implementation and continuous review of a new economic strategy, including privatization and de-regulation," they said.

BBC man's brush with police

PRETORIA. — BBC correspondent Graham Leach was yesterday detained by police, questioned for several hours and fined for a traffic offence.

The incident occurred after he interviewed a Black Sash protester outside the venue of a meeting between President P W Botha and top South African business leaders, according to Agence France Presse and the police.

A statement from the police public relations division in Pretoria said Leach had failed to remove his car after an instruction to do so.

"He was then detained by police until after a summons was issued for contravention of the road traffic ordinance." — Sapa

The governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, at yesterday's economic summit conference.

PRETORIA. — The time had come for politicians, business leaders, academics, labour leaders and other economic opinion-makers to show greater objectivity and "macro-responsibility" in order to tackle South Africa's economic problems, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

In an opening address to the government's economic conference with the private sector he said he was confident the meeting would contribute towards this and equip all for "unavoidable adjustments that will have to be made in the process."

The government's financial policy was two-pronged.

The first prong involved the pursuit of the highest attainable long-term economic growth rate and the continued creation of sufficient jobs coupled with the maintenance of general price stability and equilibrium on the balance of payments.

A serious complicating factor here was, however, the fact that for the forseeable future South Africa would be forced to be an exporter of capital. Normally foreign capital accounted for about 20 percent of net fixed investment.

From the perspective of government finance, the strategy included the eventual reversal of the present rising trend in total public sector spending as a proportion of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the avoidance of borrowing to finance current expenditure, and the limiting of the deficit before borrowing of the central government to three percent of the GDP, except in exceptional circumstances.

Mr Du Plessis said the emphasis on socio-economi

Louw tells of 'right type of

PRETORIA. — The success of privatization and de-regulation depended on close co-operation between the public and private sectors, and on the "right type" of private sector involvement, the Minister of Economic Advisory Services, Mr Eli Louw, said yesterday.

He told the 200 of the country's top business leaders that private sector investment had to increase as that of the public sector decreased, particularly in the spheres with the highest multiplier effect.

If this did not happen, SA would become a net loser of job opportunities.

Mr Louw said the biggest economic problem of a developing country was a lack of development capital, and in the case of South Africa, this was made worse by "other than economic causes".

Apart from the usual methods and guidelines for privatization, big public sector investment would in future be tested on the basis of the following questions:

- Firstly, should the user pay without subsidization by the taxpayer?
- Secondly, is it a service that can be

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ARGUS

301A

8/9/86 BOTHA

Business told to be 'realistically idealistic'

PRETORIA. — Two hundred of South Africa's top businessmen attending yesterday's economic conference with the government in Pretoria were told at the start by the State President, Mr P W Botha, they were expected to "act with realistic idealism towards your fatherland".

In his opening address he said "this includes the realization that our present economic and other circumstances cannot be attributed to a few simple causes".

Mr Botha rejected the "opportunistic and irresponsible way" government was blamed in some circles as being solely to blame for South Africa's economic and political problems.

Saying he had to choose a direction for the country from among the divergent economic and political viewpoints represented at the conference, he said. "I am a realistic idealist, and ... I expect you to, in today's discussion, to act with realistic idealism towards your fatherland."

Mr Botha referred to speculation and controversy about the "Carlton III" talks — his third such meeting with the private sector in seven years, and said he wanted to point out a few matters "which this conference is not about".

Firstly, "this is not a party-political congress" although a variety of "non-economic matters" might be raised.

Secondly, it was not "an attempt on the part of the government at collusion with 'big business' or the 'giants' in the business world".

The conference was thirdly "not an opportunity created by the government for its own purpose to stage a monologue" and fourthly, he wished to dispel the misconception that the conference was solely directed at combating sanctions.

"We have created special instruments to overcome that problem."

He said there was hope on his part a solution to the future would find practical implementation through co-operation between the public and private sectors.

Mr Botha said he also wanted to react to the allegation that the government was not making sufficient progress with reform and negotiation.

The government was in a "unique dilemma" because it was expected to increase the pace of reform and at the same time continue with meaningful negotiation.

The state, as represented by the government, while keenly interested in representations and proposals for reform, would under no circumstances be compromised.

Sanctions and pressure were brought to bear against South Africa, ostensibly to increase the rate of reform, but when reform took place, foreigners said the sanctions were working and imposed more.

"These are factors which you, just as the government, must keep in mind ...".

Reforms would not take place "as if the government is merely one of many participating or contending parties in a conflict," Mr Botha said.

There were no instant solutions for the problems faced in terms of human relations and no solution could survive if it did not take minority rights in South Africa's multi-cultural society into consideration.

Mr Botha also warned the businessmen that reform cost money and that it would have to be accepted that both the government and the private sector had to be involved in its financing.

Orderly government and reform were important to the private sector, just as an active, positive and constructive private sector was important to the country and the government.

On privatization, one of yesterday's official agenda items, Mr Botha said the government was in favour of it if it was to the long term advantage of the service, the taxpayer or the community at large. — Sapa

The State President, Mr P W Botha, arrives at the conference.

3-year plan for privatization

PRETORIA. — A three-year programme for privatization will be launched according to proposals discussed at the government's economic conference with the private sector in Pretoria yesterday.

The project will be carried out by the already appointed Committee of Ministers for Privatization under the chairmanship of the Minister of Administration and Economic Advisory Services in the Office of the State President.

"Proposals concerning central and provincial government functions or activities which have been identified for possible privatization will be submitted to the committee for consideration and then to the cabinet for approval," according to the discussion document.

Privatization will be subject to:

☐ Maintaining functions or activities at reasonable costs.

☐ Providing for the long-term benefit of the service's users, the taxpayer or society in general.

☐ Being reconcilable with competition policy.

☐ Creating more opportunities for individuals from all population groups to participate in the free enterprise system to the full extent of their abilities.

☐ Facilitating the promotion of small business development.

Private sector involvement would be sought at appropriate stages in the course of the investigations.

The discussion document notes that normal regulations could, in particular circumstances, restrict private entrepreneurship, the promotion of competition and the creation of jobs.

Consequently, public institutions should continuously ensure regulations they envisaged would restrict the healthy development of the economy as little as possible.

This meant that sufficient capacity had to be available, or potentially available in the private sector to ensure competition.

According to the document, the transfer of activities to the private sector entailed the sale of assets, the sale of government undertakings and the transfer of government functions, and this could take various forms:

☐ The acquisition of shares by the private sector in existing government undertakings, with government retaining its shares until full ownership could be transferred.

☐ The acquisition of shares by the private sector in new enterprises in which government would maintain a permanent involvement — for example in the case of natural monopolies.

☐ The phasing out of shareholding by government in private undertakings when it had fulfilled its development responsibilities.

☐ The leasing of business or the granting of concessions.

☐ Government property made available to the private sector against payment, for services such as roads and water supply.

☐ Termination of certain government activities, leaving open tender for the private sector depending on demand.

☐ The straight farming out of certain government activities.

The document notes functions that are "so indissolubly related to the public interest that they had to be performed by government officials" should not be privatized.

Privatization could not entail a real risk to state security or internal order, nor defeat political, social or ecological objectives.

Finally, the private sector would be required to make the largest possible contribution to the GDP, with minimum government interference, while the public sector's contribution should be kept as low as possible.

Strategy stresses need for 'financial discipline'

PRETORIA. — The necessity for financial discipline in future decisions was the golden thread running through the long-term economic strategy compiled by the Economic Advisory Council for discussion at yesterday's government economic conference with the private sector, said the council's deputy chairman, Mr Joe Stegmann.

In one of the opening addresses at the conference, Mr Stegmann, who headed the subcommittee which drew up the strategy, said he was pleased to note from the government's preliminary reaction that it had mainly either accepted the recommendations or confirmed that present policy was in line with them.

"I hope that after today the proposals will carry even more weight and that the government will accept these proposals in their entirety," he said.

It was important that, for the first time, a comprehensive long-term strategy was contained in one document which demanded reconsideration of priorities and greater discipline, particularly in the financial field and in future economic policy determination.

The document essentially proposed a market-orientated approach as the highest priority for economic growth and job creation.

As far as Mr Stegmann knew, the strategy was the first one to fully accept that South Africa was a developing country and not already developed.

The country's modern sector was the economy's chief driving force and should serve to pull the Third and First worlds together.

The government's proposals for deregulation and privatization to be discussed at the conference were thus timely and vital to the success of the long-term economic strategy.

Mr Stegmann said the rural sector and the promotion of small business also received particular attention in the strategy.

The recognition of the interdependence between economic and political factors in South Africa's society were fundamental to the strategy's future success.

"There are mischievous people who would drive a wedge between the private sector and the state and who would like to see today's conference declared a failure and a waste of time.

"The basic ill of our economy in recent years was a lack of confidence fuelled by uncertainty and by the simmering unrest," he said. — Sapa

Call for more economic objectivity

FCI, Assocom say summit 'necessarv'

Cape Times 8/11/86 (30 cm)

Schoeman had it easier under Vorster

Political Staff

LIFE for Hendrik Schoeman was easier when he worked in Prime Minister B J Vorster's cabinet. With the State President, Mr P W Botha, he says, it is not possible to "get away with murder" — everything you say at a cabinet meeting gets recorded.

"For me it was easier under John Vorster. When it was time to decide on something like the maize price, everyone had forgotten what I said the previous year, because it wasn't written down," he said.

Mr Schoeman, whose retirement from the cabinet was announced this week, has this story to tell of Mr Vorster:

Mr Schoeman had approved a tobacco price increase of 17 percent. When Mr Vorster summoned him and asked why he approved the increase without putting it to the cabinet, Mr Schoeman said he had not done so because he knew the Cabinet would not approve it.

Mr Vorster simply told him not to do it again.

The escapades of the elfin Mr Schoeman have become folk legends in their own time. His sharp wit and sense of humour sometimes landed him in trouble but he had a consummate knack of "putting his foot in it" without getting his shoes too dirty.

As a politician his shrewd ability was often disguised by his irreverent quips, interjections and behaviour.

He could take as good as he gave and poked fun at himself. He once told how a teacher asked a class what "donner weer" was.

A boy said "Hendrik Schoeman" because each time his father saw him on TV he said: "Daar's die donner weer."

Summit plan has key role — Koch

W/E Post 8/11/86 (304A)

Weekend Post Reporter

SPEEDY implementation of the economic strategy announced at yesterday's Pretoria business summit could play a key role on the political front.

This was the opinion today of Mr Louis Koch, chairman of the Region D Advisory Committee, who was among the 200 businessmen and regional representatives who attended the conference.

They were told of a three-year-plan to privatise Government undertakings, plans for deregulation and of a long-term economic strategy.

"The reaction of all the businessmen was positive," said Mr Koch.

One of the most important aspects had been that delegates had time to discuss the proposals of the Economic Advisory Council and the Government's reaction to them, together with proposals for privatisation.

"This was vital, as everyone who was there has a much clearer indication of what the opportunities are.

"I am confident that if we follow the strategies through and expedite them we can go a long way towards normalising the economy, which is very important in achieving the political aspirations of the people of South Africa."

It emerged after yesterday's day-long discussions — attended by the 200 businessmen but missing some key figures who had not been invited or were unable to attend — that follow-up meetings between Government and the private sector will be held soon.

Among those not invited were several leading figures who met with the African National Congress (ANC) leadership in Zambia late last year.

National African Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) representatives declined to attend yesterday's summit.

Reacting to the conference announcements, the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) and the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said these would help beef up business confidence.

But they added that without political reform, concerted economic growth was unlikely.

In a joint statement, FCI president, Dr Hugo Snyckers, and Assocom president, Mr Harold Groom, said that "the organisations consider that economic performance and political reform are totally inter-dependent in South Africa".

Both the Government and the private sector would urgently have to promote policy steps that recognised this reality.

They also emphasised the need for "a visible process of negotiation between white and black political leaders to create ultimately a non-racial democracy, linked to the private enterprise ethic".

State President, Mr P W Botha, said the summit had been "a success and its purpose was fulfilled".

Mr Warren Clewlow, of the South African Foreign Trade Organisation, who spoke for the private sector with Mr Meyer Khan, of SA Breweries, after the conference, emphasised the fullest support of the businessmen for the economic strategy.

He said that although the absence of black business leaders had been felt, the economic strategy plan was not only for whites, but for all population groups.

If it succeeded it would definitely clear the way for a better South Africa for all and the degree of support it received would determine its success.

Both he and Mr Khan said that political issues had featured in the discussions, particularly calls for the abolition of the Group Areas Act, but emphasised that "specifics" had not been dealt with.

● Mr Peter Searle, managing director of Volkswagen, attended the conference before leaving for overseas.

Doubt on Mossel Bay gas scheme

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, has left a question mark hanging over the proposed multi-million rand gas conversion project for Mossel Bay.

At a Press conference after yesterday's business summit, Mr du Plessis said the Government's spending policy had shifted from large-scale infrastructure development to socio-economic development.

This included such programmes as the building of schools. These trends had already started, as could be seen in the seven-fold increase in spending on black education.

He said it was a dramatic shift which held hope for the underprivileged.

Asked whether the Mossel Bay project would be affected, Mr du Plessis said such decisions — and those concerning any other large-scale project — would be subjected to "priority requirements" when the time came for final decisions.

Mr du Plessis

Meanwhile, business representatives at President P W Botha's economic summit yesterday have agreed to go along with the Government's economic development strategy.

"Big business" leaders emerged from the all-day conference confident that the partnership first forged at the Carlton conference had been renewed in spite of growing dissatisfaction with the pace of reform.

Mr Botha said the conference had succeeded in achieving its purpose.

Business leaders said the demands for faster reform had been put politely and firmly, but no Government reply had been received.

Mr du Plessis had said the Government would bear in mind the statements on reform when it came to making policy decisions.

The demands included a call for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Long-term strategy

Issues such as the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the African National Congress were not raised.

The businessmen gave their approval to the long-term strategy devised by the Government's Economic Advisory Council, with the rider that it should be implemented as soon as possible.

The new policy aims primarily at stimulating the economy by switching the emphasis of Government spending from huge infrastructural projects to socio-economic schemes to overcome unemployment and improve the lot of the underprivileged.

The Government wants the private sector to play a far greater role in improving the socio-economic conditions of blacks.

Mr Meyer Kahn, of South African Breweries, and Mr Warren Clulow, of Barlow Rand, made it clear that they had agreed to go along with the Government's economic plans and to ultimately convert them to the free enterprise system.

State has meticulously planned restructure of SA society, Durr says

W/G PRess 8/4/86

JOHANNESBURG. — The Government was set on a meticulously planned course to re-structure South Africa's society — and was not directionless — said Mr Kent Durr Deputy Minister of Finance, at the annual convention of the federated Chambers of Industry here.

Addressing the conference on "Economic Prospects in a Sanctions Environment", this week Mr Durr said there was a sea-change in the Government's attitude to the private sector which was not sufficiently recognised.

"One has only to look to the following to see what striking progress has already been made," he said.

● "Firstly, the Economic Advisory Council of the State President has designed an overall economic strategy which will provide a global perspective on economic policy measures. The council is also working on a strategy for the reconstruction of the agricultural sector.

● "Secondly, the Margo Commission has almost completed its comprehensive review of the tax system. The commission's recommendations have a vital bearing not only on tax reform in South Africa but also on our ability to maintain or improve our international competitiveness.

● "Thirdly, the implementation of the strategy for the development of small business and for deregulation is well under way. Areas affected thus far include: the establishment of a new form of business enterprise in the shape of the close corporation; the introduction of new standard national building regulations; the deregulation of business hours and of certain aspects of liquor affairs; the opening up of central business districts to all population groups; the abolition of influx control; the acceptance of the informal sector; the acceptance of the principle of non-discrimination between businessmen of all groups; legislation giving the State President wide powers to cut through red tape and unnecessary regulations; and the successes achieved in helping small businessmen via institutions such as the Small Business Development Corporation.

"I think it is important that we recognise that progress is being made along a planned route where the route, the planning and the implementation are subscribed to and have the full participation and input of the very best leadership in the private sector.

● "The fourth dimension of this intricate web of inter-relationships is the progress made towards privatisation.

"Key areas ripe for privatisation have now been identified. Those that offer the private sector a change of early and fruitful participation, and simultaneously the Government the opportunity to withdraw, will soon give from to our stated policy of minimising the participation of the State in the economy.

● "Fifthly, in the field of industry and commerce the White Paper on industrial development strategy targets the goals and provides a comprehensive picture of the direction for the future.

"Private sector input is substantial, since an overall 58 percent of representatives of these institutions are businessmen contributing to decision-making at the highest level.

● "In the sixth place, our industrial strategy has led to the establishment of the Kleu Committee to investigate the possibility of implementing comprehensive structural adjustments to the economy. As a first step a review of export incentives is currently under the spotlight, to make them more cost effective and to conform with GATT requirements.

● "In the seventh place, another consequence of joint action between the private and public sectors is seen in the recent restructuring of the Board of Trade and Industry.

● "In the eighth place, mention should be made of the role of technology as the lifeblood of future industrial development. The Department of Trade and Industry, with the CSIR, has already launched a programme to facilitate technology transfer.

"Here it should also be mentioned that the Board of Trade and Industry has recently finalised the investigation into the electronics industry. The development of this strategic industry is in line with the Government's belief that technology, and not numbers, is one of the main determinants of a country's economic and military strength.

● "In the ninth place, the Board for the Decentralisation of Industry is progressing well.

"To date, from its inception in 1982, 300 000 direct employment opportunities created tell only a small part of the whole story."

Mr Durr concluded by listing some of the more specific business opportunities he felt were on offer.

● There is surplus capacity of men and machines in many industries to cope with substantial growth without much capital outlay.

● Recent government and private sector efforts to promote training have created a pool of people with lower-level skills, awaiting mobilisation in less sophisticated industries.

● The sale of foreign controlled companies will, in many cases, free local management to seek exports in areas from which they were previously excluded by licencing or parent company arrangements.

"There are many products that can be manufacturered locally but which are currently imported because that has been easier. As labour costs rise under the influence of rapid economic growth on the part of several of our competitors, the combination of rapid population growth and improved skills training in South Africa should enable us to enjoy labour costs per unit of output in certain industries lower than is the case in many competing countries.

"This, in turn, will create further export opportunities. — Sapa.

State and big business join hands

Bold link-up to revitalise SA's economy

Mr Clewlow ... economic equality.

Mr Motsuenyane boycott.

Mr Kahn proud.

STAR 30414 8/11/86

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Government and business leaders yesterday committed themselves to a bold new economic policy of financial growth and job creation — with a reduction of dependence on foreign capital and exports.

Delegates to State President P W Botha's "Forward with Confidence" conference were in optimistic mood after day-long talks with the Government.

Speculation that some businessmen would use the conference to call for urgent political change proved unfounded. Delegates said politics did not dominate the talks, but views on important political issues were aired.

Addressing the third summit with businessmen since 1979, President Botha emphasised the importance of solving the country's economic problems and of improving cooperation between the private and public sectors

The summit centred on a report by the Economic Advisory Council on an economic policy for South Africa for the next five to 10 years Proposals for the privatisation of certain Government-controlled industries were also discussed.

Mr Botha, addressing a Press conference after the summit at the Presidential Guest House in Pretoria, said it was a conference of "good will", where the country's problems were discussed in a "civilised manner".

Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis said discussions and recommendations made by the 10 working groups at the conference would be documented and considered by the Government as soon as possible.

"What is of significance is that those who occupy themselves with the economy of the country got together because they are concerned about the rate of economic development in South Africa, and are worried about employment opportunities," he said.

Mr du Plessis, referring to the question of whether politics should have been discussed, said the State President made it clear the summit "was not a party political conference".

However, "political statements that were made were taken cognisance of and received with understanding".

He said private sector and Government delegates reached consensus on many important economic issues.

At the Press conference, Barlow Rand chief executive Mr Warren Clewlow said the economic plan was based on a long-term strategy of improving the quality of life of all South Africans by promoting the principle of economic equality.

Proud

• South African Breweries chief executive Mr Meyer Kahn said he was proud to be part of the new initiative. He placed emphasis on the need to increase economic growth, provide more jobs and build more houses.

Commenting on the summit, Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) president Dr Hugo ...

President Botha faced a phalanx of microphones yesterday after his business summit. With him are the Minister of Transport-elect, Mr Eli Louw (left); Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and conference chairman Dr Cornelis Human (right). ● Photograph: Etienne Rothbart.

Kepler Wessels

Kepler out to no ball?

By Michael Owen-Smith

Kepler Wessels, in an international tug-o'-war for his services, could spend the South African summer on the cricket sidelines

The left-hander is qualified by birth for the Springboks and by nationality for Kim Hughes' Australians.

There is little doubt he would strengthen either side: a career average of almost 50, a highest score of 254 for Sussex and a Test debut of 162 for Australia against England — five short of the opening record.

One of the first jobs facing Hughes's team (due at Jan Smuts Airport today) will be to decide on the Wessels issue. Another will be to ap-

Lawyers for the accused pull out

CAPE TOWN — Two attorneys who had appeared for two of the six people charged with murdering the father of South Africa's first test-tube quadruplets, Mr Stanley Hinrichsen, yesterday informed a Wynberg magistrate's court of their withdrawal from the case.

The prosecutor Miss H van der Merwe informed the court that Mr N Snitcher for Mr Goodman Tembala and Mrs G Koelma for Mr Gilbert Jamani, would no longer be representing their former clients.

At a previous hearing, Mr Richard Mabuto, 27, Mr Tembala, 38, Miss Virginia Thomas, 27, all of New Crossroads, Nyanga, and Miss Victoria Gwe, 34, of Mbekweni, had all pleaded not guilty to murder, alternatively culpable homicide, attempted murder, housebreaking with intent to rob, possessing an unlicensed firearm and four rounds of ammunition.

Amos Bhara, 34, Jamani, 28, had pleaded guilty to culpable homicide and housebreaking with intent to rob, but the magistrate had changed the plea of guilty to culpable homicide to not guilty.

Mr Hinrichsen, 52, had been killed at his Constantia home on August 25 and his wife Renate, 33, had been

GM workers to get back on the lines on Monday

STAR 8/11/86

By Glenda Spiro and Janine Simon

More than 2 000 General Motors workers, including 567 who were sacked, have decided to return to work on Monday. Workers' demands for severance pay and repayment of pension contributions have gone to arbitration.

The GM action was one of five disputes this week:

● **Gencor:** About 5 500 mineworkers stopped work at Gencor's Kinross gold mine near Evander. They want a union representative (dismissed for disrupting a management-organised memorial service for the Kinross mine disaster victims) and three union leaders dismissed after underground work stoppages over bonuses two weeks ago, reinstated.

● **CNA:** About 1 000 CNA employees staged sit-in strikes and demonstrations in stores and warehouses

Who will get top Wits job?

By Susan Pleming

Speculation has already started at Wits over who will take over from vice-chancellor and principal Professor Karl Tober when he retires on his 60th birthday in 1988.

Ex-PFP leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert has been mentioned but could not be contacted for comment last night.

Others said to be in the running are deputy vice-chancellors Professors Robert Charlton, Friedel ...

to revitalise

Vessels

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

The Government and business leaders yesterday committed themselves to a bold new economic policy of financial growth and job creation — with a reduction of dependence on foreign capital and exports.

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Commenting on the summit, Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) president Dr Hugo Snyckers and the president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Mr Harold Groom, said:

"Assocom and the FCI believe that the discussions were necessary and will help to promote business confidence in South Africa — provided the positive recommendations on the economic as well as the political front are actively pursued."

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Mr Hinrichsen, 52, had been killed at his Constantia home on August 25 and his wife Renate, 33, had been stabbed and injured in the attack.

The case was adjourned to a date to be fixed.

Harare denies Malawi plot

HARARE — Zimbabwe last night denied South African charges that it plotted with Mozambique to topple Malawi's Government.

The State Radio quoted the Information Ministry as saying the allegations were "lies aimed at concealing that Pretoria assassinated President Machel."

Earlier, Mozambique rejected an SA claim that the accusations were based on a document found in the wreckage of Machel's plane. — Reuter.

speed up reform

Cape Times 8/11/86 30411

From KEVIN JACOBS

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha's economic advisers yesterday warned that the nation's stagnant economy will not improve until he offers a clear programme to reform racial laws and end racial violence.

And while businessmen at the "Carlton III" economic summit of business and government leaders endorsed a government plan to boost the economy, they made another call for the government to speed up the reform process.

"I would say the mood was that reform has to continue at a much faster pace than in the past," the chief executive of Barlow-Rand, Mr Warren Clewlow, told reporters after the closed meeting.

President Botha's Economic Advisory Council said in a report to the summit that "there is a

Reports, pictures — see page 7

general need for a clearer indication of the direction which is to be followed with political reform and the maintenance of law and order".

Business delegates endorsed the report and singled out the Group Areas Act enforcing residential segregation as a law that must go, spokesmen told reporters.

The country's chambers of industry and commerce urged in a joint statement "the complete elimination of racial discrimination at all levels of South African society".

The Economic Advisory Council said Mr Botha's programme for reform 'will have to have sufficient credibility to counteract effectively the unfavourable influence of existing political and security action on domestic and foreign economic perceptions.

"There is a real danger that if these perceptions are not changed, South Africa will not succeed in normalizing its financial relations with the rest of the world in the foreseeable future".

However, President Botha, who addressed the meeting briefly, told business leaders he would not accept demands for political changes.

"On several occasions this year I have set out the policy of the government, and obtained the support of my party for that policy," he said.

Mr Botha rebutted accusations that the government was lagging in political reform. "Show me a country that has found an instant solution along the constitutional path," he said.

Mr Botha said he expected the private sector to play a greater part in developing a sound economy and creating confidence in the face of widespread foreign sanctions and a recession.

Overall business leaders were unanimous in their positive feelings about the day's proceedings.

They believed that most fundamental issues had been well-covered and it was only on details and

To Page 2

From Page 1

Economic summit

Cape Times 8/11/86 30411

timing that differences with government officials emerged, with businessmen feeling the need for more urgency.

They emerged hopeful and optimistic that a new sense of direction for the economy had been found.

It also became clear from interviews with prominent businessmen that a broad consensus exists amongst the private sector regarding the inter-relationship between economics and politics.

Without a political movement to restore confidence, it would be difficult to get the economy going and without a strong economy there would not be the resources to pay for reform.

This was strongly presented by each of the ten chairman in their summing up of the discussions of his group and it was firmly believed that government could not fail to register it.

Businessmen also felt that the package presented by government would — if speedily implemented — go a long way towards coming to grips with the economic side of the coin.

Sapa reports that the banned African National Congress — with whom leading businessmen from South Africa have held discussions over the last year — and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela had not been raised at the conference.

It also emerged at a press conference after the day-long discussions that future meetings between government and the private sector would be held as soon as possible in the future. — UPI, Own Correspondent and Sapa

Botha's militarists are now firmly in the saddle

Corr Times 8/11/86 30 4-11

Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

PRESIDENT P W Botha put his governmental estate in order this week, appointing Mr Alwyn Schlebusch as his political executor.

For the country, the Botha legacy is essentially the militarization of South Africa.

Whites will be expected to go into laager, accompanied by those of the elite in the other communities who may be willing to follow them.

The Botha reform, for what it has been worth, is of secondary importance — now more so than ever.

The key element in the Botha era has been his enhancement of military power — and his dependence on the advice of the military brass and military intelligence in regional, international and even domestic affairs. The diplomatists have been the handmaidens of the military, as now once again in the Malawi affair.

At an early stage, President Botha's transformation of the State Security Council into the key organ of government set the tone for what was to follow. Militarization of South African society is now far advanced, right down to the military-led security management committees at the local level.

Whatever his mildly reformist proclivities may have been, Mr Botha has always been a hawk in questions of national security — notably in regional affairs — and his militarists are now firmly in control of the country.

Mr Botha's bottom line has always been the maintenance of Afrikaner Nationalist group identity and political control, reform or no reform.

IN the region, South Africa — feared and distrusted — is now paying the price for the Botha policy of destabilization of its neighbour states.

This policy has devastated Mozambique and huge areas of Angola, not to speak of intermittent mayhem in Lesotho, Botswana and further afield.

The result has been chaos in Mozambique, where South African recce commandos are now said to be leading the Malawi-based MNR assault on the the Beira corridor's communications links.

It is hardly occasion for surprise that Mozambique and Zimbabwe have been threatening to blockade Malawi and are making contingency plans to force President Banda to stop backing the MNR (Renamo) guerrillas.

Pretoria, plagued by ANC guerrillas, has been following precisely the same technique against Maputo and for similar reasons.

Mr Pik Botha . . . revelations and melodrama.

We must allow Mr Pik Botha his SABC revelations and melodramas, countering the propaganda which blames South Africa for shooting down President Machel. But it is a dismal game, by any standards. The purpose of the Machel-Mugabe meeting in Harare was hardly a secret. The Beira corridor is President Mugabe's lifeline to the sea, if Zimbabwe is to escape total dependence on South Africa.

PRETORIA'S destabilization of its neighbours is resolutely disavowed. And Pretoria's disavowals are as readily disbelieved. History will judge the wisdom or otherwise of such policies, but the moral rights and wrongs are already plain enough. If you sponsor murderous bands of terrorists in your neighbour states to make war on civilians, what does this do to the moral integrity of your own anti-terrorist campaign? Thousands of innocent people have died in Mozambique to meet the objectives of Pretoria's counter-insurgency strategists. Does the end ultimately justify the means?

What has been achieved? The landmine atrocities continue in the Eastern Transvaal. It is by no means clear that our neighbour states are able to do anything very effective to curb the movement of guerrillas back and forth across their territories. There are political and practical limits to what they can do or are willing to do.

So the policy has not worked, and no matter how many more innocents must die on both sides, it will not work in future as a counter-insurgency stratagem.

Of course, there are other objectives, notably to counter the imposition of sanctions by the frontline states. But whether the game will be worth the candle in countering sanctions is likewise dubious.

So President Botha's legacy is one of continuing stepped-up hostilities in the region and increasing mobilization of the white community at home, latterly up to the age of 55! Mobilization against whom? Why is there no conscription of blacks, coloured people or Indians? What are the implications of conscripting whites only? Are whites expected to take up arms against their fellow-citizens who are not white?

THE prospect is one of siege, internally and externally, with guns at the ready. At home, this means economic stagnation, increasing unemployment, hardship and starvation and rising crime in the suburbs.

Externally it means the Lebanonization of southern Africa, creating a Vietnam-type situation, but with an important difference. This time the super-powers will be on the same side, which will not be South Africa's. Public opinion in the West is strongly on the side of the embattled frontline states.

It may be felt that the Botha government has had little option but to pursue such strategies. After all, the country *is* faced with guerrilla insurgency and terrorist atrocities, which are ultimately the responsibility of the African Nationalist Congress. And the ANC is communist-controlled, is it not, and will settle for nothing short of an immediate hand-over to blacks?

Is it as simple as that? The ANC is certainly pursuing a policy of so-called "armed struggle", but its viewpoint and attitudes are not very well known by South Africans. As a banned organization, the ANC has few opportunities to put its point of view. Some ANC statements do on occasion see the light in South Africa and some, like this week's ANC appeal to businessmen on the eve of the Pretoria summit, are remarkably moderate and reasonable in tone.

CERTAINLY the ANC has ties with the Soviet bloc. Mr Tambo has just been in Moscow and has met Mr Gorbachev. But so has President Reagan met Mr Gorbachev and no one is calling him a communist. Mr Tambo also has contacts with leaders of the Western bloc and is increasingly welcome at the highest levels.

It is actually not all that likely that the communists in the ANC, such as Mr Joe Slovo, would dominate an unbanned ANC. It is by no means a foregone conclusion. The best-informed analysts say that the ANC is social democratic or libertarian socialist in its policies, rather like the British Labour Party, which also has its quota of far-left ideologues.

The ANC might well agree to a truce — a suspension of violence — if there seemed to be a genuine disposition in Pretoria to do a deal and to clamp down on the right.

Regrettably, there is no disposition to settle — and there is not going to to be, as long as President Botha's militarists are in the saddle.

Cape Times (SOUTH)

cember 8, 1986

Craven calls on Govt to reform quickly

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Rugby chief Dr Danie Craven has called on the government to "implement far-reaching political and social reforms" quickly and said only a new dispensation would allow SA rugby back into the international fold.

The future of South African rugby tours abroad now seemed to be entirely dependent on the pace at which the government introduced political reforms, Dr Craven, the South African Rugby Board president, said yesterday.

Dr Craven was reacting to the Welsh Rugby Union's (WRU) cancellation of a tour of Wales by a team from Natal's Michaelhouse school last week, which he said "left him greatly disapointed and shocked".

He said the cancellation of the tour had "indicated finally to him that nothing officials of SA rugby had done or could do to open rugby to all would have any bearing on overseas opinion of SA politics".

WRU vote

According to Craven the WRU vote to cancel the tour — despite an overwhelming vote during 1984 by Welsh clubs to maintain links with SA rugby at every level — had "virtually suspended rugby relations between the two countries".

Political controversy last week prompted another SA team, the Hedgehogs, to announce it had decided to abort its tour of Southern England after competing in just one of five scheduled matches.

Dr Craven said he was "especially disapointed for the Michaelhouse and Hedgehog teams for having to cancel their tours after actually arriving in Britain with the sanction from the respective British rugby unions".

'Total power for PW, yet SA has gone backwards'

Weekend Post Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN — The State President now exercised total power, yet South Africa had been going backward for eight years — "and we all know it", according to the MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess.

At the annual meeting of the Port Alfred branch of the PFP, he referred to the recent appointment of 10 MPs as Deputy Ministers.

"More than one third of the Nat caucus has been given Goverment jobs, with houses in Cape Town and Pretoria, chauffeurs and R22 000 more each year. PW has broken his word."

In 1978 the rand was worth more than a dollar. Today it was reduced to 45c and R3,28 was the equivalent of the British pound.

"British pensioners have never had it so good."

Mr Malcomess aid the motor industry, which used to sell 300 000 vehicles a year, would battle to sell 170 000 this year. More than 100 American companies had disinvested and there had been more states of emergency during Mr Botha's regime than in the history of South Africa.

More MPs had voted against the security legislation than has sanctioned it, yet a white majority had forced it through to the President's Council.

He said that 74 years after union, the constitution ignored the black population.

"The National Party will not listen and there will be no peace while they are in power. They will not move with the times towards an acceptable peaceful solution."

He warned that a radical element would continue to operate but, once the "broad mass" was behind an acceptable constitution, a peaceful solution could be found.

ROWS LOOM IN TWO OUTPOSTS

9/11/86 SUN TIMES

Sunday Times Reporters

CRUCIAL guidelines to South Africa's constitutional future are being debated in two unlikely outposts — Windhoek and Maritzburg.

And the National Party's bottom-line demands for entrenched white group rights are threatening major ructions.

In Windhoek the chairman of the territory's Constitutional Committee, Mr Justice Hiemstra, has reportedly come within an ace of being axed because of his plans for a nonracial constitution.

And in Maritzburg the KwaNatal Indaba is moving slowly to a conclusion with a strong rearguard action by some lobbies — reportedly representing National Party interests — in defence of entrenched group rights.

Replaced

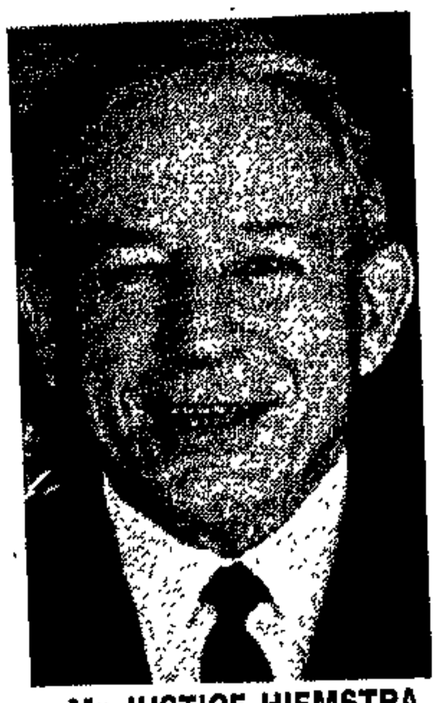
Always turbulent, SWA-Namibian politics has come to the fore again with confirmation that Mr Justice Hiemstra has drawn the ire of Pretoria over what is seen as an overly liberal constitutional plan which does not make sufficient provision for specific group rights — particularly white.

Last month the SWA-Namibian Cabinet was called to Pretoria and read the riot act by President Botha, who suggested that Mr Justice Hiemstra should be replaced. The SWA-Namibians refused, as is their right.

On Wednesday last week Mr Dirk Mudge, chairman of the Ministers Council, met Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan in Pretoria and confirmed the council's objection.

Latest moves indicate that a compromise will be reached: Mr Justice Hiemstra will be allowed to publish his report, which calls for a nonracial constitution, with a national assembly and a small senate.

Thereafter, all is still vague, though a Namibian Cabinet minister pledged that Mr Justice Hiemstra would not be replaced without a fight.



Mr JUSTICE HIEMSTRA
PW wanted him replaced

The constitutional committee is still confronted with a pending Supreme Court action from the National Party of SWA, which opposes the nonracial drift of the committee.

Influence

Insiders claim that elements in the party still have considerable influence on the South African Government, and the initiative for the judge's dismissal comes from the National Party of SWA-Namibia. Ironically, it initially welcomed Mr Justice Hiemstra's appointment.

And in Maritzburg, the KwaNatal Indaba has entered its most critical phase. At issue is a demand by the majority of participants that the proposed regional legislature be colour-blind as opposed to the insistence by some groups — the New Republic Party and Afrikaans cultural and business lobbies — that there be specific provision for racial group rights.

Again, insiders at the Indaba claim that Pretoria's bottom-line constitutional demands are being given expression by front groups.

The Government's major concern is that it will be confronted with two simultaneous proposals from respectable forums for nonracial political systems based on the principle of voluntary association. Neither the system nor the principle is acceptable to the party.

'Don't beat about bush'

By ZB MOLEFE

TODAY'S economic summit between President PW Botha and SA businessmen must focus on fundamental change in SA rather than on fighting sanctions, the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce said this week.

This statement came when Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane joined a number of leading and prominent businessmen who will be absent during the summit in Pretoria.

The statement said: "We believe that the conference will not adress the crucial issue. Non-political discussions at this time bear no relevance to the challenges we face – which demand political solutions.

"The focus in our opinion must fall on fundamental change rather than on fighting sanctions.

"We do not wish to be misconstrued nor do we wish to deceive our people. Nothing meaningful will be achieved if the discussions will remain non-political."

Today's summit comes in a week of growing pessimism in business circles – with business leaders dissatisfied that political issues are not on today's summit agenda.

Some of the business leaders who will not be at the summit include Anglo American's Gavin Relly, Premier Group chief Tony Bloom and Toyota chief Colin Adcock

Other names which will be missing from the 200 delegates at the summit are Chamber of Industries' John Wilson, Barclays Bank chief Chris Ball, SA Perm head Bob Tucker and JCI chief Gordon Waddell.

City Press 30/4/87

It looks like an April poll SUNTIMES 9/11/86 (304A)

A GENERAL election in April next year is now being strongly punted in political quarters — but not by the bureaucracy.

Strong signals have emerged from Government quarters that the early poll originally mooted for this month will be held in April instead.

In a recent speech in Pretoria, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, said the Government's "consolidation phase" of reform was drawing to a close.

A general election establishing a mandate for the Government to proceed with some form of black inclusion in central government could be expected as reform moved into forward gear next year.

This week, white opposition parties — the Progressive Federal Party, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — all said they were preparing for an April election.

But this week a senior bureaucrat and constitutional planner said. "From a purely technical point of view, the answer is no."

Senior civil servants also enumerated their concerns.

There is not yet a deadline for the completed updating of the country's "chaotic" voters' rolls, and a delimitation commission to update the constituencies map has yet to be called into being

Estimate

One source estimated the commission would need at least three months to complete its job.

A delimitation made little sense without a redistribution of seats among the provinces, and provincial weightings in Parliament did not reflect the movements of the population over the last decade, they said.

Such a redistribution would be a constitutional matter and would involve time-consuming procedures.

At present, Transvaal has 76 seats, the Cape 56, Natal 20 and the Free State 14. One current theory is that Transvaal should gain at least 11 more.

Bureaucrats are also concerned about the constitutional effects of what the politicians decide to do about coloured and Indian participation in the election.

Constitutionally, the Houses of Representatives and Delegates are part of Parliament and need to be elected along with the white House of Assembly to give Parliament a full five-year term.

Failing this, whites would have to go to the polls again in 1987.

The Government is said to recognise the extreme reluctance of coloured and Indian representatives to face their voters after only two lacklustre years in Parliament.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

There are two main reasons for an April election. The Government is being "needled", in the words of one parliamentarian, about the lack of a mandate for reform that includes blacks in government.

Rather than wait for the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) to hammer out a framework for black inclusion, Mr Botha is now expected to present the electorate with an outline of proposals within which the NSC would deliberate.

April would be an ideal time to rout the right wing, a threat the Government takes seriously, and tensions and divisions between rightwing parties and groups are becoming clearly marked.

Conference

The Conservative Party has unilaterally called a unification conference for late February, and relations are likely to be at a snapping point by then.

In addition, Mr Botha's Cabinet shuffle this week means there will be at least six by-elections in coming months.

A senior opposition parliamentarian said the by-elections might be used as a substitute for a general election.

"If Mr Botha can have the effects of an election without the risks of a general election, he might prefer it."

THE LAW MAN IN BLUE JEANS

ROELF MEYER

By LESTER VENTER

THE appointment of 39-year-old Mr Roelf Meyer as a Deputy Minister gives the country its first off-duty blue jeans law-and-order boss.

The ministry's previous incumbents — John Vorster, Jimmy Kruger and Louis le Grange — have promoted a mirthless image of apartheid government's strongest arm.

Although youthful and affably casual, Mr Meyer invited this interviewer to "draw your own conclusions" from reports that he was a leading office-bearer of the Ruiterwag, widely regarded as a youth wing of, and a harvesting ground for the Broederbond.

As Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Meyer will be in charge of the national security management system — a complex and extensive recent manifestation of crisis government that begins in the Cabinet and eventually fans out nationwide into more than 400 security management committees at grassroots.

The system is designed to combat the growing revolutionary climate in the country, largely by imitating its political methods and bidding to eliminate the grievances that fuel it.

Mr Meyer says the chief challenge of his job is in co-ordinating the complex system and integrating the different state departments involved in it

Although his appointment came as a "great surprise", he has had a particular interest in it over the past year, he said.

THE INFO MAN'S NEW SONG

Dr VAN DER MERWE

By LESTER VENTER

HERE'S one from South Africa's new Info boss, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe: "From next month, the Bureau for Information is going to be singing a different tune."

The self-effacing joke from the man who becomes Minister of Information on December 1 is a measure of his likable candour, admired even by those who repudiate his ideology.

He says he is going into the controversial job with the aim of being "100 percent honest" in the dissemination of information.

The joke — a reference to the bureau's hotly debated and widely condemned peace-song project — is also a measure of the diplomatic attributes he gained in several postings with the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He makes it clear that the information volunteered about Government business will be largely a function of his personal judgment.

The greatest challenge he sees is knowing where to draw the line between "the public's right to know and the Government's right to withhold".

But, he says, in times of rapid change — such as in South Africa — there is "an intense need for information".

If a government adopts a policy of reform, he argues, it implies that there are elements of wrong in the system.

"One must be big enough to admit it," he says.

PW's numbers game looks set for a record

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA may soon qualify for the Guinness Book of Records as having the biggest and most cumbersome Cabinet in the world.

With 18 Cabinet Ministers, 20 Deputy Ministers, 13 "own affairs" Ministers and a possible 52 Assistant Ministers, South Africa could soon have a total of 103 "Ministers"

At the same time, this week's Cabinet reshuffle, which doubled — to 20 — President P W Botha's team of Deputy Ministers, appears to be in sharp contradiction to the Government's 1979 commitment to rationalise the bureaucracy.

Then, President Botha, in a policy speech, promised a more streamlined state machinery, but subsequent statistics indicate that the country's bureaucratic empire has ballooned alarmingly.

Assistants

If the Constitutional Laws Amendment Bill becomes law, Mr Botha will, in fact, have the power to appoint 52 more Assistant Ministers to help administer "own affairs" at provincial level.

The Bill is sponsored by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and seeks to amend the 1983 SA Constitution Act, to provide for the appointment of Assistant Ministers.

There are 13 Ministers in the "own affairs" "mini-Cabinets" (Ministers' Councils) of the three Houses — four coloured Ministers, four Indian Ministers and five white Ministers, charged with administering "own affairs".

It is believed each "own affairs" Minister may be entitled to an Assistant Minister in each of the four provinces to help run "own affairs" departments, giving a theoretical total of 52 Assistant Ministers.

And in terms of the Bill the State President "may appoint any person" as Assistant Minister.

Loading

PFP sources said the simultaneous loading of the Deputy Ministers' corps to 20, while pruning the Cabinet down from 20 to 18, has made Mr Botha's claim that the move was in line with a "leaner and more efficient" executive "sound hollow".

When Mr Botha took over the premiership from Mr John Vorster in 1979, the Cabinet consisted of 18 Ministers plus six Deputy Ministers.

On instructions from Mr Botha, the then Public Service Commission investigated ways to increase the efficiency of the central decision-making structures.

The commission's recommendations were approved by the Cabinet on December 3, 1979 and Mr Botha announced the reductions which have since been superseded.

In 1980, however, Mr Botha appointed another two Ministers and from 1983 to 1984 — the last year of the all-white Parliament — the executive consisted of 20 full Ministers and nine deputies.

Since then, and up to this week's Cabinet reshuffling, the Botha Cabinet consisted of himself, as State President and chairman of the Cabinet, plus 20 full Cabinet Ministers and 10 deputies.

It is being estimated in PFP circles that the Cabinet shake-up of this week alone, could cost the taxpayer an extra R7-million.

Cape Times 9/12/86 (304A)

Indaba: 'Low-key approach'

HOWICK. — A low-key and diplomatic approach was required to keep the momentum of the KwaNatal Indaba going, Mr Gerrie De Jong, former MP for Maritzburg South, said yesterday at a report-back meeting of the Indaba for farmers in the Natal Midlands.

"Ten days ago the KwaNatal Indaba completed a draft constitutional blueprint for Natal. The future of this country depends on whether this blueprint is taken further and negotiated until a final acceptable constitution is formulated and translated into the law of the land," he said.

Further negotiation towards the goal of a "civilized and free society" needed to overcome many obstacles, he said.

These included a probable general election next April that would "muddy the waters as well as delay the final negotiations on the Indaba proposals"; a common misconception that the Indaba's draft proposal is the final blueprint for Natal when in fact the KwaZulu and South African governments still have to study the report and suggest alterations; the belief that the SA government has already rejected the proposals when the government had not even received a copy of them yet; attempts by right and left wing organizations to stop the talks, and the "very real danger that political pressure on the KwaZulu government to take a more radical position will increase should a constitutional solution not be found soon".

Despite the dangers, Mr De Jong believed it was possible to negotiate a new constitution for Natal.

He asked the government to study the proposals in good faith.

"We further call on the government to appoint without preconditions an official delegation to meet with an official delegation from the KwaZulu government with the sole purpose of negotiating a final constitutional model for the state of Natal".

And in London, ambassador Dr Denis Worrall said in a letter to the Financial Times that the suggested government for KwaNatal demonstrated that non-racial answers can be worked out by peaceful negotiations.

He said this is especially so with skilled leadership and goodwill, and that "the South African government also recognizes that this is an initiative of great importance to black leaders in general who are committed to non-violent change and to Chief Minister Buthelezi". — Sapa

'Don't just talk business'

THE Council of Unions of SA has urged President PW Botha not to restrict himself to economics when he meets businessmen today.

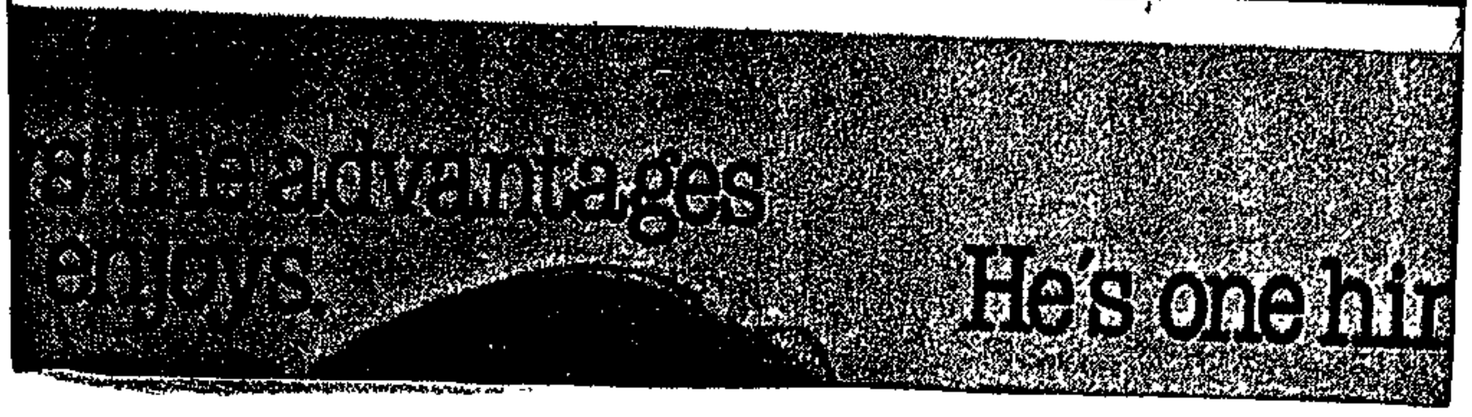
"He must address the fundamental questions of human rights and political freedoms," Cusa general secretary Piroshaw Camay said this week.

Camay was addressing the Federated Chamber of Industries – a forum for management personnel.

"There will need to be a balance between political rights and participation in decision-making on the country's economic future while ensuring that social development and growth are not prejudiced," he said.

● The UDF says the "summit" is going to be a sheer waste of time.

"It is quite clear from the agenda of the meeting that the dismantling of apartheid is not regarded as important," the UDF said.



9/11/86 SUN TIMES 304A

summit

That's better! Business is lent an ear at civilised

By DAVID CARTE and LESTER VENTER

IT WAS an oh-so-civilised affair.

And if big business and government quibbled over anything fundamental, their differences were couched in the well-mannered tones of people who know that — when all is said and done — they are ultimately reliant upon each other.

"Instead of just being talked to, we were listened to," said one managing director.

As the much-advertised conference between the Cabinet and senior representatives of the private sector ended in Pretoria late on Friday, there was consensus on one thing in particular: "Carlton III" had gone much better than its two predecessors.

■■■

It was more fruitful, said participants, because the procedure for breaking up into small groups — each attended by officials and Ministers — enabled most businessmen to air their views.

Businessmen who wish to make further points have been invited to submit them in writing within 10 days.

In the end, politics WAS on the agenda, for the simple reason that in South Africa it is inseparable from economics.

Group Areas especially were criticised by business.

But the centrepiece was a strategic plan for economic growth. In its promotion, the two sides emerged as partners.

Speaking for the business side, SA Breweries chief executive, Mr Meyer Kahn, said: "I know of no other way to make our economy grow and give people their most basic rights of a job and house."

The plan, drawn up by the state's Economic Advisory Council, was regarded by both parties as more significant for its shift in current thinking than its specifics.

Essentially, the plan recognises South Africa as a developing country with a need to broaden the economy, lessen dependence on foreign capital, goods and markets, and to develop internal markets.

■■■

In the main, this is to be done by:

- Increasing the economy's ability to create jobs, largely by privatising government functions where possible; freeing it from cumbersome regulations; emphasising productivity; and concentrating on education and training.
- Pushing ahead with political reform to improve the business climate.
- Increasing discipline on spending in all sectors.
- Alleviating the tax burden on corporations, and fighting inflation by spurring the supply of goods and services, and
- Recognising that the modern, industrialised sector will remain the key in job and wealth creation.

Government was clearly pleased at the outcome.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said there would be a move away from big capital projects to "a basic structure" that would benefit more people.

Afterwards the State President, Mr PW Botha, said: "The private and public sectors are much closer to each other than is generally realised.

■■■

"We spoke openly, with understanding and courtesy ... In a sense, we both report to shareholders.

"We both have to deal with public opinion.

"Public opinion is like the castle ghost. Everybody is afraid of it but nobody has ever seen it."

Mr Graham Boustred, chairman of the Anglo American Industrial Corporation, and deputy chairman of Anglo itself, said: "The Government heard from businessmen that it is not possible to restore confidence or to get the economy going unless something happens on the political front."

Mr John Maree, chairman, Escom: "The message from business is that we need to look at a long-term economic situation and we need less government participation in the economy."

■■■

Mr Mike Sander, managing director of AECI: "The nine chairmen brought home that politics, business and economic development have to run parallel."

Mr Louis Shill, chairman of Sage Holdings: "No-one pulled any punches and Ministers and heads of departments were there to hear it."

Now let's talk about reform, say businessmen

By Michael Chester

(304A) STAR 10/11/86

Encouraged by the success of the November 7 summit with the Government, business leaders want to call another summit — urging that this time it should focus on social and political reform.

Dr Ben Vosloo, managing director of the Small Business Development Corporation, and Mr Donny Gordon, head of the Liberty Life insurance empire, are among top businessmen who favour a rapid follow-through to the summit held in Pretoria at the weekend.

"The latest summit was a tremendous advance on its two predecessors — first the Carlton Conference and then the Good Hope Conference", said Mr Gordon.

"Instead of the Government having a virtual monopoly of the platform, at least the private sector had the opportunity for real two-way discussions.

"We reached a lot of agreement on strategies in the economic sphere, but it's quite obvious that success will depend heavily on social reform going in tandem with economic action.

"Now that we finally seem to have some rapport, we should seize the opportunity to follow through with summit no 4 — perhaps with the private sector this time acting as hosts and setting priorities for the agenda".

Dr Vosloo said the general agreement, reached at the November 7 summit on economic strategy, raised the promise of significant progress in curbing unemployment by more job creation, privatisation of more State enterprises, sweeping away obsolete regulations hindering the informal sector, and encouraging capital formation for new investment.

"But the economic outlook is totally dependent on political reform", he said.

"What is needed now, though, is a similar exercise with a special 'think tank' devoted to seeking agreement on solution to urgent socio-political issues."

Mr Warren Clewlow, chief executive at Barlow Rand, said discussions inside most if not all of the 10 separate working groups created at the November 7 summit had underlined the urgency of amending the Group Areas Act.

Mr Tony Norton, executive president of Johannesburg Stock Exchange said: "One had the feeling that at last a start had been made with real dialogue — and we have to ensure the dialogue goes on."

● See Page 13.

Chilly French visit for PW

304A

PARIS — President P W Botha is set to get a chilly welcome from government officials and anti-apartheid groups when he arrives in France today for a two-day private visit.

Botha, who rarely travels abroad, is due to open a museum in Longueval in Picardy commemorating SA war dead.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's government has made clear that it will not have any official contact with Botha during his stay.

SA had hoped for a softening of France's attitude following the electoral victory of the right-wing coalition.

Botha last visited France two years ago to lay the foundation stone of the museum. — Sapa-Reuter.

BUSDAY 10/11/86 "THE VITAL VIEWPOINT"

Areas Act must be rewritten urgently, business tells govt

MAX DU PREEZ and LINDA ENSOR

THE urgent need to create grey areas in terms of the Group Areas Act was stressed by businessmen at the economic summit at the weekend.

Pressure applied by the private sector during Friday's conference with government is expected to have at least one positive political effect: the acceptance by government of substantial changes to the Group Areas Act as proposed by the President's Council (PC).

Barlow Rand's Warren Clewlow, one of the spokesmen for the business component, said the Group Areas Act had been discussed with government and the general feeling was that it had to be amended as a matter of urgency.

The plan drawn up by the Economic Advisory Council (EAC) also proposed that business districts be opened up at a more rapid pace.

Government's written reaction, handed out with the plan, stated: "The possibility of speeding up this process will depend on the outcome of the investigation into the Group Areas Act."

Induscom chairman D Maartens said there was a feeling that grey areas would have to be created as soon as possible so that black people could move in and do business in the same areas as whites.

As adjustments to the Group Areas Act were being investigated by the President's Council, discussion had stopped at the grey areas, he said.

One of the few black businessmen present, Habakuk Shikwane of Habakuk Cane Furnishers, told *Business Day* the removal of the Group Areas Act was pinpointed as a matter of urgency by almost all the groups. Government representatives did not respond to this at the meeting, he said.

"I was very happy that they discussed the Group Areas Act because for me that is the cornerstone of the whole thing.

"If that is removed it will give hope to every black man. But if limitations still exist for him he will not be able to progress ..." Shikwane said.

Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the PC, confirmed that his completed report had been handed to outgoing PC chairman Piet Koornhof. It will be debated by the full PC in the last week of November.

Government's dilemma is that the Group Areas Act is a very emotional issue among whites voters — and an early general election is looming.

● See Page 4 and 6

New link-man for Switzerland

ALAN SENDZUL

GOVERNMENT has stationed a full-time representative in Berne, Switzerland, to liaise with European and "certain Asian countries".

This flows from its acceptance of the Economic Advisory Council's recommendation to "normalise international financial relations", an area that's likely to occupy increasing importance.

In a document released at Friday's business summit, government detailed an initial response to the EAC's proposals in which it has instructed the "representative to visit and liaise with European and certain Asian countries".

It is believed the representative will deal with more than foreign debt, since the East is not among SA's creditors.

No further details on the Berne posting were available yesterday.

P W Botha leaves in secret for France

CAPE TIMES 10/11/86

3068

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, left South Africa in secrecy last night for a short unofficial visit to France where he is due to open the Delville Wood Memorial.

