

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

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Reformists in Heunis's ^{306A} department ^{copy Trips 1/11/85} get 'knifed'

Political Correspondent

THE government's drive to draw blacks into negotiations on a new constitution could be jeopardised by the latest ructions in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

This follows indications that the two key reformist negotiators in the department have been "knifed" by the security establishment as punishment for promoting discussions with radical extra-parliamentary groups, including the African National Congress.

Future talks between the government and blacks in South Africa could

now be burdened by the impression that they are controlled or at least sanctioned by the security bosses.

Under the circumstances, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, could have even more of an uphill battle than before in getting credible black leaders to join the proposed National Council.

Officials in the department yesterday declined to confirm reports that the two sidelined officials, Dr Fanie Cloete and Mr Kobus Jordaan, had been stripped of their security clearances. All inquiries were referred to the police.

309A Summary 1/11/88

Factors affecting change in SA

FOCUS

THIS article was compiled by a group of moderate professional men from Pretoria, who support neither the extreme left spectrum of South African politics, such as the ANC, or the extreme right of the South African spectrum, such as the CP/HNP/AWB groups. This article, very briefly, and in point form, examines some of the factors influencing the possibility of success of an uprising in the country, and in what manner a right wing victory in an election in this country would influence such factors. As will be seen towards the end of this article, a CP/HNP/AWB victory would in view assist the ANC in its quest for power in the RSA.

SOME IMPORTANT FACTORS

- **Military might of the State:** It is an accepted fact that the greater the military might of the State, the less are the chances for a successful revolution. A strong, well trained army can control vast numbers of people.
- **Loyalty of the forces to the State:** The greater the degree of loyalty of the abovementioned forces to the State, the less likely are the prospects of successful uprising. See the case of the Shah of Iran, who lost power when he lost the loyalty of the majority of the security forces.
- **Strength of the country's economy:** This is the most important factor in the case of South Africa. It is well accepted that the greater the strength of a well organised, prosperous economy, the less the chances of a successful revolution. The masses of people would be willing to take up arms against the State and risk their lives in

revolt if they have no food or shelter.

- **Happiness level of the ruled:** The greater the level of happiness of the ruled, the less likely they will be tempted to indulge in revolutionary activities. It is essential that the happiness level of the ruled does not drop to that dangerous point where armed struggle becomes increasingly attractive.

- **Division in the ranks of the ruled:** The greater the division and disunity in the ranks of the ruled, the less likely are the prospects of success of a successful revolt. In South Africa we have this division of the ruled in the form of the various homeland governments, Inkatha and the African National Congress.

- **Unity of the Governing classes:** It is self evident that the greater the unity in the ranks of the Governing classes, the greater would be their combined strength, and the less likely would be the prospects of the successful overthrow of these classes. In South Africa the unity to a large extent of the English and the Afrikaner components of the white governing class, is a case in point.

- **Strength of neighbours:** The weaker the economic and military strength of the neighbours of the Republic of South Africa the less likely are the prospects that these countries could be used as springboards for military or guerilla attacks against South Africa. These weak neighbours could not counter or resist South African pre-emptive or retaliatory strikes against them. It is, thus, highly unattractive for them to house guerillas.

- **Disparity in numbers:** The greater the disparity in numbers between the Ruled and the

Ruling classes, the greater the likelihood of an uprising. In South Africa we have a great disparity between the predominantly white government and the ruled black population, which is ever increasing with the passage of time. It is thus of vital importance that the happiness level of the black population is maintained or increased to a satisfactory level.

- **Foreign aid to the Ruled:** The greater the volume of hostile foreign anti-government aid to the Ruled, the greater the threat of an uprising. In South Africa we have military aid to the ANC from the Eastern Bloc countries and moral and material aid to the ANC from Western and Third World countries.

THE EFFECT A CP/HNP/AWB VICTORY WOULD HAVE ON THE ABOVE-MENTIONED FACTORS

- **Military might of the State:** It is unlikely that the military might of the State would increase with a rightwing victory. With the extremists racial policies of the right, it is unlikely that the English, foreign Whites, Jews and progressive Afrikaners would want to risk the lives of their sons for unrealistic racial policies and the impossible dream of partition of the country.

- **Loyalty of security forces:** A rightwing victory would in our view put a strain on the loyalty of the vast numbers of moderate whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians who are members of these forces. It must be remembered that over 50 percent of the police force is black. These blacks might justifiably feel that the whites are not interested in negotiating a better future for them, and their spirit of co-operation could be lowered. This could also lead to the destruction of the intelligence networks in the black townships, which are run by blacks, who might then question the wisdom of their actions.

- **Strength of the economy:** A rightwing victory could in our

view seriously damage the economy. Increasing suppression of blacks might lead to a great number of violent clashes between the security forces and the blacks. Attempts to remove blacks and other races from the areas they already occupy might also lead to clashes, boycotts, strikes and other instances of economic sabotage. As a result of economic instability, there might be a massive disinvestment in the economy by both local and foreign investors. There could in our view be massive exportation of capital from South Africa, whether by legal or illegal means.

It is said that after the Soweto riots, R15 billion illegally left the country. This could be a small amount compared to what might leave the country in the event of a rightwing victory.

It is likely that the West and the rest of the world would impose comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, leading to the impossibility of importing and exporting goods, again leading to the collapse of the economy.

- **Happiness level of the ruled:** The happiness level of the ruled might decrease alarmingly due to the petty apartheid policies of the rightwing. It could lend credence to the propaganda of black radicals. Confrontations between the security forces and blacks might increase.

- **Unity of the ruling classes:** A rightwing victory could lead to great division in the ranks of the ruling class, that is, the whites. It is unlikely that moderate Afrikaners, the majority of English speakers, Jews, foreign whites such as the Portuguese or Greeks would agree to be co-opted in a government which could only fail. The moral imperative which unites the whites in their present struggle against radicals, division of power and justice for all, might disappear.

- **Division in the ranks of the ruled:** A rightwing victory would in our view lead to black unity. The position of moderate black leaders could be seriously

eroded. The black population might demand that the homeland leaders and Inkatha unite under the banner of the ANC, to counter the extremist counter the extremist rightwing government. A large number of coloureds, Asians and moderate whites could also probably support this united black front, contributing numbers, money and expertise to this organisation.

• Neighbours: With world opinion against South Africa reaching hysterical proportions, there would in our lives be undue pressure on the neighbouring states to actively assist, house and accommodate anti-government guerilla units. This could lead to increased border confrontations and instability in the whole Southern Africa region, which could only favour the revolutionary forces.



Mr Peter Muller

11/11/88
City needs
faster
reform
— Mayor

Staff Reporter

FASTER political reform was essential for the prosperity of Cape Town and the Western Cape, the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, said today.

The government was the "custodian of Cape Town's future" and its decisions would have a direct bearing on whether the city realised its "potential and prosperity", he said in a review of the mayoral year.

Mr Muller said Cape Town was economically dependent on exports and desperately needed foreign investment capital and wider international exposure.

INFLUENCE

But he warned that the international perception that South Africa was unwilling to quicken change would "necessarily and adversely" affect Cape Town's relationship with the world.

Mr Muller said: "I find myself concluding, as my predecessors have done, that political events at a national level continue to exert a considerable influence on the operations of my council."

"Against this background it is essential for Cape Town that the reform initiative be accelerated."

"The city's economy, dependent as it is on the export of agricultural products and other raw materials, desperately needs foreign investment capital, more tourists and fewer restrictions on its economic activities — be they imposed locally or through sanctions."

KNIVES OUT OVER HEUNIS



Mr Heunis

Handwritten: MKG 11/11/88

Handwritten: 30/11

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

TENSION and rivalry in the Cabinet are being exposed in the controversy about the position of two top officials in Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development.

Mr Heunis and some of his Cabinet colleagues have been at daggers drawn amid supposed attempts to undermine him.

The action against the officials, Dr Fanie Cloete, chief director of constitutional planning, and Mr Kobus Jordaan, chief negotiator, appears to be an attempt to get at Mr Heunis.

As a result of a decision by the security authorities it will be impossible for the two to continue their duties. Their security status has been re-evaluated.

Expressed support

Mr Jordaan has in the past denied that there has been contact with the African National Congress.

This was done without the knowledge or support of Mr Heunis, who has expressed his support for the two. They and other officials of Constitutional Affairs have in turn expressed support for Mr Heunis.

A picture of considerable in-fighting between his department and some other departments is beginning to emerge.

It is said that some departments such as Foreign Affairs and Information are concerned that the efforts at negotiation are not progressing fast enough, while there are other rivalries between Constitutional Development and Home Affairs under Mr Stoffel Botha.

Efforts to get at Mr Heunis were behind rumours that have been spread in the past few weeks of a Cabinet reshuffle in which Mr Heunis would be axed as Minister of Constitutional Development.

This drove Mr Heunis to get an assurance from President Botha that he was not being replaced.

The Minister took the extraordinary step of issuing a statement saying the President had not given any indication that he was considering "re-locating" his portfolio.

Part of the efforts against Mr Heunis appear to be to weaken his chances in a contest for the presidency.

Salvage operation

As Cape leader of the National Party he is close to President Botha.

Some Nationalist newspapers today launched what appeared to be a salvage operation. They reported that senior colleagues of Mr Heunis were saying that it was unfair to put the blame for a lack of progress in negotiations with black people only at his door as he was acting within guidelines laid down by the Cabinet.

They said there was intense discussions about Mr Heunis's statement in government inner circles. There has not in many years been such drama around a senior Cabinet member.

Defeated councillors refuse to quit homes

30/1/88 By Stan Hlophe (6/1/88)

Soweto councillors defeated in last week's elections said yesterday they were acting within their rights by refusing to quit their homes at the prestige Power Park after "buying them at a bargain price of R50 264".

This is a sequel to a meeting on Sunday called by former councillors to allay fears that they would have to vacate their council-owned homes following demands made during the mu-

nicipal election campaign by Sofasonke Party candidates who were elected to the council.

The former councillors at their "fortified suburb" were yesterday adamant that they would not budge. ~~SA~~ 1/1/88

This was also confirmed by town clerk, Mr Nico Malan, who said "if they bought then they have all the right to stay".

The former councillors led by Mr Lucas Shabangu said that "we are not moving an inch".

Mr Malan said the new coun-

cil was still to decide on the matter. However the council had to give the defeted candidates reasonable time to move out.

"But I understand some of the former councillors have bought their houses," he added.

A spokesman for the Sofasonke Party, which took control of the council in the elections, said the ousted councillors must make way for professionals such as doctors, teachers, nurses, and traffic officers.

30 GA

'I won't quit as MP,' says De Pontes

THE MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, said yesterday that he would not resign as MP until such time as his work for his constituency was hampered.

"I am entitled to stay on as MP until I can't fulfil my functions for my constituency, which I am still doing," he said.

Mr De Pontes was asked to respond to a call for his resignation at the weekend by the new mayor of East London, Mr Donald Card, because of his association with Vito Roberto Palazzolo, a convict with drug and Mafia links — currently the focus of the Harms Commission into allegations of cross-border irregularities.

Mr De Pontes said he resigned from the National Party because his membership became "a political football" and he was not prepared to expose the NP leadership to this.

He said Mr Card should stick to matters he knew best.

Commenting on the newly elected East London City Council and whether the Palazzolo link was a reason for the ousting of former councillors, he said he wanted to point out that some of the councillors who lost their seats were not representing the National Party.

A main reason for the changed council was that East London was "simply fed-up" with its antics and ineffectiveness. "East London saw political meddling as probably the main reason for this ineffectiveness," he said.

"The vote clearly confirmed their wish for a non-aligned council. In my own constituency, we decided to take a non-political stand in the municipal election and the calibre of the candidate was seen as more important.

"I am on record as stating this prior to the election. I believe that view was vindicated," he said.



Mr Peet de Pontes

● Mr De Pontes told the Harms Commission yesterday that when rumours of Vito Palazzolo's background began circulating early this year, he did not go to the police to verify that all was in order because he was told that the police themselves were the source of some of the rumours.

He also feared that his telephone was bugged.

Cross-examined on his actions this year shortly before his client and business partner Palazzolo was arrested for illegal entry into South Africa, Mr De Pontes said he did not approach the Minister of Home Affairs either.

Asked why not, he replied that at that stage, there was no evidence of a real problem. He was concerned about the rumours and wanted to satisfy himself that all the documentation was in order.

He approached a junior Home Affairs clerk, Mr Johan Scheffer, who had helped him previously in filling in permanent residence forms for Palazzolo and his family.

He asked Mr Scheffer to fly to East London to discuss the rumours and to bring with him Palazzolo's immigration files if possible so that he could reassure himself that everything was legal. He also asked for a computer record of Palazzolo's entry into South Africa on December 26, 1986.

Asked why he did not clear things up with Mr Scheffer over the telephone, he replied that the matter was sensitive and there was a possibility that his telephone was bugged.

He had been told by an East London city councillor, Mr Philip Rohtbart, who had contacts with the police, that some of the "stories" were coming from them.

Another friend who was a roving ambassador for Ciskei at the time, Mr Douw Steyn, told him that the National Intelligency Service was making inquiries in the Ciskei.

There were also rumours about Mr De Pontes himself. — Sapa

De Pontes tried Ciskei after SA found Palazzolo 'undesirable'

Staff Reporter

EAST London MP Mr Peet de Pontes turned to Ciskei after being told by Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha that drug trafficker Vito Palazzolo would not be given permanent residence in South Africa until his application had been fully investigated.

Under cross-examination before the Harms Commission, Mr de Pontes said he met Mr Botha in the foyer of a hotel in Durban and was told that an application for permanent residence should be sent through the normal channels.

A visa application had been refused.

The commission is probing allegations of cross-border irregularities by South Africans following findings by two commissions of corruption in Transkei.

In a statement placed before the commission police told Mr Botha that they considered Palazzolo an undesirable person who was involved in drug-smuggling.

Replying to a question by Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Frank Kahn, Mr de Pontes said he had discouraged Ciskei authorities from contacting the South African authorities about Palazzolo because it would have been too "time-consuming".

"The Ciskei could have done their own investigation," he said.

Mr Justice Louis Harms said Ciskei had no international connections and would have had difficulty making inquiries in Switzerland and Italy.

He asked Mr de Pontes why, on June 29 1986, he told Palazzolo's brother that it "would not be a problem" for the family to come to Ciskei.

Mr de Pontes replied that he had made earlier inquiries and had contacts in Ciskei.

Asked why he wanted to get permanent residence for Palazzolo in such haste, Mr de Pontes said those were Palazzolo's instructions.

Earlier the commission heard that Palazzolo would not invest in South Africa or Ciskei unless he obtained permanent residence for himself and his family.

In reply to a question on Palazzolo's legal status in Europe, Mr de Pontes said Palazzolo told him on his arrival in East London that he had been set free after a review of his trial.

He admitted that he had never contacted the Swiss authorities for the documents concerning the review and had not given such documentation to the South African authorities.

The hearing continues.

ARGUS
2/11/88
3044

Row erupts over pay rise for mayor of Pietersburg

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — A controversial decision by the Conservative Party-controlled Pietersburg Town Council to increase the mayor's entertainment allowance by 22 percent to R40 000 has evoked sharp reaction in the town.

It was the first decision taken by the newly elected council at its first meeting on Monday. The new mayor will also be receiving a personal allowance of R12 000.

Opposing the motion, an NP-backed independent councillor, Mr Lodewyk Snyman, said he could not support the spending of R40 000 solely on entertainment and mayoral functions.

"The only way to fight inflation is by cutting expenditure, but in this case the high inflation rate is being given as a reason for the 22 percent increase," he told the council.

"The town council is in many respects an economic pace-setter — what sort of message will this sort of expenditure convey to the man in the street?" he asked.

DISTORTED

Management committee chairman Mr Mars de Klerk (CP) replied that Mr Snyman had given a distorted picture of the facts as the allowance would be applicable to a period of longer than a year.

Mr Snyman, supported by fellow independent, Mr Schaik Schalkwyk, proposed a 10 percent increase, but the original motion was carried by five votes to four.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, Mr Snyman said that Mr de Klerk, who was the previous mayor, had recently announced publicly that there had been a surplus amount from his 1987/88 allowance.

Mr de Klerk, he added, had decided to donate the surplus to a local school.

This fact made Monday's increase seem ridiculous, Mr Snyman claimed.

● Allowances approved by the Pietersburg council in recent years have been considerably higher than those adopted in Middelburg, Witbank, Klerksdorp and other large Transvaal towns.

304A Soweto
Oct 27 - 2/1/88

Blasts, tight security on Reef

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. - Election day on the Reef was marked by tight security, sporadic bombings in black townships and stayaways at some schools.

A Limpet mine on Tuesday night exploded at the Zola rent office beer garden in Soweto; another exploded at a railway electrical sub-station at Katlehong on the East Rand on Wednesday and a second mine was found on the railway line; two houses in Katlehong were petrol-bombed and petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of three Soweto candidates.

Nobody was injured and damage was minimal in all the attacks.

Security was tight in Soweto and in other Reef black townships with troops and police patrolling the streets and maintaining a heavy presence near polling booths.

In Soweto, some of the troops patrolled on horse-back. Others used motorcycles while some used buffels or troop-carriers.

Casspirs, police trucks and police using private cars were all over the township.

Troops in saracens drove around Sharpeville.

The tight security however failed to lure voters to the polling booths.

There was an almost a total stayaway at schools in Soweto, Lenasia and the East Rand on Wednesday, although most Reef workers went to their jobs.

Attendance at schools in the Vaal triangle - Sebokeng and Sharpeville - was down by 50 percent.

Police had used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse demonstrating Wits University students, including Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

There was a slight drop in passengers on trains travelling between Soweto and Johannesburg.

Putco buses were prevented from entering Thokoza near Alberton by police and were turned back as they reached the perimeter of the East Rand township.

A spokesman for the OK Bazaars said more than 90 percent of workers had reported for work.

Star 2/11/84
304A

Government to step up reform now poll is over

PRETORIA — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, says the pace of reform can be expected to increase now that the municipal elections are over.

In a TV interview Mr Heunis emphasised, however, that the National Party would implement reform at a pace that people would be able to support and deal with emotionally.

He said progress was being made at a rate at which people who had

never been exposed to participation in democratic institutions would be able to use the institutions properly. However, the pace of reform also would be influenced by financial limitations.

Mr Heunis said the large number of council members that had been elected to black local authorities created a new leadership corps from which people would come who would be able to carry the process of negotiation further on all other levels. — Sapa.

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QUIT SMOKING



**BE HEALTHIER
FEEL BETTER**

Hundreds of heavy smokers who have



The legal representative of Kathy Satshwell (left) with and his mother Mrs Len

from highly sophisticated

304A

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CP set to remain powerful factor

LETS get things into perspective.

The Conservative Party has tightened its grip on the Transvaal, firmly establishing itself as a party with a strong provincial base. In coming years it will seek to extend its power elsewhere. No more, no less.

Yet to judge from some of the post-election punditry, the CP has suddenly been stopped in its tracks and turned around; it has become of nuisance value, almost quaint — simply because it did not live up to its own deliberate pre-election hype.

I would be cautious about such assessments, for two reasons.

● The "ceiling of support" the pundits usually mention has grown from about 20 percent of the white electorate in 1982 to 35 percent. Is there such a thing as a ceiling?

● There is an assumption of a static political environment with no external inputs.

In 1939 the internal stresses created by a war in Europe set up alignments which made it possible for Dr D F Malan's provincially based National Party (confined almost entirely to the Cape) to take power in 1948.

We have on the horizon potentially divisive and traumatic issues such as SWA/Namibia, the release of political prisoners and negotiation with the African National Congress.

I am not suggesting that the same will happen, but I certainly would not discount it. So much is unpredictable.

As long as the constitution provides (as it does) for white voters to determine who will govern, the CP will be a powerful factor.

Far be it from me to exaggerate the strength of the CP. But far be it from me to cry "Sheep!" either.

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A PITY the punditry arrived only after the election.

At two o'clock in the morning and with only six results outstanding, Pretoria City

Poll shows 'ceiling of support' is growing

Council officials handling the election still did not know who they would be working for the next day.

At that stage the score was even and those with a long and close association with the old council sweated nervously. It would have comforted them greatly to know that the CP had reached its ceiling.

I was there. I also moved about the polling stations, mainly in the CP-dominated western areas.

I met "Piet Skiet" Rudolph, a councillor who had moved from the Herstigde Nasionale Party to Eugene Terre'blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, then to his own AWB (Afrikaner Werkersbond).

He sported a Vierkleur on his lapel and had a disconcertingly Napoleonic habit of thrusting one arm under his jacket as he spoke about his plans to preach the Boeres-taat ideal next year.

He was about to lose his seat to the CP. He knew it and was unconcerned. "They are shifting the sand. You have to shift the sand to start the avalanche."



Argus special correspondent **GRAHAM LINSOTT**, left, discusses the outcome of South Africa's country-wide municipal elections



Dr D F Malan

I chatted to what I took to be a matric pupil sporting a CP rosette, but he turned out to be a youthful dominee in casual gear.

I also chatted to a well-spoken young fellow who said he hoped the results would be out early as he had exams the next day. This was a blue collar area (the sulphurous smell of Iscor heavy on the air) and I expected that they would be Post Office exams or something of the sort.

Not so. He was in final year medicine at Tukkies. An intelligent final-year medical student helping the CP at the polls in the bluest of blue collar areas.

● I hope someone tells him pretty soon about that ceiling on CP support.

□ □ □ □

WANDERING about the polling stations on a nippy Pretoria night, one became peckish.

The CP were braaing with gusto but they did not offer so much as a chop to the Press. The HNP gave us a koeksister each.

If I have any political bias, it is in favour of the HNP.

□ □ □ □

IT seems that reports of a Nationalist victory in Maritzburg have been greatly exaggerated.

The whole thing is very curious because in fact the Nationalists won only four of the Natal capital's 15 wards.

Three were won by members of a Progressive Federal Party-inclined alliance and eight by independents, most of whom are definite non-Nationalists of United Party-New Republic Party background. They hold the balance of power.

I don't like to rub it in, but this is almost exactly what I predicted on October 14. On the same day I predicted that the Nationalists would take Durban.

I was wrong — and I shout it from the rooftops!

Perhaps there should be a ceiling on political prognostication ...

□ □ □ □

THERE is absolutely no truth in the story that the HNP and the Orange Free State Rugby Union plan to merge next year in an attempt to get back into the A section.

Divisions in Cabinet go back 10 years

Arbys
2/11/88
3069

BRUCE CAMERON of The Argus Political Staff reports

THE divisions in the Cabinet that emerged this week are not new: they have existed for a long time.

They go back to the day 10 years ago when Mr P W Botha was elected Prime Minister while a crowd demanded the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

And the Cabinet remained divided even after the conservatives left when they considered that the government had gone too far in agreeing to power sharing with blacks.

It is not the first time that the differences have become apparent, although nothing quite as extraordinary as a Cabinet Minister denying that he is to be fired from his job has happened on previous occasions.

The denial by the Cape NP leader, Mr Chris Heunis, is made all the more extraordinary when it is commonly accepted that it was one of his colleagues who started the speculation of his downfall in the first place.

The current whispering against Mr Heunis is also a result of what is seen as poor handling of the group areas controversy rather than a political division and his apparent inability to get the proposed national council off the ground.

There is nothing as simple as a down-the-middle-split or a division on a particular issue. Sometimes it is as simple as a personality clash.

Nor does it appear that the National Party will irrevocably divide again with members joining different parties, particularly as the Conservative Party has been restrained.

But the gauntlet thrown down by Mr Heunis in his public statement may create more serious waves than past events.

It was the startling early growth of the Conservative Party P which placed the greatest strain on the NP with Nationalists looking over their right shoulders to

gauge reactions to every move they made.

The divisions in the past have emerged over issues such as Mr Pik Botha's acceptance of a possible black State President, the negotiations with the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group (EPG), the operations of the Bureau of Information, the Kwa-zulu-Natal indaba and the application of own affairs.

Ministers tend to object strongly if they are put in political boxes or are grouped with others but there is little doubt that these groupings exist. However, they often change on issues.

When Mr Pik Botha made his black President statement, two of his colleagues, Mr Heunis and Mr F W de Klerk, showed apparent annoyance at the newspaper reports and were, according to reports at the time, extremely unhappy with the statement.

Mr Botha received an unprecedented public dressing down from President Botha. He would have been supported by a number of MPs if he had decided then to leave the party.

Mr Heunis was also far less enthusiastic about the EPG than Mr Botha. However, when Mr Botha addressed a meeting in his Helderberg constituency last year relations between the two seemed to have improved.

This has not proved to be the case with Mr Botha being named as the person most likely to take over from Mr Heunis.

Single legislature

On the other end of the scale, Mr Heunis, from his public statements, was strongly at odds with the NP Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, over the way he roughly rejected the Natal-Kwa-zulu indaba. Since then there has been a difference between the two over whether the government should accept the principle of a single legislature for the region.

Again involving Mr Heunis was the situation when his then deputy, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, operating on his own, organised meetings of which the department became aware only later.

Mr de Klerk, seen as the guardian of own affairs, has his opponents for being seen to be too conservative and concerned about pushing reform too fast for fear of losses to the CP.

There is, however, no doubt that Mr de Klerk is naturally conservative. Among other things, he led the struggle to keep the conservatives in the NP.

There appear to be roughly defined groups overall with those of the left, including Mr Pik Botha, Mr Pietie du Plessis, Mr Barend du Plessis and Dr Dawie de Viliers, favouring a more open society.

Those more in the middle include Mr Heunis, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok. More on the right would be Mr de Klerk and Mr Stoffel Botha, who continually emphasise protection of minority rights.

These schisms will no doubt remain until the NP decides on what it wants for the future and how it is going to get there.

Key posts for ^{South} CP councillors

Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Conservative Party town councillors have been elected to all key posts in Pietersburg and Potgietersrus.

The new mayor of Pietersburg is Mr. Hennie van Vuuren. His deputy is Professor Willie Botha. Both men stood as independents in the recent elections, but were publicly supported by the CP.

The chairman of Pietersburg's management committee is Mr. Mars de Klerk (CP).

In Potgietersrus, Mr. Koos Meyer has been elected mayor. Mrs. Katie van der Merwe (CP) is the deputy mayor. Former mayor Mr. J.E. Morkel-Brink takes over as chairman of the management committee.

PFP, Nats vie for control of Randburg

By Shirley Woodgate, (3049)
Municipal Reporter

Control of Randburg is within the grasp of the Progressive Federal Party today, but only if it is prepared to conclude an agreement with the two independents voted on to the council last week.

The National Party won six seats, the PFP five, and the independents two wards, leaving no group with an outright majority.

Independents Mr Cyril Ford

and Mr Conrad Plange immediately approached both parties to set up a non-political management committee comprising one Nat, one Prog and one independent.

Before tonight's special council meeting and after almost a week's negotiations, NP leader Mr Frans Lourens would say only: "The NP would prefer to be in control of the town council on its own, but anything can still happen."

PFP leader Mr Andre Jacobs

said his caucus was "looking at the possibility of creating a 'Great Council' comprising all groups". He was also still deciding whether to contest the disqualification of Mr Lourens's PFP opponent on a technicality.

Independent Mr Ford said it was clear the NP had rejected the tripartite management committee arrangement, and the attitude of both sides was "arrogant", particularly in view of their stated promise to put Randburg's interests above politics.

'No violent revolution ahead'

Pretoria Correspondent

304A

The percentage poll in the black municipal elections was sufficiently high to make a mockery of the view South Africa is on the brink of a violent revolution, says Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Speaking at the official opening of the Vhembe Municipal Police Station in Atteridgeville yesterday, Mr Vlok said the circumstances surrounding the elections last week underlined the people's insistence that they will be part of the evolutionary process of political reform.

Members of the black community experienced at first

hand the ANC's and PAC's methods to force them away from true reform and democracy and towards a charade of principles where "freedom means that you are free to do what they tell you to do".

"They tell you you are free to obey them or else you will be murdered, your house will be burned down and your family will be harmed," he said.

Mr Vlok added that the percentage poll was sufficiently high to show the world that the people of South Africa, people of all races, were sick and tired of the continued attempts to disrupt "our community life".

Don't fear black urbanisation ^(304A) — Zach

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — White South Africa should accept with hope, rather than fear, that black urbanisation was the "real tide flowing in the country now," the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, has told a meeting in Somerset West.

Dr de Beer, beginning a two-day visit to the western Cape, said the

attitude of white people to black urbanisation determined their political attitude. (304A)

Whites had to choose between voting for their hopes, or their fears.

"A vote for your hopes is a vote in your belief that this country can work ... and that you recognise that white domination can be maintained only a little longer and at great cost.

"A vote for your hopes is a vote in faith that black people want the same things as you: dignity, freedom, jobs and houses."

He warned: "Voting on your fears means you cannot accept the inevitable and you try, like King Canute, to sweep back the tide of history. And that must lead to further economic degeneration and impoverishment and conflict."

Dr de Beer said that after last week's local elections the principal challenge of how to end apartheid peacefully and constructively remained.

"The problem is we are getting poorer just when we need to be growing.

"For some 40 years until the mid-1970s we grew at a rate of five percent a year, or better. Then it fell to three percent and since 1981 it has been 1,8 percent. Against a population growth of 2,5 percent, this means that in real per capita terms we are growing steadily poorer.

"We continue to spend more on a swollen government. Taxes have risen, but have not kept pace and the government has taken to borrowing."

star 3/11/88
**Elections
'no green
light for
reform'**

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent
(304A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night warned the Government not to interpret the results of the municipal elections as a green light for reform.

He told more than 1 200 people at the party's general congress in Bloemfontein that to proceed with reform would be a very dangerous course.

Dr Treurnicht accused the media and the National Party of spreading calculated disinformation with regard to the outcome of the elections.

He said it was a myth that the National Party had won the elections when it was the Conservative Party which had made the gains.

ELECTED

According to Dr Treurnicht, a total of 670 white town councillors had been elected under the Conservative Party banner compared with 490 white town councillors for all the rest of the political parties and the independents.

The CP controlled 89 of the local authorities in the Transvaal, compared with 46 controlled by all the others.

In the Cape, which the NP considered to be its bastion, it had won only six of the 12 town councils it had contested under its own banner.

'No coup d'etat if we gain power'

star 3/11/88
**CP warns against
military intervention**
(304A)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party has issued a blunt warning to the National Party Government not to consider refusing to hand over power or staging a military coup d'etat in the event of the CP winning a general election.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said this at the start of the party's general congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

He said if the National Party thought it could frustrate the will of the majority of white voters it would quickly discover it was not dealing with the voters of Lesotho.

The CP general congress, the fourth since the party was founded in 1982, is being held in the wake of the gains chalked up by the Conservatives in last week's countrywide municipal elections.

The Bloemfontein City Hall, where the congress is being held, is dominated by a huge banner which proclaims: A P Treurnicht for President.

The congress agenda is divided into sections with

headings such as "The task of the CP after NP decline", "The assumption of power" (which was discussed behind closed doors) and "CP priorities for the financial recovery of our fatherland".

Dr Hartzenberg made it quite clear that a CP Government would implement a policy of partition.

He said the National Party had thought it was clever in the way it had drawn up the constitution which provided for the tricameral Parliament.

He said it was true that a CP-controlled House of Assembly would not be able to change certain aspects of the constitution without the co-operation of the coloured and Indian chambers.

But what the National Party constitutional architects had overlooked, he said, was the fact that whoever controlled the presidency could determine which matters were general affairs and which were own affairs.

President Treurnicht would simply declare every single matter an own affair, with the possible exception of Foreign Affairs.

This would mean the whites would be able to govern exclusively.

Another option the CP could take would be to opt for independence from South Africa of the white group, he said.

The constitution enabled black groups to opt for independence, so there was no reason why the whites could not take independence and extricate themselves from the tricameral constitution, he said.

People of colour would have no rights in the white fatherland, not even trade union rights.

The CP would also reverse the policy of parity of salaries. In future this would be done only on merit and qualifications.

Each population group would have to have its own public service, he said.

Reject power sharing first — Dr T

star 3/11/88
Political Correspondent (304A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — There could be no reconciliation and unity between Afrikaners until multiracialism and power sharing had been rejected by all of them, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

He was speaking in the Bloemfontein city hall, where the CP general congress is being held and where the State President, Mr P W Botha, earlier this year extended a hand of friendship to Dr Treurnicht in the interests of uniting Afrikanerdom.

The CP leader said more than the hollow word of unity was needed to bring whites together.

It required dedication and an inner motivation on the part of all to stand together for their own preservation and survival.

He said it was unthinkable that the Afrikaners, a nation which had endured so much to survive, including great suffering, deprivation, poverty, droughts, freedom wars, and which enacted legislation to protect itself, would simply lie down or that it would allow itself to be led blindly to the precipice.

"We, a small nation of Afrikaners, refuse to be swallowed by a black majority in our own nation," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said his party was opposed to opening trading areas in towns to people of all races.

Such a policy was a sly way to infiltrate white residential areas with people of colour.

Dr Treurnicht warned Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk he was in serious trouble after the municipal elections.

'ET' bounces back by remote control

FROM MONO BADELA

SOWETO. — Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala, Soweto's millionaire, has bounced back into public life.

Last week his Sofasonke Party swept into power in the local government poll — and as "Lord Mayor", Tshabalala will use remote control from his home to shape the township's destiny.

ET is president of Sofasonke and has twice been mayor of Soweto. But he cannot take office

because he has no seat on the 35-man council.

He was bowled out of contention because he had rent arrears amounting to nearly R38 000.

Sofasonke won 29 seats in the Soweto council against six by the independents. During the 1983 elections the party captured 17 out of 30 seats.

Now with his party back in the driving seat, the eviction of families with rent arrears is seemingly a

During the election campaign Tshabalala and Sofasonke councillors publicly told their constituents they would ensure that the rent problem that had plagued the country's biggest township would soon be resolved.

The party's central committee is to meet soon "to decide on a line of action to solve Soweto's problems". Until then no official statement would be released.

People would pay R15 for service charges - R10 for electricity and R5 for water and refuse removal.

"We will fight for the scrapping of rent," the party said.

"We will fight for freehold rights. Residents must buy the land on which their houses are situated at a cost of R300 to R1000, depending on the size of the sites.

To generate more income for Soweto they would introduce toll gates, and receive five percent commission on railway tickets sold in Soweto. An extra five cents would be levied on each train ticket bought in Soweto.

Tshabalala said he had already held discussions with railway authorities and was confident that the plan would be "a huge success".

He had a plan on how he would tax various types of vehicles that would enter Soweto.

An ordinary motor vehicle would pay twenty cents towards the Levy fund each time it entered Soweto.

Taxis would pay R1, delivery trucks R1,50, buses R2, meat, liquor and cold drinks trucks R2,50.

Hoza restrained from assaulting resident

KHAYELITSHA "mayor" Mali Hoza controls a "large force of men" who carry out functions similar to the police.

This was claimed in an application in the Supreme Court, Cape Town, this week for an interdict restraining Hoza and three men from intimidating, assaulting or unlawfully interfering with a pupil, Solomonzi Mzamo, of Site B, Khayelitsha.

Mzamo alleged that a group of men known as the "Hoza gangsters" assaulted him.

Mr Justice R G Comrie extended an interdict granted on October 7 and postponed the matter until December 1.

Mzamo, a scholar at Malizo Secondary School in Site B, said in papers that Hoza, served as the unofficial chief of Sites B and C.

He said Hoza exercised control over a large force of

men, who did not wear uniforms, but carried out similar functions to the South African police in these areas.

They were generally known as the "Hoza gangsters" and imposed a strict curfew in Khayelitsha, Mzamo said.

"Persons found on the street after 9pm are beaten up by the Hoza gangsters who are armed with pangas, sjamboks and knobkerries."

The other respondents are Mr Jim Thyali, allegedly an Isibonda and secretary of the lower court, Miss Nomonde Mbakaza, of Site B and her uncle Mr Ngwenda Mbakaza.

Mzamo said he had recently been harassed, molested, assaulted and interfered with on three occasions by persons acting as official policemen under the direction and control of Hoza and Thyali.

Sofasonke also promised to introduce a casino.

"I will negotiate a R300-000 loan from a leading insurance house to implement the scheme," said Tshabalala.

ET has no ambitions in national politics.

"That is not my job. Leaders like Mandela and others will take care of that aspect," he said.

"All I'm interested in is to clean up Soweto and provide better living conditions for my people. The present council has been evicting poor old people.

"I will solve the rent problem without burdening people. Evictions will be a thing of the past. No one will be evicted. We shall build homes and people will be able to buy them for only R7 000. All we shall need is more land. They must give us more land."

The 28-month-old rent boycott has drained the coffers of the Soweto council by more than R150 million. Tshabalala said he would have long resolved the three-month-old strike by more than 3 500 Soweto council workers.