Reuter's Paris correspondent reported that Mr Botha was set to get a chilly welcome from anti-apartheid groups and from the French Government which has made it clear it will not have any official contact with Mr Botha during his stay in protest against South Africa's apartheid policies.

Sapa reported strict security was being maintained around the visit and there was no indication of Mr Botha's time of departure or of arrival in France.

In a ceremony at Jan Smuts Airport shortly before the State President's departure the outgoing Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, was sworn in as acting Head of State by Mr Botha.

Confirming his position last night Mr Schoeman quipped he would not be reshuffling his cabinet.

Mr Botha was to have opened the memorial earlier this year but his visit was postponed because buildings had not been completed and the weather was adverse.

He laid the foundation stone for the memorial which commemorates South Africans who died in the two world wars during his 1984 visit to Europe.

A large contingent of ex-soldiers were to accompany Mr Botha on the trip.

● Britain yesterday defied a West European boycott of ceremonies honouring South Africans killed in both World Wars.

Western diplomats said the initiative for the boycott — intended as a show of condemnation of apartheid — came from West Germany and divided embassies in Pretoria.

Britain, the United States and Taiwan were the only foreign countries represented at the annual wreath-laying ceremony at the Johannesburg Cenotaph, which was attended by President P W Botha.

● The Office of the State President would not confirm reports from Madeira that President Botha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, are to visit the Portuguese protectorate after the French visit.

Politics to feature in this summit

GERALD REILLY

ANOTHER economic summit will be held in Johannesburg on Wednesday — and at this one the realities of the impact of politics on the economy are expected to feature.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) president Sam Motsuenyane, who boycotted the State President's summit last week, is among the speakers expected to stress that without swift and real reform, the economy is heading for serious trouble.

The conference is being organised by Unisa's School of Business Leadership. It will focus on constitutional priorities, economic and financial priorities, educational issues and industrial relations.

Speakers will include constitutional law specialist Marinus Wiechers, Auditor-General Joop de Loor, Development Bank CE Simon Brand and Director-General of Finance Chris Stals.

Unisa's principal, Theo van Wyk, and Cape Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn will discuss educational priorities. Prof Backer of Rand Afrikaans University, Prof Johan Coetzee of Potchefstroom University and Dawie de Villiers of the School of Business Leadership will discuss labour relations.

School of Business Leadership director Nic Wiehahn will speak on negotiating with vested interests. Prof Jan Hupkes will chair the conference.

The aim of the conference, Hupkes says, is to force people to sharpen their thoughts on a variety of issues which affect the future of SA.

Most Economic Advisory Council points are accepted

10/11/86

3041A

STAR

Govt reaffirms belief in reform

The Government has agreed with most of the recommendations in the report of its Economic Advisory Council, adding that many of them were already policy.

At the same time it has made a fresh commitment to the resumption of international economic relations, improved trade links and boosted internal economic growth.

In its initial response to the report, drawn up by a sub-committee of the EAC, the Government reaffirmed its belief in reform aimed at ending discrimination, providing equal opportunities and political rights for all.

Evolutionary process

However, it said, reform was an evolutionary process "in which perceptions must be changed, people at different levels must be exposed to complex institutions and processes, common values and leadership must be developed".

"It cannot, therefore, take place overnight."

The Government agreed with the council that its economic strategy had an important role in the process of political reform and in the normalisation of the country's foreign economic relations.

It recognised the importance of resuming international economic relations and would continue its efforts to normalise these.

"Fundamental socio-economic development will make an important contribution in this regard, and this is receiving thorough consideration."

The Government was willing to come to an agreement with the country's creditors and to repay South Africa's International Monetary Fund loans scrupulously.

On the subject of trade, the Government agreed with the council that new approaches had to be found in the face of sanctions.

"Exports to South Africa's non-traditional markets and countries which previously could not import from South Africa as a result of a shortage of foreign currency are being actively promoted by means of non-conventional methods."

Attention was being given to strengthening existing trade links, particularly within the Southern African Customs Union.

The country was also looking to its technological resources, particularly the transfer of technology from one sector to another.

Internally, the Government said, possibilities offered by inward industrialisation and urbanisation were being studied by the Board of Trade and Industries.

Pretoria was committed to helping the small business sector, in particular.

It also accepted the council's recommendations that it continue to follow a market-oriented approach, saying it had a constitutional commitment to the promotion of private initiative and effective competition.

In response to the council's recommendation that financial policy must ensure the most effective use of scarce production resources, the Government said it intended to continue with market-related policy approaches on interest rates, wages and salaries, prices and the exchange rate.

Fiscal discpline, it agreed, was vital in fighting inflation. What was needed was an appropriate fiscal policy which tried to cut public spending as far as Government responsibilities allowed.

The Government said it had accepted the recommendation that it limit its budget deficits, before borrowing, to three percent of the gross domestic product, "but this is being applied with the required flexibility".

Exchange rates should follow a more stable course and the dual exchange rate should be maintained for the time being.

On productivity, the Government said the Commission for Administration was looking at increasing public service efficiency.

Privatisation and de-regulation measures were also being studied and there was a committment to removing stumbling blocks.

One area where the private sector could play a vital role was in the provision of low-cost housing.

This sector could also become involved in vital artisan training and a White Paper would soon be issued in which the responsibility of the private sector would be discussed.

The private sector could also undertake new capital projects on a risk basis.

The Government said it was committed to equal standards in social services and education.

On the subject of manpower development, the Government said it had for some time been giving priority to the creation of jobs and the promotion of equal opportunities. It pointed to the R885 million it had spent on job creation and training schemes in 1985/86.

The Government added that it was committed to equal education standards and opportunities for all and was finalising subsidy formulas to make this possible.

It believed in one education system for all with defined substructures and one general education policy.

It agreed that blacks should be increasingly exposed to management and senior posts, including such positions in the public service. This should be determined on merit and not "in a cosmetic way".

There was scope for upward mobility in the public service and this would improve.

No distinction was made on the basis of colour, but appointments were related to the distinctions between general and own affairs and the constitutional structures in the different population groups.

Strategy hopes to reduce SA dependence on exports

By Colleen Ryan
Political Reporter

A new economic strategy to reduce South Africa's dependence on foreign capital and exports has been proposed by a sub-committee of the Economic Advisory Council.

Under the strategy, economic growth will be boosted and attention given to job creation and social and political reform.

The report was made public at the State President's economic summit in Pretoria on Friday.

It said the South African economy had perfomed poorly in terms of economic growth, job creation, price stability, and the value of the rand over the past few years.

Urbanisation and black advancement would result in larger domestic demand, with producers becoming more dependent on the growing local market and less on imports and exports.

The report warned that South Africa could not expect access to foreign capital as freely as in the past. It would have to meet certain debt commitments and become less dependent on exports.

Although a correct economic strategy was important, "it cannot in the long term compensate for political factors and the current unrest situation".

"There is a general need for a clearer indication of the direction which is to be followed with political reform and the maintenance of law and order."

It would have to have sufficient credibility "to counteract effectively the unfavourable influence of existing political and security action on domestic and foreign economic perceptions".

There was a real danger that if these perceptions were not changed, the country would not succeed in normalising its international financial relations.

If this was not achieved, it would "impose a further limit on the country's ability to apply its domestic savings for economic growth".

It warned that if access to the international banking payment mechanism was further limited, "this would have a far more unfavourable effect on the South African economy than the sanctions proposals currently under consideration".

Drought and cyclical factors were not the only cause of the economic problems. The debt standstill and unrest had strong political overtones which were nurtured by the depressed economy.

The report said the Government's urbanisation policy and industrial decentralisation policy required "realistic remuneration structures, greater labour peace, elimination of discriminatory practices, acceleration of the free trading areas policy, and support for the informal and small business sectors".

Large-scale housing investment was needed "from the most elementary self-building schemes to projects at a higher level, but preferably privately initiated and financed".

The principle of house ownership should be promoted, but subsidisation should be restricted "to the essential minimum".

Rural development would remain an important source of income and employment creation and should be promoted.

The report said its recommendations were made on the basis that law and order would be restored.

SUE LEEMAN and COLLEEN RYAN report on the Pretoria economic summit.

BUSINESS SUMMIT

'A worthwhile exercise' ends in optimism for the future

●DU PLESSIS ●SANDER

LINDA ENSOR

THE mood among businessmen emerging from President P W Botha's economic summit on Friday was overwhelmingly positive. Some representative views were:

TONY NORTON, president of the JSE: "I think it was a tremendous day. I go home much heartened."

The businessmen had only minor comments to make on the documents presented, Norton said.

"They covered all the bases properly. I had questions of detail or emphasis, and I certainly think the private sector has a greater sense of urgency than government. We are talking about nuances and degrees, not fundamentals. The fundamentals are there and there is a fundamental correspondence of interests.

"It will take time to build productive bridges between the private sector and government, and that is what we are doing."

WALTER HASSELKUS, MD of BMW: "A worthwhile exercise. It very much met my expectations. As for the future, it is now a question of implementation of these strategies, which is not going to be all that easy."

On the mood of businessmen after the conference, he said: "There is certainly an appreciation of the effort of the government, particularly as far as the long-term strategies are concerned and, due to that, more confidence."

LEN ABRAHAMSE, chairman of Syfrets: "On sanctions and disinvestment, the positive thing that came through very strongly from the private sector was that we should not react in a retaliatory way to sanctions imposed on us.

"We should take the longer-term view that our exports and our international trade are such a vital part of our existence that it would be short-sighted to react."

He said there had been substantial private-sector consensus that there was no way in which a long-term economic future could be planned without a long-term political-reform programme.

His main regret was the poor attendance by black businessmen, especially as many blacks saw private enterprise as white exploitation of blacks. Black businessmen were part of the private sector and he would have "felt happier" if more had been present, Abrahamse said.

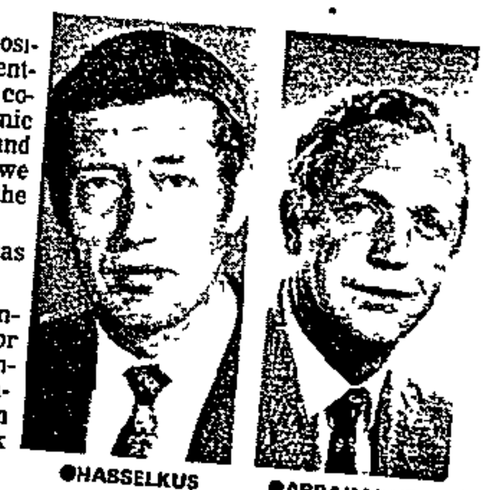
MIKE SANDER, MD of AECI: "Provided that this lot gets pulled together now and the strategies are put into place with the right amount of political backing, it will be considered by history a successful conference."

FRED DU PLESSIS, chairman of Sanlam: He believed the conference achieved its aim of creating confidence and hope among businessmen about where government was taking the country.

"The atmosphere was a very positive one and I have heard no dissenting comment. There has been such co-operation on the national economic strategy between government and the private sector that I do believe we can expect a general strategy for the country in the near future."

However, everyone felt speed was of the essence, Du Plessis said.

He also believed his group's recommendation — that the private sector be involved directly in the implementation of privatisation and deregulation in the early stages, rather than when negotiations on specifics took place — would be accepted.



●HASSELKUS ●ABRAHAMSE

Future must be 'built' by all

CAPE TIMES 10/11/86

3064A

"TOGETHER we will build a better future" is sung and danced for us daily on TV by courtesy of taxpayers' money and by command of the Bureau for Information.

But that department is part of the very government that stands in the way of letting all South Africans build a better future together.

The badly needed process of constitutional reform is at present totally frustrated. It is initiated, controlled and obfuscated by a narrowly based government which cannot expect to be re-elected under any new dispensation.

To its credit, the government has in recent times alleviated some of the worst excesses of racial legislation that divide the country as never before.

But, at the same time, it has only tinkered with solutions to the real problem — how all 30 million South Africans, regardless of skin colour, shall have the right to equality before the law and to universal franchise.

The continued absence of these rights is at the root of our political and economic decline and leaves the majority of our citizens in a state of unfreedom.

It also sets us apart from virtually all other countries in the world and makes us the target for universal condemnation.

For South Africa to become a peaceful, productive and respected country requires fundamental constitutional reform, enabling all citizens to take part, on an equal basis, in the political decisions in local and national affairs.

It also requires that the powers of the elected government be limited in terms of a rigid constitution, enforceable through the Supreme Court.

To come to grips with our problems — now better understood and more widely and openly discussed than ever before — requires an independent look at options available to us.

My article in Leadership, under the heading "New Structures" is an attempt to set out some basic principles and an outline of a model of a post-apartheid constitution for South Africa.

The article is the result of many discussions and much research and is based on well-tried principles of the constitutions of the most successful and democratic countries in the world, such as the United States of America and Switzerland, among others.

In the latest issue of the journal Leadership leading businessman **HANS MIDDELMANN** proposes a constitutional plan for a new South Africa. In this article he identifies some of the key features in his model constitution, which is based on the Western democratic principles of an open society.

THREE main concepts introduced into the model specifically to deal with the South African situation are set out here:

1) The federal nature of the state: South Africa is rich in the diversity of its people — their religions, cultures and languages — and also in the uneven distribution of its variety of natural resources and climatic regions.

It is therefore best that the different regions have the freedom to find their own solutions to their problems. The indaba in Natal is an example of a region trying to do this.

It is proposed that South Africa under a new constitution should consist of, say, 10 federal states. Each such state would have its own legislature. The federal legislature would consist of a Senate of 60 members (six senators from each state) and a House of Representatives of 300 members; 150 of these would be elected by constituencies, while the other 150 are elected on a proportional vote and state basis.

2) The federal presidency and government: The constitutional model proposes that the Senate and House of Representatives elect the presidency, consisting of a president and two vice-presidents, no two of whom shall be from the same party.

Each member of the presidency will serve as president for one year in rotation. This arrangement will embody the federal diversity and avoid too large a measure of power concentration in the hands of the executive. The presidency, subject to ratification by the Senate, appoints the Federal Council of Ministers (the cabinet) who need not be members of the legislature.

3) The council for social and economic reconstruction: The most contentious subject in any political arrangement is the allocation of state funds among many competing claimants. State funds arise from taxation of those who produce the country's wealth.

Before the federal legislature decides on the annual budget allocations or on any other financial allocations to federal states, an independent council is to give its report on the proposals.

The suggested council for social and economic reconstruction will consist of 15 members and is to be chaired by the governor of the Reserve Bank. The members, who may not hold any state office nor be members of the legislature, will serve for five years in their individual capacities and will be appointed from lists submitted by the private sector organizations, including trade unions.

As Heribert Adam says: "Once a non-racial vision with concrete merits grips the imagination of whites and blacks alike, its difficult implementation will have begun."

"Together we will build a better future", — only if South Africans of all colours, languages and religions have a political framework as outlined in the model constitution.

They can then freely interact to their mutual benefit instead of living under the present dispensation that would seem to be leading inevitably to our mutual destruction.

ARGUS 10/11/86

Ackerman encouraged by PW's summit talks

3047

Finance Editor

MR Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay, said he had been most encouraged by the meeting between businessmen and Government on Friday.

Contrary to earlier fears by some businessmen, the Government did not attempt to dominate the meeting.

He'd had a more-open discussion with Government than ever before, he said.

After the opening addresses, the businessmen were divided into 10 groups and Cabinet Ministers and Government officials circulated between them.

Good exchange

"There was a healthy exchange of views and some arguing at times. The traffic was not just one way."

Mr Ackerman said the Government was left in no doubt that business believed that political reform was necessary for economic growth.

Business emphasised the need for the complete ending of apartheid, the ending of group areas, and for the creation of a democratic, non-discriminatory South Africa with built-in safeguards for minority rights.

Mr Ackerman said it was now up to the Government to decide on what action to take.

The businessmen and Government had agreed to hold another session, but had not specified any timetable.

Another summit

Meanwhile, The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg reports that business leaders want to call another summit with the Government, urging this time that it should focus on social and political reform.

Encouraged by the success of the November 7 summit, businessmen now want to be hosts at their own summit.

Dr Ben Vosloo, managing director of the Small Business Development Corporation, and Mr Donny Gordon, head of the Liberty Life insurance empire, are among business leaders who favour a rapid follow-through.

Advancement

"The latest summit was a tremendous advance on its two predecessors, first the Carlton conference and then the Good Hope conference," said Mr Gordon.

"Instead of the Government having a virtual monopoly of the platform, at least the private sector had the opportunity for real two-way discussions.

"We reached a lot of agreement on strategies in the economic sphere, but it's quite obvious that success will depend heavily on social reform going in tandem with economic action.

Dr Vosloo said the general agreement reached at the November 7 summit on economic strategy raised the promise of significant progress in curbing unemployment by more job creation.

There was also promise of privatisation of more State enterprises, in sweeping away obsolete regulations hindering the informal sector and in encouraging capital formation for new investment.

Chilly French visit for PW

PARIS — President P W Botha is set to get a chilly welcome from government officials and anti-apartheid groups when he arrives in France today for a two-day private visit.

Botha, who rarely travels abroad, is due to open a museum in Longueval in Picardy commemorating SA war dead.

Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's government has made clear that it will not have any official contact with Botha during his stay.

SA had hoped for a softening of France's attitude following the electoral victory of the right-wing coalition.

Botha last visited France two years ago to lay the foundation stone of the museum. — Sapa-Reuter.

Business is booming for 'AWB cafe'

"OOM" Louis Nel, the Naboomspruit cafe owner with Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging signs on his shop windows, is a bitter man who does not want to speak to the Press anymore.

"It is not that I have anything against you because you are black," he told me. "It is because the other bloke put everything out of context. Like the R27 000 he says I made the other day. I would dearly love to have that money. But it is just not true," he said.

We find ourselves in this sleepy, one horse town in the Northern Transvaal following a report in a Sunday newspaper that blacks are always "crowded" in a cafe owned by an AWB member with the organisation's "swastika-like symbol" painted on its windows.

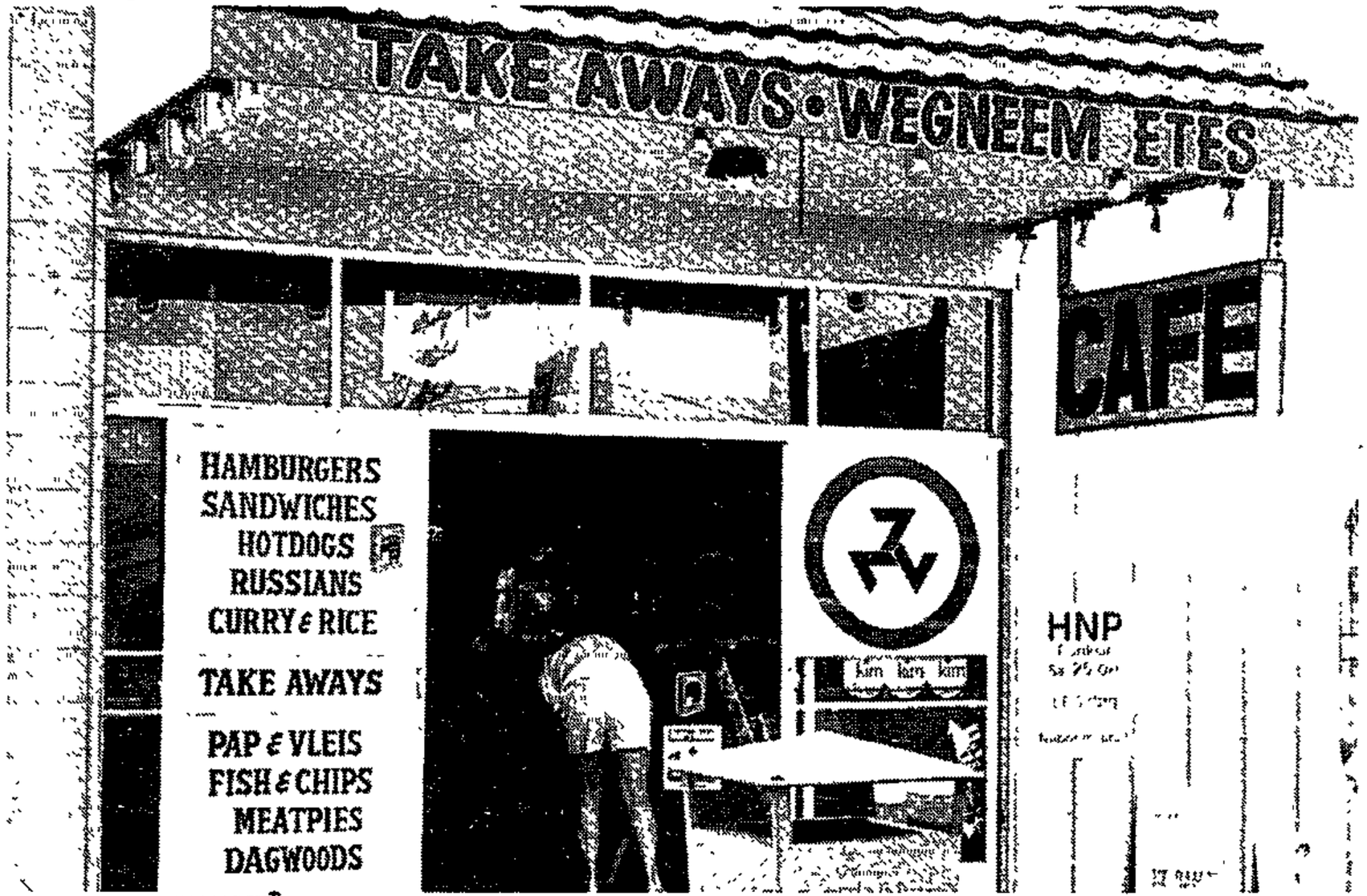
We located the place with extreme ease: the signs stand in place, the swastika-like symbol and the *"vierkleur"* flag of the Boer Republics of the Paul Kruger era. So far so good.

We strolled in and bought fruit juice and bang! There stood one of the Sunday papers' black "customers" quietly dusting away around the shelves. She is an employee and we learn later that her name is Eliza Masurutli. She is also fed up with people who take her picture and "go and lie about me". So we can't get her picture.

Emblems

We went out to Koedoes Cafe — the one with the "white and red emblems", the one the Sunday paper said was "remarkably a great deal quieter." Two black customers were being served, so we just looked around and left.

Lolla's Restaurant, "the cafe AWB" — on the western side of Naboomspruit's main street — is not different from the other shops and cafes in this centre of right wing territory. This is home for hundreds of whites whose hands automatically go for their handkerchiefs when the likes of Eugene Terre'Blanche and Jaap Marais lay it down to them.



"OOM" Louis Nel's shop with an AWB emblem and advert for an HNP function.

Almost every second shop has a poster advertising one right wing meeting or another. Right wing publications like *Die Patriot* and *Die Afrikaner* are available in every cafe. A look around town leaves one in no doubt about where one is — this is Terre' Blanche land.

The Sunday paper had stated that while blacks patronised Lolla's Restaurant with its AWB signs, they virtually ignored Koedoes Cafe nearby.

Twenty-five-year-old Alfred Mphela, a petrol attendant at a filling station opposite Lolla, tells us that the signs were painted about three months ago.

FOCUS

By MATHATHA TSEDU

"Of course, I know what the signs stand for and I don't buy there. I will never go there because the organisation is against blacks. I buy at Koedoes because they support the National Party. You see people is a boer just like the rest of them. They are all the same, so why should I stop buying because of the sign," he said.

Mrs Pauline Seshoka (32) said she had never bought anything from Lolla's because she had heard the owner's one of those who favour apartheid.

"When you go into a shop you don't scrutinise its advertisement on the windows. You just go in and buy what you want," one said.

We went back to Lollas and "Oom" Nel was not there. The white lady at the till told us very politely that the "boss" was still away. Next to the till stood a collection box with "AWB donasie asseblief" written on it.

Later "Oom" Nel was called from the back and we introduced ourselves. No thanks, he told us, no more interviews. But he later re-

11/11/86

364A

know what the signs stand for. But most of the people who buy there are travellers," Mr Mphela said.

Apartheid

Forty-year-old Mr Johannes Mashiyane, of Mogophong Township, was from a doctor and needed water to take with his medication. He works on the railways and is a regular customer at Lollas. He was not even aware of the signs and would not have known their meaning had he noticed them.

"I will still buy there because the shop is there. It is nearer for me and they open early. He. [illegible] people don't buy there. Those who do are those who do not know what the signs stand for. There is no black man who can knowingly support those people," she said.

Mr Bilo Chauke, an administration board employee and footballer, said he had never patronised the shop.

"I knew he was AWB before the signs were painted. They are people who oppress us. They hate us, so only their own white people should support them," he said.

Others interviewed said they had not noticed the signs.

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Politics

He "grew up on a farm with blacks and I know them".

But why put up the signs, we asked him.

"Because I'm not afraid and because everyone then knows where they stand with me.

"I don't care what your politics are. I mean business and there is no black money. Money is money.

First come first served. The other day a white man insulted me because I did not serve him first, but I don't mind," "Oom" Nel said.

A picture?

"Well you can take a picture in here. You can even talk to my customers and ask them why they buy here. I give everyone a fair deal. Don't go out there and twist my words and kill my business. You see, this is the first time I've been interviewed by a black man. I will be watching your paper," he said.

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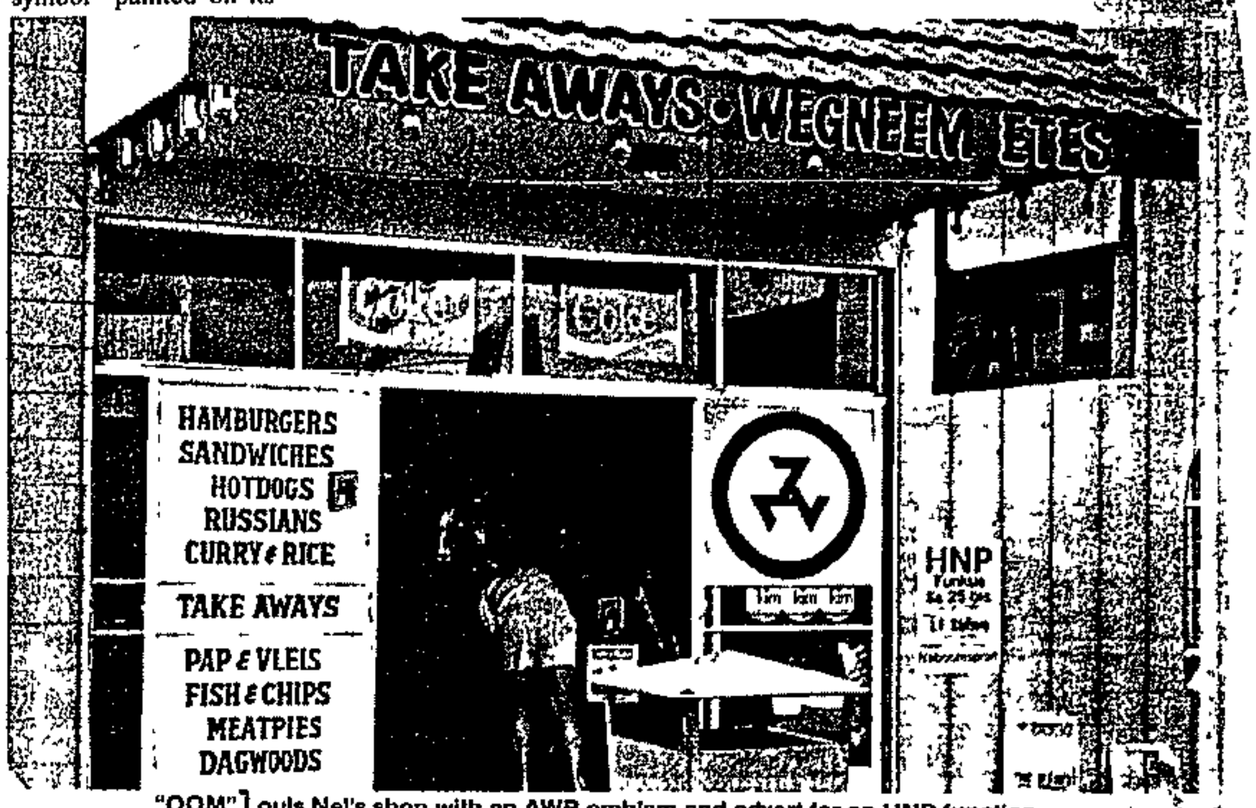

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ARGUS 11/11/86

INTERNATIONAL

P W Botha warns that peace must be protected

From BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

DELVILLE WOOD. — President P W Botha, inaugurating the Delville Wood Memorial in France, today warned that peace had to be protected.

Mr Botha said that in commemorating the events of a war it was logical to speak of peace.

He said: "War does not necessarily bring peace. The question may be asked whether war is a struggle for peace or just a battle for a new balance of power.

"Peace is also often seen as the absence of war but it is unfortunately most often only a period of preparation for another war."

Mr Botha said that in the eighties peace was neither a luxury for the poor nor a refuge for the weak.

"Peace must be secured by strength: physical strength, military strength, economic strength, strength of values and beliefs.

"Peace must be protected. It does not protect itself."

He said peace should be based on a consensus of values, supported by religious values and "the striving for the highest, social, economic and political values inherent in civilised traditions".

It was these values and beliefs for which brave men had died at Delville Wood.

"Commitment to freedom"

Their devotion to what they believed was right and in the interests of freedom was "a clear signal of our determination not to lose our commitment to freedom gained over many centuries on countless battlefields".

Meanwhile, at a Press conference at the South African Embassy in Paris, Mr Justice Tienie Steyn said the part played by South Africans other than white in the the two world wars was to receive belated acknowledgement.

"We stand, to a large extent, condemned for not acknowledging the role played by blacks in the world wars," he said.

In the new museum at Delville Wood one of the significant events involving blacks has been depicted.

The sinking of the SS Mendi in the English Channel in World War 1 which cost the lives of 600 blacks who were to serve in a labour battalion in France, is depicted in a panel by South African artist Jo Roos.

And the Delville Wood Commitee has decided to investigate the erection of a monument to the dead men in South Africa. It is to ask the British Government to declare the site of the wreck a monument.

Mr Steyn said not only had the Mendi incident been forgotten but the Battle of Square Hill, north of Jerusalem, in World War 1 had been ignored.

Cape Corps' sacrifice

The battle had been crucial in Lord Allenby's campaign to break the Turkish Army and had cost the Cape Corps many lives. It was planned to erect a memorial on the site of this battle.

With the Delville Mememorial, a number of graves of blacks at Dieppe and the memorial in Israel the committee intended to create a memorial pilgrimage.

He pointed out that more than 3 500 blacks had died in World War 1.

Mr Steyn said the role played by all race groups in the wars showed commonly held values that would have a more enduring unity then was realised.

He disclosed that the monument would cost more than R6,5-million but said he could not give the final cost.

Although comparatively little had been raised by the committee to meet the cost the Government had underwritten payment.

● Lest we forget — Page 16.

NGK men back anti-synod protest

Cape Times 11/11/86

COLIGNY. — Another group of Ned Geref Kerk members opposed to the General Synod's resolutions on apartheid and non-racial services has added its support to a protest meeting planned for November 28.

In a statement released yesterday, the 175 NGK members from areas in the Western Transvaal said they would try to attract as many dissatisfied members as possible to the meeting.

The meeting was announced on November 1 after a gathering of disenchanted NGK members in Pretoria.

They resolved to hold a mass meeting to co-ordinate action countrywide against the synod's resolutions.

● Meanwhile the director of the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa, Mr M F Choonara, said the decison of the Wynberg NG Sendingkerk in Cape Town condemning and dissociating its 10 000 followers from the resolution against Islam was welcome. — Sapa

AFRICA

How isolated South Africa really is

ARGUS 11/11/86 (30CM)

The Argus Correspondent in JOHANNESBURG

THE National Party could at best be a junior partner in a government that enjoyed domestic legitimacy and ensured South Africa's return to international respectability, Professor Deon Geldenhuys told a conference of the South African Federated Chamber of Industries last week.

Professor Geldenhuys, who heads the political science department of the Rand Afrikaans University, said it seemed inconceivable that black people would accept a system in which their numerical preponderance was not reflected.

"Under such an arrangement, the NP as an exclusively white party, could at best be a junior partner in a coalition or national unity government.

"And that of course means that the NP would have lost, probably irredeemably, its monopoly of power."

He said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had told the recent NP congress in Bloemfontein that the party could lead South Africa out of isolation without reforming itself out of power.

"I beg to differ," he said.

PROFESSOR Geldenhuys sketched a stark picture of South Africa's isolated position in the world.

Pretoria had ambassadors in only about 16 percent of states belonging to the UN. Malawi was the only internationally recognised black state that maintained diplomatic links with South Africa.

Of the 219 treaties concluded by South Africa between 1980 and 1984, no fewer than 192 were bilateral agreements with Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Transkei.

In the 24 years since the establishment of a republic, South African state presidents paid only eight official foreign visits, independent homelands included. And the last leader of a major Western power to visit this country was Mr Harold Macmillan in 1960.

Compared to other pariah states such as Israel and Chile, South Africa was worse off. Israel enjoyed the diplomatic protection of the United States and no punitive action has been taken against Israel. This also applied to Chile, which had on several occasions been condemned for its human rights record.

P W 'less effective'

BUSDAY 12/11/86 304A

Business Day Reporter

WHITE voters think President P W Botha is now less effective than he used to be, the latest Research Surveys Omnichek Poll says.

In a poll of 1 300 men and women in all major urban centres, 60% approved of his performance — down from 67% in a similar sample in August.

The lower figure represented the first fall since these polls were started in 1984. Approval of his leadership had been steadily increasing and even leapt 20% from August 1985.

The decline in approval was about the same for both official language groups but was most marked among those aged between 18 and 24 (down 23%).

Only 45% of single women said Botha was doing a good job.

Although he still has the respect of people aged 50 and older, their approval of his leadership has fallen from 76% to 66%.

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P W Botha faces rival demos

Cape Times 12/11/86

30KA

PARIS. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, opened the Delville Wood Memorial Museum yesterday amid massive security, rival political demonstrations by cheering French war veterans and angry radical groups, and a boycott by the French government.

The divided reaction to Mr Botha's visit was epitomized by 1 000 chanting anti-apartheid demonstrators shouting "Assassin Botha leave France" and a weeping, jubilant, equally vociferous and large contingent of French veterans chanting "Vive le Botha" and "Hou koers".

In a massive security blanket, many hundreds of armed French forces and firefighters surrounded and isolated the historic scene of South Africa's greatest military achievement — the defence of Delville Wood, in which hundreds of South Africans lost their lives.

While the French security forces were preventing a contingent of about 1 000 demonstrators from interrupting the procedure, an equally formidable force was ensuring the safe passage into the vicinty of the memorial of about 300 South African war veterans and an even larger group of French war veterans.

However, one demonstrator did manage to breach the tight net to yell defiantly "Who respects you?" as the State President started to speak. French police dragged the interjector away.

French veterans booed in protest at the French Goverment's lack of representation as a minor local official laid a wreath on behalf of his government.

There were whistles from France's far-right National Front members when the official, Mr Guy Fontenelle, laid the French Government's wreath.

"It's a shame. It's a scandal that France is only represented by a low-ranking official," a National Front spokesman told reporters to explain the protest.

Most surprised were the State President and Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who hurriedly consulted with the ambassador to France.

The attitude of the veterans was warmly supported by members of the South African contingent spoken to afterwards.

The mayor, Mr Gaston Duclercq, told the South African party, which included three survivors of the 1916 battle, that they were welcome in his village. "This is your place," he said. — Political Staff and Sapa-Reuter

12/11/86 (30044) STAR

PW losing popular support — poll

There has been a drop in approval for Mr P W Botha's performance as State President — for the first time since 1984, when Research Surveys' Omnichek poll began asking urban white South Africans about this matter, the company reported yesterday.

Of 1 300 men and women in all the major urban centres who were questioned in the latest Omnichek poll, 60 percent still said Mr Botha was doing a good job.

However, this reflects a drop from the 67 percent of the same-size sample in August that approved his stamp of leadership.

Until this slump, approval of Mr Botha had increased steadily and in August, at the height of international pressure on South Africa, it showed a 20 percent leap from August 1985 to a peak of 67 percent.

The latest poll asked for the usual 'Yes', 'No' and 'Don't know' responses but added a 'No comment' answer in which 17 percent took refuge.

This response is unlikely to make a significant difference as the 'Don't know' replies declined to 9 percent from 16 percent in the August poll, the statement said.

The downswing in positive reaction to Mr Botha's performance was about the same for both language groups, declining from 68 percent to 60 percent among English-speaking and from 65 percent to 60 percent in the Afrikaans-speaking communities. In both language groups, about 18 percent declined to express an opinion.

Mr Botha holds the approval of most women in Durban, where 78 percent of respondents said he was doing a good job compared with 73 percent in the August poll, but he has lost ground among men, whose support has dropped from 76 percent to 62 percent, an 18 percent change.

In Cape Town, most men give Mr Botha the nod of approval, but there is a slight decline from 79 percent to 74 percent. Among women in the Mother City, support declined from 64 percent to 54 percent. — Sapa.

13/11/86 - BUSDAY (304A)

Hunt for 'missing million' intensifies

GERALD REILLY

THE hunt for more than a million "missing" voters has been intensified as speculation gains strengh that a general election will be held in the first half of next year.

Political scientist Willem Kleinhans said if it was held before June there would be insufficient time for a desperately needed delimitation.

And it would have to be held despite the current chaotic state of constituencies.

He said it could take up to eight months from the time of the appointment of a commission to the final report.

Home Affairs Director-General Gerri van Zyl said the response to the initial appeal to missing voters had been disappointing — only 166 000 had come forward between mid-September and the end of last week.

If an election was held before the rolls were cleaned up, political parties would be involved in a furious and costly hunt for missing supporters. And the large number of postal and special voters would jam up the election process.

That was why the campaign had been intensified and extended into December.

Latest voter statistics show a huge imbalance in constituency numbers, especially in the Transvaal — the only province with a significant population growth.

They showed the Transvaal had more than double the number of voters of other provinces combined — 1 593 588 of a total of 3 023 590.

The Cape total was 840 908, Natal 354 459 and Free State 234 635.

PFP home affairs spokesman Reuben Sive said if a delimitation were held now, Transvaal would gain 11 seats, the Cape would lose nine, and the Free State and Natal would lose one each.

That would give Transvaal 87 (76), the Cape 46 (55), Natal 19 (20) and Free State 13 (14).

Sive said of the 11 additional Transvaal seats, there would be two each for the west, central and east Rands, three in Pretoria, one in Bethal-Secunda and one in the Vaal basin.

... pay Kim Hughes's R94 000 legal fees.

AR 615 13/11/86

The big let down over Delville Wood

THE Delville Wood Fundraising Committee probably felt they had little choice other than to invite President PW Botha to inaugurate the memorial at the battlefield in France where 2 815 South Africans lost their lives in 1916. But it was a most unfortunate decision.

There was something uncomfortably awry about the honours being done by the head of a Government which has destroyed almost all the bonds of international friendship, the kinship with the family of nations, which stirred so many young South Africans of those years to pay the supreme sacrifice on the fields of Flanders.

It would be hard to think of an event in South Africa's history which better illustrates the country's once proud role in world affairs than the battle of Delville Wood. Conversely, it would be hard to find a man who more epitomises the country's decline into pariah status than Mr Botha, head of the world's most ostracised government.

The misguided passions of some people are inflamed by criticism of Mr Botha when he is acting in his not always obvious capacity as head of state. But let's deal with facts, not feelings. World War 1 saw the emergence of a young and promising new South Africa. The Act of Union was but six years old when Delville Wood was fought.

THIS week, South Africa stood tragically isolated and unwanted, the presence of its head of state an embarrassment to the government of the country where the battle took place, its future more uncertain than at any time in its history, its young men under arms peering at their black compatriots through the reinforced glass of armoured troop carriers.

The new memorial, we are told, is there to commemorate the fallen of *both* world wars and of Korea, which makes Mr Botha's presence even more inappropriate.

Had the Korean War been fought today, it would have been impossible for South Africa to have made any contribution at all, so devalued is its international standing. The Korean campaign was facilitated by a "unite for peace" resolution in the UN General Assembly, where South Africa — thanks to the policies and practices of Mr Botha's Government — is no longer even allowed to take its seat.

And many of the fallen in World War 2 gave their lives for ideals somewhat at odds with those inherent in the racist ideology and the authoritarian instincts of Mr Botha's party. Indeed, though Mr Botha bears no personal responsibility, many in his party were on the side of those who caused the deaths of South Africans in World War 2 and never have I heard a word of remorse from any of them about that grim chapter in our history.

Perhaps, just perhaps, in that spirit of forgiveness which we have an injunction to nurture, one might have excused the crass incongruity of Mr Botha's role at the Delville Wood memorial this week — had it not been for the other little barbs of political opportunism.

Pik Botha, for instance, milking white South African "patriotism" with the diplomatic *kragdadigheid* of his "this is our show and we told them we were coming over whether they liked it or not" statement. How well that swaggering must have gone down in the NP's rank and file, where tough talk is prized above reason.

And, of course, the pathetic fruits of the grand apartheid fantasy — Transkei, Ciskei, Venda, and Bophuthatswana, and even the "non-independent homelands" — had to play their separate and solemn roles at the ceremony, just as if at the time of Delville Wood they were already in their little ethnic compartments and stripped of their stake in the totality of South Africa; just as if they were in Pretoria instead of Longueval, France.

THERE is talk that the whole trip was a public relations exercise, that in these times of opprobrium around the world certain powerful individuals felt it would do the Government's image good if public opinion in other countries was reminded of our sacrifices for the freedom of others, of our once illustrious role shoulder-to-shoulder with the good guys.

ISSUES
By Hugh Roberton

In France — Pik Botha and State President P W Botha.

NO, I'm afraid the venerable veterans who made the choice of Mr Botha let themselves and the rest of us down rather badly.

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If this is so — and it sounds very much like the sort of naive political thinking which military men are prone to — then clearly it has been a failure, though the failure would not be complete without the perpetrators being entirely convinced of the contrary. Mr Botha obviously has been. He and his official mouthpieces have positively crowed about the "success" of his sortie into France.

He has pointed to notes of encouragement received from fellow diners in a Paris restaurant, and to the "thousands" of letters which he says he has received from around the world telling him that he is on the right political course. And he spoke of the large number of Frenchmen present at the ceremony (insulated as he was from the equally large number of protestors kept at bay some distance away by a security cordon).

He even ventured the view that all this meant foreign governments were at variance with public opinion among their own people as far as their policies towards South Africa went. What a pity Mr Botha does not trust public opinion in his own country to the extent of allowing its views on the Government to be fully tested!

Let's not delude ourselves. Frenchmen are grateful to the South Africans who gave their lives at Delville Wood, not to Mr Botha and his government. They were paying their respects to the fallen, not to the living. When President Pompidou first visited Moscow he honoured Russians who died in both world wars, without becoming communist in the process.

Frenchmen can identify, as easily as we can, a leader who measures the "success" of the opening of a war memorial according to the political encouragement he feels he got from the experience. They can tell the difference, as easily as we can, between a country which once was a great and valued player on the world stage, and a country which has been reduced by its own Government to being a pitiful and ever more resentful outcast.

STAR 13/11/86 (304A)

Help break racial logjam, says Eglin

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, has appealed to the United States Government to help break up the racial logjam that is keeping blacks and whites away from the negotiating table in South Africa.

In a meeting at the State Department in Washington, Mr Eglin told the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, that this was the key issue in South Africa.

"Whether one likes it or not, the key actors are the white Government represented by Mr Botha and a range of significant blacks — but the one significant black group not yet included has been the African National Congress (ANC)," Mr Eglin said.

"Every effort has got to be made to narrow the gap between Mr Botha's group on the one hand and the Mandela-Tambo group on the other to the point where negotiations become possible."

The Americans gave Mr Eglin VIP treatment yesterday.

In addition to a lengthy meeting with the Secretary of State, who had just returned to Washington from Central America to help deal with a growing political storm over US ties with Iran, Mr Eglin also had talks with Mr Richard Armacost, political chief at the State Department, Dr Chester Crocker, the Administration's Africa chief, and Mr Ed Perkins, the new US ambassador to SA, shortly after Mr Perkins had attended a bon voyage meeting with President Reagan at the White House.

All of them are concerned in the process of redefining a policy to take the place of constructive engagement.

Mr Eglin said it was important for him, as Leader of the Opposition, to find out where the policy review was heading and to make a contribution to it.

PRO SOMETHING ELSE

He said he had told the Americans that it was important for the US and the West to spell out in political and philosophical terms an alternative to apartheid.

They had to explain what kind of philosophy they had in mind that, if applied in South Africa, would readmit the country to the world: "It's not good enough to merely be anti-apartheid — you have got to be pro something else," he said.

Mr Eglin said that people outside South Africa could play a role in creating conditions that could include the ANC in negotiations for a new dispensation.

It was not a question of whether one agreed with the ANC or not. The fact was that they were a major factor among the black people of SA.

"I believe that outside people who have regular ongoing contacts with the ANC and influence with them may be able to just tip the scales in favour of negotiations," he said.

"There is no textbook solution to the SA situation," he said. "You need some imaginative person or move which goes beyond the orthodox, which goes beyond legislation," Mr Eglin said.

Power sharing should be the election issue - Rhoodie

Star 13/11/86

Pretoria Correspondent

A general election as soon as possible, with power sharing as the central issue, is essential to signal to blacks and the Western powers that there is a change of attitude among South African whites, says Dr Eschel Rhoodie.

Addressing the Pretoria Press Club yesterday, the former Secretary for Information said providing that power sharing was spelt out in some detail and that the electorate supported the National Party - as he suspected they would - such a victory would be the first clear, tangible sign to blacks of a change in attitude among whites.

"And a change of attitude is a prerequisite for power sharing to succeed. It will send a powerful signal to Western countries that while they may distrust the Government's bona fides, they need not distrust the white voters," said Dr Rhoodie.

Dr Rhoodie said in building the new power structures it was important to have outside "political architects" to plan them.

"The fundamental error in the present set-up is that the old architects who designed and produced the flawed building in which they now sit still insist on calling all the shots."

Dr Rhoodie said one of the conditions imposed by Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi for real negotiations was the release of Nelson Mandela.

"Somehow the Afrikaans Press refuses to look at the realities. If Nelson Mandela is released unconditionally he would have to compete against Buthelezi and other black and white politicians under the same rules, laws and conditions. Buthelezi and others will then not be running against the myth of Mandela's political invincibility.

"A freed Mandela will discover, like Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, that once out of the trenches and into the political arena other people's political ambitions and tribal factors such as Zulu-Xhosa rivalry will soon turn a mythical political figure into a mere political mortal."

Dr Rhoodie said part of the problem in South Africa was the role played by the Afrikaans Press in brainwashing NP supporters and failing to print the full picture, including praise and criticism of the Government, and what the conservative politicians were really saying.

"P W Botha can and will make mistakes," Dr Rhoodie said. "He is a politician and is human. He should be able to absorb and appreciate criticism."

Afrikaners are 'moral pioneers', says Heunis

Afrikaners have been moral pioneers of the principle of "live and let live", particularly in the field of inter-race relations, according to Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

He told a Rapportryers meeting in Carletonville earlier this week that the Afrikaner nation's history had featured a struggle for justice.

"The long battle for survival which the Afrikaner was involved in from his birth was never a question of barbaric self-preservation. It was a struggle in the name of justice."

This had given the Afrikaner nation a moral resilience, he said.

"It would be a terrible, no a fatal day if the Afrikaner's moral resilience was undermined by a renunciation of his basic choices."

Mr Heunis said this was a definite threat in the current political climate. No future political system which did not ensure the political rights of the white minority in South Africa and the maintenance of "civilised standards" had a chance of success.

"This means that our country's future must not be decided without the approval of the majority of whites."

'SA set for drastic change' — professor

Sowetan 304A 14/11/86

SOUTH AFRICA will undergo drastic political change in the next 10 years, with more blacks being co-opted into Government structures and greater negotiation taking place at local level, says Professor Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa.

Addressing a Unisa School of Business Leadership Seminar in Johannesburg on Tuesday, Professor Wiechers said these two processes of reform would eventually lead to a new government party, with the National Party increasingly assuming the role of observer.

He said the new party would emerge to lead the country on the creation of a new constitution.

He said eventually there would be a recognition of the "reality of majority rule and individual, as well as group recognition."

Unrest

Despite far-reaching reform, poltical unrest had increased in the last 10 years. The changes had not created a more favourable atmosphere for negotiation because the majority of the population believed the Government's true intention was merely to perpetuate white control.

He said that many of the changes that have taken place showed "a total disregard for institutional stability and historical legitimacy."

He said apartheid in its crude or more sophisticated forms had failed.

"Looking negatively at the changes ... One could say that all the reforms have created more instability and acrimony than all the aforegoing years of hard-line apartheid ... On the other hand, a realistic look at the last decade would reveal a far more positive perspective — the years since 1976 have witnessed the demise of grand apartheid."

He said the challenge of the immediate future would be to see when the Government and the people of South Africa would be able to seek new solutions to the country's problems.

Referring to future constitutional reform, Professor Wiechers said there were two possible processes. These were changes within the present constitutional and political framework, as opposed to grassroot bargaining.

"It seems necessary and very urgent to look at a whole series of constitutive processes at local, regional and provincial levels where parties enjoying recognition and acceptance can come together and bargain for co-operative deals.

"In this respect, the Natal/KwaZulu initiative herald the most optimistic development."

He said such a process should culminate in a national convention of all national groups and parties. "The agreement to a constitution which is adopted for its final implementation by means of a referendum."

He said it was "doubtful the government would be able to bring about fundamental structural changes on its own," but this did not mean Government reforms could not stimulate other changes. — Sapa.

● MABUZA

Business urged to play role in black education

THELMA TUCH

THE private sector should join black parents in their call for a uniform and free education system, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, said yesterday.

The need for an equitable education system for black children was not just an option but imperative to the expansion of the country's economy and the extension of democratic political participation to black people, he said.

Government claims about its achievements in black education needed to be scrutinised carefully.

"Behind the qualitative growth and improvements, lies a sad picture of qualitative decline characterised by poorly qualified teachers, a high teacher-pupil ratio and infrastructural inequities."

Mabuza said it was not surprising, under these circumstances, that only one out of nine matriculation candidates obtained a university entrance pass.

Government reforms satisfied neither international opinion nor the majority of blacks in SA who regarded them as "too little too late".

"Our youngsters are no longer content with reform by rations and concessions," he said.

Mabuza called upon government to dismantle, and not reform apartheid. The business sector could help through plausible social responsibility programmes and the creation of job opportunities.

It should also adopt and promote the informal sector, which had enormous potential for job creation.

"Business has a vested interest in the future of this country and has no option but to become more deeply involved politically by pushing government towards fundamental change."

Mabuza said he was opposed to violence as a means of bringing political change.

However, he stressed that apartheid was a violent system which black people had had to put up with for generations.

OIL could rise to $22 a barrel within the next three months, says research analyst Alan Hill of stockbrokers Max Pollak and Freemantle.

Addressing the conference yesterday, Hill said that thereafter — for the next year or two — oil could be trading on a plateau between $22 and $24 a barrel.

The meeting of Opec's oil pricing committee in Ecuador this weekend and the full ministerial meeting of Opec in December will, however, have an important impact on the

FINANCIAL MAIL INVESTMENT CONF

GM chief focuses on social problems

BUSDAY 14/11/86

Business urged to assume role of 'peacemaker'

Economics Reporter

● WHITE

GOVERNMENT must open the door for business to participate in the formulation of new strategies for resolving SA's economic and political problems, General Motors MD Robert White said yesterday.

Speaking on "Business and its Place in Society", White told the *Financial Mail* Conference: "The future course of this country will, in large measure, be influenced by how the business community collectively defines and executes its role in society."

White, who will leave SA early next year when GM's disinvestment is complete, said business must improve the definition of its "broader mission" and eliminate the "counter-productive in-fighting" between industry groups and associations in addressing social responsibility programmes.

Government, meanwhile, "can no longer consider business to be part of the problem, rather than part of the solution", he said. A change in the relationship between government and business must come in order to "access the brainpower of the business community in developing goals and strategies for a new SA — to build on the 'honest broker' reputation of business to communicate and expand the coalition to other institutions and constituencies in the society".

He said social responsibility was increasingly becoming an important board room issue, both for local and multinational companies.

Companies operating in SA were thus posed with a dilemma, he said. The weak economy forced businesses to adopt defensive strategies, and to protect the interests of their shareholders, customers and employees. At the same time, pressure had grown from disenfranchised peoples for business to "become more pro-active in achieving a more rapid reform of the political system".

"Failure to do so, in a risk assessment sense, might eventually lead to a different type of economy, other than free market, in which business, as we know it today, would suffer economically and fail," White said.

Business must be encouraged, and be willing to accept, the "peacemaker" role. He said. "It is the one institution in SA that has access to, and generally good relations with, all of the other institutions in SA."

THE ECONOMY

Why the Joe Slovo show didn't spook PW's guests

The businessmen who turned out last Friday to hear PW Botha were in for a surprise — they found themselves listening to the communist party leader instead. But the shock treatment does not seem to have rattled the guests, reports PATRICK LAURENCE

Joe Slovo: The alliance with the ANC is no secret

PRESIDENT PW Botha had a suprise for the 200 businessmen who attended his conference in the sumptuous presidential guesthouse last Friday: the political equivalent of shock treatment.

They were shown a video of Joe Slovo, bespectacled leader of the South African Communist Party, addressing the party faithful in London.

Slovo is the reputed *eminence grise* of the outlawed African National Congress and, according to the Security Police, a colonel in the Soviet KGB.

Slovo is certainly a key man in the ANC-CP alliance, serving as chief of staff of the ANC guerrilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and as the only known white member of the 30-man ANC national executive.

As a dedicated communist, Slovo is the personification of the ultimate threat to businessmen, standing as he does for fundamental redistribution of wealth and the means of production.

Judging from Botha's speech to the Transvaal National Party congress last year, shortly after Anglo-American chairman Gavin Relly led a team of business and community leaders to Zambia for talks with the ANC, Botha's purpose was simple: he wished to remind business of the perils of talking to the ANC; that behind the ANC stands the CP, waiting to expropriate businessmen of their wealth in the name of socialism.

If, however, businessmen were meant to cower before the image of Big Brother Slovo and to seek protection in the arms of *Groot Broeder* Botha as the defender of capitalism, the shock treatment seems to have failed.

Raymond Ackerman, of Pick 'n Pay, was surprised but not unduly impressed when he was shown the video of Slovo.

"It was illuminating to hear Slovo's views," remarked Ackerman matter-of-factually. "Not that they are all that new. We know there are lots of communists in the ANC."

The presence of communists in the ANC — according to the government nearly two-thirds of the ANC national executive are communists — underlined the need for political reform, Ackerman said.

Another top businessmen said of the video, "I don't know if it was meant to spook us. But it didn't spook me."

The business leader, who declined to be identified, added: "I don't know why they showed the video. Perhaps to justify the stand against talking to the ANC."

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"I can't imagine that businessmen need convincing that Slovo is a communist," he said "I wouldn't have been impressed by the video."

Instead of being shocked by Slovo's communist convictions, a businessman who did attend the conference said: "We are committed to the open market system. We can't agree with Slovo."

That, incidentally, is roughly what Relly told Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, after their meeting in Zambia. However Relly pointedly conveyed his belief that racially open capitalism is the best hope for the future, as it — in contrast with socialism — is the surest guarantor of producing the wealth necessary to rescue the poor.

Slovo is a proscribed person and may not be quoted without official permission. But salient points in his speech can be inferred from comments and appraisals by businessmen who heard it.

One is that government, anticipating the eventual need to deal with the ANC, is hoping to split the ANC leadership into nationalist and communist camps. Botha has publicly declared his willingness to talk to ANC nationalists, provided they renounce violence.

The second key point is that the ANC-CP alliance is not a secret affair and neither party has any reason to hide its identity.

Another point is that political freedom is not enough, a mere re-arrangement of the voting system which leaves whites in control of the productive resources of the economy is not considered liberation.

A fourth point is the Freedom Charter is the minimum platform for change toward a new South Africa, a starting rather than an end position. The Charter, of course, envisages nationalisation of mining and banking and redistribution of land.

Yet another point is dismissal of Botha's expressed concern over the "fate of minorities". It is repudiated as code language for concern over future of the white minority by people who, for decades, have not cared about the plight of the majority.

Finally — and predictably — there is renewed commitment to revolutionary violence and mass political struggle.

But, extrapolating from the remarks of Ackerman, Graham Boustred, deputy chairman of Anglo-American, and some their fellow business leaders, Slovo's words did not deter them from pressing for political reform, faster. Nor did Botha's warning in his opening address that the Pretoria conference was "not a party-political congress".

Ackerman said: "We were able to stress the need for strong political reform." Changes demanded included the scrapping of apartheid, the release of detainees, the lifting of the State of Emergency.

By the abolition of apartheid, Ackerman meant, specifically, the abolition of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Act. It further presupposes the need to hold meaningful discussions for the creation of a "new constitution acceptable to all", Ackerman added

Boustred said: "We indicated that while we heard the State President renew his commitment to reform, we needed to hear from the government on what positive steps it proposed to take."

There was a degree of scepticism about Botha's familiar reformist rhetoric. It was succinctly expressed by Fred du Plessis, powerful chairman of Sanlam, who is reported to have said, "We are totally unsighted and uncertain as to how the government is going to achieve these objectives."

The scepticism of businessmen is perhaps reflected in their desire to hold a fourth conference at which they, rather than Botha, will be the hosts.

Its purpose will be to monitor progress in the achievement of the government's declared objectives.

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In summary, what Slovo had to say was this. It is no secret, nor has it ever been, that communists and people in the ANC have worked together for a long time. The connection between national and socialist struggle reflects the historical link between capitalism and apartheid.

The creation of a majoritarian democracy would necessarily involve redirection of the economy. To meet the needs of the majority, the state would have to reorganise land distribution and act against monopolies in mining, banking and industry.

Not all of those fighting apartheid will share all the ANC's objectives, but there should be as broad an alliance as possible, without compromising the ANC's primary place within it.

The ANC and its closer partners also represent a social coalition. Its constituents do not have a unanimous view of the post-apartheid future. The SACP, for example, owes its loyalty only to the working class.

In the long term the SACP believes the economic needs of the majority can best be provided by an egalitarian economic order. For a transitional period, though, a mixed economy will have to persist, allowing space for private entrepreneurs, black and white.

The movement to a socialist society could be a peaceful process, achieved through discussion rather than violent struggle.

It is difficult to see why some businessmen were alarmed. What Slovo is saying about post-apartheid economics is that whatever the ultimate design, progress towards it must be cautious

It is a more sober assessment of the prospects for socialism than is suggested by the rhetoric so often heard inside South Africa."

BUSINESS IN PROFILE

We relaunch our series of Business Profiles in which we ask executives how they see their role in a changing society. Here BOB TUCKER of the SA Perm, described by conservative commentators as a 'socialist', talks about affirmative action, the Botha summit, sanctions and labour

ROBERT Selwyn Kidger Tucker (better known as Bob), the youthful, outspoken and engaging MD of the SA Permanent Buliding Society, has spearheaded his company's growth to a R6-billion giant in the South African economy.

He has also forged a thoroughly modern econo-political profile for the Perm; and one which leaves him, he says, "somewhat out on a limb".

The 36-year-old Tucker is unequivocal in his criticism of the South African version of capitalism: "the most greedy, acquisitive form of capitalism in the world". This has led to the rather bizarre situation of him being called a "socialist" by conservative commentators.

Tucker has committed the Perm to a "vision of a non-racial South Africa", and has attempted to put this into internal practice through an aggressive programme of integration amongst his 6 000 employees.

SHAUN JOHNSON put the following questions to him

What role do you see for the Perm in the process of change in South Africa?

We have a clear stance. We believe we only have a role to the extent that [illegible] and serve the needs of all the communities of South Africa. But the consequences of that are very significant. Where other financial institutions created barriers to the entry of lower income groups into the financial services industry, we have not. The result is that we are growing at the rate of about 3 000 new accounts every day.

We lend R30-million a month to blacks, which is probably as high as 70 percent of the industry total. We have a public vision statement which commits us to operating as a non-racial institution. We are a large organisation publicly committed to a non-racial South Africa, and believe there is an enormous amount we can do in the way we conduct our business.

But that is not direct political intervention?

You only have power to the extent that you have a sanction In the [illegible] Afrikanerdom and the various black groupings.

Bob Tucker

Did you attend last week's Botha-Business summit?

No. We took a decision and the reasons for non-attendance were sent to the State President I don't want to disclose them — that is up to the State President; it is a common courtesy to someone who has invited you

What is your company's attitude to affirmative action?

To have an equal opportunity programme without an affirmative action policy is meaningless You have [illegible] majority of your population whole economy is affected by sanctions. Every one of us is indirectly affected.

What is the attitude to trade unions in your company?

Trade unions have played a very low role in financial institutions, and in buildings societies in particular, because you are talking about clerical staff who have, in the South African context, not traditionally been unionised to any great degree.

I have no doubt that unions will play an increasingly important part. I certainly don't see trade unions as opposition, but essentially effective mobilisers of worker attitudes. We regard them as a very important part of the development of employer/employee relations.

What suggestions would you make for government economic policy?

We have a view that, as in the labour field, equal opportunity is meaningless without affirmative action In the economic field, a vigorous, raw, unmoderated free enterprise economy at this point in time would result merely in the substitution of economic domination for racial discrimination and the maintenance of the status quo.

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GERHARD DE KOCK

The state we're in

14/11/86 FIN MAIL 304A

This week Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock, as usual, gives the opening address at the *FM* Investment Conference. His subject: Financial Sanctions and the South African Economy. This discussion with Assistant Editor Michael Coulson takes a much broader conspectus of the state of the economy.

***FM*: To what extent can we still claim that political factors are responsible for the steady downgrading of growth forecasts for this year, or are there basic economic weaknesses?**

De Kock: Economics and politics are now so closely intertwined that it's impossible to separate them. Take disinvestment: it's partly political, but it's true that some foreign firms weren't making high enough profits to justify expansion here. That in turn reflected general lack of confidence and uncertainty.

A lot of economic indicators have turned positive, but businessmen don't have a clear enough vision of the medium term to invest in new plant and equipment on any large scale. Instead, many investors are buying shares on the stock exchange to protect themselves against the erosion of their capital. And they've done well in the past few years, even in real terms.

In the third quarter we grew at an annual rate of about 3%, but we'll only show 1% growth for the year overall. We should get 3% growth next year — which is what I was originally hoping for this year!

Surely, until we get a revival of domestic fixed investment even the little recovery we have seen will not be sustained?

Absolutely. There can be no real growth until real fixed investment picks up. We had a period like this after Sharpeville in the early Sixties. I remember the *FM* had an editorial in George Palmer's days called "The reluctant boom." That was exactly what it was. But then suddenly, two or three years later, real fixed investment jumped by nearly 20% a year two years running as confidence returned.

I don't see that happening again for the moment, because people still don't have enough confidence. It's wrong to think that no entrepreneur ever invests in new plant until he's used up all existing surplus capacity; successful entrepreneurs have always been ones who've anticipated upswings. But for that you need some confidence.

Do you consider the high level of government spending a positive factor?

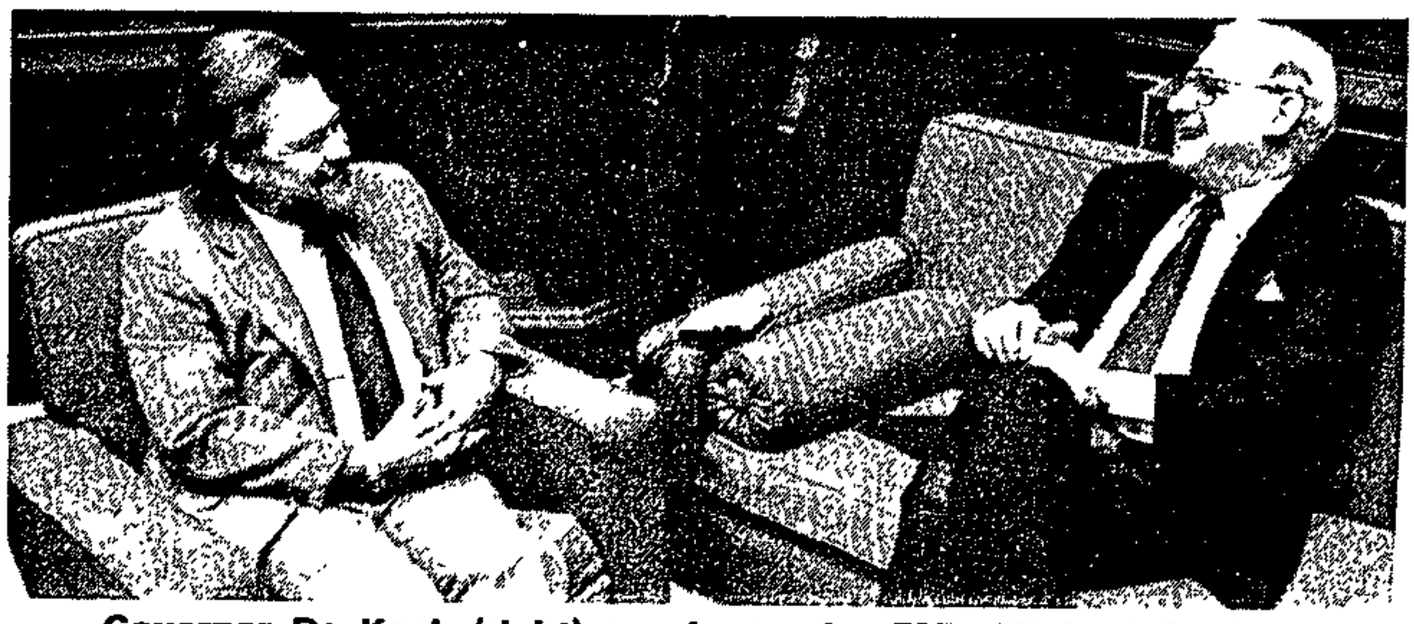
Yes, in the present abnormal circumstances. You know my view that in the longer term we must curb government spending as a percentage of total domestic spending, and in 1983-1984 excessive government spending was a major cause of our problems. But at the moment, as private consumption isn't rising rapidly and private investment is falling, it's just as well that the government is buying goods and services.

Wouldn't it be even better if government spending was devoted to capital and infrastructure items?

Certainly. This is a Keynesian approach, but I still believe in it, though the danger is that in practice, as we all know, governments find it very difficult to stop spending when an economy picks up again and is threatened with overheating.

In the third quarter we saw a 20% increase in GDE, but only 2%-3% in GDP. What are the implications of this?

Those quarterly figures can be misleading. GDE really just recovered after a sharp decline in the second quarter. But it does include a swing from inventory decumulation to accumulation. I don't know how long this will last, and there was also an element of buying in anticipation of sanctions, but clearly there has been restocking. Interestingly, in the third quarter government consumption spending declined in real terms.



Governor De Kock (right) speaks to the *FM*'s Michael Coulson

Given the present gold price and exchange rate, what are you now projecting for the BoP for this year and into 1987?

At the moment we're thinking in terms of a R5 billion-R6 billion current acount surplus for this year. While it's very early to talk about next year, we think it will be of similar proportions if gold stays above $400 and the oil price stays low.

How much of that will go in debt repayments?

We've repaid debt, the current account is still in surplus, and the gold price has gone up, so we can exert a greater influence on the exchange rate We allowed the rand to move up from its low of US37c to US43c-45c, as well as against the D-Mark and the yen. We could have allowed it to go up even more, maybe to 50c; but we decided we would rather manage the float to ensure a gradual appreciation and at the same time replenish our reserves. We've also started to get complaints from manufacturers and exporters that the rand was moving up too rapidly. We would like to see the rand strong to curb inflation, but if the priority is growth and job

FACE TO FACE

flop?

I wouldn't say that, though it's very difficult to administer a dual exchange rate when the one is a 53% discount to the other! But that doesn't mean that the answer is to abolish exchange controls on non-residents. It would be highly inflationary, for one thing.

I have no affection for exchange controls, but in the present circumstances if you had only one exchange rate, with non-residents seeking to take capital out rather than bring it in, the rand would fall. This would be stimulatory, but the inflationary cost would

14/11/81

304A

End to high political expe

Political Perspective

by Andre du Toit

The signs are that South African politics have reached the end of an era of heightened expectations.

Political confrontations and the prospects of negotiations no longer hold the same high drama as in the recent past. All round there is less confidence that a breakthrough in reform (or a revolutionary takeover) may be just around the corner.

A greater degree of political realism on all sides may not be altogether a bad thing. In recent years there has been a recurrent tendency to raise expectations that some change of official policy, some diplomatic initiative or a particular constitutional dispensation will be the key to unlock our political future.

If the government would repeal the Mixed Marriages Act, or scrap influx control, or release Nelson Mandela, or talk to the ANC, then that would surely be the decisive breakthrough. Alternatively similar hopes were raised that if the school boycotts could be maintained, or if disinvestment and sanctions could be imposed, then that inevitably would bring the government to its knees.

Some even believed that if only the Dutch Reformed Church could be brought to renounce apartheid the face of South Africa would be changed.

In the present political climate it is much more difficult to maintain these high hopes. We seem to be returning again and again to the same (and narrowing) range of options, most of which have already been tried and found wanting.

Thus it proved difficult to work up any real enthusiasm for the "summit" meeting between business leaders and President P. W. Botha. It seemed to be a pale shadow of the momentous earlier gatherings at the Carlton and Good Hope Conferences.

Similarly the government's major constitutional initiatives at local government level are proving to be singularly uninspiring. The Regional Services Councils, now due to be launched at the beginning of next year, have encountered scepticism, suspicion and resistance all round even before any are actually implemented.

And meanwhile the crisis in black education continues unabated, the Nkomati Accord is in tatters and there is no sign that the second state of emergency will be lifted sooner rather than later.

The profound change in the political climate can probably be traced back to April of this year when the SADF's raids on the capitals of the frontline states brought about the final collapse of the EPG mission. Since then local and international hopes for some dramatic initiative such as the release of Nelson Mandela leading up to direct negotiations with the ANC have faded, while the Americans finally buried whatever still remained of their hopes for a policy of "constructive engagement".

The federal congress of the National Party in July confirmed the extent of the change that had taken place. When it was first announced at the beginning of the year it was expected to provide the occasion for a historic announcement about the political future of blacks.

In the event, President Botha only managed to resurrect the hoary speculations about possible black "city states". Likewise, the unwanted second session of parliament, purportedly convened to enact major new legislation, found no business of substance to attend to.

Subsequently the government's main policy announcements have continued in this vein: they have proved incapable of either breaking decisively with apartheid or of abandoning its "reform". Thus the Group Areas Act has been pronounced to embody a "non-negotiable" principle, but not a "holy cow", and to be applied more "flexibly" in future.

And in the major cabinet reshuffle just announced by President Botha, his most dramatic move was to bring back Mr Schlebusch from retirement, while promoting a careful mix of no less than a dozen verligtes and not so-verligtes to ministerial rank without including them in the cabinet itself. This is a long way from the sense of urgency and dynamism which he projected in the days of "adapt or die".

It is not the case that the government has run out of options, ranging from possible brave reformist initiatives to strong-armed crackdowns. It is only that in one way or another most of these have been tried already, and have not quite delivered the goods.

DD 14/11/86

ctations?

(304A)

For its part, the opposition forces are not in much better shape. Since Van Zyl Slabbert's departure the parliamentary opposition has been hard put to establish itself as a serious political force, and it has not been helped by the almost casual way in which the government reconvened parliament without substantial business for it to attend to.

The extra-parliamentary opposition, in turn, has had a hard time merely to survive politically under the harsh conditions of the state of emergency. It remains a force through continuing school, rent and consumer boycotts, but it is becoming clear that there can be no quick victories; only a long march to majority rule.

Almost the only political development which still manages to raise some expectations is the KwaNatal Indaba. This may in part be due to the fact that it is at best a regional option, and has been approached in a businesslike and fairly low profile manner. It remains to be seen what will come of its eventual proposals and, in particular, how the government will respond to the idea of a multiracial legislative assembly.

For that remains the central issue in South African politics which can no longer be avoided by any number of constitutional formulas or policy initiatives, namely to find ways for direct political participation by blacks in the political system, at local, regional and national levels.

If that issue can be addressed in the current sobering and disillusioned time there may still be grounds for careful hope.

Professor Du Toit teaches political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

Sanctions poser at PFP congress

3041A SUNTIMES 16/11/86

THE Progressive Federal Party's federal congress meets next Friday and Saturday with a full agenda of controversial items — and sanctions are near the top.

The youth wing of the party has traditionally clashed with more conservative members over attitudes to the Defence Force and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

But now the sanctions issue is set to cause further friction.

The party policy is strongly against economic sanctions as a means of pressurising the Government, and party leader Colin Eglin is currently overseas on an anti-sanctions campaign.

Controversial

The national executive of the Young Progressives wants the PFP leadership "to reassess its complete opposition to sanctions and to actively support the implementation of sanctions ag

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

State and military insitutions".

The proposal is likely to be fiercely opposed by other party formations.

At the same time, the Young Progressives of the Western Cape call upon the party to withdraw "immediately" from the President's Council, which it describes in a resolution as "unrepresentative, undemocratic".

And the Eastern Cape executive of the Young Progressives wants congress to call on the party to recognise "Nkosi Sikelele Afrika" as the national anthem of South Africa — a likely cat among the older pigeons.

Resolutions

This mood of the PFP youth is clearly reflected in the different resolutions on next week's bulging agenda.

Congress will also be asked to consider two resolutions from Durban North and Kimberley North aimed at scrapping its support for a minority veto, a policy punted by Dr van Zyl Slabbert and adopted in 1978 at his instigation.

The Pinelands constituency wants the party, as part of its New National Strategy, to emphasise the importance of unbanning the ANC, the return of exiles and the release of Nelson Mandela as a prerequisite to meaningful negotiation.

But there is also praise for party leader Colin Eglin for having initiated talks with the ANC in a resolution sponsored by the Transvaal provincial executive.

Praise

Tough draft resolutions against the Regional Services Council system is also on the agenda.

Mr Eglin's Sea Point constituency asks congress to condemn the Government for "constitutionalising the policy of apartheid" by virtue of the concept of "own affairs".

SUN TIMES

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CHALLENGE

Is it possible to generate an idea of a post-apartheid nonracial democratic South Africa that is so compelling that most South Africans would rather work to bring it about than fight against or cling to the present one?

This is the challenge which IDASA hopes to meet. The way in which it wishes to do so is on four different levels of activity:

● **Region/local based activity.** The intention is to open up regional offices as central government, IDASA would like to assist people to explore what they themselves can and are prepared to do.

It is particularly on the local level that white and black South Africans must explore concrete projects in which they can convince each other that life beyond apartheid is not only possible but preferable to the present.

● **Workshops, seminars and conferences inside South Africa.** With a nonracial democracy as its centre South Africa. Many South Africans live in Africa but are not really part of it.

Other countries in our continent have gone through crises of post-colonial transition.

Much research has been done and practical experience gained on what should and should not be done in areas such as productivity, agricultural reform, land-use patterns, education and government.

Only once one has been to African countries and seen and talked to people who and where overlapping occurs co-ordination can take place.

But essentially IDASA is a grassroots, bottom-up initiative and will only progress in response to clearly defined needs and requests of the communities and organisations who wish to promote its central values of a nonracial democratic South Africa.

IDASA does not claim any pole position in bringing such a South Africa about but certainly would like to be part of the race.

SLABBERT

304A
SUN TIMES
16/4/86

This is how our new initiative hopes to get democracy to work for all South Africans

By Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Official Opposition

PERHAPS it is best to begin by saying what the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) is not.

It is not a political party, organisation or movement. It has no intention of competing with any such whose goal is to mobilise for support, protest or opposition.

This will, and rightly so, be done by such organisation or parties which exist already or new ones that are bound to be formed.

Although IDASA is in fundamental disagreement with Government policy, and in many cases wishes to assist in bringing about the exact opposite of what Government intends, its function is not to confront the Government, either at the top or lower levels of administration.

IDASA is committed to a nonracial democracy for South Africa.

By nonracialism it does not deny the existence of races or ethnic groups in South Africa but believes that they should not be used in any formal constititional or legal sense to determine the nature of the individual's political, social or economic participation.

RACIAL

Therefore IDASA does not agree with, or support, any form of "contrived multiracialism" where individuals are accommodated in constitutional or other state structures specifically because they are intended to represent a legally defined racial group.

Similarly, the concept of democracy that IDASA supports is one where the structure and composition of government is determined by the nonracial participation of the adult individual in the political

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any form of "compulsory group-based democracy" or a "broadening of democracy" which tries to one-sidedly structure the individual's political participation by defining him or her into a pre-determined racial group.

This is the kind of democratic alternative which IDASA wishes to promote. How?

Because the main thrust of IDASA is educative, it is an institute rather than a political party or organisation.

Obviously its terms of reference fall within the political context, but not in the narrow organisational sense.

IDASA wishes to focus attention, discussion, energy and debate on what it means to become a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Is it possible and how does it come about?

What does a nonracial democracy mean for health, law, education, land use, local government, housing, conservation, religion and yes, central government for South Africa?

and when the need from the communities become apparent and funds become available.

There are many organisations in a local area working for an alternative democratic South Africa in various spheres of activity who may not be aware of, or in touch with, each other.

FORUM

Similarly, there are many individuals with special talents and resources who would like to become involved in working for a nonracial democracy but literally do not know how to "plug in" or become useful.

At the local level, IDASA would wish to provide a forum where such resources and organisations, whether from the townships or from "white suburbs", can pool their talents and co-ordinate their activities.

A local community may be experiencing a crisis in health, employment, housing, transport or a breakdown in local government.

Rather than "wait for something to happen" from

tral theme, IDASA would like to organise workshops, seminars and conferences between academics, experts, administrators in order to propogate alternatives in the various spheres of our national life.

For example, a national conference on democracy in South Africa is planned for next year where educationists, unionists, urban planners, conservationists, constitutional experts can meet, present papers and criticise one another's contribution.

TRANSITION

But IDASA will also sponsor and support more limited projects where, for example, Afrikaner student leaders would like to meet with trade union representatives; or Dutch Reformed theological students would like to meet representatives of civic associations in townships; or medical students can be put in touch with conditions of rural health and poverty.

● **International conferences on democracy for**

are involved in problems which we obviously are going to have to face in a post-apartheid South Africa will we better be able to avoid the mistakes that have been made and to pursue successful strategies.

IDASA is confident that it will be able to get South Africans who can benefit from such visits into some of these countries and to participate in workshops and seminars there.

● **Research and publications.** IDASA will not focus on original research projects but will try to collate research that has already been done and relate it to interested organisations and individuals.

Also, "publications" is used here in the widest possible sense to include film and video material as well. Again, the central thrust will be on alternatives for a nonracial democracy in South Africa.

At the moment IDASA has sufficient funds to set up at least two regional offices and a head office (which will be based in Cape Town). Further funds are still needed and being sought.

GRASSROOTS

We are also in the process of setting up a board of trustees and looking for personnel to assist on a permanent basis.

Individuals cannot join IDASA as one joins a political party or organisation, but they can become patrons or supporters, be on its mailing list, and make their talents available for IDASA activities.

These will be organised on a regional basis where individual talents can best be deployed and the precise manner in which this will occur will be made known from region to region.

Some of what IDASA is going to do has been and is being done by others. This presents no problem. Where duplication exists, this can be rationalised

HNP seeks a 'united front'

17/11/86 Eve Post 304A

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Herstigte Nasionale Party has called on the Conservative Party to abandon its idea of a unification conference and to resume talks between the two parties at leadership level to form a united front against the "foolish and dangerous policies of the present Government".

A statement has been issued by the HNP saying it favoured the resumption of talks with the CP to reach a co-operative agreement "in the interests of the volk" and because of an early general election.

By so doing, the two parties could lay the foundation of a movement of unity and a process of joint growth leading to firm unification. Unity could only come from a "genuine will".

Timo Bezuidenhoud

Bezuidenhoud quits after 7½ 'years of hell'

Staff Reporter

TOP black affairs official Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud is to retire early to work "outside the system" in black-white relations.

Announcing this today, Mr Bezuidenhoud described the 7½ years he was responsible for the administration of Crossroads and Khayelitsha as "hell on earth".

He also descibed the demolition of squatter shanties as "draconian" and said he had never agreed with it.

He said that although he was giving up his Government office, he would still operate in the same sphere. He had decided to take early retirement "because there are certain things I can do better outside the system than within it.

"I am going to throw my weight behind Mfesane." (A Christian community organisation which recently extended its activities to the Western Cape).

He was also laying the groundwork for a discussion forum aimed at "bringing people together so that they can better understand one another".

Mr Bezuidenhoud said he was not criticising "the system" but was bound to a great degree and would have a freer hand by leaving office.

"As you know, the past 7½ years have been a hell on earth. I was in the hot seat when a very unpopular policy was still being enforced."

He was "very grateful" that the demolition of squatter shanties had stopped because "I could never agree with these draconian measures".

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18/11/86. BUSDAY 304A

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Botha may 'name the date' during Nat caucus

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to inform the special National Party caucus meeting in Pretoria today of his choice for a general election date.

NP MPs canvassed yesterday said Botha was in favour of an April general election, but the provincial leaders of the Transvaal, Natal and Free State were against it.

It is generally accepted in the NP caucus that Botha will announce his retirement some time next year, possibly after an election or referendum.

Some MPs believe he might decide to hold a mini-election in April.

At least six seats will soon be vacant after the resignations of Ministers Hendrik Schoeman, Lapa Munnik, George Morrison and Sarel Hayward; the appointment of Speaker Johann Greeff, MP for Aliwal North, as chairman of the President's Council; and the death of Hans Schoeman (North Rand).

Several older NP MPs — possibly as many as 10 — have also indicated that they want to retire.

MPs said that if Botha wanted a mini-election in April, the chances of some resigning soon were high.

A few opposition MPs who want out might also take the opportunity to resign. That could push up the number of by-elections to more than 20.

A mini-election in April would mean that Botha has the choice of either a general election or a national referendum in November.

More and more MPs are putting their money on a referendum, but that would depend on the progress government can make next year with the National Statutory Council and other reform plans.

But a strong argument for an early general election, and one apparently sup-

● To Page 2

Botha may 'name date' during Nat caucus

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● From Page 1

ported by Botha, is that an election while the two rightwing parties are still fighting it out would be in the NP's interest.

Today's national caucus meeting was announced by Botha at the NP's Cape congress. He initiated the idea of a late-year caucus meeting three years ago.

A senior MP said yesterday the caucus would also be briefed by Botha and his Cabinet Ministers on general developments in the country and on SA's relations with its neighbours and the outside world.

ARGUS 18/11/86

Natal indaba won't please all, Ray Swart warns

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Few people would find the Natal-Kwazulu indaba package "perfect" when the final agreements were reached within the next few weeks, says the Progressive Federal Party's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart.

Mr Swart told a meeting in Durban North last night that this was to be expected as the indaba was a process of concessions and compromises.

He said: "It would be strange if anyone does find the final deal perfect. But if we can achieve a broad consensus on a system in which the principle of a non-racial, democratic government is pre-eminent, that will be a considerable achievement."

Mr Swart said there were aspects of the indaba he disagreed with but in the interest of consent and compromise, the PFP had indicated that it could "live with them".

He said: "Whatever comes out will be assailed by the left and right wings. That had to be expected from the start.

"But individuals should look objectively at the crisis in this strife-torn country of ours and recognise the vital and urgent need for reconciliation among South Africans of all backgrounds if we are to avoid disaster overtaking us."

He said it was likely that a referendum would be used to test public opinion in Natal once the final proposals were out, and this could be also be used to gauge the support of the "extreme wings" which had boycotted the indaba.

"No system of government is free of risk, as much of Africa shows," said Mr Swart. "But if we look at the alternatives, can a minority government really hold out indefinitely against the wishes of the majority?

"There is no doubt in my mind that we will eventually have a non-racial government in South Africa. The only doubt is how we will get there."

Problems can be solved if poor benefit

DD 18/11/86 (304A)

Black advancement essential in all sectors, says Clewlow

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa's economic and socio-political problems were not insoluble, Mr Warren Clewlow, chief executive of Barlow Rand — the country's largest industrial group, employing 232 000 people and with sales of R14 600-million a year — said yesterday in Johannesburg.

Releasing the company's results for the year ended September, Mr Clewlow said: "Whilst recognising the importance and urgency of addressing the pressing issues of today, Barlows has at the same time also been looking to the future and to extending our vision and strategies beyond the present political and economic debate.

"We try not to accept failures or excuses, but to keep working determinedly at trying to find solutions to whatever problems are within our sphere of influence.

"We do not believe that South Africa has insoluble economic and socio-political problems. On the contrary, we believe the solutions will be easier to find in a climate of higher economic growth — provided the less privileged are the first to benefit.

"The long term economic strategy recently prepared by the State President's Economic Advisory Council is a step in the right direction and — if supported by all sectors of the population — could set the pace for other reform measures.

"We are very conscious that the implications of broader participation in the economy go beyond merely the creation of new markets. Attitudes will have to be constantly reviewed and changed where necessary.

"Meaningful black advancement in all sectors is essential if we are to be in a position to contribute to the changing circumstances that economic enfranchisement will bring in South Africa and its multiplier effect on adjoining states."

Pressures to move the PFP more to Left

BUSDAY 30/4/87 18/11/86.

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE EYES of black and white South Africans will be focused on the Progressive Federal Party's federal congress this Friday to see how the party will resolve the tensions between its Left and Right wing and prepare itself for white elections.

It will be the PFP's first federal congress since the shock resignations of its top leaders — Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine — and the first since the new aggressive marketing offensive was launched.

Judging by the draft resolutions there will be pressures on the party to move further Left. A showdown is not unlikely between the Young Progressives and representatives of the Left of centre on the one hand and the Old Guard and elements of the Right on the other.

Among the more controversial resolutions is one from the Eastern Cape executive of the Young Progressives for the party to recognise the black nationalist song "Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika" as the national anthem of SA.

The Young Progressives' national executive wants the party leadership to "reassess its complete opposition to sanctions and to actively support the implementation of sanctions against state and military institutions".

Leader Colin Eglin, plus senior PFP MPs such as Helen Suzman and Harry Schwarz, have strongly argued against sanctions throughout the Western world. Western Cape Young Progressives are calling for the immediate withdrawal by the PFP from the President's Council, calling it an "undemocratic apartheid body".

The constituencies of Durban North and Kimberley North want the party to drop the provision of a minority veto from its constitutional proposals.

Greytown wants the PFP to stop contesting elections in government structures "which are racially defined," while several others call on the party not to take part in the proposed Regional Services Councils. Other draft resolutions condemn the state of emergency, the detention of children and the curbs on Press freedom.

Maitland wants the party to "encourage the public to resist government in the application the Group Areas Act," while North Rand wants "all attempts by government to establish new group areas to be strongly resisted".

The Transvaal provincial executive congratulates Eglin for initiating contacts with the ANC and urges the party leadership to continue such initiatives.

Solidarity goes to court

BUS DAY

PRESIDENT P W Botha's appointing two opposition Solidarity MPs in the House of Delegates as Ministers in the National Peoples Party (NPP)-controlled Ministers Council is to come under close scrutiny in Durban's Supreme Court this week.

The Ministers concerned are Jayaram "J N" Reddy, Budget Minister and official opposition leader, and Ismail Kathrada, Health Services and Welfare Minister and Solidarity's treasurer.

A Solidarity group calling themselves "Loyalists", including MPs Pat Poovalingam, Mahmoud Rajab, John Lyman and Ramcharitar Mohangi, claim the acceptance by the two Ministers to serve in the NPP-controlled Ministers Council is contrary to a resolution adopted by Solidarity at its national congress in Durban last year.

The resolution, the group claimed, specifically barred Solidarity entering any merger, coalition or working arrangement with the NPP.

The case starts tomorrow. — Sapa.

(304A) N/M 18/11/86

Militants won't accept peaceful reform, says Viljoen

Power-sharing 'vital' to school stability

JOHANNESBURG—No real, lasting return to educational stability was likely unless it went hand in hand with constitutional reform resulting in a meaningful power-sharing for blacks at all levels of political decision-making, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

On the other hand it should also be clear that constitutional reform achieved by peaceful negotiation was something revolutionaries would not, and could not, accept, he said in an address to the annual meeting of the S A Britain Trade Association (Sabrita) in Johannesburg.

'They are interested in upheaval and revolution and not in reform, and therefore it is likely that even after meaningful political reform has been achieved, the revolutionary elements will continue to try to politicise education.'

Black education had become highly politicised, he said

'(It) has become a basic and vital instrument in the hands of militant and revolutionary elements aiming at political change or revolution by way of rendering the school system "ungovernable" through boycotts, disruption, intimidation and vandalism

Two regions

'Slogans calling for "liberation before education" or "people's education for people's power" clearly reflect an attitude of little or no concern for education as such or for the future interest of the present youth, provided only the so-called struggle can be successfully advanced,' Dr Viljoen said.

Although the intense politicisation of black education was one of three problem areas in the field, it was important to see the present situation of turmoil, unrest and boycotting in its proper perspective

Only between 250-300 of a total of more than 7 300 schools under the control of the Department of Education and Training were at any given moment seriously affected, while the situation in the self-governing territories' schools was generally normal.

Only two regions were really seriously affected, namely Soweto and Alexandra, as well as the Eastern Province.

'In all other regions the present public examination attendance is well over 90% of registered candidates,' the minister said.

At last year's matric examination boycott, more than 74 000 out of a possible 92 000 black candidates had written the papers, while 14 000 more had opted for the alternative examination offered this May and June.

A second major problem in black education was the 'astronomical vastness of the task', Dr Viljoen said.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen ... equal education a top priority.

In 1985, there had been 6 000 000 black pupils at school, compared with 1 000 000 whites, 800 000 coloureds and 234 000 Indians

The 6 000 000 was made up of 1 700 000 under the DET, 2 400 000 in self-governing territories and 1 800 000 in independent homelands

It was estimated there were least 1 000 000 black children of school-going age not attending school in a given year

The black education departmens annually had to provide for 250 000 new pupils, implying additional teachers and additional schools and classrooms

'The vastness of the challenge is compounded by the combination of existing large numbers, historical backlogs and one of the highest population growth rates in Africa,' Dr Viljoen said

The third major challenge was the 'generally acknowledged backlog in the quantity and the quality of educational services for black communities'.

He said the Government acknowledged this and had committed itself to achieving equal educational opportunities for all South Africans as a high priority.

The DET's annual budget had inceased 6,5 times over the past seven years to R1,16 billion, and the Government had also announced its intention of introducing a 10-year programme with a financing formula common to all educaton departments to achieve, as far as possible, the narrowing of the disparity between them.

'This means that the lion's share of additional funds available for education will in future have to go to the less developed black and coloured education departments,' Dr Viljoen said.

He emphasised, however, that existing disparities could not be redressed only by providing more money, as progress in education was by its nature a 'slow and time-consuming struggle'.—(Sapa)

General election, or only by-elections?

Voters will go to polls next year

304A

STAR 19/11/86.

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

White voters will go to the polls early next year — to vote either in a general election or in a series of by-elections — following statements made yesterday by President Botha after a National Party caucus meeting.

Addressing a Press conference at the Presidential Guest House in Pretoria, the President referred to possible by-elections by saying some Nat MPs would be retiring.

Mr Botha also left the way open for a general election, saying the caucus had discussed election dates, but had decided to leave the decision to the leader of the party.

Progessive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said today that Mr Botha "must stop playing games with the public".

"An election is a serious matter. It involves tens of thousands of voluntary workers, and if Mr Botha does plan to have an election he owes it to the public to say so," he said.

Mr Eglin said the PFP would be ready if a general election was called. "We have put our party on an election-readiness basis".

The right-wing parties have also begun preparations for a general election. The Conservative Party (CP) has announced a "unity conference" in Pretoria next year for all right-wing supporters.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) has rejected this conference, but has called for more talks with the CP to prevent a split in the right-wing vote.

Mr Botha kept his options open at the Press conference, saying: "As soon as the provincial leaders know who is going to retire, we will probably decide on by-elections, in the light of any other decisions I might take, but not decided on today."

There is already one by-election pending in the North Rand constituency, which is being contested by the National Party, the PFP and the CP.

By-elections could also be held in the seats of retiring Minister of Transport Mr Hendrik Schoeman (Delmas), Minister of Public Works Dr Lapa Munnik (Durbanville), Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply Mr Sarel Hayward (Graaff-Reinet), and the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly, Dr George Morrison (Cradock).

Retirements

The Speaker of the House, Mr Johann Greeff, who represents Aliwal North, has been appointed chairman of the President's Council from December 1 and is also expected to retire as an MP.

There is speculation that several other senior NP MPs wish to retire, but there have been no official announcements. Mr Marius Barnard and Mr Philip Myburgh of the PFP have also been the subject of retirement speculation.

Mr Botha said at the Press conference that matters of mutual interest, including party organisation, had been discussed at the caucus meeting.

MPs had discussed possible election dates, but that these would not be made public at this stage. A referendum had not been discussed.

Mr Botha also announced that the chairman of the caucus, Mr J W van Staden, who is a nominated MP, had resigned for health reasons and would be succeeded by the MP for Kempton Park, Mr Gerrie du Plessis.

Mr Botha said members had said farewell to Minister of Transport Mr Schoeman, and other Cabinet Ministers. Mr Schoeman's place as leader of the NP in Parliament and Leader of the House of Assembly would be filled by Mr F W de Klerk.

● National Party sources were repeating earlier speculation today that President Botha would probably retire within a year of a General Election.

The Star Wednesd

CP objects to Worrall's 'extreme' tag

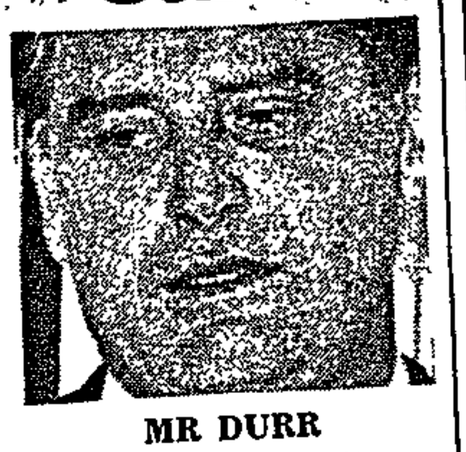
— The Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, said yesterday the party took strong exception "to the likes of left-wingers of the background of Dr Denis Worrall — young Prog, Spro Cas member and admirer of Martin Luther King — referring to us as 'extreme' and linking us with the ANC and Azapo".

Mr Langley said in a statement that Dr Worrall should remember that as South Africa's Ambassador to the United Kingdom "he represents all the people of South Africa, including tax-paying members of the Conservative Party at whose expense he enjoys the pleasures of the Court of St James".

Dr Worrall's "behaviour typifies the arrogance endemic in the National Party Government".

Dr Worrall and his colleagues would do well to concentrate on promoting South Africa's image overseas rather than making a fatuous statement discrediting the party which would have to sort out the constitutional mess in which Dr Worrall played a major role in foisting on South Africa, Mr Langley said.

Sanctions are stifling reform, says Durr



MR DURR

Voters will say change is more trouble than it's worth

MUNICH — The Deputy Minister of Finance and of Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr, asked a symposium in West Germany yesterday whether the West wanted to destroy South Africa through its sanctions "in order to save it".

Mr Durr, addressing a Hans Seidel Foundation symposium in Munich, said the more fervent American sanctions advocates seemed to adopt this barren philosophy towards South Africa.

But sanctions, in as far they would hasten the demise of apartheid, would prove counter-productive, he said.

Sanctions would cause the South African electorate to conclude that "the reform game is not worth the candle.

"I am not being an alarmist," Mr Durr said. "There is now a strong groundswell against the whole reform initiative . . ."

South Africans were bitterly disappointed that reform had not brought with it more support from the West.

However, the South African Government and the "great bulk of its electorate" would not be cowed by sanctions, he said.

South Africa was not overawed by recent developments, but it was also not taking them lightly.

"We have a counter-strategy and it is being deployed right now," Mr Durr said, without elaborating.

● Meanwhile the president of Bophuthatswana yesterday condemned Western sanctions against Pretoria, also saying they were slowing up the process of social reform.

President Lucas Mangope said at a seminar organised by the conservative Bavarian Hans Seidel Foundation that economic measures against the South African leadership were proving counter-productive and hurting the majority of blacks.

"The sanctions movement against South Africa has unfortunately diverted the government in Pretoria from reforms which were already in progress," he said.

President Mangope said that reforms were only possible in an economically healthy South Africa.

He accused Western firms withdrawing from South Africa in protest against apartheid of leaving black workers without support after earning huge profits for years by paying them low wages.

President Mangope, branded a puppet of Pretoria by most African leaders, said apartheid had left black South Africans with enormous gaps in their education and development and called for the elimination of the system as soon as possible.

The Hans Seidel Foundation is close to the Christian Social Union (CSU), which is headed by the Bavarian leader, Mr Franz Josef Strauss, and is part of the coalition government in Bonn. — Sapa-RNS

ARGUS 19/11/86 (304A)

Timo — the peace-maker

By GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter

ON a wall of the conference room in which he has so often met squatter leaders, black affairs official Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud has two maps of Crossroads.

Both have been drawn up fairly recently: one features a vast area of white space marked Phase One on which a network of roads and sites has been charted.

The orderly markings plot sites to be upgraded in the 25ha spread devastated in May when thousands of shacks were razed in weeks of bloodshed which left 60 dead and about 70 000 people homeless.

The shacks belonged to families who owed allegiance to three Crossroads leaders who had consistently resisted attempts to persuade them to move, with their followers, to a site-and-service scheme at Khayelitsha.

Those weeks of violence, the arson and the looting which catapulted the Peninsula to the forefront of world attention, succeeded in doing what Mr Bezuidenhoud's persuasion had so far failed to achieve: clearing the area so that upgrading could begin.

YESTERDAY, e announced he had decided to take early retirement after 7½ years in the hot seat as an employee of a Government bent on enforcing a policy of forced removal.

It was "hell on earth", he said. He never agreed with such "draconian measures" and one of the things he was grateful for was that the Government stopped demolishing squatters' shacks.

Much of this period of occupational purgatory he spent trying to persuade the Government to rethink its position and create an area where squatters could live with the benefit of basic services.

Timo Bezuidenhoud — "life was hell", he says.

A site and service scheme was bulldozed out of the sand dunes at Khayelitsha and he started negotiations with Crossroads leaders, offering them and their followers limited residence and the right to work in the Peninsula if they agreed to go.

THREE leaders resisted his efforts: those whose territories were razed. Many of their followers are now, finally, at Khayelitsha.

Mr Bezuidenhoud, who was made Housing Man of the Year in 1985 in recognition of his efforts, was reluctant to discuss the role of the authorities in the disaster which overtook Crossroads earlier this year.

"I can't comment on what I did not see," he said when taxed about allegations that rampaging vigilantes were abetted by police in a Government-inspired "special kind of removal".

He was "caught completely by surprise" when fighting broke out, although in daily contact with residents who kept him informed of trends.

"I got into Crossroads only when it was all over," he said.

He "felt sorry about the whole thing".

THE population of Crossroads had fallen by about 70 000 to an estimated 100 000 and the area earmarked for upgrading had been cleared.

But for the rest of the vast settlement to be upgraded, more people would have to move, he said.

"If we are to upgrade Crossroads, we will have to thin it out. The density is too high. People will just have to realise that."

Where would the people go?

"Khayelitsha — I can't see where else. Development there is well underway.

"The site and service scheme I fought so hard for has proved to be the solution if Government cannot provide the funds for houses. It creates stability.

"We must have planning if we don't want slums and people must co-operate."

Now, although leaving Government office, he would continue to operate in the same sphere, he said.

He felt for the down-and-out — people who left rural areas to come to the cities to find work, only to find their traditional way of life clashed with the Western lifestyle of the urban areas.

"These are the people who had my sympathy through the years. They are in the majority and must be looked after so that eventually they can look after themselves."

He would throw his weight behind Mfesane — a Christian-motivated community organisation which recently extended its operations to the Western Cape — and was preparing the way for a discussion forum "to bring people together so they can better understand each other".

He sees his future role as a type of ombudsman, liaising between the Government and the people, and the Government and the outside world — "if the State will let me".

During a 40-year career "working with the black man" he had spoken to "literally thousands of black people" and with very few exceptions, everyone wanted peace.

'Missing' voters gain extra time

GERALD REILLY

TALK of a general election at the National Party caucus meeting in Pretoria this week has given a new urgency to the search for more than a third of the country's three-million voters.

Home Affairs Director-General Gerrie van Zyl said yesterday the deadline for the department's campaign had been extended to December 15.

Since the campaign started Van Zyl said 180 000 voters had notified their change of address. "However this leaves more than a million voters who are registered at wrong addresses in the population register."

Based on the number of postal and special votes at recent by-elections, Van Zyl said, it was fair to estimate that about 35% of voters had failed to notify changes of address.

Eve Post 1/11/86 (304A)

PFP to debate sanctions

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party will reassess its opposition to sanctions at its federal congress here tomorrow.

A resolution calling for a review of the party's sanctions policy and to "actively support the implementation of sanctions against the State and military institutions" will be proposed by the national executive of the Young Progressives.

This is likely to trigger a heated debate with senior party members who have actively campaigned against sanctions.

Only last week the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said in New York that sanctions and disinvestment would prolong apartheid rather than bring about its demise.

On the other hand, the Young Progs contend that sanctions would provide an avenue for the outside world to show its opposition to apartheid and would not harm the economy as a whole.

The PFP's participation in the President's Council will also be debated, with withdrawal being demanded because the council is an "undemocratic and unrepresentative apartheid body which, at great cost to the taxpayer, has achived nothing other than provide the Government with a useful vehicle for overriding Parliament".

The PFP has three members in the 60-man council.

A key constitutional issue to be debated is a call for the scrapping of the minority veto, one of the basic tenets of PFP policy.

Other resolutions to be debated are:

- A boycott of Regional Services Councils.
- Recognising *Nkosi Sikelel i Afrika* as the national anthem of South Africa.
- The state of emergency and detentions.

Mr Eglin will officially open the two-day congress at 9.30am.

Heunis silent on Timo

Cape Times 20/11/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MR Chris Heunis yesterday declined to comment on the resignation of his top black affairs official in the Western Cape, Mr Timo Bezuidenhoud.

Mr Bezuidenhoud had described some of the government's policies as "draconian".

Commenting on his retirement this week, Mr Bezuidenhoud said his job had been "hell on earth" as he was often obliged to help enforce policies such as forced removals with which he disagreed.

A terse "no comment" was all the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning would say about Mr Bezuidenhoud's decision to opt out of "the system" after a 7½-year spell as chief administrator of Cape Town's black townships.

"One of my greatest disappointments in the job was the hatred and frustration that has been generated because of influx control," he said.

Yesterday Mr Bezuidenhoud's government colleagues were more forthcoming than Mr Heunis about what his departure would mean.

"It's a great loss," said one. "He had good contacts in the black community and was a great communicator."

Another said: "We will miss him. He was not a yes-man. He was prepared to put his money where his mouth is and stand by his principles."

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Slim chance of HNP/CP alliance

Vereeniging Bureau

Chances are slim of the Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties forming an alliance for the next general election.

This would be the case while HNP leaders continued to be as intransigent as they had been for the past four years, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, CP deputy leader, said at a public meeting in Vereeniging last night.

fender series was overturned today by an international jury after a 6½-hour hearing.

The protest against Kookaburra II, which now falls from second to third place, had been lodged by Gordon Lucas, skipper of Australia III.

A protest by Peter Gilmour, skipper of Kookaburra II, against Australia III was dismissed.

It was announced today that Challenge France, which is in last place, will continue to compete.

The syndicate's major sponsors confirmed their support at a meeting in Paris.

Putco passengers ignore city stops

Municipal Reporter

Soweto's bus boycott has been blamed for the flop of Putco's new black bus stops located in the CBD since Monday.

Black passengers have largely ignored the 12 new city centre loading and off-loading points on through-city routes.

A Putco spokesman said this was due to the disruption of the service because the buses were running only a quarter full since the start of the boycott in Soweto. The boycott is now in its 21st day after a 17,5 percent fare increase on November 1.

Most travellers were simply sticking to their old habits of getting off at the terminuses on the city's outskirts said the spokesman.

He said the new stops had been advertised in the media, on television and in the Putco newsletter.

DET may delay schools opening

Education Reporter

The Department of Education and Training may postpone the scheduled date for the first day of school next year, Mr Job Schoeman chief of of public relations for DET said yesterday.

DET schools were scheduled to open on January 5 for teachers and on January 7 for pupils.

Mr Schoeman said the DET had received requests from teachers and parents to open the school a few days later.

"We have been asked to change the opening date because it is too close to the beginning of the New Year," he said.

A decision will be made next week.

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Eglin slams Nat Govt 'arrogance'

Eve Post 21/9/86

304A

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Government was not only "arrogant and incompetent", it simply did not have a plan that would enable all people to live in peace in South Africa, the Leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said today.

Mr Eglin, who was unanimously re-elected party leader, was opening the PFP's Federal Congress, being held at Gold Reef City.

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, was re-elected national chairman.

Reviewing the past year, Mr Eglin said the Government had stumbled along "from one monumental blunder to another with no thrust, no direction, no cohesion, no plans for the present and no vision for the future".

The hopes of real reform, he said, "created by fine speeches and glossy advertisements — paid for by the taxpayer — have simply evaporated".

"The promise of real power sharing," he spelled out, "has been replaced by the reality of orthodox Nationalist group self-determination that not even the jingle of a R4-million song can brighten."

Mr Eglin said the current situation in South Africa was one in which:

- Sanctions were being imposed.
- The country was under a state of emergency.
- The economy was in a state of chronic recession.

He said sanctions could not be ignored and despite claims by some "misguided Government members," would not be a "blessing in disguise" but would be damaging.

What was vital, however, was that sanctions did not become the focal point of the political debate and detract from the core problem of apartheid.

With regard to the state of emergency, Mr Eglin said it negated the very concept of democracy to which the Government said it was committed.

Asking when the state of emergency was going to be lifted, Mr Eglin said the country had lived under it for five months and all it had done was to provide a "facade of peace" but do nothing to resolve any of the basic problems.

Rather, he said, it aggravated many of them.

The PFP leader said that in spite of the country's vast natural resources and the quality of its people the economy was "spluttering along in a state of chronic recession".

The situation in South Africa at present, he said, saw:

- A decrease in the number of employment opportunities in the past four years.
- Unemployment at an all time high.
- Inflation at 19,7%.
- Civil summonses being issued at the rate of 80 000 a month.

Weather

Liberals linked to covert security panel

By FRANZ KRUGER, East London

EAST LONDON'S liberal businessmen — including prominent Progressive Federal Party office-bearers — have been involved in a covert political committee linked in with the highly controversial Joint Security Management System.

The "Greater East London Co-ordination Committee" (GELCC) was set up by a local military commander in October last year, but its existence remained unknown until its chairman, Errol Spring, a prominent local PFP supporter, confirmed its existence to me this week.

The committee brings together businessmen, town council officials, parliamentarians, government officials and military and police personnel to deal with matters ranging from consumer boycotts to the development of a master plan for developing the area.

Observers believe the GELCC represents a remarkable alliance between the government and liberal business to manage the political crisis at a local level.

According to its chairman, the committee has no administrative power; its function is simply "to identify problem areas hampering development, to contact whoever is supposed to be dealing with it and find out what they are doing and whether they need any help". It was intended to be "fully representative" of all sectors of the community.

For businessmen, the committee represents a way to get problems addressed quickly and efficiently. The government, on the other hand, is able to draw on their expertise, and has effectively cemented an alliance with them.

But the GELCC has not met with unanimous support from the liberal establishment. City Councillor Donald Card was invited to the first meeting, but said he left when it became clear what it was about.

"My first impression was that it was a structure for martial law, and I was not prepared to serve on anything like it," he said.

The GELCC was active in local affairs, but was not accountable to local residents, reporting instead to the State President, he charged.

Another businessman who has resigned from the body said he felt businessmen had been "sucked into a government structure" set up "in case of the collapse of the civil authorities", and worked as "a channel for information to be fed to central government".

Although apparently not in the full sense a Joint Management Committee (JMC) — hundreds of which span the country as part of the National Security Management System (NSMS) — it is firmly linked with the NSMS and acts in similar ways, making use of direct access to the highest levels of government.

Its minutes, for example, are fed through the NSMS "right to the very top". It has made use of NSMS channels to get problems solved when local officials had not been helpful.

The NSMS, exposed recently by the Weekly Mail, is a network of Security Force-dominated committees operating parallel to the established state structures at all levels.

Not many details have been disclosed about the system, but fears have been expressed that it has become the true powerhouse of government in South Africa, allowing Security Forces major influence on all levels of executive decision-making.

The GELCC differs from the JMCs and other bodies of the NSMS in that it includes people other than government officials, and seems to have more flexibility of operation.

The chairman, Spring, is a city councillor and former mayor, and is the PFP vice-chairman for the coastal region.

Head of its sub-committees include the chairman of the East London Chamber of Commerce, Nico Cloete, and another prominent businessman and PFP supporter, Wayne Munro.

Invitations to set up the GELCC were sent by Colonel Reg Deyzel, the local military commanding officer, to representatives of the East London City Council, neighbouring town councils, the chambers of industry and commerce, MPs and MPCs as well as the heads of most government departments in the city.

The purpose of the meeting on October 4 last year was "the inauguration of a committee being established to co-ordinate constitutional, economic and social planning and development in East London," according to the confidential invitation signed by Deyzel.

The invitation, headed "Joint Management Committee: East London", referred specifically to "the present unrest situation". At the meeting, Deyzel gave a briefing on the JMCs, and outlined the purpose and functions of local committees.

Spring told me the NSMS had merely been presented as a possible home for the new committee. "Without relinquishing those ties completely, we felt we should go another way." Spring said discussions had been held about turning the GELCC into a part of the regional development committee structure.

"The NSMS structure is there. If we can use it as a channel of communication, we must use it. We see ourselves as using the structure, but not as a part of it," he said.

Asked to comment on the presence of PFP members on the GELCC, the party's secretary general, Robin Carlisle, said the PFP was fundamentally opposed to the NSMS, as it was "more likely to be part of the problem than part of the solution" and was "anti-democratic".

He was satisfied, however, that the GELCC was not part of the NSMS structure, although it might have made use of NSMS channels on occasion. He felt there were better conduits to use, and one had to be "careful not to give credibility to these structures". — EL News

WEEKLY MAIL 21/11/86

Memories fade fast as business turns cheerful

By ALEXANDER CAMARGUE

JUDGING from the Financial Mail's Investment Conference, coming as it does a week after the same community met the State President and his cabinet, South Africa's business community has a conveniently short memory.

Certainly the general mood as local business prepares for the good times seems completely inappropriate. Unfortunately for them such fickleness is not going to be to their advantage as many others, not least of all their workers, are unlikely to share such short memories.

Consider, as but one example, the address by General Motors (SA) MD Bob White, whose company this week had police remove strikers trying to prevent scabs from taking jobs, and then dismissed 219 workers who failed to respond to an ultimatum to return to work.

He made it clear, lest anyone be disturbed from their optimistic delusion that his discussion of business and social responsibility issues "must be restricted to the premise of business operating in a democratic society with a free-market economy." He added: "Yes, I do include South Africa in the democratic, free market economy category."

Worse still, White is considered one of the more enlightened members of our business community!

It is therefore not surprising that last week's economic summit was described by most participants as a success.

Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock set the optimistic tone at the Carlton Centre when he provided further evidence that the economy has started moving off its low base and should continue doing so in 1987. He estimates real gross domestic product (GDP) to grow around three percent for next year.

In the third quarter, it is now clear, real GDP increased at an annual seasonally adjusted 3,5 percent; real gross domestic expenditure (GDE) increased by a massive 26 percent; real private consumption expenditure (PCE) was up 4,5 percent, real gross domestic fixed investment (GDFI) increased marginally and the annualised current account surplus dropped marginally to R5,8-billion from R6-billion in the second quarter.

The most "encouraging" figure is the marginal rise in GDFI — which is the type of structural investment the country desperately needs. But it must be emphasised that this is off an extremely low base and comes after four years of persistent decline.

It is far too early to assess whether this is a trend change. Certainly, judging from the latest money supply figures — which provisionally grew by a mere 9,5 percent in October (still way short of the bottom end of the official 16-20 percent target range) — and latest bank returns — BA9 forms submitted by banks to the Registrar of Banks show that in the third quarter total funds committed to HP were nearly five percent down from a year ago and total deposits were more than six percent higher — the rush to spend is far from on.

The huge rise in GDE should also be read with caution as it is historically a very volatile indicator.

One reason for the increase is the reversal of drawing down inventories (another factor was the 4,5 percent increase in PCE) which probably indicates a stockpiling of imports ahead of sanctions, thus exaggerating the sudden upsurge (imports increased 32 percent in the third quarter).

Next year's expected growth is based on an anticipated increase in government and consumption expenditure, restocking, a slowdown in the decline of investment, a better agricultural performance and a higher gold price.

While it is generally agreed that the economy will grow by some three percent next year, this does not mean that significantly more jobs will be generated

A growth rate of four to five percent is needed to merely absorb those coming onto the labour market. With unemployment estimates running higher than six million and the living standards of those with jobs badly eroded, three percent real GDP off a low base becomes virtually meaningless,

Then it must be asked how long this upturn will last. There are plenty of problems ahead — severe inflation and balance of payment constraints; the country still suffers from a "paradox of thrift" (despite low interest rates, savings are increasing while badly needed investment is hardly taking place) and consumers' willingness to spend on a sustained basis is still to be proved. This is not to mention the increasing pressure that local companies face in international markets nor the domestic socio-political mess.

While business confidence picks up, most people will not even be aware the economy is improving. It is making precious little difference to their daily lives — nor is next year's anticipated growth likely to.

Such an exercise in self-deception would not be so serious were it not that many lives are affected by such gross ignorance and insensitivity.

Nats fear white voter backlash — Treurnicht

Govt 'stalling on change in Group Areas'

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Government has been accused of delaying a decision on the Group Areas Act for fear of a white backlash at the elections expected next year.

Opposition politicians to the right and left of the Government have reacted critically to the announcement yesterday by the Secretary of the President's Council, Mr Kobus Bauermeester, that the council steering committee has decided to refer the draft report back to the Constitutional Affairs Committee for further attention before it is tabled.

Reacting today, the Conservative Party accused the Government of delaying the President's Council report with a view to "a general election or a mini-election" next year.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said decisions on the Group Areas Act and the proposed Norweto township were being delayed because of strong opposition from white voters.

"They (the National Party) realise the President's announcement of a more flexible approach to the Group Areas Act has aroused suspicion," he said.

"It seems to me it's a way for the Government to postpone certain decisions before a mini-election or a general election."

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said: "The Nats don't know how to put across to their followers that they intend to amend or repeal the laws.

"It is a sign of the Government's total confusion. They are worried about a right-wing backlash, but they are also facing intense external pressure to scrap apartheid laws."

'Grey' areas

In October 1984 several laws were referred to the President's Council for investigation, including the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

There has been widespread speculation that the report recommends the scrapping of many discriminatory aspects of the laws, and for the creation of a few "grey" areas to allow for integrated suburbs.

There is also international pressure for the Group Areas Act to be scrapped.