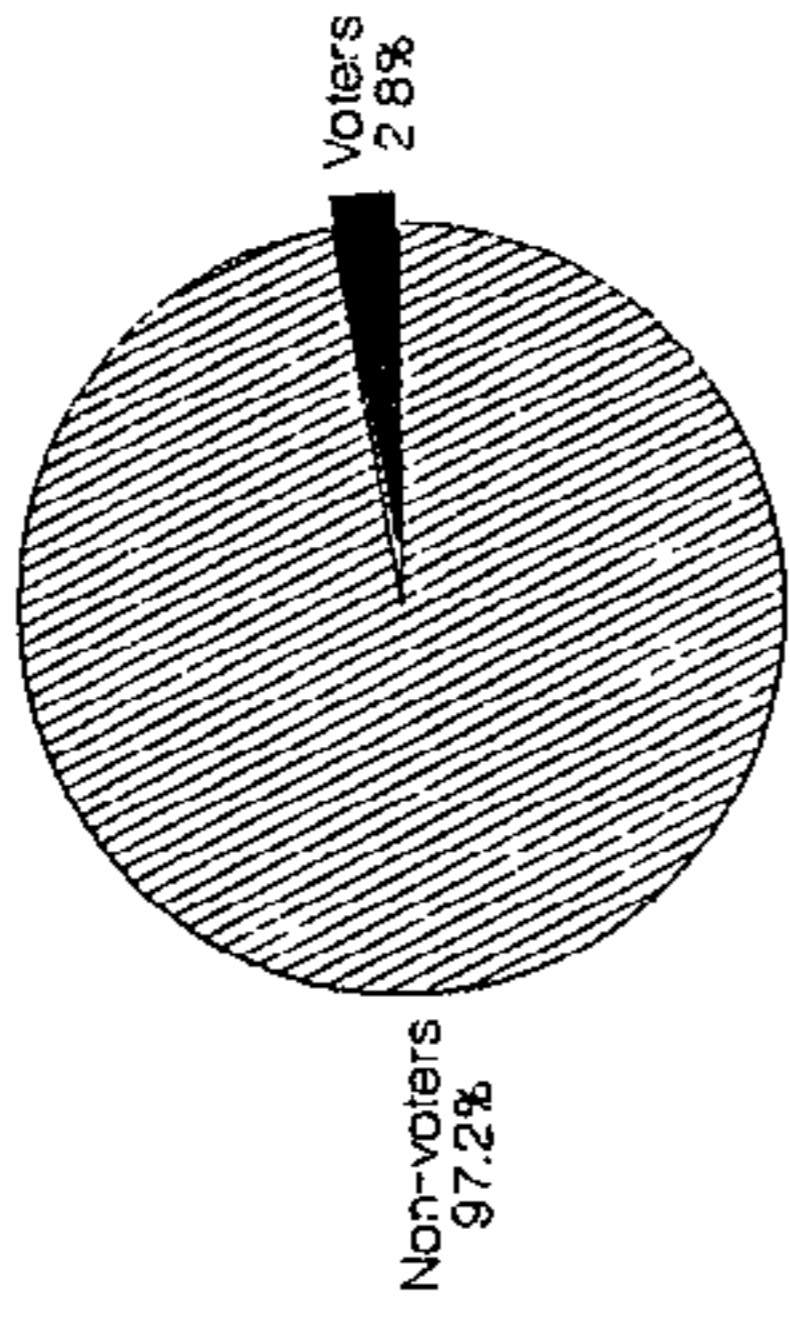
To achieve his election victory, the country's first black millionaire said he had spent as much as R700 000 on his campaign.

"I had to slaughter at least one beast everyday, use three bags of maize meal and one bag of maize to feed hundreds of my campaign workers," he explained.

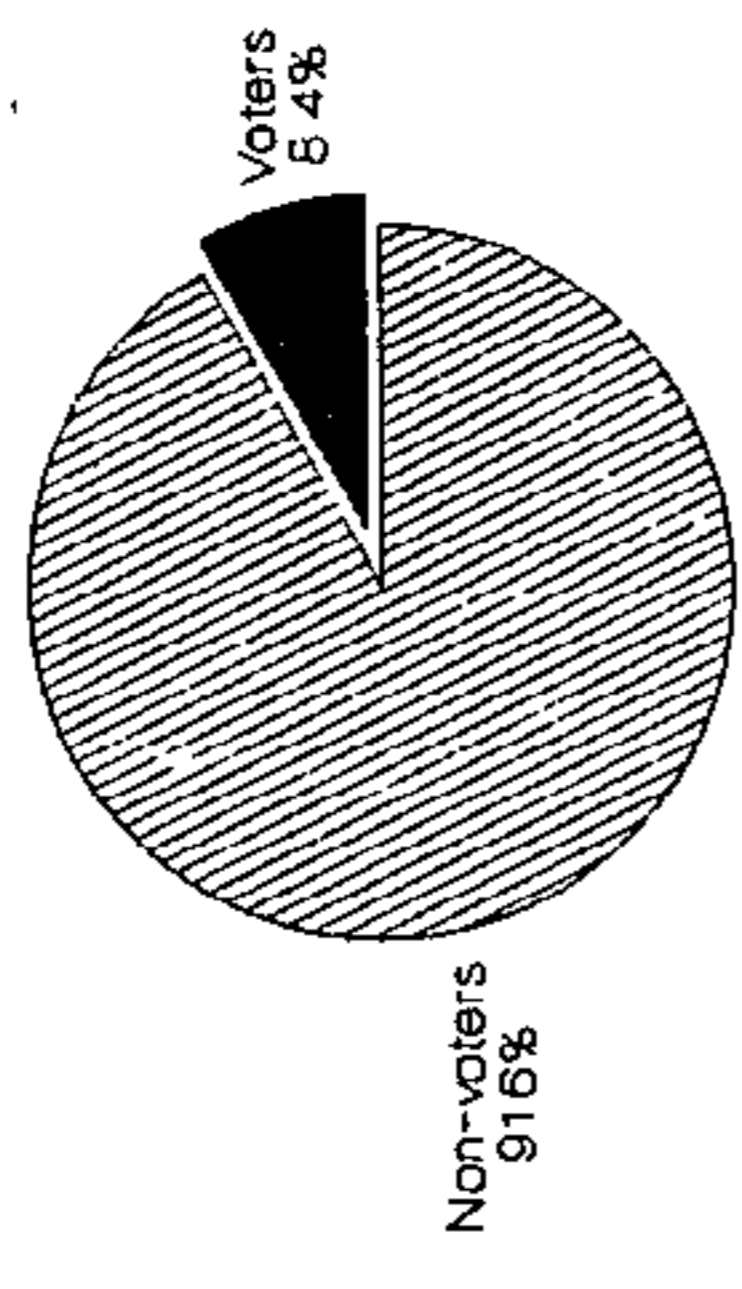
"At least 60 vehicles - combis, mini-buses and cars - had to run around Soweto picking up voters during the two weeks of prior voting. You know very well that although I have several garages petrol is very expensive."

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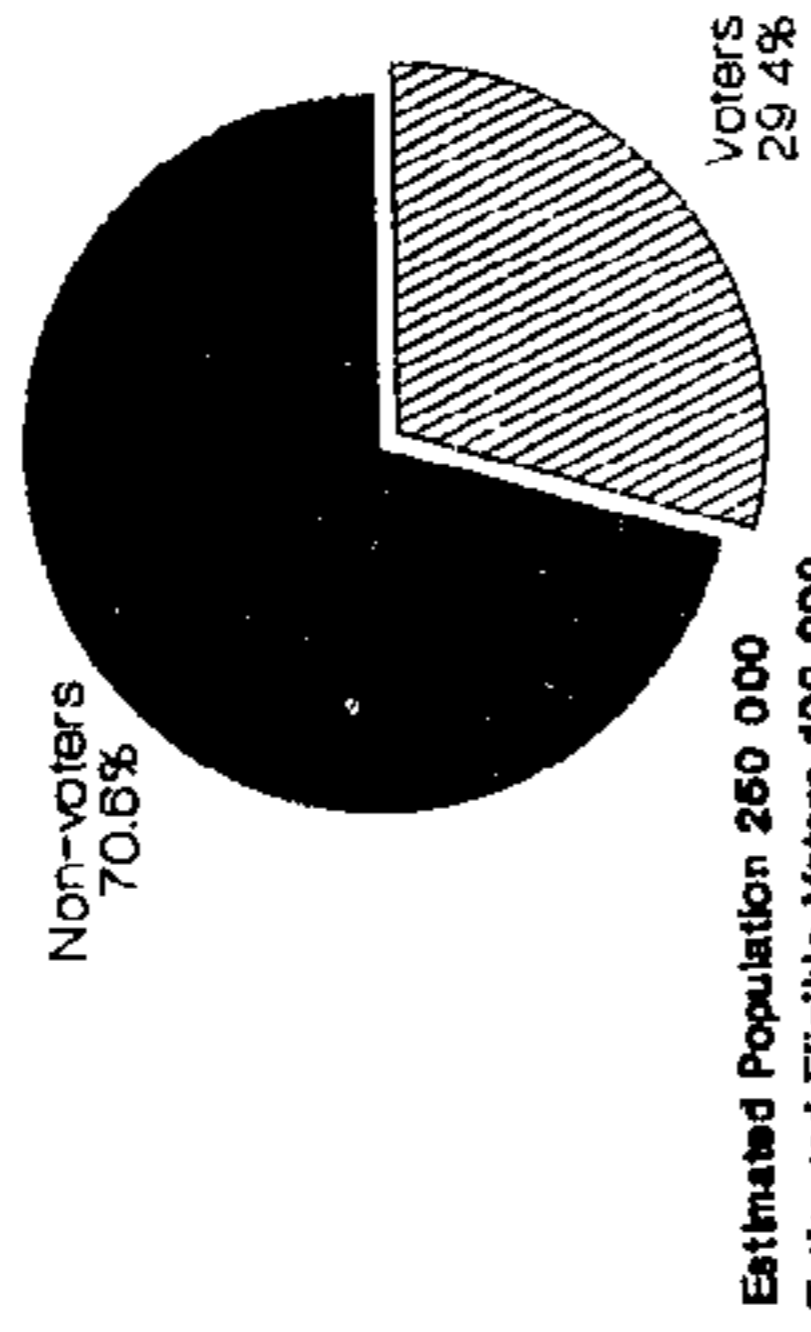
Voting in Soweto



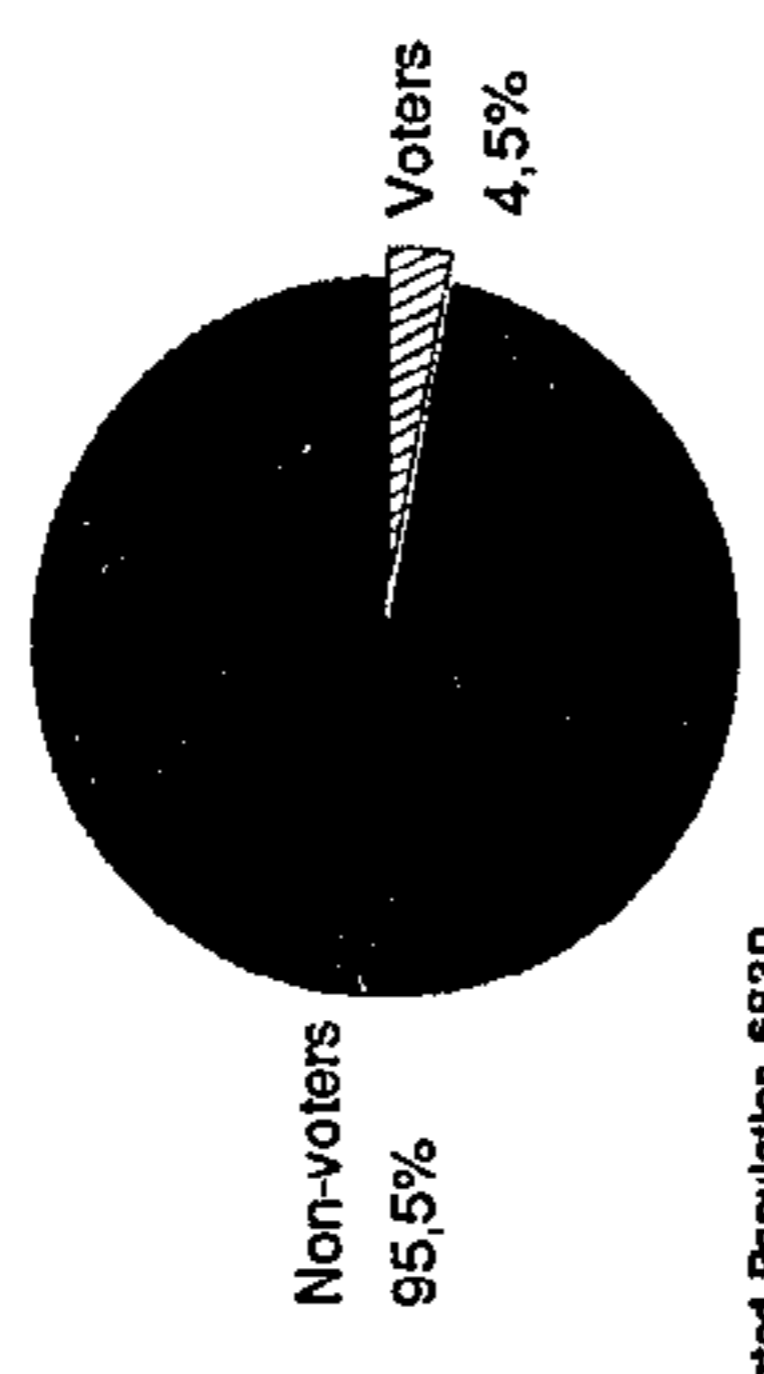
Voting in Natal 10 Townships



Khayalitsha/Lingeletu West Black Local Authority Elections



Schotsche Kloof Management Committee Elections



Figures Up the poll!

AN independant study of voting figures strongly refutes a government boast of "significant black participation" in the municipal elections.

And it also shows discrepancies between real and government figures on eligible voters and population numbers.

Calculations by the researchers which show that tens of thousands more people were eligible to vote in other areas, make a mockery of government claims that its poll was a "massive endorsement of reform", they say.

In Khayelitsha and Athlone alone at least 30 000 more people were eligible to vote

compared to government figures.

The study was done for the Save The Press Campaign by a group of researchers and black local authority experts in response to a "large scale distortion of voting figures" provided by government propaganda organs.

The group focused mainly

on African areas in the Western Cape, but also looked at coloured and Indian areas and several areas elsewhere in the country.

Said Mansoor Jaffer, coordinator of the Save The Press Campaign Committee: "Whichever way one looks at it the percentage polls were pathetically low."

The black community staged a successful boycott of the elections and this is what the government wants to hide, he said.

Jaffer said that during the two weeks of prior voting "it started to become clear that the government was feeding the media figures which many independant observers believe to be highly suspect.

When on October 26 the Government claimed "significant black participation" many were shocked.

"It was even more shocking when the SABC-TV saught to perpetuate this lie."

He said the 'The Save the Press Campaign tried to give a balanced overview of voting patterns in the Western Cape using facts and figures from

newspapers, state departments and independant researchers.

Said a member of the research team: "The government tried to use the elections to give credibility to their reform process, but they failed horribly."

Said Mrs Kim Elias: "I don't know how they (the Government) got their figures.

"Until they are prepared to tell us how they came with such high percentage as 47 percent, how they compiled their voters roll, and how many people voted, I can't accept their claim that the elections were a success.

"If this new system is supposed to be so wonderful why are they being so secretive."

'Laws like a crossword puzzle gone wrong'

A SOLITARY light can be seen burning in the lounge of a house of Trill Road, Observatory most mornings from about 2am as community researcher Kim Elias punches away at her computer, analysing and imputing data.

Elias, an expert on local authorities, analyses the myriad government and provincial proclamations and gazettes.

"So many new laws are coming out all the time. Its like a crossword puzzle gone crazy."

She has to work at it all the time to "keep up to date", she says.

In the past few months Elias, a former regional secretary of the Institute of Race Relations and senior researcher at Stellenbosch University has been burning the midnight oil examining the Black Local Authorities Act.

"It's so complex that no newcomer can begin to understand what it really means," she says.

Government Gazettes, copies of Hansard, newspaper cuttings, and computer print-outs are scattered all over her lounge.

She says that the Black Local Authorities Act and the Black Community Development Act created the false impression that blacks are being given new powers.

However, it didn't take her long to realise that it was merely the "ideology of apartheid being taken down to grassroots level".

In the past two week she has worked on a Save The Press Campaign study which showed big discrepancies in Government voting figures.

She sees her role as researchers as being a "servant of the community".

Her research and monitoring work has become almost an "obsession", but she believes that it's work that has to be done.

However, she says the way the government is churning out new acts and amending old ones is absolutely crazy."

"I don't thing many of them know what is going on. There's just so many of them (acts) its just about impossible to keep track of amendments as they come out."

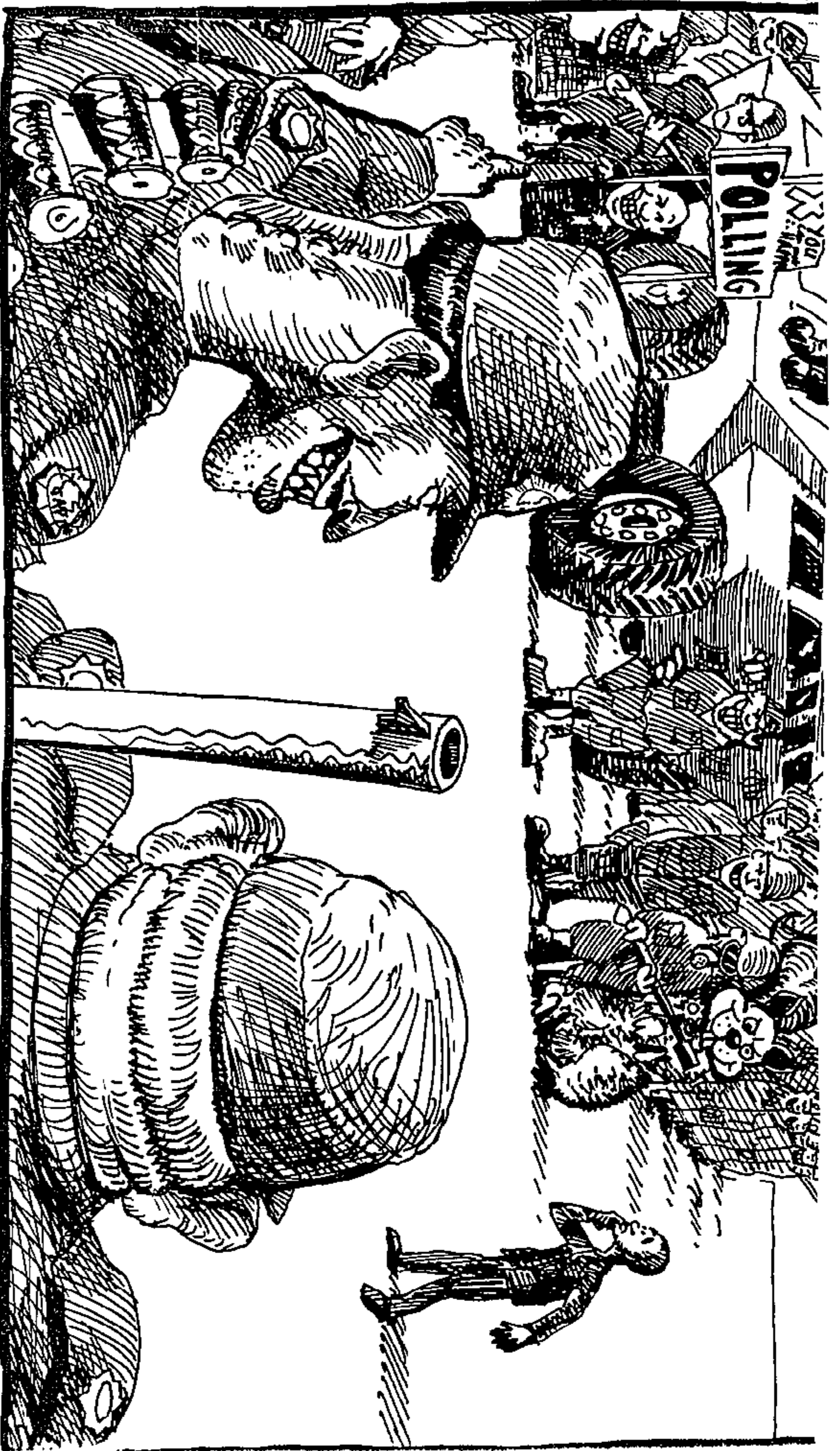
She recalls a case in which the government amended a section of the act "which wasn't even there".

"I phoned Pretoria and a few weeks later they published a correction."

"The work I'm doing now may not be of much importance now, but I know that its going to be of use in a post-apartheid South Africa."



Community researcher Kim Elias at her desk



The ding-dong couple

A BO-KAAP tailor who made an announcement in the mosque that he and his wife were withdrawing as candidates is now reconsidering his decision after they polled the highest number of votes.

"I'm not so sure we made the right decision," a confused Sulaiman Isaacs told SOUTH.

Schotsche Kloof resident Mr Fuad Karriem polled the third highest number of votes in spite of having withdrawn as a candidate three weeks ago "after having sleepless nights".

Isaacs said that he and his dressmaker wife, Asa, were having second thoughts

about withdrawing because they felt they could still "help" their community by serving as councillors.

However, they have not yet made a final decision, said Isaacs who confirmed having made the announcement in the mosque.

He said he made the announcement to "clear" his name in the community.

However, after the elections he had a change of heart after he was approached by a "few people" from the community who asked him to reconsider his decision to withdraw.

The Isaacs couple run a small tailor shop on the mosque premises where the

announcement was made.

They both polled more than 90 votes each.

Sheikh Serag Johaar, imam of the mosque, said he was "surprised" that Isaacs had "gone back on his word".

"According to Islam, it is the greatest sin to go back on your word," said Johaar.

"Members of the mosque community have explained to him that we are against people participating in apartheid structures.

"He has to understand that he won't be allowed to enter the mosque if goes ahead with his plans to serve as a councillor."

Mr. Heunis 3/1/1888

Heunis must explain ANC talks' — CP

Cap



Mr Chris Heunis

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, owed it to the nation to explain whether the government had negotiated with the ANC "in the dark hours of the night", Dr Fanie Jacobs, Conservative Party MP, said at his party's conference yesterday.

Dr Jacobs and Mr Tom Langley, the party's official spokesman on foreign affairs, discussed the party's foreign policy at its national congress that started in the city hall here yesterday.

Dr Jacobs referred to senior officials of Mr Heunis's department whose security clearance had apparently been withdrawn.

"He defended them in public," Dr Jacobs said. "These men had access to cabinet docu-

mentation and we demand to know whether the withdrawal of their security clearance is connected to negotiations with the ANC.

"If this is indeed the case, did Mr Chris Heunis know of this, initiated or involve himself in any other way?"

"He owes it to the people of SA to say whether the government has negotiated with the ANC in the dark hours of the night, or to deny it because we have the right to know where we stand."

He also referred to "safaris" to the ANC and said his party had had enough of the government allowing South Africans to negotiate with the people who sought the nation's undoing with bombs.

"All people who do this, must have their passports withdrawn immediately and if the government is not willing to do this, we will know it is too scared to act firmly with such like and that the government has gone soft on security."

"It is a government that has gone soft on security just as it had accused the PFP of being during the last general election."

Mr Langley said the CP was not against foreign initiatives in Africa such as had been undertaken by the President P W Botha recently. It would do so itself when it came to power.

"But what pre-conditions preceded access to these palaces? What cost, what gifts were offered and what money or expectations of gifts or money, accompanied these visits? And what was on the agenda?"

He said the CP was not prepared to negotiate when issues such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, clemency for condemned terrorists or the internal policies of SA were on the agenda.

He also threatened that if the CP came to power, and neighbouring countries allowed terrorists to operate against the Republic, the border would be closed immediately, all railway rolling stock and locomotives doing duty beyond the borders would be withdrawn and all foreign workers be repatriated to the guilty country of origin. — Sapa

Nats outflank Germiston independents

By Anna Louw

Just when Germistonians thought independent rule in the council was imminent, the National Party — in a last-minute move — secured the vote of three independents to strengthen their position as the ruling group.

But it cost the 10-strong NP two positions on the management committee.

RETAINED POSITION

The independents who supported the NP were Mrs Winnie Haveloh and Mr Kevin Maher — who were both elected onto the management committee — and new councillor Mr Ray Hofmeester.

Mr Sarel Naude, an NP-backed independent, was

Star 2/11/88
voted in to complete his mayoral term, while Mr Stan van Eeden retained his position as chairman of the management committee.

Mr Fanie Coetzee was voted vice-chairman and a new councillor and former public relations officer for the council, Mr Johan Roussouw, was elected the NP's third man on the management committee.

Another new councillor, Mr Piet Delport (NP) was elected deputy mayor.

Mr van Eeden told a packed council chamber that the independents had not crossed the floor to join the Nats.

The Conservative Party holds six wards in the council with the independents representing a total of seven wards.

Star 3/11/88

Stay and help your country, pleads ^{304A} professor

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Sports medicine specialist Professor Tim Noakes this week asked people of talent to remain in South Africa because there were enormous challenges here.

He said at the Maritzburg College matric farewell day that Australia, the United States and others did not need South African talent to solve their problems, whereas South Africa did.

People who had the privilege of a good education had to try to put something back into society.

The Third World component of South Africa especially needed the talents of educated and trained people.

South Africa was undervaluing teachers and scientists. Science was the means of solving many problems, and sci-



Professor Tim Noakes
... 'SA needs you'.

entists and teachers carried the burden of generating knowledge and spreading it.

He encouraged people to qualify themselves for their future. This did not mean that everybody had to go to university; in fact many who were at university should not have gone there.

Not enough students trained at other educational institutions such as

technicians. Professor Noakes said that people should remain physically fit because fit people usually achieved more than those who were not.

He said that people should have goals, even though they changed during their careers.

"There is not enough purpose in what we are doing. Some believe that the Japanese are outstripping the Americans because they work for Japan, and not for self.

"The countries that are succeeding are those with a sense of mission," he said.

De Pontes to oppose application

Staff Reporter

EAST LONDON MP Mr Peet de Pontes is to oppose an application before the Supreme Court that the disciplinary committee of the Law Society should be ordered to set aside its 1986 decision not to take action against him.

The matter was set down last week on the court roll for March 6 next year, but voluminous papers have already been filed.

The applicant is East London attorney Mr Denis Kirk, and the defendants are Mr De Pontes and the Law Society of the Cape of Good Hope. The society has also given notice that it will oppose the application.

Mr Kirk also asked for an order that evidence submitted in connection with a complaint of "over-reaching" by Mr De Pontes in negotiating property sales mounted to "prima facie evidence of improper or disgraceful conduct".

De Pontes knew Palazzolo was on the run—secretary

MISS Helene de Lange, former secretary to Vito Palazzolo, told the Harms Commission yesterday that she, her brother, Mr Robert de Lange, and East London MP Mr Peet de Pontes all knew that Palazzolo was on the run from a Swiss prison.

Both Mr De Lange and Mr De Pontes denied this in previous evidence.

Miss De Lange said she met Palazzolo two days after his arrival in East London in December 1986. He was introduced to her at her brother's home.

She described him as a "dynamic very nice person". She also got on well with his two sons and his girlfriend.

Palazzolo offered her a job as his secretary at a salary of R1 200 plus one or two overseas trips a year.

Miss De Lange said she went back to her home in Johannesburg to settle up and started work for him in February last year.

It was only then that Palazzolo told her of his background. He said he had been in jail in Switzerland for laundering of money. He explained that he was unfairly convicted, that he was a banker and some dirty money was channelled through his bank unknown to him.

He told Miss De Lange he could not take prison any longer and escaped.

"He told me he was on the run," she said.

Earlier yesterday, a former East London city councillor, Mr Philip Rohtbart, changed his earlier evidence to the police which incriminated Mr De Pontes over the issue of whether he knew of Palazzolo's planned entry into SA in 1986. — Sapa

Heunis man's wife member of Black Sash

CAPE TOWN 3/11/88 304A (12)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The wife of one of Mr Chris Heunis's aides is a member of the Black Sash.

She is Ms Marianne Hölscher, wife of Dr Fanie Cloete, the chief director of constitutional planning.

Dr Cloete was recently shifted sideways in Mr Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Dr Cloete defended his wife's involvement in the Black Sash after it emerged yesterday that his demotion may have been linked to her membership.

Ms Hölscher yesterday described herself as "an ordinary member" of the Black Sash's Pretoria branch who was involved in the branch's "normal activities" including attending committee meetings.

Dr Cloete said his wife had never been accused of breaking the law as a member of the Sash. Government officials and their spouses could often have a difference of opinion, but their work and home situations should be separated, he said.

"As a member of the Black Sash, which is a legal organisation, my wife has been very discreet and maintained a low profile. She has never been accused of any contravention of any law in her capacity as a member of the Black Sash, nor has she been involved in any activity which has endangered the national interest."

● CP demands explanation — Page 3



Dr Stuart Saunders

11/6/65 4/11/88
30/6/88

UCT head: Freedom of speech crucial for democracy

DURBAN. — Without freedom of speech there could be no democracy, no great improvements and no secure future for any South African, the vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town, Dr Stuart Saunders, said here today.

Opening Idasa's "Right to Speak" conference, Dr Saunders also said there could not be government by part of the people in a democratic system — "just as you can't have partial pregnancy".

When the freedom of speech was suppressed in society, truth and certainty went out the window.

It was impossible to ensure that what was read or heard was true if the methods for checking these truths were not available, Dr Saunders said.

One such barrier was the restriction and banning of people and organisations which limited their accessibility to the general public.

ILLEGAL

"Of course we now have a situation where not only individuals but organisations can be restricted, and where regulations can result in a situation where it is illegal to state that one does not believe that the citizens of South Africa should vote in a particular election."

There was an enormous difference between taking measures to ensure that there was no intimidation to prevent individuals exercising their rights, and advising people of what in one's view was the appropriate way to act, Dr Saunders said.

"This is clearly a serious inroad on the freedom of expression and is undemocratic."

Addressing the issue of freedom of speech at universities, Dr Saunders said: "If the freedom of speech cannot be protected in an institution where its absence will very rapidly threaten its whole existence, one can well ask whether it can be protected anywhere." — Sapa.

Heunis fighting for political survival

BY BRUCE CAMERON

A power struggle with bizarre overtones, not seen since the fall of the administration of John Vorster at the height of the Information debacle in 1978, is under way in Pretoria.

CAPE TOWN — The comings and goings in Government circles, the accusations and the allegiances of convenience being formed reflect a deeply divided administration.

The political establishment was left gasping in amazement this week as the manoeuvrings climaxed this week in the midnight statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, as he moved to block the campaign to undermine him.

But no one is quite sure who is doing what. All sides have been selectively leaking information to the media in an attempt to grab the advantage.

There is little doubt some other members of the Cabinet have their eye on the top job. But although there is no sign that the President, Mr P W Botha, is to depart the scene, the jockeying for position is incredible.

Indications

Added to this are the indications that other people would like the constitutional portfolio.

At the start of last year's white elections Mr Heunis, the National Party's Cape leader, and Mr F W de Klerk, the party's Transvaal leader, were co-heirs apparent.

But both suffered as a result of the election — Mr Heunis because of his slender 39 vote victory over Dr Denis Worrail and, to a lesser extent, Mr de Klerk for the inroads made by the Conservative Party in his province.

This opened the field for other potential candidates such as General Magnus Malan, Mr Barend du Plessis and for Mr Pik Botha to have a go.

Often it is the officials of the Ministers rather than the politicians themselves who are behind the plotting as they would follow their Ministers to greatness.

As events of past weeks have shown, Mr Heunis has become the number one target. This is probably because, with his autocratic style

But who is behind Cabinet 'coup' bid?

Star 4/11/88

304A

having already made him enemies, he was the easiest target.

Claims are being made by Mr Heunis's supporters that the moves against two senior members of his staff were part of a plot put together by a loose cabal of officials and at least one Cabinet member.

It started with a whispering campaign that Mr Heunis was primarily responsible for not being able to get the National Council off the ground and was not making headway in negotiations with black leaders.

His defenders say the accusation is unfair as Mr Heunis was been hamstrung by the Government's inability to meet the demands made across the board by black leaders.

And the criticisms have now to some extent been dropped, with indications that Mr Heunis could be on the verge of a dramatic breakthrough in negotiations with a spectrum of black leaders.

Opposed

Another whispering campaign was launched during the debate on the controversial special sitting of Parliament to consider the tough group areas legislation.

Mr Heunis was blamed for the situation where the first special sitting had to be adjourned after the majorities in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives refused to take part in the debates.

This happened despite claims now being made that Mr Heunis had opposed the toughened-up legislation and had asked that someone else be made responsible for handling it.

There was apparently also a row in the NP caucus involving Mr Heunis and Mr P W Botha on the issue.

This was followed by the "leak" in Zurich while President Botha was visiting Switzerland last month that Mr Heunis was to be dropped as Constitutional Minister.

There is little doubt that this came from Foreign Affairs.

Scapegoats

Then the information that two top negotiating officials were having their status changed in the Department of Constitutional Development because of alleged possible links with the ANC was leaked.

Whether the two officials are being used as scapegoats as a stick with which to beat Mr Heunis cannot be fully questioned because of the limitations of the Protection of Information Act.

On what is known, the reasons for their change of status do appear to be flimsy and adds weight to the argument that an attempt was being made to besmirch Mr Heunis, through them, with some associa-



tion with the ANC or other "radical" organisations.

It would not be the first time that the security establishment has faced accusations of abuse of power. During the information debacle there was a major shake-up of the National Intelligence Service after its involvement in the scandal.

A number of questions are emerging from the affair:

- Is there a cabal, based on former academic links operating out of President Botha's office without his knowledge, but linked to other ministries such as the Bureau for Information, attempting to make political changes to suit themselves?
- Was the status of Dr Fanie Cloete, chief of the constitutional section in the Department of Constitutional Development, changed merely because his wife was a member of the Black Sash.
- Are people in the security establishment playing a political role?
- Did a senior Cabinet Minister play a part in the rumours that Mr Heunis was to be dropped as Minister of Constitutional Development?
- Who in the Cabinet favoured the decision to push ahead with the controversial group areas legislation?

Power struggle with bizarre overtones raging in Pretoria

By BRUCE CAMERON of The Argus Political Staff

A POWER struggle with bizarre overtones, not seen since the fall of the administration of Mr John Vorster at the height of the Information Department debacle in 1978, is under way in Pretoria.

The political establishment was left gasping in amazement as the manoeuvrings climaxed this week in the midnight statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, as he moved to block the campaign to undermine him.

But no one is quite sure who is doing what, while all sides have been selectively leaking information to the media in an attempt to grab advantage.

There is little doubt that some members of the Cabinet or their officials have their eye on the top job and this is the main reason for what is happening. Although there is no sign that President Botha is to leave the scene shortly, the positioning going on is incredible.

Added to this are the indications that other people would like the constitutional job. For example, although there is no firm suggestion that Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is involved in this round of controversy, he and Mr Heunis have clashed on several occasions in the past over territory.

Transvaal leader

At the start of last year's white elections, Mr Heunis, the Cape Nationalist leader, and Mr F W de Klerk, the party's Transvaal leader, were both heirs apparent.

Both had setbacks as a result of the election — Mr Heunis because of his slender 39-vote victory over Dr Denis Worrall and, to a lesser extent, Mr de Klerk for the inroads made by the Conservative Party in his province.

This opened the field for other potential candidates such as General Magnus Malan, Mr Barend du Plessis and Mr Pik Botha to have another go. Often, however, it is the officials of the Ministers rather than the politicians themselves who are behind the plotting.

As events of past weeks have shown, Mr Heunis has become the No 1 target, probably because with his autocratic style having already made him enemies he is the easier target.

Claims are being made by Mr Heunis's supporters that the moves against two senior mem-

bers of his staff were part of a plot put together by a loose cabal of officials and at least one member of the Cabinet. Some of his supporters claim that apart from a cabal there are also individuals with their own agendas.

There can be no question that there have been attacks on Mr Heunis. They started with a whispering campaign that he was primarily responsible for not being able to get the proposed national council off the ground and was not making headway in negotiations with black leaders.

His defenders say the accusation is unfair because Mr Heunis has been hamstrung by the government's inability to meet the demands made across the board by black leaders for negotiations.

The criticism has now to some extent been dropped with indications that Mr Heunis could be on the verge of a dramatic breakthrough in negotiations with a spectrum of black leaders.

Another whispering campaign was launched during the debate on the controversial special sitting of Parliament to consider the toughened up group areas legislation.

Special sitting

Mr Heunis was blamed for the situation when the first special sitting had to be adjourned after the majorities in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives refused to take part in the debates.

This was in spite of claims now being made that Mr Heunis had opposed the new legislation and had asked that someone else be made responsible for handling it. There was apparently also a row in the NP caucus involving Mr Heunis and President Botha on the issue.

This was followed by the "leak" in Zurich while President Botha was visiting Switzerland last month that Mr Heunis was to be dropped as Constitutional Affairs Minister. There is little doubt that this came from the Foreign Affairs Department.

Then came the information that the status of two top negotiating officials in the Department of Constitutional Development was being changed because of alleged possible links with the African National Congress. It has since emerged that there were no talks with the ANC.

Members of the security establishment were told of talks with extra-parliamentary groups and individuals.

However, whether, as claimed, the two officials are being used as a stick to beat Mr Heunis cannot be fully questioned or reported because of the limitations of the Protection of Information Act.

On what is known, the reasons for their change of status does appear to be flimsy and adds weight to the argument that an attempt was being made to besmirch Mr Heunis, through them, with some association with the ANC or other "radical" organisations.

It would not be the first time that the security establishment had faced accusations of abuse of power. During the Information debacle there was a major shake-up of the National Intelligence Service, after its involvement in the scandal.



Mr F W de Klerk

CP offers SA blend of racism and patriotism

Star 4/11/88

304A

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party holds a general congress, drawing delegates from all four provinces of South Africa, every other year.

A lot has happened for the party between its 1986 general congress in Durban and the general congress held this week in Bloemfontein.

Since then it has made its big breakthrough in the 1987 general election and it has built on that success in last week's countrywide municipal elections.

It is understandable then that this week's meeting took place in an atmosphere of euphoria.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told the delegates that if the party could sustain the swing it enjoyed between the 1987 and the 1988 elections, it would in all likelihood come to power in the next general election, which he expected in April 1989.

Voters should be under no illusions as to what President Andries Treurnicht and his CP Cabinet would do should they come to power. This week's congress made it clear.

Dr Hartzenberg said the two pillars of CP policy were autonomy for the white population and a separate homeland for whites.

A CP Government would, if necessary, opt for independence for the whites if this was what it would take to extricate the group from the tricameral constitution, he said. That would leave the other groups in what remained of South Africa to exercise power over themselves. If they chose not to do so, too bad, he said.

This is the sort of smoke, mirror and fantasy the CP leaders indulge in to whip their supporters into a frenzy.

Conservative Party rhetoric is designed to inflame the emotions and the heart of the white man, but it does nothing for his head.

It is a brew of religion, patriotism, racism, elitism and misrepresentation.

A good example of the sort of half truth used by Dr Treurnicht in his main speech at the congress was his statistics that whereas the whites paid 92 percent of all taxes they enjoyed only 55 percent of the country's buying power.

All the other people in the country together paid only eight percent of the taxes,

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party is in a mood of sweet euphoria now that it has proved its platteland popularity in the municipal elections. They expect to win the next general election which CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg expects in April next year.



Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg . . . his smoke, mirror and fantasy do much to inflame white emotion but it is not based upon rationality.

while they had 45 percent of the buying power.

He was trying to suggest that the whites were so overtaxed in order to pay for services for blacks that they had far less disposable income.

What he did not say was that a population group that comprised less than 20 percent of the population had more than half of its buying power, and therefore its wealth.

Nor did he point out that whites earned 80 percent of the income. There was also no mention of the fact that blacks paid 45 percent of the GST or that without black labour there would be little if no revenue from the mines and business sector.