One of the provisos for the lifting of sanctions in the United States's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act is for the scrapping of the law.

The British Petroleum (BP) oil company announced last week that it wants to finance the reconstruction of District Six in Cape Town, a mixed area flattened by the Government.

304A FINMAIL 21/11/86

THE PFP

Lost hope and last chances

The PFP claims to be poised for a realistic breakthrough in parliament. But its leadership potential is too limited, and too many of its policies amorphous, for it to succeed as it now stands. It needs to find its true constituency.

There is a tide in the affairs of political parties just as there is in the affairs of men. So despite the energetic limbering-up of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) ahead of the next election, the sad fact is that it might all be too late.

We earnestly hope this won't be the case. The PFP has been the liberal conscience of moderate white voters in this country for 35 years. It kept alive a beacon of humanity during the dark, depressing years of deepening apartheid.

Helen Suzman in parliament and Colin Eglin in the back office carried out an unenviable task in the face of Nationalist ridicule and harassment, for which men and women of conscience — including the present government, since it now claims to have seen the error of its ways — ought to be eternally grateful. There were many others, too, who helped carry the heavy burden.

Under the renewed leadership of the redoubtable Eglin the party is at present trying to change its strategy so that it is perceived to be an alternative government to the National Party. At the same time it aims to increase its membership and support within the black community so that it becomes a more cohesive political entity.

It plans to do all this without any charismatic leadership or significant changes in its policies, some of which can best be described as amorphous.

Had the laws of the land permitted it to do this even 10 years ago, it might — in the political climate prevailing then — have had more than a fighting chance. But the PFP has stood still and indecisive for so long that it has been left stranded by the surge of radicalism — both Left and Right — within the country.

With Eglin returned to the helm, the party has gone back to electoral arithmetic as the mainstay of its rejuvenation. Whether that is a substitute for leadership and decisive policies remains to be seen. But it is typical of Eglin.

The PFP believes that providing a basis for electoral realignment and fostering fragmentation in the NP could lead to the possibility of an alternative government in the next few years.

Seven years ago the *FM* called for Eglin to be replaced for just this sort of attitude of mind. "Capable, but where's the charisma?" we asked. Not much has changed since then within the party, apart from the Slabbert crisis. We supported the accession of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to the leadership — and events have proved us wrong.

Our political correspondent well remembers Eglin saying to him at the time: "You're wrong. Slabbert doesn't have the stomach for politics and I do." Well, what occurred is history. Slabbert opted out of the party leadership and parliament and now heads the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa). He finds it easier to explain what this organisation is not than what it is. But that is beside the point.

Trouble is he remains a brooding and persistent ghost over a leadership that is now thrown on its own resources.

The PFP believes that providing a basis for electoral realignment and fostering fragmentation in the NP could lead to the possibility of an alternative government in the next few years. That, rather than the important task of chipping away at Nationalist perfidy and intransigence, is what the party plans to do.

The more specific aim is to garner enough support in the white House of Assembly to be able to elect the State President. This will require at least 84 PFP MPs against its present 27 and the NP's 127.

But Eglin has hopes of winning additional seats in the eastern Cape and the Cape Peninsula, as well as in parts of Natal and the Transvaal. "Our assessment is that if there is an election in two to three years, there are enough white voters for the PFP to win 50 to 55 seats," he says. "That's our hard-nosed assessment, having examined voter attitudes and where they are located."

An example of this assessment is the party's hopeful view of North Rand in the Transvaal, which has grown fast and where the new black township of Norweto is planned.

The objective is to concentrate its 30% of votes in such a way that it reduces the spread sufficiently to achieve an electoral breakthrough. "If we go in for sophisticated marketing, are sharp with our objectives and get a crisp image of what we are about, those 50 to 55 seats can be won," says Eglin.

Accordingly the party is chasing disaffected socio-economic groups in selected seats which, market research suggests, *ought* to vote PFP.

It calculates that if it wins 50-plus seats, and if the Conservative Party increases its numbers from 17 to 30, the National Party will not be able to govern the country effectively. Should it get more than 50 seats, the party believes that about 30 verligte Nats will cross the floor, especially once P W Botha retires and the NP begins to fragment from within.

The other leg of PFP electoral strategy is to go for black support, and thus increase its membership base. Without black acceptance, says Eglin, the party won't grow. There has, therefore, to be a shift and reallocation of resources to promote PFP work in the black community through its township-monitoring activities.

Whites searching for an alternative will back a new party only if it has some credibility with blacks and can enter into dialogue with them, Eglin observes. The days of white politics, he says, are over.

As far as policies are concerned, the PFP's limbering-up exercise shows little material change. Its constitutional preference is for a decentralised federation (with proportional representation) and solutions found within the framework of universal suffrage in racially free political structures, whatever that might mean. Preference is for a Bill of Rights to protect individual rights rather than protection for minority groups, which sounds eminently sensible.

Economically, the party appears still to support a watered down capitalism — for all the wrong economic reasons — and a mixed economy, which usually means substantial government interference in both allocation of resources and ownership of the means of production. So it would condemn the country to less than optimum growth for what it believes to be practical politics (see *Currents*).

Of course, choosing the correct or even a

There are two aspects of the present situation to which the PFP has probably not given sufficient weight. One is that in the next election the main issue will focus on the Right: in other words, will Andries Treurnicht, rather than the PFP, be able to present an alternative government?

L to R: Eglin, Suzman, Schwarz, Andrew ... a need to target membership

viable electoral strategy is difficult at the best of times. But there are two aspects of the present situation to which the PFP has probably not given sufficient weight. One is that in the next election the main issue will focus on the Right: in other words, will Andries Treurnicht, rather than the PFP, be able to present an alternative government?

The other is that there has been a clear shift in this country from intra- to extra-parliamentary politics. Both those with and those without the vote tend only to take seriously the latter, and it includes Inkatha, the UDF, the ANC and, perhaps to the surprise of the PFP, the business community.

Unless the PFP can find a bedfellow among that lot, it probably hasn't a chance of holding itself out convincingly as an alternative government. Its economic policies do not endear it to business, which it has long complained has not given it adequate financial support; and the UDF has already disrupted one of its meetings in Lenasia. For it to make common cause with the far Left would compromise it beyond the credibility of whites.

The party has many old soldiers waiting on the sidelines for some progress; if they could see a glimmer of hope that it could become an alternative government, they'd be in boots and all. Yet, if anything, the quality of leadership of the party has deteriorated over the past seven years and it is riven with factions.

Simply put, in following this populist strategy, the party could end up as amorphous and moribund as the old United Party. Perhaps, therefore, it should aim rather to remain a catalyst for change — but with policies more aligned to business, which is about the only extra-parliamentary constituency with which traditional liberals (in the Gladstonian sense) can reasonably make common cause.

This, in turn, would mean restructuring its economic policies so that they make economic sense. For example, Harry Schwarz argues elsewhere in this edition that pure monetarism or capitalism cannot work here because of the lack of a social security system to cushion the poor from its harsh effects.

Experience abroad has shown that it is precisely *because* of the cushion of the social security systems that these policies have not been sufficiently effective. In an economy without social security, the harsh capitalist medicine will work faster bringing out the uncomfortable economic adjustments much sooner, thus limiting the impact on society.

In other words, having rediscovered the business cycle, economic policy must aim at hastening the peaks and troughs, rather than attempting to smooth them out and prolonging the agony of adjustment.

The same logic applies to attempts to ameliorate inflation through price controls, especially of rents. The cushion it provides for the poor is short-lived and the sacrifice in economic growth, and all that flows from it, is profound.

Despite what Schwarz argues, there is every reason for monetary and fiscal policy to be so applied that inflation is squeezed out quickly, despite the immediate, possibly severe, pain. For the strain on the social fabric of an inflation rate of more than 10% for longer than 10 years is much more damaging: it destroys jobs badly needed for a population the average age of which gets younger by the year.

Any assessment of political trends in the larger Western democracies indicates that successful politicians in the present social climate have been quite explicit in the policies for which they stand, however unpopular they might be with the Left. Neither Mrs Thatcher nor President Reagan have the stuff of compromise about them. But they had the stomach for politics and they persevered and they won.

In SA, democratic capitalism will not win a general election for the PFP; it will not turn it into a populist party; but it will probably galvanise substantial elements of the business community behind it.

Far from expanding its membership among fickle and radicalised blacks, the PFP might find that if it targets a more defined business membership, both black and white, aiming at educating those who do not understand how wealth is created, it could enhance its future political role.

The business community here is rapidly becoming a political constituency which itself lacks cohesion of leadership and direction. So individual businessmen are vulnerable to the blandishments of perfidious Nationalist politicians who articulate the rubric of the free market but are unable — or unwilling — to deliver its substance.

The immediate cost to the PFP of becoming a business party would be the spinning off of its leftish element, which is uncomfortable even with Suzman's and Eglin's valiant condemnation of sanctions and which tacitly accepts violence as a process of change.

But it should gain in return many socially conscious businessmen, a more secure source of funding, return to active politics by some old stagers — and it would know more precisely where it stands with the radical extra-parliamentary constituencies.

Far from expanding its membership among fickle and radicalised blacks, the PFP might find that if it targets a more defined business membership, both black and white, aiming at educating those who do not understand how wealth is created, it could enhance its future political role.

We would not wish to decry the work done by so many of the party members both in and outside parliament; nor would we wish to see the civilised principles on which it was established compromised. But patently the party has not kept up with the times, either with the radicalisation of blacks here or with modern political and economic thinking abroad.

Those of substance among its leaders are elderly and have no appeal for the young. Those in their prime are out of touch with economic reality and too intent on political compromise with the radical Left. The way out of impasse is through a policy stance that will attract able men and women who can identify strongly with the purpose they espouse.

The worrying thing about the PFP's strategy, leadership and policies, as they stand now, is that if they do not deliver substantial gains in the forthcoming election — and we cannot see that happening — then the party might well have found itself having fought and lost its last election. And that would be a great tragedy. ■

NP puzzled by unprecedented move

Schlebusch's post puts cat among pigeons

304A

● Schlebusch

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

ONE question nagged politicians of all persuasions yesterday — what was behind Alwyn Schlebusch's return to the Cabinet?

The 69-year old former Vice State President was appointed Minister in the State President's Office responsible for the Commission of Administration and for the SABC.

The Afrikaans paper closest to State President P W Botha, *Die Burger*, wrote yesterday that Schlebusch's appointment "gave a new face to the country's government structures", but did not expand.

Schlebusch, who retired from politics in March 1984, was widely seen as the man Botha had to thank for his victory over Connie Mulder in the 1978 election for Prime Minister.

NP politicians were equally puzzled by the unprecedented move.

Some suggested Schlebusch would in effect again be the Vice State President, and pointed out that Botha indicated earlier this year his own workload was getting too much. When he announced his new Cabinet, Botha said Schlebusch would assist him in ceremonial duties.

Others believed the appointment could have had something to do with the election for a successor for Botha, generally expected late next year. They believed Schlebusch could play a arbiter-cum-peacemaker-cum-caretaker role.

Most agreed it would probably be a short-term appointment.

New Republic Party leader Bill Sutton welcomed the Schlebusch appointment, saying he would be "a key figure in our future".

Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin said Botha had missed an ideal opportunity to revitalise a jaded Cabinet and break the political logjam created by it.

Meanwhile, there was unhappiness in the ranks of the Labour Party because leader Allan Hendrickse did not get a Cabinet portfolio and no coloured MPs were among the 11 new Deputy Ministers.

W/M 21/11/86 (304A)

Clash expected at PFP congress over its stance on RSCs

JOHANNESBURG—A heated clash is expected at the Progressive Federal Party's national congress starting here today over participation in regional services councils (RSCs).

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

A strong body of Transvaal delegates is understood to support the party's participation in the RSCs which have been criticised as an extension of apartheid government.

Cape and Natal members, however, are reported to be totally opposed to any participation in the new councils.

Their argument is that as the party's declared aim is non-racial government and as the RSCs are extending apartheid the party should have nothing to do with them.

The counter-argument is that if the party is prepared to serve in the tricameral Parliament it should be prepared to serve on RSCs.

A resolution from the Border Young Progs says that as the RSCs are based on ethnic representation and thereby entrench apartheid, the party should not participate.

It says also that black local authorities lack credibility and their delegates to the RSCs would not be representative.

Another by the Cape Western Regional Council says the party should preclude its members from serving on the councils, while another from Newton Park says the Government should stop the implementation of the councils.

Pragmatic

It is understood that while certain Transvaal members are opposed to the RSCs, the party should for pragmatic reasons be involved in them and so exercise some influence.

Sanctions and the party's attitude towards them are also likely to cause a rumpus.

While party leader Mr Colin Eglin only a few days ago told American audiences that sanctions were wrong, the national executive of the Young Progs has taken a totally contradictory line.

It has entered a resolution calling on the leadership to 'reassess its complete opposition to sanctions and to actively support the implementation of sanctions against State and military institutions.'

This, it says, would give the world an opportunity to display its opposition to apartheid.

Another Young Prog resolution calls on the party to withdraw from the President's Council because it is an 'undemocratic and unrepresentative body which, at vast cost to the taxpayer, has achieved nothing other than provide the Government with a useful vehicle for overriding Parliament.'

Opposition over ANC talks

row

304A

D.D 22/11

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party congress erupted into a row yesterday before delegates voted in favour of continued dialogue with the banned African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary bodies.

The resolution was passed only after a substantially different amendment, omitting specific mention of the ANC and moved by the MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, was ruled out of order by the chairman and MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow.

He accepted a point of order raised by the MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, that Mr Van Rensburg's amendment was a replacement resolution which could be considered separately but could not be deliberated by the congress because it was submitted too late.

A second amendment calling on the PFP to continue its initiative with the ANC and other groups, with the purpose of developing alliances committed to bringing about a change of government, was rejected.

Votes by delegates for and against this motion had to be counted after an initial show of hands did not make a majority rejection clear.

The original motion, moved by the Transvaal leader of the PFP, Mr Douglas Gibson, firstly congratulated the party leadership for initiating contacts and discussions with the ANC.

MR VAN RENSBURG

It also urged the leadership to "continue with such initiatives and to do the same in respect of other extra-parliamentary organisations and leadership figures".

Mr Gibson emphasised the importance of opening up lines of communication with extra-parliamentary groups to help solve the problems in South Africa, and said no pre-conditions should be set, as the National Party government had done, which were impossible to meet.

The fact that the PFP talked to the ANC did not mean it supported it.

Moving his amendment, Mr Van Rensburg called on the party leadership to "vigorously pursue meaningful dialogue with all significant political groups in South Africa and at the same time dissociate the PFP from any strategy or method applied by organisations which involve the use of violence".

Mr Van Rensburg was loudly hissed by a number of delegates as he read out his amendment, and Mrs Suzman was applauded when her point of order was accepted by Mr Gastrow.

Mr Van Rensburg continued speaking, saying he accepted the chairman's ruling but did not agree with it.

He said he had no argument with the sentiments in the original resolution and he in fact agreed with it. His amendment was to give it another interpretation and not to replace or change it.

He was called to order a second time after the chairman accepted another point of order from Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr Van Rensburg said the resolution as it stood gave the impression the PFP was "giving preference to one political organisation (the ANC)".

More reports P11

Marketing win

Business Editor

EAST LONDON — Mr Jonathan Schewitz was last night presented with the Daily Dispatch Dolphin floating trophy as the Border area's Marketer of the Year.

Mr Schewitz, the chief executive of the Atlas Filter Company and the Atlas group of companies based in East London, received the trophy from the managing director of the Daily Dispatch, Mr Terry Briceland.

The annual competition is organised by the Border branch of the Institute of Marketing Management.

Mr Schewitz won the award for innovative marketing which has brought his company an estimated 65 per cent of the commercial filtration plant market in South Africa against both national and international competition.

The filter developed by his company was one of 11 products to win Shell/SABS Design Institute awards earlier this month.

The other finalists were:

● Mr Dennis Boardman, a director of Boardman Brothers in Stutterheim, for his con-

The Marketer of the Year trophy [illegible]

tribution towards marketing [illegible] pany's specialised produ[illegible] black consumer market.

● Mr Anthony Tarrant, director of Hoover SA, [illegible] sponsible for a sales camp[illegible] brought a sharp increase in [illegible] time of depressed consumer [illegible]

● Mr Phillip Kahts for [illegible] achieving increased sales [illegible] Kurtsy candle manufactu[illegible] pany, of which he is sole [illegible] and Farm Implements Ka[illegible] which he is a partner.

● Mr Kola le Roux, Sou[illegible] and Border waveski champ[illegible] design and marketing of [illegible]

(304A) 22/11/84 N/M

Eglin sings his own song

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — PFP leader Colin Eglin has come up with his own alternative to 'Louis's Liedjie', the Government's R4 300 000 ditty.

The song about 'togetherness' was a waste of money and a farce, coming from a Government that believed in race classification and segregation, Mr Eglin said.

'You don't need a Cabinet song to get people to sing.

'I tell you, Mr Botha, scrap race classification — and the people will sing.

'Repeal the Group Areas Act — and the people will sing.

'Release Nelson Mandela — and the people will sing.

'Negotiate a new constitution — and the people will sing.

'Curb inflation — and the people will sing.

'Build houses — and the people will sing.

'Protect them from crime — and the people will sing.

'Stop wasting money — and the people will sing.'

304A 22/11/86

304A ST MR 22/11/86

PFP to continue talks with ANC

The Progressive Federal Party has voted to continue discussions with the African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary organisations.

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

A resolution proposed at the PFP's Federal Congress at Gold Reef City in Johannesburg yesterday voted by an overwhelming majority to continue initiatives with the outlawed organisation. The motion also congratulated the party leadership for initiating contact with the ANC.

The resolution was accepted in its original form after an amendment proposed by PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, was ruled out of order.

Mr van Rensburg was hissed at one stage when he addressed the congress, proposing in his amendment that the party pursue dialogue with all significant groups and disassociate itself from any policy of violence.

Mr van Rensburg, who drew applause at the end of the speech, said he agreed with the sentiments expressed in the original motion, but believed the PFP should not been seen to be giving preference to one political group.

The chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, accepted a point of order raised by Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, that Mr van Rensburg's amendment was a substantive replacement resolution which could not be debated because it had been submitted late.

VIOLENCE

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, who proposed the resolution, said although his party rejected the ANC's policy of violence, it was important to keep the lines of communication open.

Mr Rowan Haarhof, Northern Transvaal regional chairman of the PFP, said the ANC had millions of supporters and had to be consulted.

● PFP MP for Berea, Mr Ray Swart, warned that right-wing groups were trying to wreck the Natal-kwaZulu indaba.

In recent weeks, right-wing supporters had appeared at the indaba and had been critical of the proposals.

He said the next few weeks were critical for the indaba as it was within reach of achieving consensus on a new nonracial provincial authority in Natal.

● The congress also adopted a resolution calling on the Minister of Health, Education and Justice to take heed of warnings from professionals that social and political structures in South Africa were affecting mental health.

The congress called on these departments to "acknowledge and condemn the deleterious effects that the Group Areas Act and the current state of emergency have on family life and stress levels".

● Inequality in health and welfare services was also criticised by the congress.

The congress adopted a resolution calling for urgent attention to be given to the "gross maldistribution of medical prsonnel in the country where the vast majority of doctors trained in South Africa concentrate on the provision of medical and health services in the urban and peri-urban areas".

● Sapa reports that key-note speaker, Professor Alexander Thembela, called for equal education in a post-apartheid society.

Professor Thembela, president of the Natal African Teachers' Union and a vice-rector of the University of Zululand, said there would be no question of whites being "swamped" in schools in a post-apartheid society.

SHARING

He said everybody would have to accept that "the available cake will have to be shared equally".

"That is the price that whites must pay for living in Africa where people share and even drink out of the same pot," Professor Thembela said.

It was not acceptable to blacks to hear whites saying they should not accept blacks into their schools because this would lower standards, he said.

"Blacks would of course need a compensatory budget before we talk about equality of provision because a lot of harm has been done to them through under-provision for so long."

Professor Thembela acknowledged that there would be a lowering of standards for white children as a result of equal education.

In education under apartheid, white schools might have enjoyed a ratio of 20 pupils per teacher, whereas blacks might have had 50 per teacher.

"Equalisation would obviously mean 35 pupils per teacher, which would be a tremendous gain for blacks but a real drop for whites," he said.

Mr Co
add

AWB to pray for 'one Boerevolkstaat'

22/11/86 By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau 3044

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging will recommit itself and its "Boerevolk" to God in a "new covenant" on November 29 in Paardekraal, the organisation's secretary, Mr P W Bingle, said on Friday.

He said thousands of Afrikaners would converge on the Paardekraal public grounds to pray that God would give them the victory in their struggle for a reconstitution of the old Boer republics into one, autonomous "Boerevolkstaat".

They would, he said, be swearing to each other that they would remain "true until death" to the principle of freedom and the Boerevolkstaat.

Mr Bingle said Paardekraal was significant because it was there in 1880 that the Boers had signed their second covenant with God before the First War of Freedom. Their first covenant had been signed at Bloed River in 1838.

In a letter to AWB supporters on October 17, the organisation's leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, said he had dropped his plans to talk to the State President and Government leaders.

"We will now go to a Higher Authority," he said.

The function will begin on the evening of Friday November 28.

Mr TerreBlanche will address the gathering and preside over the signing of the covenant.

Deaths

(304A)

W/Eltest 22/11/86

Vote to keep veto by SA minorities

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Progressive Federal Party today decided not to scrap the minority veto from its constitutional policy.

A commission has been appointed, however, which will consider whether the minority veto should cease to be part of the party's policy.

The decision came after a lengthy debate.

Arguing at the Federal Congress for the scrapping of the veto, the MP for Houghton, Mr Helen Suzman, said it was a "stumbling block" to blacks wanting to join the PFP. The perception held by blacks was that the veto was a device used to protect white privilege and as long as it existed the PFP was unlikely to get the support of black leadership.

Mrs Suzman said the party had other checks and balances such as proportional representation, a Bill of Rights and the federal system.

The fear of blacks, she said, was that one device after another would be added to bolster the status quo.

The MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg, said within a plural society such as South Africa, it was important to allay the fears of minorities. The function of the veto was to do this while the party's overall policy was based on universal suffrage and a common voters roll.

The MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, who also opposed the measure, said he did not believe it was a question of rejection by either blacks or whites as few "know anything about it".

He stressed that the PFP had never believed in the protection of racial group identity. The minority veto was a veto right available to every representative equally.

W/E Post 22/11/86

(304A)

Call to back selective sanctions rejected

● From Page 1

with a general election likely in four or five months time.

Sanctions, he warned would result in the loss of 10 black jobs for every job lost by a white.

The MP for PE Central, Mr John Malcomess said people should not be fooled by the call for selective sanctions.

If selective sanctions were applied merely against National Party supporters this might affect the 4% of whites in the canning industry, but would also hurt the thousands of others employed in the industry.

Coming in at the end of the debate the Leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin those who believed outside pressure was going to make the NP change were naive.

Proposing the original motion, the chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller said he wanted to call on the West to hit selective targets, to hit apartheid targets but not harm the economy.

PFP refuses to back sanctions

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Sanctions were a "very dangerous weapon" with an inertia of their own which was almost impossible to reverse, Mr Andrew Savage, MP for Walmer, said today.

He was speaking at the PFP's Federal Congress during the debate on a resolution calling for support for specifically targeted sanctions aimed at State and military institutions.

An amendment which expressed support for the party's stand against sanctions was passed by an huge majority, only 18 delegates voting against.

Mr Savage said if sanctions were going to resolve the situation then thre might be some point in supporting them.

But sanctions, unlike school and economic boycotts, could not be called off. They gave control to an ill-defined body far removed from SA.

Mr Tony Stephens, regional chairman of the PFP in Port Elizabeth said the PFP did not dare "put its foot on the slippery slope of sanctions".

It was, he said, impossible to have selective sanctions which would produce rising unemployment and its concommittant socio-economic problems.

Mr Stephens said that anyone wishing to see the "unintended" consequences should look at events in PE recently.

The MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace van Rensburg warned that the image of the PFP was on the line

● Turn to Page 3

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W/E Post 22/11/86

SA's whites stand to gain from new order — Mugabe

Z'babwe leader seen as willing to compromise with capitalism

By DIRK VAN ZYL

PROVIDED a fully democratic order comes about in South Africa through the participation of all interested parties, whites will, if anything, gain by it.

"They will gain in the sense that psychologically they will have rid themselves of their sense of racial superiority and their fear of being overwhelmed by blacks."

This is the view of Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, enunciated in an interview with Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) and former Leader of the Opposition.

It is published in the latest edition of the magazine Leadership, and is only the second interview Mr Mugabe has given to a South African since he became Prime Minister

In the same issue Prof Marshall W Murphree, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Zimbabwe, in an assessment of Zimbabwe's politics, writes in similar vein:

"And, for those whites subjectively equipped to benefit from it, Zimbabwean independence has meant a psychological liberation from the demeaning restraints of racism."

Prof Murphree also expresses the interesting observation that the separate voters' roll for whites in Zimbabwe (in terms of the Lancaster House agreement 20 of the 100 parliamentary seats are reserved for whites) has in fact been against their interests.

Dr Slabbert portrays Mr Mugabe as a reflective, philosophically-minded leader who, although committed to socialism, sees the need for compromise with important elements of capitalism — albeit at this stage more of a short-term necessity than a long-term one.

Mr Mugabe, recently elected chairman of the international Non-Aligned Movement, comes across as a moderate, highly intellectual man — a far cry from the ogre many people perceive him to be.

VAN ZYL SLABBERT (above) interviews Premier ROBERT MUGABE (below).

Dr Slabbert asks him — given his experience in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia — for a message to black and white South Africans.

An edited version of his reply:

"From my experience here, the fears of the whites in the country were more psychological than anything else.

"But, of course, when a group has entrenched itself in power, then it regards its rights and privileges as sacrosanct.

"Then it seeks to make them permanent, one way or another, and raises them above the purely psychological sphere and it wants to build in a kind of heritage for the future.

"So, what South Africans really are facing is what we faced here. But there is no need for whites to fear that they will be discriminated against if democracy is established.

"Naturally, there will have to be some giving, and much more giving by whites than by blacks. Giving and taking will have to take place.

"... so, that is not a matter that should be feared by whites, that blacks will, perhaps, pursue a vengeful policy.

"But, of course, it depends on how the solution is achieved. If it is achieved by way of a political solution in which all parties evolve a democratic order, I don't see whites losing by it. If anything, they will gain by it."

And on the provision for separate white seats (which he calls "the one residual item of racial legislation which persists in Zimbabwe"), Prof Murphree writes:

"The segregation of the white electorate carries with it a built-in tendency for whites to act politically in a sectionally defensive manner, as critics of, rather than participants in, the development process in Zimbabwe.

"The record shows that white interests have not been served by this mechanism.

"It has given them no substantially effective political voice or veto and has prevented them from contributing as Zimbabweans, rather than as a racially defined constituency, to the Zimbabwean political process.

"Many whites now perceive this, and there are indications that this vestige of racism will shortly disappear from the Zimbabwean scene.

"The disappearance of separate voters' rolls will reinforce a trend which has been the theme of this analysis — the declining significance of race in Zimbabwe."

● Prof Murphree also notes that provisional figures for the first six months of this year indicate a small net gain in migration figures for whites in Zimbabwe.

Cape Times 22/11/86 (304A)

Deal for Natal 'within reach'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Natal-KwaZulu Indaba was within reach of achieving consensus on a non-racial second-tier authority for Natal, Mr Ray Swart, the PFP MP for Berea, said yesterday.

He told the party's federal congress here that the next few weeks would be critical for the Indaba's deliberations.

"I believe the Indaba is within reach of achieving a majority consensus on a significant package deal for a non-racial second-tier authority in Natal," he said.

However, he said, there were already signs that right-wing groups were intent on wrecking the experiment. During the past four weeks, members of these groups had appeared at the Indaba and had "attacked" its agreed bill of rights and the work of some of its committees, Mr Swart said.

"But it is our functions to resist these attempts to wreck the negotiations and to continue to produce some sort of blueprint that can be of immense value to the people of Natal and of South Africa.

"We have reached the stage where we are about to produce a significant package deal. Our next problem will be to sell it to the people of Natal and to the government," Mr Swart said. — Sapa

MP booed at PFP congress

CAPE TIMES 22/11/84

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Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Maverick PFP MP Mr Horace van Rensburg was hissed and booed by delegates to the PFP federal congress yesterday during debate over links with the ANC.

The row started during debate on a resolution congratulating the PFP leadership for initiating contact with the ANC. The resolution urged the leadership to continue the initiative and establish similar contacts with extra-parliamentary bodies.

Mr Van Rensburg proposed an amendment requesting the leadership to pursue dialogue with all political groups and to "dissociate the PFP from any strategies or methods applied by organizations which involves the use of violence".

Mr Van Rensburg was ruled out of order after a point of order by Mrs Helen Suzman.

☐ **More reports, page 7**

w/k ARGUS 22/11/86 (304A)

'Keep ANC link'

Party women's rights debate storm in a B-cup ?

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A major women's rights debate — which had its lighter moments — developed at the Progressive Federal Party congress yesterday .

At issue was whether the PFP should form a women's section.

Chairman of the debate Mr Roger Hulley was taken aback at one stage when he was presented with a bra — making some delegates wonder whether it wasn't all just a storm in a B-cup.

The argument on one side was that women had particular interests and more needed to be done to generate their support, which had been tailing off.

From the other side, which included PFP veteran Mrs Helen Suzman, the argument was that the PFP stood for full equality between all groups and no one particular group could be singled out.

People had to be treated as individuals and not as groups.

Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said he had in any case intended appointing a committee primarily composed of women to see why support from women for the PFP had been waning.

"The committee could consider the issue of a special women's section of the PFP at the same time," he said.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party's Federal Congress has urged party leadership to continue contact and discussions with the African National Congress.

Delegates also asked the leadership to do the same in respect of other extra-parliamentary organisations and leadership figures.

There were some differences in the congress when Mr Horace Van Rensburg, MP for Bryanston, tried to introduce an amendment largely scrapping this resolution.

Mr Van Rensburg proposed that the party leadership should vigorously pursue dialogue with all significant political groups.

At the same time the PFP should dissociate itself from any strategies or methods applied by organisations involved in violence.

Disallowed

The amendment was disallowed after Mrs Helen Suzman had raised a point of order that it was a substantive new resolution and that sufficient notice had not been given.

Mr van Rensburg, who drew applause from a large section of the audience, said he agreed with the sentiments expressed in the original resolution. He thought, however, that the PFP should not create the impression that it gave preference to one other political group.

Mr Paul Malherbe of Cape Town spoke in favour of a broad political alliance committed to bringing about a change of government.

He said that one of the ANC's strong arguments was that it had only taken up violence after all peaceful avenues had been tried.

It was up to the PFP to show the ANC and others that there was a peaceful way.

Call for lifting of emergency

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party's Federal Congress called on the Government to lift the state of emergency immediately and to release all detainees, especially children.

Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, said that after the declaration of the second state of emergency on June 12, about 20 000 people were held.

Present indications were that about 7 500 people, 47 percent of them under 21, could still be in detention. In the first state of emergency declared last year, 7 782 were detained.

Referring to youths held, Mr Soal said detention cells were becoming academies of revolutionary training.

Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, said even 12-year-olds were in detention. The "war on children" was a crime against humanity.

Mrs B Roos, of Groot Schuur, said detention of children was "savage".

Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, said the Government was acting against points of view as could be seen from its moves against the End Conscription Campaign.

The congress also called for restrictions on the media to be lifted.

PROG FEDERAL CONGRESS REPORT

Cheaper ways of making people sing, says Eglin

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, feels there are easier ways to get the people of South Africa singing than spending R4,3-million of taxpayers' money on a song of togetherness.

Speaking at the PFP Federal Congress, Mr Eglin said: "You don't need a Cabinet song to get the people to sing.

"Scrap race classification and the people will sing.

"Repeal the Group Areas Act and the people will sing.

"Release Nelson Mandela and the people will sing.

"Negotiate a new constitution and the people will sing.

"Curb inflation and the people will sing.

"Build houses and the people will sing.

"Protect people from crime and the people will sing.

"Stop wasting money and the people will sing."

He asked how a song about "togetherness" could come from a Government that "believes in race classification and group self-determination, that segregates people in school and in residential areas and in housing and in welfare".

Apartheid is 'still the big problem'

22/11/86

304A

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—South Africans would be able to walk tall at home and abroad only when apartheid had been scrapped, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Opposition, said yesterday.

Sanctions should not become the focal point of the country's political debate.

Opening the PFP's national congress, he said sanctions were not the cause of the country's problems but the consequence of the problems.

'We must not allow the sanctions issue to divert our attention from the core problem of apartheid and how to eliminate it and share power in a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa,' he said.

South Africa's problems started in South Africa — not abroad — and steps would have to be taken in the country to solve the tide of sanctions.

'When we scrap apartheid and start negotiaions on a new non-racial constitution we will not only be on the way to peace and prosperity inside our country,' he said.

'We will be on our way to restoring our relations with our neighbours in Africa and with our traditional friends and trading partners in the West.

'When apartheid has gone we South Africans will be able to walk together at home and once again walk tall around the world.'

Congress shows PFP 'liberal but not Left'

STAR 304A 24/11/86

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

A liberal shift was evident at the Progressive Federal Party's federal congress at the weekend, with the party showing a willingness to drop the minority veto from its constitutional blueprint.

Delegates also voted in favour of more talks with the African National Congress and other extra-parliamentary groups.

But speculation that the party would move dramatically "left" was discounted when delegates strongly rejected calls for selective sanctions against the Government and also a suggestion that the PFP boycott the new regional services councils.

The congress ran out of time and did not vote on a controversial resolution calling for the Xhosa hymn, "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" to be recognised as the national anthem of South Africa.

PFP delegates committed themselves to seeking more co-operation with organisations that sought "the non-violent removal of apartheid structures and the building of a non-racial democracy".

The congress also accepted an amendment to this resolution which emphasised the protection of human rights rather than "individual and minority rights".

Delegates called on the Government to lift the state of emergency immediately, describing it as a manifestation of State oppression.

Detention of children was also condemned and was described as a "travesty of justice". A resolution adopted unanimously called on the Government to release detained children immediately.

The Group Areas Act came under attack and the congress resolved to "encourage the public to resist the Government in the application of the Act as far as possible".

PFP lets members serve on RSCs

Political Reporter

The federal congress of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) gave its members the green light to serve on the proposed Regional Services Councils (RSC) which are to be introduced next year.

The issue of participation was hotly debated at the congress, held at Gold Reef City in Johannesburg.

Several leading PFP councillors in Johannesburg and Sandton backed participation in the RSCs — saying they would be failing in their duty if they did not take part.

A dissenting voice was Mr Tony Leon, city councillor for Bellevue, who said the PFP should "have no part" in the RSCs because black, coloured an Indian local authorities had been established on a racial basis.

The leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Sam Moss, said RSCs would control millions of rand and it was essential the PFP had some say in them. As long as the PFP participated in local government it had a duty to participate in the new councils.

Mr Ricky Valente of Sandton said if the congress barred members from RSCs, he would be forced to choose "between my party and my duty".

The national chairman of the party, Mr Peter Gastrow, backed the original resolution to "preclude members from serving on the RSCs".

He said the councils were new structures designed to extend apartheid.

The congress voted against barring members from participation, but noted the party's opposition to the apartheid-based nature of RSCs.

The congress agreed "to do everything in its power to motivate and bring about a democratic, nonracial form of local government".

Review of party policies

Party constitutional matters were subjected to scrutiny and the congress voted for the leader to convene a new constitutional committee to review the party's policies and to examine the issue of the minority veto.

Party leader Mr Colin Eglin told the congress in a closing address that he believed the minority veto in its present form should be scrapped.

Although a majority of delegates voted for the veto to be scrapped, it did not receive the required two-thirds majority.

The congress finally agreed to refer the issue of the minority veto to the constitutional committee.

Mr Eglin said the veto had been misunderstood, misinterpreted and even exploited by some groups and had acquired negative connotations.

The veto was not the key issue in the PFP's policy — the party favoured a non-racial, unitary democracy based on federal structures.

PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, also backed the scrapping of the veto.

She said that any last doubts about scrapping the veto had been removed after taking part in a congress workshop with Soweto Civic Association chairman, Dr Nthato Motlana.

Dr Motlana told the congress that all South Africans should commit themselves to the 1955 Freedom Charter's principle of "the people shall govern".

"Stop talking about that evil called group rights — my message is to make common cause with the oppressed black majority," he said.

No support

Dr Motlana said blacks would never back the PFP or any white party which campaigned for election in a racist Parliament.

A "right-wing" voice at the congress on several issues was PFP MP for Bryanston, Mr Horace Van Rensburg. Referring to the minority veto, he said the PFP's policy acknowledged the fears of minorities and there had to be a mechanism to allay those fears.

PFP MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the veto was not intended to protect racially prescribed groups.

The party voted by an overwhelming majority against sanctions on the Government and an amendment was accepted which stated the party's total opposition to sanctions.

An amendment moved by the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, which called for support for punitive measures against the National Party Government and its supporters was also rejected.

Mr Eglin also voiced his opposition to any punitive measures, saying it was naive to believe the National Party Government would be toppled by sanctions.

3044

PFP tries to woo black groups

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE PFP took a careful step towards acceptance by and possible co-operation with major black organisations at its federal congress held over the weekend.

But the prospect of a possible white general election early next year hung like a sword over the congress and inhibited bolder reform of the party's political programme.

Congress was deeply divided over several crucial policy issues — maverick MP Horace van Rensburg was hissed at by delegates twice — but party leader Colin Eglin and chairman Peter Gastrow expressed their satisfaction with the way that had been resolved.

Soweto civic leader Nthato Motlana, who addressed congress and led a workshop, clearly had a strong influence on some of the debates. He urged the PFP to adopt the Freedom Charter, drop their provision for a minority veto and "join the vanguard of a non-racial movement towards a unified SA".

But Motlana also had a sobering message for delegates: Black groups would never support the PFP while it participated in Parliament. "We are campaigning — the UDF and ANC — for a non-racial government. There can be no compromise. You will not even get support for a transitional government dominated by the PFP and planning to call a national convention."

The main debates in congress centred on the protection of minority rights as opposed to individual rights; sanctions; the provision for a minority veto in the PFP constitution; and participation in the Regional Services Councils (RSCs).

A majority of delegates — 110 to 90 — voted for a scrapping of the minority veto. But as a two-thirds majority was needed for a change to the PFP constitution, the motion was not carried. Several delegates said the move would scare off white voters.

In the end, the matter was referred to the leadership for review, but in his closing speech Eglin made it clear he was also in favour of scrapping the minority veto.

The debate on the RSCs was equally heated, with Sandton's Ricky Valente threatening to resign if congress were to decide that no PFP representatives should participate. Gastrow was among those opposing participation. In the end the motion barring participation was defeated.

A resolution calling for selective sanctions against government was also defeated after heated debate. At one point Eglin called an amendment by MP Jan van Eck "so naive, it boggles my mind".

304A

Change or more blood, says Motlana

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Group Areas Act and the Land Act would have to be scrapped or South Africa faced greater conflict and bloodshed, said Dr Natatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association.

Dr Motlana told the congress influx control was still being applied in various forms and black movement was still restricted in that blacks could not settle or live where they wanted to.

Addressing the congress as a guest speaker, Dr Motlana said: 'We as South Africans are convinced it will only be a matter of time.'

Pleading for a non-racial democracy, he said he was insulted when people said he should look at what had happened to democracy in the rest of Africa under black rule.

It was almost as though these people regarded black attitudes to democracy as genetic.

He said there would have to be compromise if South Africa was to be saved from bloodshed 'which is hovering on the horizon'.

The cutting edge in the fight for freedom was education, and young blacks were prepared to die for their cause.

'Nobody will believe bantu education is dead until all schools and institutions are open to everybody.'

South Africans had to prepare themselves for a drop in standards initially because there were millions of black children who needed education. Many could not even write their own names.

The same could happen in health services if all facilities were opened, because more people would be using limited resources.

It was dangerous for whites to continue to exist as a separate group acting collectively to preserve their own interests.

Great divisions within the PFP

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The PFP's congress came to an end on Saturday evening with yawning divisions obvious within the party

Leader Colin Eglin, in his closing address, urged delegates to turn their anger and bitterness into political creativity, but it did little to camouflage the gap between the more conservative wing of the party and its increasingly vociferous Left wing.

The divisions were obvious: the Right-wing wanted to retain the minority veto; the Left wing wanted no participation in the regional service councils and; the Left wing urged selective punitive sanctions.

Essentially, the more conservative elements in the party won the day, although there was a considerable degree of anger expressed by Left wing delegates.

Revise

keep its hands off RSCs if it was 'serious about our goal of abolishing apartheid'.

Against him was pitted a veritable phalanx of Johannesburg city councillors urging participation, with MP for Hillbrow Alf Widman asking whether the PFP was to become a party of boycotters.

The sanctions debate was totally one-sided, with the parliamentary caucus of the party throwing in its weight against sanctions.

Three controversial resolutions were not put to the congress because the time allotted for discussion ran out.

Two of the resolutions were proposed by the Young Progressives. One called for the recognition of *Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika* as the national anthem and another for the party to withdraw from the President's Council.

The third resolution, proposed by the Rissik constituency, called for voluntary service in the SADF, with conscripts being used only if there were not enough volunteers.

Blacks 'will not support' election of white govt

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Blacks would not support the election of a white government of any kind, Dr Ntatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said at the weekend.

He made it very clear in a verbal exchange with Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, during a 'workshop' at the PFP's federal congress.

Mrs Suzman had explained the party's policy was votes for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

'Why do black leaders not recommend the PFP to the white voters,' she asked.

This would be the first step towards achieving what blacks wanted.

Only a government could change laws peacefully and she hoped it would be the PFP.

It would establish a transitionary government and call a national convention which she hoped Nelson Mandela would be fit enough to attend.

It was either that or civil war.

Dr Motlana said he wanted to assure whites, that blacks were opposed to violence.

'We must remove the things which separate us because in this way we could have a peaceful transition,' he said.

'But, there is no way we can support a government based on race,' he said.

Motlana to embrace the principles of the Freedom Charter, the necessary two-thirds majority needed to drop the minority veto from the party's constitutional policy could not be achieved — this in spite of the support of Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr Eglin indicated in his closing address, however, that there was obviously a need to revise the constitutional policy and especially spell out exactly what the minority veto really involved.

The biggest blow for the Left wing of the party, however, was the decision to participate in the Regional Service Councils.

PFP chairman Peter Gastrow said the RSCs were a new structure designed to co-opt groups and individuals and extend apartheid in a more subtle and effective way.

The party, he said, had to

SACC hits out at Govt over visas

Sowetan 304 24/11/86

THE SA Council of Churches yesterday expressed dismay at the denial of visas to a Swedish church delegation to visit South Africa.

A statement from SACC general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude, said:

"The SACC wishes to express its profound disappointment at the denial of visas to Archbishop Bertil Werkstroem, Archbishop of Sweden, and his delegation, to visit South African church leaders at the invitation of the SA Council of Churches as well as a subsequent visit to the churches in Namibia.

"We believe that this refusal can only increase the serious tension already existing between church and state in South Africa and Namibia.

"This refusal . . . aggravates the feelings of concern of millions of Lutherans in South Africa and around the world and can only lead to a further hardening of attitudes against the apartheid rule . . ." — Sapa.

Churchmen denied visas

DD 24/4/86

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Council of Churches (SACC) has expressed dismay at the denial of visas to a Swedish church delegation to visit South Africa.

A statement at the weekend from the SACC general secretary, Dr Beyers Naude, said:

"The SACC wishes to express its profound disappointment at the denial of visas to the Archbishop of Sweden, Archbishop (Bertil) Werkstroem, and his delegation, to visit South Africa . . . and Namibia.

"This refusal can only increase the serious tension already existing between church and state." — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 24/11/86 304A

Challenging task for Progressives

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party's federal congress at the weekend proved to be a poignant illustration of the dilemmas facing any conventional parliamentary political party aggressively seeking both white electoral support and credibility among extra-parliamentary groups in a rapidly polarising South Africa.

The party's commitment to this twin-track approach spawned a series of questions and conflicts which tested the ingenuity — and at times the patience — of the party leadership hard-pressed to present a united front with the prospect of an general election early next year.

The lively and at times heated debate on politically sensitive issues like sanctions gave grey hairs to some of the party executive anxious to see the "correct" image of the party being projected.

One fuming senior member of the PFP hierarchy railed that the "irresponsible granstanding" on the thorny subject of sanctions in front of SABC cameras was tantamount to sabotage.

The delegates responsible for "making waves" on controversial issues — the Young Progressives and members on the "left-wing" of the party in particular — hold a different view.

OPEN and vigorous debate, even if this riles potential white voters "ensconsed in their comfortable homes in the leafy suburbs", is essential to maintain a degree of working democracy within the party.

And as one delegate put it: "I am sympathetic with the position that the leadership tries to present a united front so that strategies can be implemented. But without the vigorous challenge of the youth any predominantly white political party that wants to retain relevance in the total political scene will disappear."

Another submitted: "Public showdowns may hurt the image of the party to some extent but what we have here is a natural and healthy tension. It breathes new life into the party and keeps it in touch with the rapidly changing situation outside Parliament and insular white society."

A tacit acknowledgement of this was reflected in the number of detailed discussions amongst delegates — black and white — on the perceptions of the PFP held by the disenfranchised masses locked out of the system.

THE issue of creating black support and trust was brought into sharper focus by keynote speakers invited to the congress, one presumes, to help in the vital process of education and renewal amongst the party rank and file.

One of these, Dr Ntatho Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association, brought home most forcefully the fundamental compromises whites were going to have to make "to avoid bloodshed on the horizon".

Whites, he argued, would remain highly vulnerable to black animosity "as long as they stay a discrete power block within the larger society acting collectively to protect their own interests".

A system of one man, one vote "will have to come without qualification and without subterfuges such as a minority veto".

Party stalwarts, like Mrs Helen Suzman, agreed that the minority veto aspect of her party's constitutional policy was "an outdated concept" that was creating serious image problems for the PFP in the black community which perceived it as a subtle means of entrenching white privilege.

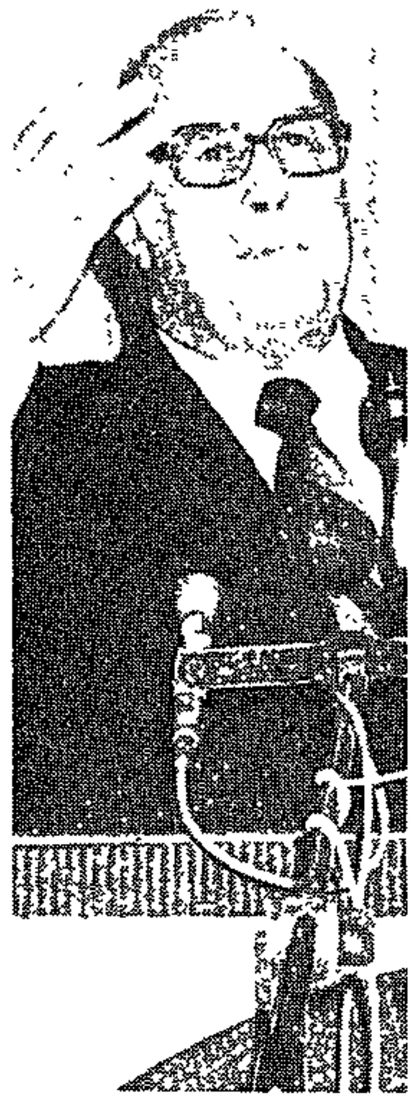
However, it was patently clear that obstacles to acceptance of the PFP lay not merely in differences with existing policy but with the strategies for bring about the goal of a non-racial democracy.

THE official PFP strategy, as spelt out by several speakers, is first to gain control of the white House of Assembly, and then to call a national convention to which all political grouping will be invited to thrash out a new constitution.

The immediate goal is to be by 1990 "a significant and effective part of an alternative, non-racial, democratic government in a post-apartheid South Africa".

The electoral arm of this strategy is to form the new government by capturing 52 seats in the next general election and then attracting sufficient additional members — through, for example, NP defenctions — to command power.

As Mrs Suzman put it at one of the discussion forums: "Either you do it the constitional way through Parliament or it's war."



Mr Eglin

Mrs Suzman

She went on to urge black leaders, like Dr Motlana, with widespread popular support in townships, to endorse the PFP's plan to unseat the NP government.

However, he made it clear that it would be impossible for the black community to push for change through a parliamentary system based on race. "We believe that there should be elections for a non-racial parliament now." How the Botha government might be imposed on to allow this remained an open question.

THE problems associated with resolving the apparently conflicting demands between acceptable policy and appropriate strategy were once again thrown into relief during the heated debate on participation in apartheid structures like the proposed Regional Services Councils.

Without exception delegates objected to RSCs in principle, labelling them as racist structures designed to extend apartheid and likely to lead to conflict and even bloodshed.

A Johannesburg delegate, Mr Tony Leon, summed up the view of the boycott lobby when he said: "We are not prepared to travel one more miserable inch on this apartheid road. So far and no further. We must identify who our allies are and act accordingly."

But numerous delegates argued that as objectionable as RSCs may be in intention and practice, simply pulling out would render the party impotent in a vitally important area of local government and allow NP appointees to run roughshod over PFP interests.

As one delegate put it: "If we adopt this resolution insisting on a ban on participation we are destroying our very existence as a political party."

Given these conflicting minds, the PFP's overall strategy of "attracting sufficient support and establishing sufficient trust and credibility in both white and black communities to be a relevant factor in the total power equation" is a challenging assignment indeed.

Party strategists believe that there is a direct relationship between white and black responses to the PFP's goals. The more whites believe blacks accept the PFP plan the more they will be prepared to vote for it and vice versa, the argument runs.

PFP secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle notes that research commissioned by the party shows that substantially more people believe in the ideals that form the basis of party's policy than are prepared to give the PFP their public endorsement.

About 40 percent of white voters and 59 percent of blacks support the basic principles of the PFP. But less than 20 percent currently vote for the PFP.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin believes the discrepancy arises because of an image problem of the party. For this reason the great efforts have been made to change the image of the party from that of a perpetual opposition groups to a growing force aiming to become part of an alternative government.

Despite the divisions and contradictions laid bare by the latest congress — indeed because of them — the party would appear well placed to strengthen both its electoral and extra-parliamentary support base in the months ahead.

Nat, PFP representatives support call by Ridgway

(304A) Eve Post 24/11/86

By KIN BENTLEY

NATIONAL PARTY and Progressive Federal Party representatives today supported Mr Rocky Ridgway's call for the Eastern Cape to become a discrimination-free, autonomous, federal province.

But they backed the Port Elizabeth businessman for different reasons.

Mr Dawie le Roux, MP for Uitenhage, said the idea of decentralising political power was "old hat". It was "part of the constitutional ideas, in any event, of the Government , which intended to "cut up the Cape Province into more meaningul zones, with their own executive committees and Administrators".

In his address, Mr Ridgway said it was necessary for people to be allowed to live where they wished and to "send their children to the schools of their choice".

It was vital to "remove the social and economic discrimination which has been practised against the black population for almost 200 years".

When it was put to Mr Le Roux that Mr Ridgway's comments went further than the Government's reform policy, he said he believed it was "extremely important that the reform process be kept going".

But, he said, this was being hampered by disinvestment and union action.

The PFP MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, said today there was "merit in pursuing what he suggests", but stressed that any solution would have to be on a non-racial basis.

"Decentralisation of power can only be an advantage in our situation. If the Eastern Cape had more authority, its problems could be much more meaningfully and rapidly addressed "

On the call to scrap discrimination and open residential areas, Mr Savage said the Government was "opposed to those things".

He said the degree to which the Government would allow regions to eliminate discrimination would be seen in Natal, where the KwaNatal indaba was exerting the strongest pressure on it for such reform.

Emphasising the need for a non-racial solution, Mr Savage said: "The days of racial solutions for SA are over completely. If people cling to them they will delay the kind of constitutional change we should be proceding with, with great urgency. The longer we delay, the more isolated the country will become

He said the planned Regional Services Councils (RSCs) were "squarely based on racially established local authorities and as such the majority of people won't accept them".

See Comment on Page 12

Blow to PFP left

Cape Times 24/11/86

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE burgeoning youth-left coalition of the PFP crashed to defeat on a number of key policy issues following stormy debates at the party's federal congress at the weekend.

Despite being outmanoeuvred, however, the highly motivated "left wing" served notice that it was a growing force within the party and forcefully articulated the importance of the PFP identifying with the concerns of the government's extraparliamentary foes.

After a series of spirited and extended battles at the Johannesburg congress, the party's experienced stalwarts eventually succeeded in quashing resolutions calling for:

- ☐ Selective sanctions or punitive measures against the perpetrators and supporters of apartheid.
- ☐ Boycotting new apartheid structures like Regional Services Councils.
- ☐ The immediate scrapping of the minority veto from the party's constitutional policy.

A number of the "soft-left" delegates from the Western Cape also failed to gain election to the federal council of the PFP at the congress.

During the hotly-contested "selective sanctions" debate, the chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller, argued that the party should actively support sanctions against the State and the military as part of a strategy "to hit targets that are part of the apartheid machine".

In an amendment to the resolution, the chairman of the PFP Unrest Monitoring and Action committee, Mr Jan van Eck, called for the application of "selective punitive measures" against the NP Government and its supporters.

He said the perpetrators and not the victims of apartheid should be punished.

"We need to zoom in on the guilty and refuse landing rights to Nat MPs ... everywhere in the world," he said to loud cheers.

PFP frontbencher Mr Horace van Rensburg, who was repeatedly hissed at the congress, summed up the fears of the party leadership when he warned any support for selective sanctions would damage the image of the party.

Mr Andrew Savage, PFP spokesman on trade and industry, maintained that sanctions were a "clumsy and very dangerous weapon" whose ill-effects could not be restricted to particular aspects of the economy.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin decisively swung the vote against selective sanctions and "punitive action" when he repudiated supporters of such measures displaying "naivete which boggles my mind".

In the clash over the proposed boycott of RSCs, Cape Town City Councillor Mr L van Wyk argued that these "disreputable apartheid bodies" would sow the seeds for "uprising, unrest and bloodshed".

The chairman of the PFP, Mr Peter Gastrow, said the PFP should resist being "co-opted" and resist any further efforts by government "to extend apartheid and make it more subtle and effective".

The majority of delegates voted in favour of another controversial resolution calling for the immediate scrapping of the minority veto, but it did not become party policy because it failed to gain the two-thirds majority required for constitutional amendments.

However, congress instructed that a new constitutional committee be convened to review the party's constitution after numerous speakers noted that the veto was widely seen by blacks as a subterfuge to entrench white privilege and interests.

Mrs Helen Suzman said it would be "fatal" for the PFP if it were seen to be supporting devices to bolster the status quo.

THE PFP CONGRESS WRAP-UP

Argus 24/11/86 3049

Minority veto will go after 'credibility' clash

by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party has begun the process of scrapping the minority veto in its constitutional policy.

The party leader Mr Colin Eglin, confirmed this in his closing address to the party's weekend congress in Johannesburg. Earlier, the congress decided to have a new constitutional policy to update its 1978 policy in the light of changed circumstances.

One of the problems the party has faced is credibility with blacks because it advocates a minority veto.

Soweto civic leader, Dr N Motlana, maintained in a speech at the congress that the emphasis should be on individual rights.

He also clashed with Mrs Helen Suzman on the question of black sympathy for the PFP.

She maintained that the party deserved black support for its efforts to bring about a non-racial society and that only a legitimate interim government could bring about changes.

His answer was that under no circumstances could blacks support a government based on colour and that a non-racial Parliament must be elected right away.

AS it stands at present, the minority veto gives members of one particular group the right to block constitutional changes which would fundamentally affect their existing position.

Dr N Motlana

In his closing speech Mr Eglin said it had become clear to him that this would have to go.

The minority veto had acquired a negative connotation but was an insignificant part of the party's policy It was often minsunderstood or misinterpreted.

The rights of the individual were at the heart of the party's policy, but this did not mean simply majoritarianism.

All the people in the country had to share power and federal concepts as well as a Bill of Rights had to form part of this.

AT a congress which was regarded as the last before the next general election, rank and file supporters from all over the country showed a high morale, the Van Zyl Slabbert episode earlier this year apparently all but forgotten.

There was obviously great appreciation for the way Mr Eglin had stepped into the breach and his attacks on what he described as Government "paralysis" in many fields went down well.

How the party is going to achieve its aim of winning some 50 seats at the next election is another matter.

The differences of opinion at the congress were about sanctions and participation in local bodies such as the regional services councils.

An ill-conceived Young Progressives resolution calling for sanctions against the Govermment and military institutions drew hardly any support.

An amendment calling for sanctions on the National Party and its supporters was overwhelmingly rejected.

AS some of the speakers, including Mr Eglin, pointed out, it was totally unrealistic to assume that sanctions could be applied in such a selective way and that they tended to have a snowball effect.

After heated disagreements on participation in Regional Services Councils, the congress scrapped a clause in a resolution which wanted to preclude its members from serving on such councils.

It was effectively pointed out that there would appear to be an anomaly if the party were prepared to sit in Parliament while not in agreement with the present tricameral system.

While the new local government system was condemned as an attempt to modernise and re-establish apartheid it was resolved that the party had to do everything in its power to motivate a democratic and non-racial form of local government.

Some 20 percent of the delegates at this congress were people of colour.

Cape Times 25/11/86

304A

Constitutional crisis looms

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government could be plunged into a constitutional crisis today with opposition parties threatening to walk out of the President's Council following the "cynical" decision to stall the Group Areas Act report.

PFP member Mr Pieter Schoeman last night said the integrity of the PC had been placed in jeopardy. A decision as to whether the party would stay in the body would depend on the outcome of a steering committee meeting this morning.

"One thing is for sure — we definitely cannot go on participating in the way we have up to now. The time has now come to call P W Botha's bluff. Tomorrow night I might be without a job."

New Republic Party leader Mr Bill Sutton said: "I am very seriously considering whether I can remain in the body after what has happened. This is a sell-out — it's really bad news. PC members are the really the hell-in.

"We have spent two full years working on this report just to find the whole thing is being fiddled

To Page 2

Cape Times 25/11/86 (80)

From Page 1

by the government for its own purposes. It's the most appalling cynicism."

Other parties, like Solidarity, have indicated that they plan some form of protest action, including releasing the contents of the report.

In spite of threats by the Labour Party to pull out of the tricameral Parliament unless the Group Areas Act is scrapped entirely, it is reliably understood that the LP supported the government's decision to refer the report — which has been ready since August — back to the PC.

PC sources have indicated that the posting of PC chairman Dr Piet Koornhof as SA ambassador to *Washington was at least in part due to dissatisfaction* of Mr Chris Heunis and President Botha over his handling of the report.

Govt faces PC walkout crisis

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The government could be plunged into a constitutional crisis today with opposition parties threatening to walk out of the President's Council following the decision to shelve the Group Areas Act report.

A PFP member of the council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said last night the entire integrity of the PC had been placed in jeopardy A decision as to whether the party would stay in the body would depend on the outcome of a steering committee meeting this morning.

"One thing is for sure — we definitely cannot go on participating in the way we have up to now. The time has now come to call P. W. Botha's bluff. Tomorrow night I might be without a job."

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, declared: "I am very seriously considering whether I can remain in the body after what has happened.

"This is a sell-out — it's really bad news. PC members are really the hell-in.

"We have spent two full years working on this report just to find the whole thing is being fiddled by the government for its own purposes. It's the most appalling cynicism.

"The only way to rectify the situation is to get rid of President Botha. He is not prepared to move on anything. He's so selfish," Mr Sutton said.

Other parties, like Solidarity, have indicated that they plan some form of protest action, including releasing the contents of the report.

Despite threats by the Labour Party to pull out of the tricameral parliament unless the entire Group Areas Act is scrapped, it is understood that the LP supported the government's decision to refer the report — which has been ready since August — back to the PC.

PC sources have indicated the posting of the PC president, Dr Piet Koornhof, as South African ambassador to Washington was at least in part due to cabinet dissatisfaction over of his handling of the report.

Government feeling is that Dr Koornhof should not have allowed the report to reach the point of recommending sweeping changes to the Group Areas Act, including provision for a system of "grey areas" through local option.

Sources indicate that the government is anxious to have the proposals watered down so that a government appointee — the provincial adminstrator — will maintain control of the process of desegregating neighbourhoods through a carefully controlled permit system.

TV2 and 4 on the blink

EAST LONDON — Television viewers in East London and King Williams' Town were without TV2 and TV4 from about 7 pm last night.

An SABC spokesman in Johannesburg could not say where the fault had occurred but a standby engineer had been sent from King William's Town to East London to attend to the problem.

● The Southern Free State, the North East Cape and the Colesberg-Middleburg area were without electricity for nearly two hours yesterday.

Escom's East Cape regional manager, Mr Ken Garman, said here that an equipment failure at a major substation in the Orange River area was the reason for the blackout.

Two EL city councillors quit NP

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Two resignations from the National Party yesterday have changed the balance of voting power on the city council.

Mr Phillip Rohtbart and Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaighte resigned from the party leaving it with only seven supporters on the 16-man council.

Mr Bassingthwaighte said last night he would remain on the council as an independent and would not join any other party. Mr Rohtbart would not be drawn on the matter.

In a joint statement early yesterday, the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, and the chairman of the district council of the National Party, Mrs Elsabe Kemp, said they had met Mr Rohtbart and he had tendered his resignation which had been accepted with immediate effect.

"A number of matters related to developments over the past few months surrounding Mr Rohtbart were discussed. In consequence, he resigned and his resignation was accepted with immediate effect," the statement said.

But last night Mr Rohtbart, who had been connected with the party for about 20 years, said he had resigned because of differences with the party. He refused to elaborate.

Asked whether they were differences of principle and whether he would be joining any other party, Mr Rohtbart shrugged his shoulders and laughed.

In a related development earlier in the council chamber, a third attempt to unseat Mr Rohtbart failed.

Mr Eric Whitaker moved as a matter of exigency at the start of the meeting that Mr Rohtbart's continued existence on the council be discussed in view of his conviction on 199 counts of fraud.

Mr Bassingthwaighte

Mr Rohtbart

stance on group areas when it is becoming a crucial matter.

"By referring it back to the President's Council, the issue is being avoided. If the act is to be changed radically after an election, is the intention of postponing the decision to deceive conservative voters?

"Alternatively, if the act is not going to be changed radically, we have no hope of reconciliation in this country."

Mr Bassingthwaighte also responded to a letter received by the Daily Dispatch from Mrs Sandra Nass, of Pioneer Place, East London, who said she would like to know what his stand was on the beaches and suburbs since she had voted for him because he was a Nationalist. But now she had been told that he voted with the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Bassingthwaighte replied: "I am not a politician but if decisions of a political nature come before council, I endeavour to make the decision that I believe is correct in the interests of the city and not in the interests of the party.

"I have tried not to vote on predetermined decisions but have made it my duty to listen to debate as impartially as possible. It would be silly for a person to say that I voted with the Progs or the Nats per se. I believe the writer has no knowledge of how council or the action committee operates as there are often times when voting takes place on issues across apparent political lines."

ANC 'must be part of SA solution'

CAPE TIMES 25/11/86

3044

Political Correspondent

ANY solution to the political crisis facing South Africa which excludes the ANC "is a bankrupt settlement", according to the national chairman of the Young Progressives, Mr Andrew Miller.

Mr Miller was speaking after returning from a two-week trip to Europe during which he held discussions with ANC officials in Germany.

The Young Prog leader, who met members of the ANC for the first time at a seminar for the International Federation for Liberal and Radical Youth in Cologne, said he was more convinced that ever "that it is vital to keep up contact with the ANC".

During their discussion the ANC had detailed their concerns about the increasing brutalization of black children in the townships and where these people would fit in in a post-apartheid society.

"They felt participation in and the witnessing of necklacing was a tremendous problem," he said.

Meetings with groups like the ANC were important, he felt, because this helped "break up the white laager" and gave the lie to the widespread perception in Europe that all whites in South Africa are racists.

"It is also noteworthy that members of the PFP are able to meet with groups ranging from the ANC to members of European governments while President P W Botha is almost universally ostracized."

Mr Miller also spoke to MPs from the Liberal-Christian Democrat ruling coalition at The Hague and to schools and the news media in Denmark during his visit.

"When speaking out against sanctions it is very easy to appear an apologist for the apartheid system. Even the most moderate leaders believe that sanctions are necessary to push for change in South Africa," he said.

● The PFP's federal congress at the weekend passed a motion urging the party leadership to continue initiating contacts and discussions with the ANC.

PFP set to quit PC over report

BUSDAY 25/11/86 304A

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE PFP yesterday issued an ultimatum to the NP-controlled President's Council: discuss the shelving of the Group Areas Act (GAA) report immediately in a plenary session, or the PFP will reconsider its council membership.

PFP outrage at the delay — after Cabinet interference — of the crucial report's publication is shared by coloured and Indian PC members, and at least some of them are expected to follow the PFP strategy.

It has been generally accepted in political circles that the report was blocked because of an expected white election and government's paranoia about the right wing.

The PFP also disclosed yesterday that two major changes were made to the report after it had been finalised by the constitutional committee.

The steering committee of the PC is to decide on the PFP petition this morning.

The petition said the decision to refer the GAA report back and to effectively shelve it for several months was criticised countrywide and created the impression with the public that the PC had become an NP rubber stamp.

It demanded an immediate plenary session to clear up the issue and establish the council's integrity.

PFP PC member Robin Carlyle said the PFP would "consider its attitude to working within the PC and its continued

● To Page 2

PFP ultimatum on report

BUSDAY 25/11/86 304A

● From Page 1

membership" if the steering committee's reaction was not satisfactory.

Other PC members who have expressed their dissatisfaction with the blocking of the report are the NRP's Bill Sutton; the People's Congress Party's Peter Marais; and Solidarity's Ismael Omar.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse told his Cape congress last week that his party would reconsider its participation in the tricameral system if the GAA was not going to be scrapped.

Right-wing in-fighting plays into Nat hands warning

BUSDAY 25/11/86

MAX DU PREEZ
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party's plans to continue with its "unification" conference early next year would have "disastrous consequences" for the right-wing in a general election, the Herstigte Nasionale Party said yesterday.

The escalating right-wing strife is being used by certain top NP strategists as their strongest argument why a general election should be held in March or April.

But CP sources indicated yesterday that the strategy to isolate the HNP leadership from its followers was succeeding and that the CP was going ahead with the conference to form a unified right-wing front. All HNP members and supporters were invited to the conference.

The CP believes that it is fast outmanoeuvring the HNP. CP leader Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche met last week to discuss an election pact. An AWB spokesman said afterwards the co-operation between the two parties had never been so good.

At the same time, relations between the AWB and the HNP are at an all-time low. In a party circular, HNP leader Jaap Marais deplored AWB efforts to recruit HNP members. He rejected the AWB policies of a white dictatorship and the restoration of the old boer republics, he said. Unlike the CP, the HNP has banned its members from joining the AWB.

Yesterday's HNP statement confirmed the party's rejection of the unilateral right-wing conference. It asked the CP to resume unification talks on a leadership level, and warned that the CP's method of "instant unity" could lead to greater right-wing strife.

The HNP mouthpiece, *"Die Afrikaner,"* said in an editorial yesterday that it would be the third time the CP had tried to isolate the HNP leadership from its supporters, and that it would never work.

Die Afrikaner said if the CP and HNP were to co-operate in next year's election, they could get between 40 and 50 seats in Parliament. Instead the CP had issued the HNP with an ultimatum "that is like manna from heaven to the NP".

PFP suspends activities in PC

(304A) DD 26/11/86

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The PFP yesterday started a temporary boycott of all activities of the President's Council.

The decision was taken amid accusations that President P. W. Botha had "hijacked" the Group Areas Act report in a transparent bid to boost the National Party's electoral prospects.

But the party's threatened permanent withdrawal was "postponed" pending the outcome of the council's plenary session next year.

The NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, while maintaining that the government "might as well abolish the President's Council right now," said he had first to consult his party before deciding whether to pull out of the body.

"The government has done irreparable harm to the council and the constitutional committee by compromising its work in such a cynical way," he said. "I don't see how its credibility can survive such a body blow."

The chairman of the PC's constitutional committee which compiled the controversial report, Dr Dries Oosthuizen, did not want to comment on the simmering row last night.

However, it is reliably understood that National Party members of the committee feel angered and betrayed by the government's last-minute decision to shelve the report which was due to be debated yesterday.

All parties, except the Conservative Party, had reached consensus on the report which in its original form is understood to call for the opening of residential areas on a local option basis.

However, a PFP representative on the constitutional committee, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said at a press conference yesterday if he were to judge from the statements of Mr Botha, the "hijacking" was aimed more at watering down the report than merely delaying it until after an election.

He said later that the PFP would "cause havoc" in the PC if the government tried to prevent the debate of the report when the body reconvened for a plenary session before next year's elections.

The leader of the PFP in the PC, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the decision to shelve the report now when it had been ready since August was "a symbolic gesture to demonstrate to the electorate that the reform process has come to an end. I think it is a ghastly mistake."

"The State President does not have the guts to deal with the Group Areas issue and is attempting to remove it from the political arena," he said.

The walk-out by Mr Carlisle, Mr Schoeman and Mr James Rennie followed a rejection yesterday morning by the PC steering committee of a motion by Mr Carlisle for the full council to debate the report.

CP prepared to accept Rohtbart as a member

DD 26/11/86 (304A)

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Conservative Party here has offered a political home to a city councillor who resigned from the National Party, Mr Phillip Rohtbart.

The chairman of the East London branch of the CP, Mr Calvyn Steyn, said the CP could offer a political home to Mr Rohtbart provided he accepted all the party's principles:

"We are not concerned with any of his personal matters. If he accepts and adheres to our principles, then we will consider his application for membership," he said.

Mr Steyn added the party had not had any formal approach from Mr Rohtbart.

"I have heard talk that he may be interested but he has not approached us."

Mr Rohtbart resigned from the National Party on Monday after a 20-year association with the party.

An official statement from the party's branch said that discussions were held with Mr Rohtbart on Monday in connection with several issues over the past months concerning him.

As a result, Mr Rohtbart had resigned, according to the statement.

But Mr Rohtbart said later he had resigned because of differences with the party, but would not elaborate.

Meanwhile, Mr Steyn said there was much dissatisfaction in white areas where people of colour were moving in and meetings were being held about it.

He said his party's stand on the Group Areas Act was clear: The party stood for own white schools and living areas.

"We also stand for the maintenance of Christian principles," Mr Steyn said and blamed the National Party government for the situation in South Africa.

He said the National Party was trying to condition whites through the South African Broadcasting Corporation to accept integration.

Mr Steyn said it was urgent that an election be called so that clear cut issues could be put before the white electorate.

Birds of the same feather

FRIENDS forever . . . look-alikes Matladi Hlabatau of Meadowlands (left), and her chum, Charity Mofokeng of Diepkloof share everything from companionship to fashion taste. And of course, their looks and beauty. This delectable pair of summer birds did not reveal anything beyond their names. Pic. MBUZENI ZULU

ROW

Sowetan 26/11/86

304A

PFP WALKS OUT OF PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

THE PROGRESSIVE Federal Party yesterday withdrew from all activities of the President's Council after a row about the shelving of the council's report on the Group Areas Act and related laws.

The move could come as a major embarrassment to the Government which has been keen to have the council function on a consensus basis among all the political groups represented in it.

The withdrawal came after a PFP motion calling for an open debate on the issue by the full council was rejected by a majority vote at a meeting of the council's steering committee yesterday.

The PFP leader in the council, Mr Robin Carlisle, said afterwards that after the rejection of the motion he gave notice that he would bring the same motion before the next plenary session of the council.

He said he advised the committee that he would withdraw from all activities of the council until the shelving of the Group Areas report was discussed at a plenary session. He was supported by the other PFP members of the council.

Review

Mr Carlisle said this meant that PFP members would not attend committee meetings of the council.

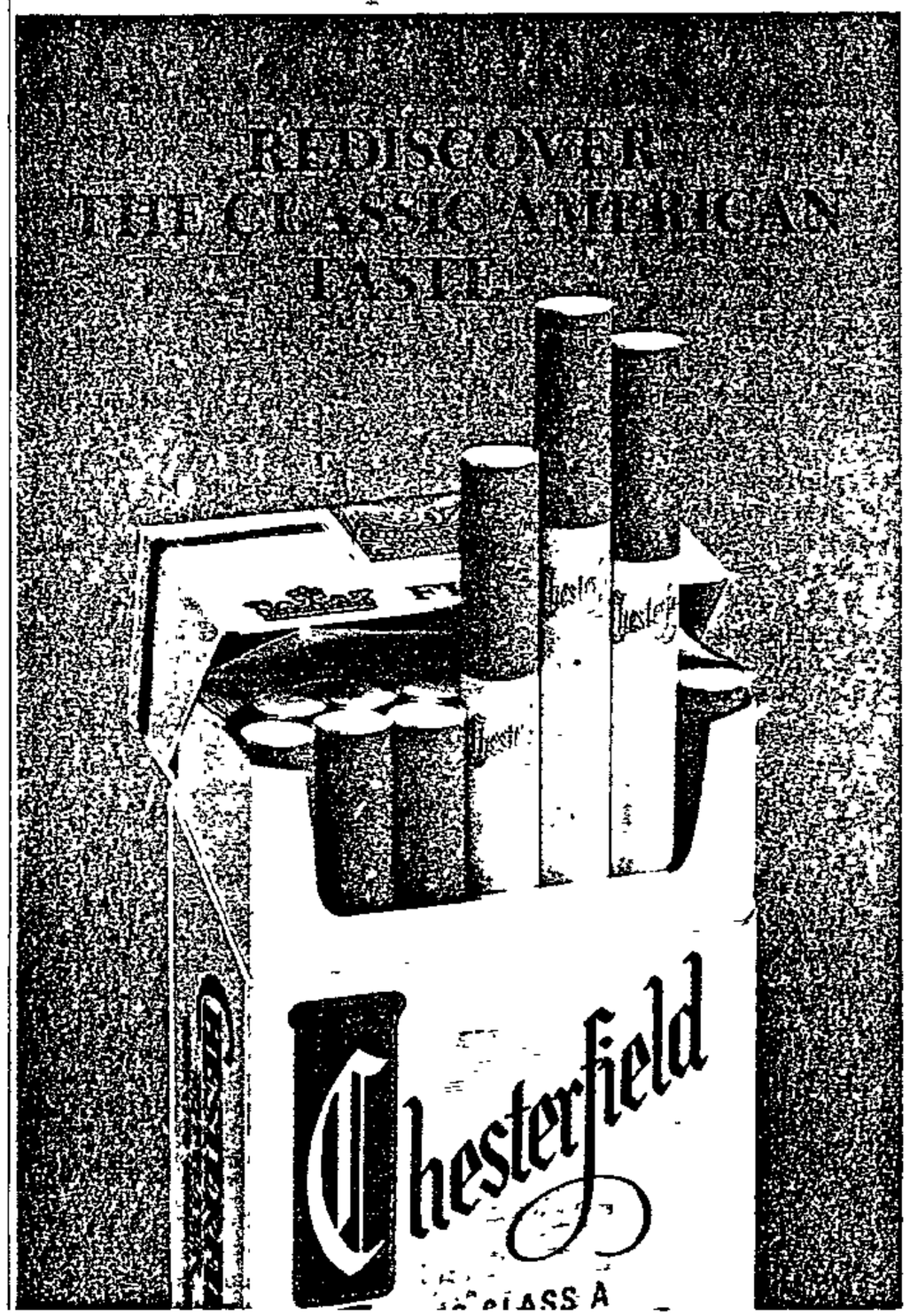
He said if discussion of the issue continued to be blocked, the PFP would at a later stage review its position.

Four other opposition parties are believed to have supported the PFP's motion calling for a full council debate.

Mr Pieter Schoeman, a PFP member of the council's Constitutional Affairs Committee, said the withdrawal came into immediate effect.

He would not attend a meeting of the constitutional committee scheduled for yesterday afternoon.

It is expected that the chairman of the Constitutional Committee, Dr Dries Oosthuizen, will be asked at the meeting to explain why the Group Areas report had been referred back and exactly which parts of the report had to be investigated further.



Cape Times 26/11/86 3047

PFP puts off PC walkout

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PFP yesterday started a temporary boycott of all activities of the President's Council amid accusations that President P W Botha had "hijacked" the Group Areas Act report in a transparent bid to boost the National Party's electoral prospects.

But the party's threatened permanent withdrawal was "postponed" pending the outcome of meeting the council's plenary session next year.

And NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton, while maintaining that the government "might as well abolish the President's Council right now", said he had first to consult his party before deciding whether to pull out of the body.

"The government has done irreparable harm to the council and the constitutional committee by compromising its work in such a cynical way," he said. "I don't see how its credibility can survive such a body blow."

Angered, betrayed

Dr Dries Oosthuizen, chairman of the PC's constitutional committee which compiled the controversial report, did not want to comment on the simmering row last night.

However, it is reliably understood that National Party members of the committee feel angered and betrayed by the government's last-minute decision to shelve the report, which was due to be debated yesterday.

All parties, except the Conservative Party, had reached consensus on the report, which in its original form is understood to call for the opening of residential areas on a local option basis.

However, PFP representative on the constitutional committee Mr Pieter Schoeman said at a press conference yesterday that if he were to judge from the statements of the Mr Botha, the "hijacking" was aimed more at watering down the report than merely delaying it until after an election.

'Ghastly mistake'

He said later that the PFP would "cause havoc" in the PC if the government tried to prevent the debate of the report when the body reconvened for a plenary session before next year's elections.

The leader of the PFP in the PC, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the decision to shelve the report now when it has been ready since August was "a symbolic gesture" to demonstrate to the electorate that the reform process had come to an end.

"I think it is a ghastly mistake," he said. "The State President does not have the guts to deal with the Group Areas issue and is attempting to remove it from the political arena."

The walkout by Mr Carlisle, Mr Schoeman and Mr James Rennie followed a rejection yesterday morning by the PC steering committee of a motion by Mr Carlisle calling for an urgent public discussion of the report by the full President's Council.

(304A)

CP unity plan a disaster for right says HNP

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Conservative Party's plans to continue with its "unification" conference early next year would have "disastrous consequences" for the right wing in a general election, claims the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Sources from the CP have indicated that the strategy to isolate the HNP leadership from its followers was succeeding and that the CP was going ahead with the conference to form a unified right-wing front.

All HNP members and supporters were invited to the conference.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, have discussed an election pact.

An AWB spokesman said afterwards the co-operation between the two parties had never been as good.

At the same time, relations between the AWB and the HNP are at an all-time low.

In a party circular, the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, deplored AWB efforts to recruit HNP members. He rejected the AWB policies of a white dictatorship and the restoration of the old Boer republics.

Unlike the CP, the HNP has banned its members from joining the AWB.

The latest HNP statement reconfirmed the party's rejection of the unilateral right-wing conference.

It asked the CP to resume unification talks on a leadership level and warned that the CP's method of "instant unity" could lead to greater right-wing strife.

The HNP mouthpiece, Die Afrikaner newspaper, said in an editorial that it would be the third time the CP tried to isolate the HNP leadership from its supporters and that it would never work.

Die Afrikaner said if the CP and HNP were to co-operate in next year's election, they could win between 40 and 50 seats in Parliament.

Instead, the CP has issued the HNP with an ultimatum "that is like manna from heaven to the NP".

26/11/86 BUSDAY 300A

PFP backs down on ultimatum over Group Areas report

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE PFP has effectively backed down on its threat to withdraw from the NP-controlled President's Council (PC) in protest over the shelving of the Constitutional Committee's report on the Group Areas Act (GAA).

PFP members on the PC have also decided not to disclose the contents of the "sanitised" version of the report, after obtaining legal opinion, as they had defiantly declared they would if it was not publicly debated by the PC in plenary session yesterday.

The coloured and Indian parties represented on the PC have also mutely accepted the summary shelving of the report.

This again raises serious doubts over the credibility of their often expressed threats to withdraw from the tricameral system if steps are not taken to scrap the GAA.

A PC steering committee yesterday threw out a PFP motion calling for an immediate public discussion of the GAA report and the way in which it was put on ice, apparently on the instructions of President P W Botha.

As a result of this guillotining, PFP PC leader Robin Carlisle gave notice he intended resubmitting the motion at the council's next plenary session.

This will probably take place at the end of January.

Carlisle also informed outgoing PC chairman Piet Koornhof he was withdrawing from all future undertakings with the PC until the matter was discussed in plenary session.

PFP PC members Pieter Schoeman and James Rennie also announced yesterday they had decided to take similar boycott action.

At a media conference the three stressed their boycott represented a temporary suspension of activities only.

They had decided to await the outcome of the next plenary session before considering what further steps to take over the PFP's ongoing membership.

No comment could be obtained yesterday from either Koornhof or the State President's office.

PC members yesterday admitted the decision to refer the GAA report back to the Constitutional Committee meant its recommendations would be further emasculated and watered down.

● DE VILLIERS

Officials told not to discuss sanctions

Economics Reporter

GOVERNMENT officials have been informally warned by Trade and Industry Minister Dawie de Villiers not to discuss sanctions-related matters publicly.

A departmental spokesman, Wilhelm Smallberger said yesterday: "The Minister has made it clear on several occasions we should refrain from speaking on sanctions." But he said the Minister's statements did not constitute a "directive".

De Villiers had issued the caution because "our enemies can use this information against us".

The SA Foreign Trade Organisation (Safto) has already said it would not comment on sanctions questions, either on or off the record. An official said SA was engaged in "economic warfare" and would have to withhold strategically important information.

Smallberger said the department realised certain trade information could be obtained from other sources, especially overseas. He said: "We shouldn't be stupid and put a blanket on everything. That wouldn't be realistic."

Rather, he said, the amount of information government officials could provide would "depend on the question".

Decision on white schools

WHITE schools being closed because of the fall-off of pupils could, in some cases, become multiracial, private schools, or be transferred to other race groups, Minister of White Education Piet Clase said yesterday.

Clase's statement followed a report of the South African Teachers' Association (Sata) which showed there were 205 000 vacancies in white schools.

Sata demanded that schools be opened to all groups to help alleviate the shortage of classroom space for blacks.

Clase has closed the door on opening Government schools to all groups, but has left the way open for the vacant schools to be bought in certain instances to become multiracial private schools, or to be transferred to one of the other education departments.

However, this would only happen if the white education department, the other administrations of the House of Assembly or the provinces could not use the buildings.

Rationalisation was receiving attention to ensure there was cost-effective education without lower standards, Clase said.

Swazis profit fr

MBABANE — Swaziland's
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FORMER Chief Justice o
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Judge Rumpff will ho
government, meeting Pre
other officials.

REPORTS: Sapa
and Own Co

Govt/business — the frost sets in

ALAN FINE

THE decision to delay publication of the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act appears to be reversing the thaw in business/government links which followed the Pretoria summit earlier this month.

UF executive director Fred Stiglingh describes the delay as a "great pity". He says the Act is one of the remaining pillars of apartheid which requires immediate attention.

The business community had been led to understand that government's undertaking to advance with its reform programme included giving serious attention to the Act, and not to delaying it.

Stiglingh says the delay "certainly does not enhance the relationship between the business community and government".

However, Barclays Bank MD Chris Ball says business people understand the delay is due to the expected election, and does not think they will make an issue of it until then.

But, JSE president Tony Norton says: "However understandable the party-political reasons for the delay, it cannot be good news given the urgency of dealing with the Act."

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES — TELEPHONE

Consent of all needed says Durr

DD 27/11/86

304A

Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — South Africa's major priority is a new democratic constitutional order based on the broad consent of the governed, said the Deputy Minister of Finance and Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr.

He added, however, that the economic welfare of South Africa remained vital in achieving this goal and of sustaining any such agreed new constitution over a length of time.

Mr Durr, who was speaking at the annual European Institutional Investor Conference, also said: "We are fully aware of the pressing need to temper or close disparities in income and wealth that exist in our country. We appreciate that this cannot be achieved by compressing the wealth-creating ability of private enterprise through punitive taxation."

The way ahead consisted of a shrinking public sector vis-a-vis the more privileged segment of the society and a growth of public goods and services in the less-privileged segment.

"Here we shall indeed have to tread boldly but carefully, for in the final analysis the future of our country will depend on the private sector — on the system of private enterprise itself — to deliver in terms of people's basic needs."

The difficulty was that on the one side lay the clamour for more, and on the other a natural resistance to what the redistribution of income necessarily involved.

"Rapid economic growth is the best way out of this situation. Re-slicing of the present cake would, apart from its manifest political implications, simply mean an equalisation in a descending spiral of poverty, while no redistribution is a recipe for even swifter disaster."

The solution had to be approached via a redistribution of income. This goal had to be achieved by way of redistribution of growth itself — by a pattern of growth aimed at the selective stimulation of the most needy segments of society.

For whom the bell tolls

Argus 27/11/86 (3041)

ISSUES
By Hugh Roberton

Barclays UK pulled out of South Africa this week. They have been involved here for 145 years, through war and peace, depression and boom, and nobody in their right mind writes off about R260-million (the loss caused by having to take their money out in financial rands), for the sake of making a political point. So why did they take the money and go . . . ?

WHEN Barclays UK pulled out of South Africa this week, I wonder whether the leaders of the National Party heard the bell toll and, in the most unlikely event that they did, whether they realised that it tolled for them?

I doubt it. Their nature does not allow for much introspection. But the fact remains that in a very real sense the Barclays UK withdrawal sounded a prelude to the ultimate political demise of those who now govern South Africa.

That's quite a mouthful, so let's unravel the argument from the beginning. It starts with the basic premise that when it comes to money, bankers are not sentimental people and that they make cold, calculated decisions.

The Barclays UK decision could not have been a vote of no-confidence in the status quo in South Africa, since the status quo in any country can change or be changed.

Rather, it must have been a perception by some of the shrewdest minds in the capitalist world that those who govern South Africa are incapable of changing the status quo, or of doing so in an acceptable way.

In the final analysis the flight of capital is not so much a result of the present mess the country is in, as it is a consensus among the wise that we do not have the ability to get out of the mess in the future.

IF Barclays UK had seen a wisp of a chance of South Africa emerging from the present crisis in such a way that continued investment was worthwhile, could there be any doubt that they would have stayed?

They seem to have come to the conclusion that while the NP might constitute the government and might control the ordinary functions of administration, it is incapable of leading the country to a better future; that our moustached *Numzaan ama-Constitution*, Chris Heunis, is playing with constitutional blocks in a playpen.

Could Barclays UK have been wrong in their assessment? Could the decision have been an aberration, a rush of moral scruple to the brain? Or could it be that they decided to dump hundreds of millions of rand as an entry fee to the politically sensitive US banking market?

Certainly, all these alternatives would be possible — if it were not for the fact that so many other banks, including Standard Chartered (major British shareholders in our own Standard Bank) give every indication of having come to much the same dismal conclusion about our future.

THE chairman of Standard Chartered — which has an investment of about R525-million in Standard Bank — is Lord Anthony Barber, who is no stranger to South Africa and who was British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's nominee on the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group.

This, among other things, is what he put his signature to in the EPG report (and later confirmed his endorsement of on television): "From these and other recent developments, we draw the conclusion that while the Government claims to be ready to negotiate, it is in truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the end of white domination and white power in the foreseeable future."

The report went on to say: "The Government believes that it can contain the situation indefinitely by the use of force. We were repeatedly told by Ministers that the Government had deployed only a fraction of the power at its disposal. Although the Government's confidence may be valid in the short term, it is plainly misplaced in the longer term."

In calling for sanctions, Lord Barber and other EPG members said such measures "may offer the last opportunity to avert what could be the worst bloodbath since the Second World War" and they said bluntly: "For all the people of South Africa, and of the sub-region as a whole, *the certain prospect is of an even sharper decline into violence and bloodshed* . . . a racial conflagration with frightening implications threatens."

COULD both Barclays UK and the chairman of Standard Chartered be wrong? Yes, but is it not stretching credulity a bit to believe this when we look at virtually identical judgments by Chase Manhattan, the Bank of America, the Gnomes of Zurich and others who hurriedly called in their loans to South Africa and plunged the rand and the South African economy into crisis?

And let's look closer to home — not so much to our giants of industry and commerce who have little choice but to find somewhere inside the pressure cooker to invest their money, but at those who have other alternatives.

By and large the South Africans who are leaving — and, on a personal level, taking the same beating in financial rand terms as have the shareholders in Barclays UK — are among the best educated, the most intellectually talented. It is they who constitute the "brain drain" and, as we all know, there are thousands of them.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University recently pointed to what is one of the two central facts which are impossible to ignore when making judgments about our future. He said it was inconceivable that blacks would accept a system in which their numerical superiority was not reflected.

And it is inconceivable that bankers and other investors would ignore the other central fact — the certainty that the NP is determined to resist to the last man a system which reflects black numerical superiority.

TRAGICALLY, even if we take leave of our senses and imagine for a moment that the NP were to accept unconditionally the concept of one-man, one-vote — is there any logical reason why blacks would embrace the NP in preference to the ANC? And is there any way the NP would willingly accept such a loss of power?

As we face this stand-off all that the rest of us can do is watch the slow political death by siege of those who now rule us. And the best we can do in the meanwhile is to influence the manner of that death and perhaps, if we are lucky, make it less traumatic for all concerned and facilitate the emergence of a new governing authority that is less radical or extreme than it might otherwise have been.

But, like the hard-headed bankers, we can forget about the party of the status quo becoming the party of our future destiny.

465 - WOODPECKING TUESDAY REPUBLIC OF SOUTH
Area

Surprised garage owner finds campers are AWB commando

Star 28/4/86 304A

By Lesley Cowling

The owner of a garage on Witkoppen Road, Fourways, was astonished and angered yesterday when a group of horse-riders who arranged to stop overnight at his garage turned out to be an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging commando.

Mr Ben Granat told The Star yesterday that he received a call about a month ago from a man who said he represented a group of horse-riders.

He man said they were going on a long ride and needed a "stopping place". "So I told them they could stay over on my property," Mr Granat said.

He said he was horrified when a number of horsemen, bearing the AWB insignia and carrying AWB flags, rode up his driveway late yesterday afternoon.

It was the 12-man AWB commando which is riding from Pretoria to Krugersdorp for a two-day gathering that begins tomorrow at the Paardekraal Monument.

They were accompanied by about four lorries and there were about 30 people altogether.

Mr Granat said this was the first time he had realised the riders belonged to the AWB.

He was even more dismayed when they hung banners and flags on the fence which separates his garage from the rest of his property.

"I asked them to remove the banners and a young man, who was on the other side of the fence, said: 'Come over to this side of the fence and tell us that'," Mr Granat said.

He declined to do so.

He said he was angry because he was not told that the riders were AWB members.

"If I had known that, I would not have let them camp here. I don't want to become involved in political things," he said.

The AWB commando did not want to speak to The Star when a reporter and photographer approached them last evening.

They said they were resting and would be available today.

In the deep grass of the veld next to the garage, the horses grazed after their long ride. Potjiekos bubbled in pots on fires and peaches and Old Brown sherry stood on a camping table.

The two-day "cultural, devotional and non-political" gathering at Paardekraal Monument will be addressed by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Let schools decide on race policy

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Schools should be allowed to decide for themselves whether to open their doors to all race groups, Mr Horace van Rensburg, Progressive Federal Party education spokesman said yesterday.

Entering the row over closure of white schools because of the 205 000 open places, Mr van Rensburg said the Government was going against the principles set out in legislation it had put through Parliament.

He said the schools should not be closed down but the space should be offered to black children.

"We have always advocated the opening of schools to promote interracial understanding and co-operation in the formative years of children. It would make a significant contribution to race relations particularly when people have to co-operate at the workplace later."

He pointed out that the Government had written two important principles into the National Policy for Education Act. These were equal opportunity in education and the acceptance of the principle of freedom of choice of parents and community.

On the basis of these principles schools and their governing bodies should have the right to decide for themselves whether they wanted to open their doors to all races.

"While I accept there are schools which would not wish to do so there are hundreds which would. This could result in tens of thousands of white and black South Africans going to school together."

28/11/86 STAR

304A

NPP fires broadside at the Progs

Bitter group areas row takes new twist

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National People's Party and the Progressive Federal Party clashed yesterday in a new twist to the bitter group areas row in the President's Council.

The new turn in events was sparked by a statement issued by Mr T Gounden, NPP member of the constitutional committee, attacking the PFP for suspending its participation on the council.

The PFP reacted by accusing the NPP of "nailing its colours to the National Party mast".

Mr Gounden said the PFP withdrawal from the council made little difference, and indirectly accused it of playing to the white electorate. The reason for the withdrawal, that it could not get a debate on the controversy over the Group Areas Act report of the constitutional committee, was a "side issue".

General election

Mr Gounden said it had nothing to do with the merits of the report, over which the PFP had been inconsistent.

PFP committee member Mr Pieter Schoeman said it was evident that in its refusal to debate the Group Areas Act, the NPP had nailed its colours to the National Party mast.

The PFP had "come to the regrettable conclusion that the NPP was put up to the statement by the Nats, and we hope this is not related to their reluctance to participate in a general election next year".

Mr Schoeman said the issue was not about whether one was for or against the report or the Group Areas Act, but about the manipulation of the President's Council to serve the electoral ends of the NP. "We can only assume Mr Gounden supports the manipulation.

"The PFP attitude is totally consistent. We have always opposed the principle of the Group Areas Act and have never been unconditionally prepared to approve any report which approves that principle.

"We call on Mr Gounden and the NPP to state clearly where they stand and question whether they are serving the best interests of the community they serve."

JMCs usurping role of public representatives

CAPE TIMES 28/11/86 (304A)

Divisional Councillor Neil Ross, a senior official of the Progressive Federal Party, spoke at this week's meeting of the council on the little-known activities of the Joint Management Centres (JMCs).

He described the JMCs as an insidious system of bureaucratic control, answerable only to the state intelligence machine, which is usurping the function of elected public representatives. This is an edited account of his speech.

THE report before us, dealing with the participation of the Divisional Council of the Cape in the Joint Management Centres (JMCs), fails to answer a fundamental question: who authorized our participation in the JMCs, an organization which is an important element of the State Security Council's (SSC) regional network?

The report before us says: "No politics is involved in the system, for it is run by officials." This is nonsense. The SSC is dominated by politicians, National Party politicians, plus a few officials.

The politicians include Messrs P W Botha, Magnus Malan, Pik Botha, Chris Heunis, Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetzee and so on.

State officials include Mr Neil Barnard, (National Intelligence Service), Generals Geldenhuys and Coetzee (police and armed forces), the Director-General of Justice and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The JMCs are highly political. The report before us says "the primary objective of the JMC system is to establish a countrywide management network which could defuse a possibly revolutionary climate in the country". What could be more political than that?

This council has never sanctioned our officials serving on JMCs or other subsidiary bodies, nor has this council ever received any report from our officials as to how they, serving this council, in our name, are contributing to bring about "a reduction of the revolutionary climate".

This is a serious matter. Officialdom is usurping some of the responsibility of councillors.

Our officials do not report back on their deliberations, in spite of the fact that the discussions sometimes deal with intimate details of this council's work, such as the state of our roads, our housing, our amenity infrastructure. The council receives reports from certain JMC committees from time to time, but none of these are tabled and dealt with as part of ordinary council business. Why?

The report before us seeks legitimacy for this council to serve on the JMCs without refering the matter to the council itself. It takes refuge in the Civil Defence Act of 1977.

WHEN any of our staff serve, as opposed to liaise with any outside body on behalf of council, council's permission is sought. This is particularly important when senior staff are involved. Similarly, if councillors represent council on statutary bodies, permission is given by the council itself. Why not so with our representatives on JMCs and their sub-bodies?

The reality is that we are not really serving on the JMC "for purposes of activating civil defence". Rather, we have been co-opted by this secret system — secret in the sense that their recommendations are scrutinized only by their masters.

JMCs are fairly large bodies, normally about 60 people. Here in the Western Cape the local JMC has been chaired by that well-known and controversial figure, Brigadier Swart. The JMC meets irregularly and most of its work is done by these sub-committees.

There is the GIK or Gesamentlike Intelligensie-komitee (GIK). This body is dominated by the security police, local representative of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), police and army. Its objective is to identify possible local security threats and to co-ordinate activities of these organs of the state.

If there is a political funeral, The GIK directs and decides co-operative tactics by the state. The GIK identifies possible security threats and distributes information on a need-to-know basis to other JMC sub-committees.

It obviously distributes its reports upwards. This committee meets regularly — probably once a week and more.

I understand — and I would ask for confirmation from the secretary — that neither he, our director of protective services or Mr Van der Bergh (deputy administrative officer) or any other council officials serve on the GIK in any capacity.

The JMC's second sub-committee is Semkom. The Divisional Council of the Cape does serve on this body — the Staatkundige, Ekonomiese en Maatskaplike Komitee. It is dominated by representatives from the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning. It concerns itself, *inter alia*, with examining factors in a local community which could contribute to the "revolutionary climate" and then makes recommendations as to how this should be resolved.

LET us take by way of example the state of the roads in Grassy Park. Many of these are untarred and badly made. Local community organizations could possibly make use of this matter "to increase the revolutionary factor" and Semkom will or could make recommendations to overcome the problem.

The function of Semkom has everything to do with lowering the revolutionary climate (a highly political act) and little or nothing to do with civic defence.

We as a council participate on Semcom. I am told we receive reports, recommendations and communications from Semcom and other JMC organs. These are never communicated to any statutary council committee or councillors.

What we have is an official-to-official communication. Whether budgetary priorities within council are posted, changed or manipulated as a result of these reports, I do not know. I am told they are not. I am not persuaded that this is not so.

However, I ask the question: Why if we participate on Semkom are none of its reports or recommendations tabled?

The third committee of the JMCs is Komkom. This committee is dominated by the Bureau for Information and it is this committee's job to bolster the achievements of the present statutary authorities and to try to alienate the community at large from alternative structures, such as the "civic associations" which have mushroomed in the Western Cape.

In addition, we have numerous examples of anonymous disinformation pamphlets attacking various organizations. Many of these, I believe, flow from recommendations made by Komkom.

I know that many anonymous pamphlets, posters and stickers are printed by a state department in Cape Town not much more than a stone's throw away from this building. The Divisional Council does not serve on this body. However, I would like the secretary to confirm that this is so.

The chairman of three sub-committees of the JMCs form an executive committee. This committee meets regularly — probably on a daily basis.

Below the JMCs are mini-JMCs and the Plaaslike Bestuursake-komitees (PBKs). These are information-gathering bodies for the JMCs.

The Divisional Council, Management Committee members and others serve on these bodies. They are part of the SSC's information-gathering service and however innocuous they may appear, they must be viewed with great suspicion.

The whole National Security Management System works hand in hand with first-, second- and third-level organs of government on an official-to-official basis, cutting out the directly elected representatives of various communities.

Decisions taken by JMCs (recommendations) are fed upwards. If a decision (recommendation) is taken to upgrade the infrastructure of a township, the ways and means of doing this are examined.

If, for example, it was a township in the Divisional Council area, and if money was not available by redrawing budgets, the House of Representatives in the person of one of the ministers might well make the money available after pressures and arguments are brought to bear.

Thus the secret hand of the JMC is never really visible, because the JMC has no funds to dispense. Until this money is made available for a "special project", the local councils are often not even aware the money will be dispensed.

Let us not be blind to a new and insidious system of control which is emerging, which is bureaucratic in control, answerable only to the State Intelligence Service, which sets its own goals and objectives and which is usurping the function of elected public representation.

Botha hits back at Indaba 'sniping'

(304A)

African Affairs Correspondent

MR STOFFEL Botha, Natal leader of the National Party, last night said he was disappointed that the chairman of the KwaZulu/-Natal Indaba, Prof Desmond Clarence, had not rebuked the PFP's Mr Ray Swart for saying the NP was trying to use Right-wing groups to wreck the Indaba.

Mr Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, said Mr Swart's uncalled-for 'sniping' at other representatives taking part in the talks could only be directed at 'fully representative' bodies like the Afrikaanse Handelsinstuut and the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur.

'I refute the allegation that I or my party has any influence on them or has tried to intervene in their representations,' he said.

'If they share the same philosophy as the National Party, then they are just as entitled to their viewpoints as those people who might support the policies of the PFP.'

He was disappointed that people who professed to uphold the freedom of speech and expression should make such 'baseless accusations'.

It was tantamount to suggesting that the NP representatives had 'dishonest motives', Mr Botha said.

Outcome

He was disappointed that Prof Clarence, as chairman, had not 'admonished' Mr Swart for casting such reflections on 'fully-representative' delegates to the meeting They, like everyone else, were there to achieve the best possible outcome.

'That process requires argument and counter-argument,' Mr Botha said.

He wished the deliberations well and hoped that these 'uncalled-for' and unseemly' accusations would not inhibit the outcome.

Prof Clarence said in reply that he had been critical throughout the Indaba proceedings of people who had made political statements outside the Indaba which had been to the disadvantage of the 'smooth working' of the organisation.

It would probably be some time before the final report of the negotiations was completed although most of the design work on a constitution had been finished

However, while this raised expectations of an imminent announcement concerning the final report, several points remained which had still to be discussed in order to satisfy as many delegations as possible.

'It's a question of power sharing,' Prof Clarence said

'The aim is to produce a constitution which will satisfy all groups that they will have adequate representation in the running of the provincial legislature without fear of domination from any other group'.

I'd have joined boycott, says Naidoo

GERMISTON—Daddy Naidoo, the Durban Indian who is the only black playing in this week's R100 000 Germiston Centenary Tournament over the Germiston Golf Club course, said yesterday he had apparently been expelled from the black Tournament Players' Association.

Naidoo said he had been distressed by the news, passed on to him by one of the black golfers boycotting this week's tournament because of its association with what activists said was a celebration of the 'black man's oppression.'

'When I hear officially from the TPA I will protest,' said Naidoo. 'In the first place, as far as I know the TPA never held any meeting over the boycott, and I was certainly never told about it.

'If I had been told about the boycott in time, I would have joined it, and I am in solidarity with the blacks who are not playing.' — (Sapa)

● See also Page 30

Worrall called leftist by CP's Langley

28/11/85 (304)

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A row has broken out between Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party and South Africa's ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, with the CP calling Dr Worrall a "left-winger" who had been a "young Prog and an admirer of Martin Luther King".

The CP's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Tom Langley, made the comments in reaction to a speech here this week, in which Mr Worrall said there was a danger of extreme right and left political groups asserting themselves in the vaccum created as the government reached a crossroads.

Mr Worrall said extreme right-wing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbegeging, the CP —and at the other end, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), had a concept of where they were going.

"The big hope is that neither extreme triumphs."

Mr Worrall said he believed Afrikaner nationalism and a strong sense of identity could be creative, but "it would be unfortunate if it enforced itself".

Mr Langley said the CP took strong exception to Mr Worrall referring to it as extreme and "linking it to the ANC and Azapo".

The impression that the CP was now on the extreme right was "maliciously created" as it it held the same principles as the "true National Party less than 10 years ago," he said.

Many whites 'could never live with blacks'

JOHANNESBURG—Many South African whites will never be able to live peacefully with blacks on equal terms.

Years of propaganda at schools and universities will have conditioned them 'to the extent that no matter what arguments are presented, they will not be able to live peacefully with blacks . . '

This warning came from Mr John Cluett, president of Vemssa (Value Engineering and Management Society of SA) in an address at the society's annual meeting.

He said: 'As a society striving to better the difficult inter-relations between cultures and races, as well as facing continuous economic hurdles, we have said little in the past about the political scenario.

'We have contributed greatly to commerce and industry by promoting a better understanding between people and improving financial performance. But we have had little to say about the impact of politics.

'It is time we spoke in the strongest terms about the lack of basic change in attitudes by the leaders of this country.

'Our experiences in industry have provided many examples of the antiquated and narrow-minded approach to the critical problems we face on a daily basis.

'The bottom-line problem of understanding the real needs of this nation are sadly lacking.

'A creative form of management is now needed at all levels. Value management has a special role in that it challenges all existing criteria, defines the real functions we perform and enhances understanding by using creativity to find better solutions to current problems.' — (Sapa)

28/11/86 (BDA)

April shivers made the Nats freeze Group Areas

28/11/86. WEEKLY MAIL 30TH

The most plausible explanation for the abrupt shelving of the Group Areas report after two years work is that the Nats plan to hold elections in April, and don't want any rightwing comebacks. JEAN LE MAY reports

THE controversial President's Council report on the Group Areas Act has been put in cold storage for two reasons: the Nats got cold feet about a rightwing backlash in next year's general election (probably in the second week of April), and President P W Botha is said to be making plans to retire after scoring a dramatic success in the election, after which he will hand the whole issue over to his successor.

This is the most likely explanation — among several mooted by protagonists — of the fiasco which left NP members of the PC's constitutional committee fuming and the Progs shilly-shallying while the Labour Party and the National People's Party went along with the arrangement.

The report, on which the committee has worked for two years, was to have been tabled on Tuesday.

Late last week came a shock announcement that it was to be referred back to the committee so that certain aspects could be further investigation.

Several PC sources have described this as hogwash, because they say they went into every angle within their terms of reference.

However Peter Marais, Peoples' Congress Party representative on the PC's constitutional committee, gave a clue when he said that he intended asking for the terms of reference to be widened.

The more usual way of reacting to the report would have been to produce a White Paper on it after it had been published, instead of sending it back to the committee.

Whatever the real reason for the delay, there is no doubt now that the aspects which the government found too hot to handle at the moment were those arising out of local option and the effect this would have on local government structures and municipal franchise.

Cold feet could have reached freezing point at reports which have appeared in the press during the last few months of substantial racial mixing in 'white' areas.

Ironically enough such exercises as surveys by Rapport and the Rand Afrikaans University were probably initiated to soften up the public for the PC's findings. Instead, they made the Cabinet's flesh creep, particularly as it is collectively holding its breath in anticipation of a rush to the towns by blacks newly released from the limitations of the pass laws and influx control.

For instance, the Rapport survey found that 60 percent of whites in the Cape would accept local option: Would this mean huge integrated areas all over the Cape, and if so, how long would it be before unavoidable questions would arise about voting where you lived, having your appendix out in Louis Leipoldt Hospital instead of Langa, and — horrors — sending your kids to Cape Town High instead of Crossroads No 3.

So PC chairman Piet Koornhof's swansong went badly off-key.

Government sources maintain that the delay came from within the PC itself. This is stretching credibility a little too far.

President Botha admitted at the National Party's Cape congress in October that the report was "at last before the Cabinet" — the same congress at which he said that the Group Areas Act was not a holy cow.

PFP's Robin Carlisle ... on, off on

After the 'delay' announcement, PFP PC leader Robin Carlisle told a press conference that the government's shelving of the report was 'a symbolic gesture' to demonstrate to the electorate that the reform process had come to an end.

He then announced that the PFP would boycott the PC until the next plenary session in January, when his motion on the delay would come up for debate.

The PFP's representative on the constitutional committee, Peter Schoeman, said the 'hijacking' of the report was aimed more at watering it down than at delaying it until after the election.

The PFP made itself look a little foolish by leaking information beforehand that it was considering withdrawing altogether from the PC. This was, of course, totally out of line with its hard-fought decision to participate in the PC two years ago and its decision last week to take part in regional services councils, and it had to back-track.

Part of its indignation could have been embarrassment at the fact that Carlisle was not at the steering committee meeting which ratified the decision to delay the report (he was not given enough notice, he said).

However, although the PFP does not have the inside information available to the Labour Party and the National People's Party — both of which have Cabinet Ministers as leaders — the PFP's on-off reaction is generally seen as playing politics, just as Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi first publicly reacted by playing to the grandstand.

But both the LP and the NPP voted with the government for the delay and against Carlisle's motion at a later steering committee meeting, leading to the inevitable supposition that the two Ministers-Without-Portfolio had the riot act read to them about disagreeing with Cabinet decisions.

They may have been assured that the outcome of the report, once it gets off the ground, will be a real humdinger How they will reconcile their acceptance of the delay with their consciences and pacify their electorates is, mercifully, very much and own affair.

SA reform limited by black veto — Buthelezi

FORT WORTH, Texas. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday that reform options for President P W Botha were bound "by black South Africa's veto power over what he does".

Addressing members of the Texas Christian University and of the Fort Worth City Council, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha could not establish "a neo-apartheid society" because black South Africa "will just not co-operate in the matter — and he cannot do so without black concurrence".

This was not an argument to support the fact that Mr Botha could not move and could only continue to employ violence, he said.

It was simply a statement that black non-violent democratic opposition to apartheid was powerful enough to limit the options of "the strongest man in Africa".

White society was making increasing demands for reform.

Chief Buthelezi charged that US firms were withdrawing from SA for purely economic reasons and "clothing their actions with political morality".

White society was making increasingly urgent demands on Mr Botha to get on with reform and they fully perceived that it was vulnerable because of whites' total economic dependence on blacks.

Was it just coincidental that, for instance, General Motors had closed down plants in the United States at the same time as withdrawing from his country?

He urged a re-examination of the nature of South Africa's conflict to decide if the analysis which led to sanctions stood close scrutiny.

Chief Buthelezi said the point had to be taken that it was those who most vehemently called for bloodshed who called the loudest for sanctions.

He said it might be an impertinent question from a foreign visitor, he said, but he would nevertheless like to know what contribution protectionist thinking had made to the decision by the United States to apply sanctions.

"How many senators and congressmen proclaimed the morality of sanctions against South Africa because they had been got at by protectionist lobbies?" he asked. — Sapa

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Steyn calls for realistic reform timetable

D D 28/4/86

30 YK

Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON — The director of the Urban Foundation, Mr Jan Steyn, has called on South Africa's major trading partners to devise a "realistic time-frame" for reform.

There was no official British Government reaction to his suggested targets and time-frame but Foreign Office sources indicated that it did not go far enough to win international credibility.

"We would need a much sharper signal to capture world attention.

"The bottom-line is a specific reform time-table for the next three years with fixed dates on which particular reforms will take place and the government would have to stick to it," the sources said.

Mr Steyn's time-table cited the restoring of citizenship to homeland blacks, the removal of racial restrictions on labour mobility as well as streamlining the financing of urban black housing, as the targets to be reached by mid-1987.

The phasing out of the Group Areas Act, the release of political prisoners, initiation for negotiations of black voting rights in central Parliament and an interim form of representation acceptable to "reasonable black leadership," were amongst the goals to be achieved by mid-1989.

The establishment of a single ministry of education and the opening of white government schools to blacks as well as a government subsidy for the construction of new multi-racial schools, were targets included in the timetable for mid-1989.

He said in the present "fever of expectations, these targets may appear overly modest".

"Negative measures will not be sufficient and the most powerful incentives for change must include rewards as well as retribution.

"External actors must establish clear targets within a realistic time-frame.

"This must be one which takes acount of unavoidable realities: the white electorate must be ready for each particular reform," he said.

Renewing his call for a Western development aid package he said a programme of well-directed development funding and facilitation of loan finances for open non-racial housing projects, for non-racial teacher training establishments and technical training institutions and bringing blacks into the formal economy, especially via small business development programmes, was required.

"If these development aid packages were to be of sufficient size to assist in restimulating the South African economy, the private sector will add its considerable weight to a European endeavour to promote change," he said.

CAPE TIMES 28/11/86 (304A)

SA whites 'too conditioned'

JOHANNESBURG. — Many South African whites will never be able to live peacefully with blacks on equal terms.

Years of propaganda at schools and universities will have conditioned them "to the extent that no matter what arguments are presented, they will not be able to live peacefully with blacks . . ."

This warning came from John Cluett, president of Vemssa (the Value Engineering and Management Society of SA) in an address at the society's annual general meeting on Wednesday night.

Mr Cluett said: "As a society striving to better the difficult inter-relations between cultures and races, as well as facing continuous economic hurdles, we have said little in the past about the political scenario.

"It is time we spoke in the strongest terms about the lack of basic change in attitudes by the leaders of this country.

"Our experiences in industry have provided many examples of the antiquated and narrow-minded approach to the critical problems we face on a daily basis.

"The bottom-line problem of understanding the real needs of this nation are sadly lacking.

"A creative form of management is now needed at all levels. Value management has a special role in that it challenges all existing criteria, defines the real functions we perform and enhances understanding by using creativity to find better solutions to current problems." — Sapa

DAIRY INDUSTRY, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Parties Employer organisation : Dairy Industry Employer's organisation
Trade Union : National Union of Dairy Industry Employees

Area A: Cape Province: The Magisterial Districts of The Cape, Simon's Town, Wynberg, Bellville, Port Elizabeth and Stellenbosch, and the municipal area of Kimberley
Transvaal: The Magisterial Districts of Johannesburg, Germiston and Klerksdorp.
Orange Free State: The Magisterial District of Bloemfontein.

Area B: Cape Province: The municipal areas of Queenstown and Vryburg and the Magisterial District of Oudtshoorn
Orange Free State: The municipal Area of Bethlehem
Natal: The Municipal areas of Newcastle and Vyrheid.

Area C: All areas in the Republic not covered by A & B.

Footnotes

1. Overtime pay - Minimum of a full day's pay after two hours work on a Public Holiday

All race laws must go - Dakin

30PA Eve Post 28/11/86

JOHANESBURG — Mr Geoff Dakin, former president of the South African Cricket Union, last night made a strong appeal to the Government to abolish every racial law in the country.

"And we will support you with loyalty and ensure that you continue as our leaders," he told the Rand Sportswriters' Sportman of the Year banquet at the Wanderers.

He said he hoped his message would be taken up by "those in charge of our destiny" and also hoped that 1987 would "bring a spirit of togetherness and happier times for everybody".

Dakin said most South Africans realised the errors of their ways and he hoped that blacks would learn to forgive those errors.

"We are looking for a united SA — and certain people, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu — must not expect me to apologise for being a white South African."

He said the word apartheid had bedevilled SA and had affected all aspects of the country's life.

"We are still riddled with apartheid," he said.

Dakin said massive changes had been achieved in SA over several years and he was now sick and tired of the words "rebel tours".

"What I cannot understand is if we were not good enough to go to Australia in 1970, surely we are good enough to go in 1986 after cricket has complied with all the changes demanded."

He asked how much more South African sporting administrators must put up with and how much further South African sportsmen would have to suffer in their efforts to return to international competition. — Sapa

D.D 29/1/86

HNP gearing for election

PRETORIA — The split between the rightwing Herstigte Nasionale and Conservative parties increased yesterday with the announcement by the HNP it would "definitely" be putting up its own candidates in four constituencies for the expected parliamentary by-elections next year.

The HNP leadership had decided to nominate candidates for the Aliwal North, Cradock, Delmas and Sundays River constituencies, the party secretary, Mr Louis van der Schyff, said.

The party organisations in these constituencies had already started procedures to nominate candidates.

Mr Van der Schyff said the HNP's attitude was that the public should prepare itself for a general election early next year.

● The chief secretary of the National Party in the Cape, Mr Frik van Deventer, will be the party's candidate in the parliamentary by-election in Durbanville.

The vacancy in Durbanville follows the decision of the Minister of Public Works, Dr L. Munnik, to retire from politics at the end of the month. — Sapa-DDC

'Higher living standards to avoid disaster'

Cape Times 29/11/86

Wages must rise to aid economy — Kantor

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Deputy Financial Editor

WAGES and salaries must rise to revive the economy through increased spending, University of Cape Town professor of economics Brian Kantor said yesterday.