Another example of the way CP leaders misled their supporters was the way several speakers claimed that once the Conservatives took over the Government there would be an immediate improvement in the

economic position of the whites.

They did not explain how this would be done once each population group was given its own public service, as was announced by Dr Hartzenberg.

South Africa can barely afford its current bureaucracy, yet the CP wants every group to have a separate one.

Party leaders say they are not concerned with what the other population groups do, as long as the whites rule themselves, with their own public service, paid for by their own taxes in their own homeland.

Blacks working in the white homeland, they said, would have no rights at all, not even trade union rights.

They did not say in whose homeland the mines and industries would fall, and if they went to the whites, how they would keep them functioning without modern effective labour legislation and practices.

Star 4/11/88 304A

THE PEOPLE HAVE CHOSEN...

***YOU HAVE COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF
PARTICIPATION POLITICS,
DEFYING BOYCOTTS AND
INTIMIDATION!***

To our courageous people we say:

- **We will continue to fight Apartheid through peaceful means.**
- **We will continue to fight for equal opportunities.**
- **We will continue to fight for equal human rights for all.**
- **We will continue to fight for Freedom and a Progressive, Peaceful Future.**

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PW looks over Barberton council's shoulder once more

304A
4/11/84
Lowveld Bureau
BARBERTON — One of the first things Barberton's newly elected National Party councillors did was hang a photograph of State President Mr P W Botha in the council chamber.

"I think it's the right and fitting thing that this be done," the newly elected mayor, Mr Tinus

Strydom, said at the first town council meeting on Tuesday.

Mr Strydom, who was elected earlier this year by the former council, was unanimously re-elected.

His deputy is Mr Els Enslin.

Also elected was management committee chairman Mr Gordon Strydom, his deputy Mr Lucas Louw and additional

member Mrs Annamarie Joubert.

Barberton was taken by the Conservative Party during last year's general election and the National Party's 9-0 victory in the municipal election last week exceeded all expectations.

Six of the sitting councillors were replaced by new National Party candidates,

Political observers in the region see this as a massive swing from the CP and believe this could unseat the CP Member of Parliament, Mr Casper Uys, if an election were held soon.

In his address the mayor said the council would not allow petty politics to cloud their thoughts to the detriment of Barberton and its residents.

CP makes all-races threat to Nat-held wards

304A

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

Star 4/11/88

BLOEMFONTEIN — Municipal wards which elected National Party town councillors in Conservative Party-controlled towns ran the risk of being the first areas to be declared open for free settlement by people of all race groups, the CP congress heard in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, told the party's general congress that the government had the authority to enforce free settlement areas as well as free trading areas on any town, including the 95 controlled by the CP.

He said that, if this happened, the CP town council would look at areas within its boundaries in which a majority of voters had voted for the NP as areas which should be given priority for being open to all races.

Those people who supported the NP therefore ran the risk that their areas would be the first to be opened, he said.

Dr Snyman appealed to all CP-controlled local authorities to examine the lists of organisations which received grants in aid.

Where, under a previous administration, certain organisations of which the CP did not approve had been receiving funds, these should be replaced with organisations such as Sabra and the Volkswag.

In this way, the CP-controlled local authorities could start protecting white community life.

Facilities such as integrated swimming baths, theatres and free settlement areas and open trading areas would not be allowed in CP towns and cities.

Dr Snyman suggested that, in towns where open trading areas already existed, the newly elected CP town councils could make an official request to the Government to have such areas deproclaimed.

● During the municipal election campaign, Johannesburg National Party leader Mr Danie van Zyl threatened to recommend that all wards which elected Progressive Federal Party town councillors be opened as free settlement areas.

● See Page 11.

Pik condemns political violence

By Lloyd Coutts (304A) ~~ca~~
The South African Government was opposed to the use of violence for the achievement of political objectives, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

Mr Botha's statement came after Wednesday's guerilla attack on a train en route from South Africa to Maputo in which eight people died and 38 were injured.

The passenger train, carrying Mozambicans returning from South African mines, hit a landmine about 50 km north-west of Maputo and was then fired on by MNR rebels.

Mozambique's State radio blamed the attack on "forces within South Afri-

ca" who were trying to wreck the ongoing peace initiative between Mozambique and South Africa.

Mr Botha said the State President, Mr P W Botha, made it clear during recent negotiations with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano, that the South Africa did not support the MNR.

"The recent sabotage of the RSA-Mozambique power line as well as the attack on the Sabie-Nkomati agricultural project is strongly condemned.

"The stability and economic development of Mozambique, as was emphasised by Mr P W Botha to President Chissano is not only in the interests of the RSA but also in the interests of the southern African region as a whole," Mr Botha said.

Corrupt Ciskei ripped off

By CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

ENDEMIC corruption and financial mismanagement in Ciskei allowed millions of rands to be siphoned off by South Africans and others who saw the territory as open to easy pickings, the Harms Commission heard yesterday.

There was a general perception, not without cause, that Ciskei government officials were open to bribes — and this had resulted in large amounts of money leaving the country, former Ciskeian Ambassador Plenipotentiary Mr Douw Steyn told the commission, which is investigating corruption and cross-border irregularities.

Mr Steyn said conditions within Ciskei, in which President Lennox Sebe had absolute power to circumvent regular channels and effectively change legislation at his own whim,

had created an atmosphere which encouraged cross-border irregularities.

Mr Steyn, who is a former Director-General of Agriculture in Ciskei, said he had brought the conditions to the attention to the South African government on numerous occasions, without any response.

Recounting his part in the Vito Palazolo affair, Mr Steyn said it was necessary to take into account the deteriorating conditions in Ciskei to understand why efforts were made to help Palazolo settle in the territory. "We had to clutch at straws," he declared.

As the person responsible for attracting foreign investment to the territory, Mr Steyn said he had received hundreds of offers, most of which were scans to siphon off money at the territory's expense.

Mr Palazolo's offer to invest \$2 million in Ciskei in exchange for

citizenship was the first time a foreign investor had offered to put money into the country.

From testimony submitted to the commission, it became clear that territories like Ciskei and Transkei were considered easy areas from which to enter South Africa illegally and establish permanent residence.

Within two weeks of arriving in South Africa illegally, Palazolo was granted Ciskeian citizenship with the help of Mr Sebe, who used his veto to circumvent existing legislation.

With these rights, it was a simple matter for Palazolo to apply for permanent residence in South Africa, and apply for a South African passport as a Ciskeian citizen.

Mr Steyn said it was East London Nationalist MP Mr Peet de Pontes who had helped Mr Sebe to redraft legislation that enabled Palazolo to obtain citizenship so rapidly.

It was Mr De Pontes, too, who had been instrumental in Mr Steyn visiting Palazolo in a Swiss jail during 1986 to determine his bona fides.

Mr Steyn said he had been impressed by Palazolo and his perceptions of what was needed to improve financial conditions in Ciskei.

Ciskei speedily granted Palazolo citizenship after his arrival, but he spent only about R50 000 on a small townhouse in Bisho, in which he never lived, while spending millions on properties in South Africa.

The Harms Commission is to complete its initial hearings concerning the Palazolo affair and the Ciskei connection today.

It is understood that the commission chairman, Mr Justice Louis Harms, may prepare an interim report on his initial findings later this month for submission to President P W Botha.

304A

PW not negotiating, says Buthelezi

City Times 4/1/88
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha was not negotiating with black leaders in South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a meeting of the Paarl Rapportryers last night.

"Despite this ripeness of time, the politics of negotiation has not got off the ground," the Inkatha leader said.

"Whatever else is happening and whoever the State President may be speaking to, he is not negotiating with the leaders that the black society in this country

has thrown up as its leaders.

"I know, I am one of them and I am not involved in negotiations with the State President.

"Whatever he himself says, he is not involved with real negotiations with other black leaders either."

Chief Buthelezi said that in President Botha's "rather unfortunate" personal attack on him during a Benoni election meeting recently, Mr Botha said that he had on numerous occasions invited the KwaZulu leader,

along with other black leaders, to negotiate with him — but Chief Buthelezi had refused.

Chief Buthelezi said that at the meeting President Botha "talked and talked" to certain black leaders "but there were no negotiations".

"There was no negotiating agenda. There was no objective. There was no give or take.

"I know because I am in touch with black politics and I am in touch with the leaders the State President could possibly be negotiating with."

'MP held half Mafia man's gift to Ciskei'

Staff Reporter

MORE than half a \$26 200 (R65 000) gift to Ciskei by Italian Mafia man Vito Palazzolo was kept back by East London MP Mr Peet de Pontes, the Harms Commission has been told.

Former Ciskei roving ambassador Mr Douw Steyn said he and Mr de Pontes visited Palazzolo in Lugano, Switzerland, after a meeting in Austria about a possible investment in Ciskei.

Mr de Pontes sat in on the Austrian meeting to give legal advice. He also obtained a cheque for \$26 200 (R65 000) in his name from Palazzolo to be used for the negotiations.

The deal fell through and when they met Palazzolo, they gave him back the cheque, Mr Steyn said.

Palazzolo told Mr Steyn to keep half the money and give the other half to President Lennox Sebe.

Mr Steyn said he declined the offer but suggested Palazzolo give it to the President's Peoples Education Fund, Mr Steyn said.

The undertaking was that Mr de Pontes would have the the money changed into rands on his return to South Africa and hand it to Ciskei, Mr Steyn said.

Later Mr de Pontes told him he would hand over only R20 000 because Palazzolo had asked him to use the balance for his resettlement costs and other expenses, Mr Steyn said.

Palazzolo's counsel, Mr P J de Bruyn SC, said Palazzolo denied giving Mr de Pontes these instructions.

Mr Steyn said that as ambassador plenipotentiary his task was to encourage industrialists to invest in Ciskei.

When he met Palazzolo, he had been impressed by his understanding of the problems in the Third World.

"I explained the problems in various departments and the unbelievable situation in Ciskei.

"From our discussions it appeared that he was very generous. In his heart, he wanted to start a new life. He never took a cent from Ciskei or anybody else," Mr Steyn said.

"He wanted to show his gratitude. That's in his nature."

Palazzolo also denied involvement with drugs, Mr Steyn said.

"He told me his own sister was addicted to drugs and that he had contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to drug rehabilitation. I transmitted this to President Sebe."

Mr Steyn confirmed that he claimed to have known the Palazzolo family for three years in a testimonial to the South African Department of the Interior supporting an application for permanent residence.

Mr Steyn said he thought that if he said he had known the family for only six months it would not have carried much weight.

(Proceeding)

PW lashes out at reports of reshuffle in Cabinet

MR 645 4/11/88 3049

The Argus Correspondent

NEWCASTLE. — President Botha has dismissed speculation about a Cabinet reshuffle as newspaper gossip stories which could now stop as he had no plan to change the Cabinet at this stage.

Speaking at a National Party fund-raising dinner last night, President Botha said reports that South Africa's spy chief Dr Niel Barnard would eventually succeed Mr Chris Heunis as Minister of Constitutional Development were a lie.

President Botha devoted much of his address to recent Press coverage of speculation about a Cabinet reshuffle.

"At the moment" he had no plan to shuffle the Cabinet. Speculation about a Cabinet reshuffle could now be stopped, he said.

President Botha prefaced his remarks by saying the National Party had long been in government so naturally enemies of the party did everything they could against it.

New attacks

"They did not succeed and we must expect that they must come forward with new attempts and new attacks."

It was the declared policy of international terror groups and their fellow travellers to try to divide the National Party, he said.

"They are not going to succeed because there is something that they do not know we have and that is we have a devotion and common love for our country."

One of the best ways to break the National Party was to create confusion.

President Botha said when he came back from Europe he read about changes in the Cabinet, but the person who should know, namely himself, knew nothing about it.

President Botha said it was his duty to form the Cabinet, no one else, "and not the people that write these stories". He said he would appoint and move Ministers when it was in the best interests of the country. Changing a Minister was not a scandal, Mr Botha said, and sometimes they requested it.

Referring to speculation about the transfer of two top officials in Mr Heunis's department, President Botha said there were always shifts in the State service. Speculation about the officials should stop.

He said he had read in the newspapers yesterday that Dr Barnard was to leave the National Intelligence Service to go into politics and was punted as the man most likely to eventually succeed Mr Heunis.

President Botha said he had spoken to Dr Barnard a few times yesterday and funnily enough, Dr Barnard had not told him he wanted to retire to go into politics and instead they made plans about the future.

President Botha said: "I want to say deliberately — this is a lie." Two newspapers which published the story knew this was a lie yet they published the report.

Baronet death probe

DURBAN. — The Boxing Board of Control is to hold on November 12 an inquiry into the death of boxer Brian Baronet after fighting American Kenny Vice in June. — Sapa.



Picture: RUSSELL MICHAELS

RESCUED: Firemen and Metro emergency personnel carry injured Mrs Maude Davids of Mitchell's Plain to an ambulance after she fell underneath a stationary train at Kapteinskliip station, Mitchell's Plain.

Police find dagga haul after tip-off

Crime Reporter

DAGGA worth nearly R600 000 has been confiscated by police in Sir Lowry's Pass.

Police said narcotics squad detectives, acting on a tip-off, waited in the pass for a lorry on its way from Lady Frere in the Transkei.

When it arrived it was stopped and searched, and 37 sacks of dagga were found.

● See page 5.

Man dies crossing railway line

Staff Reporter

A MAN has been killed and a woman injured in two accidents at railway stations in the Peninsula in the past 24 hours.

A man died when a train struck him as he was crossing the line near Kuitis River station last night. He was about 50 but has not been identified.

Mrs Maude Davids, 42, of Amsterdam Street, Portlands, Mitchell's Plain, injured her legs when she slipped on the edge of a platform and fell underneath a stationary train at Kapteinskliip station, Mitchell's Plain, about 8 last night.

Ambulance men and personnel from the Mitchell's Plain depot of the Cape Town fire brigade freed her.

She was treated at the scene before being taken to Grootte Schuur Hospital. Her condition today was satisfactory.

LOCAL AUTHORITY ELECTIONS

Treading water

304A FIN MAIL
4/11/88

■ The polls gave P W Botha a mandate to reform which is unlikely to materialise

Since they amounted to a national — though segregated — plebiscite on reform, the net result of the local government elections was a mandate in favour. Looking at some of the responses, that's hard to believe.

Yet more white voters came out in support of the reformist stance of the ruling National Party (NP), the more liberal Progressive

Federal Party (PFP) and an assortment of left-of-NP independents than backed the Conservative Party's (CP) road back to pristine apartheid. And the anti-reform vote was hardly surprising: the Transvaal platteland was always seen as CP territory. It can now pertinently be asked if CP support has peaked.

On the other side of the coin, the clear message from the townships is that blacks simply do not find what's on offer to them acceptable enough. This should not be obscured by Constitution Minister Chris Heunis's expected interpretation of the official, but misleading, 25% poll as the go-ahead for government's much-mooted

national negotiating forum for blacks; nor by his view of their worth as essentially educative in that the exercise exposed blacks to the mechanics of "the democratic process." The substance is patently lacking in appeal.

It seems, too, that the more things change the more they stay the same. Reflecting his government's stasis and lack of new ideas, P W Botha's first act on October 27 was to refer the controversial group areas and squatting legislation to the President's Council for a decision. Implementation of these Bills would entail the removal of thousands of blacks, coloureds and Indians already living in white suburbs.

A decision to push ahead with stricter application of group areas while trying to woo people to the negotiating table is an impossible recipe. It comes from the same mentality that protests we have the freest press in Africa — and which suspends *The Weekly Mail*.

The elections involved 1 126 authorities, some 500 of which are white towns. It will be some time before the full implications of the elections are known; at the time of going to press not all the results were available. In some areas, Labour made strong gains; Indian politics remains racked by scandal and confusion.

Holding the balance of power in a number of white authorities are "independents" whose political colours are not known.

The CP simply did not fare as well as expected. The party made gains, but they were limited. In the Transvaal platteland they largely took at a local level what they already hold at parliamentary level — although the NP held a number of key towns

like Messina, Tzancen and Barberton.

The CP did make significant gains on the East and West Rand but failed to take Randfontein and Roodepoort. More significantly, the party failed to make significant inroads in the other three provinces — a prerequisite for winning a national election.

But lack of national support does not minimise the spoiling effect the CP can exercise at local level in the towns they now control, as well as in the Transvaal RSCs they dominate.

The CP chooses to see the result as clear indication that there are now only two choices in white politics — CP or NP. There is no room for independents, they say, and ascribe their narrow failure to take control of Pretoria to PFP voters decamping to the Nats (the PFP controlled three wards before the election). That is doubtless why the NP was able to retain control — and strengthens the case for a new coalition in SA politics comprising verligte Nats, the PFP, Worrallites and Wynand Malanites.

Such a force in white politics could well cut a deal with the liberals in the black community — crystallised by Aggrey Klaaste's "nation building" call. That in turn could elicit Western goodwill, the return of foreign investment, and the hope of a way forward to peace and prosperity.

Meanwhile, the elections have demonstrated that the NP entrenched its position in areas where it made gains in last year's general election, and held the support of English-speaking voters in Natal and Johannesburg where for the first time they won an overall majority.

What remains an unknown is the impact

of the parties to the left of the NP. Dennis Worrall's Independent Party fielded very few candidates, but where it did it fared well. The PFP fought the elections on a party political basis in only a limited number of constituencies — but seems to have consolidated its position after the mauling it took in the general election. It did well in Randburg and Sandton and held its position in Johannesburg. The impact of this grouping in a general election remains a wild card — especially if there is any foundation to the rumours that an alliance between the Independent Party, the PFP and the National Democratic Movement lies ahead.

In Durban the NP tried hard to get control of City Hall, fielding a record number of 19 candidates for the city's 30 wards. On election day only six came in — with a further three returning unopposed — reducing the NP presence on the council from 14 to nine.

The loose alliance called Durban 2000 did extremely well. It is a moderate grouping formed by outgoing mayor Henry Klotz, ostensibly to keep party politics out of the elections although a number of Durban 2000 members are PFP supporters. The results were a personal victory for Klotz, expelled from the NP during his term as mayor for heading the committee which opened the remaining beaches north of the city to all race groups.

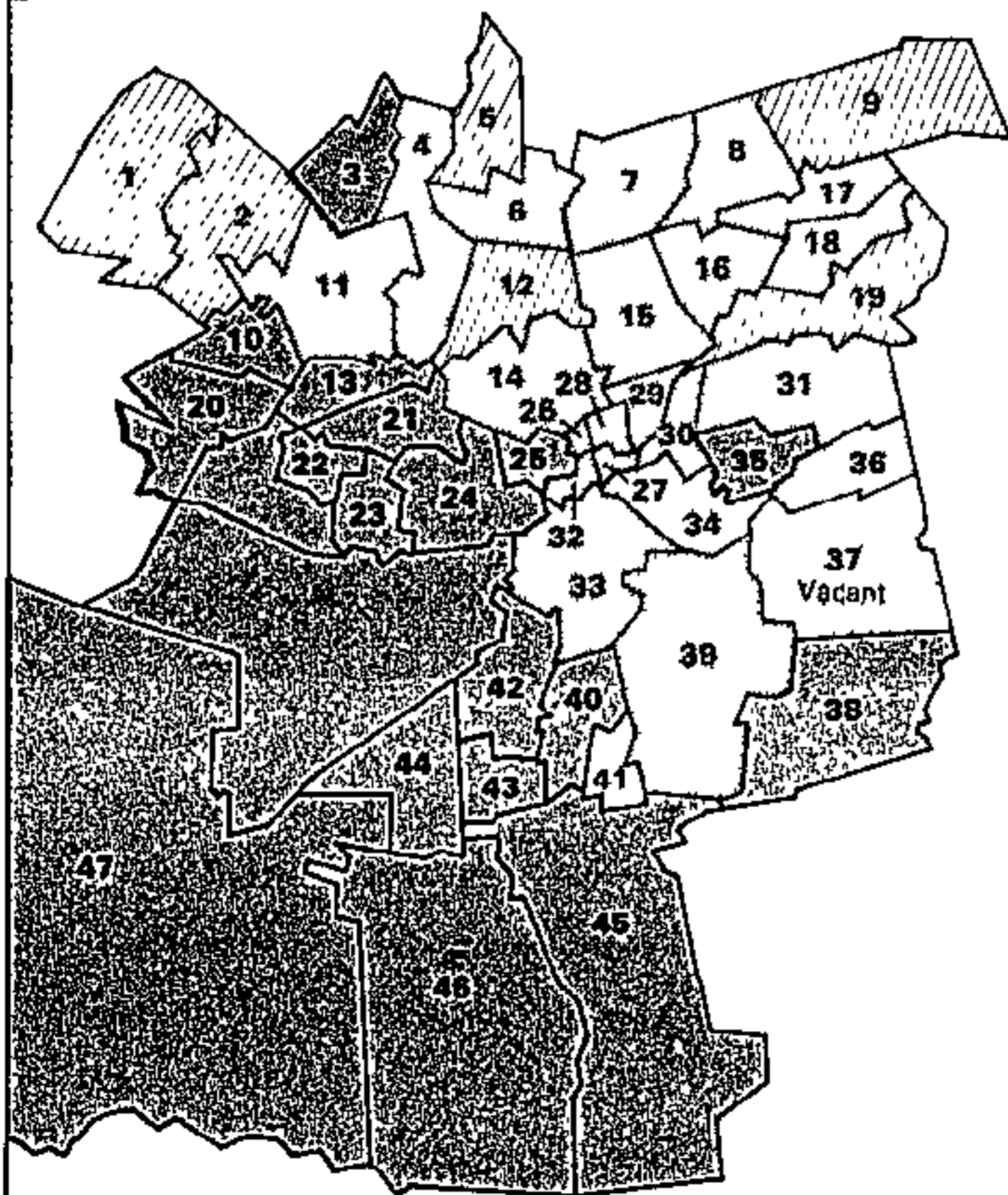
The NP also lost seats to the ultra-Right, not in the form of the CP but a small local group, the Civic Action League, which won three seats. Elsewhere in Natal the results also broadly represent a maintenance of the status quo, with the NP successfully keeping out the CP. Maritzburg, however, swung

Changing face 1: Johannesburg

WARDS

- 1 Fairland/Beraria
- 2 Blackheath/Northcliff
- 3 Linden
- 4 Emmarentia/Greenside
- 5 Craighall/Parkhurst
- 6 Parktown N/Dunkeld/Rosebank
- 7 Wanderers
- 8 Waverley/Bramley
- 9 Kew/Lombardy
- 10 Newlands/Tromf
- 12 Zoo Lake
- 13 Melville/Westdene
- 14 Parktown/Westcliff
- 15 Houghton
- 16 Orchards/Oaklands/Norwood
- 17 Highlands North
- 18 Sydenham/Sandringham
- 19 Orange Grove/Linksfield
- 20 Industria
- 22 Crosby/Brixton
- 23 Mayfair West
- 24 Mayfair/Braamfontein
- 26 Hospital
- 28 Hillbrow
- 29 Berea
- 27 Yeoville
- 30 Bellevue
- 31 Cynildene/Observatory
- 32 Joubert Park
- 33 Von Brandis
- 34 Doornfontein/Jeppeshtown
- 35 Bezuidenhout
- 36 Kensington
- 37 Melvern
- 38 South Hills/Tulisa Park
- 39 The Hill/Regents Park
- 40 Kenilworth
- 41 Rosettenville
- 42 Booyens/Turffontein
- 43 Forest Hill/Chrisville
- 44 Robertsham
- 45 The Glens
- 46 Mondeor/Ridgeway
- 47 South West

PRE-ELECTION

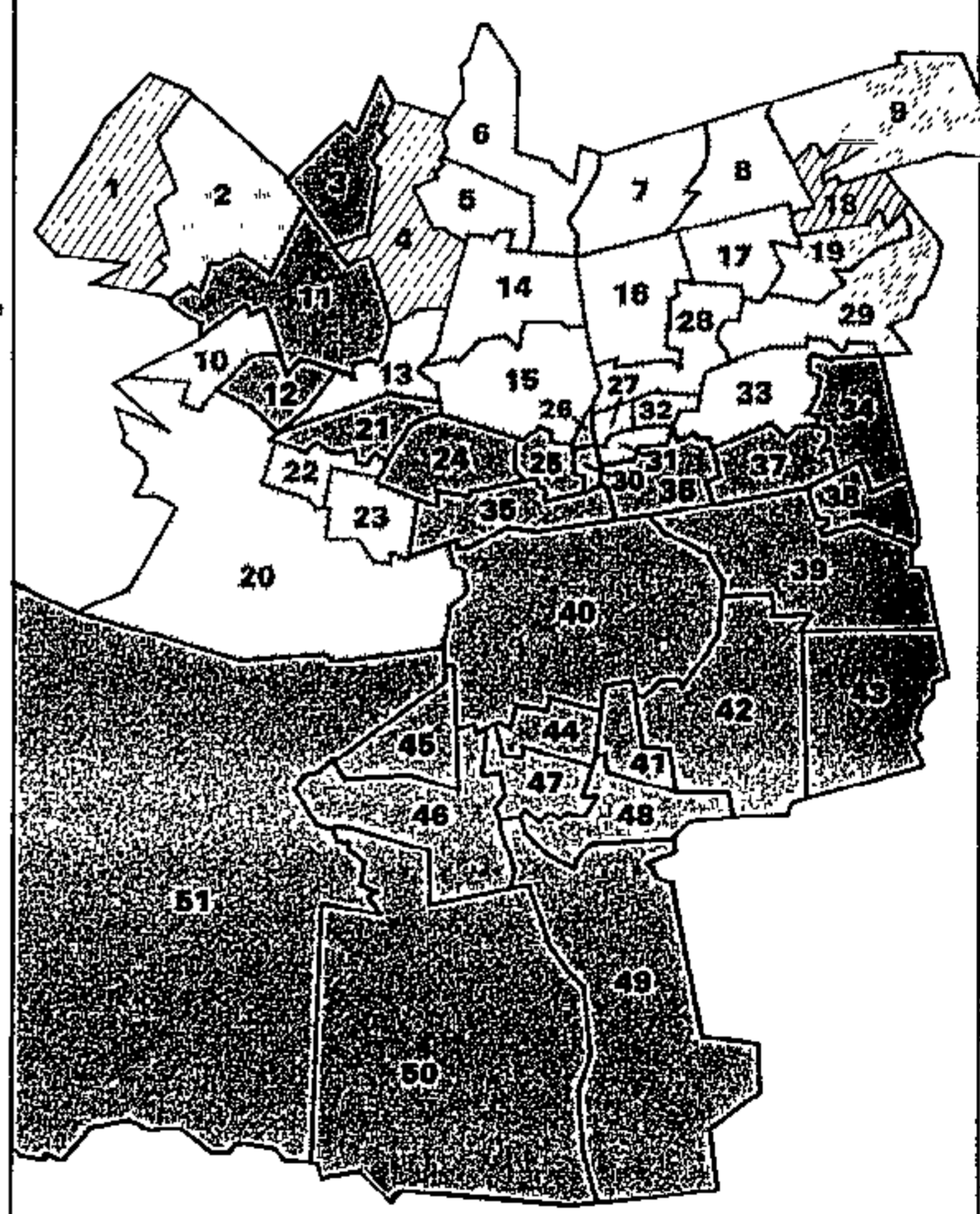


- PFP
- IRA
- Independents
- NP
- NRP

WARDS

- 1 Fairland
- 2 Northcliff
- 3 Linden
- 4 Emmarentia/Greenside
- 5 Parkhurst/Parktown
- 6 Craighall Park
- 7 Melrose
- 8 Waverley
- 9 Kew/Lombardy East
- 10 Newlands
- 11 The Parks/Greyfont
- 12 Tromf/Westdene
- 13 Melville/Emmarentia/Westdene
- 14 Parkview/Saxonwold
- 15 Parktown
- 16 Houghton
- 17 Highlands North
- 18 Glenhazel
- 19 Sandringham
- 20 Claremont
- 21 Auckland Park
- 22 Crosby/Brixton
- 23 Mayfair
- 24 Vrededorp
- 25 CBD
- 26 Hillbrow
- 27 Berea
- 28 Norwood
- 29 Orange Grove/Linksfield
- 30 Pullingerkop
- 31 Joubert Park
- 32 Yeoville/Bellevue
- 33 Observatory
- 34 Cyrildene
- 35 Mayfair/Fordsburg
- 36 Doornfontein
- 37 Bezuidenhout Valley
- 38 Malvern
- 39 Jeppeshtown
- 40 Booyens
- 41 Rosettenville
- 42 Regents Park/The Hill
- 43 South Hills/Tulisa Park
- 44 Turffontein
- 45 Robertsham
- 46 Winchester Hills
- 47 Forest Hill
- 48 Oakdene
- 49 The Glens
- 50 Mondeor/Kibler Park
- 51 Meredale/Naturena

POST-ELECTION



- PFP-18
- CP-4
- NP-26
- Independents-3

304A

right for the first time with four official NP candidates now on the council.

A strong bid by the CP for NP-held town councils in northern Natal turned out to be a bit of a damp squib, although the NP did have a few close calls, for instance in Newcastle. Vryheid, Paulpietersburg, Dundee, Utrecht and Ladysmith all saw the NP beat off the CP convincingly. A PFP candidate even won a seat in Ladysmith.

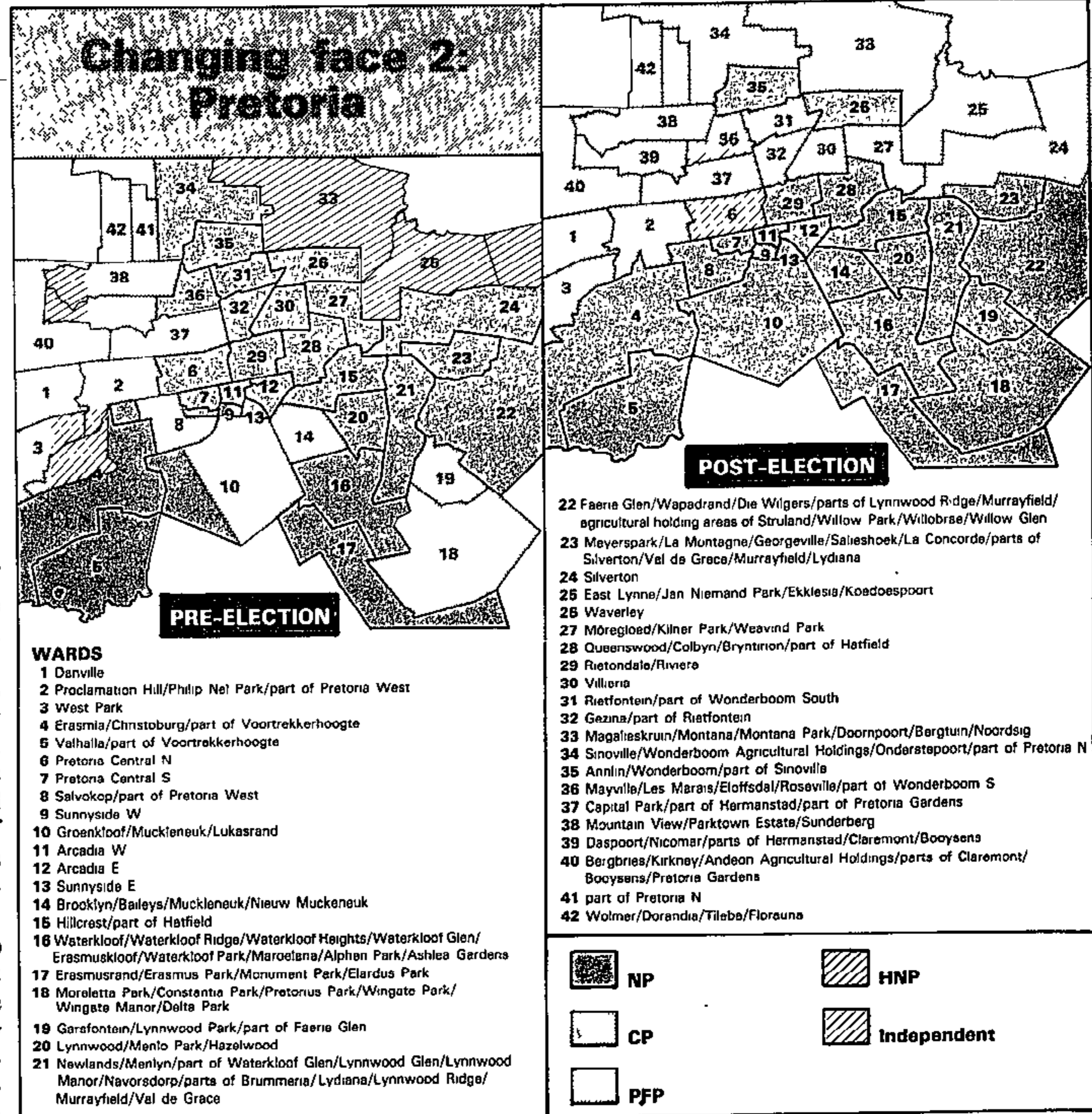
In Cape Town, where the election for the white city council was fought on a non-party political basis, there was little change. Seven of the 17 wards (each with two councillors) were uncontested, indicating the non-controversial nature of local government in the city. Only three sitting councillors were defeated and none of them for overtly political reasons. The CP contested three wards but was soundly beaten, managing to win only 12% of the total vote in all three contests. Of the 10 contested wards, only one was seen as politically significant. In Ward 10, which includes the "grey" areas of Woodstock, PFP-backed candidates soundly beat pro-Group Areas Act candidates.

However, the new council can by no means be regarded as PFP-orientated. At best it is generally anti-Nat but, as in the past, is likely to continue to adopt a policy of "consensus" rather than direct confrontation with government. The NP retained control of the Cape, except for a few isolated small towns in the northern Cape. But the most significant challenge is to Chris Heunis, whose political future seems cloudy (see *Current Affairs*). He faces the prospect of being toppled at the next general election after voters in Somerset West returned five independent candidates out of eight.

In the Free State the CP made merely marginal inroads.

The question of the degree of participation was the essential issue in the black elections, and although it was illegal to call for a boycott the message seeped out that the "broad democratic movement" did not favour voting. Archbishop Tutu said don't. The elections were marred by detentions, attacks on councillors and their homes, a patchy stayaway and an increase in bombings generally attributed to the ANC.

The official black voter turnout was 25,2% of a claimed 78% registration of those eligible. Whether that constitutes a mandate or not will be fiercely debated.



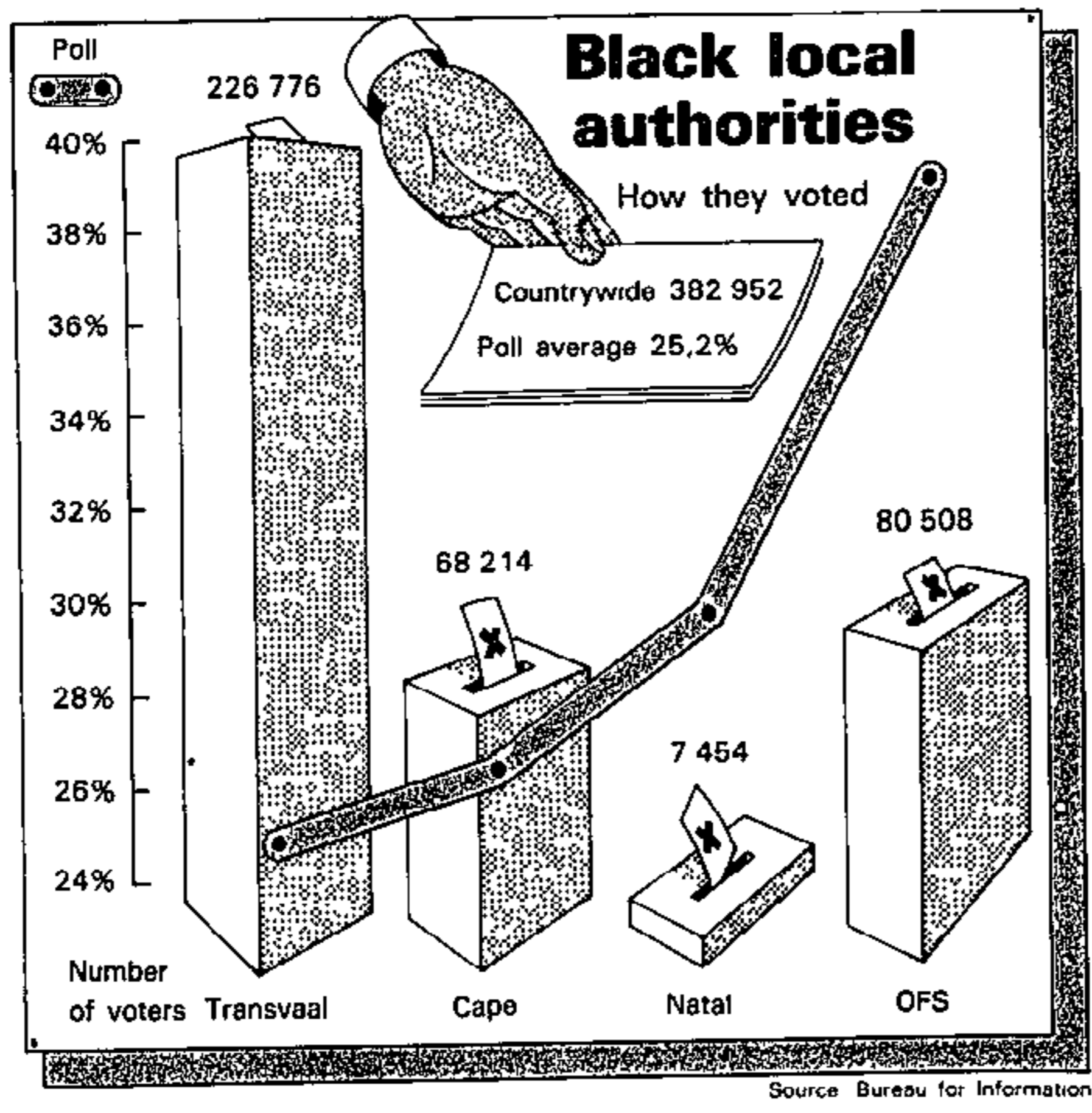
However, the poll must be seen in relation to the fact that less than half the available wards were contested; the percentage was calculated on contested wards only. Of a total of 1 851 wards, effective elections were held in 1 043. In 126, including all the seats in four Cape townships, there were no nominations whatsoever. In the Cape as a whole elections were only held in 45 out of 92 black local authorities.