Stressing the need for rising standards of living in this country if disaster is to be avoided, Kantor explained in an interview: "Paying people more will not be inflationary.

"Labour is a commodity like any other and wage inflation has lagged behind other types of inflation, which is an indefensible position."

He said he expected to see higher pay rises soon as employers felt the need to protect their labour resources.

"If the recovery is to gather momentum, wages must rise.

Brian Kantor

Margins under pressure

"It is true that margins will come under pressure as a result, but sales volumes will improve and that means recovery for the economy."

Kantor has just returned from three months overseas, visiting Hong Kong, Canada, the US and Britain.

He gave lectures in which he explained the long-term harm sanctions would do to SA by limiting growth and encouraging the emigration of people with badly-needed skills.

He said yesterday that though the future of Hong Kong was uncertain, skilled people were not leaving in such numbers as from SA because they were not prevented by exchange controls from investing money elsewhere.

"Here, exchange controls encourage emigration and the loss of skills.

"In Hong Kong, the absence of such controls encourages the commitment of skills.

"People there believe they can get rich quickly and they can protect themselves against the danger that the Red Chinese will take their wealth when Britain relinquishes control of the colony.

"The capital markets have become international and savers in advanced countries are enjoying the freedom to put their money whereever it will earn the highest return.

"This is the case in Britain, where in 1979 the Thatcher government removed exchange controls.

"The same situation exists in the US and Western Europe.

"It is a development of tremendous importance and we lose out very badly through not being able to take part."

Kantor believes that it was a mistake for SA to impose exchange controls on foreigners.

"The commercial exchange rate would probably have fallen lower.

"But then SA would have been able to deal with its economic problems much more freely than it has been able to do.

Step up gold production

"By imposing exchange controls SA gave itself a serious debt problem, which has prevented the authorities from relieving the deflationary pressures of higher prices for fear of what it would do to export surpluses and what it would mean for the capacity to repay the debt which is outstanding."

His solution now is to step up gold production, without worrying about extending the lives of the mines, and use this to repay debt at market-related prices.

This, he said, would "clear the decks" for the development of the South African economy.

"We must raise living standards now, not worry about conserving resources for the 21st Century, if we are to have a multiracial democracy and not a multiracial autocracy."

Germans oppose

Black PM in new Natal plan

Cape Times 29/11/86

30KA

DURBAN. — Moderate black and white organizations forming the KwaNatal Indaba yesterday unveiled an unprecedented proposal after eight months of talks for Natal to be governed by a multiracial legislature and probably by a black prime minister.

The Indaba decided by 24 votes out of 35 yesterday to opt for a new system of provincial government which would treat the region as a political unit with universal adult suffrage and the constitutional protection of minority rights.

At a historic press conference, Professor Desmond Clarence, chairman of the Indaba, said only two organizations had indicated they would not be able to sign the final draft.

Sponsoring bodies

These were the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuur and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

He said three other bodies had asked for time to consult their constituents.

The chairman was flanked during the press conference by the representatives of the two sponsoring bodies of the

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Cape Times 29/11/86

30KA

Indaba envisages mixed-race system

Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the KwaZulu Minister of Education, and Mr Frank Martin, former senior Natal Provincial MEC.

Prof Clarence said not all the parties who might eventually become signatories had put their names to the agreement.

"People are very excited that they have managed to reach an agreement," said Mr Peter Mansfield, who served on the constitutional committee formed during the talks.

"They don't know what the government's reaction will be, but there is a sense of history in the making in that this could be the start of major constitutional changes in South Africa."

The proposal by the Indaba calls for Natal/KwaZulu to be governed by a two-chamber legislature, the first chamber consisting of 100 members elected through a proportional representation system and the second a 50-member chamber comprising 10 representatives each from Natal's black, Asian, Afrikaans- and English-speaking communities and 10 at-large members, a South African group representing voters who prefer not to vote according to "background".

The percentage vote captured by any group would be directly reflected in membership of the chamber, according to the Indaba press release.

It also allows for a Prime Minister responsible to the first chamber and a cabinet of 10.

The agreement further makes provision for a Governor, appointed by the State President on the advice of the provincial legislature.

The prime minister would be elected by the upper chamber, making it likely he or she would be a black since blacks comprise almost 80 percent of Natal-KwaZulu's population.

But any legislation would require approval by both chambers, and minority parties would be allowed to choose half of the 10 provincial cabinet ministers.

It incorporates a Bill of Rights, already published by the Indaba, constitutionally entrenched and enforceable against the Governor and all organs of government at provincial level in Natal.

The proposal also calls for an independent judiciary. Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP

Cape Times 29/11/86

Police given "note"

Rupert returns Verwoerd prize

Argus 29/11/86

(Cont. from Page 1)

pressure groups to interfere with its activities.

Mrs Boshoff said she had not written the article sent to Dr Rupert but agreed with its contents, Sapa reports.

She said the Verwoerd family had at first considered noting its objection to the award of the prize to Dr Rupert, but had later decided not to do so.

Dr Verwoerd's son, Professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, praised Dr Rupert's "good judgment" in returning the award.

"I respect Dr Rupert as a businessman and conservationist but in the light of his political opinions, this award is not justified.

"Dr Rupert is too verlig and he was one of Dr Verwoerd's detractors," he said.

Professor Verwoerd thought the award trustees had exhibited a similar degree of "bad judgment" in choosing Dr Rupert as the Nobel Peace Prize selectors had when they chose Arhbishop Tutu to receive that honour, he said.

Professor Verwoerd denied involvement in the criticism which has resulted in Dr Rupert returning the award.

"It is not a matter for the family," he said.

Dr Rupert is away for the weekend and could not be reached for comment. Professor Carel Boshoff and Mrs Anna Boshoff were unavailable for comment. The Afrikaner Volkswag office in Pretoria said they were both at a meeting in Krugersdorp.

RUPERT HANDS BACK DR VERWOERD PRIZE

W/E ARGUS 29/11/86

304A

DR Anton Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt group, has handed back the R20 000 Hendrik Verwoerd prize awarded to him earlier this year.

Dr Rupert

Dr Rupert took the decision after negative reaction from a daughter of Dr Verwoerd, Mrs Anna Boshoff, executive vice-chair of the Afrikaner Volkswag

She sent him a letter accompanied by a critical article that appeared in the November/December issue of the Possak, mouthpiece of the AV. The awarding of the prize to Dr Rupert was also criticised in other right-wing publications.

Mrs Boshoff's husband, Professor Carel Boshoff, is chairman of the AV and was also a member of the board of the Hendrik Verwoerd Trust, which decided unanimously to award the prize to Dr Rupert.

The prize is awarded for "exceptional service of national interest"

Dr Rupert promised earlier this year to donate the prize money to the South African Nature Foundation for the development of fynbos areas at Betty's Bay, where the former Prime Minister owned a beach cottage Dr Rupert will now donate the money out of his own pocket.

Sapa reports that Mrs Boshoff, who is unhappy that the prize was awarded to Dr Rupert, said her father would have been as surprised at the award as Cecil Rhodes would have been had he been told that Dr Verwoerd would one day live in his house.

Respect

Dr Rupert wrote to Mrs Boshoff saying he had accepted the prize out of respect for Dr Verwoerd.

"Since you and possibly other members of the (Verwoerd) family feel that my acceptance of the award would bring dishonour on the name of your father, I will reject the prize," he said.

The chairman of the Trust's control board, Mr Willem Cruywagen, asked Dr Rupert to reconsider but the Rembrandt chairman informed Mr Cruywagen this week of his final decision to reject the prize.

Mr Cruywagen said the trust could not allow individuals and

(Turn to Page 3, Col 6)

Accord on Indaba reached at last

W/E ARGUS 29/11/86 (304A)

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Kwazulu/Natal Indaba has reached, by a huge majority, an historic agreement on a non-racial government for Natal.

Weekend Argus Political Staff report that Government reaction to the successful Natal/Kwazulu Indaba was being withheld last night.

As champagne flowed after two days of the stormiest negotiating witnessed around the Indaba horseshoe, the chairman Professor Desmond Clarence, hailed it as a "watershed" that held great hope for South Africa.

Professor Clarence is former vice-chancellor and principal of Natal University.

The sudden breakthough was reached late yesterday afternoon when delegates voted 24 - 2 in favour of a non-racial constitution, with only an "Afrikaans block" refusing to sign the agreement.

They are the Afrikaans cultural group FAK and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

Six delegates were absent and three others — Solidarity Party, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and the Durban Chamber of Commerce — abstained.

However, indications are that with Solidarity and the Durban Chamber of Commerce the problems are only "procedural".

One delegate said: "It just suddenly clicked. At one stage we were getting nowhere — and then it seemed as if everyone just decided 'to hell with it all — let's make it work'."

The proposals envisage a two-chamber provincial government consisting of 100 and 50 seats respectively. The first chamber will be elected on a one-adult, one-vote basis through a system of multi-member, constituency-based proportional representation.

The second chamber will act as a system of checks and balances with five "backgrounds" represented — African, Asian, Afrikaans, English and "South African" for groups not wishing to be identified along ethnic lines.

All legislation, however, would have to be passed by both chambers.

A Natal Prime Minister with a 10-member Cabinet would be elected as head of the first chamber and he or she would be free to nominate five Cabinet members.

The other five Cabinet members would be chosen by the opposition groups.

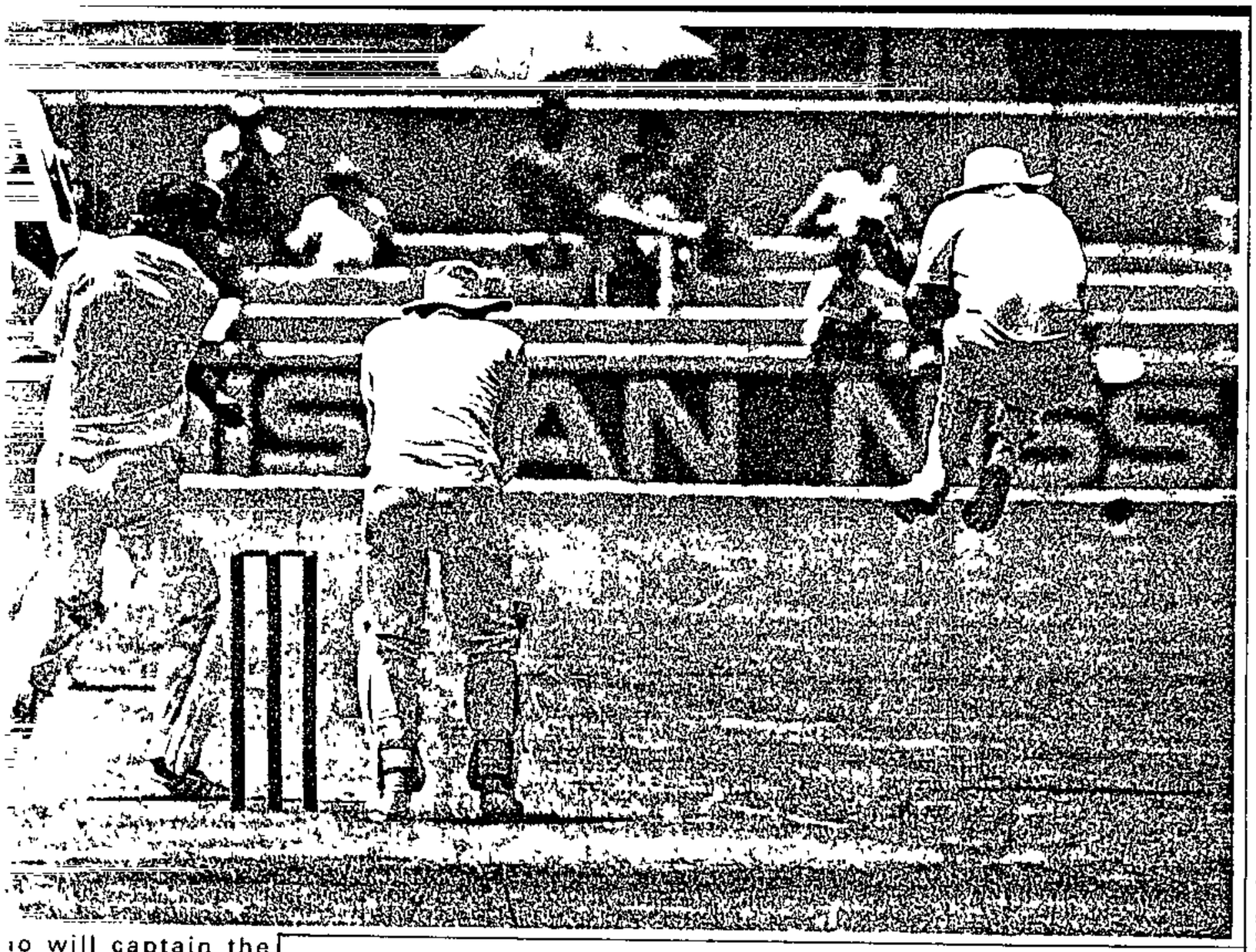
Other major clauses in the proposed constitution are:

- A Governor will be appointed by the President on the advice of the provincial legislature;
- A provincial Bill of Rights will be constitutionally entrenched;
- A "cultural council" will be established to protect the interests of "cultural" groups with the right of recourse to the Supreme Court;
- In Kwazulu provision will be made for a council of chiefs and will be regarded as local authorities; and,
- For the purpose of elections to the first chamber the province will be divided into 15 constituencies with 66 electoral seats. The balance of 34 seats would be allocated to parties or groups in proportion to the percentage of their electoral support.

Indaba decision

NATS say. No to Indaba decision NM 1/12/86 (304A)

...e in Springbok form



...o will captain the ... the Australians in ...t series beginning on ... do a little 'Bok-like' ...ead yesterday to avoid from Natal opener An...owler Hugh Page and ...ketkeeper) can only ... in the Natal-Trans-game which continues ...port. Page 17.

Picture by ANTHONY McMILLAN

Wallaby captain jets in on 'recce mission' for tour

Marshall Wilson

MELBOURNE—Australian rugby captain Andrew Slack has jetted to Johannesburg on a two-week reconnaisance mission which could decide whether or not the Wallabies will tour next year

Paid for by unidentified South African rugby interests, his visit has thrown the Australian Rugby Football Union (ARFU) into a spin.

One of sport's best kept secrets, Slack's trip will enable him to see at first hand a political system he has heard so much about, and meet for the first time sports officials with similar ideas about building bridges between races

If he likes what he sees and the terms are right, I'll wager the Wallabies will play the Boks in a four-test series in the Republic next winter, whether the Australian Government likes it or not

In an interview this year, after Australia beat the All Blacks for the first time in a series in New Zealand, Slack said the next target was the Springboks

'I resent being told by politicians that going to South Africa is tantamount to supporting apartheid,' Slack told me

'As a sportsman I have no intention of becoming embroiled in politics but I have the same democratic right as anyone to travel and play against whom I wish Having beaten New Zealand, I would give my right arm to play the Springboks and so would the majority of my players'

While he disliked the idea of racial segregation because of the colour of peoples' skin, he wanted to see South Africa through his own eyes and not the end of a television lens

Since May the ARFU has kept a tight lid on the likely outcome of the official invitation tendered by the South African Rugby Board

Yesterday, a startled ARFU executive director John Dedrick refused to confirm that the Wallabies will make a 15-match tour starting on July 25

If the truth be known, the ARFU is hedging Fully aware that the majority of its players and supercoach Alan Jones are committed to go regardless, the ARFU is attempting to minimise disruption of next year's inaugural World Cup

Meanwhile, the SABC reported that Slack was in South Africa at the invitation of Yellow Pages to watch the start of the cricket series between Australia and the Springboks

Cary Grant, 82, dies of stroke

DAVENPORT—American movie actor Cary Grant died on Saturday night of a stroke after preparing for a theatre appearance He was 82.

Grant, debonair leading man of films for more than 30 years, was to have appeared at a theatre in this Iowa town for a show entitled *A Conversation with Cary Grant*

A show organiser said the actor had appeared to feel all right during an afternoon rehearsal

But as he was leaving the stage he asked for support from his wife, Barbara Harris

Grant, born in Britain, starred in 72 movies, including classics such as *The Philadelphia Story*, *Bringing Up Baby* and *North by Northwest*

He was married five times, the last time in 1981 — (Sapa-AP)

● See Page 11

Massive hunt for killers

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A MASSIVE hunt has been launched in the Ladysmith district for a gang responsible for the killing of a white mine employee who was shot through the head during an attempted robbery while he was paying out wages early on Saturday

The man's name will be released once his family has been told

Police said two white men, employed at the Slater Coal Mine at Elandslaagte, in the Ladysmith area, were held up at gunpoint about 7 30 a m while paying out wages to mine workers One of them was shot through the head by the robbers after he tried to reach his own gun

The spokesman said the gang apparently consisted of four black men who were strangers to the mine employees

He said employees had queued up in front of an office at the mine premises for their pay Two unknown black men pushed past them and went inside.

They stood behind the two men who were responsible for paying out the wages and threatened them with revolvers, demanding money

One man reached for his gun, which was lying on the desk in front of him, and one of the robbers fired at him but missed The other robber fired a second shot, hitting the employee in the back of the head.

The robbers fired a third shot into the air and then fled outside, where they were joined by two others

They ran from the scene without taking any money

The victim of the shooting was killed instantly His colleague was not injured

Lifesavers busy with 59 rescues

Mercury Reporter

A MAN drowned at Sunlight Beach near Umgababa on the South Coast and 59 people had to be assisted from rough surf at Durban beaches yesterday.

Police spokesman Maj Charl du Toit said the man drowned while swimming with a friend

Durban's director of Parks Recreation and Beaches, Mr Errol Scarr, said a heavy sea combined with the spring tide resulted in a strong backwash and 59 people had to be helped by lifesavers

All the beaches were crowded in the fine weather

Twenty-five people were rescued at Addington Beach, 14 at South Beach, 12 at the Bay of Plenty and eight at other beaches.

Mr Scarr said both the new paddling pools were 'exceptionally well used'

● Picture Page 4

Mercury Reporter

THE National Party last night rejected the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's constitutional proposal, labelling it a dominating model which would lead to a 'one-man-one-vote majority system'.

In the first categorical rejection of the Indaba by the NP, which had observer status at the Indaba, the Minister of Home Affairs and leader of the party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, said mechanisms created in the model were for the protection of only the cultural interests of groups

'There is no indication of effective and equal power sharing Indeed, contrary to the beliefs of the National Party, it is clear that the implementation of this model will lead to domination

According to this model it is inevitable that in the legislative and executive authority a majority party, as in the typical Westminster system, will effectively exercise all power

'Such a party will not necessarily be representative of all groups

'This fact has unacceptable implications in the light of the composition of the population of the region, and specifically because there are groups in this region who want to participate in political processes and structures on a group basis,' said Mr Botha

Any new constitution should be democratic, enabling everyone to participate in the process of government, and structures that were agreed to should make provision for equal power sharing without any one group dominating another

Does not comply

'The National Party of Natal is convinced that the model which the Indaba has now agreed to by majority vote does not comply with these principles and that it therefore can not identify with this model

'Although it was attempted in this model to accommodate the so called "minority rights", the result clearly amounts to a one man-one vote majority system in which mechanisms are created for the protection of only the cultural interests of groups,' said Mr Botha.

The Indaba was an informative exercise from which valuable lessons could be learned for further constitutional developments

'Only one important lesson can be highlighted at this stage The Indaba offered the opportunity for frank discussion and the spontaneous growth of mutual commitment to finding solutions in our region

'There were, however, also unfortunate occurrences which must be highlighted in order to prevent their recurrence in future indabas or discussions'

He listed these as

- Endeavours by certain elements in the Indaba to precipitate the deliberations and to anticipate the decisions,
- Selective leakages to the media with the purpose of promoting certain viewpoints and discrediting others;
- The suppressing of important views submitted to the Indaba such as the memoranda of the Natal Municipal Association on 14 November 1986 and of the Natal Agricultural Union on November 20, and,
- The premature enforcement of a majority decision

These sunk the potential of the Indaba to reach through meaningful negotiation consensus to the advantage of all the people of the region

The NP was committed to the development of structures within which all inhabitants of the region could participate in the management of regional affairs

'The National Party of Natal is, however, convinced that this cannot be realised by a dominating model such as the one decided upon by the Indaba'

Reacting to Mr Botha's statement, the Indaba chairman, Prof Desmond Clarence, said, 'I'm very surprised he made a statement so soon

'Before we have had an opportunity to present and discuss the proposals with the Government, he has made a decision to dismiss them.'

Mr Dirk Kemp, a member of the Indaba's organising committee, said Mr Botha had for some reason changed from an interested observer to an outright opponent — 'a change of attitude on which I believe he owes the public and the Indaba chairman an explanation'

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP Durban Central and national chairman of the PFP, said last night the reaction amounted to a insult to the people of Natal and made asses of moderates who were seeking negotiated and peaceful change

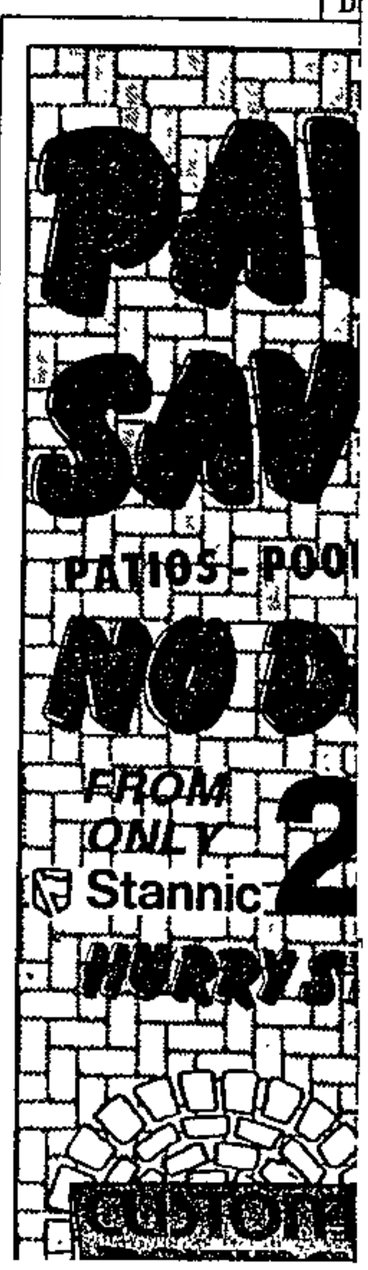
'The Government now has no chance to get any negotiations going in South Africa

'It is a reaction from a Government which seems to have a death wish for South Africa

'Confrontation is likely to form the pattern of politics in future,' said Mr Gastrow.

Earlier, the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba chairman,

★ TURN TO PAGE 2



P.T.O.

Blow to Indaba; Natal Nats say no

Cape Times 1/12/86

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE historic KwaNatal agreement was dealt a crushing blow last night when the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, dismissed the initiative as a recipe for domination of whites by blacks.

Mr Botha's categoric rejection of the plan effectively kills the eight-month-old Indaba, which only 48 hours earlier reached a historic agreement whereby Natal would be governed by a multi-racial legislature — and probably by a black prime minister.

On Friday moderate black and white organizations comprising the Indaba agreed to a new system of provincial government which would treat the region as a political unit with universal adult suffrage and the constitutional protection of minority rights.

However, Mr Botha — who enjoyed observer status at the Indaba — last night said that although the plan "attempted to accommodate so-called minority rights, the result clearly amounts to a one-man one-vote system".

The Indaba's constitutional

Mr Stoffel Botha

blueprint, he claimed, gave "no indication" of effective and equal power-sharing. "Indeed, it is clear that the implementation of this model would lead to domination."

Explaining why the NP in Natal "cannot identify with this model", Mr Botha said that in terms of the plan it was "inevitable" that the legislative and executive authorities of the majority party "will effectively exercise all power".

"Such a party will not necessarily be representative of all groups. This fact has unacceptable implications in the light of the composition of the population in the region," he said.

Mr Botha emphasized that he was speaking in his capacity as NP leader of Natal and not as official government spokesman on the matter.

However, political observers agreed that it was highly unlikely that the government could adopt a favourable or objective stance towards the Natal plan after its unambiguous rejection by a provincial leader.

Earlier yesterday, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, adopted an extremely guarded posture towards the KwaNatal agreement.

He claimed he had not seen the agreement — indeed, that he had "no information" on it.

Asked if he would respond if details of the plan were spelt out to him on the phone, Mr Heunis said that as the responsible minister he could not say anything until he had been formally notified of the agreement.

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said that if Mr Botha's views coincided with those of the government "it can only mean they have a death-wish for South Africa".

"It is unbelievable that a minister, albeit a junior one, can respond in so peremptory and destructive a manner to proposals which are the result of eight months of hard deliberation, negotiation and compromise on the part of groups representing a

To Page 2

P.T.O.

From Page 1

broad cross-section of the public in Natal.

"How dare Stoffel Botha as a member of a government which has failed so abysmally even to get the semblance of negotiation going in South Africa do this.

"I believe that the public of Natal will be aghast at this clumsy, premature and ignorant rejection of the product of the Indaba process in the crisis situation that South Africa is in."

Earlier, before news of Mr Botha's rejection of the plan, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said of the KwaNatal agreement: "Basically this is one of the more encouraging exercises in South Africa in recent years. Although the product is nobody's first choice, it represents a sensible consensus.

"What is important is that this shows that if you can get people to the negotiating table, a chemistry develops which breaks down barriers and compromise becomes possible."

Mr Eglin said that in the absence of a workable government alternative, the Indaba blueprint might develop a groundswell of support that would be difficult for the government to ignore.

The Indaba proposal could also serve as forerunner for other regional experiments.

"If Natal — which represents a racial microcosm of South Africa — can reach this degree of agreement, then provided there is proper negotiation an agreement on a macro scale might also be possible," he said.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton, described the plan as "workable, satisfactory and well thought out".

"It has gone as well as it can. Everybody made concessions. This is a step towards a solution — KwaNatal is now emerging as a unit in a future federation."

Mr Sutton said a referendum should now be held among Afrikaners to clarify whether they wanted to be part of a future multi-racial government.

Indaba rejected

★ FROM PAGE 1

Prof Desmond Clarence, had rejected as 'completely unfounded' claims that the proposals for a multiracial government for Natal were hurriedly pushed through for political gain and because of fears that the talks would break down.

Prof Clarence said only two organisations had indicated they would not be able to sign the final draft.

These were the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereeniginge and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

He said three bodies had asked for time to consult their constituents.

Prof Clarence was not prepared to divulge the names of these organisations because, he said, they contained a 'wide spectrum of political opinion'.

At an historic Press conference on Friday, Prof Clarence was flanked by representatives of the two sponsoring bodies of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, representing the KwaZulu Government, and Mr Frank Martin, former senior MEC, representing the old Natal Provincial Council.

Prof Clarence said he had not obtained all the signatories to the agreement which might eventually be forthcoming.

'We have not reached full consensus. In some cases, we have signatures from the delegates themselves, indicating that they believe that what we have achieved is the maximum of compromise'.

Judiciary

The agreement was reached after eight months of negotiation behind closed doors by almost 40 political and other interest groups from the region.

It provides for a two-chamber legislature with wide powers, a provincial governor, a prime minister and 10-man cabinet, a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary and 'cultural councils' to protect major cultural rights.

A statement from the Indaba said the agreement would require the sanction of the central Government before it could be implemented.

The statement said it was envisaged that the proposals would first be put to the people of Natal and KwaZulu for approval by way of a referendum.

The agreement provides for a 100-member legislative chamber elected by universal adult suffrage through a system of multi-member, constituency-based proportional representation.

The agreement also provides for a 50-member second chamber, equally representing African, Afrikaans, Asian and English background groups as well as a South African group representing voters who prefer not to vote according to 'background'.

Prof Clarence told the Mercury he had no idea when the proposals would be put to the people of Natal and KwaZulu for approval through a referendum.

Speaking for Pietermaritzburg yesterday, Mr Andries Louw, the Handelsinstituut representative at the Indaba, said his organisation did not sign the proposals because 'certain very important issues, including the matter of power-sharing, had not yet been debated to the fullest consequences.'

NP rejects Indaba proposals as they 'will end in domination'

— The leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, has rejected the constitutional proposals put forward by the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

Mr Botha, who is also Minister of Home Affairs, said the proposals, if implemented, would lead to domination.

He said in a statement from Pretoria that, although the proposals attempted to accommodate minority rights, the end result would be a one-man, one-vote majority system.

He said the proposals would create mechanisms solely for the protection of the cultural interests of groups.

There was no mention of effective equal power-sharing.

Mr Botha said that, in contrast with the aims of the National Party, the implementation of the Indaba's proposals would lead to "total domination".

According to the Indaba's model, it was clear a majority party would effectively exercise sole power in the legislative and executive authority, as was the case in a typical Westminster system.

Mr Botha said the Indaba was informative and provided valuable lessons for future development.

OBSERVER STATUS

It was accepted the proposals would be formally put before the Government.

The NP, which had observer status at the Indaba, could not associate itself with the model of the Indaba, he said.

The model did not comply with certain of the principles of the NP's constitution structure.

These were its requirements that at provincial or regional level the structure had to contain elements of democracy and allow all to take part in the process of government, as well as structures making provision for equal power-sharing without domination by one group or another.

He stressed the NP was committed to reform whereby the unequal prejudice to residents of Natal and kwaZulu on the basis of race and colour was eradicated. — Sapa.

Chances ruined, says PFP

DURBAN — The Government's rejection of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba recommendations had ruined its chances of starting constitutional negotiations, a Progressive Federal Party statement said last night.

Mr Peter Gastrow, the party's national chairman, was reacting to Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha's remarks about the Indaba.

Mr Botha said the Indaba's proposed legislative authority for Natal amounted to one-man, one-vote and this the Government rejected.

Mr Botha's statement was "a reaction from bigots who seem to have a death wish for South Africa". It insulted Natalians and made asses of moderates, said the PFP statement.

"The Government now has no chance to get negotiations going," Mr Gastrow said. "Confrontation will probably form the pattern of politics." — Sapa.

INDABA: NOW IT'S OVER TO HEUNIS

(3641)

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

THE Government has not yet slammed the door on the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba but it is clear that it will not accept the constitutional proposals in their present form.

The reaction of the National Party has taken the sparkle out of the champagne with which the conclusion was toasted on Friday.

However, the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, who firmly rejected the constitutional proposals at the weekend, said today that he hoped that ways and means could be found to use the proposals as a basis for negotiation.

"Domination"

He said the proposal would create a one-man, one-vote system that would lead to "total domination" by blacks.

Hopes are now being placed on Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, meeting his undertaking made in July that the opinion of the poeple of Natal could be tested in a referendum.

And Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, made it clear today that if an election was held next year the Indaba would be the main issue on which it would be fought in Natal.

Mr Swart also called on President P W Botha to intervene, warning that the National Party's reaction would fan sanctions and increase polarisation in Natal.

Referendum

Mr Swart was dismayed at Mr Stoffel Botha's reaction: "It is unbelievable that a Minister, who is the Natal leader of his party, can respond in so destructive a manner to proposals which are the result of eight months of hard deliberation, negotiation and compromise."

At issue is the protection of group rights with the NP claiming that there was no real protection of groups. But it was disclosed today that a number of other delegations, including the PFP, had real reservations about the emphasis placed on group rights in the proposals.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence asked what the NP meant by reform when it rejected the proposals so rapidly. He hoped that Mr Heunis would now meet his undertaking for a referendum.

In an interview at the weekend, Mr Heunis, who heads the special Cabinet sub-committee which will study the Indaba proposals, said he could not comment at this stage.

Agreement

"I have not yet been informed about the report and I would like to look at it before commenting."

However, Mr Heunis said the proposals would have to meet certain criteria.

These had been spelt out at the NP's federal congress in Durban earlier in the year.

The most important of these broad guidelines were that "there should be group protection, no domination and stability".

In clear reference to earlier statements that there should be agreement from all the people

(Turn to Page 3, Col 8)

Indaba

(Cont. from Page 1)

of Natal, he said the "extent of agreement" reached would be important in considering the report.

Meanwhile, a cloud hangs over the rapidity with which the Indaba brought its deliberations to a conclusion.

The NP has accused the organisers of rushing through the proposals without reaching consensus and of covering up differences while superimposing the views of one group attempting to create an air of anticipation.

In turn the NP has come under fire for reacting too rapidly to the proposals and killing off a real prospect for peace and stability.

But senior Nationalists were saying today that the Indaba organisers had repeatedly misread warning signs. NP observer members had repeatedly warned in private conversations that the recommendations were not acceptable.

Mr Botha said in an interview today that he had not reacted to the Indaba recommendations as a member of the Government but as Natal leader of the NP and as an observer at the Indaba.

It was also not an over-hasty decision, he said.

"I had someone at every meeting, I have every document in my possession and I am probably better informed than most."

"The Government will still have to consider the proposals," Mr Botha said.

He conceded that his views would have a major bearing on the Governmemt's response.

He again rejected charges, repeated by Mr Swart today, that the Nationalists had attempted to wreck the Indaba throughout.

President Botha said earlier in the year that the Government did not exclude special arrangements in regions. The Government has, however, studiously avoided stating how far it was prepared to go.

It approved the agreement reached by Kwazulu and Natal for a joint executive authority but emphasised that this excluded a joint legislature.

The Government's rejection of the plan is a blow for the prospects of political negotiation and compromise, according to Mr John Kane-Berman, the deputy chairman of the Indaba.

"This is an over-hasty response which slaps down the whole process of political compromise which the Indaba has been involved in for the past eight months. It strikes a blow for the prospects of negotiation in Natal and elsewhere," Mr Kane-Berman said.

304A

oin PW's reshaped team

Mr George Bartlett ... Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology.

Mr Jacobus van Wyk ... Deputy Minister of Environment and Water Affairs.

Mr Myburgh Streicher ... Deputy Minister of Transport Services.

Dr M H Veldsman ... Deputy Minister of Transport Services.

was elected MP for Paarl in 1981.

● MR ROELF MEYER becomes Deputy Minister of Police.

Mr Meyer (39), who is MP for Johannesburg West, won his seat in there in 1979.

Interviewed after his appointment was announced, Mr Meyer said his new post was a difficult one but he would try to improve the image of South Africa's police force.

Battle

● DR ORG MARAIS (55) has been appointed Deputy Minister of Finance and will join Mr Kent Durr.

He conquered the Waterkloof constituency for the National Party in the "Battle of the Bergs" in 1981. He has extensive experience in trade and industry and has a PhD in Economics and Statistics from the University of Wisconson.

● MR J J TEMPEL (55) is new Deputy Minister of Development Aid along with Mr Sam de Beer.

An attorney, Mr Tempel was elected MP for Ermelo in 1977.

● DR ANDRE VAN NIEKERK (48) is new Deputy Minister of Agriculture along with Mr Gert Kotze.

He has a PhD in Agriculture from the University of Stellenbosch and has farmed in Kenhardt since 1971. He was elected MP for Prieska in 1981.

● MR GEORGE BARTLETT has been appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology.

Mr Bartlett (55), who has worked in the sugar industry, won the Amanzimtoti seat on a United Party ticket in 1974. In recent years he has served as an NRP MP, and he defected to the National Party in 1984.

● MR JACOBUS VAN WYK becomes a Deputy Minister of the Department of Environment and Water Affairs along with Mr S V Naicker.

Mr van Wyk (51), a farmer from Grootdrink, was elected MP for Gordonia in 1981.

● MR MYBURGH STREICHER has been made Deputy Minister of Transport Services.

Long career

Mr Streicher (58), a former member of the United Party, has had a long career as an MP. He joined the NP in 1978 and was elected MP for De Kuilen in 1981.

● DR M H VELDSMAN becomes Deputy Minister of Health Services.

Dr Veldsman (58) qualified as a doctor at Stellenbosch University in 1953 and worked as a general practitioner in Rustenberg.

In an interview after his appointment, he said the Department of Health was being rationalised for efficiency.

1/12/86 STAR

Four new ministers and twelve deputies

New Cabinet comes in today

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe ... Deputy Minister for Information.

Mr Wynand Breytenbach ... Deputy Minister of Defence.

Mr Kobus Meiring ... Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Roelf Meyer ... Deputy Minister of Police.

Dr Andre van Niekerk ... Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

The new Cabinet which takes office today sees a slimming down of general affairs porfolios and the appointment of a new team of Deputy Ministers.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, has appointed four new Ministers, 12 new Deputy Ministers and has created a new Department of Economic Affairs.

At the time of the announcements, Mr Botha said the many new Ministers would improve administration by relieving Ministers' workloads.

Four key Cabinet Ministers have retired. They are the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, the Minister of Public Works, Dr Lapa Munnik, the Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply, Mr Sarel Hayward, and the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Assembly, Dr George Morrison.

Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange is also leaving the Cabinet and has been nominated the Government's choice for Speaker in the House of Assembly. He takes over from Mr Johan Greeff, who is the Government's nominee for position of chairman of the President's Council.

Mr F W de Klerk has been given a significant boost — he rises to the important position of leader of the House of Assembly in the place of Mr Schoeman.

Former Deputy Minister of Information Mr Louis Nel has been axed and the former Minister of Trade and Industry, Dr Dawie de Villiers, becomes Minister of the Budget and Welfare in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Returned

Changes to the Cabinet are:

● **MR ALWYN SCHLEBUSCH** — Minister in the Office of the State President responsible for the Commission for Administration and the SABC. He will also have ceremonial duties. A former deputy State President, Mr Schlebusch has returned to active politics and his position is seen as a "caretaker" one.

● **MR ADRIAAN VLOK** — Minister of Law and Order, formerly Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence.

● **MR DANIE STEYN** — Minister of Economics Affairs and Technology, formerly Minister of Energy Affairs.

This newly created department will handle trade and industry, mineral and energy affairs and tourism.

● **Mr ELI LOUW** — Minister of Transport, formerly Deputy Minister of Administration and Economic Advisory Services in the Office of the State President.

Mr Pietie du Plessis retains control of the Department of Manpower and will also assume responsibility for the Department of Public Works.

Mr Greyling Wentzel has been given overall control of agriculture in own and general affairs. Dr Willie van Niekerk assumes the same responsibility for both health portfolios.

Mr John Wiley relinquishes control of tourism and will be responsible for the Department of Environment and Water Affairs.

The present Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, takes on the added responsibility for the Department of Post and Telecommunicatons and the Government Printer.

The newcomers who assume Deputy Minister posts are:

● **DR STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE** assumes the sensitive information portfolio from Mr Nel.

Lecturer

Mr van der Merwe (47), who has a PhD from the University of Stellenbosch in International Politics, was a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University before entering politics. He was elected MP for Helderkruin in 1981.

In an interview with The Star after his appointment wa made public, Dr van de Merwe said he would like t "sell the Government — bu only as far as selling it is co sistent with the truth".

● **MR WYNAND BREYTENBACH** becomes Deputy Minister of Defence.

He was elected MP for Kroonstad in the 1981 General Election. Mr Breytenbach (53), who was in the SA Air Force for several years, has also a long involvement in the private flight industry.

● **MR KOBUS MEIRING** has been appointed a deputy in the Department of Foreign Affairs along with Mr Ron Miller.

The State President said the extra appointment in this department had been made in view of increased responsiblities relating to the independent homelands and the Southern African region.

Mr Meiring (50), served in the Cape Provincial Council and

AWB leader calls for action to restore 'the boere republic'

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, told a cheering crowd of about 2 000 in pouring rain in Krugersdorp at the weekend that the movement had decided to fight to get back "the boere republic".

"We will fight until the Vierkleur flies again," he said during a reading of the Covenant ceremony at the Paardekraal Monument.

Mr Terre'Blanche, dressed in a felt hat, leather jacket, khaki clothes and boots, had arrived on horseback in a horse commando at the monument after a three-day ride and was given a great ovation.

He said: "This generation has chosen and now is the time to decide if you are going to be like the other whites of Africa and choose the easy way out.

"You can decide that your lives, riches and your properties are worth more than freedom, or you can decide to stand and fight.

"You can decide to fight rather than to give in to the enemy and show the world that as Christians we will not let ourselves be bought out cheaply. We have decided that we do not have any other choice but to fight to get back our boere republic."

Mr Terre'Blanche added that the Afrikaners were known as a nation who had made vows to God, "yet it is tragic that this same nation that received a blessing at Blood River, should forget about their promises to God".

Reporters of the SABC and Beeld were told to leave the meeting after being allowed to cover the first part of the proceedings. Both the radio and television representatives of the SABC were ordered to leave.

A photographer was ordered away after being asked which newspaper she represented.

1/12/86 (304A) Eve Post

STAR 304A 1/12/86.

Political 'time-bombs' ticking

By Lesley Cowling

There are a number of political "time-bombs" in South Africa that, if not defused, could have disastrous consequences for the country's future, Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP MP for Yeoville, said last night.

Speaking at the Glenoaks Lions Supper Club's monthly function, Mr Schwarz said there were certain political and economic realities in South Africa.

These included:

- Ever-increasing unemployment.
- The depression of the South African currency.
- The wasted opportunities of the good years — when the gold price was high.
- A long period of high inflation.
- A lack of consumer and business confidence.
- Level of living conditions in black areas.

He said these conditions had been going on for years and "time-bombs" had resulted. Unemployment was the first and most important, he said.

Mr Schwarz said the workforce had been growing at a far faster rate than new jobs, and every new job-seeker had a one-in-four chance of finding work.

Unemployment was especially harsh in a country which did not have a social security system to shield people from its effects.

This situation had the makings of the second "time-bomb" — the disruption of the education of a whole generation of children.

'Liberation before education'

He said it was not surprising that children accepted ideas like "liberation before education" when they went home day after day to parents without work.

A whole generation was going to enter the adult world with no education and with high expectations of what liberation would do for them, he said.

When they found that political change did not provide them with jobs or build factories, their frustration would become greater, he said.

Mr Schwarz said political solutions alone could not solve economic problems.

"I believe freedom is not just the right to vote, habeas corpus and freedom of speech — but freedom from poverty and freedom from degradation."

The third "time-bomb", he said, was made up of inactivity.

"The private sector must not sit back and wait for the Government to do something." It was their responsibility to invest in job-creation, he said, instead of playing the stock market.

The last "time-bomb" was increasing inflation. Unless the Government addressed the problem of inflation, in a few years South Africa would have runaway inflation levels, Mr Schwarz said.

To deal with these problems, South Africa was going to need leadership that was prepared to take drastic action, he said.

These "time-bombs" were more dangerous than the limpet mines and bombs exploding in South African cities and, if one of them went off, it would take everybody with it, Mr Schwarz said.

CITY/NATIONAL

NATAL POLITICIANS PLAN TO TEST OPINION

Indaba referendum?

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

THE Kwazulu-Natal Indaba proposals will be put to the people of Natal in a referendum with or without Government co-operation.

Senior Natal politicians disclosed today that various options were being considered to ensure there would be a test of public opinion.

Meanwhile, Government sources have confirmed that the negative reaction of Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha is not the Government's last word.

Questions

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, who will handle the Indaba report, says he is awaiting a copy.

He was reported today as saying that from what he had read so far in the Press there were a number of questions which required answers.

Today, the New Republic Party and the Progressive Federal Party called on the Government to meet a commitment to test public reaction to the Indaba proposals with a referendum.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence has pointed out that Mr Heunis, at the National Party congress in Durban in August, said a referendum could be held to test opinion.

Mr Heunis could not be contacted for comment on this question today.

Judgment

In the event of the Government backtracking it is understood that several top South African businessmen have indicated they are prepared to finance the cost of a referendum.

Another option being considered is the possibility of referendums being held on a more localised basis with municipalities testing opinion.

Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said today: "We are not interested in the summary judgment of the Natal leader of the National Party. What is important is the judgment of the people of Natal."

CAPE TIMES 2/12/86 (30 CAP)

Heunis is Indaba's 'only hope'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaNatal Indaba, whose proposals for a multi-racial government for Natal have been dismissed by Mr Stoffel Botha, is now pinning its hopes on Mr Chris Heunis to rescue its blueprint.

Speaking here yesterday at a news conference at which the plan was officially released, Indaba spokesmen said they hoped Mr Botha, the Natal NP leader and Minister of Home Affairs, was not expressing the government view.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence said: "Our only hope now is that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, will receive our representations and that he will stand by his remarks made at the recent NP's federal congress in Durban that the government will put the Indaba's proposals to the people of Natal before giving its response.

"The Indaba has been a unique gathering of South Africans. This is the first time in our history that such a gathering sat for eight months to prepare a constitutional blueprint.

"I find it hard to be sure that Mr Botha had the time to study the proposals," Prof Clarence added.

KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture and co-convenor of the Indaba, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said this was probably South Africa's last chance for peaceful negotiations.

He said the NP's initial rejection of the proposals was "ill-advised and inappropriate".

CP does not trust Govt over Indaba

(304A) Eve Post 2/12/86

JOHANNESBURG — The National Party's conditional rejection of the Kwanatal Indaba proposals was "nothing but a red herring", the Conservative Party (CP) said today.

Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said his party's feedback from voters in Natal indicated "relief" at the NP's decision.

"However, voters should note carefully that power sharing in South Africa will lead to black domination, and this has never been denied by the National Party.

"It should be noted with care that the NP believes firmly in power sharing as a principle. It must also be remembered that this Government believes South Africa could have a black President, as stated by Mr Pik Botha

He said the CP would refuse a non-racial franchise if a referendum were to be held in Natal as "this would be yet another ploy to swamp white voters with non-white numbers".

"The CP demands from the National Party a clear and honest blueprint as far as black participation in government 'up to the highest level' is concerned."

Dr Treurnicht noted that Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, stated in July this year that the Cabinet "fully endorsed the Kwanatal Indaba as it could be a constitutional model for the rest of South Africa", but that Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, now rejected it. — Sapa

Dr A P TREURNICHT . . . black domination

30414

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

FCI charter will swing into action

A PROGRAMME of action aimed at implementing the ideals of the Federated Chamber of Industries' (FCI) Business Charter on social, economic and political rights will be launched in late January.

This follows a series of workshop discussions held countrywide among business leaders to exchange ideas on how the charter should be translated into meaningful action, and on how this effort should be monitored.

An action plan will be implemented from the end of January, FCI spokesman Christo Nel said yesterday.

Responsibility for co-ordinating the programme will be placed with a neutral body representing other organisations. They include the Urban Foundation, Institute of Personnel Management, Free Market Foundation, Association of Chambers of Commerce, and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

To achieve such support it has been necessary to "depoliticise" aspects of the charter in order to accommodate certain special interests, Nel said.

He added that the workshops had reflected strong general support for the principles in the FCI charter.

They were that all individuals:

- ☐ Have rights to their dignity, private and family lives; freedom of thought, conscience and equal education;
- ☐ Have rights to property ownership; the rewards of their endeavours; to engage in business; to engage in work; to fair remuneration; and to freedom of association;
- ☐ Have the right to equal recognition before the law; to life, liberty and security of person; to freedom from arbitrary arrest or detention; to freedom of movement; to take part in public affairs; and
- ☐ Shall be guaranteed the rights provided for in the charter, irrespective of race, colour, creed, sex, political persuasion or other status.

Another principle was that the institutions of democratic government should be foundations of SA statehood.

Use Indaba to hurt US SA urges

Argus 3/12/86

From NEIL LURSSEN
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Government has enthusiastically endorsed the Natal Indaba plan for political power-sharing and has urged all South Africans to give it serious consideration.

Referring to Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha's weekend rejection of the proposals, a US spokesman said: "We hope that Minister Botha's comment will not be the Government's last word on the subject."

And in a speech to economists in Detroit, the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, warned that external parties like the US could not help solve South Africa's crisis unless South Africans themselves were prepared to take risks for peace.

In Washington, the State Department said the Indaba, although at a regional level, was the only current example of black and white South Africans negotiating on equal terms on the central question of political and democratic constitutional guarantees.

Racial justice

"As such we hope it can inspire creative thinking among all the parties about how to initiate national negotiations leading to a new constiututional order for South Africa.

"However one feels about the substance of the proposals, the Indaba has shown that South Africans can make the difficult compromises needed to advance racial justice and reresentative government when they are challenged to do so," a senior official said.

In his first major speech on the South African situation since the Congress rejected his advice and imposed economic sanctions, Dr Crocker said the diplomatic option for solving South Africa's problem was now open, and America's good offices were available.

The US was ready now to explore seriously with each of the parties the contribution it could and should make in the interests of a negotiated settlement.

"Despite the grim realities of the present situation, we remain hopeful that the contending parties will come to their senses and recognise that the path of violence and confrontation is a dead-end street," Dr Crocker said.

The US intended challenging the South African Government, the African National Congess and other black opposition groups, and the frontline states to do their part to help create a framework for negotiations, he said.

Dr Crocker said the debate in the US over South Africa had been hard-fought and had left bruised feelings on both sides.

Sanctions were now the law but Americans who had taken opposite sides were coming to realise that sanctions did not amount to an effective policy toward South Africa.

"The South African Government has responded ... by imposing something of a chill in our bilateral relationship," he noted, adding that this could be seen in attacks on US economic assistance programmes.

Turbulent

"Unfortunately," Dr Crocker said, "the horizon in South Africa and the region is turbulent with stormclouds of violence and polarised confrontation.

"In response to sanctions the Government has retreated further into a self-imposed laager of repression and anti-American sentiment.

"The police presence in black townships and restrictions on Press freedom have helped keep scenes of violence off our evening news. But repression and violent resistance continues."

● Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, emphasised today he gave no assurance that a referendum to test the opinion of the people of Natal would definitely be held.

He said however he did not close the door either on the proposals or on the possibility of a referendum.

"I will only be prepared to comment on behalf of the Government after the Government has received and considered any proposals and taken a decision," he said today.

A book for those who deal with government

3/12/86 STAR

By Peter Farley

A re-vamped edition of one of the country's most impressive reference works is about to be launched with the 1986/87 version of *State Departments of Southern Africa*.

The work includes not only details of key functions in every government department, but also names, phone numbers and postal addresses of senior officials in each department.

The project was taken over by Dictum Publishing two years ago and has now been considerably upgraded to extend well beyond immediate SA government circles. Included in this edition (R40 plus tax) are details of statutory bodies and state corporations, such as Iscom, Escom, HSRC, IDC, agricultural control boards and all the new provincial administration.

Distribution of the book has been held back a couple of weeks to allow the insertion of an updated list to cope with the recent cabinet changes.

The 240-page book is a coffee-table style hardback, and looks a must for any executive who has to deal with government at any level.

Dictum's Valda Norwitz says research involved in putting the project together uncovered a vast array of information not previously published — including scores of obscure telephone numbers relating to certain government operations.

So, if anybody needs to call the State President's private secretary or find out the department at the HSRC responsible for a specific form of research this book will be essential.

Business body calls for 'fundamental reforms'

3/12/86 (304A) N/M

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Private Sector Council on Urbanisation (PSC), consisting of some of South Africa's most powerful and prominent businessmen, has proposed fundamental reforms to discriminatory laws — particularly those relating to the process of urbanisation.

As final proposals on various aspects of an urbanisation strategy are completed, the PSC will devise strategies for gaining their official and public acceptance.

And it has issued an urgent call for a process to be established to enable private sector leaders to raise policy issues with the Government at the most senior level.

'The level of economic confidence in our society will be greatly enhanced' as a result, the PSC states.

Its policy proposals — announced for the first time last week by chairman Jan Steyn — are the crystalisation of nearly 12 months' research into various aspects of urbanisation.

The PSC recommends that the Government not only takes existing reform measures like the abolition of influx control to their logical conclusion, but also suggests the overhaul of legislation in other vital spheres of social activity.

The Urban Foundation, which acts as a resource base for the PSC, supports the recommendations but has in addition called for the total abolition of the Group Areas Act. Phasing out of the Act is not good enough, it says.

This was made clear by Mr Steyn, who is also the foundation's executive chairman, in an article on what he regarded as a realistic timetable for reform in current South African circumstances.

This week he stated that this timetable was not a reflection of his personal wishes, but emerged out of the foundation's analysis of the South African situation.

'We are committed to the abolition of apartheid in its entirety as soon as feasibly possible. However, our need to be effective means that we must temper our commitments with a realistic analysis.'

Worrall

4/12/86 BUSDAY 304A 264

Govt has not closed the door on the Indaba, says

PRETORIA has not rejected the proposed power-sharing scheme for Natal, SA's ambassador to Britain Dr Denis Worrall said in London yesterday.

The Natal-KwaZulu Indaba meets today to plan tactics in the face of discouraging government reaction to its proposals.

Indaba members are widely expected to conduct their own referendum to test public opinion in Natal if Pretoria refuses to hold one.

Worrall distanced Pretoria from the views of Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, who recently dismissed the KwaNatal proposals as a "formula for domination by one group over minorities".

Worrall said Botha had not been speaking on behalf of government but in his capacity as leader of the National Party of Natal.

This was echoed by Home Affairs Director-General Gerrie van Zyl, who said:

JOHN BATTERSBY in London and LIAM EGAN

"It was a purely party political statement."

In the British Parliament yesterday, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe welcomed the KwaNatal proposals and said he was "surprised at the move which seems to have been made towards rejection of the proposals".

Worrall's statement was also contained in a letter published in *The Guardian* today in response to an editorial carried in the newspaper.

Botha's remarks were widely reported in Britian and have been interpreted as confirmation that government's reform initiative has ground to a halt.

Said *The Guardian*: "All this immobility shows that President Botha is once again preoccupied by white politics and the perceived threat of the right-wing die-hards in what may well be the run-up to a parliamentary election."

Worrall said widespread reporting in Britain claiming that Pretoria had rejected the proposals had been based on Mr Botha's reported comments.

PFP leader in Natal and the party's Indaba representative, Ray Swart, said he hoped Worrall's speech was representative of government's attitude.

"After eight months of deliberations,

● To Page 2

Indaba faces conflicting signals from govt

BUSDAY 4/12/86 304A

● From Page 1

the proposals deserve much more serious consideration and intelligent handling than Botha has shown.

"Lets hope for the sake of SA that Worall can talk some sense into the government he represents," Swart said.

In the latest setback, however, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis has made clear that no assurance of a referendum had been given by government.

Indaba chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence, said the Indaba would now have to decide whether to "wrap up" and leave the rest of the work, such as selling the proposals.

304A

THE ECONOMY

SA's awash with takeover money

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

SOUTH AFRICA'S disinvestment run is likely to kill President PW Botha's initiative, unveiled two weeks ago at a summit meeting with business leaders, to restore business confidence.

Analysts believe that business will be holding onto its investment capital as it waits for the assets of disinvesting companies selling out at bargain basement prices, to be thrown its way.

This week's buy-out of Barclays PLC's holding in Barclays South Africa at a 23 percent discount has tightened Anglo American's grip on the South African economy.

Robin McGregor, director of McGregor Research Services and the editor of Who Owns Whom, says Anglo's newly-acquired control over Barclays raises its share of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange from 54,1 percent to 54,63 percent.

McGregor says that the total market worth of the JSE is R228-billion. Barclays SA's market value of R1,25-billion is 0,53 percent of this total.

According to McGregor, both Anglo's senior partners in the deal — De Beers and Southern Life — are themselves in the Anglo camp. He says Anglo's share in Barclays SA has jumped from 25 to 55 percent.

A little-recognised feature of the takeover is that it puts Anglo's control over Southern beyond doubt.

Until the takeover deal, Barclays and Anglo each held 30 percent in Southern, but Anglo's stake has substantially increased because it has taken charge of Barclays.

McGregor points out that Anglo has not been involved in a major takeover for two years. They may have been sitting on a pile of money, chiefly from gold and other mining revenues, waiting for something good to come their way.

In fact, for South African companies now is an ideal time to snap up firms selling out at way below the market prices because of political pressures.

South Africa is awash with money due to revenues from the high gold price and a very favourable balance of payments resulting largely from the low rand.

The governor of South Africa's reserve bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, estimated last week that the country was headed for a 1986 surplus on the current account of the balance of payments of R5-billion to R6-billion.

What De Kock refers to as the tightest exchange controls in the country's history have cemented in the surplus capital, preventing it — legally at any rate — from leaving South Africa.

There is so much money around that banks are having difficulty finding people to lend to and interest rates continue to slide.

But because of the uncertain political climate, business confidence remains low. No one is putting money into new ventures.

Little of the capital around is being turned into productive investment to build new factories or provide jobs for the country's unemployed, conservatively estimated at more than 3-million but perhaps as high as 6-million.

Despite desperate attempts by the government to stimulate the economy, De Kock estimates that it will grow by only one percent this year.

The reason for this is that investment capital is still chasing paper. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange is booming and there have been a rash of take-overs of already established firms.

It was with this fact in mind that Botha called businessmen around for Carlton III, trying to inspire a sense of a little adventure.

However, despite attempts by the SABC and Beeld to buoy public spirits by portraying the Barclays PLC pullout as a victory, the current run of disinvestment is a cold wind for all but a few participants in the South African economy.

The lucky handful are a group of *nouveau entrepreneurs* — senior managers now given the chance to own their own companies — and Anglo, who got a little bit bigger this week.

Argus 4/12/85 (308A)

Why the Nats are not talking much 'Indaba'

ISSUES

By Hugh Roberton

A POLITICAL party which has been in power for almost four decades is bound to lose touch with public perceptions and consequently to have difficulty pulling off a really slick political con job. Such was the problem of the National Party this week when it responded to the Kwanatal "Indaba" proposals.

Within hours of the proposals having been published, the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, rejected them outright. But later, almost by way of a contradiction, Chris Heunis, the NP's constitutional overlord, made it clear that the Government actually had not decided on the issue and would only make its views known once it had had time to study the plan.

On the surface there would appear to have been a mild difference of approach, if not opinion, in the NP. But let's dig a little more closely around this "difference", for it is wondrously revealing.

Protocol, and the sacrosanct pecking order observed within the NP, dictate that the first definitive comment on constitutional matters like the "Indaba", should have come from Chris Heunis, who guards his turf with a ferocity known far beyond the boundaries of the Cabinet.