Whatever government claims, the lack of nominations can also be interpreted as a lack of interest — and as a poor signal of credibility for the black local authorities.

More significant than the percentage poll is the actual number of blacks who voted countrywide, some 382 952 (see graph). Given that conservative estimates of the black population are 30m, and even eliminating half because they are underage, this is hardly a landslide. Millions are excluded because they live in the homelands or informal settlements outside designated local authorities. This explains why only 7 454 blacks voted in Natal. Most black Natal townships have already been incorporated into KwaZulu.

But in a surprise development in a string of townships, there seems to have been a pattern whereby voters — low poll or not — heeded the squirrels' advice to "make it happen" by turfing out several controversial former councillors. In the Cape, 16 former mayors were ousted, including the mayor of Ibhayi, Tamsanqa Linda.

The mayor of Soweto, Nelson Botile, and the chairman of the Management Committee, Letsose Radebe, were both defeated. In Lekoa in the Vaal Triangle, although Mayor Esau Mahlatsi kept his seat, his party was virtually wiped out. Steve Kgame of Dobsonville, leader of the very pro-participationist Ucasa, was also toppled. Whether this amounted to more than a mere protest vote is hard to say. Remarkably, in the black township of Harrismith, where the old council



304A

P W AND THE FUTURE

Doing the necessary

Before the October 26 poll the political mood was tainted by the wait-and-see syndrome. Wait and see about group areas; about interest rates; about when the State of Emergency might end; about rugby, sunny skies and sanctions.

Now it's over. And still we wait.

Of course, some shifts are discernible. The immediate referral of the group areas and squatter Bills to the President's Council is one. This has removed what few doubts remained about the State President's will to see them operating in law in time for the general election, which most believe P W Botha will now feel confident enough to call next year.

The related issues of the funding of the politically popular R4bn public-sector wage hike and the politically unpopular need to raise Bank rate to realistic levels turn upon the Nats' economically illiterate approach to the problems of the economy as a whole. Its "answer" appears to be inflation — melting down and adulterating the coinage to pay the soldiers, so to speak. Less and less lip-service is being paid to free market principles — and that too is a shift, though again a profoundly unwelcome one.

Inflation is going to be the major problem facing SA until even blue-collar workers notice the effect fiscal drag has on their take-home pay, and the proceeds of privatisation are used to pay the salaries of Post Office workers. Watch the rate move now towards 25% — and then?

Meanwhile, such extraordinary fiscal and monetary laxity breeds a climate of cynicism, corruption and political lassitude and fear. The suspension of *The Weekly Mail* is another demonstration of government's cowardly inability to take any form of criticism whatsoever — it is Rhodesia all over again. And corruption probes proliferate.

If President Botha is to salvage any historical respectability for his reign, there are certain steps he needs to take. Luckily, they are within what remains of his capabilities.

First, he must rid himself of his incomprehensible constitutional mandarin, Chris Heunis. If the latest developments around Heunis are any indication, the president fears the damage that this removal would do to the National Party in the

Cape — particularly if we are indeed to have an election soon. But he would do better to consider what will happen to that party *after* the election, once the 39 voters who kept Heunis in "power" last time switch to the Independents, as the local poll outcome in Somerset West suggests they will.

The point here is that if the local authority elections had any overriding political spur — apart from testing the water for a parliamentary election — it was to allow the black community to send up representatives who could ultimately sit on the National Council and debate the future of all blacks.

That, of course, didn't really happen — though here and there black voters *did* make something happen by throwing out unpopular councillors (see P29). Nonetheless, it is in this direction that the important political process must now tend. And this means that the figure running Constitutional Affairs must be all those things Heunis is not: credible, intelligible, pragmatic. And, with that, popular among whites — since they are the ones who must be sold on the processes of real change.

It is perhaps human nature to hope, if not for the best, at least for something or someone better. So Pik Botha has been tipped for the fading Heunis's post — the man to bring blacks into central power structures. There is no other Nationalist up to it at present — not within the constraints of the system devised by Heunis with P W's blessing.

It should be done: the Cabinet must be shuffled. If there

seems to be a problem about who would replace Pik Botha — at a time when the Namibian negotiations *must* be brought to a satisfactory conclusion — then the candidate who presents himself most naturally, in the view of the *FM*, is the Director General of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden. He has that required broad knowledge of the world.

Perhaps if — in this one area at least, that of negotiating with blacks — there can be some movement, there might too be hope for a return to economic rationality. For politics and the economy are now so intertwined, unravelling them would be like finding the solution to Rubik's Clock. ■



Heunis 'alone' in reshuffle row

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

A MAJOR political commotion around the embattled Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Development and Planning has been intensified by President Botha's response to events.

Some political analysts say Mr Heunis, who acted as President recently during Mr Botha's absence abroad, now appears to stand alone in a power struggle within the government and at Cabinet level.

They see it as significant that President Botha, in his first public reaction this week to the latest storm around Mr Heunis, did little to protect his most senior minister, who has been under fire from all sides.

Mr Botha merely rejected speculation about a possible Cabinet reshuffle involving Mr Heunis, but did not really defend him against the damaging effect of continuing political criticism and of action taken against two key officials of his department.

The two officials, both well known and highly esteemed in academic circles and among moderate black leaders, are Dr Fanie Cloete, chief director of constitutional planning, and Mr Kobus Jordaan, director of constitutional development services and negotiator for the department.

Mr Botha added to the intrigue by mentioning the need for security controls inside the government and referring in this con-

text to the example of the convicted traitor and spy, Dieter Gerhardt, now serving a life sentence for spying for the Soviet Union's KGB.

Following widespread reports that the two officials apparently had their security clearance withdrawn before being shifted out of their positions, Mr Botha explained that all officials had to have security clearance to avoid a Gerhardt situation arising.

Mr Botha referred to the matter on Thursday night in a widely publicised speech at Newcastle, Natal.

However, only days earlier, in a midnight statement on Sunday night, Mr Heunis had publicly defended his two officials. He indicated that he saw no reason for any action against them on political or security grounds.

Moderate blacks

The key question now being asked in political and academic circles: has the power of the security establishment grown to such an extent that it overrides the power of senior members of the Cabinet?

No comment on the issue could be obtained from Mr Heunis this week, nor Dr Cloete or Mr Jordaan.

Meanwhile, statements in support of them and their role in the Government's negotiation process have come from a variety of sources ranging from moderate black leaders to academics and politicians.

Inkatha secretary-general Dr

Oscar Dhlomo said he believed the department would have great difficulty in finding a replacement of Mr Jordaan's calibre.

It would be particularly difficult to find an official with "the same kind of perception and the same degree of acceptance among anti-apartheid groups as has Mr Jordaan".

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, believes the action against two of Mr Heunis's top men could have a serious impact on government attempts to draw black leaders into the negotiation process.

Dr Worrall said that from inquiries he had made it appeared the two men had their security clearance removed for undisclosed reasons, and they were then "moved sideways" in the department.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch, said the government was in a credibility crisis.

One reason why negotiations about the National Council were apparently not progressing was that credible black leaders were reluctant to negotiate with the government.

"After this escapade, the chances that credible and influential black leaders will come forward are virtually nil. If anybody from the government wants to talk, a black leader could well ask: 'Do you have the confidence of the security establishment?' or 'Where is your security clearance?'"

SA 'society under siege' — editor

ARC TIPS 5/11/88 306A

Cap

DURBAN.—South Africa now exhibited all the characteristics of a society under siege, the editor of The Natal Witness, Mr Richard Steyn, said here yesterday.

Addressing a conference on "The Right To Speak" at the University of Natal, Mr Steyn said South Africans, inside a psychological laager, were being force-fed on the mythology that external forces had mounted an "onslaught" against which a "strategy" had to be devised in self-defence.

That strategy made deep inroads into the right to speak, he said. Mr Steyn said it was no coincidence that the most hidebound and inefficient governments were found in

countries with a controlled press.

He added that the danger with emergency regulations was that they helped keep both the government and the governed in ignorance.

Mr Steyn said legislative curbs on the media in South Africa were not only severe in themselves but had created a climate of intolerance in which the right to speak was being disavowed by the authorities, by forces opposed to them and by a significant section of the public.

Yet the right to speak was an essential element in any society in transition towards democracy.

No law silenced the Weekly Mail, he said. It was the act of a party

politician unwilling to allow his judgement to be tested by the courts.

While there was much to criticise in democracy, it was the best system yet devised by man to ensure just and fair government, and the most secure way to protect the right to speak, Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town, said yesterday.

Delivering the opening address at the conference, Dr Saunders said that without general freedom of speech there could be no democracy, great improvements or a secure future for any South African.

He called for "even, limited, freedoms" to be "preserved and cher-

ished", adding that "an educational process" was necessary to ensure that invited speakers would have the right to speak on a university campus.

Inhibiting free expression on campus "must seriously impair scholarship and research at universities".

He said the "greatest encroachment" on free speech in South Africa came from "legal censorship". As long ago as 1974 the Publications Control Board had already banned more than 26 000 works, and while it had been "less vigorous" in recent years its powers remained undimmed. — Own Correspondent, Staff Reporter and Sapa

PW to decide on Palazzolo report

CAPT Tink S/11/88 302A

MR Justice Louis Harms said yesterday that he would produce a report on "The Palazzolo-De Pontes matter" for delivery to the State President, Mr P W Botha, before the end of the month.

The commission has adjourned its public hearing to November 28 after almost a month of evidence on how Vito Roberto Palazzolo illegally entered South Africa in 1986.

Mr Justice Harms said Mr Botha would decide whether to publish his report and what recommendations to accept.

He said the commission had covered a wider spectrum of mat-

ters than its original intention.

"I am concerned with cross-border irregularities and matters flowing therefrom," he said.

In a closing statement Mr P J de Bruyn, for Palazzolo, said his client, who was not there to defend himself, had been branded a Mafia member and heroin smuggler.

This evidence was hearsay, and the Swiss court which convicted him of laundering money did not find that he was linked to these activities.

Mr Harms said that when the commission resumed on November 28 the focus would switch back to the issue of gambling rights.

He said he got the impression

that the rulers of countries such as Ciskei believed that rights were negotiable.

Commenting after evidence given by Mr Douw Steyn, a former roving ambassador for Ciskei, Mr Harms said the rulers seemed to believe that one way of getting money into their country was by giving "immense so-called rights".

Asked by Mr Harms whether he believed that Ciskei government officials were easily bribed and that South Africans took advantage of this, Mr Steyn said "yes".

A reason for the irregularities was that the president had absolute powers. — Sapa

Minister ster 5/11/88 predicts 'mixed future' 304A

NORMAN CHANDLER

SOUTH AFRICA of the future will be governed by whites, blacks, coloureds and Indians, a Government Minister declared yesterday. For any one group to hold on to power was "a recipe for revolution".

Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, said the Government was firmly committed to power sharing and "firmly committed to fundamentally changing the face of South Africa".

Change would ensure a "just and equitable dispensation for all the people and a moving away from discrimination and domination", he said.

It is the first unequivocal statement made on the Government's reform intentions by a Cabinet Minister since the municipal elections on October 26.

Mr de Klerk rounded on the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Dr Dennis Worrall, Mr Wynand Malan, "certain newspapers" and other groups for "displaying a lack of trust as to the

● TO PAGE 2

Mixed SA forecast

ster 5/11/88 ● FROM PAGE 1. 304A

real intentions and motives of the South African Government".

And he described the Conservative Party's attack on the Government over reform as "irrelevant day-dreaming".

Spelling out what the future held, Mr de Klerk said a multi-tier system of government would ensure all population groups were governed by their own people, answerable only to a national council which would take final decisions "on the basis of power-sharing and non-domination".

He added the future meant that "political power will have to be shared within common political structures on the basis of joint decision making in respect of all matters of common concern".

Speaking at a luncheon of the South African Institute for International Affairs, Mr de Klerk — billed by the SAIIA to be "the man most likely to be South Africa's next State President" — gave his recipe for a peaceful, future South Africa.

He said there were three concepts which had to be married into a political constitutional system: the protection of group security and group rights; the sharing of power and joint decision-making; and prevention of one group dominating the others.

The majority of whites were prepared "to go a long way, to accept fundamental change, to take risks, to work hard towards a lasting understanding between all the peoples and groups, to share with all South Africans in all fields of endeavour".

PW should negotiate with ^{304A} genuine black leaders — poll

The State President, Mr P W Botha, should start negotiations on a constitution with "genuine black leaders" as soon as possible, a recent opinion poll has found.

The Research Survey poll's Elitecheck — believed to be the first of its kind — was conducted in upper-income suburbs. The face-to-face survey polled 400 blacks and 400 whites over the age of 25 with positions from middle management upwards.

Asked whether negotiations with genuine black leaders should begin as soon as possible, 34 percent of the all-race respondents said they "strongly agreed" while another 37 percent expressed agreement.

CARINA LE GRANGE

On the statement that Mr Nelson Mandela should not be released from prison until he renounced violence, 72 percent of whites agreed. Among blacks, 46 percent strongly disagreed with the statement and another 19 percent disagreed.

But six out every 10 of the respondents believed violence was not the only way to achieve change.

In the black sample, 29 percent strongly disagreed with violence while a further 21 percent disagreed. Among whites, a total of 74 percent disagreed or disagreed strongly.

Now it's Chris's turn to be kept in dark

QUITE frankly cannot understand what the fuss is all about if Chris Heunis is overlooked and decisions on his staff are taken apparently without his knowledge. Of course, not too many people understand the workings of the political machinery in this country, which is neither top-down or down-up, or any direction for that matter.

The facts are simply that nobody in security, for instance, needs Mr Heunis's permission to downgrade the security level of staffers in the Department of Constitutional Development. He may be the Minister in charge, but so what? Security, after all, is the most important consideration, and if the security people suspect that they cannot even trust Heunis, they have the power to do as they please, as has been shown over and over again through the years.

Everybody knows that this country is run by the security apparatus. What they say, goes, and one boss-man went as far as saying that right now, security actions are above the law. Now with PW himself being a security man, it could be a very painful decision for him to tell his Cape pal that things are not looking rosy for him, and that he should seriously consider finding a job as a consultant for one of the Afrikaners conglomerates.

The problem with Mr Heunis, it



seems, is that he cannot say what he feels. He does try, but it seems that nobody understands him. Initially, the Government thought it had an asset in his inability to articulate himself clearly, but when it became clear that the voters of Helderberg did not understand him either, he seemed to become a liability to the party.

Not only that, with reform and new constitutions being the buzz-words, it became more and more necessary for someone who could at least tell the country what it was the constitutional people had dreamt up.

Why it should be only Heunis who should suffer, I do not understand. I have tried to make sense out of the National Party policy, and particularly during the municipal election campaigning, I have found myself more and more confused. Someone actually suggested that a Nat campaigner was told by a voter that Nat policy was bankrupt, and the campaigner blamed it all on the decline in the value of the rand against

the yen and other currencies like the mark.

The campaigner then went on to tell the voter that NP policy was exactly the same as CP policy. The CP, he pointed out, simply hijacked this great idea of apartheid and are trying to run with it, and on it. However, the Nats would not allow them to do that, and he assured the voter that the Nats had, in fact, registered apartheid as a trademark, and nobody would be able to use it without permission in the future.

Apparently, a whole variety of terms had been registered; for instance, Group Areas was now solely for the use of Nats and others who had been granted permission to use the term. This would make sure that the CP did not use these terms for their own gain in any form whatsoever.

Apparently, the gurus in Heunis's office came to hear about this, and were so enthusiastic they started working full-time on developing the scheme.

Meanwhile, the CP, with its back to the wall, also found out that it is easier to promise the voters things while you are not in power. In pre-election campaigning, they told the voters that they would overturn the rulings to open certain central busi-

ness districts to all. Indeed, they said they did not wish to see all these blacks invading the all-white town centres, and were going to get tough.

It seems, however, that they did not consult the right-wing Afrikaner business people, who are raking in money from their black clientele.

These gentlemen are happy to go along with separate development, which, to them, means that every man develops separately, and it does not matter where the money comes from. In any event, most of the money comes from black customers, and everybody knows, or ought to know, that principles can only be entertained by people who can afford them. Most cannot.

Maybe Heunis can take out some insurance by telling his boss-man that he was responsible for confusing everybody to the extent that we are all so confused that even reality is obscured. That way, he may survive at least until the next general election — at which point I believe PW would no longer care what happens to him.

● STOP PRESS: Mr Heunis has been made honorary fire chief in the South African Fire Services. How appropriate, indeed. He and his government have been running around putting out fires all over the country, instead of addressing the fundamental issues that plague us.

A closet full of skeletons

Stev \$111K88 (3044A)
Heunis has been fighting since '87

DAVID BRAUN

The controversy surrounding the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, actually started nearly 18 months ago.

And despite President Botha's firm action to put the matter to rest, indications are it will continue.

After the May 1987 general election, when Mr Heunis came close to losing his seat in Parliament to Independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall, speculation started that he would be sidelined in the Cabinet and dumped as Cape leader of the National Party.

But Mr Heunis, a seasoned and shrewd politician and above all a survivor, consolidated his position in the Government so by the time the 1987 Cape congress came around he was not challenged.

But not all was so rosy behind the scenes. Controversy over the Group Areas Amendment Bills as well as the security re-classification of two senior members of his department rekindled rumours that Mr Heunis was about to be dropped.

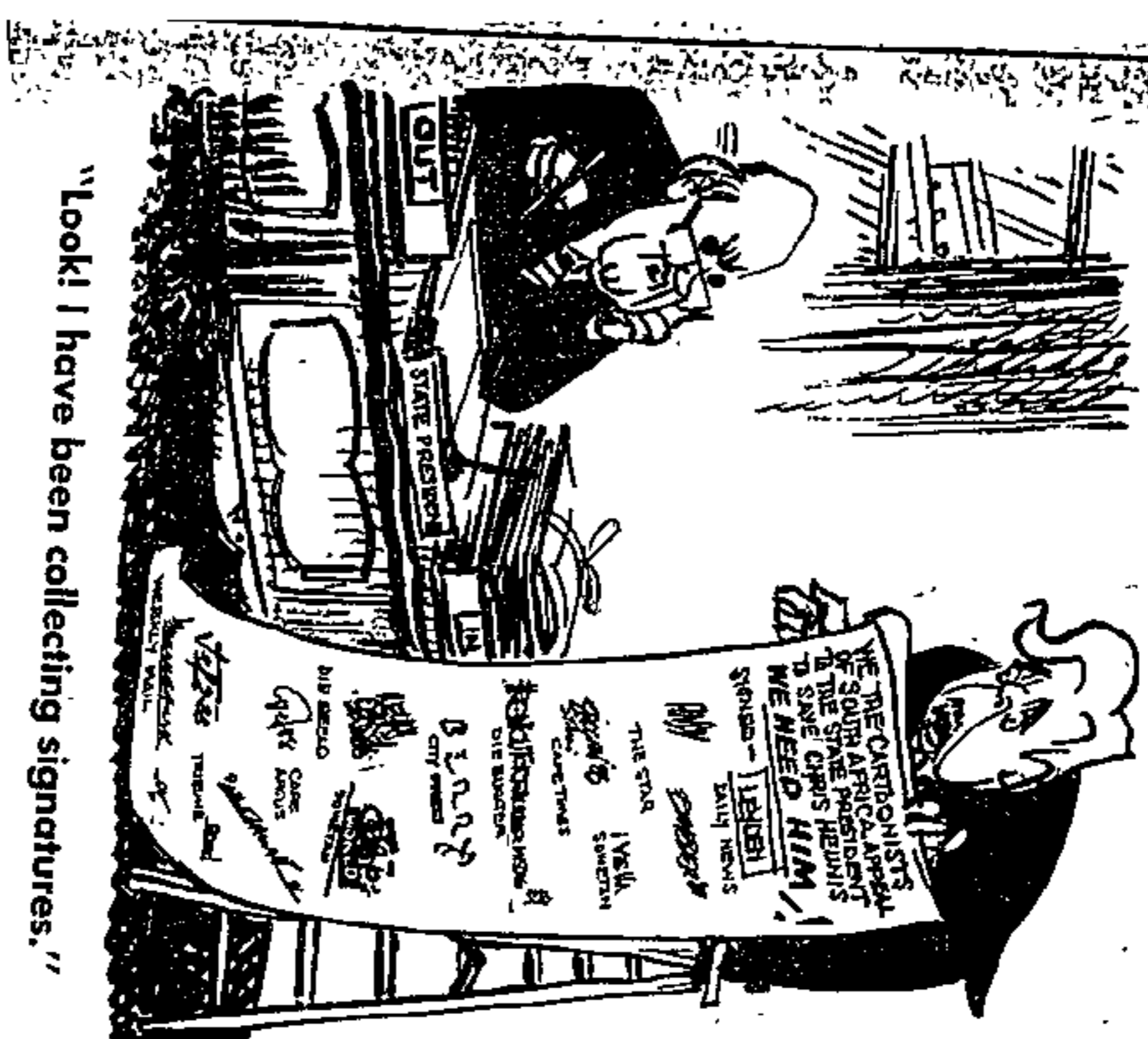
And the question after this week's statement by President Botha that journalists sucked "reliable sources" out of their thumbs with regard to a possible Cabinet reshuffle, is just where did the information come from?

Journalistic ethics prevent people's names from being published, but Mr Botha would be surprised if he could hear some of them.

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"Look! I have been collecting signatures."

CENSORSHIP

The Weekly Mail banning has again focused international and local attention on press restrictions and State control of the media, with Government under fire from several quarters ...

Press is reflection of society

DURBAN — Effective dialogue cannot take place through a media that is in the pocket of the state, a political party or special interest group, the editor of the *Natal Witness*, Mr Richard Steyn, told the Idasa "Right to Speak" conference at the University of Natal yesterday.

Although admitting the commercial press had serious shortcomings, Mr Steyn said it was much more satisfactory than its ideological counterparts "as it provides satisfaction"

Mr Steyn said South Africa exhibits all the characteristics of a society under siege.

"Inside a psychological laager drawn up to keep out hostile influences, we are force-fed on the mythology that external forces have mounted an "onslaught" against which a "strategy" has to be devised in self defence," he said. "That strategy makes deep inroads into the right to speak."

The problem with any "total strategy", Mr

Steyn said, was that it took power away from elected politicians and put it into the hands of the security establishment.

"I have no hard evidence to prove this, but I would guess that action against newspapers such as *The Weekly Mail* is inspired not so much by politicians such as Stoffel Botha or Stoffel van der Merwe as by the security establishment."

He said emergency regulations were so vague that editors often have to weigh up not

what a court might interpret the law to be, but how some police officer might understand it.

Free speech cannot survive in a society without a vigorous press, he said.

"However much we theorise about media freedom or the press' right to speak, ultimately the press will be as free as the law of the land.

"The right to speak is an essential element in any society in transition towards democracy," he said. — Sapa.

Whites shielded from SA reality

DURBAN — Censorship operates to shield and protect white South Africans from reality, a senior researcher for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Mr Gilbert Marcus, said yesterday.

Those realities include the facts that the majority of the population is living in "squalor and poverty", and that years of oppression are giving vent to violent anger on an unprecedented scale.

Speaking at the "Right to Speak" conference, Mr Marcus said censorship ensured that the white population was kept ignorant of the root causes of black anger and black aspirations.

"It also serves to preserve prejudices, myths and misconceptions which have been carefully nurtured over many decades."

Describing South Africa as a society devastat-

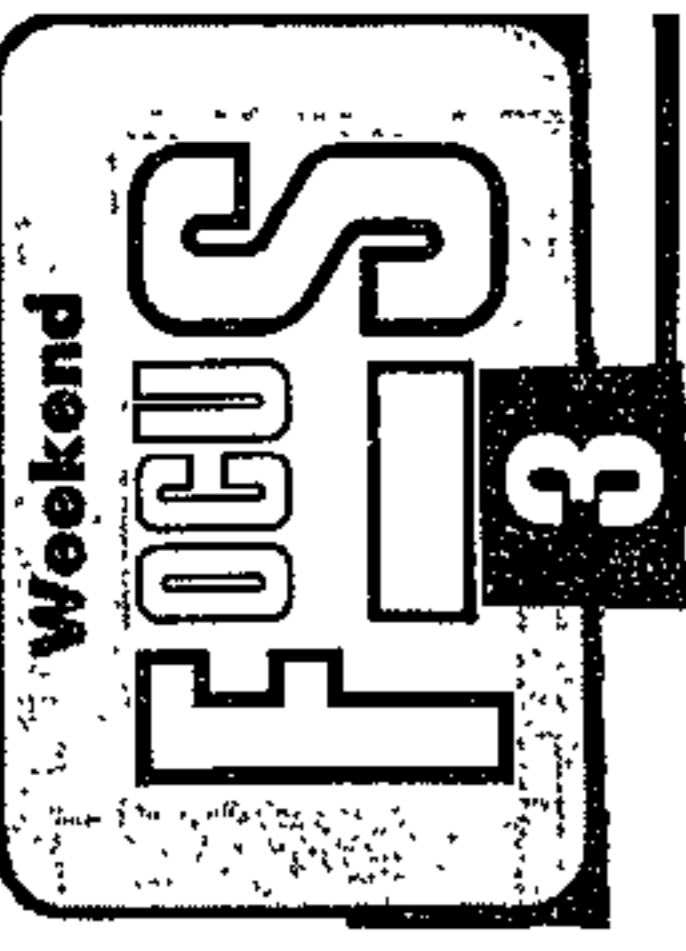
ed by censorship, Mr Marcus said it manifested itself in less obvious ways than the outright banning of books.

"It is precisely because South Africa is not a democracy that successive South African regimes have sought to curb dissent by suppressing opposing ideologies."

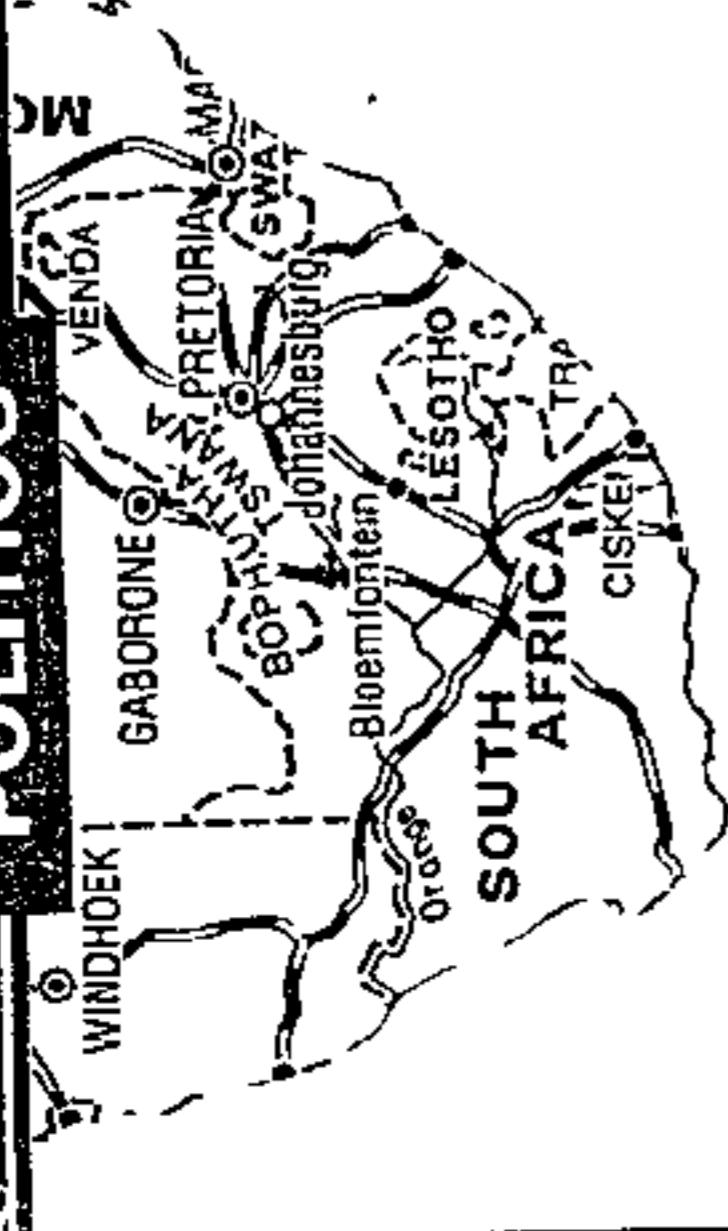
Mr Marcus criticised the press for imposing its own unique form of censorship by the inclusion of certain items for publication and the exclusion of others.

He also found it "sinister" that separate ethnic editions for black readers were developed.

"A form of press apartheid has come into being in South Africa," he said. "The selection of news according to editorial perceptions of racial preferences is the by-product of apartheid."



POLITICS



THE past few weeks have seen an extraordinary concurrence of events for this country.

The President talked to African leaders and then visited Europe, and hopes were he might persuade Swiss bankers, among others, of the good offices of his government to secure loans.

It saw a traditionally lowly political affair like municipal elections transposed into a matter of mighty national consequence, with the outcome interpreted by the government as white reaffirmation of trust in Nationalist rule and the proportionately minuscule black vote venerated as non-white South Africa's acquiescence with the

pace and style of official reform.

After the normally democratic practice of calling for abstentions from elections had already been turned into a crime, it saw the Minister of Law and Order add at least four more basically youth-based movements to the ever-growing list of organisations either banned or prohibited from airing the views of what by now must constitute a significant section of this country's population.

It saw the Minister of Home Affairs — in defiance of international opinion which President Botha has been trying to cultivate — slap a 28-day suspension on the Weekly Mail, a paper better known for its appeal among the largely converted and politi-

cally sophisticated than for its ability to stir revolution among the voiceless masses.

And then, with the further drop in the gold price and the value of the rand and a two-percent rise in the bank rate, it saw an extraordinary commotion break out in the ranks of those vested with the enormous political and security powers to do all this, and more, in the name of these being the necessary means of bringing reform and peace to the country.

And caught in the middle was no other than the minister charged with spearheading the government's idea of constitutional reform towards a peaceful South Africa.

WHAT an incredible situation it is for Mr Chris Heunis to be



INSIDE POLITICS by LEON MARSHALL

First, as acting President while Mr Botha was overseas, he had no choice but to respond lamely to a sudden flurry of rumours that he might be relieved of his constitutional affairs portfolio.

Then, with the shock disclosure about two of his top officials being moved elsewhere, with dark hints of security considerations, and still with no public word of reassurance from the President over his future, he felt compelled to resort to a public statement at midnight jumping to his own defence as well as ex-

pressing trust in the two officials concerned.

And in much the same breath comes the telling disclosure that he had warned of the dangers to the tricameral system and reform of passing the group areas trilogy.

Evidently much has been happening behind the scenes which we don't know yet. But what is apparent is that Mr Heunis' actions are not those of a man fending off outside enemies trying to split the National Party, as the President would have us believe.

They are the failings of a politician who finds himself threatened at close quarters from two sides. In one motion he is lashing into the dark at security-minded conservative colleagues who must evident-

ly wield considerable power if they can go over his head and move about his top officials, and in another he is fending off blows from adversaries to the left who are trying to pin the group areas trilogy to his mast and hold him responsible for the government's failed reform attempts.

On the other side appears to be a growing faction who, looking at the parlous state of the country, are beginning to see that the fiddling with group areas legislation and third-tier racial structures and tricameral systems is taking the country further down a dead-end rather than closer to a solution.

Evidently they, too, have come to realise negotiation should be pursued with much more vigour and less conservative thortitarianism, coupled with

straint, starting with dropping the many preconditions and removing the obstacles which every black leader of note and many others have repeatedly enumerated.

With these forces engaged in a tussle for position, it is not surprising that Mr Heunis' position should be at odds, both as Minister of Constitutional Development and as Cape leader which makes him a contender for the presidency, too.

What happens to his Cabinet position the not-too-distant future should tell, judging by the noncommittal stance the President has been taking in the affair.

But it is what happens in the longer term between the contending forces building up in government, as outside, where the crucial issue lies for all South Africans.

Extraordinary times upon us

THE
HEUNIS
AFFAIR

WEEKENDS 5/11/88



Dr Fanie Cloete — and political dynamite

As one of the main architects of the government's reform initiatives, Dr Fanie Cloete has been working at the heart of a problem area riddled with pitfalls and political dynamite.

He sees the task of the constitutional planner as one in which there is the dilemma of having to strike a balance between giving emotional support to a ruler and "presenting often unwelcome analyses and findings."

For years he has been a key man in Mr Chris Heunis's huge and complex Department of Constitutional Development and Planning around which a new political storm brews.

He was hand-picked in the early 1980s for the job of chief director of constitutional planning — the job which he now has to quit if moves succeed to shift him and the department's key negotiator, Mr Kobus Jordaan, out of their positions.

His in-depth studies and proposals on constitutional policy options enabled the Cabinet to form decisions on new reforms in the very structure of government. He helped to design the present constitution and has played a leading role in working out guidelines for new constitutional structures such as the regional services councils (RSCs).

He sees the past decade as "an era of traumatic political change" in South Africa.

Dr Cloete, a former political science lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, recently spelled out his views on constitutional reform in the University of South Africa's political science journal *Politika*.

He also gave a detailed analysis of the role and activities of Mr Heunis's department in the reform process.

He sees the changes as a transition from "a comprehensive closed system of white minority rule" to a more open and more democratic political system.

Weekend
Argus
SPECIAL
REPORT

by
FRANS
ESTERHUYSE
Political
Staff

On the issue of negotiation he says reform proposals are first discussed with leaders of the groups concerned during negotiation sessions. Proposals on which agreement is reached are then submitted to the Cabinet for final approval.

Reform objectives and policy programmes are therefore "not unchangeable but sufficiently flexible to be adapted to the preferences of other interest groups."

What Dr Cloete regards as the biggest challenge so far in constitutional development is to work out a system of power-sharing for black people on the provincial and national levels. This task, he says, is still in the planning and negotiation stage.

Among other tasks he mentions are that of monitoring the present government policy with a view to analysing and identifying specific problems, and of formulating alternative models for the effective handling of constitutional problems. Such models usually contain different options for reconciling political desirability with the practical applicability of policy.

In this process there is scope for the planner to use his own discretion to deal with further options which, in his opinion, should be considered.

Among problems Dr Cloete mentions is that of a lack of legitimacy of the central authority in the eyes of meaningful segments of a plural society. The legitimacy of any re-



relative speed and success in carrying out the first two phases were due to a combination of factors.

One was the role of Minister Chris Heunis as senior Cabinet Minister — "his status and influence in the Cabinet, reform strategy and drive."

Another was the selective appointment of reform-minded persons in key positions.

Other factors included the willingness among influential decision-makers and opinion-makers inside and outside government to accept certain reform proposals, and "external political, economic, social and military pressure from inside and outside the South African political system on the internal decision-making process."

In his conclusions Dr Cloete makes these points:

● Acceptance of the principle of power-sharing between all communities and the abolition of certain statutory, economic, social and political cornerstones of the present social order resulted in inconsistencies that would have to be remedied in the future.

● These reforms will have an important and inevitable "snowball effect" on the continued existence of out-dated values and practices.

● In the policy change from "apartheid" or "separate development" to "power-sharing" Mr Heunis and his department played a particularly prominent role.

● The reform process is accompanied by social instability, conflicting actions and differences of opinion on the direction and pace of change.

● The process of constitutional policy planning has brought to the fore a need for more research into aspects of political psychology, a field in which little has been done in South Africa.

Dr Cloete says more information is needed on matters such as motivations for the political behaviour of political elites, personality studies of political elites and political marketing studies aimed at persuading political elites in South Africa.

Such matters should receive attention as soon as possible, he says.

form proposal in such a society will be low in those circles where the *bona fides* of the government is questioned.

It is accepted, however, that reforms which already have

the support of leaders of significant interest groups will in time gain wider legitimacy if such efforts are effective.

He stresses that the consent of interest groups is needed if

democratic reform is to take place.

He also refers to the need for choosing the right moment to announce and implement new reforms without upsetting the

social stability of the various race groups. Differing perceptions about this among people inside and outside government are usually determined by the degree of conservatism or lib-

eralism in the political preferences of individual people.

REVIEWING the various phases of constitutional reform under the present government, he says the

Now Cabinet is split election date

304p
S. J. van der
1/11/82

PRESIDENT P W Botha's Cabinet is deeply divided on the timing for the next general election.

Some people are pushing for an April election which will catch the opposition parties off-side while others, particularly those who risk losing their seats, are looking for ways to delay a poll.

At least eight Cabinet Ministers and deputies may lose their seats. Yet, the prospect of an election in April, or even as early as February, has become an enticing one in the light of the Conservative Party's "worse-than-expected" showing in the municipal polls.

Faced by the Rev Allan Hendrickse's continuing refusal to postpone the elections, due to be held by the end of 1989,

By DRIES van HEERDEN and NORMAN WEST

the Government has only two choices: An election by the end of April, or one in November.

According to the Constitution, elections for all three Houses of Parliament should take place on the same day and it is due to happen when the terms of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates expire.

A number of factors argue strongly in favour of an early poll:

● Most economists predict a strong downturn in the economy by the middle of next year. This will be felt by the voters in November resulting in a backlash against the Government.

● Next year's Budget is expected to be a "bad news budget". An election before Finance Minister Barend du

Plessis delivers his budget speech at the end of March will be the wise option for the Government.

● The CP's relatively poor showing in the municipal elections means the Government can minimise its losses against its rightwing opponents in an early poll. However, by November, several negative factors may weaken the position of the National Party.

● There is a belief in NP circles that the CP is strapped for cash and will have difficulty financing two national election campaigns within a few months.

● The leftwing groupings are divided. An early election will catch them off guard and allow the NP to capture a few marginal Progressive Federal Party seats.

● The Government's mandate will be stretched to 1994 which will allow it ample time to continue its constitutional reforms.

over

Among senior ministers there is, however, an uneasiness about the career prospects of some of their colleagues who are bound to be scuttled in an election.

On the list are: Mr Chris Heunis, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Plette du Plessis, Mr Danie Sley, Mr Sam de Beer, Mr Leon Wessels, Dr Michael Veldsman and Mr Piet Badenhorst.

What may save the careers of the Ministers is a drastic new delimitation of constituencies but an early poll date will rule out that option.

The Government has already introduced legislation to enlarge the number of constituencies but its plans have been thwarted by Mr Hendrickse whose Labour Party refused to pass the draft Bill.

One possible way out would be to reappoint the existing constituencies with-in provincial boundaries or to transfer constituencies from the smaller, sparsely populated Transvaal.

Time to forget about racial tags

301A
6/11/88

ALL of us would like to see our country at peace within itself and with the world community and its neighbours.

We would like to see a prosperous country with sufficient housing, an educated and literate population, with poverty and unemployment eradicated, and proper health and hospital facilities available to all its people.

These would be the material requirements. But could this Utopia be achieved without the participation of all its people?

Successive governments since Union in 1910 have failed miserably to get anywhere near these goals. Most of them have never even tried to set these goals as targets.

The ruling parties and the parliaments they governed through were all white, with no direct black participation at all.

Benefit

Hence it seems the white electorate, through their elected Members of Parliament, were able to achieve these goals for themselves only.

And not for those who were unrepresented. The laws which Parliament passed during this period were for the benefit of the white section.

It is most unfortunate that when one discusses SA, it's always on racial lines. One never approaches any question or problem without the racial tag.

Only when we are able to forget and exclude the racial tag in our discussions and planning will we be able to look at proper and just solutions to our problems.

Of course, we'll find great obstacles to overcome. Our country has been fragmented into racial enclaves and, when any geographical area is discussed or planned for, it will be by force and laws and customs.

That is why, even if we adopt a one-person-one-vote system of representation, no matter what the size of the constituency, it will almost automatically be an exclu-

by Jaydew Singh

former secretary of the Natal Indian Congress and only recently un-banned



sively black, white, Indian or coloured constituency.

Representatives will, therefore, represent a racial constituency and will most likely look after the interests of their racial electorates.

On this basis, if each constituency has roughly an equal number of voters or population, the majority of elected members will be black, and the whites, coloureds and Indians will be in the minority.

However, from a democratic point of view, there is nothing wrong in having a black majority government in a country where the majority of people are black. Most people will be satisfied if the government is fair and just, and legislates for the benefit of all equally, and the rights of every individual are safeguarded.

Therefore, a Bill of Rights has to be adopted securing civil liberties and individual freedoms, and rule of law has to apply to all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour, religion or language.

Most South Africans, except those who are still clutching at the ideals of an apartheid society based on racial exclusiveness, will be agreed on what kind of SA they would like to live in, but are finding difficulty in saying how it is to come about.

Unfortunately, it is not in the hands of ordinary people to find the solution. It will be the politicians, the political parties and organisations who have the major role to find the answers.

At one time it seemed that President Botha, his National Party and the white electorate who voted overwhelmingly for him during the referendum, were eager to solve South Africa's problems. But recent events

and pronouncements have disappointed, and one does not see progress from this quarter.

There is a glimmer of hope on the horizon. The fact that Nelson Mandela is no longer at Pollsmoor, that the SWA independence and peace in Angola discussions are continuing, and that President Botha and his colleagues are seen in the company of President Banda and President Chissano are signs for being optimistic.

What is now required is for President Botha, as he has done in Angola by withdrawing his troops and agreeing to Namibia's independence based on a one-man-one-vote election, is to lift the state of emergency, release all detainees and political prisoners, allow political exiles to return to SA, unban the ANC and allow all banned and restricted organisations and leaders to function freely and openly in the country.

Solution

He can then call on these organisations to elect their representatives to meet the Government to discuss and hammer out a solution for the future government of this country, based on a democratic constitution and a Bill of Rights.

It should not be too difficult for President Botha — having agreed to Resolution 435 as it affects South West Africa — to agree to a similar solution as far as his own country is concerned.

He also should have no difficulty in sitting with and discussing matters with black leadership, as he is doing with the leaders of Mozambique, Malawi and Angola, and nearer home, with the people of Crossroads, for whom he has great affection and whose following he says he enjoys!

PIK STORM AT DINNER

304A

A GRIM-FACED Foreign Minister, Pik Botha, angered by bitter clashes on detentions, closure of newspapers, and police brutality, stalked out of the Foreign Correspondents Association annual dinner in Johannesburg on Saturday night.

Stung by ribald laughter, hisses and barbed questions from some of the 300 diners in the elegant Johannesburg Sun Hotel, Mr Botha retaliated by addressing them as Paul Kruger addressed the uitlanders of Johannesburg last century, as "friends, citizens, thieves and enemies."

In an effort to break off the exchanges, he at one point said he had to leave as he was flying to Ethiopia in the morning.

Aides later said he had been joking.

Erupted

The row erupted during question time after Mr Botha had delivered a speech on what it means to be a South African today.

The exchanges became heated when Mr Botha was asked why the editor of *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was still in detention.

Mr Botha accused the foreign Press of being superficial and shallow.

"I am sick and tired of a lot of foreign representatives descending on my country and picking up on all the dirty work instead of all the beauty,

Foreign Press sting Minister

promise and goodwill of this country."

Mr Botha, caught off-guard by the fierce questions flung at him, retorted with angry answers, telling the crowd: "Most of you don't know a thing about South Africa and Africa and don't understand what being an African is all about."

Objected

One of the directors of the recently launched liberal newspapers, "*Vrye Weekblad*", Mr Christo Nel, strongly objected to the Minister's accusation of the ignorance and shallowness of the audience.

"I know what is happening in this country," a defiant Mr Nel said, adding that "we will never be South Africans until I can vote with my fellow black South African."— Sapa.

Pik 'stormed out in fury at newsmen'

CM- trips 7/11/88 (30/64)

JOHANNESBURG. — In a bitter shouting match with journalists, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha described the foreign media as "thieves and enemies" (quoting Paul Kruger) who knew "absolutely nothing" about South Africa.

Mr Botha was involved in a fierce exchange with journalists during a hostile question-and-answer period after his speech at a banquet held by the Foreign Correspondents' Association on Saturday night.

"I am sick and tired of a lot of foreign representatives descending on my country and picking up on all the dirty work instead of all the beauty, promise and goodwill," Mr Botha said after an argumentative exchange with one journalist.

"You don't understand Africa. You don't understand African aspirations. You don't understand African history," he added.

"I accuse you of being superficial. I accuse you of glibly gliding over the African realities of which you know nothing, absolutely nothing," Mr Botha told the audience.

The 400 people attending included foreign and local journalists and their guests, such as US Ambassador Mr Edward Perkins and PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The exchanges had become heated

after Mr Botha was asked why the editor of New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was still in detention.

Asked about the suspension of the Weekly Mail, Mr Botha said he supported the move. He said the newspaper was one of the most "vicious" he had seen in his travels around the world and said it contributed to "more violence in this country".

Asked why members of an extreme right-wing white group were not detained as were many anti-apartheid activists, Mr Botha said: "Don't be stupid. It's not a question of arresting a few people and that's the end of it."

"There are whites in this country who can put together a more efficient violent organization than the ANC."

One of the directors of the recently launched liberal newspaper, "Vrye Weekblad", Mr Christo Nel, strongly objected to the minister's accusations of ignorance and shallowness.

"I know what is happening in this country," said Mr Nel, adding that "We will never be South Africans until I can vote with my fellow black South African in the Cape".

At the end of the fierce impromptu debate, Mr Botha thanked people at his table but refused to allow a vote of thanks to be proposed by a foreign pressman. He stormed out before dessert was served. — Sapa-AP

Weekblad: Funds for a year

JOHANNESBURG. — The first Afrikaans anti-apartheid newspaper hit the streets on Friday, splashing a story of the imminent release of Mr Nelson Mandela on the front page.

By Thursday the editor, Mr Max du Preez, had "mortgaged his life away" to put out the first edition of Vrye Weekblad (Free Weekly), but by Friday sufficient funding had been secured for publication for a full year, a senior member of the staff said.

The publication underscored the deep ideological divisions in the Afrikaner community over the pace of reform and offered for the first time an Afrikaans newspaper that is not staunchly pro-government.

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One staff member said the weekly had already gained support among Afrikaans-speaking academics and some financiers but had "not exactly been met with open arms" among conservatives strongly opposed to equal rights for blacks.

Emerging after Afrikaner academics held controversial talks with the outlawed African National Congress in Dakar last year, the new weekly takes an anti-apartheid posture rivalling that of the Weekly Mail.

On Tuesday the government suspended publication of the Weekly Mail for a month for allegedly waging a "systematic" campaign to promote dissident organizations.

"As a professional journalist, you have only one choice — the English press," Mr Du Preez said. "But that too has frustrations. You are not writing in your own language and for your own community."

Friday's 30 000 copies carried the banner headline "Mandela: A New Era" and said the jailed ANC leader "will definitely be a free man soon".

Quoting unidentified sources, the weekly said Mr P W Botha informed government leaders in Portugal and bankers in Switzerland on a European visit last month that Mr Mandela "will be home before Christmas".

It also reported November 14 as the most widely mentioned date for his release.

Hostile

press

for Pik

Botha

JOHANNESBURG. — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha got a hostile press at the Foreign Correspondents' Association's annual dinner on Saturday night — but it's under debate whether he angrily stormed out.

Reports that Mr Botha left angrily after facing hostile questions, boos and hisses have been denied "in the strongest possible terms" by his department.

"In fact the minister replied to the venomous attacks on himself and the government of SA for more than an hour," a Foreign Affairs statement said yesterday.

Mr Botha left the dinner at 11.45pm, the statement said, after excusing himself because he had further work to do.

"The minister took his leave from Mr Peter Hawthorne, chairman of the FCA, and other guests at his table.

"Mr Hawthorne thanked the minister for making time available, despite his heavy schedule, to the foreign correspondents."

The statement said members of the FCA were dissatisfied at the bad manners of other guests who were not members but "who consisted of SA radicals with an axe to grind and thought this was the occasion to do so".

"The radical guests dominated the dinner to the extent that members of the association did not have a chance to put questions," it said.

Mr Hawthorne said the way the evening had ended was regrettable but a formal apology to Mr Botha was not considered. He said the Foreign Minister had indicated on his arrival that he would have to leave early and he had not stormed out.

He denied Mr Botha's statement that the evening had been taken over by "radicals".

© Pik 'stormed out in fury at newsmen', Page 3

RCHBISHOP Desmond

Tutu keeps challenging opponents of sanctions to give him a better way to change this country than to smash it by sanctions. The answers he gets from liberals are about as clear and as convincing as Chris Hennis's constitutional plans.

Let me say at once that I have done my fair share of covering behind "liberal principles" — the rule of law, the liberty of the individual, free trade — and that I am as uncertain as any other South African liberal about many questions of policy.

In an attempt to come to grips with liberal policy, Business Day recently organised a discussion by a group of the country's truly outstanding liberal thinkers: Charles Simkins, the leading liberal theoretician of our day, Ann Bernstein, the most practical deviser of liberalising policies; Zach de Beer, business-trained leader of the PFP, and Duncan James of Wits to act as a devil's advocate. The discussion was led by John Kane-Berman who has done a quite brilliant job of focusing the work of the Institute of Race Relations on questions of reform, rather than on the old do-gooding charity stuff.

I have just been re-reading the recorded transcript of their discussion, and it leaves me deeply disturbed. There is so much work to be done before liberals can claim to be offering an alternative to the inchoate, but liberalising, reform policies of Chris Hennis.

Any fool can criticise Hennis, and many do. To spell out alternatives — to give the Archbishop a credible alternative to sanctions — is not so simple. I list below a series of questions to which I personally would like to have answers. Others will no doubt add to the list.

3044 B/Day
Won't some liberal please offer Tutu a better policy?

KEN OWEN

how, then, will we avert the tyranny of the majority? A civilised state is judged by its treatment of the weak, of the minorities, but Africa offers no examples. Even Botswana, everybody's favourite African democracy, is fallible on the question of the treatment of the San.

The usual liberal answer is to trot out a bill of rights, but the Business Day discussion group recognised that it is as easy to tear up a bill of rights as to tear up a constitution. They wondered what to do.

Simkins suggested rule by grand coalition — a share in executive power for every group with significant support — but even that does not answer the question. Lebanon used to rule by grand coalition. De Beer tentatively put forward a federal constitution (not a race federation). Even if every federal state was predominantly black, the federal structure might act as a brake on the power of the central government, he thought.

That, I suppose, is true enough, but it hardly goes far enough to persuade nervous white voters to relinquish their desperate hold on power. In fact, the real instruments of power hardly came up for discussion: who would control the armed forces? Or

the police? Or the tax collectors? Should South Africa, like the old Dutch States-General, base a separate army in each state, to be committed to battle only if that state agreed? Should we have a police force in each state, assisted by a weak but expert federal investigative division like Scotland Yard or the FBI? Should the tax base be divided in order to weaken the central government?

How, indeed, would the borders of the federal states be drawn? Do we smash the Bantustans (and at what cost?) or institutionalise them as components of a federal system?

It is all very well to pretend that the solution would be thrashed out at a national convention, but that is a cop-out. It is, after all, the function of political parties to define choices, and to present them to the electorate.

Let's change the subject entirely, to questions of wealth distribution. Not even communists, these days, argue that it is just to give equal rewards for unequal effort. (The communist slogan, used to say

"From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." Mikhail Gorbachev, in his book on perestroika, modifies the slogan to say: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work.")

But socialists still peddle the big lie that capitalism operates by "trickle-down", in fact, it operates by what might be called "lift-up" because it depends on economic growth to create opportunities and to change the relationships between classes of people.

In all Western societies, there is a real question how much of the national resources must be devoted to welfare and how much to growth. In South Africa, the question is hardly mentioned, not even by liberals.

Innes takes refuge behind that meaningless phrase, the "mixed economy" (all economies are "mixed"), and Simkins resorts to the sophisticated idea formulated by John Rawls that the society must be organised to maximise the benefit to the least well-off people. He does not say how.

As political thinking, this sort of thing is just appalling. What growth rate should South Africa aim to achieve? Two percent, five, or ten? If like Taiwan and Japan and

several other countries, we achieved a growth of ten percent a year, our wealth would double in seven years, and the poor would be twice as wealthy (without any redistribution) as they are today. No welfare system known to man can match that performance.

Why, then, don't liberals ask what must be done to achieve that growth rate? What savings rate is needed? What level of consumption? What infrastructural development? How would a liberal government overcome a shortage of black teachers? What kind of education? How much tax is appropriate? Etc.

The Business Day discussion group even showed a marked ambivalence on land issues, insisting at one point (quite correctly) that racial prohibitions on land ownership were intolerable, but searching at another point for ways to protect black landowners against being "bought out" by white agri-business.

The liberals cry for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, and that is also correct, but except for Tony Leon's young Progs in Johannesburg, they have given minimal attention to the problems of transition. What, if anything, should be done to stabilise land prices in suburbs which attract large-scale settlement? Liberals don't say, and they don't seem to care.

Indeed, it sometimes seems to me that the liberal discourse is as callous towards the fears and needs of poorer whites as the Nationalists are towards blacks. That may be morally justifiable, though I doubt it, but so long as whites have a meaningful vote and blacks do not, it is disastrous at election time to give an impression of disregard for legitimate white interests.

Anyway, it is very hard to see why Archbishop Tutu should abandon his destructive course of action if no liberal — among all the liberals who condemn sanctions — can persuade him that liberal policies can secure for all South Africans the liberty, the security, and the prosperity which they all seek.

Security is top Nat priority

304A

Johannesburg's management committee, or the city's "cabinet", was reshuffled after last month's municipal elections and Municipal Reporter, SHIRLEY WOODGATE, posed identical questions to the ruling National Party committee and the opposition Progressive Federal Party's shadow committee to give readers an idea what they can reasonably expect in the next five years, or what they might have had under PFP control.

Three top priorities:

- Improved security, which means the safety of residents in their homes, on the streets and in parks. It's probably the single most important focus of the NPP as urbanisation sees thousands of people from the rural areas flocking to the cities. We are attending to this matter on an on-going basis.
- Improved race relations is vital if Johannesburg is to grow and prosper. We have a total commitment to the Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council where councillors of all races from all towns in our region discuss the upgrading of black townships such as Soweto.
- The progress and improvement of Hillbrow is high on our priority list which is proved by our establishment of a high-powered working group in the area.

Plans for improving security in the city:

- The NP is committed to the increase of the security manpower within the limits of the city's finances, as agreed to by all parties in the latest budget. We are urgently negotiating with the Government for the granting of full peace officer's powers to all council security personnel similar to those recently granted to traffic officers.
- We want closer identification in the field of a supportive role with the national security forces in security and crime prevention matters, and the council wants to encourage and work more closely with the neighbourhood and business watches.

Policy on bus apartheid:

- The council will act on the recommendations of the experimental bus project presently being run by the Department of Transport on routes in the northern suburbs.
- With opinions strongly divided on this highly sensitive matter, we will only act in the most responsible manner by relying on the findings of a professional investigation.
- We provided R5.5 million in this year's budget for mini-buses and new buses on city routes.

Group Areas Act:

- As the present Group Areas Act stands the council has no power to implement any function in respect of the Act.

● The National Party received a clear mandate from the voters and it can therefore be accepted the council will stick to NP policies.

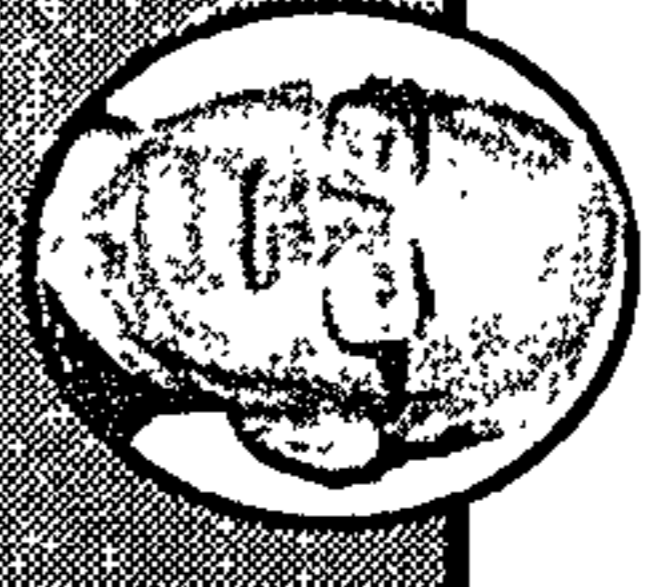
● The problems of Hillbrow are already being attended to, specifically through the Working Group comprising all disciplines in the State and council departments attending to problems of the area since May this year.



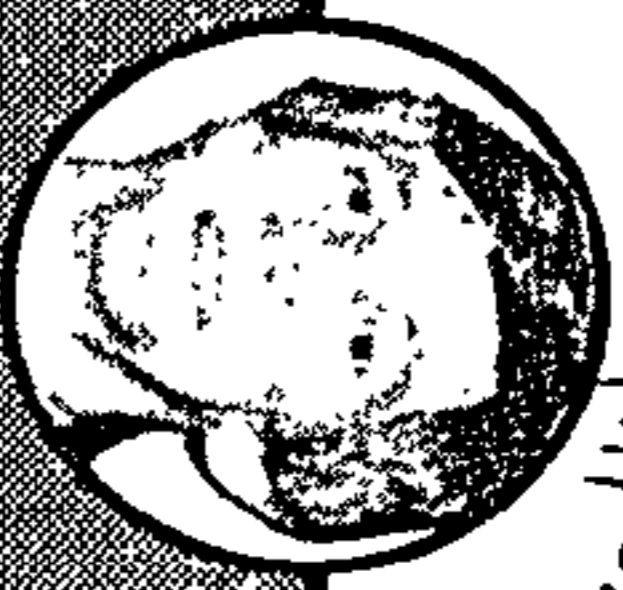
● Ernie Fabel (50), chairman of Transport and Environment Committee, a University of the Witwatersrand-trained architect, lives in Christown, Johannesburg where he has headed his own firm which was partly responsible for designing the Civic Centre and received an Institute of Architects award for House Schreuder in 1975. Was elected to council in 1977, mayor in 1985. Involved with planning the city's centenary celebrations, serves on school and church committees.



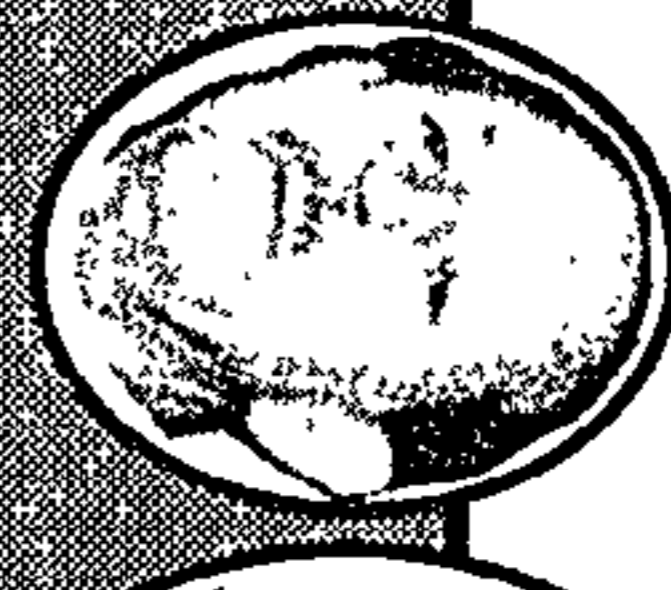
● Mrs Marietta Marx (36), chairman of the Health and Environment Committee, and the first woman to be elected to Johannesburg's management committee. Lives in Auckland Park, has a masters degree in biochemistry from the Rand Afrikaans University, actively involved in many Afrikaans cultural organisations, serving on the youth council of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings, and founder of Jong Dames Dinamiek in 1977. The former MPPC for Johannesburg West, she sits on the JG Strijdom Hospital board and is a council member of the Ann Latsky Nurses College and lives in Auckland Park.



● Cecil Lang (62) retired accountant, chairman of the Culture and Recreation Committee, elected to council in 1969, became mayor in 1981/2 and lives in Robertsham. Has served on numerous council and municipal committees, the Bursaries and Loans Committee of the Rand Afrikaans University and various technical college committees.



● Management committee chairman, Danie van Zyl (50), earth and roadworks contractor, a qualified diesel mechanic who started in business aged 18 as a self-employed transport and demolition contractor. In 1967 became Johannesburg's youngest city councillor, at age 44 the youngest mayor, later the youngest deputy chairman of management committee and last week the youngest chairman. A former MPPC, he serves on various church and school committees and on major council committees, president of the Transvaal Municipal Association, appointed to the National Energy Board and sits on the controlling body of the Technikon RSA. Lives in Greywood.



● Jan Burger (67) is a retired marketing manager, with a UNISA secretary and marketing certificate, who retains the chairmanship of Housing and Utilities Committee. First elected to council in 1967, MPPC for Turfontein from 1974 to 1986, former long serving chairman of church and school bodies in Turfontein where he lives.



● Eddy Magid (61), businessman and chairman of Town Planning Committee, mayor in 1984 when he raised a record R1.5 million for the Johannesburg, Childrens' Home. He entered the city council from the executive of the Blackbeath Ratepayers' Association which fell under the control of the Peri Urban Board in the 1950s. Has previously served on the management committee and chaired the town planning committee from 1974 to 1981. Lives in Blackbeath.

National Party Management Committee

Relations with neighbouring towns:

● Since the implementation of the RSC Act I have been actively discussing the implementation of this law with neighbouring black and white towns. Much goodwill has been generated and the Johannesburg/Soweto relationship is presently being handled by a co-ordinating committee.

STW
2/11/85

On 11 respect of the Act... which are presently before the President's Council become law, a local authority will only be consulted by the State but will have no powers to implement the provisions of the Bill.

● The council is already looking at certain by-laws to ensure stricter compliance of standards.
 ● Major road planning:
 ● Johannesburg is the core city for the local

Urban Transport Fund from the National Road Fund.
 ● Squatting in Johannesburg:
 ● This city does not experience a squatter problem.

● We will continue with this vital liaison, at the same time continue rendering those services which have been contracted by Soweto to our city council.

PFP proposes privatisation

Spek 21/11/88

304A

Three top priorities:

● Restore sound management and financial probity for the running of the city. We propose aggressive privatisation to release assets and funds to encourage growth of the city.

● Maximise public participation in the planning process and curb the accumulation of secret powers which are the unfortunate hallmark of city management over the last decade.

● Create the foundation for a post-apartheid Johannesburg based on non-racial democratic principles by starting an active process of desegregation of facilities and a simultaneous maintenance of standards.

● Plans for improving security and crime prevention in the city:

● The Traffic and Security Department should be extended into a municipal police force to actively curb residential crime by reintroducing street patrols in the suburbs.

● Some 10 billion is annually allocated to the police and defence departments by the Government but too little of this has filtered into the urban areas and resources need to be urgently reallocated for this purpose.

● The council has already accepted our proposal that service in the municipal police force be an alternative to conscription.

● An early PFP priority would be more wardens for the city's 600 parks.

Policy on bus apartheid:

● We would immediately desegregate the bus service and pay attention to the question of tariffs and charges.

● Initially it will be necessary to have a low-cost and higher-cost service running on the same routes to offer consumers an option.

● With an aggressive marketing programme and a more efficient service with the introduction of minibuses on selected routes it will be possible in a relatively short time to provide one service at a reduced fare.

Group Areas Act:

● Must be scrapped in its entirety throughout the country or at least in the major metropolitan areas.

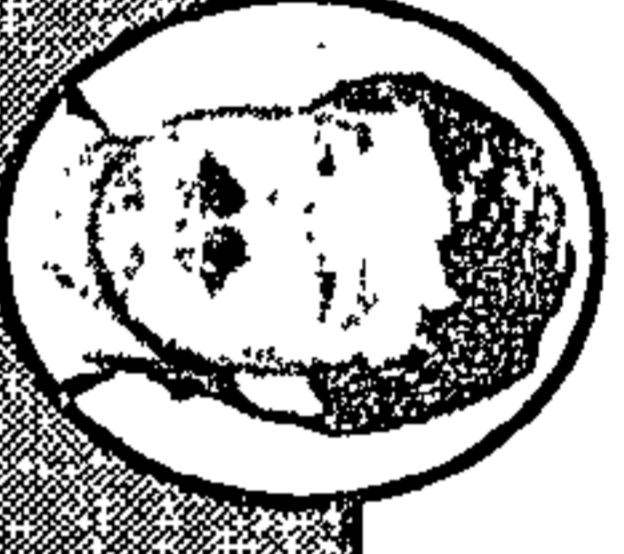
● Simultaneously we will enforce residential standards relating to noise, health, sanitation and density. We will ensure that capital funds are provided for areas suffering from urban blight.

Major road planning:

● Road and land use must be planned together, with what is determined by CBD develop-



● Les Dobby (66) director of companies and businessman lives in Bellevue. Bomber pilot with the SAAF 1939-1945, founder member of the PFP and member of numerous associations, school and fund raising organisations. Founder chairman of the Johannesburg African Music Society, executive member and honorary officer of the South African Zionist Federation and honorary vice president of SA Cape Coloured ex-vice Legion and past Old Bill of Memorable Order of Tin Hats (Moby).



● Ian Davidson (36) a BA, Lib graduate from the University of the Witwatersrand, stockbroker and director of a firm on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Has been a member of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce Local Government Committee, served on council committees and was recently co-opted to the Central Business District Association. Lives in Westdene.



● Tony Leon (31), leader of the PFP and their shadow management committee leader, an attorney and lecturer in constitutional law at the University of the Witwatersrand. Educated at Kearney College and Wits. Where he served in various student posts including four terms on the Wits SRC, acting as vice president in 1980 and president of the Law Students Council in 1982. Served on legal and political committees. Former Transvaal Youth leader of the Progressive Federal Party and currently on the Committee of the Lawyers for Human Rights organisation and the PFP Federal Executive. Lives in Illovo.



● Izy Schlapobersky (72) businessman and former mayor of BComm University of the Witwatersrand, F.S. Co (Bristol) and lives in Mountain View. Chairman of Pacific Oil for 37 years and director of insurance broking firm, federal executive member of South African Jewish Board of Deputies and former management committee member. Sits on the governing councils of Athlone and Observatory Girls' High schools. Has been awarded the Freedom of the City of Athens (Greece) and North York in Toronto.



● Cecil Bass (35) a chartered accountant and property developer heading his own company. In addition to serving on various council and accounting committees he is the chairman of the Hillbrow Recreation Centre, was a Rotary member and while obtaining a B.Acc at the University of the Witwatersrand was on the Wits Football Club committee and several student bodies. Ran the Comrades Marathon in 1981 and lives in Glen Hazel.



● Christopher Newton Thompson (69) retired businessman living in Dunkeld. Educated at Bishops and Cambridge University and played rugby for England, served as a major in charge of a British tank squadron in North Africa, later in Italy where he was awarded the MC. A national vice president of Neighbourhood Watch, involved with private secondary school education in southern Africa, and a founder and council member of Watford School in Swaziland and Maru a Pula School in Botswana. Vice chairman of St George's Home in Bedfordview, a founder member of the governing council of St Barnabus College in Bosmont.

Progressive Federal Party shadow Management Committee

Graphic by Liz Warden

ments and the mass transit rail system dilating road requirements. Good planning can only be achieved by allowing the people who use the roads to be part of decision making.

Squatting in Johannesburg:

● We would readily identify suitable land for squatting on a rational and geographic basis

unencumbered by the Group Areas Act. We will address the chronic vagrancy problem by at least providing night shelters for Johannesburg's 3 000 vagrants.

Relations with neighbouring towns:

● Johannesburg presently provides services for Soweto and other satellite townships and

as the HSC has not noticeably altered the chronic problems of black local authorities, the PFP would use Johannesburg's considerable financial leverage with for example Soweto to encourage negotiation politics in the various communities so that the crippling rent and service boycotts could be ended.

Kissinger guidelines on a solution for SA

STE 7/11/88

304A

Former Nobel Peace Prize winner Dr Henry Kissinger says South Africa's problems are too complex for a simple parliamentary solution. These Anders reports on the advice Dr Kissinger has for presidential candidate Mr George Bush.

BOSTON — Former United States Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, has spoken briefly about the advice he would give Vice-President Mr George Bush on how his administration should handle the South Africa issue.

Speaking at a press conference in support of Mr Bush's presidential campaign, Dr Kissinger said the United States should come out with philosophical guidelines to reconcile the aspirations of all South Africans.

Dr Kissinger said he saw the South Africa question as two issues. One was racial segregation, or apartheid, which the American tradition had always opposed.

The other was power sharing.

"In a country like that where there are eight tribes, two white tribes, Indians and coloureds, there must be a different content than that of the European parliamentary system that is based on homogenous calculations.

"And therefore if one is for power-sharing as I would be, one must come out with some philosophical guidelines on how one can reconcile the aspirations of the popular base like the American House of Representatives

with other Houses representing the different categories of communities.

He said the tactics to be used in dealing with South Africa "would have to be very complex".

He said if he was asked to advise Mr Bush, he would recommend a broad-base reconciliation with general power sharing.

Dr Kissinger would not rule out the possibility that he would play a role in a future Bush administration although he said the probability seemed "extremely unlikely".

The former Nobel Peace Prize winner said he had regularly advised Mr Bush during the campaign and briefed him on foreign policy.

He was scathing in his criticism of Governor Michael Dukakis.

Dr Kissinger said he was in fundamental disagreement with the Democratic presidential candidate's view on United States foreign policy and he did not believe an inexperienced person should be leading the United States at this time.

"The structure of the world has changed from when Ronald Reagan came into power."

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Star 2/11/64 (300A)

Society's price for the right to speak

By Karen MacGregor

DURBAN — Society pays a price for freedom. But a far greater price is exacted when freedom of expression is denied, and ignorance, suspicion and fear reign.

This is the view of Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town.

He gave his views at a conference on the "Right to Speak" in Durban last week. It was called by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

He said that when freedom of speech was suppressed, "truth and certainty go out the window".

"How can one ensure that what one hears or reads is true if the methods used to check those truths are not available?"

Dr Saunders said that while democracy had found its best expression in the United States, Western Europe, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and Japan, "The majority of the world's population does not live under democratic systems. With few exceptions, post-colonial Africa

has little semblance of democracy. In South Africa the white population has had the benefit of a form of democratic system that has been denied to blacks.

"A democratic state can't have partial democracy. There cannot be government by part of the people in a democratic system.

"While, as in all systems, there is much to criticise in a democracy, it is certainly the best system yet devised by man to ensure just and fair government and the proper ordering of society, and it is the most secure way to protect the right to speak."

Dr Saunders said the right to speak and freedom of expression were of vital importance for the well-being of mankind.

He quoted Mr Justice Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court who, in 1927, wrote that those who won America's independence "believed that freedom to think as you will, and to speak as you think, are indispensable to the discovery and spread of the truth."

Censorship under attack

White 'shield from reality'

Star 7/11/88

3041A

Own Correspondent *AS*

DURBAN — South African society was devastated by censorship, Mr Gilbert Marcus of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, told a conference in Durban at the weekend.

The conference — on "the right to speak" — was organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative For South Africa.

Mr Marcus said: "Censorship operates to shield and protect white South Africa from the reality that the majority of the population are living in squalor and poverty and years of oppression are giving vent to violent anger of an unprecedented scale.

"Censorship in its many guises ensures that the white population is generally kept ignorant of the root causes of black anger and black aspirations for a society free of white domination.

"Censorship serves to preserve prejudices, myths and misconceptions which have been carefully nurtured over many decades. In its application, I fear it has very little to do with genuine state security," Mr Marcus said.

He described censorship as a calcu-

lated form of thought control which served to bolster the state. With more than 100 laws bearing on censorship, "there are few editors who do not have criminal convictions for contravening the censorship laws".

Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, said a state could not be partially democratic. "You cannot have partial pregnancy," he said.

Without freedom of speech, there could be neither a democracy nor a secure future "for any of us".

Mr J M Singh, former Natal Indian Congress leader, spoke of his hardships in being banned for 25 years.

He said that restrictions and security legislation written into the statute book by a government or party in power "could remain when the party loses power".

In turn the same restrictions could be applied to the present erstwhile leaders. This had happened in Zimbabwe where Mr Ian Smith fell foul of laws he had used against his opponents.

People who valued personal freedom had a duty to campaign for the repeal of the Internal Security Act and Public Safety Act "if we are to save South Africa and democracy".

ARGUS 7/11/88 203 304A

Foreign media 'thieves, enemies'

JOHANNESBURG. — In a bitter shouting match with journalists, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha described the foreign media as "thieves and enemies" who know "absolutely nothing" about South Africa.

Mr Botha held the raucous exchange with journalists during a hostile question-and-answer period after his speech at a Saturday night dinner given by the Foreign Correspondents Association.

"I am sick and tired of a lot of foreign representatives descending on my country and picking up on all the dirty work instead of all the beauty, promise and goodwill," Mr Botha said after an argumentative exchange with one journalist.

"You don't understand Africa. You don't understand African aspirations. You don't understand African history."



Mr Pik Botha

The 400 people attending included foreign and local journalists and their guests, such as US ambassador Edward Perkins.

"I accuse you of being superficial. I accuse you of glibly gliding over the African realities of which you know nothing, absolutely nothing," Mr Botha said.

Asked about last week's suspension of the Weekly Mail newspaper, Mr Botha said he supported the move. He described the newspaper as one of the most "vicious" he had seen and it contributed to "more violence in this country."

At the end of the hour-long impromptu debate, the host offered to thank Mr Botha, but he refused to accept. Instead he returned from his seat to the podium and quoted a speech by Paul Kruger, formerly President of the Transvaal

"(Kruger's) opening words were, 'friends, citizens, thieves and enemies.' And that is how I look at you this evening." The audience responded with boos, hisses and shouts of "go home." Mr Botha left shortly afterward, before desert was served.

● A spokesman for Mr Botha said last night the Minister did not walk out of the dinner. He said Mr Botha left near midnight after excusing himself because he had other work to do. — Sapa-AP and The Argus Political Staff.

BIG CHALLENGE

304A

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday that the Government was faced with a challenge to convince voters that there was need for reform as well as to meet the legitimate demands of other groups.

He was addressing journalists at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, during the launching of his department's publication, *Reform and Future*.

The publication is intended to show how far the Government has gone with its reform process.

Mr Heunis said provision had to be made for the "possible appointments" of members of the black community to Parliament. He said the legislation dealing with the subject was to be tabled during the next session of Parliament.

"There is no other way but that the future dispensation for South

'Appointment of blacks to Parliament next year'

By ALINAH DUBE

Africa be worked out between all groups, parties and organisations by means of negotiation, dialogue and consultation with each other.

We expressly wanted to steer away from any semblance of prescriptive behaviour and one-sided action," he said.

Asked if black town councillors qualified for the proposed position of a black representative in Parliament, the Minister agreed. He told reporters that by taking part in the recent municipal elections, councillors have "already come forward" and "they will have to be acknowledged".

Replying to a question whether people such as the African National

Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, were likely to be consulted during the reform process, Mr Heunis said: "I do not want to speculate. You know Mr Mandela's position that he is under incarceration by the Government."

Pik was not angry — officer

A MEMBER of the Minister of Foreign Affairs' staff who attended the Foreign Correspondent Association dinner together with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, in Johannesburg on Saturday night, has denied a report that the Minister angrily left the dinner.

"In fact, the Minister replied to the venomous attacks that were made on him and on the South African Government for more than an hour."

"At the start of question time, a black South African complimented the Minister, by way of a question, for his understanding of the aspirations of black South Africans as well as for his understanding of the problems facing Africa as a whole."

The staff member says that the questioners could not tolerate the calm and factual manner in which the Minister replied to their questions and consequently resorted to hisses and boos.

"There was much dissatisfaction among members of the Foreign Correspondents Associa-

tion on account of the bad manners expressed by the other guests, who were not members of the association, but who consisted of South African radicals with an

axe to grind and who thought that this was the occasion to do so."

According to the staff member, the radical guests dominated the dinner. — Sapa. 2047

Sowetan 8/11/62

President's Council to consider disputed Bills

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The President's Council will sit from tomorrow until Friday to consider two controversial Bills which were deadlocked in Parliament earlier this year.

They provide for free settlement areas and for local government in such areas. People of all race groups may own and occupy property in the areas.

Both Bills were rejected by the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, but passed by the House of Assembly in the last session of Parliament.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, referred the legislation to the President's Council.

Because the council is dominated by the National Party, it is a foregone conclusion Mr Botha will be asked to sign the Bills as passed by the Assembly.

Two other Bills, the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, will be dealt with by the council in December.

Government sources say the President's Council will soften penalties in the group areas legislation.

Plan to include municipal leaders

Heunis to entice blacks into govt

Stav
8/11/88
304A

Own Correspondent

A new constitution should provide for the appointment of black leaders to the Government, including leaders elected during the recent municipal elections, according to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

"The new constitution must provide for the appointment of black leaders in the Government. This will be negotiated during the next parliamentary sitting," Mr Heunis said.