"So what?" you might ask. "Stoffel Botha trespassed and Chris Heunis gently put him back where he belongs." But anyone who has watched Stoffel Botha operate would have known immediately that something was not quite right. There are few people in the NP who observe the "proper channels" as punctiliously as he does.

Also, the "Indaba" has been going on for eight months and there can be no doubt whatsoever that he must have discussed the matter with Chris Heunis regularly, and at length, and that some clear understanding between them must have developed.

CLUMSY as ever, the SABC carried Stoffel Botha's apparent knee-jerk rejection of the "Indaba" plan on all news bulletins, although it normally does not allow anyone else to blurt out comment which could otherwise come from the indefatigable mouth of Mr Heunis. Indeed, the buzz has it that the histrionics which led to this rule being enforced on the SABC deserved an Oscar.

What do we have here? The impression that there is unequivocal opposition to the "Indaba" proposals from the NP of Natal, where the "Indaba" plan is to be implemented, yet at the same time the impression of a tenuous chance that the man at the top might, just, maybe, perhaps, look at it all more sympathetically.

Why would the NP go to all the trouble of staging this elaborate egg dance? Here we begin to unravel the plot.

Chris Heunis needs — and needs more desperately than anything else — the successful launching of his proposed National Council. If he cannot get it going, the NP's attempts at modernising apartheid and giving it a benign mask would crumble.

One man holds the key to the success, or failure, of the National Council — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, inspiration of the "Indaba".

No National Council is going to be taken seriously without the participation of Chief Buthelezi, leader of the largest black group in the country, a man of moderation who rejects violence and sanctions and who has all the other credentials set by President P W Botha as prerequisites for participating in the envisaged negotiations.

BUT Chief Buthelezi has hitched his wagon somewhat single-mindedly to his "Indaba" and one person holds the key to *its* success or failure — Chris Heunis.

So we have a standoff. Through Stoffel Botha's transparent performance, the NP has created the impression that there is outright opposition to the "Indaba" plan, that its fate is sealed. But through Chris Heunis's contribution the impression also is that the decision is not final, that it is hanging by a thread and that subject to the right political inducement, the NP might just be willing to show a little flexibility.

The inducement Chris Heunis is looking for, needless to say, is Inkatha's — and Chief Buthelezi's — presence on the National Council. Once that happens the council would have credibility and it would be a simple matter to get the Government's latest protege, Bishop Isaac Mokoena, and his United Christian Conciliation Party (membership of 1-million is claimed, though widely disbelieved), and the homelands leaders, to do their little bit.

There are other reasons why the NP would want to remain aloof from the "Indaba" for the time being. If it had embraced the exercise at the start (instead of unwillingly sending only observers), or if it had quickly endorsed the proposals, it would have given the kiss of death to Chief Buthelezi's dream — and to the hold it has over him by being in a position to shatter the dream or let it take shape.

THE next scene in the charade will probably be a bargaining process, with Chris Heunis perhaps echoing reservations about the "Indaba" plan but continuing to hint at flexibility by suggesting that the appropriate way to resolve the differences is by negotiation on the National Council.

He might even offer to put discussion of the plan at the very top of the council's agenda (which also would be a neat way of avoiding what would be a tricky decision for the NP to make itself) and he might well have a few seductive things to say about it.

We should brace ourselves for a long wrangle, since even if Chief Buthelezi falls for this sort of bait, he has set other preconditions to serving on the council — the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC among them.

He holds most of the trump cards; ultimately Heunis needs Buthelezi far more desperately than Buthelezi needs Heunis.

But ultimately both of them seem likely to be losers. The "Indaba" plan, like the NP's "non-negotiables", entrenches separate racial structures and representation. The very principle of such separation has been rejected by the ANC, the PAC, the UDF and Azapo on the grounds that its purpose is to evade, distort or dilute the reality of a black numbers and the right of the black majority to determine the running of the country.

Thus neither the "Indaba" plan, nor anything the NP comes up with, is likely to resolve the central conflict in South Africa — but it looks as though we'll have fine political cabaret in the meanwhile!

THE KWANATAL INITIATIVE

INDABA IN DISPUTE

Why the astonishing haste with which Stoffel Botha snubbed the KwaNatal plan? Perhaps because the Indaba proposals touched on the oldest of Afrikaner fears: that English-speaking whites want to forge an alliance with blacks to strengthen their own voting power

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

Drawing: JEFF STACEY

THE formula for joint multi-racial, regional government for Natal and KwaZulu, hammered out after eight weeks of hard bargaining, illustrates once again the difficulty of reaching a wide political consensus in South Africa.

Impressive as the KwaNatal Indaba is as an innovative response to the political challenges facing the country, it suffers from two cardinal — perhaps even fatal — defects.

The two major forces in the struggle for South Africa, black radicalism and Afrikaner nationalism, were not party to the agreement reached with apparent suddenness by 24 of the 37 delegations to the Indaba last Friday.

The whole constellation of radical black organisations — the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Pan Africanist Congress and the black consciousness movement — spurned the invitation to participate from the outset. They did not see the Indaba as a genuine bid to resolve South Africa's problems, but, rather, as a manoeuvre to prolong white paramountcy by bringing in the Zulu-based Inkatha movement and "collaborating" Indians as additional buttresses to white rule.

The National Party opted for observer status, a sign that it was not fired with enthusiasm.

But Afrikaner interests were represented more directly by the cultural organisation, the Federale Afrikaanse Kunsbeleging (FAK), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Afrikaanse Sakerkamer and by the Rapportryers, which have been described as the junior Broederbond.

Significantly, the FAK and the Handelsinstituut delegations were the only two which refused to sign the agreement last Friday The Sakekamer abstained on the grounds that it wished to consult its constituency. The Rapportryers were not present Their representative, Thinus Havenga, however, was critical of the decision to force a vote on the contested proposals rather than plod on in search of consensus.

The core of the agreement provided for

- A bi-cameral legislature, consisting of a 100-member lower chamber, elected by universal franchise on the basis of proportional representation, and a 50-member upper chamber, with 10 members each for people of African, Indian, Afrikaner and English background and 10 for people who did not wish to be classified racially or culturally
- An executive, consisting of a prime minister and 10 ministers, half chosen from the majority party, and half from the minority parties.
- The allocation of specific powers to the KwaNatal government, including revenue collection, education, health services, local government and some judicial and police functions (plus authority over a "Natal regional force")
- Key powers such as defence and foreign affairs would, however, remain in the hands of the central government.

The ink was hardly dry on the agreement when it was rejected by the Natal leader of the NP and Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha It did not, Botha said, provide for "effective and equal powersharing". Instead, he declared, the majority party, "as in the typical Westminster system, would effectively exercise all power"

KwaNatal leaders in favour of the Indaba proposals refused to be disheartened They hoped that Botha's would not be the last word.

They believed, or professed to believe, that Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, might be less implacably opposed than Botha. But Heunis was cautious, merely

TAKING THE PLAN TO THE PEOPLE — AND CARRYING THE COST

By CARMEL RICKARD

WHILE the government delays any official response to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba — possibly hoping to stall until after the next election — Indaba supporters are determined to take their proposals to the people of the region.

Local business people and senior politicians are already drafting plans for private funding to finance a referendum if official state sponsorship is refused.

The Indaba and its proposals have come in for sharp criticism from both the Left and Right, but its supporters feel the consultation could be the last hope for a liberal solution to the problems of the region — and, ultimately, the country.

Time is running out for such negotiations, said Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu's representative at the Indaba.

If the government turned down the proposals, "God help South Africa, because the forces that believe in negotiation politics and peaceful change will have nothing to show for this belief."

Responding to the comment of Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha — that the Indaba was a "useful exercise" from which lessons could be learned for future gatherings — Dhlomo warned that, on the contrary, this Indaba could well be the last.

Some observers believe the man whose opinion really counts is Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis — who has said he won't comment until he has studied the official proposals.

But however the goverment responds officially — when it does respond — Dhlomo said KwaZulu could not lose.

If the government rejected the Indaba, KwaZulu would emerge as the moral victors, prepared to practice negotiation, not just preach it.

If, on the other hand, the proposals were accepted, KwaZulu would be proved correct to have engaged in consensus politics.

Not all supporters of the KwaZulu government agree with Dhlomo. Some feel the results of a government rejection could have negative implications for Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Oscar Dhlomo, Desmond Clarence and Frank Martin Picture: BILLY PADDOCK

It is the second time Buthelezi has tried, and the response by the government to the Buthelezi Commission report was similar to that of Stoffel Botha. The KwaZulu leader and his opponents could now begin to read the message that neither Buthelezi nor KwaZulu is essential to Pretoria after all.

Dhlomo said he strongly hoped the government would hold a referendum to test public opinion on the Indaba's proposals. However, if such an opinion-testing poll were turned down, alternative ways would have to be found to take the matter to the people. The KwaZulu government would "unfortunately" have to consider holding its own referendum.

Three options are available for a non-state-run test of opinion in the Indaba region: a poll to be carried out by local authorities; as a last resort, funds could be raised to hold an independent referendum; or — not as favoured as the others — an extensive opinion poll to be conducted by a reputable research group.

Natal leader of the PFP, Ray Swart, and former Natal MEC Frank Martin have confirmed that a number of business people have offered to foot the bill, should a privately funded referendum be the only way to test opinion.

One of the questions asked in Natal is why Botha responded so hastily — his rejection came within 48 hours of the proposals being released.

A possible explanation, given by several participants, pinpoints a significant weakness in the Indaba's operations so far.

All its discussions have been *in camera*, with participants obliged to honour this confidentiality. Occasionally statements have been made to the media about the progress being made in the debate.

The secrecy was designed to free participants to change position as negotiation progressed, but a side effect has been public boredom, allied with ignorance Consequently, there has not yet been a groundswell of public opinion so strongly in favour of the scheme that the govenment cannot afford to ignore it.

The Indaba is now trying to make up for lost time with an extensive information campaign

If the government is opposed to the scheme, it is obviously in its interests to nip the plan in the bud before the support campaign takes off And Botha's comments certainly put a damper on the euphoria present at the official unveiling of the proposals to the media.

The issue of an official government response could also put both the National People's Party and the Labour Party in an embarrassing postion

Representatives of the two parties signed the standard acceptance form of the Indaba's proposals. It ran, in part: "We commend the proposals to the people of Natal."

Should the government throw out the scheme — particularly if it does so without referring the matter to the public — it raises the question of how NPP and Labour ministers can continue in the cabinet after their parties have specifically endorsed the Indaba plan.

What if a referendum goes ahead?

Indaba officials feel they have a fair idea of the strength of the opposition on either side, and add that it is the democratic right of all who are opposed to the proposals to say so in a poll.

But it is doubtful if anyone knows the true size of leftwing opposition to the Indaba, particularly since so many representatives and organisations of the Left have been severely muzzled by state action under the Emergency. Thus it seems certain that any campaign preceding an Indaba-referendum will take place with the leftwing unable to participate fully in the debate.

The Indaba was scheduled to meet again last night, still behind closed doors.

Delegates must decide whether the Indaba should end now, or, as chairman Professor Desmond Clarence put it, "leave it to the political parties from here".

On the agenda is a report of the Indaba education committee which promises to raise all the same emotional issues about minority rights and group identity which proved so difficult to resolve when the constitutional proposals were debated.

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remarking that he would have to study the proposals in detail and that they would have to fulfil government demands for guarantees against "group domination" and, conversely, for protection of minority rights.

Although no Afrikaner leader spelt it out specifically, the Indaba proposals touched on an age-old Afrikaner fear that English-speaking South Africans want to enfranchise the blacks and forge an alliance with black voters to augment their own voting power to end Afrikaner domination at the hitherto whites-only polls

The Afrikaner fear has been strongly voiced in the past. It is expressed concretely in the 1984 tri-cameral constitution

Unlike the Indaba plan for Natal, the 1984 constitution is structured to prevent a palace revolution against Afrikaner hegemony by an alliance between English-speaking and coloured or Indian MPs.

As long as the NP controls the majority of seats in the "white" chamber in parliament, its dominence in the electoral college which chooses the president is ensured So, too, is its control of the President's Council guaranteed, even if indirectly through the president.

Refusal by the NP to endorse the Indaba proposals will jeopardise the NP's own plans for a constitutional settlement. It may also undermine the position of the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi.

In 1982 the then Natal MP, Owen Horwood, rejected recommendations by the Buthelezi Commission for a form of joint government for KwaZulu and Natal. Later senior NP politicians conceded that it was a mistake to have done so.

Now, however, four years later, the NP seems set to repeat its earlier mistakes. The difference now is that the NP is known to be keen to persuade Buthelezi to join its national council to help plan a new national constitution Its present difficulties in persuading Buthelezi to join will multiply tenfold if the Indaba — which is largely a Buthelezi initiative — is rejected

The NP may even risk bringing about the very alliance which it dreads: an anti-Afrikaner Anglo-black alliance. As Bill Sutton of the New Republic Party remarked after Stoffel Botha's rejection of the Indaba proposals: "The government is creating a danger of placing the Afrikaners in opposition to the rest of the people in Natal."

For Buthelezi, too, the cost of an NP rejection could be high. Instead of carving a role for himself as the man leading "moderate" centrist forces against "extremists", the NP may well cause him to be seen as a loser presiding over the collapsing centre.

Inkatha general secretary and co-convenor of the Indaba, Oscar Dhlomo, is certainly aware that the stakes are high.

Describing Botha's rejection of the Indaba proposals as "ill-advised and inappropriate", he said: "If the National Party continues to adopt such an attitude, it is quite possible that this is the last Indaba, not only for Natal but for the whole country."

Sideline views: Those who stayed away

By SHAUN JOHNSON

THE Indaba is *phelile*

The question now is whether it is *phelile* (complete) or *phelile* (finished)

Months of somewhat cabalistic negotiations have given birth to firm proposals in black and white, and all attention is focused on how People-In-Power will react to them The answer from the National Party has been a swift and irascible *nooit*

In the breathless rush to ascertain what prominent Indabans are going to do to keep their political ball rolling despite the apparent reactionary rebuke, no-one seems to be bothering about those major groups which refused to have anything to do with the Indaba in the first place.

The Weekly Mail sought the opinions of four prominent extra-parliamentary organisations, and their answers ranged from ringing "I told you so's" to predictions that the government will actually embrace the KwaNatal proposals once the next election is out of the way All agreed they'd have nothing to with it, whatever the vagaries of government response, present or future Here's what they said.

TOM SEBINA, Lusaka press officer, African National Congress

"The proposals of the Indaba are unacceptable — they are the offspring of regionally and ethnically based interests and are also intended to enhance Buthelezi's ego and personal ambitions They are contradictory to the whole concept of a united and democratic South Africa. Our people, all South Africans, are calling for an end to all forms of racism and regionalism.

"The crisis created by apartheid in South Africa can only be solved by and through a democratic process in which all our people, organisations and communities are participants. The ruling party and government act for reasons altogether different from those of the ANC.

"The ANC rejects the idea of piecemeal solutions which only continue the agony suffered by our people Regional or local negotiations will never bring us closer to a national democratic solution "

MUNTU MYEZA, national publicity secretary, Azanian People's Organisation

"Azapo has always refused to be party to divisive manoeuvres like the KwaNatal initiative Simply put, the whole exercise is a sophisticated caricature of the bantustan 'national states' gimmick. Not surprisingly, the South African government did not take kindly to being beaten at its own game.

"We view the KwaNatal issue as an Irredentist attempt to avoid the obvious admission that the system of government employed by the South African government is a failure

"It is noteworthy that the people involved in this exercise are a coterie that has failed dismally in influencing the fundamental aspects of government The KwaNatal Indaba demonstrates that the system cannot be influenced from within

"In the final analysis, the KwaNatal matter is a misdirection, where national problems are relegated to regional solutions We have always maintained that Azania is a single, indivisible unit and solutions have to be worked around that precondition "

MEWA RAMGOBIN, executive member of the Natal Indian Congress

"It is unfortunate that the Indaba has created a measure of hope in the minds of some people.

"The proponents of the Indaba have in many ways ignored the broad democratic demands which we are compelled to heed. Solutions must be based on the will of the majority of the people The Freedom Charter is the nearest thing to any expression of such a will.

"We believe there can be no piecemeal resolution to a national problem. Natal/KwaZulu is an integral part of South Africa, just as the homelands are. Notwithstanding the processes through which the Indaba protagonists are going, the full consequence would be the creation of just another administrative unit.

"The government will only respond to the unified pressure of all anti-apartheid forces. Perhaps the proponents of the Indaba should use the opportunity to close ranks with all extra-parliamentary powers in isolating the Nats.

"Without wanting to be derogatory and without any rancour, the members of the Natal Provincial Administration and even KwaZulu are, after all, paid functionaries of the state

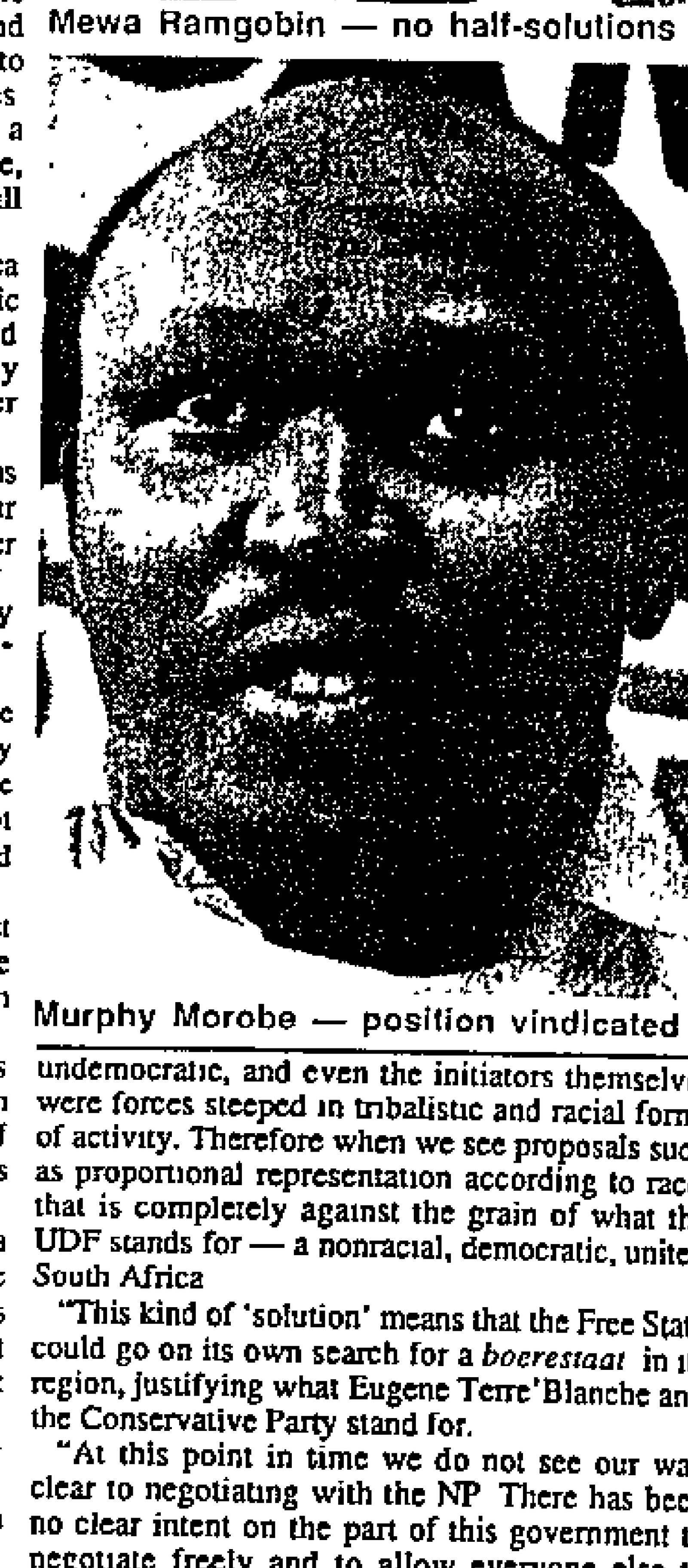
"While the Nats have now rejected the proposals, they are, in fact, to my way of thinking, biding their time. They will, I believe, sooner or later accept the Indaba as part of their overall plan in implementing the Regional Services Councils "

MURPHY MOROBE, acting national publicity secretary, United Democratic Front

"We refused at the outset to go into the Indaba, and this stand has been vindicated by the proposals they have put forward

"The whole Indaba initiative was completely

Mewa Ramgobin — no half-solutions



Murphy Morobe — position vindicated

undemocratic, and even the initiators themselves were forces steeped in tribalistic and racial forms of activity. Therefore when we see proposals such as proportional representation according to race, that is completely against the grain of what the UDF stands for — a nonracial, democratic, united South Africa

"This kind of 'solution' means that the Free State could go on its own search for a *boerestaat* in its region, justifying what Eugene Terre'Blanche and the Conservative Party stand for.

"At this point in time we do not see our way clear to negotiating with the NP There has been no clear intent on the part of this government to negotiate freely and to allow everyone else to negotiate as free men and women in this country for the future.

"Our main task relies much more on the organisation of a mass base, rather than looking for top-heavy and elitist solutions.

"One cannot underestimate the possibility of types like Buthelezi, with their self-centred approach to politics, trying to continue with such futile initiatives. History is laden with such attempts — from Vietnam to Korea — that sought to divide countries as and when imperialism has been under pressure.

"The NP may perhaps have been over-hasty in rejecting the proposals of the Indaba, because for all intents and purposes, if carried to their conclusion, they would actually serve the interests of the NP.

"The only obvious thing for Buthelezi, the Natal Provincial Administration and the Indian participants to do is to see the light. They must begin to realise that there is nothing they can obtain at this point by actually trying to seek solutions under the protection of the NP.

"They have been trying to present the Nats as being amenable to free debate and free speech when the UDF is being suppressed, when the ANC is banned, when democrats who have been challenging apartheid are under restriction orders. They are still continuing to try to work out solutions without the major democratic forces in this country.

"They have to realise that history will have, at some time, to contend with the folly of their present actions."

Free detainees, drop group areas — plea

Argus 5/12/86 (304A)

BY GAYE DAVIS, Education Reporter

DETAINEES should be released, the system of detention without trial abolished and the rule of law reintroduced, Mr Raymond Ackerman said in Cape Town today.

The head of Pick n Pay also called on the Government to "urgently and immediately" abolish every aspect of apartheid and dismantle the Group Areas Act — and called on big business to fight harder to get the Government to effect these changes.

Mr Ackerman told parents at the annual Diocesan College (Bishops) speech day that disillusionment was forcing many young South Africans to settle overseas.

It was imperative that businessmen, politicians, academics and parents helped the youth of South Africa to "get out of this impossible squeeze now facing them in this wonderful but torn country".

Important role

"I make an urgent appeal to Government to move along these areas and for black leaders to meet white leaders and put out the hand of friendship to save our future and our youth," he said.

Extra-parliamentary forces such as the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front could play an "enormously important role" — but inasmuch as the Government had to move, so had they.

"We cannot go on living in the past and burning with all its errors and suffering. Each side has got to be big and put aside prejudices and aim to save the youth, which is our future, in this country."

Young people in South Africa wanted to be able to develop their careers in peace and raise their children in a multi-party, non-racial South Africa.

Fair society

Violence and "rightwing viciousness" were no solution to acheiving these goals. Unemployement caused by disinvestment, sanctions and boycotts would only exacerbate the situation.

But if the Government scrapped apartheid, dismantled the Group Areas Act, released detainees, abolished the system of detention without trial and re-introduced the rule of law, a future political dispensation for a "fair society" could be hammered out.

Foreign businessmen and governments would be prepared to back South Africa if the Government effected these changes, he said.

"A mini Marshall Aid plan could be achieved whereby millions could pour in for black upliftment, housing and education."

Big business was playing a role, but not cohesively enough.

None of this was a "pipe dream".

Young people in South Africa and overseas had told him that if such changes were made they would return and those thinking of leaving would stay.

5/12/86

Groups praise clamps

A COMMITTEE of Eastern Transvaal businessmen will call on government not to lift the state of emergency which, it says, has brought "peace and stability" to Lowveld townships.

It will also send letters of appreciation to Western leaders who opposed sanctions against SA and letters to the US House of Representatives and Senate denouncing their decisions on sanctions.

This was decided unanimously at a meeting of the committee of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer of Nelspruit and the Mashimbane Eastern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce.

Of the emergency, the committee said: "Not only has it created a safe environment for the individual where he may come and go as he pleases, but (it) has enabled businessmen in the area to go about trading normally.

"Black members of the committee pointed out that the public once again go about their family life quite freely, and that the state of emergency seems removed from their day to day existence."

Delegates from the Defence Force and the police, who attended the meeting at the request of black committee members, were "thanked for their support in the black townships".

The committee said that due to their presence, business proceeded normally and consumer boycotts "were effectively crippled".

It said: "There are indications that the black community is becoming increasingly opposed to radical elements preventing them from continuing their normal daily lives." — Sapa.

3844

Mr Stoffel Botha . . . condemned the Indaba proposals.

Spokesmen low-key about Stoffel Botha's remarks

Indaba setback for Nats

Political Staff

INDICATIONS are increasing that the National Party in Natal has received a severe setback following its rejection of the Natal/Kwazulu Indaba constitutional proposals.

National Party spokesmen were today trying to put a brave face on the repercussions to the controversial condemnation of the Natal/Kwazulu proposals made at the weekend by party provincial leader Mr Stoffel Botha.

Although some conceded the NP would be hurt in the short-term, they were confident the party would recover its position "when the full implications of the proposals are understood."

The NP's political opponents, however, are convinced the National Party has made a major political blunder from which it will not recover easily.

Against a background of the Government and Dr Denis Worrall, South African Ambassador to London, quietly distancing themselves from the bluntness of Mr Botha's statement, Nationalists were loath to say whether it had Government approval.

However it is understood thatMinister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis was aware of the contents.

The majority of Indaba delegates, with the exception of Dr J Steenkamp, of the Afrikaans cultural body, FAK, yesterday rejected criticisms by Mr Botha of the manner in which the proposals were put to the Indaba by chairman Professor Desmond Clarence.

Mr Ray Swart, of the Natal Progressive Federal Party, said today he would welcome an April election at which the voters would show the National Party the extent of dissatisfaction with the pace of reform.

He said: "Mr Botha has done the National Party enormous damage in Natal. He has shown them to be totally cynical towards any real negotiating process unless it ends up conforming with their policy.

"The indecent haste and distorted reaction of Mr Botha has left businesmen and ordinary people under no illusion that his Government can never be the vehicle for real reform in South Africa."

Mr Swart said Natal was excited about the Indaba process and its conclusions.

"It is seen as the only ray of light.

"There is no doubt the substantial majority of whites in Natal will express their wrath at the Nats at the next election if they maintain their attitude."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi . instrumental in the talks.

President Botha . . . "SA is a jewel defended by resolute men".

SA could be a little tiger, PW tells West

8/12/86 (304) STAR

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — President P W Botha warned in a Press interview here that if the West was not careful it would find "a little tiger" on its path. He was referring to South Africa.

He said: "Make no mistake, we have guts. South Africa is a valuable jewel defended by determined men."

President Botha gave the interview to political editor Patrick Wajsman, of the conservative daily *Figaro*, during his 48-hour visit to France last month.

It has only now been published here.

Asked how he felt about Western leaders carrying out peaceful "dialogue" with the Soviet Union but unleashing sanctions on South Africa, he said: "South Africa has always aligned itself on the side of Western democracies, both during prosperous years and during critical moments.

"Unfortunately, she has been badly repaid over her loyalty, because the West has expelled her from the family circle while befriending the most dictatorial regimes on Earth."

President Botha warned the West not to force South Africa into a corner because "otherwise they would be disappointed and find a little tiger on their path".

He repeated that massive Western disinvestment in his country would lead to the blacks becoming the first victims.

DISASTER

He added that Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique were only able to survive by sending part of their labour force to work in South Africa.

"They are already on the edge of economic disaster and a tiny incident would be enough to make them bankrupt. Botswana would not even survive a week without us. I am not glad about it but that is the naked reality."

He said he was optimistic about South African's future for several reasons.

"I feel in my heart of hearts that Western sanctions will finish by crumbling. Not because Western politicians will abandon sanctions from the goodness of their hearts, but because traders and industrialists in the free world will become wise enough to understand where their real interest lies."

President Botha said that his Government would not accept the democratic "one-man-one-vote" rule "because our blacks themselves do not want it".

He said the Zulus and Xhosas would never agree to be dominated by the other, just as the French would refuse to be ruled by the Germans.

Asked if he would urge Western countries to break relations with Luanda, President Botha replied: "I believe they should do so. One cannot claim to fight against communism in Europe and at the same time befriend pro-Soviet regimes in Africa.

"They should also realise that South Africa is a jewel defended by resolute men. Neither my Goverment nor my people have any plans to commit suicide."

I had finished speech anyway, says Suzman

PFP takes flak from Mamelodi

304/A

10/12/86 STAR

By Rich Mkhondo and Maokeng Kgwete

Two Mamelodi civic organisations yesterday openly supported the heckling of a speech by Mrs Helen Suzman at the memorial service of a slain doctor and his wife.

Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife Florence, who were killed by two masked gunmen last week, were to be cremated this morning.

At least 1 000 people, including a few whites, attended the memorial service at the St Raphael Catholic church.

The Mamelodi Civic Association (MCA) and the Mamelodi Youths Organisation (Mayo) likened the assassinations to the deaths of black South Africans during raids by the SADF in Lesotho, Mozambique and other neighbouring states.

"Those raids were openly supported by the Progressive Federal Party, of which Mrs Suzman is an official. If the PFP wants to be regarded as an authentic political organisation, it must resign from the racist parliament and join progressive organisations in the struggle for liberation of the masses," the organisations said in a joint statement after the funeral.

'It's not surprising'

"It is not suprising that the youths had to angrily protest against the presence of PFP at the service," said Mr Mpendulo Khumalo, who represented the two organisations.

Mrs Suzman was shouted down by scores of youths as she tried to address the memorial service.

Before her address, Mrs Suzman told The Star that people were distressed at the many political murders which remained unsolved.

"People are becoming more and more suspicious of these kind of murders remaining unsolved, and the authorities should produce some success so the suspicions can be laid to rest," she said.

The youths who interrupted Mrs Suzman were apparently also upset by an announcement by the master of ceremonies, Mr Leonard Mosala, that some speakers, including those of Azapo and the UDF, would have to be omitted because the service was running out of the scheduled time.

Mrs Suzman later said she had been shouted down and heckled before in her political career, but rarely by blacks.

"I am used to this kind of behaviour employed by the Nationalists to polarise political groups.

"I have no ill-feelings. I understand that during situations like this, people get emotionally charged," she said.

'A warm welcome'

This morning Mrs Suzman said when she was introduced by the Rev Nico Smith, she received a warm welcome from the youths who shouted "Viva, Viva".

"I actually had just completed my speech when the crowd of youngsters began singing at the back of the hall and I was unable to make myself heard.

"As the Rev Smith was trying to appeal to them to stop chanting, I told him it did not matter as I had already said all I wanted to say. I returned to my seat, after which the crowd came nearer and chanted loudly," she said.

The entire Mamelodi township was under siege as members of the security forces manned roadblocks at the entrances. Others were deployed around the the church where the service was held.

Some journalists were turned back at the roadblocks, but others made their way to the service through back roads.

Speakers condemned the killing of the couple. The chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches (PCC), Rev Smith, said the couple's death was senseless.

Speaking on behalf of local doctors, Dr R H Sebotsane said the slain couple were aware that they were followed like "prey with nowhere to hide, but they continued with their community work".

Representatives from the Blach Sash, British, Canadian, American, Spanish, French, Australian, Dutch and Swedish embassies attended the memorial service.

The chairman of the Pretoria Council of Churches, Dr Nico Smith leads the Ribeiro funeral procession to the church where a memorial service was held. Family members and local doctors acted as pallbearers.
● Photograph by Alf Kumalo.

Miss ESTELLE Bester . . . something in common with predecessor Del Kevan.

10/12/86

AWB sign removed from shop

BDFA Sowetan

By MATHATHA TSEDU

THE Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging emblem which was painted on the window of a Naboomspruit cafe, which is mainly supported by blacks, has been removed.

The action came after the owner was allegedly assaulted by black customers on two occasions, according to workers in the vicinity.

But the owner of Lolla's Restaurant, Mr Louis Nel — a staunch rightwinger and AWB member — denied the allegations and said he had only received threats "from whites".

The swastika-like symbol was painted by Mr Nel after the National Party-AWB fracas in Pietersburg in May this year, when the AWB disrupted a meeting to have been addressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

The sign had aroused great controversy after being exposed by the *Sowetan*.

Mr Nel said at the time that he had painted the sign "because I'm not afraid and because everyone then knows where they stand with me."

But a clearly changed Mr Nel, sporting bruises on his arms, conceded that the sign had brought problems.

"I've been receiving anonymous letters through the post from white people who have been threatening me and I decided to remove the sign. No, the AWB did not tell me to take them down. In fact I did not even consult them.

Assaulted

"No, it is not true that I was assaulted by black people. I've had no problems with black people. One in fact came and said I should put the sign back because he can then recognise my shop," said Mr Nel.

But black workers in the vicinity said Mr Nel was assaulted twice by black customers. They said local black customers had dwindled to almost zero.

The "vier-kleur" flag of the Boer republics, the rallying banner for the country's rightwing, still flatters on top of Lollas Restaurant door. The collection tin for AWB donations is also still in the shop.

Talks fail to resolve HNP, CP problems

W/E POST 10/2/86 (30KA)

PRETORIA — High-level reconciliation talks between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party appear to have failed.

An HNP statement said Mr Jaap Marais and Ds Jan Jooste from the HNP met the CP's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Dr Frans van Staden last night.

The HNP wanted to reach an agreement to cooperate with the CP before a unification conference, which was being arranged "unilaterally" by the CP for January 24, was held. This could then have been announced at the conference.

Signed by Mr Marais and Mr Jooste, it said that the January 24 conference was contradictory in nature, since it was being presented as a unification conference, but the HNP was in fact being "challenged" to attend.

The CP however refused to have talks with a view to announce such an agreement on January 24. The CP also would not change the nature of the conference, as suggested by the HNP.

It also said that Dr Hartzenberg had rejected an HNP plan that unification occur according to six phases. — Sapa

UNIVERSITY
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Phone: (02
Chairman:

Another stiff by-election test for the Opposition

DD 11/2/86

304A

Benoni could be marginal

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The resignation of the MP for Benoni, Mr Chris Rencken, will provide another stiff test for the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Rencken, the National Party's chief information officer and editor of the party's newspaper, The Nationalist, disclosed on Tuesday that he had decided to resign the Benoni seat he has held for the past nine years.

He has accepted a position in the office of the State President.

In the 1981 general election, Mr Rencken won the seat with a majority of 2 281 over the PFP candidate in a 64 per cent poll but totalled only 86 more votes than the PFP and New Republic Party combined.

In 1977, Mr Rencken wrested the seat from the NRP in a straight fight recording a majority of 1 683.

The seat is one of the 52 earmarked by the PFP, and with some kind of electoral agreement with the NRP one of the party's main aims at this stage, the seat becomes distinctly marginal.

The PFP is also involved in a three-way tussle in North Rand — another seat earmarked by the party — with the National Party and Conservative Party.

In 1981, Mr Hans Schoeman, who later crossed to the CP, won the seat for the National Party with a majority of 1 086 in a 60 per cent poll.

Meanwhile Sapa reports that high-level reconciliation talks between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party appeared to have been unsuccessful, according to an HNP press release in Pretoria yesterday.

The release said Mr Jaap Marais and Ds Jan Jooste from the HNP met Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Dr Frans van Staden from the CP in Pretoria last night, on the initiative of a CP official from Koedoespoort.

According to the statement, the HNP wanted to reach an agreement to co-operate with the CP before a unification conference, which was being arranged "unilaterally" by the CP for January 24, was held. This agreement could then have been announced at the conference.

The press statement, signed by Mr Marais and Ds Jooste, said that the January 24 conference was contradictory in nature, since it was being presented as a unification conference, but the HNP was in fact being "challenged" to attend, and thus "demonstrate strife between the parties".

The CP, however, refused to have talks with a view to announcing such an agreement on January 24. The CP also would not change the nature of the conference, as suggested by the HNP.

The statement also said that Dr Hartzenberg had rejected an HNP plan that unification occur according to six phases.

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Race grouping has to go, says Saunders

Plea for rights to come first

Cape

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — There was no place for racial group identification in any future South Africa, the chairman of the Tongaat-Hulett Group, Mr Chris Saunders, said here.

Addressing the Midlands Chamber of Industries on the Natal-KwaZulu Indaba, Mr Saunders said that it was not group but individual rights which had to form the basis of any future society.

"Rights come before race," he said, adding that identification based on race would not enjoy the support of the majority of South Africans.

Sketching what had been learned from the Natal Indaba, Mr Saunders said the first thing which had been realised and had to be recognised was that "we are all South Africans".

He said there was a large body of people in the centre who desired to be one — people who had more in common than the differences which were more often stressed.

Mr Saunders said it was necessary to "engulf" South Africans in a common and shared society.

There was, he said, no room for the "artificial distinction" between own and general affairs and no room for any future based on racial groups.

The South African Government protected group rights through the centralisation of power with increasing socialisation which was at loggerheads with the free enterprise system.

To have a free enterprise system there had to be money which was "colour blind", a market place based on supply and demand, and a work place where there had to be "equal opportunity".

South Africa at present, he said, was in a "deep political crisis" which was not due to external forces but which had been self-inflicted because "we have neglected to come to terms with ourselves".

The country was caught between escalating violence and restrictive political institutions.

The National Party, he added, was retarding and obscuring the reform process which it had initiated in order to retain power.

Mr Saunders said he hoped the Natal Indaba would not be seen merely as reflecting events in South Africa but as a signpost for a future when a non-racial integrated society would exist.

Loopholes in Press curbs sought

12/12/86

304A

Eve Post

By KIN BENTLEY

THE Progressive Federal Party is looking for legal loopholes in the new emergency regulations which impose severe restrictions on the Press.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said today that lawyers acting for the official Opposition were examining the amended emergency regulations published yesterday and, depending on their finding, the party would consider what action to take.

Mr Eglin said the last set of regulations was challenged in court, which ruled that many were invalid.

The United Democratic Front announced that it will go to the Supreme Court to challenge the validity of the restrictions.

"After carefully considering the new regulations with our lawyers, we have decided to challenge them in the Supreme Court," a UDF statement said.

There has been widespread condemnation of the Government's latest clampdown from overseas and in SA.

The Reagan Administration rejected SA's claim that the steps were necessary.

"We regret all restrictions on freedom of the Press. We've raised the matter with the SA outh African Government and will continue to do so," White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes said.

The executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, Dr Alex Boraine, said the steps were "one of the most depressing things I've seen happen in SAin the last 20 to 30 years".

The move was "possibly the most serious step to prevent the fundamental change which all thinking South Africans know has to come about".

12/12/86

Cape Times, Friday, Decer

Botha: Financial growth cure for unrest

STELLENBOSCH. — Unemployment had made a considerable contribution to the internal unrest which the country is experiencing, State President P W Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of Stellenbosch, he said historically South Africa had an unequal distribution of wealth, and to correct this balance it was necessary to allow the lower income groups to improve themselves by economic development.

But it would be economic suicide to adopt a socialist approach as this would stifle initiative and productivity to the detriment of all, he added. The upliftment of less privileged people would have to be financed from the proceeds of economic growth.

"We have pressing problems which can be countered only by financial growth. One of these is high population growth which has reached a rate of about 2,7 percent a year. This causes considerably greater problems when it is linked to high unemployment, as further jobs have to be created to accommodate the rise in population."

Mr Botha said that according to experts, it would be reasonable to expect an economic growth rate of three percent for South Africa's economic potential for the next few years. To reach this rate would require an increase in productivity, specially in the wake of sanctions and disinvestment campaigns.

"Higher productivity will not only have a wholesome effect on economic growth, but the reduction in production costs per unit will help to reduce inflation," he said. — Sapa

PFP pledge to capture Border constituencies

12/2/88 DD

304A

Dispatch Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party should be able to capture the three Border constituencies of King William's Town, East London North and East London City, the PFP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said here last night.

In an address to the PFP's King William's Town branch's annual meeting, Mr Soal said an analysis of the results of the last election in the Border area showed that the three constituencies were not National Party seats.

Mr Soal said "there was a combined majority of 2 000 votes opposed to the National Party".

"This is not traditional Nat territory and we have to ensure we chase them out of the Border region at the next election."

He said the political scene had changed considerably since the last election, and there was a greater consensus on what should replace apartheid.

One had only to look at the KwaNatal Indaba to appreciate how various groupings had reached an understanding on the abandonment of apartheid, and its replacement with a democratic system, he said.

Mr Soal said the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, was an "unnatural reformer," and that, after 50 years with the National Party, his natural instinct was to stick to the tried and trusted formula of apartheid".

He said that although Mr Botha had set the country on the road to reform, and must be given credit in this regard, he had reached the limit.

He added that the NP parliamentary caucus was divided, with political viewpoints ranging from the far right to the left of the PFP, and maintained "the only glue holding them together was the fruits of office".

Mr Soal said another factor which had to be taken into account was the question of who would succeed Mr Botha, who, he said, would take the NP through the next general election, but would not remain President much longer than that.

"In the meantime the jostling for position will continue. F. W. de Klerk is in a very strong position and Chris Heunis has now been set free to run for the job.

"At the same time, Pik Botha prowls around the edges, muddying the waters.

"While that race is on, no major changes will be made and the reform programme will remain in neutral."

Mr Soal said it would be the task of the PFP to act as a catalyst to unite all those opposed to the NP in an effort to change the government.

"It is not an impossible task. It is an exciting challenge and one we must grasp with all the energy at our disposal."

MR SOAL

PW blames ANC

Minister to give Bonner a hearing

By Sue Leeman and Mike Siluma

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha is to grant Professor Phillip Bonner an audience at which the academic may put his case against deportation.

The Minister said he is "still considering the desirability of having Professor Bonner deported in terms of Section 45 of Act 59 of 1972 in the public interest" but will not move until Professor Bonner has a chance to put his case

Earlier this week the Government announced it intended deporting Professor Bonner, an associate professor of history at Wits and an authority on South African trade unions.

After representations from the Bonners' counsel, the Government did an about-face and said the deportation was off. Professor Bonner was released from custody yesterday, say his lawyers.

Mr Botha said he had made the decision "on humanitarian considerations and on the basis of the aforementioned representations and without admitting that my decision to deport Professor Bonner was in any way unjustified".

Mr Botha said he planned to meet Professor Bonner on January 13 at his Cape Town offices.

Meanwhile, the whereabouts of Dr Bonner's wife, Mrs Chris Bonner, remain unknown. It is believed a deportation order has also been issued for her. She is a branch secretary of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU).

The Bonners have lived in South Africa since 1971.

● *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Michael Parks can stay in South Africa until the end of January, the Minister said last night.

In a statement to Sapa, Mr Botha said Mr Parks, refused a renewal of his work permit, would be allowed to continue his residence in South Africa

It was love all around at Sandton City, when Zulu the baby elephant from Boswell Wilkie Circus visited the shopping complex yesterday. Gina Peck (3), from Morningside, and Gregory Homer (10) from Hurlingham, were two of the many children who contributed to the Sandton SPCA when they bought apples to feed

Police arrest soldier

A South African soldier has been arrested for alleged subversive activity, the acting chief of the Defence Force, Lieutenant-General Ian Gleeson, said in Pretoria last night.

He said that through the efficiency of the SADF's security measures, the soldier was rapidly traced.

He said the investigation is continuing and no details will be released.

"It's in police hands now," he said

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

President P W Botha last night blamed a planned revolution at Christmas by the African National Congress for this week's media curbs and other recent security actions.

He was immediately slammed by the parliamentary opposition to the Left and Right for giving reasons that were "unconvincing", "dramatised" and "a red herring".

House of Assembly opposition parties reacted swiftly. Major parties of the other two Houses could not be reached for comment.

In his address to the nation, Mr Botha said that from key ANC documents and information received from agents, ANC deserters and captured terrorists, it was clear that the ANC was now striving to divide South Africa's black communities; to incite them against the whites, and to encourage the committing of acts of violence against whites — even if these was to include large-scale bloodshed.

He said that according to the information, December 16 was considered to be the appropriate occasion to step up murder and terror. It was clear from irrefutable intelligence that units of murderers inside the country were controlled by structures in neighbouring states.

"Our security forces have over the past 24 hours been compelled to conduct certain preventative security measures.

"These security measures were aimed at the SA Communist Party/ANC structures that are involved in the planning, co-ordination and execution of revolutionary violence."

Severe setbacks

Mr Botha gave no details of what security measures were taken.

He said the ANC itself acknowledged that it had during the past two years suffered severe setbacks in Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana.

"The ANC thus admits that it is operating from our neighbouring states, and is misusing the territories of those states for the perpetration of violence in the RSA," said Mr Botha.

At the outset of his speech he said recent regulations restricting the release of certain security-related information by the media had been in order not to promote the objectives of certain elements inside and outside the country which were threatening to disturb the peace associated with Christmas.

"The Government suggested that the members of the Newspaper Press Union be exempted from the regulations in question on the basis of self-restraint.

"This proposal was rejected, and the regulations in question had to be applied to all media."

Reacting, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "One must, of course, take seriously the allegations of plans for violence and terror.

"But on the basis of what Mr Botha said, there did not appear to be anything new, and many of the documents flashed on the television screen were dated June 1985.

"However, the attempt to use this as justification for the clampdown on the Press is one of the most unconvincing red herrings I've heard from a political leader in many years.

President Botha ... linked Press curbs to allegations of African National Congress plans.

New Nation editor held

The editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been detained in terms of the emergency regulations, according to family and lawyers.

Lawyers confirmed yesterday that his mother, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, had had police notification of the detention.

Archbishop Denis Hurley, whose church appointed Mr Sisulu to run the Catholic publication, said yesterday: "We are very concerned that no trace can be found of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu at home or at work. We are investigating."

The weekly, a publication of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, is seen as part of the "alternative Press" referred to by Government spokesmen. It published its last edition for 1986 yesterday, hours before curbs were promulgated in an extraordinary Government Gazette, and will not publish again until January 8

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(3CAN) 13/12/86.

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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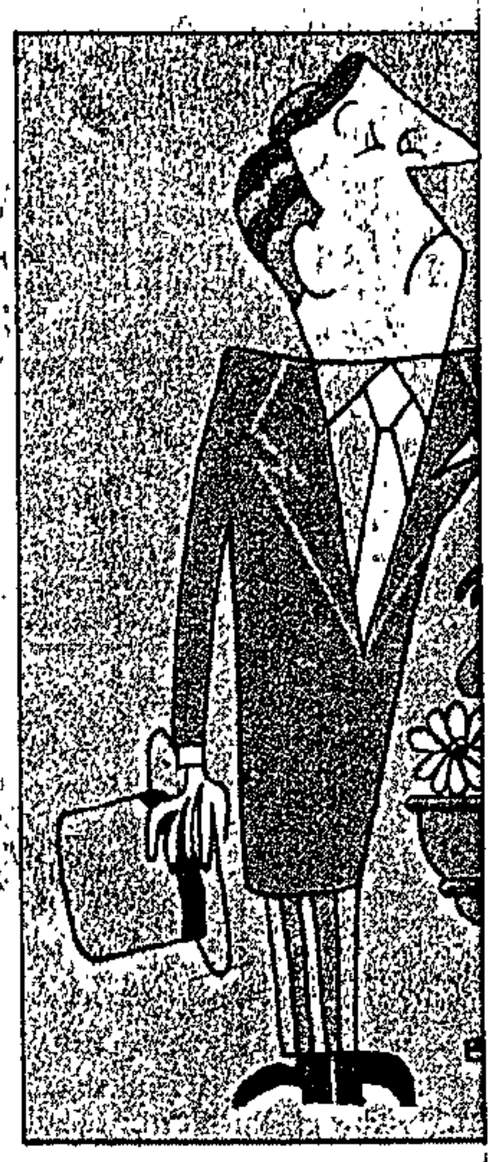
"But on the basis of what Mr Botha said, there did not appear to be anything new, and many of the documents flashed on the television screen were dated June 1985.

"However, the attempt to use this as justification for the clampdown on the Press is one of the most unconvincing red herrings I've heard from a political leader in many years.

"Whatever one half of the speech was saying about the seriousness of the threats of violence, it did not justify the massive clampdown on the Press of South Africa.

● To Page 2

President Botha ... linked Press curbs to allegations of African National Congress plans.



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CAPE TIMES w/e ARGUS 13/12/86 (30 CM)

President outlines 'terror plans'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

TERRORIST plans for the festive season and next year have been uncovered by the security forces and certain preventive security measures have been taken in the past 24 hours, President P W Botha has announced.

Last night he blamed an "unholy alliance" of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) for the plans and said December 16 had been set as the date on which "terror and murder" were to be stepped up.

Action taken by the security forces had been made possible by information received from sources and agents within the ANC, from recently arrested terrorists and ANC deserters and from a number of key ANC documents, he said.

ANC planning set out in these documents included:

- The expansion of "'murder, sabotage and arson" to white residential areas and urban centres and to white farms, including the laying of landmines on farm tracks;
- Attempts to make more effective use of the UDF as a mass movement in efforts to foment revolution;
- Action against citizens of the national and independent states, especially against Chief Buthelezi and his supporters;
- Attempts to cause division among whites;
- Involvement of the Progressive Federal Party youth groups and the End Conscription Campaign in a broad democratic front;
- Encouraging dialogue between South African delegations and the ANC in Lusaka;
- Making use of neighbouring states as springboards for terrorism; and,
- Plans to incite revolution in the country before, on or after December 16 by way of extensive acts of sabotage and mass actions.

Referring to measures against the Press, Mr Botha said the Government had tried to get the co-operation of the Press groups and had suggested that the Newspaper Press Union publications be exempted from the new regulations on the basis of self-restraint.

This proposal had been rejected and the regulations had to be applied to all the media.

● 'Plans for revolution' — Page 3

304A

Post Focus

A Govt delusion that will not die

By JOEL MERVIS
former editor of the Sunday Times

ONE must surely marvel at the Nationalist Government's capacity for self-delusion and self-deception.

In the years when the Nationalists were imposing apartheid — at that time apartheid was an "indated" concept — they were certain of one thing at least: their policy of apartheid was good, moral, fair, just and benevolent.

If, in such circumstances, SA's image sank to rock bottom, there could be only one explanation: the humiliation was caused by the gross distortions of newspapers and political opponents at home, and by the malevolent hostility of ill-informed critics abroad.

Today we live in an era of change. Apartheid is no longer "indated". Apartheid has become a dirty word, and an outdated concept.

The Nationalists reject apartheid and are replacing it with a new policy of reform, which also happens to be good, moral, fair, just and benevolent.

If, in the process of this ethically commendable transformation, SA's image begins to sink even lower than it was in super-apartheid days, then, once again, there can be only one cause — namely, the distortions of the English Press coupled with the malice of ignorant foreigners abroad.

What this seems to mean is that, although the Nationalists have allegedly changed, their delusions and the self-deception still linger on.

Evidence to this effect is suggested by the newly-appointed Deputy Minister of Information, Dr C J (Stoffel) van der Merwe.

As Business Day reported November 20, Van der Merwe claimed that the inability of the foreign Press to read and understand Afrikaans was largely responsible for SA's poor image abroad.

Dr D F MALAN
. . . "Press gives SA a bad name"

It is surely an unhappy augury that the second-most important person in the Ministry of Information should hold such antiquated and outdated views.

One can only be distressed that a member of the new guard in the National Party still wallows in the smug complacency that has been deluding the Nationalists for 40 years.

One can easily rebut Van der Merwe's claim to the effect that, if the foreign Press could read the Afrikaans newspapers they would get a true picture of SA and that our image, accordingly, would be high.

I would challenge Van der Merwe to point to even one "favourable" item in the Afrikaans Press that has not repeatedly been said in English (and reported in English) by President Botha or Chris Heunis or Pik Botha.

There is little which foreigners can learn from the Afrikaans Press that they do not hear, in English, from Government.

Some foreign observers are probably far better informed than we are about what is going on in our own country, and many foreign newspapermen know just as much as we do.

Their inability to read Afrikaans is irrelevant and Van der Merwe ought to know that.

Apart from all the new constitutional reforms and laws and programmes (which are published officially in both languages), our top leaders use the unrivalled platform of television to spell out, in English, their plans, policies and achievements.

President Botha, Chris Heunis and Pik Botha are able to tell the world precisely and accurately what the Government is doing.

In such conditions, one must ask the new Deputy Minister of Information why a foreigner should need to read the Afrikaans Press in order to discover what Government is saying, thinking and doing?

If PW, Pik and Chris between them cannot manage to convince the world, what reason is there to suppose that the Afrikaans Press will do better?

Stoffel van der Merwe's claim about foreigners not reading the Afrikaans Press is significant because of the striking way in which it illustrates how Nationalist self-deception on apartheid issues — which began with Dr Malan 40 years ago — is just as prevalent now as it was considered right and proper to impose apartheid with intensity, firmness and vigour.

It was thought to be fair and just to remove the coloureds from the voters' roll, to introduce race classification, group areas, separate amenities, detention without trial, forced removal of three million people, and so on.

Mr P W BOTHA
. . . he also blames the Press

The sequel was that SA got a bad name and a poor image. We were called pariah and, for good measure, the polecat of the world.

Then the great debate began. Who was responsible for giving us this dreadful reputation: Government's apartheid policy or the Press for reporting it?

Malan, it will be recalled, felt so strongly that the English newspapers were distorting the commendable, desirable apartheid laws that he appointed a commission to inquire into the Press.

Malan was confident that, on the facts, the commission would not take long to discover and report on the obvious bias, prejudice and distortions in the Press.

After sitting for 13 years the commission issued its report, which turned out to be a farce.

Not more than 10 copies of the report were ever published, and its findings were totally ignored.

Malan's assumptions, shared by most Nationalists, were seen to be not well-founded.

SA's image, good or bad, depended on what Government did, not on what the Press said.

Now, nearly 40 years later, we are in the phase of allegedly dismantling the supposedly "outdated" apartheid.

That, to revive a well-known referendum phrase, is indeed "a step in the right direction".

But as we know, the manner in which the so-called "reforms" are being carried out has simply created more violence at home and more active hostility — including sanctions — abroad.

From all sides Government is exhorted to introduce meaningful, realistic reform.

These exhortations are largely ignored. The reforms lack thrust, and are half-baked and unconvincing.

But as one will readily appreciate, Government does not regard itself as being to blame for the crises at home and the inflamed hostility abroad. If Government is not to blame, then who is?

The new Deputy Minister of Information has the answer. The blame rests squarely on the foreign Press who cannot read Afrikaans. Only when they learn to do so, one gathers, will our image improve.

I predict that Stoffel has an interesting time ahead of him in the Department of Information. He has much to learn.

AWB man offers house to blacks

304A
W/E Post
13/12/86

Weekend Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A Boksburg member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has put his house up for sale in his suburb — but he is refusing to sell it to whites, it was reported today.

Mr Gerrie van der Venter put up signs outside the house in Cinderella this week which read: "House for sale. No white buyers: blacks, coloureds and Indian buyers welcome".

Mr Van der Venter, who confirmed he was a member of the AWB, said he took the decision because of the "way his neighbours treat their domestic workers".

He added: "The servants around here are living in terrible conditions. They do not have proper cooking and washing facilities, their toilets are nothing but holes in the ground, their rooms are about two metres square and yet they have to live, eat, sleep and entertain in these rooms."

He said he was not prepared to sell his house to white people because they "would exploit their servants in the same way".

Mr Van der Venter said he supported the idea of a domestic workers' trade union.

"People should be forced by law to provide decent facilities for their servants. And it would be nice if workers had some means by which they could take the matter into their own hands."

He also said he was not sure if his stance ran contrary to AWB policy.

Since he put up the "No white buyers" signs attempts have been made to deface or remove it.

On Tuesday, a municipal building inspector told him the signs were too big and would have to be taken down and the same night someone sprayed paint over the signs.

Govt 'in control'

CITY PRESS 14/12/86

SANDILE MADOLO

PRESIDENT Botha's reform program was a constitutional shift to co-opt moderate blacks, the former leader of the PFP, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, told the last meeting of the Black Management Forum on Wednesday.

304A

For the government to achieve its aims it had to co-opt as may blacks as white people to ward off what was perceived by the government as a total onslaught waged by the country's enemies, he said.

"People should not be deluded into thinking that the reforms are signs of panic by the government. The government is in firm control of its apartheid policy," said Slabbert.

The tri-cameral parliament need also to be seen in this context. It was a measure of control which was "co-optive domination".

On the constitutional level, co-optive domination started the rhetoric of negotiation, effective power sharing, removal of influx control and the Immorality Act, he said.

PFP bullish as poll shows its policy is widely accepted

(304A) Eve Post 15/12/86

Post Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party is bullish following yesterday's Rapport poll which indicated that its policy was the most widely accepted among whites in South Africa.

The poll also showed that the PFP increased its electoral support from 16,2% in June to 18,6% in November.

While the National Party showed a drop in support from 51,9% to 49,6%, the Conservative Party gained marginally (from 13,4% to 14,1%), as did the New Republic Party (by 0,4% to 3,1%) and the HNP (from 2,2% to 3%).

Commenting on the broad implications of the poll, PFP secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle said there was a large group of white South Africans — about 40% of the electorate — who were "far-sighted and under no illusions" that a relatively peaceful solution could only be achieved through negotiations, including talking to the ANC. This was borne out in the poll.