Counters speculation

After weathering a week of controversy, Mr Heunis countered speculation that he was losing his portfolio by outlining the Government's future reform process during a press conference at the Union Buildings.

According to Mr Heunis the reform process involved negotiation and the Government's primary task was to bring black leaders together around a conference table to discuss a new constitution for South Africa.

Referring to the controversy surrounding the sacking of two senior Department of Constitutional Development and Planning officials, Mr Heunis said that he had no knowledge of any secret contact between the African National Congress and the officials.

He also said the same rules applied to his officials as those applied to him — they may speak to all leaders who want a peaceful solution for South Africa.

"I know some UDF leaders want a peaceful solution and I would welcome talks between them and myself or my officials," the Minister said.

Mr Heunis said recent events such as the decrease in violence, the active participation of communities in the municipal elections and discussions he had had with black leaders, including Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had created a new spirit of optimism about reform.

The Government was not in favour of unilateral reform and "we expressly want to steer away from any semblance of prescriptive behaviour and one-sided action", Mr Heunis said.

Mr Heunis, however, made it clear that the Government did not believe the setting of conditions would serve any purpose in finding constitutional solutions.

No one man, one vote

"If black leaders have conditions, the place to discuss them is at the conference table and not to shout at each other in the press," Mr Heunis said.

Although some leaders were in favour of a one man, one vote system, Mr Heunis said the Government was opposed to such a system and the purpose of discussions with black leaders would be to reach a compromise between these two options.

Asked about the possible release of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Heunis said: "I cannot comment on that until a final decision has been taken."

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NP appeals to 'territories' to join talks

9/11/88
30/11/88

PRETORIA. — The government was determined to involve inhabitants of the self-governing territories in decision-making on national matters, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Addressing a conference for representatives from the self-governing territories, he said these territories could take their rightful place as regional governments within Southern Africa.

"The government of the RSA recognises the essential role played by your governments within the political system and it is for that reason that the Promotion of Constitutional Development Act provides that your governments should each have two represen-

tatives in the negotiating forum that is to be established," Mr Heunis said.

"Provision is also made for a representative of the self-governing territories to act as co-chairman of the negotiating forum."

Regional governments in one form or another would remain part of the political system in the republic.

"It is a healthy principle and can only lead to positive results," Mr Heunis said.

Self-governing territories had not only proved themselves in the socio-economic fields, but also in the constitutional field, in which they had extended democratic processes to their inhabitants in a responsible manner.

Representatives from Mr Heunis's department and the Departments of Manpower and Home Affairs participated in the conference, which ends today. — Sapa

copy Times 9/11/88

Press chief resigns over Pik heckling

306A

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of the Foreign Correspondents' Association resigned yesterday because of hot-tempered exchanges between reporters and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at the organisation's annual banquet.

Mr Peter Hawthorne, a correspondent for Time magazine, said he had been involved in inviting Mr Botha to address the banquet on Saturday and felt responsible for the behaviour of some of the audience.

Mr Botha delivered a speech at the banquet, then fielded questions from some of the 300 diners in a session punctuated by hisses, heckling and bitter exchanges.

Several of the exchanges involved South Africans who were invited to the dinner as guests and were not members of the correspondents' association.

However, Mr Botha directed several scathing remarks at foreign journalists, saying at one point: "I accuse you of being superficial. I accuse you of

gliding glibly over African realities of which you know nothing."

Among the topics raised by the questioners were the government's temporary ban of the Weekly Mail newspaper, its policies of racial separation and the prolonged detention without trial of newspaper editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Board members of the correspondents' association, which has more than 100 members, issued a statement on Monday expressing regret at the incidents and dissociating themselves from "actions that broke the standards of professional conduct or that represented a discourtesy to the invited speaker".

Mr Hawthorne, in his statement yesterday, said: "There are no more than a couple of dozen people based in South Africa who are truly foreign correspondents worthy of an association."

Some newspaper editorials yesterday depicted foreign journalists in SA as hostile and ill-mannered.

Beeld described the foreign press corps as "a bunch of privileged and intolerant know-it-alls". — Sapa-AP

Leaders in SA greet election results with relief

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

South African parliamentary leaders today greeted the outcome of the American presidential elections with relief, but sounded a note of caution that increased Democratic majorities in Congress did not mean South Africa had got off the hook as far as sanctions were concerned.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, sent a telegram of congratulations to the president-elect, Mr George Bush, and Mrs Bush today minutes after it became apparent that the vice-president had won the election.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha sent a telegram to the vice-president-elect, Mr Dan Quayle, and Mrs Quayle.

In his message, President Botha congratulated Mr Bush on behalf of the people of South Africa.

Mr Pik Botha told Mr Quayle he was confident the vice-president-elect would not only contribute to the prosperity of his country, but also to the well-being of the international community.

In his comments to South Africa today, Mr Pik Botha said a Bush victory was more advantageous than a Dukakis triumph would have been for a realistic solution to the problem of the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

He said: "I have reason to believe Mr Bush will continue the Reagan administration standpoint on the withdrawal of Cuban troops."

SUPPORT

"He is also likely to continue US support for Unita. Mr Bush has on occasion declared he favoured the support of Unita until the MPLA government recognised that national reconciliation in Angola must take place and that political representation is given to all Angolans."

The Minister added that Mr Bush would have to contend with a Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate.

The possibility could not be excluded that the proponents of sanctions in the Congress would test Mr Bush on the issue early in his administration.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "It is clear that a Republican victory means that pressure on South Africa will be somewhat less intense than would have been the case had Dukakis won."

"However, there isn't any doubt that a Bush administration will be fully committed to contributing towards liberal change in South Africa."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "I rather expected Mr Bush would win. However, we should bear in mind that the US is no friend of South Africa's with its policy of sanctions and boycotts."

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Westdene Nats to ask the President for a state lottery

Nov 9/11/87

3048

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The State President, Mr P W Botha, is to be asked at next week's Transvaal National Party congress to consider introducing a state lottery to help decrease medical and welfare costs.

A resolution by the Westdene divisional council, the constituency of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, on the agenda for the congress, calls for a lottery in the light of the fact that millions of rands are gambled away by South Africans in neighbouring states.

National Party policy has consistently been opposed to lotteries and gambling. The Defence Bonus Bond scheme was withdrawn a few years ago because of church opposition to its lottery aspects (even though no money could be lost).

President Botha is expected to reply to the resolution on Tuesday, the day

after he opens the congress at a public meeting in the Pretoria City Hall.

The Transvaal congress is the last of this year's National Party provincial congresses.

Almost the first item in the 60-page agenda, released yesterday, is a full-page motion of thanks to President Botha, signed by the divisional councils of 56 of the Transvaal's 76 constituencies.

Evidently the safest Nationalist seat in the province is that of Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, which, according to the agenda, raised R200 242 for the party's coffers last year.

A significant motion on the agenda is one declaring full support for Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis and his deputy, Mr Roelf Meyer, for the progress made with the implementation of the new constitutional dispensation in spite of unjustified criticism.

A number of resolutions reflect a hard-line mood by the NP.

Germiston, for example, is calling on the Government to place curbs on universities which use taxpayers' money to practise anti-South African activities.

Pretoria East calls for action to be taken against persons who plead for economic and sports boycotts and sanctions against South Africa and for the law to be applied immediately.

Johannesburg North wants the passports of people who undermine the interests of South Africa to be withdrawn and media reports about them curtailed.

Sandton calls on the Finance Minister to give urgent attention to the persistently high level of Government spending.

Labour Party stonewall threat

Parliament faces stormy 1989 session

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Next year's session of Parliament could be chaotic as the Labour Party steps up its protests against the Group Areas Act.

A top-level meeting between leaders of the Labour Party and the National Party is scheduled for December 6. Unless it can produce accord between them, the next session could be as acrimonious and disruptive as were the closing months of this year's session.

Reform proposals considered by the Government, such as provisions for the 1991 Black Cabinet and in

the President's Council, could be thwarted.

The prospects for reconciliation between the Government and the LP are likely to continue to be bleak, so that co-operation on legislation the Government needs to amend the Constitution to extend the life of the House of Assembly may not be forthcoming.

The Government may also not get Labour's co-operation on legislation to extend the size of Parliament, which is needed to correct imbalances in provincial representation in the House of Assembly.

The Labour Party will assess on a day-to-day basis whether to block legislation during the coming session, the party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said today.

He was approached to clarify the threat made by a Labour Party member of the President's

Council, Mr Willie Ross, that if the Government proceeded with controversial group areas legislation, his party would block every item of legislation during the next session of Parliament.

Mr Ross made the threat during yesterday's debate on the Free Settlement Areas Bill in the President's Council.

Mr Hendrickse took a more cautious line today, saying the party could not commit itself now to a policy of rejecting every item of legislation next year.

The party would also decide whether it would be taking part in the President's Council debate next month on the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill (which were also rejected by the minority Houses).

Election

On the question of amending the Constitution to postpone the next white parliamentary election, he said an early election suited Labour and he knew of no new attempts to postpone elections.

Party sources have indicated it is highly unlikely that Labour will pull out of Parliament at this stage.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis today said it was unclear what Labour's intentions were.

He said he understood it when people were opposed to Bills.

However, he said, they had ample opportunity to show their opposition to Bills either verbally or by voting against them in Parliament and in the President's Council.

Mr Heunis declined to comment on a statement by the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, that it was untrue that he and Mr Heunis had met to negotiate about reform.

Policeman, two ANC men die in gunfight

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Two ANC members were shot dead and a security policeman killed in a gunfight yesterday in Orlando West, Soweto — the third reported incident involving terror suspects in the past 11 days.

A third suspect was arrested at the scene of the battle.

Police said the three entered South Africa through Botswana. They are investigating information that the group were to return to Botswana after completing an unspecified mission.

Yesterday's clash happened only two days after police cornered and shot dead an insurgent, trained in Angola, linked to the Witbank car bomb and to the 1981 rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte in Vosloorus on the East Rand.

The policeman killed in yesterday's shoot-out was explosives expert Sergeant Fanie Pretorius (26) of the Soweto police. He leaves his wife Elize, who is a warrant officer stationed at John Vorster Square in Johannesburg and his parents.

Sergeant Pretorius was hit twice in the chest and once in the stomach, by shots apparently fired from a Soviet-made AK-47 assault rifle.

One of the suspects was killed during the 4.30 pm clash, while the second later died in hospital.

Police seized a quantity of Soviet-made arms after the incident but would not reveal the contents of the cache.

An intensive follow-up operation was today under way in the township, but a police spokesman said no further arrests or contacts were made.

A Pretoria spokesman said police yesterday received information that a terrorist group was hiding out in a house in Orlando West. This information was acted upon but as police approached the house they were shot at by the occupants. Sergeant Pretorius was hit.

His colleagues returned the fire and a grenade was hurled into the house.

A man was killed and another wounded inside the house.

'Sergeant did his best for country'

Pretoria Bureau

The family of the policeman who was killed in a shoot-out in Orlando West last night was comforted by the knowledge he had done his best for his country, said his sister, Sergeant Rowena Pretorius, today.

Sergeant SC (Fanie) Pretorius (26) was hit by three bullets in a clash with a group of alleged terrorists.

Sergeant Rowena Pretorius, an instructor at the Pretoria Police College, said the family fully understood his work and the risks involved because they were also in the police force.

Fanie's wife, Warrant-officer Elize Pretorius, was stationed at John Vorster Square, Johannesburg, and his father Mr Sakkie Pretorius, of Hamanskraal, retired from the force two years ago.

She said though the family was devastated by its loss, everyone was satisfied Sergeant Pretorius had died while "doing his best for his country".

"We bear no hate or desire for revenge and though it is difficult to accept his death, it is not for us to question why," she said.

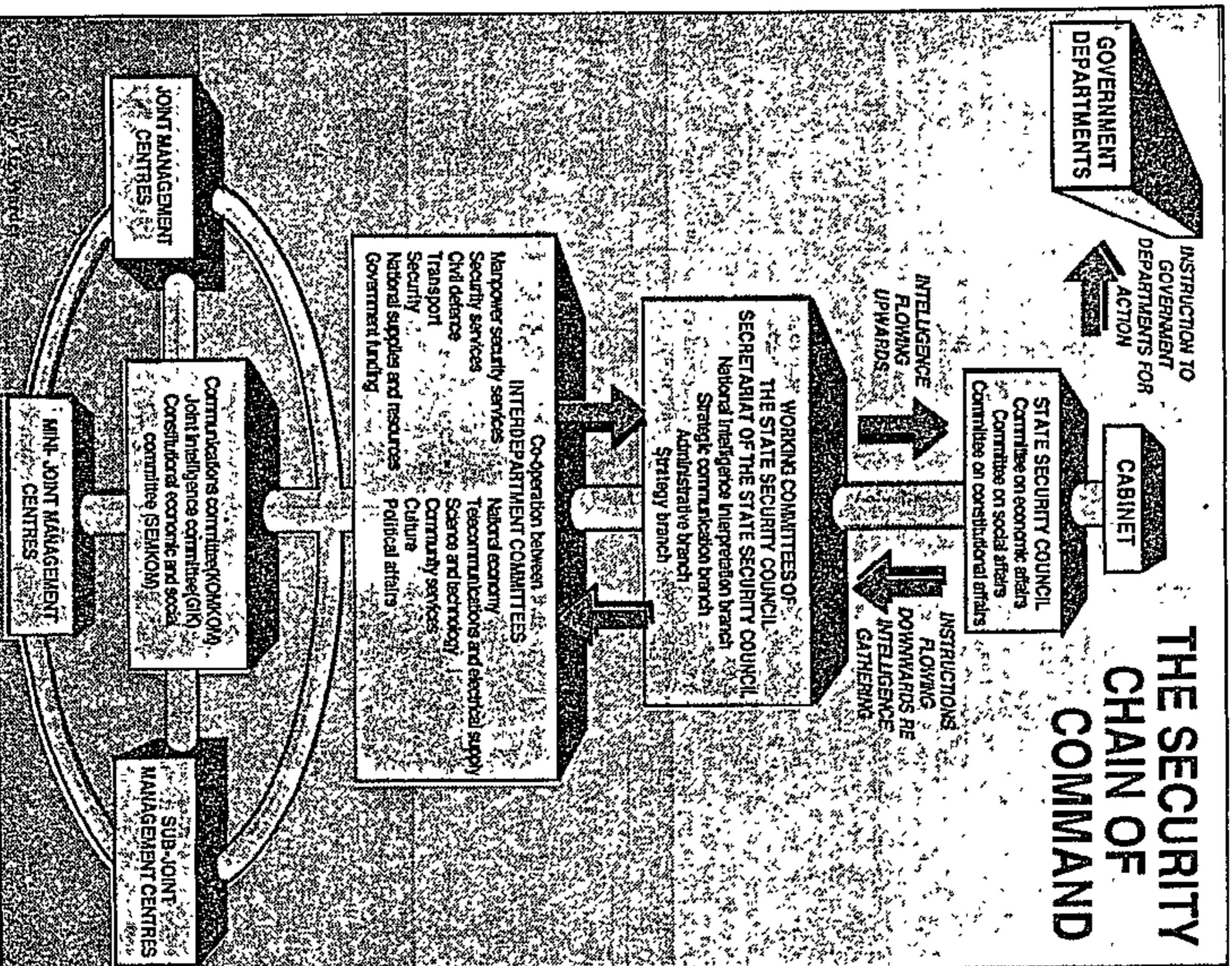
How SA fights the 'total onslaught'

Security system is based on methods devised in battle by a French general

Wessel Ebersohn examines "total strategy". This is an edited version of an article in Leadership magazine.

See 10/11/84

3044



As shown, the National Security Management System rests heavily on the committee model.

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The National Security Management System rests heavily on the committee model, beloved of French strategic experts.

It also rests on the widely accepted but unprovable assertion that the provision of material comforts to the disfranchised will buy off their inclination to revolt.

Uncomplicated

For some time after the National Party came into power in 1948, security needs were relatively uncomplicated and fairly easily handled.

It was in the early 1960s that things started to unravel. The African National Congress had to be banned, the 90-day detention provision became law and the security police rose to a position of power and prominence previously unknown.

In addition, as African and Asian countries gained independence, the Government came under serious external pressure for the first time.

The need for an extensive system of security management was becoming apparent. Simultaneously, fate brought together the men who were to play major roles in its design. Mr P W Botha became Minister of Defence and began his remarkable association with General Magnus Malan.

The middle 1970s saw the Portuguese revolution sweep away the comfortable buffer the old colonies had formed between this country and Africa. They also saw the townships rise in revolt and Steve Biko's death caused an international outcry.

In the view of Mr Botha and General Malan, they were dealing with an offensive that encompassed pressure from within as well as outside the country. ANC bombings, sports boycotts, riots, United Nations resolutions: they were all part of a multi-dimensional onslaught — or could be seen as such. A multi-dimensional counter-strategy was called for.

It was the military that discovered the prospect for the new strategy and it was General Malan who introduced Mr

Botha to the works of the prophet.

At first glance, Andre Beaufre seems an unlikely sort of prophet. He wore the uniform of a French general and formed his views on the battlefields of World War 2, dealing with the guerrilla offensives of Indo-China and Algeria, and managing the strategic necessities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, of which he was deputy chief of staff.

The term "total strategy" is Beaufre's. In his book, "Introduction to Strategy", Beaufre explains his system: "At the top of the pyramid, and under the direct control of the government... is total strategy, whose task it is to define how total war should be conducted."

"His task is to lay down the object for each specialised category of strategy and the manner in which all — political, economic, diplomatic and military — should be woven together."

Responsive

His thinking struck a responsive chord in men who saw themselves as having outgrown the nationalism of the 1950s and 1960s but were now involved in nothing less than a war. Here was something that suited the time and the South African reality.

They accepted as an absolute rule of strategy Beaufre's interweaving of all resources, political, economic, diplomatic and military.

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would form the core of the counter-offensive, the uncompromising security action that would maintain the calm needed for upliftment and the upliftment that would, in time, remove the need for uncompromising security action.

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He was already trying to restructure the security system. He was also using Beaufre's terminology in his speeches, but it was not until his accession to the position of Head of State in 1979 that the system would be fully developed and implemented.

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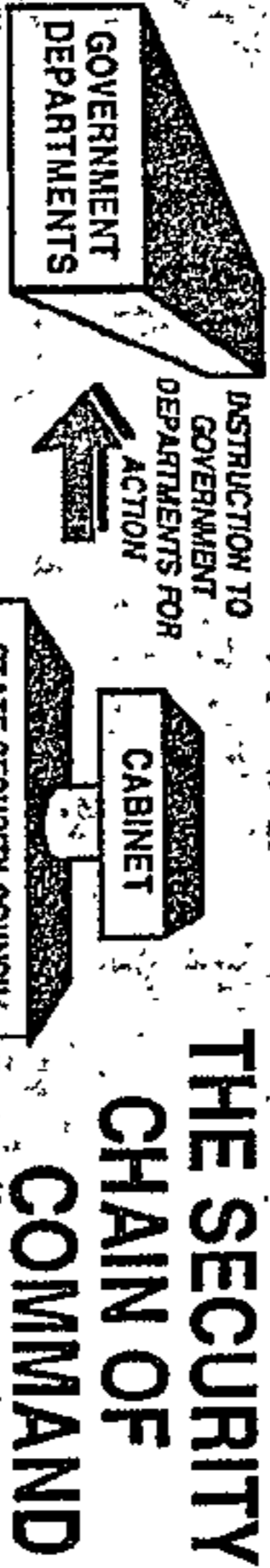
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How SA fights the 'total onslaught'



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THE SECURITY CHAIN OF COMMAND

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UNE SÉCURITÉ

INVESTPRO

Thursday November 10 1988

April last year commissaire on outdoor pursuits, ranging from parachuting to waterskiing, from mountain climbing to bird-watching. But being adventurous is not without its hairy moments, says intrepid adventure author Roger Sinclair (50) who managed to come out unscathed.



those who buy works probably realise that a fixed percentage of every purchase goes to worthy charities. Many buyers are attracted by the colourful exhibitions of works by both amateur and professional artists.

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SA 10/11/88

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CP could double number of seats in next election

By BEN BARNARD

MOST white voters have perceived the recent municipal elections as a battle between the National Party and the Conservative Party.

The Progressive Federal Party and moderate independents played a limited role, with their support concentrated in a few regions. These results have confirmed the impression created by last year's general election: That the PFP has left the centre stage of South African politics.

However, those vociferous critics who have written that party off the stage altogether, were proven wrong: The PFP was wiped out in Pretoria and

humiliated in Pietermaritzburg, but has made some gains elsewhere.

It remains alive and reasonably well, and will continue to make its contribution — albeit from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban only, with maybe a voice or two from the Eastern Cape.

(In East London the NP was thoroughly thrashed. No doubt the links between Mafia gangster Vito Palazzolo and local Nat MP Peet de Pontes, as well as Nat figures such as former mayor Robbie de Lange, took their toll.) Smaller moderate groupings, outside the PFP, have produced

a few strings of local interest (Denis Worrall still seems to be on course in Somerset West), but they remain just that: small moderate groupings.

So, on to the main white battlefield: Extreme Right versus Fanatic Right. Two impressions emerge:

- The CP did not do as well as was expected.
- The CP improved its position.

There was much backslapping and emptying of glasses in Nat election offices when it became clear that the CP onslaught was beaten off in Pretoria, Vereeniging and places like Bloemfontein. And CP leader Andries

Treurnicht did admit disappointment, particularly about Pretoria.

Indeed, this is the first time CP spokesmen have overestimated their expected performance at the polls. In the past CP predictions were more cautious than boastful. In the three by-elections they were spot-on.

The other side of the coin is: The CP has come to within three wards of controlling Pretoria. By taking 19 of the capital's 42 wards, it has made a clean sweep of the city's northern and western suburbs, with the NP hanging onto the more prosperous east and south. And while CP showing in

Johannesburg itself was poor, it has conquered most of the surrounding regions: East Rand, West Rand and Vaal Triangle, including Min Gerrit Viljoen's seat at Van der Bijl Park and Deputy Minister Leon Wessel's town of Krugersdorp.

The Transvaal plateau remains CP country. So, what would happen if a general election was held next year, as the constitution requires?

Before an answer to that question is attempted, two observations have to be made:

- The government remains keen to find a way around the constitution, which would enable it to postpone an

election. The Labour Party has so far refused to co-operate, but government lawyers are looking at other, less "elegant" options.

A new delimitation of parliamentary constituencies is due. If this is completed before the next election, the outcome would obviously be influenced.

When efforts to postpone the election first surfaced, shortly after the May poll last year, the reason given by government members was prophetic: Without a postponement, reform would come to a standstill in the two years to the election. Well, the two years are almost up, and reform has come to a standstill. So, some people in

government circles are saying, the elections might as well be held on schedule. This line of thinking is supported by last week's results.

The argument goes: The CP is growing, but not as fast as was feared. So it is best for the government to hold elections as soon as possible. The longer before the next election, the more seats will go to the CP. This seems a realistic expectation.

New delimitation or not, Nat seats will be lost to the CP, particularly in the Transvaal. In the last election the Cape overtook the Transvaal as the largest province in the NP parliamentary caucuses. (48

elected Cape Nat MPs as to 47 from the Transvaal.)

The next election could see F W de Klerk's Transvaal Nats become a minority party — not only in the context beyond white politics, and not only in their own province.

Of the 76 Transvaal constituencies in the present delimitation, only 25 seem to be completely beyond the reach of the CP — 18 of those in Nat hands. Most of these are in the Johannesburg area, five in and around Pretoria and one on the Far East Rand.

announced. All of the remaining 43 are possible wins for the CP, which would make it the majority white party in the biggest province.

A breakdown looks like this: Firstly, the 22 already held by the CP.

Then a further six where the NP gained only minority support, but won because the opposition vote was split between the CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party: Hercules, Stiffontein, Rustenburg (Michael Veldman), Lydenburg (Piet du Plessis), Wonderboom (Danie Steyn) and Pretoria West. Municipal results confirmed that these are CP areas.

In a further eight seats the combined Far Right came within a thousand votes of defeating the NP: Roodeplaat, Krugersdorp (Leon Wessels), Innesdale (front bencher Albert Nothnagel), Potchefstroom (Speaker Louis le Grange), Gezina, Maraisburg, Meyerton and Springs (Piet Coetzer, Information officer of the Transvaal NP).

(The CP have taken over the town councils of Krugersdorp, Potchefstroom and Springs. They have done well in the Pretoria areas of Innesdale and Gezina.)

In the remaining seven, Nat majorities were between 1 000 and 2 000 votes: Alberton, Klerksdorp (Amie Venter), Geduld (Sam de Beer), Koedoespoort, Nelspruit, Vereeniging (F W de Klerk) and Pretoria Central.

(The CP did very well in the East Rand suburbs falling within the boundaries of the Geduld constituency, and also in the Koedoespoort area of Pretoria.)

Increased support

In the Free State the NP surprised themselves last week by increasing their support, but the CP still considers nine of the 14 seats to be within their reach. This may seem unrealistic as they presently have no Free State MP's, but consider this:

The CP got an average of 42 percent of the Free State vote in the white general election last year. In two constituencies the Nats won only because of a split vote: Sasolburg and Parys. (Sasolburg was held by the HNP prior to the election.)

In four the NP majority was under a thousand: Heilbron, Fauresmith, Ladybrand and Smithfield. In three more it was between one and two thousand: Welkom, Bethlehem and Virginia.

That leaves the three Bloemfontein seats (including that of Min. Kobie Coetsee), Kroonstad and Winburg as beyond CP reach.

In Natal the CP's only realistic hope at present is Newcastle, on the Transvaal border.

In the Cape Province CP chances of winning are presently limited to five seats: Kuruman, Vryburg, Oudtshoorn (Piet Badenhorst), De Aar and Uitenhage.

• All of which boils down to the fact that the CP is still the only party in white politics showing signs of real growth.

Like it or not, they are likely to more than double their number of MP's in the next election.

That would still leave them far short of becoming the government, this time round. But it also leaves them on course for the big prize: the House of Parliament and the Union Buildings.

• And we all know what that implies for the National Party government's eagerness to implement political reform.

RISE OF THE WOLF

BY SHAUN JOHNSON

WHEN a blast at the Johannesburg headquarters of the Congress of South African Trade Unions broke the building's back on May 6 last year, anti-apartheid activists began to warn of the arrival of a new tactic in pro-apartheid politics: sophisticated right-wing terror attacks.

They were in no doubt that their fears had been confirmed when, on the morning of August 31, shocked church leaders surveyed the ruins of Khoiso House (House of Peace) in Johannesburg.

A police representative announced it was "premature to speculate" whether there were parallels between the massive blast which rendered the South African Council of Churches unusable and left 18 people injured adding that "there had been scores of unsolved blasts in the West".

This did not satisfy Griffiths Zabala, director of the Transvaal-based Wilgepoort Fellowship Centre: "The violence was directed at the churches and other progressive anti-apartheid organisations", he said, and this was "not the option for change in South Africa".

His view was supported by several bomb or arson attacks aimed at extra-parliamentary groups from Cape Town to Kroonstad between the Cosatu and Khanya tragedies. Victims included trade unions, community, and student organisations.

The growth of mystery-shrouded right-wing violence was remorselessly confirmed at least circumstantially by a range of incidents, many of them minor. But right-wing violence entered the "big league" again as recently as October 12, when a devastating fire wrecked Khanya House in Pretoria.

The difficulty of even monitoring the attacks is noted by the Human Rights Commission in its recent report, *Repression and the municipal elections*: "The current wave of repression and censorship has meant that we have only been able to uncover some of the many incidents which have been occurring in South Africa," the report said.

This difficulty applies even more directly when activists attempt to unravel and establish responsibility for the attacks. It is possible to report, for example, that in the run-up to the elections Pretoria Council of Churches official the Rev Lucas Mabusela's home was bombed; that Witbank community activist Jackson Mthembu had his house firebombed on September 30; and that the local National Union of Metalworkers' office was burgled.

It is virtually impossible, at this stage, to say who did it, and whether the attacks were connected to the Cosatu/Khoiso watersheds. The horror has been given at least one name: Responsibility for at least two incidents has been claimed by the "Wit Wolwe" (White Wolves). After the recent arson attack on the Namibian newspaper in Windhoek, an anonymous telephone caller said the Wolwe had done it. (The same happened after Khanya House.)



Nobody knows who the Wit Wolwe are or, indeed, whether they exist at all. Anybody can make an anonymous telephone call to claim responsibility for something that has already happened. It is widely believed in some activist circles, for example, that the Wolwe are a smokescreen to shield right-wingers employed in state structures.

It is in the very nature of the type of attack that mystery should surround its perpetrators. For example, the fact that a police vehicle was allegedly seen outside Cosatu House in 1987 with an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging swastika painted on its roof, fuelled speculation that the subsequent blast was the work of the AWB. No-one — least of all the police, it seems — can tell.

But, given the new levels which the violence has reached, it is, perhaps best, to start the other way

around — ruling out who they could not be.

South Africa's right-wing terrorists of the late 1980s could not be your average right-wing fanatic-in-the-street. The sophistication of the bigger attacks, particularly that which destroyed the SACC headquarters, suggests that the bombers have more than a rudimentary knowledge of explosives and their placement.

This realisation raises the prospect that either elements of existing groups trained in these "skills" have taken to extra work on their own, or right-wingers outside these organisational confines have set about acquiring the skills.

It is difficult to know which prospect is the more chilling: That "official" groups are engaging in deadly maverick activity, or that non-official right-wingers have turned to training themselves.

Or, indeed, that both are the case.

It would of course be naive to view the upsurge of devastating acts of right-wing terror separately from the general political context which has characterised South Africa, especially since the imposition of the nationwide State of Emergency in June 1986. This was the point made by SACC general administrative secretary Francois Bill immediately after the death of Khoiso House: the upsurge of the attacks is not some arbitrary historical phenomenon. There has been right-wing violence in South Africa throughout the century, but it has reached a new plateau along with the intensity of the struggle against apartheid.

The restriction of organisations, detention of activists, and general conditions of clampdown have, if anything, created an enticing atmosphere for this

sort of intervention. In the confusion which is the bedfellow of repressive silence, shadowy groups can blow should be placed elsewhere.

In a sense, blasts of the sort suffered by Cosatu and the SACC are the most comprehensible: Cosatu House was home to the country's largest and most influential trade union movement — it hardly needs to be asked who stood to benefit most from its destruction. The same applies to Khanya, which housed a range of anti-apartheid organisations.

The question which must now be asked is whether — police warnings about further organisational burnings aside — South Africa is entering a period where an epidemic of unsolved attacks becomes the pivotal thrust of pro-apartheid forces.

Insecurity fires family murders

30417

Star 18/11/88

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

Enormous insecurity among Afrikaners over the future of South Africa has been cited by a Unisa lecturer as an underlying factor for the many occurrences of family murders in the country. Dr Jan van Arkel, a practical theologian specialising in the field of family murder, said: "Afrikaners, more than any other group in South Africa, are insecure about their future."

A Randburg man, Mr Martin van Gass, shot his four-year-old son and then turned the gun on himself on Sunday. The murder was preceded by a killing on Saturday in which a Witbank woman, Mrs Anna Jansen, shot her husband Lewies and then herself.

"Afrikaners feel they cannot leave South Africa, but their future is uncertain and they are constantly reminded of the violent circumstances that other whites who stayed in Africa found themselves in," Dr Jan van Arkel, a practical theologian at Unisa, said in an interview.

He believed this was one of the reasons why family murders — which he defined as killings motivated by an overdeveloped sense of responsibility that sought to protect and save — were occurring locally and nowhere else in the world.

He distinguished between these "charitable" killings and "crimes of passion" involving husbands and wives.

The former were usually very carefully planned, methodical to the degree where the children were killed in order of their age, and took place in "fine, upstanding and stable-valued families".

The latter were rather motivated by jealousy with the objective of causing harm. The "low life elements" — drinking, dagga and sexual abuse — were often factors in these cases which occurred worldwide.

At a recent conference on family killings it emerged that 90 percent of the murders occur in white Afrikaans families, most with Protestant backgrounds.

Dr van Arkel said the close knit families in which family murders usually occurred could be referred to as families with "family apartheid" — an extremely private lifestyle. It was this attitude which ultimately culminated in the Government's policy of apartheid.

"Family murders occur in a specific type of family — one with almost impenetrable borders that always tries to solve its own problems and is very often threatened by what is happening around it."

The father was usually the dominant figure in the family, or in cases where the mother committed the murder, there was a strong patriarchal element. "The patriarchal aspect is more prevalent in Afrikaner families," he said.

Another psychologist suggested that within Afrikaans families there were rigid authoritarian structures in which parents had an "ownership mentality" towards their children and did not see their children's lives as being separate from their own.

Dr van Arkel said that in terms of the general religious background, there was also a tendency to romanticise death and view it as a solution.

The faculty head of psychology at the University of Pretoria, Professor Fanie du Toit, believes that apartheid and family murders have the same root: an extended sense of responsibility.

"There is a close parallel between an otherwise well-intentioned Afrikaner — who decides, for example, where people in this country should live — and a husband who feels he is utterly responsible for his family and decides to take them with him."

Failure to provide everything for the family could give rise to a destructive sense of responsibility which was almost pathological. This was why financial problems could trigger a family murder.

He stressed that he was not suggesting that apartheid created a violent climate that resulted in family murders.

Professor du Toit estimated that there were about two such cases in the 20 years preceding 1980 and an average of two to three every year until 1985 when there was a sudden escalation averaging 15 or 16 cases a year. This year there seemed to be a "tapering off".

Family murder first came under the spotlight in about 1983 after which the lives of approximately 200 people had been claimed, Dr van Arkel said.

However, the number of murders within families this year — most involving only husbands and wives — has escalated to 33 with a total of 73 lives lost.

304A Smith 10-16/1/88

LETTERS

Address all letters to The Editor, PO Box 13094, Sir Lowry Road 7900

Allegations against committee 'malicious'

I HAVE been instructed by Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana and the Crossroads Executive Committee to reply to the report headlined "R5 a Vote" in your

issue dated October 13 1988.

First of all, persons who allege that they had paid money for "a vote" in Crossroads, either through coercion or any other means, are

welcome to lay charges with the police.

My committee regards these allegations as willfully malicious and devoid of any truth. As you have stated correctly in your report, Crossroads nominations were unopposed for

the October 26 elections and it would therefore be absurd to charge any money for votes; for what votes?

The "women" whom your sources refer to who are allegedly responsible for the collection of such monies are unknown to my committee and any information which can lead to the identification of such persons would be appreciated.

As regards allegations of monies collected from the community for a "feast" during the State President's visit to Crossroads on August 26 1988, we submit that all contributions which were made to purchase 10 sheep to feed schoolchildren and the Crossroads aged on the Sunday following the presidential visit, were made voluntarily.

Two weeks prior to the presidential visit a general meeting was held in Crossroads to discuss the occasion. Suggestions were made from the floor that children and aged residents should be fed on the relevant Sunday because the presidential occasion was limited as far as guests were concerned, and for obvious reasons.

An amount of R2 930 was contributed voluntarily with which sheep and vegetables were purchased.

Levies

Thirdly, any resident of Crossroads who claims that he or she had paid "rent" for any amount, without having received a receipt, is also welcome to lay charges, either with the police or the offices of the Provincial Auditor.

All monies collected for service charges and other levies are subject to prescribed legal procedures and furthermore subject to state auditing. The book-keeping procedures and maintenance of financial systems are being done by properly trained personnel under the auspices of the Cape Provincial Administration.

Fourthly, the allegation that the shacks of 18 residents were demolished because they refused to contribute to the "P W feast" and the materials stored at the Crossroads office, is not even worth commenting on, save for the invitation of those persons to rush off to their nearest charge office.

All in all, my committee feels that these allegations are so filled with ineptitude and downright scandalous, that it is doubted whether the complainants are even residents of Crossroads.

It is not expected that this reply be published; however, being a matter of conscience, my committee elected to reply in any case.

Good luck in any event.

P U SCHELHASE SECRETARY



WHAT IS HAPPENING IN OUR COUNTRY



SUPPORTS A FREE AND RESPONSIBLE PRESS

SA could
be a centre
of hope'

Staff Reporter

Unless the West came to terms with the fact that South Africa was a regional power, there would be no hope for southern Africa, the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, said last night.

Speaking at a dinner for members of the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg last night, Mr Botha said he believed South Africa could serve southern Africa as "a centre of hope".

Unless southern Africa accepted South Africa as a regional power it would die, as it already was dying, Mr Botha said.

South Africa could only escape its present mood of despondency if it started exporting, looking for new markets and exploiting them.

Mr Botha appealed to businessmen to regard job creation and export as one of their main aims.

Star 10/11/88

An SA (304A) 'free of (66) apartheid is inevitable'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — An apartheid-free South Africa is an inevitability — but it is less certain whether this South Africa will be democratic and prosperous, the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, told a meeting of the British Industry Committee on South Africa yesterday. The former South African ambassador to London said it was inevitable that within a lifetime South Africa would have a government "in which there will be more black faces than white faces".

But he emphasised that whites would still hold the initiative for some time.

"Depending on how (white South Africans) respond over the next five or six years, during which time they are still in the position to actually influence developments, South Africa could become a multi-party, private enterprise society, in which the rule of law, and individual rights with respect to private property, religion and mother tongue education are acknowledged."

Whites in SA understood that the country was between two eras: the one which began with Union in 1910 and was now characterised "by the present sterile debate between the National Party and the Conservative Party", and a new political era "the form of which is uncertain but which inevitably will be ... non-racial".

'SA between two eras'

304A
Cape Times
10/11/80

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa would have a government in which there were more black faces than white in the lifetime of those who were 60 years and under, Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said here yesterday.

Dr Worrall, former South African ambassador to the United Kingdom, was addressing members of the British Industry Committee on South Africa (BICSA).

White South Africans still had the power to shape the future of the country, and their responses in the next five years would determine whether a future apartheid-free South Africa was democratic.

Dr Worrall said white South Africans realised they were between two political eras.

What the country's present circumstances cried out for was a new political alignment which cut across the political colour line and was committed to a non-racial, democratic and free-enterprise South Africa.

"I believe that such a realignment is practical politics. Not only do many white South Africans — including many National Party voters — support such a new power bloc, but, as a recent opinion survey shows, there are black leaders who have astonishingly high levels of support within white South Africa."

Outsiders could help South Africa by supporting traditional Western political values. These values were under fire not only from government but from black activists and the radical left.