FEDERATION OF COMMERCIAL, HOTEL AND CATERING UNIONS

Head Office: P.O. Box 1097, Durban, 4000

Affiliated Membership in 1983

Union	Membership
1. Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union	40 500
2. East London Liquor and Catering Trades Employees Union	82
3. Natal Liquor and Catering Trades Employees' Union	4 100

Poll shows two-thirds of voters back reform

SOWETAN 15/12/86 (304A)

Staff Reporter

Seven of every 10 white voters supports the concept of reform, according to a nationwide opinion poll published in *Rapport*, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper. Almost 2 000 people were questioned.

The most popular constitutional model among those polled was a federal or confederal system on a non-ethnic regional basis. It had the support of 37 percent.

The same 37 percent felt the rights and privileges of the individual in such a system should be guaranteed by a Bill of Rights.

Twenty-seven percent wanted a state based on group autonomy, while 20 percent wanted homelands for each group.

The dismantling of apartheid was named by 57 percent of the respondents as one of the most urgent issues requiring attention. Twenty-three percent referred specifically to the Group Areas Act.

The opening of public amenities was also mentioned.

General issues indicating the wish for the protection of whites' rights were raised by 27 percent.

Other issues requiring attention were negotiation, dialogue and power-sharing (50 percent); economic considerations, such as the creation of job opportunities and the curbing of inflation (29 percent); and reforming the educational system (15 percent).

Thirty-eight percent believed the pace at which the Government is bringing about reform is just right, 34 percent believe it is too slow, 11 percent believe it is too fast, 15 percent do not agree with the political reform policy, and 2 percent are not sure.

ARGUS 16/12/86

30 CUT

UCT's 'agenda for the nation'

by
TOS WENTZEL
Political
Correspondent

THE first results of a wide-ranging "critical choices" programme by UCT's Institute for the Study of Public Policy are to be published soon.

Planning for the institute, which is part of the Department of Political Studies at UCT, started in 1984 and the programme started last year.

Director of the programme is Professor Robert Schrire, with Professor Herman Giliomee and Professor David Welsh on a management committee.

Explaining the aims of the institute, Professor Schire said the basic assumption was that there was a need to produce carefully-formulated policy papers which could be used to engage the Government and others in a dialogue on national issues.

The institute also had in mind other audiences, such as white Opposition parties and the business community and extra-parliamentary movements such as the United Democratic Front, Inkatha as well as the African National Congress and others interested in a debate on South Africa.

Professor Schrire said that one of the destructive consequences of nearly 40 years of one-party rule had been that only the Government had developed policy positions.

It was probably naive to believe that a party which had been in power for so long could now come up with bold and innovative new policies.

This was the purpose of the institute's programme.

IT was decided that what was required was an "agenda for the nation", a broad and independent look at where the South African society should be moving to and the critical decisions that would have to be made along the road.

Four broad themes were identified:

□ Political rights and constitutional frameworks.

Here there were mainly two issues — how a framework could be created for all South Africans to exercise the rights of citizenship without infringing on the rights of others, and how the rights of individuals could be protected from possible abuse by a powerful State while at the same time having effective government.

□ The economic system and racial inequalities.

Here the basic assumption was that no political system could operate efficiently unless the economic inequalities associated with race were also addressed at the same time.

The question was how the economy could operate efficiently while at the same time reducing racial inequalities. Methods could be devised to compensate those who historically had been discriminated against economically.

One of the specific issues was how to deal with the issue of land ownership which had been so distorted by measures such as the Land Act and the Group Areas Act and how individuals could compete on a fair basis with each other when historically education, health and social services had been provided unequally on the basis of land.

□ Broad critical issues such as the population explosion, resources and the ecology along with challenges provided by the population growth and problems such as poverty and the depletion of natural resources.

□ South Africa's position in the regional and international fields.

Here the focus would be on the foreign policy options and challenges facing South Africa.

THE institute has commissioned or plans to commission some 50 scholars throughout the world to conduct research into these key issues and to provide the institute with a written report on their findings.

This work will be distilled into short and attractively-packaged booklets which would be made available to a wide range of policy makers and interested groups of individuals.

Some of these documents may also be used as a basis for discussion at seminars with decision-makers in the public and private sectors.

Some of the projects which are already underway are studies on:

□ "Affirmative discrimination", a look at some of the mechanisms that are available to compensate those who have suffered from past discrimination.

□ The question of inequalities in education between whites and blacks and what can be done to remedy the situation.

□ The relationship between group rights and individual rights.

□ The requirements for balancing the need to protect human rights in South Africa while assuring that the State has a security system which enables it to keep law and order.

□ A study of revolutionary and non-revolutionary options.

□ The choices of electoral systems for a plural society.

□ Mineral and energy issues, economic systems and the distribution of income.

Professor Schrire concedes that the effectiveness of the institute will be affected if the National Party component of the Government shows no interest. Nationalist politicians have so far shown only polite interest.

On the other hand keen interest has been shown by members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates which are also now in the central Government

CAPE TIMES 16/12/86

Mandela and minister hold talks

3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has publicly confirmed that he has held "confidential" discussions with the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela.

He also said Mr Mandela was carrying the burden of being kept in prison "in an admirable manner" because his own people did not want to give up violence.

Mr Coetsee confirmed that he had met Mr Mandela in an interview published in the latest issue of Leadership magazine.

'Circumstances'

Asked if he had met the jailed ANC leader and what the purpose of their meeting was, Mr Coetsee replied: "Yes, I have met him, but the nature of our meeting is confidential."

Asked why he had met him, Mr Coetsee replied: "I have a function as the minister responsible for prisons to relate to any prisoner in cases where circumstances dictate such contact.

"But I must emphasize that the nature of such contact is confidential."

He said the State President was on record as saying that Mr Mandela could secure his release by publicly abandoning violence as a means to bring about change and he was prepared to talk to the ANC if it forswore violence.

"I cannot comment on Mr Mandela's response to the State President's statement.

"All I say is that my impression of Mr Mandela is that it is most unfair to him that he remains incarcerated by his own people through their pursuit of violence and that they expect him to remain in prison because they do not wish to give up violence themselves.

"He is carrying this burden in an admirable manner."

Asked if he was implying that Mr Mandela had made an undertaking which satisfies the conditions for his release, but that he remained in jail because the ANC continued with its programme of violence, Mr Coetsee replied: "No, I am not implying anything.

"As a matter of face it is well known that Mr Mandela himself has not as yet met the State President's conditions of release, but it is equally well known that the ANC has purported to reply on Mr Mandela's behalf negatively, well in advance of his own decision."

'Planning takeover'

Mr Coetsee said the ANC had originated as a movement strongly motivated by nationalism, "but I think it is now experiencing a crisis of identity.

"I think that the ANC's communist wing under Joe Slovo is planning a takeover at the right moment, using the ANC as a front because of its appeal as a nationalist movement.

"They are using nationalism because it has a strong appeal and I don't think the ANC realizes what is happening.

"As far as the government is concerned, the State President has indicated that if the ANC renounces violence and commits itself to participating peacefully in the internal political process, then, of course, the world is wide open again," Mr Coetsee said.

e outside world, and finds...

ABY, IT'S OUTSIDE

16/11/86

304A

anti-apartheid demonstrator and once by the jeering of dozens in the audience when the French government representative presented a wreath.

Earlier, the leftist group Direct Action claimed responsibility for bombing three Paris office buildings during the night in protest at Botha's visit. The buildings house companies with business ties with SA.

Botha's speech at the memorial site in Delville Wood made no direct reference to apartheid. It also did not refer to the race of the SA soldiers being honoured – some of whom were black.

When Botha began speaking, a young man stood up and began shouting: "If you respected the soldier ..." but he was quickly shouted down and hustled away.

Earlier, when the senior French official present – a local administrator – presented a wreath on behalf of the government, dozens of French jeered and shouted "Poor France" in protest against the decision of Premier Jacques Chirac's Consevative government not to meet with Botha during his two-day visit.

Botha, who was received only by low-ranking French officials, said the new pentagonal stone museum is a "tribute to all South Africans who have given their lives for SA during the long course of its history."

● Botha laid the museum's first stone on his last trip to Europe in 1984 – which also prompted protests and embarrassed the then socialist French government. – Sapa

PW's 'visit' slammed

PORTUGUESE leftwing opposition parties criticised the centre-right government for allowing President PW Botha to go ahead with a visit – which started yesterday – to the Portuguese Island of Madeira. The Socialist Party said the two-day "private" visit showed Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva's Social Democratice Party government was not capable of implementing a coherent national foreign policy. The Communist Party said it showed the government's choice of international allies.

CITY PRESS

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and on the other side of town, policemen clear up bomb debris.

ter Popular either

union leaders rejected the agreement reached between businessmen and the SA government on a long-term economic strategy, outlined at the conference.

Congress of SA Trade Unions assistant secretary Sydney Mufamadi said the conference was "a time wasting non-event" which had failed to address the real issues facing SA.

"The Botha government is unable to meet the aspirations of the oppressed people."

Former Azanian People's Organisation president Ismael Mkhabela also described Botha's indaba with white business leaders as "a non-event".

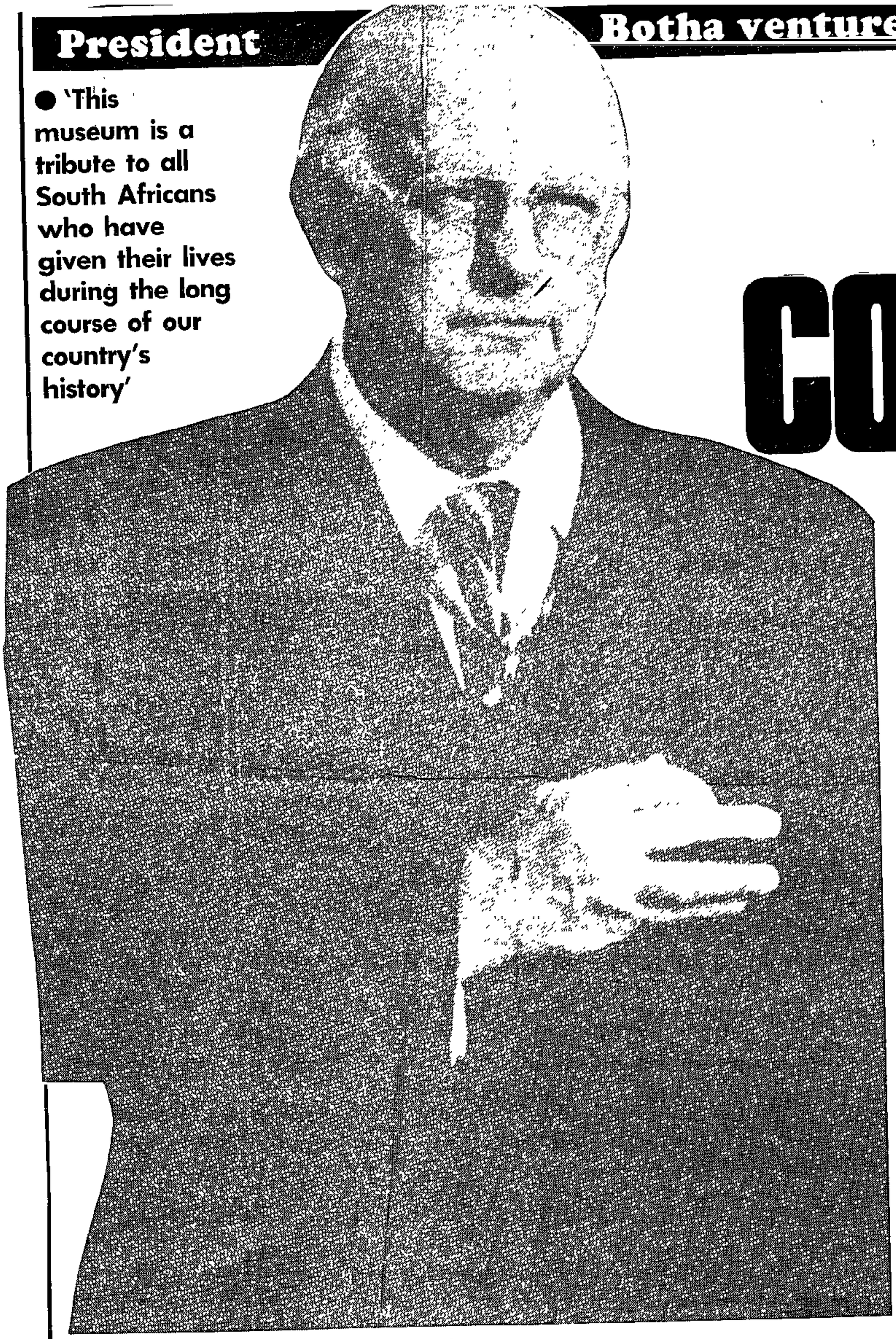
Mkhabela said the main issues involved would in no way represent black people as all the legitimate organisations including the labour movement had, in true form, been excluded and the issues which they represent disregarded.

Those businessmen who did attend, joined government leaders in endorsing a long-term plan to boost the economy, give priority to providing jobs and building houses for black people and encourage free enterprise by reducing the 38% government stake in industry.

After the talks, cracks in the unified stand began to appear. A joint statement by the two leading white chambers of commerce called for urgent moves towards the complete elimination of racial discrimination, and for a "visible process of negotiation" between white and black leaders to create a non-racial democracy, linked to the private enterprise.

President

● 'This museum is a tribute to all South Africans who have given their lives during the long course of our country's history'



PW Botha takes the salute in Paris this week...

Botha ventures into th

B COLD

DEMONSTRATORS bomb blasts in protest against apartheid and a snub from the French government met President PW Botha when he visited France to dedicate a museum to SA's war dead this week

It almost seemed like we maneouvres again throughout the fields and woods of the Somme Valley as hundreds of police were deployed for kilometres around the museum, memorial and cemetery to protect Botha

As Botha addressed the Armistice Day ceremony dozens of demonstrators barred by police lines about 3,2km away shouted "Botha – assassin!"

The ceremony was disrupted twice – once by

Visit 'an affront'

THE leader of the African state of Burkina Faso which is boycotting this week's Franco-African summit, has condemned France for allowing a visit by SA President PW Botha.

Captain Thomas Sankara this week described Botha's private visit to open a war memorial museum as an affront.

Sankara also criticised France for recently receiving Unita leader Jonas Savimbi.

French president François Mitterrand will visit Burkina Faso after the summit. – Sapa.

And at home, he's not exactly Mi

304A CITY PRESS 16/11/8

By MONO BADELA

MONTHS of campaigning by SA businessmen to demand immediate political reforms by the SA government fizzled out tamely last Friday.

The 200 white industrialists who met President PW Botha in Pretoria left the one-day summit conference having failed to press for political demands.

There was no discussion on appeals for scrapping the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws, or for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other black leaders.

Instead Botha gave notice that apartheid is alive and well in SA: it will remain official policy – even at the cost of the country's economy.

At the meeting, rejected by moderate and militant black leadership alike, Botha made it clear that he would not discuss even the mild reforms sought by white business leaders to end the "undeclared civil war". In his opening speech, Botha said he would not listen to political demands. None of the 200 businessmen challenged his ruling.

Weeks before the summit, businessmen made aggressive statements about the conference, but they merely succumbed to the government.

Perhaps it might have been different if the business delegations had been fully representative.

But the government did not invite bosses of foreign companies to the "Forward with Confidence" indaba, apparently because it was angry at the political activities of some of them.

Among those ignored was Shell chairman John Wilson, who recently warned that his firm would take a stronger stand against apartheid. Also not invited were Mobil, which has been running newspaper ads calling for political reforms, or members of the American Chamber of Commerce who have advocated any form of civil disobedience.

Others bypassed were the SA Britain Trade Association, which fosters bilateral trade, and the West German Trade Chamber.

Other leading SA businessmen who could have attended, stayed aw

Among them were An American Corporat chairman Gavin Relly; Premier Milling Group b Tony Bloom, who said thought "mega-summ were a waste of time. R and Bloom were memb of a business delegat which met the ANC in saka last year. They later rebuked by Botha.

The National Afri Federated Chamber Commerce also stayed a because of Botha's to discuss political

Black political and

Apartheid signs stay

APARTHEID signs will remain on the Peninsula's "open" multiracial beaches until another Divisional Council meeting decides to remove them.

This was revealed yesterday by the Divco secretary, Mr C H Mocke.

He explained that "non-whites only" signs at Soetwater, near Kommetjie, and other beaches would not be removed.

Last week Divco defied the administrator, Mr Gene Louw, and declared all beaches open to people of all races — except Bloubergstrand and Melkbosstrand.

The decision did not imply removal of "apartheid" signs, Mr Mocke said.

"Council has not taken a decision on signboards yet. Reservation, as such, is still there."

Commenting on this explanation, Mr Frank van der Velde, city councillor for ward 16, said officials "have no right to go against a Divco decision".

"I think Divco wants to be verlig but in reality is applying apartheid," he said.

Sowetan 17/12/86 (304A)

ARGUS 17/12/86 (304A)

Deputy Foreign Minister Miller tells British TV audience:

'South Africa is not a democracy'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — South Africa is not a democracy and will probably not be fully democratic for many generations, Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller has admitted on television here.

But the government was committed to negotiating a form of power-sharing with the 30 percent of black South Africans living outside the homelands. Even that, he conceded, was a political scheme which would probably take one or two decades to achieve.

Linked by satellite to a studio of Scottish school pupils in BBC Television's Open to Question programme, Mr Miller fielded critical questions from his young audience on a spectrum of apartheid-related issues.

"The South African Government rejects racial discrimination," Mr Miller said.

Unjust society

He made it clear the Government rejected the notion of a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state because it would lead to one group dominating others and an unjust society.

The Government was committed to negotiating power-sharing with black leaders who rejected violence and recognised that this would be a lengthy process.

"We are evolutionary, not revolutionary," he said.

"Our ideal would be to establish power-sharing as soon as possible, but it will probably take a decade or two."

True democracy was not possible in the short term.

He said South Africa would probably not be fully democratic for many generations to come because of the First World and Third World components of the society.

Unemployment

He warned that sanctions would retard reform because the Government was increasingly preoccupied with the economy and rising unemployment.

Mr Miller rejected a charge of police brutality: "Police do not use force to suppress the people, but to maintain law and order."

He also told British viewers that detention without trial was necessary to "remove the perpetrators of violence" from society to "break the cycle of violence".

He accused the media of presenting a "small spectrum of the South African reality" to the world and said television companies misled viewers through their coverage of police action in the townships.

Day signifies 'right to freedom'

17/12/86 304A SMR

CAPE TOWN — The Day of the Vow signified the right of Afrikaners to freedom and self-determination, and to defend these by means of an armed struggle if neccessary, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking at an Afrikaner Volkswag open-air meeting in Parow, Dr Treurnicht said: "Our nation (Afrikaners) also has its share of sins like all other nations.

"But our nation must return to God and recognise the Kingdom of Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit as the only solution."

About 200 people gave Dr Treurnicht a standing ovation.

He indirectly criticised moves towards racial integration in the Ned Geref Kerk, saying church integration was opposed in the 19th century by leading Afrikaners like Anna Steenkamp, the niece of Afrikaner leader Piet Retief.

The Day of the Vow was not a day of enmity nor did it aim at estranging people from each other, he said.

Afrikaners knew from their own history that no nation would be satisfied being oppressed.

Dr Treurnicht described the Great Trek as a "friendly rebellion" though it resulted in several bloody frontier wars.

It provided a breakthrough for Christian civilisation in Southern Africa and for the Zulus. Afrikanerdom protected a variety of black nationalisms which were aimed at giving blacks political rights, he said.

Without these noble objectives, the Battle of Blood River would just be another event of revenge in the annals of history.

Like the crisis of fear and darkness that confronted Afrikanerdom on December 16 1838, they faced punitive international sanctions and the threat of ANC violence.

Afrikanerdom was engaged in writing the most unique chapters of history in giving blacks political rights and independent self-determination until they gave in to pressures for racial integration.

"For all nations independence and freedom is allowed, but when it comes to us we are expendable ... and we are accused of racism," Dr Treurnicht said.

● The Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, speaking at the Groote Schuur Estate, said whereas Boer opposed Zulu in 1838, in 1986 the Day of the Vow became a symbol for the unity of Boer and Zulu and all other population groups in South Africa to oppose communism. — Sapa.

Editor urges communication

SASOLBURG — Just as the communication gap between Dingaan and Piet Retief led to the Battle of Blood River, so the current communication gap could lead South Africans to confrontation, the Editor of Volksblad, Mr Hennie van Deventer, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Day of the Vow gathering at Abrahamsrust near Sasolburg, Mr van Deventer said there had been a "classical communication gap" between Piet Retief and Dingaan and the result of their meeting was practically inevitable.

Looking at history from this perspective, one of the most important guidelines for the future was that South Africans would have to communicate.

"We will have to learn to communicate with one another, Afrikaner with Afrikaner, Afrikaner with Englishman, white with black, openly and willingly," he said. — Sapa.

Blood River 'a victory for Christian values'

ROUXVILLE — Annual remembrance of the vow taken by Voortrekkers before the Battle of Blood River against the Zulus was not a celebration of the victory of one group of people over another, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Day of the Vow ceremony at Rouxville in the Free State, he said the celebration was about the "victory of Christian values in South Africa over a radical heathenism".

Those who criticised the Day of the Vow as something which prejudiced good relations in South Africa and which singled out the Afrikaner as God's chosen people, did not understand.

"We do not regard ourselves as the chosen people ... we do not claim God for ourselves.

"We celebrate the Day of the Vow not to celebrate our victory, but to fulfill a vow and to thank God for our survival," he said.

God was not by definition on the side of one group and he had not always been on the side of the Voortrekkers, Mr Clase said.

Citing historical facts, he said there had been three Englishmen, 60 Zulu warriors and an unknown number of coloureds with the Boer force at Blood River, and the events of that day emphasised something which had never changed in South Africa.

"We in South Africa are dependent upon each other ... just as the Trekkers accepted the help of the English, the Zulus and the coloureds in the Blood River laager, so are we in South Africa dependent on each other today.

"Together we form part of this sub-continent, and we shall have to give each other a place here," he said. — Sapa.

Indaba: govt yet to get memorandum

17/2/86
SUNDAY

3049

ALAN FINE

GOVERNMENT had not yet received any official communication regarding the KwaNatal indaba's draft constitution, chairman, Professor Desmond Clarence said yesterday.

Clarence said although the draft was released to the public more than two weeks ago, parties to the indaba had been given until the end of this week to submit minority reports.

Only once those had been received would he write a memorandum, which would be presented to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis at a meeting scheduled for mid-January.

In view of that, Clarence said, he was not at all unhappy at the official government silence on the draft constitution. Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha has already rejected the draft. But Clarence said he did not regard Botha's views as reflecting official government position.

Clarence said: "Botha's comments were not based on a full understanding of the proposals.

"And various people, including Denis Worrall, have indicated that they do not represent official thinking."

Chamber warning on 'slow' pace of reform

CAPE TIMES 17/12/80 (3044)

By AUDREY D'ANGELO

THE slowing down of the pace of reform in recent months has had "a serious impact on business confidence, which is a vital ingredient for renewed economic growth", the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce has warned the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The warning was given with a list of legislative measures and practices — including the Group Areas Act, the Aliens Act, the Black Land Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and separate education and transport — which the chamber believes are harming the economy.

The list was sent in response to the department's call for submissions regarding legislation and policy that discriminate on grounds of race and have an impact on the business community.

The chamber pointed out that the economic system in SA had developed "on a set of rules containing fundamental elements which discriminate on grounds of race". This has "inhibited free access to the economy by all who wish to participate therein and has brought the whole system of free enterprise in this country into disrepute".

It said though a number of positive moves had already been made, change was taking too long. Unless short cuts were found, the rejection of the free enterprise system by those prevented from taking part in it would accelerate.

"It is an unavoidable fact that unless black people in this country are put into a position that will enable them to enjoy their fair share of the fruits of the private enterprise system, they will be encouraged to opt for socialistic or communistic alternatives," the chamber warned.

"Those who would argue otherwise find themselves at a very serious disadvantage as a result of the string of legal and administrative restraints that inhibit full participation by all races in the country's economy."

Reform log-jam 'creates deep despondency'

Steyn: Deliver the goods

Business Day Reporter

ONE OF the biggest risks facing SA at present is that a climate of deep despondency, impotence, frustration and bitterness is being created by the political log-jam and apparent government intransigence.

Urban Foundation executive chairman Jan Steyn expressed this view in a recent interview with *Business Day*.

"One has to accept that, in the next couple of months, there has to be an emphasis on the delivery of products rather than on a high-profile promotion of a reform agenda," he said.

Speaking on the prospects of the reform process next year — undermined seriously by recent Press clamps — Steyn said he had to concede that government's pronouncements on the Group Areas Act and its apparent rejection of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba recommendations were "an indication we are in a trough in which a rapid promotion of the reform process is problematic".

It was also important to understand that the success of the reform process was going to depend very significantly on our capacity to continue to deliver evidence of the integrity of our purpose — and you can do that best through the delivery of products, he said.

For this reason, it was encouraging that substantial resources had been set aside for, say, housing.

"It is also for that reason that I have urged so strongly the making available of a very substantial package of resources internationally for the purpose of promoting the socio-economic welfare of black people in SA."

SA had the infrastructure to absorb these resources and apply them beneficially, he emphasised.

The Urban Foundation was worried that government could increasingly adopt the attitude of "leave politics to the politicians and you get on with business".

"I think business has an important contribution to make toward progress in SA," Steyn said.

Cape Times 18/12/86

More than strange

(304M)

ALLAN DRURY described South Africa in the 1970s as a very strange society. More than half-way through the 80s South Africa, if somewhat changed, is no less strange.

For example, beach apartheid has now been abolished on almost every beach in the Peninsula. The Cape Divisional Council, one of the last local authorities in Cape Town to open beach facilities to all races — commendably in the face of opposition from the Administrator — is happy to make no distinction on the basis of colour.

But it insists on retaining some of the apartheid notices, at least until it has another meeting and formally decides to remove them. The secretary, Mr C H Mocke, said the recent decision to admit all races to the beaches did not mean the apartheid signs would also be removed automatically!

What illogicality! What absurdity! If all races are being admitted, why retain the notices that give such offence? It is like agreeing the earth is round but insisting that geography books still be allowed to claim it is flat.

Are the signs supposed to intimidate people into thinking they are prohibited from admission when they are not? Or does the council believe the relaxation of the discriminatory restrictions to be so temporary that the removal of the signs is not warranted?

Apartheid signs are the meat and drink of South Africa's critics. Photographed, they tell the story more graphically than many thousands of words. Yet when we have a genuine reason for consigning them to the flames they are kept up, perpetuating a lie. With such a propensity for masochism, who needs sadists?

ARGUS 09/12/86 (30 cm)

JMCs have sinister role, council told

By GAYE DAVIS, Staff Reporter

THE Cape Town City Council has decided against becoming involved in the system of Joint Management Centres (JMCs), described by a councillor as "the lowest level in a military junta".

Mr Neil Ross, a member of the council, said that the JMCs — which were answerable to the State Security Council and part of a national "security management" system with a hierarchy of sub-committees at regional and local level — were playing a "sinister and dangerous role" as pivotal instruments of State policy.

"We have alongside the normal structures of local government a big brother watching over us and sometimes usurping us," he said.

Councillors heard yesterday that the council had not been approached formally to serve on a JMC or any of its subordinate bodies and received no minutes of meetings.

However, council employees were "informally approached" by members of the police and management committees to attend meetings to discuss subjects such as housing, sports facilities and roads.

Mr Dick Friedlander, the chairman of the executive committee, replying to questions by Mr Ross, said that when it appeared in July that local government issues were being dealt with outside the normal system, the practice was stopped pending clarification.

However, a letter to the Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape asking about the role and powers of the JMC had received no reply.

A senior police officer later told the town clerk that the JMC system aimed at "decentralising the management of national security by identifying local or regional threats with a view to directing attention to them so that revolutionary unrest could be defused".

No secret funds were available but if a "legitimate grievance" was identified and no funds were available elsewhere, Government funding could be applied for.

Mr Ross said the answers showed how those running the JMCs were prepared to approach council officials "through the back door".

Mr Chris Joubert (Sea Point) said that Mr Ross was "seeing ghosts". The JMC system was neither secret nor sinister. It was one of the best ways to counter revolutionary activity.

But Dr John Sonnenberg said the system represented the "lowest level in a military junta".

He said that democracy in South Africa was disappearing. The system was a subversion of local government and would not solve the country's problems.

● The council decided that civil defence and emergency services would continue to liaise with other authorities on emergency planning but where this involved contact with the JMC network, reports of the meetings would be submitted to the town clerk and made available to the executive committee.

First [illegible] trolley • On caster wheels

FIN MAIL 19/12/86

THE WHITE RIGHT

Will Marais stick?

While the rest of the country is wrestling with what appears to be more immediate problems, the struggle on the far Right of Afrikanerdom continues. On the one hand, the Conservative Party (CP) is determined to go ahead with its so-called Unity Conference on January 24, while the Herstige Nasionale Party (HNP) is adamant that until certain differences are resolved, an amalgamation of the two parties is pointless.

CP chief secretary and MP for Koedoesport Frans van Staden says that the only real difference between the two parties is the language question (the CP believes that both English and Afrikaans should be official languages, while the HNP wants Afrikaans only).

However, Van Staden says that the late Prime Minister John Vorster was anathema to the HNP leadership, while the CP simply does not see any point in quibbling over the views of a man long departed. Van Staden says he believes grassroots supporters of the rightwing parties want to see an amalgamation, and that only HNP leader Jaap Marais seems to be standing in the way.

Van Staden says the HNP regards Vorster as the man who started the whole process of change in SA by, as they see it, "selling out" Rhodesia, South West Africa, and introducing the beginnings of integration in SA. Yet, he points out, the HNP's Louis Stofberg — MP for Sasolburg and the only HNP member — has always voted with the CP in parliament.

For his part, Marais tells the *FM* that there are more differences between the two parties than simply the language question. He says that other differences concern the two parties' views on the position of Indians (the CP would like to give them a homeland,

Treurnicht

Marais

while the HNP is adamant that that is not on) and the question of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

It seems the CP is happy to accept members of the AWB to its ranks, while the HNP maintains that the AWB is an organisation that rejects political parties and the parliamentary system; so it cannot see why its members would join any political party. Marais also points out that the AWB is itself registered as a political party.

Marais agrees with the CP's Van Staden that there are big differences between the two on the question of Vorster. "Dr Andries Treurnicht served alongside Mr Vorster for years and he won't repudiate him now. Yet we fought them both for 13 years," Marais says.

Yet Marais is adamant that he still wishes to co-operate with the CP. "If you look at South African history, in both 1924 and 1948 you found the government of the day dislodged by not one, but two parties acting together. I see no reason why that should not be allowed to happen again.

"The fact is that you cannot put two parties together as long as there are major differences between them. Because if you build in the differences, then everything falls apart at the first crisis. The history of SA has shown that all too clearly."

So it would seem that the ruling National Party can continue to rely on a fragmented rightwing — unless Marais' much vaunted co-operation can be made to stick. ■

Defiant PFP threatens to challenge crisis regulations

BUSDAY 19/12/86

MAX DU PREEZ and Own Correspondent

THE PFP's federal executive took a defiant stand on the latest emergency regulations yesterday, saying it would not be intimidated by them and threatening to boycott ceremonial parliamentary activities.

Federal executive chairman Ken Andrew said after a special meeting on the regulations yesterday the PFP intended to challenge them in court at the earliest opportunity.

Andrew said PFP MPs would be requested to carry on with their normal duties and to be more active than ever in monitoring events throughout SA.

"Speakers at meetings should deal with all aspects of PFP policy and say whatever needs to be said on matters affecting the well-being of the country."

Party leader Colin Eglin said yesterday the legal challenge was part of the PFP's strategy "to take SA back across the threshold into a truly democratic alternative".

Eglin said it appeared an election was around the corner and urged South Africans who wanted a peaceful and constitutional future to use the election to "get rid of the Botha government as the first step towards new democratic, government representative of all the people of SA".

The federal executive decided not to submit party literature to any authority for approval.

Andrew said: "Parliament cannot continue to operate in the same way as in the past and a fundamental re-appraisal is necessary. The emergency regulations are a clear attempt to manipulate public opinion and the PFP will need to use Parliament to open up debate and to get information out.

"We will be seriously reviewing our parliamentary strategies and will certainly be taking a hard look at our involvement in the more formal and ceremonial elements of traditional parliamentary activities.

"The PFP will not become part of a cover-up operation. The emergency regulations are not only unjust and undemocratic, but they are also dangerous because an uninformed public can be lulled into a false sense of security until it is too late to take remedial action.

"We will fight, for the public's right to know with all the means at our disposal."

Many 'lost' voters found

20/12/86 (304A) STAR

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

About 40 percent of the million "missing" white voters may have been traced, according to figures released by the Department of Home Affairs yesterday.

By December 17, the Department had received 407 188 responses to its campaign to encourage people to notify the authorities of their correct residential addresses.

The marketing campaign was intended mainly to bring the voters' roll up to date.

Earlier this year, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha estimated that about 35 percent of the South Africa's 3 million registered white voters were no longer at the residential addresses recorded for them.

This meant voters rolls, which are compiled from the population register, were out of date.

SPECULATION

In referring to speculation of an early general election, President Botha said a few months ago that the state of the country's voters rolls had to be improved as these could not be allowed to dictate when an election could be held.

Since then the Department of Home Affairs has been campaigning to encourage missing voters to send in their correct address particulars.

A spokesman for the Department said yesterday that although the campaign had stopped on December 15, people who had not sent in their correct addresses should still do so.

He appealed to people to check the back pocket of their identity documents to ensure that this contained the correct address particulars.

● There is intense speculation that on January 1or early in the New Year President Botha will announce a general election for some time in March or April.

Voters who have not sent in correct addresses will still be entitled to vote, but only in constituencies where they are officially registered.

We won't be silenced, PFP vows

STAR 30/4/A 29/12/86

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — THE Progressive Federal Party is to reconsider the way in which it participates in the proceedings of Parliament in view of the recent tightening-up of the state of emergency.

At the same time the party will continue to use Parliament as much as possible in order to obtain information about aspects of the state of emergency.

It is also investigating the possibility of challenging the regulations in court.

These decisions were taken at a meeting of the party's federal executive in Cape Town.

Mr Ken Andrew MP, chairman of the executive, said today that the party had to recognise that, under present circumstances, Parliament will not be what it used to be.

It would be "wholly inappropriate" to continue as if nothing had changed and as if Parliament was fully part of a democratic society.

The party's caucus would have to take the decision on how it will participate in Parliament.

At the same time the party realised that Parliament afforded it one of the few opportunities of getting access to information and it would try to use this as much as possible.

In a statement after the meeting the party executive said it had instructed attorneys to obtain the opinion of senior counsel with a view to challenging the regulations in court.

PFP MPs would be requested to be more active than ever in monitoring events in all communities.

Speakers at meetings should deal with all aspects of PFP policy and say whatever was needed to be said on matters affecting the well-being of the country.

"The party will not be intimidated into silence and we will not submit party literature to any authority for approval and we will not become part of a cover-up," the statement said.

"The emergency regulations are dangerous because an uninformed public can be lulled into a false sense of security until it is too late to take remedial action.

"We will fight for the public's right to know with all the means at our disposal," the statement said.

Press, PFP slam bureau advert

22/12/86 BUSDAY 3044

OPPOSITION and media spokesmen have hit back at a Bureau for Information advertisement which attempts to justify the government's information curbs.

The advertisement, published yesterday in newspapers, emphasised that the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) had itself accepted that the curbs should be applicable to all the media, including newspapers belonging to the NPU.

The advert also said most of the media had been more favourable to the radical than the moderate cause, and that the media should decide which side it was on.

PFP information officer Peter Soal said the advertisement was "misleading" and did not reflect the true picture.

SAAN deputy MD Roy Paulsen said it appeared from the tone of the advertisement that government realised it had damaged the image of a free Press and was trying to justify its actions.

PETER WALLINGTON

Argus MD Peter McLean said government's message appeared to be that the media should choose sides between "radicals" and "moderates".

"The Argus company is not in the business of taking sides. One of the cornerstones of our Charter, which all our editors work to, is to place the interests of SA and all its people above all else."

He said no one had a monopoly on the right answers to all the problems.

"It is the task of our newspapers to present the facts so that the process of normalising our society can be assisted. Regrettably the new emergency regulations prevent us from presenting all the facts," he said.

The bureau claimed the state of emergency had achieved "some of its imme-

● To Page 2

Bureau advert slammed

22/12/86 BUSDAY 3044

● From Page 1

diate objectives" but had not eliminated the "political agitation, incitement and subsersive propaganda which had created the revolutionary climate".

The bureau claimed the new regulations were not directed at the established media, were not intended to limit the right of the media to continue to criticise government across a borad spectrum of national affairs, and were not imposed without prior consultation.

However, publishing sources say NPU members faced a "Hobson's choice" — apply self-censorship and let government apply the curbs to the alternative media only, or refuse to censor themselves and be subject to the curbs as well.

Government had said the established media would be excluded from the new media curbs if they censored themselves. NPU members rejected this and said that whatever curbs were introduced should apply to all media.

Soal criticised the advertisement, saying it was misleading and did not reflect the true picture. The NP frequently "distorted the situation to suit their own purposes".

He cited government's claim that the struggle in SA was between those who sought a plural society with a free economy on the one hand, and those who wanted a one-party socialist state on the other. "These are not the only options facing SA," he said.

● See comment Page 4.

Voters' rolls in 'shocking state'

ARGUS 22/12/86

304A

Political Staff

MR KEN ANDREW, MP for Gardens, warned today that tens of thousands of voters would not be entitled to vote where they lived if an election was called early next year.

He said the voters' rolls were in a "shocking state" and many people who had moved were registered in the wrong constituencies.

Mr Andrew said that in the Gardens constituency the Progressive Federal Party had distributed thousands of voter registration cards to help voters to get themselves properly registered.

He appealed to Gardens residents to return their completed registration forms as soon as possible so that they could be handed in before the end of this month.

As many as one-third of the voters had changed their addresses and would need postal votes in an election.

On a national basis this amounted to more than half-a-million postal votes, which would cause chaos in a general election.

About 40 percent of the million "missing" white voters may have been traced, according to figures released by the Department of Home Affairs today.

Up to December 17 the department had received 407 188 responses to its campaign to encourage people to notify the authorities of their correct residential addresses.

The three-month marketing campaign was intended mainly to bring the voters roll up to date.

Earlier this year, Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha estimated that 35 percent of the country's three-million registered white voters were no longer at the residential addresses recorded for them.

This meant that the voters' rolls, which were compiled from the population register, were hopelessly out of date.

A spokesman for the department said although the campaign had stopped on December 15, people who had not sent in their correct addresses should do so.

He appealed to people to check the back pocket of their identity documents to ensure that this contained the correct address particulars.

ARGUS 22/12/86 (30KA)

Jan Pickard quits President's Council

Staff Reporter

BUSINESSMAN and president of the Western Province Rugby Union, Mr Jan Pickard, resigned from the President's Council today.

In a statement, Mr Pickard cited "increasing commitments" in other fields as the primary reason for his stepping down at the end of the month.

He said he was resigning "with a certain amount of regret".

"It was not an easy decision — the six years since the President's Council started have been an unforgettable experience.

EXAMPLES

"From the first day there was a good relationship among white, Indian and coloured, which only got better.

"I am satisfied with the recommendations the council has made, a few of them controversial."

Mr Pickard said examples were its help with a new constitution, the abolition of the pass laws and the Mixed Marriages Act.

"It did not help to abolish this Act before there was finality on accommodation for mixed couples and this mistake will also have to be guarded against in the case of the Group Areas Act.

"INTERESTING"

"It will not help to abolish the Act if a person of colour moves in to Bishop's Court and does not have the vote. With the abolition of the Group Areas Act will have to come the solution to the voting situation."

Mr Pickard said his 6½ years on the council were "highly interesting" but his numerous other commitments meant he could not pay enough attention to the council.

"I am full of confidence that the problems of South Africa will be solved, but for that to happen there will have to be a change in the hearts of people.

Role of PFP is now vital — Olivier

344A

DD 22/12/86

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Both the government and the "revolutionary forces" seem intent, in the name of democracy and freedom, to destroy the fundamentals of a free and democratic society in the very methods they are employing to achieve their aims.

This is the opinion of the head of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP's) research department, Mr Nic Olivier, expressed in an analysis on the latest emergency regulations.

He said the presence and role of the PFP in Parliament had become a vital cornerstone of democracy in South Africa.

"Even if government, in these latest steps, were to be able to counter effectively the developments in these townships and were to re-establish a modicum of 'law and order' in them, the simple fact remains that it will be only a short-term 'solution'; unless steps are taken to remove the fundamental causes of discontent and frustration there can be no hope for a lasting accomodation," Mr Olivier wrote.

● The Attorney General of the Cape, Mr Niel Rossouw, was yesterday unable to confirm a report in a pro-Nationalist Afrikaans newspaper that two Cape Times journalists had been charged with violating the Police Act.

Mr Rossouw said he was "aware" of the case against Mr Chris Bateman and Mr Tony Weaver but had not personally worked on it

Confidence is evaporating after summit, says Assocom

Snail's pace on Group Areas needs rapid acceleration

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Increased business confidence that stemmed from the November 7 "summit" with President P. W. Botha is in danger of evaporating, says the Association of Chambers of Commerce.

Assocom says in its latest quarterly review that the government must start backing up its assurances on reform and constructive change.

It says the element of confidence which was boosted by the State President's conference should be sustained, "although the decision to refer back to the President's Council recommendations about the Group Areas Act can hardly be regarded as a confidence-booster

"It signifies indecision when decisiveness is most necessary, inaction instead of action."

Assocom says the time for talking is over. "We can no longer afford to waste precious months, even days, on repetitious debate, on preparing serialised memoranda, on the production of millions of words, written or spoken "

It says businessmen are wary of the government's "tardy" reform progress to date.

"Time is running out fast and it must not be wasted by temporising, procrastination and the shuffling of papers between private sector organisations and legislators and administrators."

Assocom says the tightening sanctions net must not be used by government as an excuse to impose economic controls which could "virtually destroy the functioning of markets".

With finance from abroad down to a trickle, the availability of capital will become limited.

"It can only come from our own savings and trading surpluses, which will have to be carefully nurtured and used only to best advantage.

"There is only one way to ensure this The market must be sufficiently free to determine the most efficient use of capital, not a cabal hidden away out of sight."

● Stellenbosch University's Bureau for Economic Research (BER) has warned business not to allow itself to be forced into a "retreat mentality". If it does, any economic recovery will be short-lived.

The bureau says the fact that economic activity has picked up in many areas is bound to improve business confidence in South Africa.

The bottom of the business cycle appears to have been reached, production is up and indications are that this will continue, at least in the short-term.

But the BER warns: "The danger, which has become a probability, is that some part of South African business may consider itself pushed into a retreat economy.

"If this retreat mentality prevails, the present economic improvements will be very short-lived and the economy will experience a continued deterioration over the longer-term.

"Better co-operation and understanding between South Africa and the rest of the world should still remain an essential aim, as is the active circumvention of punitive measures imposed by a persecuting world."

●The chairman of Metropolitan Life, Mr Marinus Daling, says in his annual review that inflation, coupled with other problems such as the unsettled socio-political situation, international disinvestment, sanctions, and pressure to repay foreign debt, readily explains the slow growth performance of the South African economy in recent years.

"From 1980 to 1985 the average annual growth rate of gross domestic product was 1,8 per cent, which is substantially below the five per cent required to create new employment opportunities for an expanding population."

Mr Daling believes there is hope for South Africa amid the gloom: "Despite the many years of artificial division and fragmentation, most people now share the view that we have a common future in this country.

"We are accepting the fact that South Africa not only has a highly developed First World economy, but it is also a developing Third World country. It is only through co-operation and mutual respect that we can build a better future," says Mr Daling.

"The business community has come to realise that it cannot stand passively outside the the political arena — there is too much at stake."

Why bother with a general election for whites only?

BUSDAY 23/12/86. 304A

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

AS WE limp out of another most "crucial/critical" year in our history into the next one, it would appear a significant difference between this one and the one to come, will be a white general election.

Why? For the life of me I cannot quite figure it out. According to the normal rules of the old game, the deadline for the next general election was end-1985.

But then government changed the constitution and in the process engineered itself an extra three-and-a-half-years (up until 1989), before it was constitutionally bound to call an election.

The major argument given then was that the implementation of the new constitution needed some breathing space to settle down and that a general election too soon would be too disruptive.

So? How settled are things now?

Apparently settled enough to talk of a "white" election, but not a "coloured" or "Indian" one.

Perhaps one could find a clue by going back to some of those referendum promises and predictions.

Remember? "A major step in the right direction", "confidence in the SA economy will zoom and foreign capital will stream in", "the blacks wait with great anticipation to see if whites are ready for reform", and so on.

Now, two years after this constitutional wonder drug was administered to the body politic of SA, we have a state of emergency; massive flight of capital; the greatest degree of external isolation and sanctions in our history; massive internal dissent and alienation; and, as far as the next "step in the right direction" is concerned, a government that flops around like a headless chicken.

In other words — a splendiferous, political hangover. Government has "bang-babalaas" and State President P W Botha needs a "regmaker" before he retires. He will call a white election so his voters can tell him he is not such a bad chap after all.

Why cloud the message with the inevitable disruption and acrimony that "coloured" and "Indian" elections will cause?

Let that be the whirlwind his successor inherits in the 1989 general election.

By the time we go into the election of 1987, the average white voter will have been told we needed sanctions and isolation to survive and that America, in collusion with Russia, is leading the "total onslaught" against SA.

Those who question this onslaught will simply be defined as part of it.

In government's eyes our problems do not stem from the fact we have a lousy constitution that crudely modernises racism; or an executive that systematically sidesteps accountability; or an oversized bureaucracy that wastes money on unobtainable objectives; or a government that wishes to "broaden democracy" for blacks by denying them the freedom of association.

No, the fault does not lie with "us", it lies with "them".

"Them", are foreign governments, multinationals, liberals, Communists, radicals, the clergy, agitators, the Press, Frontline states, the African National Congress, Swapo, Frelimo, Cubans or anybody not prepared or incapable of understanding "us".

This is all pure speculation, of course. After all, Botha did not say there would be an election next year. At the Press conference after the National Party caucus, he only said the caucus agreed that as State President he had the prerogative to decide when there would be one.

Ever since, everyone has been saying there will be an election for whites early next year.

For the life of me, I cannot quite figure out why.

Edited by Heather Ross

Pik unconvincing, says PFP leader

Staff Reporters

The Government's explanation of why the security forces had recently abducted people from Swaziland was unsatisfactory and there were many unanswered questions, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said today.

He said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had given a "blustering and unconvincing performance" on SABC-TV last night when he explained the reasons for the security force actions in Swaziland.

"If it was so important to abduct them, the reasons for the subsequent release of two Swiss citizens seem threadbare. If it was worthwhile releasing them, why was it worthwhile abducting them in the first place?" Mr Eglin asked.

Mr Botha appeared on "Netwerk" last night shortly after returning from talks with the Swaziland Prime Minister, Mr Sotja Dlamini.

Mr Botha said the people taken from Swaziland were making "devilish plans" against South Africa to ensure that the country had a black Christmas.

A Swiss citizen, Miss Corrine Bischoff, who was abducted with her fiance, Mr Daniel Schneider, from their Mbabane home, told The Star from Swaziland today: "I can only stress again that we protest our innocence and the Swiss Government knows that we are innocent."

W/E ARGUS 20/12/86 30 KA

Frustrated Maties on 'contact tour' seek peaceful future

'Leaders have no vision'

DALE LAUTENBACH, Weekend Argus Reporter

"OUR frustration is that we are young people without a vision ... our supposed leaders have left us visionless ..."

Which is why Stellenbosch student Hennie Bester took the initiative in organising a contact tour.

He and fellow students travelled the country meeting members of different communities, different organisations; people from walks of life little known to the average Matie.

People who want to build

"Our frustration ..." says Hennie, a Student's Representative Council member and chairman of Spog (Stellenbosch se Politieke Ondersoek en Gesprek), "Our irritation ... is that we met people on this tour who want to build, who want to make a future together. And our supposed leaders give us no sense of a direction towards that future."

Spog is the informal political arm of the Stellenbosch SRC. It defines its task as informing student leaders and keeping them in touch with a broad spectrum of political activity. The organisation is "liberal" in campus terms; "moderate" by general political standards.

Chairman Hennie is well-known on campus as a serious young man. He is a serious Christian and serious about his vision of a peaceful path into what lies ahead.

He seems significantly more open than his average Stellenbosch colleague to the different concerns of people he encounters along that path, though he could not be called "radical", even by Matie standards.

Gesprek is the clearest signpost he has spotted yet on his path and he is following it eagerly. Last year he was one of the group of Maties who had their passports withdrawn after announcing their plan to visit the African National Congress in Lusaka.

Mr Qoboza

Dr Motlana

Rev Buti

Mrs Duncan

Matie Hennie Bester — frustrated.

And now he has guided Spog — "an organisation willing to talk and listen to anyone ... no strings attached", says Hennie — on its first national talking trip.

The "swartkontaktoer", as it was billed in the Afrikaans Press, took 10 students selected by Spog as having influence on the campus, on a whirlwind week of exposure to some things some of them certainly had not even thought about before.

The delegation included the five SRC executive members: Chris Jacobs, president, Frans Volschenk, Hein Brand, Nicki Smit and Robert Knobel; the editor of the student newspaper Die Matie, Stephan Malherbe; two SRC members Hennie Bester and Zenda Barnard, and two young Spog members Julius Oosthuizen and Jacques du Plessis.

"You couldn't say it was nice," says Hennie. "It was no pleasant trip. But it was necessary, informative, disturbing and, of course, very frustrating."

The delegation was met in Durban by members of the United Democratic Front-affiliated Azanian Student's Organisation.

The day's exposure included talks with the UDF executive in Natal, a meeting with senior church people including the Rev Sam Khumalo and dinner with the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

Day two took in Indaba secretary Professor Dawid van Wyk, more Inkatha Youth and a flight to Johannesburg.

"There we met Mr Percy Qoboza of City Press," says Hennie. "And we had lunch at a community centre in Soweto with young pupils, most of whom had been trying to write their matric exams for a while.

Astonishing goodwill

"It turned into a very festive occasion and represented what we found, on the one hand, so astonishing: the tremendous goodwill of the people Those young students came along in good faith, they wanted to make contact, to build with us."

On the other hand though, says Hennie, was the inescapable fact that the black community has become "monolithic" ... "consolidated by tremendous frustration and sometimes hatred".

"From black people who've reached top positions to young kids at school, no one is spared the loss of human dignity. They tell you there's a monster being born and that people won't be kept down for much longer.

"It was frightening to hear so many of them refer to the Government as the 'enemy'. The Rev Sam Buti said 'Don't call me moderate, that's an insult. There are no moderate blacks anymore.' That shook us."

The whistlestop sped on for the young Maties: the National Union of Mineworkers; Dr Nthatho Motlana; the South African Council of Churches at Khotso House; Sheena Duncan of Black Sash; Fort Hare students; Soweto headmasters; journalist Harald Pakendorf for dinner and Ds Willie Cilliers for tea.

"We had lunch with Gary May, public affairs manager of SA Breweries, and that was fascinating," says Hennie. "SAB must be one of the most progressive-thinking establishment groupings in the country ... quietly forging ahead"

Then it was Sunday morning, the seventh day, and a church service conducted by the Rev Sam Buti at his church in Alexandra.

This marked the end of the official tour ... but, says Hennie, hopefully the start too of some different perspectives on the Matie campus.

"I can't predict how our meetings will affect the political thinking of student leadership next year but I can say we were all affected by the tour in one way or another. Our group was divided on many issues and there was much disagreement.

"Some of them had just not experienced this kind of contact before and some resisted it strongly. Many came along with entrenched preconceptions that have been instilled over many years ... like the idea that certain people are communists and that's that.

"But we heard things that could just not go ignored and I think even those with the most hardline preconceptions were affected. There was a general feeling among the rightwing members of the group that they couldn't wait to get back to their Government contacts and 'ask some questions'."

Some eyes were opened more than others though.

"Yes," says Hennie, and again that word "frustration" comes into conversation. "For some the tour just served to confirm prejudices and they withdrew even further into the laager.

"Towards the end there was a tremendous sense of frustration and irritation and some people started talking about their long summer holidays to be spent on the beach .. which in turn was irritating having just met all those others who don't have long beach holidays ahead."

US can do nothing to halt SA march to abyss

CAPE TIMES 27/12/86

30 4K

Washington Letter
by SIMON BARBER

Dr Chester Crocker

IN YOUR typical Greek tragedy, there always comes the moment when the hero, having been put through the wringer, recognizes his folly. The chorus then trots on and wraps things up with the neat observation that understanding comes through suffering.

The fundamental weakness with this, it has always seemed to me, is that the hero rarely has had much choice in the making of his downfall. Fate, not a conscious decision, has dictated that he make the mistakes (for example, murdering his father and marrying his mother) that land him in the wringer. So the observation that he has learnt something useful, or that it might be of future benefit, is fatuous. The unfairness of things is not a useful moral.

Dr Chester Crocker, even though he has yet to tear his eyes out, did the tragic-hero routine last week as he surveyed the ruins of US policy towards Southern Africa. "We may have had to go through this experience before we learned basic things about how to communicate with the SA government and about the limits of our power," he observed. Enter chorus with platitudes.

The message of 1986, at least as far as South Africa, its benighted neighbours and their relations with the West are concerned, is that all the suffering and learning in the world make absolutely no difference. From P W Botha to Ronald Reagan to Desmond Tutu to Oliver Tambo, the actors all seem to be marionettes whose strings are yanked by the gods of a political universe beyond their ken or control.

From the American standpoint, it has ceased to matter one iota what policy the administration of the day pursues. Short of direct military intervention, which is beyond the realm of possibility, the US and its allies can do nothing to halt, or even divert, South Africa's steady march towards the abyss. Between them, the Reagan administration and Congress have now tried almost every trick in the book and found each strategy and tactic abused by Pretoria to its self-destructive short-term advantage.

Dr Crocker set out trying to understand the white predicament. His plan was to engineer a series of regional settlements that would enable Pretoria to feel secure enough from external threat to be able to unleash genuine change at home. When that achieved nothing — at least nothing by Western standards of democracy and humanity — Congress stepped in to apply heat in the form of sanctions. The South African government exploited the first approach to prevaricate behind a mirage of co-operation. With the second, it is evidently filling the sandbags for its final bunker.

Unbreakable cycle

Since something must be done (this kind of drama doesn't end), the administration is now turning the focus of its attention to Pretoria's opponents, primarily, though not exclusively, the ANC. Trouble is, and whether or not you believe the ANC truly represents apartheid's victims, its imperatives are just as adamantine as those of the system it seeks to replace. More than that, the imperatives of each side feed upon the other's to form an unbreakable cycle of rage and remorselessness. The US has no more power to break that cycle than it has had to cajole or punish Mr Botha into seeing what it considers sense.

The ANC is already reacting to Washington's tentative overtures exactly as Pretoria did to "constructive engagement" — exploitatively. Either as quasi-ally or as ideological enemy of the masses, the US has no function except as a tool for the achievement of the organization's goals, and therefore, axiomatically, can wield no genuine influence over its behaviour.

Let us say, hypothetically, that the administration, of its own accord, in some dim hope of influence or under duress from Congress, ends up playing the game by the ANC official's rules. Pretoria will inevitably react by becoming even more deeply enlaagered, with all the additional horror that means for Souh Africa's subject population and its neighbours. Assume that Secretary of State Mr George Shultz insists on steering a middle course, or that, by some grim miracle, the Reaganite right-wing manages a resurgence and forces a total rejection of the ANC and all its works. The bloodshed continues anyway.

So it really makes no odds what the US decides to do. And you can be assured that whatever decision it does make will not be derived entirely through the use of reason.

The essence of tragedy, at least the classical kind, is predictability. The audience, sitting passively, knows what is going to happen even before the curtain goes up. Only the characters are ignorant of the consequences of their actions until, of course, it is too late. In the case of South Africa, this is strangely reversed. The audience, many of whom stand to be affected directly by those consequences, for the most part can only guess at what is going to happen. Meanwhile, the characters who will likely experience the results less keenly than anyone, know exactly what they are wreaking, but continue nonetheless as though they really were bound by a script.

Mental disarray

For example, I would maintain that every member of Congress, Democratic and Republican, who stopped to think about it, knew full well that the comprehensive anti-apartheid act would provoke a South African response diametrically opposed to what was intended. Increased repression, greater intransigence, the strengthening of the target regime's not-so-latent extremism, the further destruction of moderation. And yet, with their eyes open, these congressmen went ahead anyway as though under some unbreakable spell.

Worse, all knew exactly what that spell was: very simply, and stripped of pretty political analysis, the inordinate fear of being called or thought a racist. As one Democratic Senate staff member — for whose

Mr P W Botha

state the bill could mean not inconsiderable unemployment — said plaintively this week: "What were we supposed to do? People were openly telling us that a vote against the bill was a vote for nazism. Now people who elected my senator are going to lose their jobs."

This odd phenomenon, of people knowing they are acting irrationally and why, but nonetheless being unable to do anything about it, produces in some a state of cognitive dissonance, that state of mental disarray that comes from trying to hold two completely opposite views at the same time. The most obvious victim is the Rev Leon Sullivan, the author of the Sullivan Code and, until now, a genuine hero in the cause of a decent South Africa.

Releasing the latest report on signatory performance earlier this month, Mr Sullivan in almost the same breath praised US corporations for having done more for reform in South Africa than "all the countries of the world and the United Nations combined", pleaded for them to step up their efforts yet further and then warmly endorsed their departure. If, as is almost certain, he walks away next year, it will be because he can no longer make sense of what is happening, not because he doesn't care.

The preacher is not alone.