Given South Africa's isolation, white South Africans tended to think in parochial terms. The rhetoric of white politics was the rhetoric of survival, which left little room for idealism, generosity and tolerance.

Private organisations and individuals abroad had a role to play in promoting traditional Western political values, provided "they recognise that the historical development of democracy has taken many forms and used many devices to reach the elusive goal called 'human freedom'".

Outsiders could also help by contributing to South Africa's economic development, and by continuing their social-responsibility programmes to ameliorate the worst hardships caused by apartheid. Closely related to economic development was black empowerment.

"The logic of economic growth means an increased need for skilled workers and managers; and, given the fact that the white population is almost static, these positions must be filled by blacks."

Dr Worrall paid tribute to British businesses and government for the approach they had adopted towards South Africa.

14/1/88

MUNICIPAL HOO-HA

3044 P.M.A.C.

Political party control in a number of white local authorities remains unclear two weeks after the nationwide municipal elections (*Leaders* November 4).

For instance, the Conservative Party (CP) stoutly maintains it won Richards Bay, its only victory in Natal. The National Party (NP) is equally adamant that it is in control — even though its candidates stood as “independents.” The NP points out that nobody on the management committee is a CP member. Richards Bay comprises nine wards, of which two were uncontested under NP control. CP candidates won three out-

right. The remaining four were won by “independents” claimed by NP and CP.

The accompanying list, though incomplete, is the fullest picture so far available setting out which party claims local government control of what towns. Control of towns in italic print is claimed by both the NP and CP. While we were unable to obtain a list of all the Cape local authorities at the time of going to press, it can be deduced by a process of elimination that it is largely NP-controlled.

Cape Town and Durban are listed under PFP control, even though its candidates stood as independents.

Heunis didn't claim to be talking to Buthelezi

11/11/88

Political Staff

304A

THE war of words between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, about who was negotiating with whom about what, was a misunderstanding.

Mr Heunis said yesterday that Chief Buthelezi had reacted to what he was supposed to have said and not what he actually said.

Mr Heunis was widely reported in the press as claiming to have been negotiating about a new constitution with the Chief Minister, to which Chief Buthelezi issued a sharp rebuttal, saying he was not involved in negotiations on this matter with any minister at all.

A transcript of the press conference at which Mr Heunis supposedly made the claim indicates he did not make it.

Mr Heunis said Chief Buthelezi had in the past admitted meeting him for discussions.

Council sends Bills to Botha

By Tos Wentzel,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Two of the controversial trilogy of group areas Bills were pushed through by the President's Council yesterday and are now to be presented to the State President, Mr P W Botha, for his assent.

The council decided on this after the Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill had failed to pass through Parliament when the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates refused to vote on them earlier this year.

FAVOUR

The NP and two independent coloured members were in favour of the proposal that the Bills should go to Mr Botha for his assent before they become law.

The Labour, Conservative, Progressive Federal, National People's and Solidarity parties' members opposed the proposal.

At a second session towards the end of the month, the council is due to deal with the Group Areas Amendment Bill and an anti-squatting Bill, which have also been referred to them by the President after Parliament refused to process them.

Shev 11/11/84

'Aim was to destroy Heunis'

3048

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

Sources close to the two displaced senior officials in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning today claimed the men had been victims of a bitter power play aimed at destroying their political boss, Mr Chris Heunis.

The officials, Dr Fanie Cloete and Mr Kobus Jordaan, have apparently had their status changed as a result of a re-evaluation of their top-level security clearance.

As a result they may no longer continue with their highly sensitive work in the field of broad constitutional negotiations between the Government and leaders of the other population groups.

The controversy is shrouded in mystery and the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning refuses to comment because it is considered to be an internal matter.

The men themselves will not comment.

Mr Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, yesterday defended his officials, saying he had no information which would question their loyalty to himself, the department or the Government.

However, sources close to the officials today denied allegations that they had lost their security clearance because they had or had tried to have contact with the ANC.

The sources said the men had been the victims of a powerful bid from within the Government to displace Mr Heunis.

They suggested a cabal existed which involved a Cabinet Minister with close links with the security community.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer today said rumour was that the men "may have been holding discussions with people in the UDF and/or the ANC. If so, my reaction is to ask why on earth not?"

LP leader calls for commission to plan SA's future

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11/11/88
By Lloyd Coutts

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has called on the State President to appoint a commission of political scientists and economists to plan a future political dispensation for South Africa.

Speaking at the *Financial Mail's* investment conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Hendrickse also called on black leaders to reconsider their position on the proposed National Council because, in spite of its inadequacies, people of colour could for the first time sit down to discuss the country's future.

Mr Hendrickse was replying to a question from the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, on the future of the National Council in the light of black opposition to it.

"It is better to get there and talk ... rather than stay away. If we fail we can come out and say we tried," Mr Hendrickse said.

The Labour Party was dedicated to furthering the economic, social and

cultural advancement of all South Africans.

"We are dedicated to opposing all forms of racial discrimination which undermine civil liberty and social justice in respect of the individual."

"We believe that the rights of the individual are paramount and that the State exists to serve the individual, not that the individual should be manipulated or controlled by the State," he said.

His party acknowledged that reform had taken place in South Africa during the past four years.

Any new constitution would have to result in a balanced accommodation of white fears and black aspirations, Mr Hendrickse said.

Until black aspirations were accommodated, South Africa could not move away from the situation of escalating violence which it was presently experiencing.

Asked what his party's stance would be if the Group Areas Act Amendment Bill was passed by the President's Council, Mr Hendrickse said the LP had successfully determined its strategy from day to day.

Parks, pools, cinemas could be hit

Fury at CP moves

Star 11/11/88

304A

to restore apartheid

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

A furious political row is blowing up as the Conservative Party moves to put up apartheid boards in parks, theatres, swimming pools, public transport facilities and other amenities in the more than 90 local authorities it won control of in last month's municipal elections.

More than 600 Conservative Party town councillors from all over South Africa are to meet behind closed doors in Pretoria tomorrow to take instructions from the party high command on how they should go about restoring 1960-style apartheid in their local authorities.

The CP's plans, confirmed to the media today by the party general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, have stunned Government leaders, but there has been no immediate comment.

Other political leaders today called on the Government to pass laws to stop the CP from going ahead with its plans.

The first reaction from overseas was from the US Department of State, which appealed to the Government to take a stand against the senseless turning back of the clock in South Africa.

'Misguided'

Reacting to a front-page report in *The Washington Post* yesterday, headlined "Whites Only signs re-appearing in South Africa", a State Department spokesman, Mr Charles Redman, said: "We trust the South African Government will oppose these misguided efforts to turn back the clock."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's only comment on that aspect of the drama today was that it was ironic that it had taken the American government such a long time to realise what the alternative was to the present South African Government.

Other Government spokesmen said privately they believed the CP would not be able to get away with its plans.

CP towns which reverted to old-style apartheid would very likely find they would not be able to screen American and other foreign films.

There could also be a backlash from black consumers.

One Government leader said the CP town councils would find they could only segregate facilities and buildings they owned.

Mr Andries Beyers said in an interview today that all the CP councillors from the recent municipal elections would meet tomorrow at the Hendrik Verwoerd Hoërskool in Pretoria to discuss the reimposition of apartheid in CP-controlled towns.

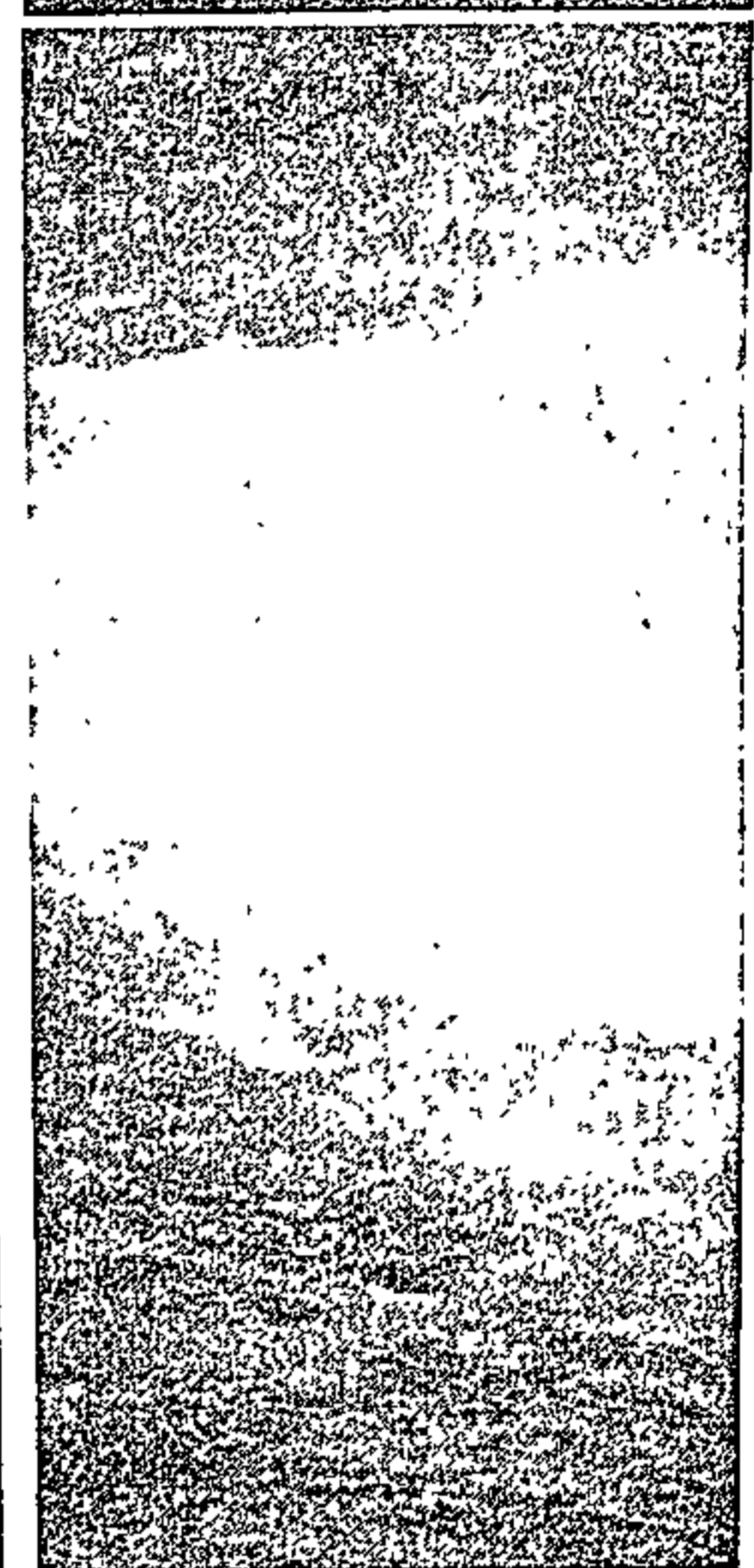
He said: "Public facilities which have been desegregated will be segregated again."



Iantha Wyngaard of Cape Town was chosen as Super-girl yesterday. She will represent South Africa in the Miss World competition in the US. ● Picture by Karen Fletcher.

belt tightening for

The de



Sinking bow . . . and no sign of survivors and burst

LONDON — The 27 crew members of a Greek tanker were feared dead last night when two empty lifeboats were found on the wrecked ship.

The 140 000-ton *Odyssey*, which was carrying 100 000 tonnes of Voe oil terminal in the Shetlands via the North Sea crude, split in two about 100 miles off the Canadian coast. Canadian coast guard forces found the vessel exploded.

Patrol aircraft from the Canadian coast guard were joined by merchant ships in search for the missing 15 Greek and Honduran seamen. But their efforts were hampered first by the blazing wreckage and then by winds of more than 40 knots and 100 degrees.

The *Odyssey*, which is registered in Greece, put out a distress call at 11.30 pm.

Sports fans can expect hot weather

High temperatures expected throughout the country this weekend should encourage large turn-outs at all major sporting events.

The Transvaal's partly cloudy and warm conditions



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He said: "Public facilities which have been desegregated will be segregated again."

He realised this could only be done in cases where properties were owned by the public, such as parks and swimming pools. However, if a cinema was in a municipal building it would be forced to segregate, he said.

The CP also realised it could not undo the open business districts, but it would do everything it could to obstruct free areas in its towns, he said.

'Disgrace'

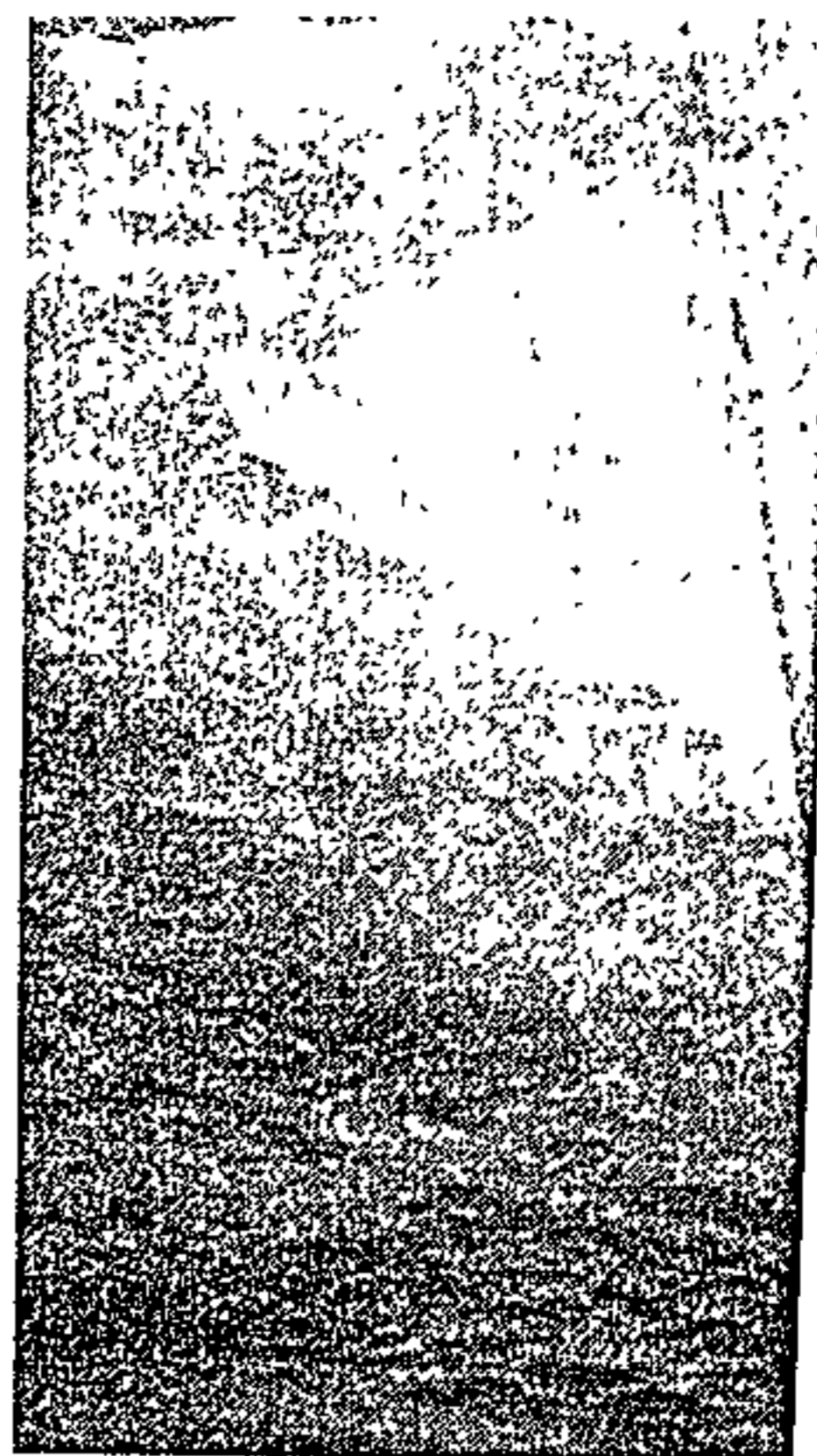
The CP would take part in the Regional Services Councils but would try to prevent the participation of other groups.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said today: "It is morally disgraceful."

"If the Government has any courage and any care for South Africa, it should put a stop to this racist and archaic nonsense."

Solidarity leader Dr JN Reddy today warned the CP it would be giving ammunition to radicals, as well as to the pro-sanctions lobby abroad.

"The Government must put a stop to this now."



Sinking bow ... and no sign and burst

LONDON — The 27 crew members of a tanker were feared dead last night when two vessels found two empty life jackets on a wrecked ship.

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The *Odyssey*, which is registered in Greece, put out a distress call at 11.30 pm.

Sports fans can expect hot weather

High temperatures expected throughout the country this weekend should encourage large turn-outs at all major sporting events.

The Transvaal's partly cloudy and warm conditions expected tomorrow will be perfect for the Hyper to Hyper marathon in Pretoria tomorrow morning and the Castle League soccer match between Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates at Ellis Park in the afternoon.

It will be hot on Sunday over the central and northern parts of the Transvaal, with isolated thundershowers over the southern parts, a Weather Bureau spokesman said.

In the Free State, it will be partly cloudy and warm with isolated thundershowers over the eastern parts.

Sunny weather will prevail in Bophuthatswana, where thousands of spectators will be watching the Minolta golf championships at Sun City.

Maximum temperature for Johannesburg and Pretoria is 23 deg C.

● See Page 3.

The Bookie's Bet

11/11/88 (S) B/day FMAIL (304A)

ROBERT VAN TONDER

THE M. V. O. P. N. L. O. N.

The first freedom fighters



for a white homeland.

Robert van Tonder is leader of the fringe Boer State Party, which distinguishes between Boer and Afrikaner. He takes issue with Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag, which calls

An Afrikaner homeland is an entirely foreign concept to us Boers. There is no historical precedent for one: the Afrikaners never possessed a state, only the Boers did.

Professor Boshoff is not clear on the Afrikaner concept (*Current Affairs* October 14). Does he include the brown Afrikaners in his homeland? If only white Afrikaans-speakers are included the idea is based on colour and racism and not on nationhood. The Boer State idea is based on the principles of nationhood — a people (*volk*) with a common history, language, territory and symbols.

Only the Boers qualify as a nation on these precepts. The western Cape Afrikaans-speakers (Cape Dutch) are not part of the Boer nation as they never shared in the Boer history of the Great Trek, two wars of inde-

pendence, the rebellion of 1914, and the wars against the Zulu and Matabele. It's like the Dutch and Flemish, who, although they share a common language, are not the same.

Boshoff's viewpoint that the re-establishment of our Boer republics is impractical because of the volume of foreign investment required is not valid, because every country in the world makes use of foreign capital. I do not share Boshoff's version of Afrikaner freedom. The definition "Afrikaner" is a misnomer which came into being after 1910 when the Boer and Cape Dutch politicians banded together on linguistic grounds to gain political dominance in the newly created state of the Union of SA. All Afrikaans-speakers were herded to the polls under the new title of Afrikaners.

The Cape Afrikaans-speakers were known as Cape colonials and Cape Dutch — never as the Afrikaner nation of the Cape. They never had the national cohesion and the great tradition of freedom the Boers had.

The Boer State Party does not propose a commonwealth of republics, a federation or a confederation of states for southern Africa, but a Southern African Community like the very successful EEC in Europe. The present SA is an outmoded and archaic relic of

imperialist times: an illogical mix which includes 15 main national groups in a single political entity. The days of super-conglomerate states are gone forever. The modern trend is towards independent nations.

Under the Vierkleur (old flag of the Boer Republic) all immigrant national groups fought on the Boer side voluntarily. This was a southern African first and last because during the following two world wars, rebellions and underground resistance were the order of the day and huge internment camps had to be maintained to detain resistance fighters.

The French, Dutch, German, Italian, Russian, Greek and American units who fought on the Boer side during 1899-1902 form part of a well-documented history. The Boer State Party foresees no problems as far as co-operation and assimilation of other national groups are concerned. We (the Boers) were the very first freedom fighters of Africa; it is an historical irony that we allowed ourselves to be overlooked in the great movement of rejection of imperialism.

The Boer State Party is striving for the reinstatement of our lost republics by way of democratic electoral process. Boshoff says he does not agree with this road. What other means has he in mind?

PW's 'lack of leadership' is splitting Govt

Star 12/11/88

304A

THE Government is caught up in a crippling split involving infighting and backstabbing, the new Afrikaans language weekly, *Vrye Weekblad*, reported yesterday.

In its second edition, the newspaper said in a front page lead story headlined "Cabinet crippled by split" that State President's reform process had degenerated into "an even bigger farce" and his Cabinet's ability to effectively administer the country was being further undermined by "unsavoury infighting".

The two chief characters in the split were the Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Chris Heunis, and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, it was claimed.

But the main cause of the problem was "intense frustration" with President Botha's lack of leadership.

Quoting a "National Party source", *Vrye Weekblad* said Mr Botha's "bombastic and dictatorial" style and inability to lead had disunited his Cabinet.

The report said there are indications that even the National Intelligence Service, which is responsible for state security, is also involved in the split.

Elements within the Government and the State Security Council are seriously concerned that the infighting will cripple the Government while South Africa experiences its worst political and economic crises.

Crucial decisions, such as the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the addressing of black aspirations, are being pushed into the background while "political streetfights" continue, said the article.

Supporters of Mr Heunis felt he is being made the scapegoat for Government failures such as the proposed National Council, in which most black leaders refuse to participate, and the trilogy of Group Areas Bills, the promulgation of which the Labour Party effectively stalled.

His supporters claim Mr Heunis handled both matters strictly in accordance with full Cabinet decisions.

Vrye Weekblad alleged that stories in the press concerning the removal of Mr Heunis from his post to fill the administrative position of Prime Minister, to be replaced by Mr Pik Botha as "chief reformer", had emanated "directly from the camp of Mr Pik Botha and Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower".

The newspaper said Mr Pik Botha is winning the fight so far, although his outburst in front of 300 people at the foreign correspondents' dinner last Saturday caused him "to lose some points".

Mr Heunis, during informal discussions with journalists this week, said of the dinner incident that the behaviour of the foreign correspondents was unfair but the situation "looked bad for both sides".

Mr Heunis welcomed the journalists with the words: "I'm glad to see you survived Saturday night".

Vrye Weekblad said the journalists were surprised at what they saw as Mr Heunis's open sarcasm.

Fan club
Vrye Weekblad said it had received confirmation this week that the "club" of Pik Botha supporters within the NP caucus, exposed by *Financial Mail* last year, still existed.

Meanwhile, a long-time Pik Botha supporter, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, is believed to have distanced himself slightly from the Foreign Minister so he will not be dragged under in the event of a sudden reversal of fortunes by Mr Pik Botha.

Mr du Plessis and other Cabinet Ministers "who are eyeing the throne" — Defence Minister General Magnus Malan and Minister of National Education Mr F.W. de Klerk — are, according to one *Vrye Weekblad* source, viewing the Pik Botha/Heunis saga with glee. — Sapa.

Govt lawmen study CP apartheid bid

THE Government is studying the legal implications of the Conservative Party's threat to turn back the clock and restore Verwoerdian apartheid in towns under its control.

Conservative town councillors elected in the recent municipal elections meet behind closed doors in Pretoria today to hear how they must set about segregating every possible public facility in their districts.

Their leaders have confirmed that the meeting will discuss reinstating apartheid

304A DAVID BRAUN Political Correspondent

wherever it has been dismantled at local government level.

This means apartheid signs which reserve separate facilities for whites will again appear on park benches and public toilets in the more than 90 local authorities the CP now controls in South Africa.

Government spokesmen have so far refused to comment on the CP's plans. But

they are studying the legal rights of town councils to segregate facilities which have already been opened for the use of all races.

Privately, the spokesmen say the Government will use its central powers to ensure the CP cannot execute its plans, except where municipalities have absolute control over certain facilities.

By this is meant that there is no way the

● TO PAGE 2

The night Pik's pud turned sour

IT HAS been denied by all involved that Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha stormed out of the Foreign Correspondents Association dinner last Saturday night.

However, it may truthfully be said that he "deserted" the function. And in doing so, he missed his just desserts.

Just what sweet delicacies did the Minister forfeit by his hasty departure?

With the help of the Johannesburg Sun hotel it

was discovered that at least one serving of "Bavarois with Fresh Fruit and Chocolate" went begging when Mr Botha hightailed his way back to Pretoria.

The hotel explained the sweet finish to the evening consisted of a basket of biscuit dipped in chocolate and filled with fresh fruit. Whether it removed the bile that the evening produced among many guests, one can only speculate.

SUE VALENTINE

Perhaps the Minister's wife, Helena, might like sometime to prepare the dessert for a candlelit supper to make it up to him for what he missed.

Mr Botha, of course, also missed the vote of thanks that was to have been given by the FCA board member, Mr Graham Leach, of the BBC.

Mr Leach said he hadn't prepared any for-

mal speech as it was his duty to respond to Mr Botha, but he was going to mention the four-week banning of the newspaper *The Weekly Mail*.

"I was certainly going to mention *The Weekly Mail*. It would have been inappropriate for a gathering of international correspondents not to mention the suspension of a paper which the FCA board had described as 'responsible, restrained and operating within the law.'

"On a lighter note, when Pik Botha reminded everyone that I was the journalist who asked him the question about the possibility of South Africa ever having a black president I was going to remark that he had had his revenge."

The FCA chairman, Mr Peter Hawthorne, a *Time* correspondent, resigned his chairmanship because of the rumpus, saying he felt responsible for what had happened.

CP apartheid bid

304A ● FROM PAGE 1

CP towns can segregate railway stations, airports, post offices and privately owned facilities.

Government leaders say it remains to be seen whether CP towns will be able to proceed with their apartheid plans in the face of retaliation from black consumers, businessmen and major distributors.

● Reacting to the news of the Conservative Party's decision, Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse condemned the attempt to turn back the clock.

He said: "The authorities must take strong action. If the Government can take action against the Left, which they consider a danger to South African society, they must take action against these people as well."

"They want to create a situation of ferment again and racial hostility."

Crippling Cabinet split, says Weekblad

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African government is caught up in a crippling split involving in-fighting and backstabbing, the new Afrikaans language weekly Vrye Weekblad has reported.

In its second edition the newspaper said in a front-page report headlined "Cabinet crippled by split" that President Botha's reform process was being degenerated into "an even bigger farce" and his Cabinet's ability to effectively administer the country was being undermined by "unsavoury in-

fighting".

The two chief characters in the split were Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha.

But the main cause of the problem was "intense frustration" with President Botha's lack of leadership, said the magazine.

Quoting a "National Party source", Vrye Weekblad said President Botha's "bombastic and dictatorial" style and inability to lead had unsettled his Cabinet.

W/EARGUS 12/11/88 (3004)
There were indications that even the National Intelligence Service was involved in the split.

Elements within the government and the State Security Council were seriously concerned that the in-fighting would cripple the government while South Africa experienced its worst political and economic crises.

Crucial decisions, such as the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the addressing of black aspirations, were being pushed into the background

while "political street fights" continued.

Supporters of Mr Heunis felt he was being made the scapegoat for government failures such as the proposed national council and the three Group Areas Bills.

Vrye Weekblad alleged that stories which appeared in the Press concerning the removal of Mr Heunis from his post to fill the administrative position of Prime Minister had emanated "directly from the camp of Mr Pik Botha and Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower." — Sapa.

Parties preparing for early election

↳ (E/M/G/S 12/11/88 304/N)

It was also possible that President Botha might want to change the NP's leadership in the next few years. An early election next year would give his successor more time to consolidate his position.

The CP's general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said his party was preparing for an election in March or April. Rumours of an early election were reaching his party, including some from "very authoritative" sources.

Mr Beyers said that factors pointing to a possible early election included the government's fears of doing badly against CP advances if it delayed too long and the possible implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia.

Developments there would be an important issue in a general election.

It was also possible that the government would want to fight an election on the old delimitation instead of waiting for the new one, which was due soon.

A new delimitation would create problems for the government because of a possible 15 new seats for the Transvaal.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, also expects a general election in April.

One reason he gives is that the government cannot give another public service pay increase before a general election, following its recently announced 15-percent rise.

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

OPPOSITION parties are gearing for an early parliamentary general election next April.

The move comes amid continuing speculation that political factors threaten to weaken the government's position if it waits too long.

One menacing factor is said to be the Conservative Party's new foothold in local government. To forestall the effect of any further CP advances the government would have to consolidate its position as soon as possible.

The CP's plans to reintroduce apartheid amenities and "whites only" signs in towns they control could lead to a serious clash which could further erode the NP's strength, especially in the Transvaal.

Namibian independence is an emotional issue which could be exploited by rightwing politicians at the National Party's expense once the implementation of Resolution 435 gets under way.

The Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party have both set their sights on a possible April election.

The PFP national director of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said his party had started countrywide voter registration campaigns. Drives would be held in all the major centres.

He expected a new delimitation of constituencies to be announced soon by the government and it was likely to begin early next year.

"Authoritative"

The PFP was not ignoring rumours of an April election. That the CP did not do as well as predicted in the municipal elections could persuade the government to go to the polls soon to extend its mandate for the next five years.

S. Times 13/11/88

CP vow on race signs

□ From Page 1 (309A)
implement CP policy would result in the actual return of prominent signs barring blacks from entering facilities.

"We are quite aware that this is a sensitive issue here and abroad and that this may create a furore overseas.

"We believe that ways and means can be found to implement our policies without resorting to "whites only" signs.

He also conceded that CP councils would have no power to enforce segregation

as far as open restaurants, toilets and lifts in private buildings and entrances to Government buildings like post offices were concerned.

In last month's municipal election the CP gained control of between 50 and 60 of the Transvaal's 95 white municipalities and 11 in the Free State.

The Government still has the ability to thwart the CP actions by repealing the Separate Amenities Act which give local authorities the power to enforce segregation.

In a speech to the House of Delegates two years ago President Botha conceded that the Act "never worked".

Since then, however, no indication has been given on how or when the Act will be scrapped or amended.

The Act has also become a serious bone of contention in the ongoing clash between the Government and Mr Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party.

The LP has cited the repeal of the Act and the Group Areas Act as prerequisites for their assent to the post-

ponement of next year's scheduled general election and certain important changes to the constitution proposed by the Government.

Yesterday Dr Hartzenberg said the CP would not give in to pressure from the Government.

"We won power in numerous municipalities on the basis of CP principles and we intend to implement our policy as promised," he said.

According to delegates at the meeting, the Government was caught on the wrong foot when it dawned on them this week that the implementation of CP policy had become a reality.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, said the Government was now caught in the unenviable situation of being in the middle of the road.

"At municipal level the CP is in control and on the first level of government the coloureds are forcing the Government into a corner.

"It's very dangerous to be in the middle of the road — the chances of being run over by a bus are very likely," he said.

The choice facing white South Africa

3044
S. Jones
13/11/88

WHITE South Africans very largely allowed themselves to be gulled in the recent local elections by short-term interests.

This is perhaps understandable, given the kind of dominant leadership they have been getting.

On the one hand, there are those politicians who are telling white South Africans that small adjustments are sufficient, and on the other hand there are those politicians who are telling them that the clock can be turned back — it is possible to live the way we did.

Neither point of view is reassuring because both conflict with the obvious realities of our situation; and white South Africans

Denis Worrall

leader of the Independent Party, looks at two possible future scenarios for SA



will only get the assurance they seek if they face up to the realities of the situation — demographic, economic and political.

Facing up to the realities of our situation means the following

● The South Africa of tomorrow will be a non-racial South Africa. This does not mean there will not be communities or groups, but that these will be based on choice (voluntary association) and will

reflect religion, language, culture and social and economic interests rather than colour or race.

● Blacks will play an increasingly important role in our economy. Already, their consumer power is a most significant factor, but within the next decade it will become the dominant factor. In fact, white interests will depend on the advancement of black interests.

● Maintaining the exist-

ing political situation in South Africa is becoming increasingly costly from an economic, political and a moral point of view. In fact, the base of the South African state was never so narrow.

● Inevitably, South Africa will have a government in which there will be more black faces than white faces. I believe that there is a very good chance of this happening during the lifetime of most people who are presently 60 years and under.

While an apartheid-free (or non-racial) South Africa is an inevitability, what is less certain is whether this South Africa will be a democratic (in the traditional Western sense of the term) and prosperous (and

therefore free enterprise) South Africa.

And here white South Africans, and how they respond to the situation over the next five or six years, become particularly relevant — because white South Africans still have the power to actually shape the future South Africa.

Depending on how they respond over the next five or six years, during which time they are still in the position to actually influence developments, South Africa could become a multi-party, private enterprise society, in which the rule of law, and individual rights with respect to private property, religion and mother tongue education are acknowledged.

This will also be a South Africa which will enjoy widespread international sympathy and assistance, and in which the major corporations of the Far East, Western Europe and North America will compete for a presence.

Fears

In other words, it will be a self-respecting South Africa and a respected country internationally.

The alternative is that white South Africa's worst fears are realised. We end up being swamped by the Third World dimension of the society, and relinquish the political power which we presently have to a Marxist-socialist one-party state in which the present values which we hold dear and our economic well-being are all placed at risk.

This will be a South Africa which the world will tend to write off as simply another Third World backwater, and what international involvement there will be will be of a charitable kind.

One senses that many white South Africans understand the choice is between the "high" road, and the "low" road.

They realise that South Africa is between two political eras — the era which started (for convenience sake) in 1909 with the establishment of the Union and which is characterised by the present sterile debate between the National Party and the Conservative Party, and a new political era, the form of which is uncertain but which inevitably will be apartheid-free and non-racial.

Support

And what South Africa's present circumstances cry out for is a new political alignment which cuts across the political colour line and which is committed to a non-racial, democratic (in the traditional Western sense of the word) and free enterprise South Africa.

Such a realignment is practical politics. Not only do many white South Africans — including many National Party voters — support such a new power bloc, but, as a recent opinion survey shows, there are black leaders who have astonishingly high levels of support within white South Africa.

□ Extract from a speech this week to the British Industry Committee in London

Sanctions also hit SA's trading rivals

Once more, they are able to buy commodities at a cheap rate, driving the prices down.

The second phase is that of formal sanctions. Here, South Africa's competitors ought to benefit since South Africa is supposed to be out of the market. However, South Africa remains a seller

through third parties, selling its products through Taiwan, Swaziland, Israel, Mauritius, Turkey and other countries.

A variety of countries will act as intermediaries, to their great profit. The more difficult it is for South Africa to enter the market, the greater the discount at

which it will sell and the greater the commission it will offer. The effect of all this is that buyers will expect all sellers to match the lowest price, which will be that of the most desperate seller.

We have seen how the Opec ring has been broken by sellers who needed the money. Even if one seller undercuts, this threatens to set the prevailing price for the commodity.

The worse the South African economy, the more desperate it will be to sell and the greater the extent to which it will achieve this by a low value for the rand, making all its workers

poorer. Vast profits will be made by those who sell on commission, disguising the South African origin of their goods.

More significantly, the price will be beaten down by those who know that they are dealing with a desperate seller. Australia and New Zealand, as well as other exporters of raw materials and fruit, may be relatively indifferent to the commission obtained by third parties (though they will find that they are not gaining the markets they hoped to gain) but they will be seriously hurt by the fall in prices.

Rich northern hemisphere countries have a great deal to gain by sanctions since they will drive down the prices of commodities supplied by poor southern hemisphere countries. Sanctions are one more nail in the coffin of the Third World and the former colonies of Europe.

This is not because anyone diabolically planned it, but because of the way the market works.

Captives of the media's mind

by Boris Johnson

writing in the Daily Telegraph, London

WHILE one pair of seagoing mammals is now moving away from its icy prison toward safety in the south seas, a new and virtually identical crisis is under way — this time, curiously, at an Egyptian hotel.

No sooner had the assembled camp followers on the ice floes put away their expense-account hip-flasks of whisky and sung a final chorus of Eskimo Nell to the departing Siku and Poutu, than the rumour shot round about Leo and Nemo.

I have no doubt that it was the purest coincidence that the latest cetaceans turned out to be in Egypt — just the place for a winter break for a tired journo. And I am only slightly astonished that the captives — two dolphins this time — should happen to be imprisoned in the confines of the swimming pool at the Meridien Hotel, Cairo.

Leo and Nemo, who have been inexplicably abandoned in the pool by their Swiss trainer, are if anything even jollier than their larger cousins. But they present the hotel manager with an expensive quandary, as he cannot get rid of the dol-

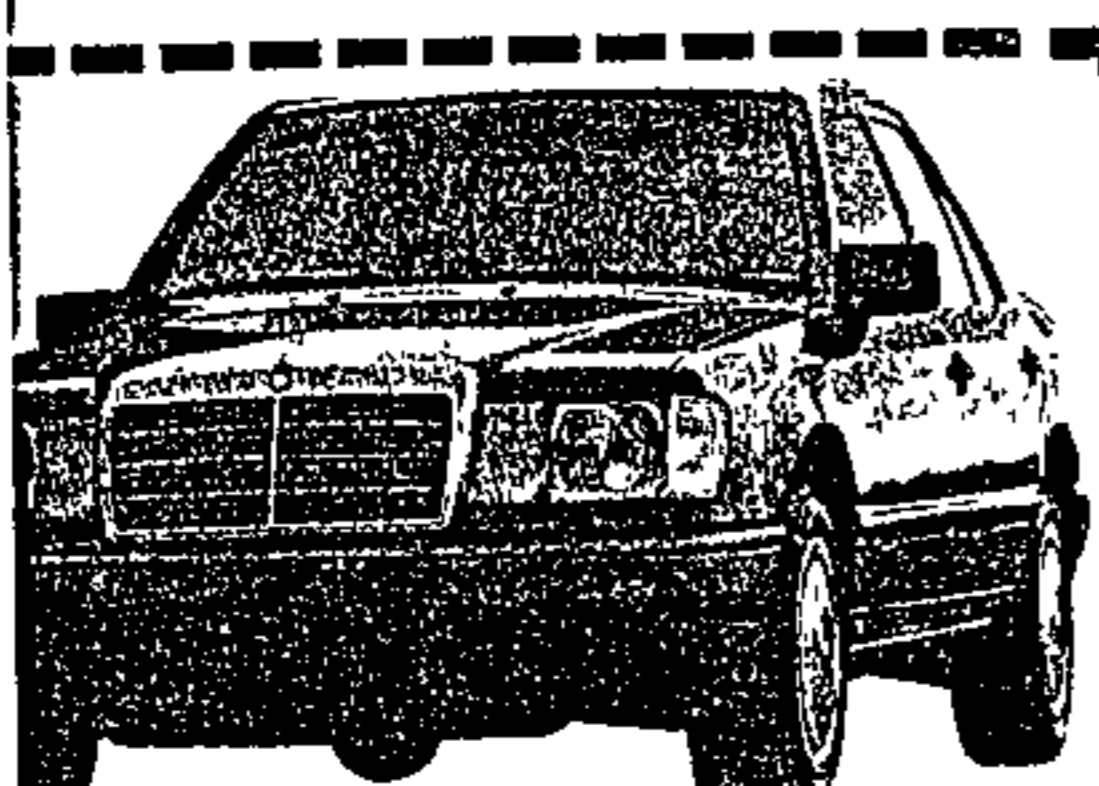
phins and his guests are unable to use the pool.

The world's media, on the other hand, are doubtless making full use of other facilities offered by the Meridien.

While one team composes heart-rending analyses of the logistical problems confronting the animals another writes the classic "media circus" story about the enormous army of camp followers.

The roots of all this lie in the training of every reporter. When he or she joins a local paper the first story is always the same.

Before long, so many cats have been stuck up trees, dogs in railings, budgerigars in vacuum cleaners, that the "animal captive drama" becomes a journalistic obsession.



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PW may speak on Mandela tonight

From TOS WENTZEL, *ARGUS*
Political Correspondent *14/11/88*

PRETORIA. — President Botha is expected to deal with ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release when he opens the Transvaal congress of the National Party in Pretoria tonight.

He will be speaking against the background of constant rumours that Mr Mandela may be released soon and official reaction indicating that this will not happen in the near future.

In his speech tonight Mr Botha is expected to turn down suggestions of an early release. His condition that Mr Mandela must renounce violence as a means to political ends still stands.

He expressed the hope on his recent overseas visit that Mr Mandela would make it possible for himself not to return to jail, which suggested another form of detention.

Speculation about Mr Mandela's release continues to sweep the British Press, The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

THREE OPTIONS

London Sunday Times' correspondent Peter Godwin suggests the South African government is considering three options.

The first is a so-called "phased release", whereby Mr Mandela would be moved first to a convalescent home.

The second choice is a secret release, with the news announced several days after the event "to help play down the excitement".

The third approach, he says, would be "to release Mandela with a State-organised Press conference, decide that he is making outrageous illegal statements and immediately ban him".

If Pretoria can weather the initial trauma of Mr Mandela's release, the government can "sit back and await events", says Godwin.

Mr Botha is also expected to deal with the controversy over the Conservative

Party's moves to restore apartheid in municipalities it now controls.

There is concern in government circles that this attempt to turn back the clock will harm South Africa and may even encourage sanctions moves to start again in the United States.

There is increasing talk of an election in Nationalist circles, but Mr Botha is not expected to announce a date tonight.

Some Ministers are in favour of an election following the recent local government elections.

The argument is that these elections showed that the progress of the Conservative Party has been stemmed.

The congress, which will continue until Wednesday, will discuss whether the government should formulate and announce a plan for constitutional reform.

Efforts are to be made to get going the proposed National Council to deal with black political rights.

● Newspapermen and TV crews resumed their Mandela vigil outside the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic today.

However, there did not appear to be as many police as there were a week ago when rumours about Mr Mandela's imminent release were widespread.

The atmosphere, too, seemed more relaxed than it was when Mrs Winnie Mandela visited her husband on that occasion.

The same two police officers who were on duty in the foyer last week were back today.

Journalists were again not allowed into the building unless they wanted to use a telephone, toilet or buy refreshments.

Speaking from Johannesburg Mr Ismail Ayob, Mr Mandela's attorney, said he had heard "nothing" about his client's release.

"I've heard the rumours, but so far Mr Mandela has not requested me to see him," Mr Ayob said.

2004-14
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14/11/88

THE RITUAL demand for "reform" is becoming a mindless bleating, taking no account of the realities. In fact, some kinds of reform are coming so fast that they pass unnoticed in the bleating; others are proving unattainable.

Professor Louise Tager, former dean of law at Wits, has recently pointed out that most of the central government legislation restricting black business activity has been repealed.

Even the Group Areas Act is not really an obstacle to black business since, in terms of an amendment promulgated this year, any racial group can use premises in any industrial township for industrial and commercial purposes. The remaining restrictions are residential, and black people are knocking down the barriers as they become wealthier in a capitalist economy.

Change is outrunning our capacity to absorb it. We have become so indifferent to change that certain kinds of reforms — such as those freeing black people to acquire property and businesses, to open offices or shops, to enter joint ventures with people of other races, and so forth — simply pass unnoticed. Reforms sometimes come faster than black people can learn to use them.

Almost all remaining restrictions on black business activity are imposed by local authorities, and the remedy is not to bleat at government but to overthrow backward-looking local councils and to lobby for the repeal of licensing laws and by-laws. If the business community had, instead of piously bleating for reform, thrown their energies fully behind the PFP last month, Johannesburg might have become as free a city as central government legislation permits it to be. Sandton is free to free itself.

Clearly, it is time to think again about strategies for change. Reform, as a mechanism for change, can proceed on three fronts. The first is deregulation and privatisation on which front government

Take a fresh look at those reform plans

KEN OWEN

must be applauded if only for reducing its own means to control the lives of the people.

On this front, I think government is doing better than most people realise, and the opposition comes from vested interests: traders, big business monopolies, trades unions, guilds, cartels, the public servants, and so forth. I don't think government gets nearly as much support as it deserves from the business community — including the bleaters — to create a free economy.

The second front is constitutional. The major remaining items on the agenda are repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Land Acts and the Separate Amenities Act; creation of a single education system and a single health care system; repeal of the Population Registration Act; and replacement of the tricameral system with a negotiated democratic constitution.

On this front, more is happening, too, than meets the eye. Government is already, whether it knows it or not, locked in a process of negotiation with black leaders. For the moment, those leaders are negotiating by boy-

cott, as the Afrikaners did before Union. As a technique, refusal to talk is effective.

It is especially effective for people who have little power, and this has recently been demonstrated by the demand in white society for the replacement of Chris Heunis by Pik Botha, who is seen as a more flexible and imaginative negotiator. It means that black patience has worn down white resistance, and the white community is searching for another compromise to put forward.

Of course, the Group Areas Act could (and should) be repealed in the meantime, as should the Land Acts and the Separate Amenities Act, but the practical effect would be limited by the general poverty of the black population, and the political cost might be catastrophic. It may be better, at least until the next election is safely behind us, to tread water lest the Conservative Party gained enough strength to put the entire reform process into reverse, as it is already trying to do in small towns.

Anyway, reform on the constitutional front, since it concerns the central question of the transfer (or division or sharing) of power, must of necessity proceed at its own political pace; the best contribution that busi-

nessmen can make to the process is to join the task of educating white South Africans for change, and educating black South Africans for responsibility.

The third front is seldom mentioned, but it offers great opportunity: the rehabilitation of our legal system, and the extension of human rights, is more likely to produce dramatic results than anything else we might do. It offers us a chance to mount convincing evidence of real change, to widen gradually (instead of suddenly) the scope of political debate and to win foreign opinion.

Most discussion of human rights tends to get stuck on the demand for a bill of rights, which is actually part of the constitutional debate and which offers no immediate progress. I am indebted to Professor Tony Mathews of Natal University for an insight into the possibilities for immediate reform on the security front. Most people will be surprised by the moderation and caution of his proposals.

Mathews observed in a paper published some time ago by the UCT Institute for the Study of Public Poli-

cy (as part of a series on critical choices for SA) that "the present state of lack of rights will not, and cannot, be replaced in the short-term, even under the best imaginable of new governments, with a system characterised by full-blown individual rights and the strict subjugation of public authority to legal rules".

Nevertheless, it is simply wicked to maintain, as we do, a system that allows Zwellakhe Sisulu, Editor of New Nation, to be incarcerated without trial for more than three years. This is the barbarism of pre-revolutionary France, worse even than the capricious brutality of modern backward states.

The judges of the Supreme Court have taken up the task of visiting political prisoners to ensure that they are not beaten to death like Steve Biko and Neil Aggett, and so many others, but that is no solution.

Mathews suggests that we follow the McDonald Commission in Canada in restricting security law to protection of the state against "espionage, foreign and clandestine interference in local politics, terrorism and political violence, sabotage (narrowly defined) and revolutionary subversion". That should be enough to satisfy anybody except an outright fascist.

The way to do so is to follow the example of other threatened states, like Israel, which insists that every detainee be brought before a court after 48 hours, and that the court — not some dumb cop, or dumber Minister — decide whether to continue to hold him. Banning of individuals should similarly be handled by the courts, and so should the banning of newspapers.

The rest of the argument I leave to the lawyers. There is enormous scope here for civilising reform, and nothing else we could do would be half so effective in rehabilitating us in the eyes of the civilised world. It would distinguish us not only from Smith's Rhodesia, but from Mugabe's Zimbabwe.

Mr Heunis, Chief Buthelezi and negotiation

306A
19/11/88
Cape Times

REPORTS last week that the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had said he was negotiating with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu, were incorrect, it has been established. Mr Heunis made no such claim. Accordingly, editorial comment based on this assumption in a Cape Times leading article and in the Political Survey column on Friday was misdirected, being based on incorrect information, and is withdrawn.

923

CP demands probe of 'propaganda film'

30 (4)
292

By Lloyd Coult ^{Stephens}
The Conservative Party has

called for a commission of inquiry into the SABC's R2.5 million funding of a big screen "propaganda" film and has likened the unorthodox project to the Info Scandal.

It has also questioned the involvement of the South African Defence Force in the film and the role played by Ms Rozanne

Botha, daughter of the State President.

CP media spokesman, Dr Pieter Mulder, told The Star yesterday there were surprising parallels between the film project and the Info Scandal.

He was reacting to weekend reports that the SABC undertook to pay Mimosa Film Productions, producer of the film "Back to Freedom", five instal-

ments of R500 000 each for the production of the film, which has been criticised as a flopped propaganda exercise.

According to The Sunday Star, Mr P W Botha became involved in a row over the payment of the final instalment to Mimosa.

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, then Minister in the Office of the State President, had apparently

decided to withhold payment of the final instalment because the film was not up to standard.

Mr Botha had allegedly disagreed with Mr Schlebusch because he thought the SABC should honour its agreement and the instalment was paid.

The film features Impala jet fighters as Soviet-built fighter planes and is strongly anti-Cuban.

Budd defends SA (30417) Govt's reforms, slates ANC rugby talks

LIAMBURG — The South African Government's reform policies have been misjudged, Zola Budd is quoted as saying.

In an interview with the West German magazine *Der Spiegel*, released yesterday ahead of publication, Budd also said the campaign which prompted her pull-out from Britain's Olympic team this year was unfair and a pretext for an attack on apartheid.

"Certainly, President Botha's Government is giving too much consideration to its right-wing critics," she said.

"But, on the other hand, I think its attempts at reform have been misjudged. There is discrimination in plenty of other countries in the world, including those particularly quick to criticise."

Budd said that as a Christian she believed all men were equal and that Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee had unfairly attacked her.

"They took aim at the South African Government and got me," she said.

Budd criticised recent talks between South African rugby authorities and



Zola Budd ... "discrimination in plenty of other countries in the world".

the African National Congress.

"I wonder whether it is necessary to negotiate with people who advocate violence and who are made legitimate through such contacts."

Budd said she had "several good years" in front of her and would welcome a chance to compete in future Olympics if she returned to Europe. Medical considerations, however, ruled out running barefoot, her distinctive trademark.

"The doctors found uneven weight in my hips," she said.

"As a result, I have to put supports in all footwear, even running shoes." — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 14/11/88

309A

Municipal whites-only signs not discussed at CP's mass gathering

By Clare Harper

Whites-only signs were not discussed at the weekend mass meeting attended by more than 400 representatives of Conservative Party-controlled town councils countrywide, the administrative secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, said yesterday.

The meeting, at Hoërskool Hendrik Verwoerd in Pretoria, discussed the CP's position regarding Regional Services Councils and group areas.

"But, as a party, we support separate facilities and signs are not the only method of enforcing these," Mr Beyers said.

DECLINED

He declined to say what the other methods were.

Asked how soon the CP would enforce its policies, Mr Beyers said it would be up to the different councils to decide but added that the councillors were told by leader Dr Andries Treurnicht not to act hastily.

Last week, town clerks of CP-controlled town councils said that no meetings had been held since the new representatives were elected.

The town clerk of Carletonville, Mr C J de Beer, said the first meeting of the council would take place this week.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Koos Nel, said the Carletonville central business district (CBD) had never been "open" but the council had cancelled a previous decision to have certain parts opened.

"We don't say blacks are not allowed to buy there but they are not allowed to own property there," Mr Nel said.

"It's not a matter of competition. We don't want to open white businesses in black areas and we don't want black businesses in white areas. We don't believe in grey areas."

In Lichtenburg, western Transvaal, councillors considered closing the CBD area but were approached by other organisations, including the local chamber of commerce, and asked to re-think, a council source said.

The town clerk, Mr P J Jurgens, said the council wanted to have "another look at the whole situation" and it had been referred for investigation.

According to Mr Attie Vermaak, town clerk of Pietersburg where the CP has been in control since 1982, there were no "whites only" signs in the CBD and no plans to change the status quo.

The town clerk of Potgietersrus, Mr C F B Matthus, said before the meeting that there had been no moves to close the CBD or put up "whites only" signs.

Potchefstroom management committee chairman Professor B H J van der Berg refused to say whether or not the council would move to close the CBD.

Mr Beyers conceded that Conservative Party councils would not have the power to enforce segregation as far as open restaurants, toilets and lifts in private buildings and entrances to Government buildings — such as post offices were concerned.

The Government can also repeal the Separate Amenities Act which presently gives local authorities the power to enforce segregation.

Are Afrikaners out of step with rest of us?

304A
5 Nov 14/11/88

After a careful study of The Star's recent opinion poll on "How to save South Africa", I was struck by two overriding trends.

Firstly, the sharp discrepancy between opinions expressed by Afrikaans-speakers, and those expressed by English-speakers and those speaking African languages.

Secondly, the rather close correlation between the opinions of English-speakers and African-language speakers.

Of 1 052 informants, 413 were English-speaking, 261 Afrikaans-speaking, and 388 speakers of an African language.

Of the Afrikaans-speaking informants, half were living in Pretoria, and 25 percent on the East Rand. The rest were in Johannesburg and the West Rand.

In the case of the English-speakers, 6,5 percent were living in Pretoria, 23 percent on the East Rand, 30,5 percent in the white areas of Johannesburg, and 32,7 percent in the grey, coloured and Asian areas of Johannesburg.

The income of households of Afrikaans-speakers and English-speakers was remarkably similar.

The survey showed that 37,2 percent of the Afrikaans-speakers supported the Conservative Party and 43,3 percent the National Party. In the case of the English-speakers, 29,5 percent supported the NP and 24,2 percent the Progressive Federal Party.

In the case of the speakers of an African language, 40,8 percent support the African National Congress and 20 percent the United Democratic Front.

It is quite remarkable that on the open question on what informants personally believe is the single most important issue to be dealt with in order to save South Africa, 32,4 percent were in favour of the abolishment of apartheid, and/or equal (political) participation for all.

Of those questioned, 13,2 percent of Afrikaans-speakers, 32 percent of the English-speakers and almost 45 percent of speakers of African languages regard it as the single most important issue.

The only other issue regarded by the groups as the most important was economics.

A similar trend is repeated in a number of issues (SEE

A recent nationwide survey by The Star revealed that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans are out of step with the rest of the community when it comes to political and social trends, writes PROFESSOR S J TERREBLANCHE of the University of Stellenbosch.

CHARTS ON LEFT.

While half the informants think social, political and economic reform can best improve national security, only a quarter of the Afrikaans-speakers are of this opinion.

While 42 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want tougher legal restrictions and police action, only 15 percent of English-speakers and 12 percent of the speakers of an African language want tougher measures.

While eight out of 10 English-speakers, and nine out of 10 speakers of an African language are in favour of a non-racial system of government in South Africa — to be brought about immediately or gradually — less than four out of 10 Afrikaans-speakers favour such a system.

Almost 45 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want to retain the Group Areas Act — but only 12 percent of English-speakers and 8 percent of speakers of African languages.

Open schools

Eight of every 10 Afrikaans-speakers want the State of Emergency either intensified or retained, but less than four in 10 English-speakers — and only one of 10 speakers of an African language — want that.

While 63 percent of the speakers of an African language and 54 percent of English-speakers are prepared for the State to allow people to buy and occupy farms irrespective of race, only 17 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want it.

As far as forced removals, 54 percent of the English-speakers and 89 percent of speakers of an African language want it to be stopped; but only 26 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want that.

Almost 90 percent of African language speakers want schools to be open to all races. So do 41,4 percent of English-speakers support this, but only 7,7 percent of Afrikaans-speakers are in favour of it.

In fact, 60,5 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want schools to be kept totally segregated.

I am in favour of the disman

ting of the apartheid system. I regard a non-racial future as inevitable for South Africa.

Consequently, as an Afrikaner, I am very concerned about the verkramppte and racist opinions expressed by the majority of Afrikaans-speakers on the controversial issues mentioned above.

I ask the question: Why does such a sharp discrepancy exist between Afrikaans-speakers' opinions ... and speakers of English and African languages?

I suppose I have no choice but to attribute this sharp difference mainly to the way the mass media and other opinion-forming institutions influence the three language groups.

I have reason to believe (or to fear) that the Afrikaans-speakers' opinions are moulded in verkramppte fashion by the SABC, the main Afrikaans-language newspapers, and by other opinion-forming institutions like the Afrikaner churches, schools and cultural organisations.

It would be very illuminating if a study could be made about the bias of the SABC and the Afrikaans newspapers on the controversial issues mentioned above.

There can be little doubt that the sharp discrepancy between the Afrikaans-speaking informants and the rest are to a very large degree a reflection of the misinformation, non-information, the miseducation and/or propaganda of both the SABC and Afrikaans newspapers.

The opinions of most Afrikaans-speakers are to such a large extent out of step with the rest that it looks as if they are an isolated community.

The fact that the opinion poll was taken in urban and not in rural areas makes the apparent "insulation" of Afrikaans-speakers even more astonishing.

It is also meaningful that 70 percent of the Afrikaans-speaking households surveyed receive a monthly income of more than R2 000. Their opinions are no longer the opinion of poor people.



I attended a conference in Leverkusen in West Germany last month. After my return I was asked to give a lecture on "perestroika and Leverkusen".

In re-reading the book of (Soviet lead Mr Mikhail) Gorbachev, I realised that the glasnost part of his trilogy (of glasnost, perestroika and demokratizasiya) must not only be regarded as the first phase, but also the most strategic aspect, of his reform approach.

With glasnost, he not only means openness and proper problem identification — he especially means the re-education of the Soviet people.

One thing emerged crystal clear from The Star's opinion poll: the need to re-educate Afrikaans-speakers (and to a lesser extent English-speakers) about the true dimensions of the South African problem, and structural reform.

It really looks as if the Afrikaans-speakers do not appreciate the fact that South Africa is rapidly moving into a very serious — and perhaps unresolvable — crisis situation.

A comprehensive programme of moral persuasion is necessary to prepare everybody, but especially Afrikaans-speakers, for those sacrifices — that will also prove to be inevitable if South Africa is to succeed with adequate political and economic reform in an attempt to resolve the mounting crisis.

But where should one start to save South Africa from the Afrikaner verkramptheid? Or must we first try to save the Afrikaners from those persons and institutions that are responsible for the moulding, perpetuating and even strengthening their verkramptheid and racial prejudices?

Yes — but how?

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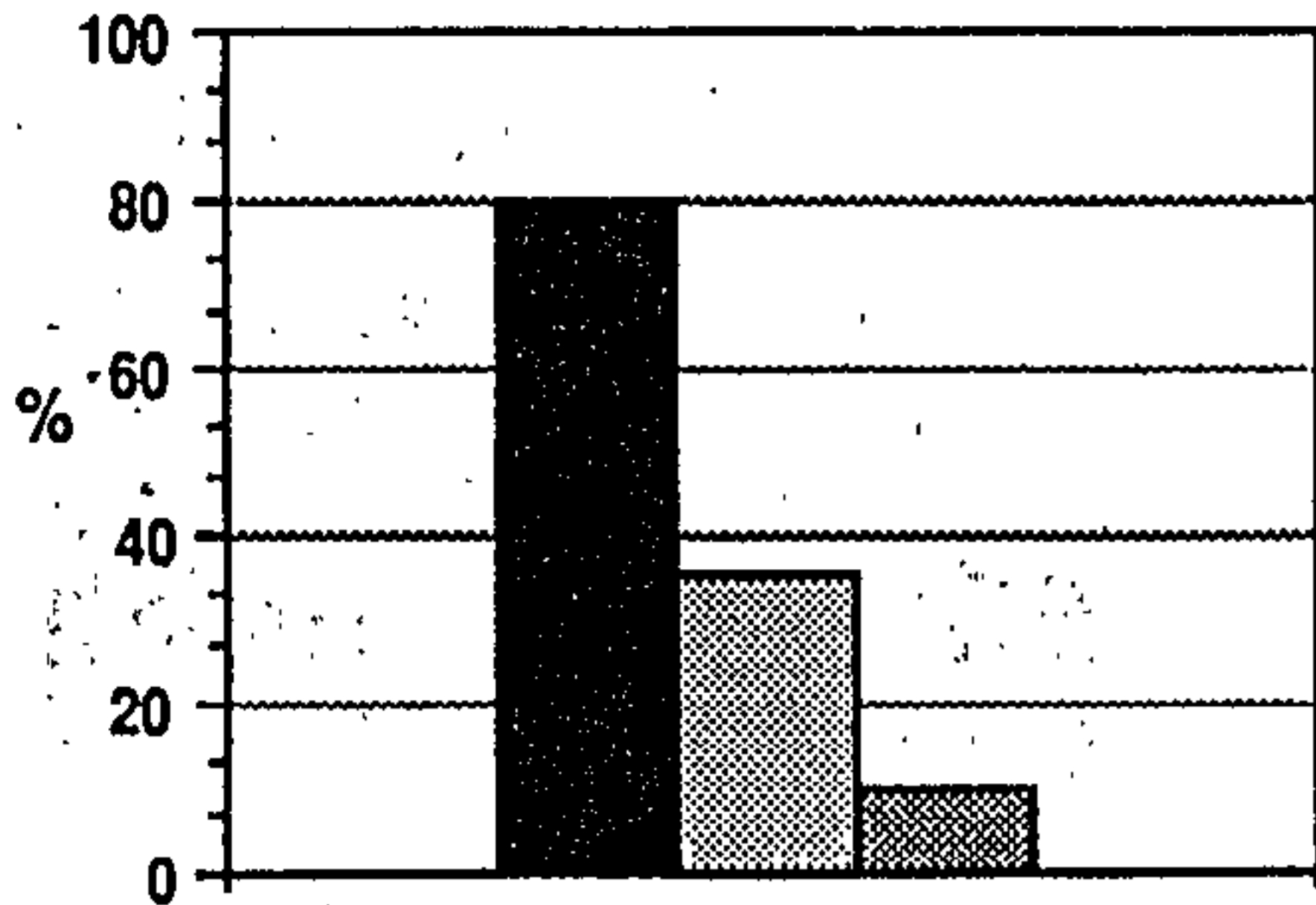
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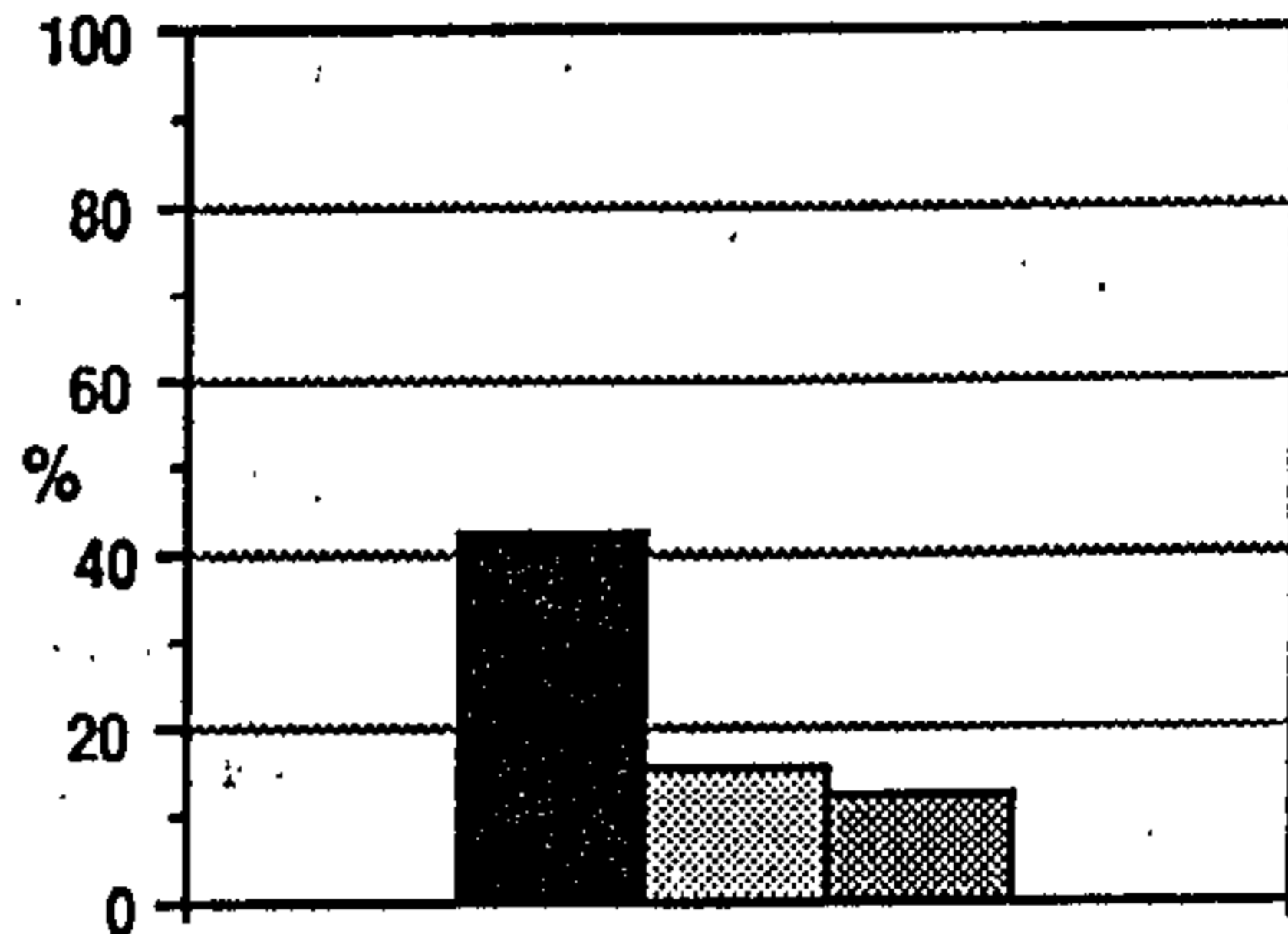
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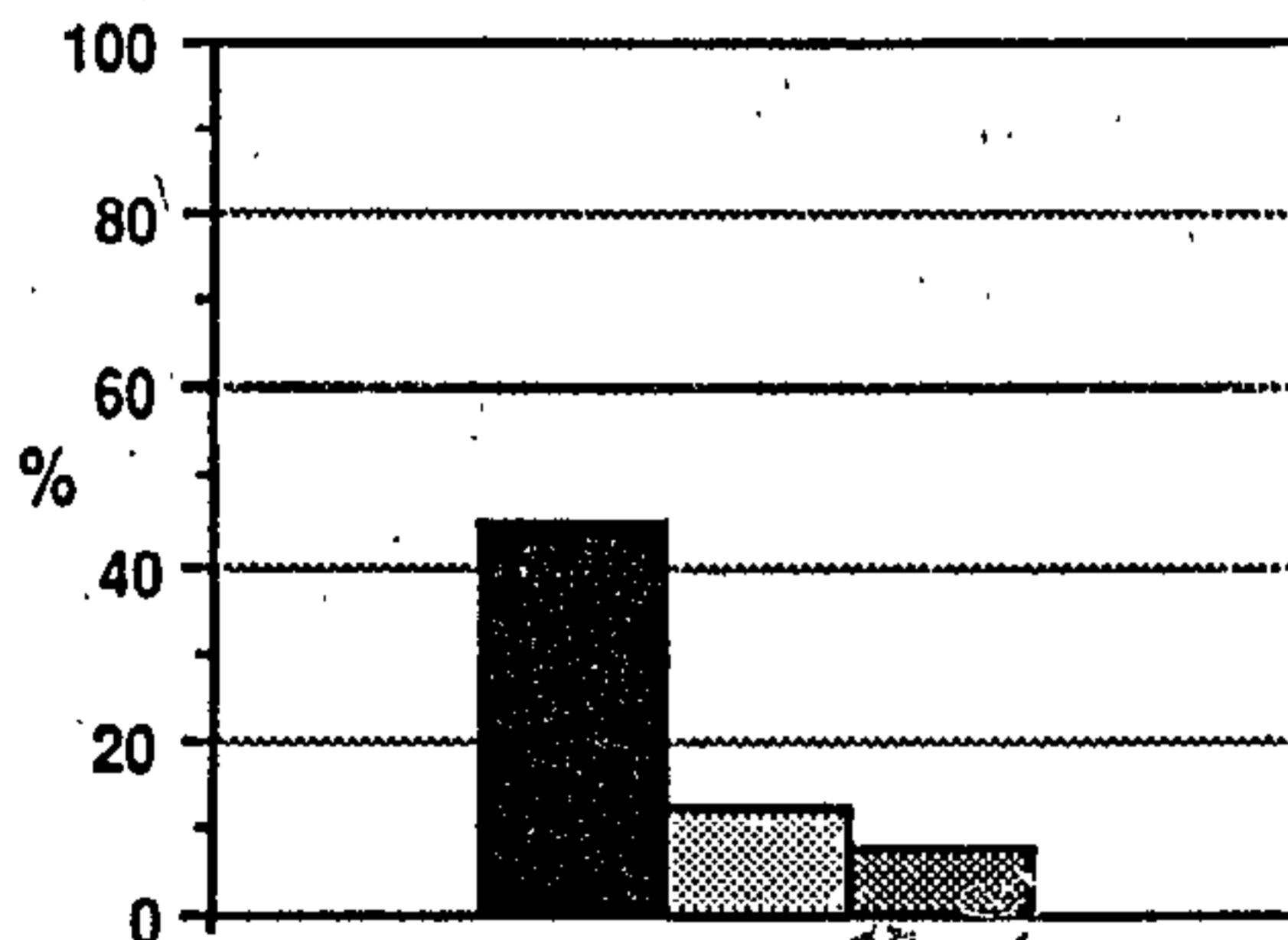
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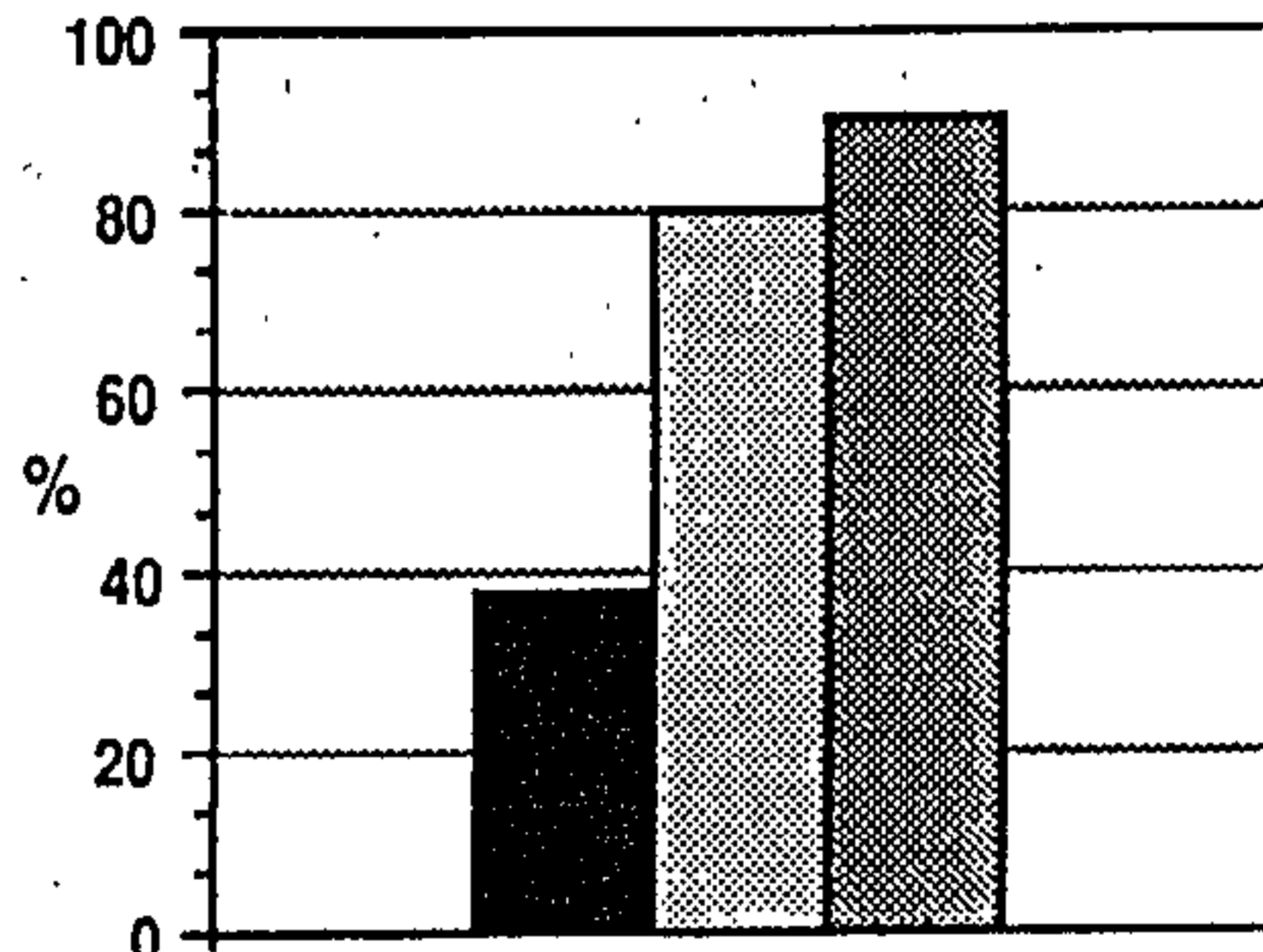
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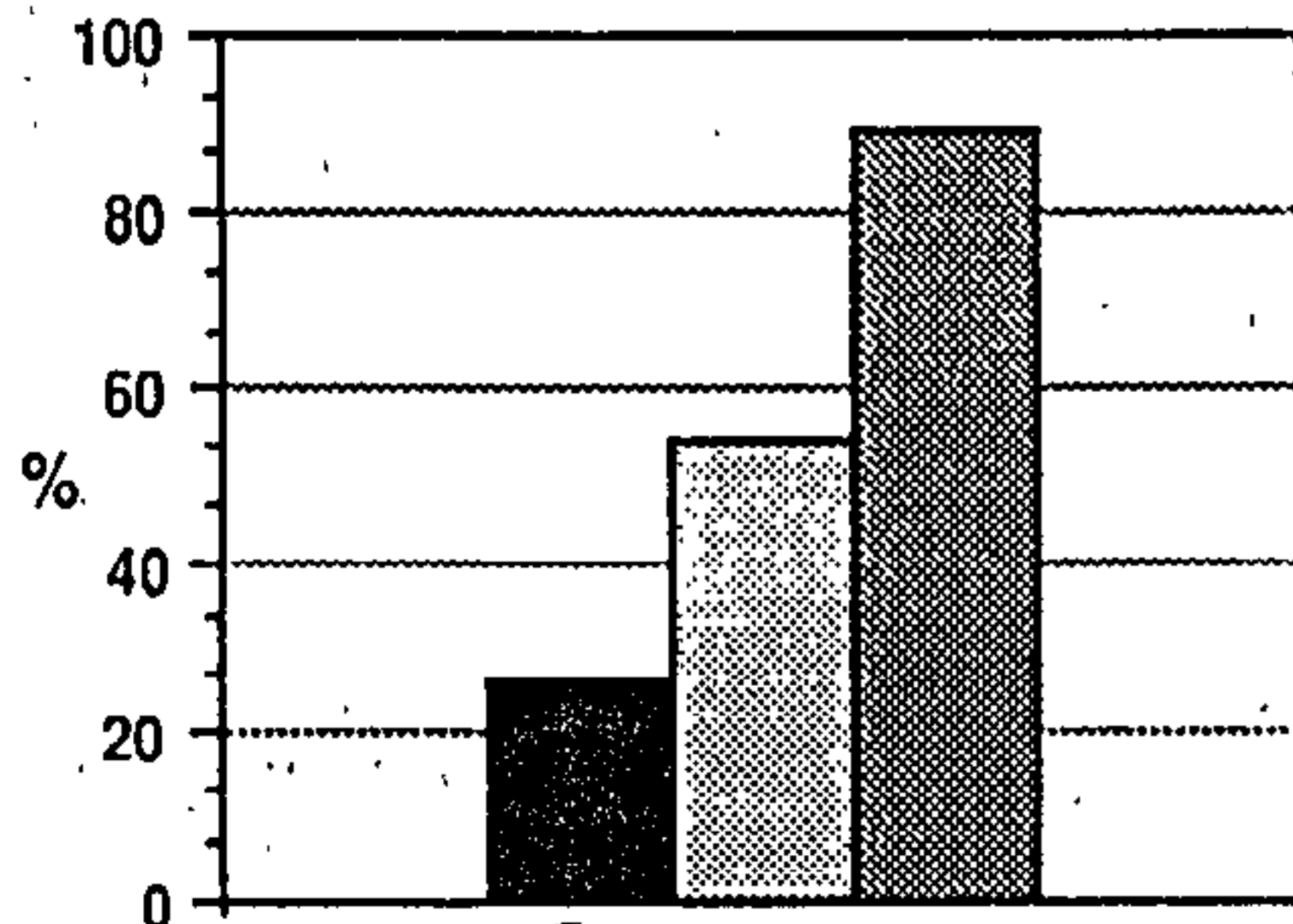
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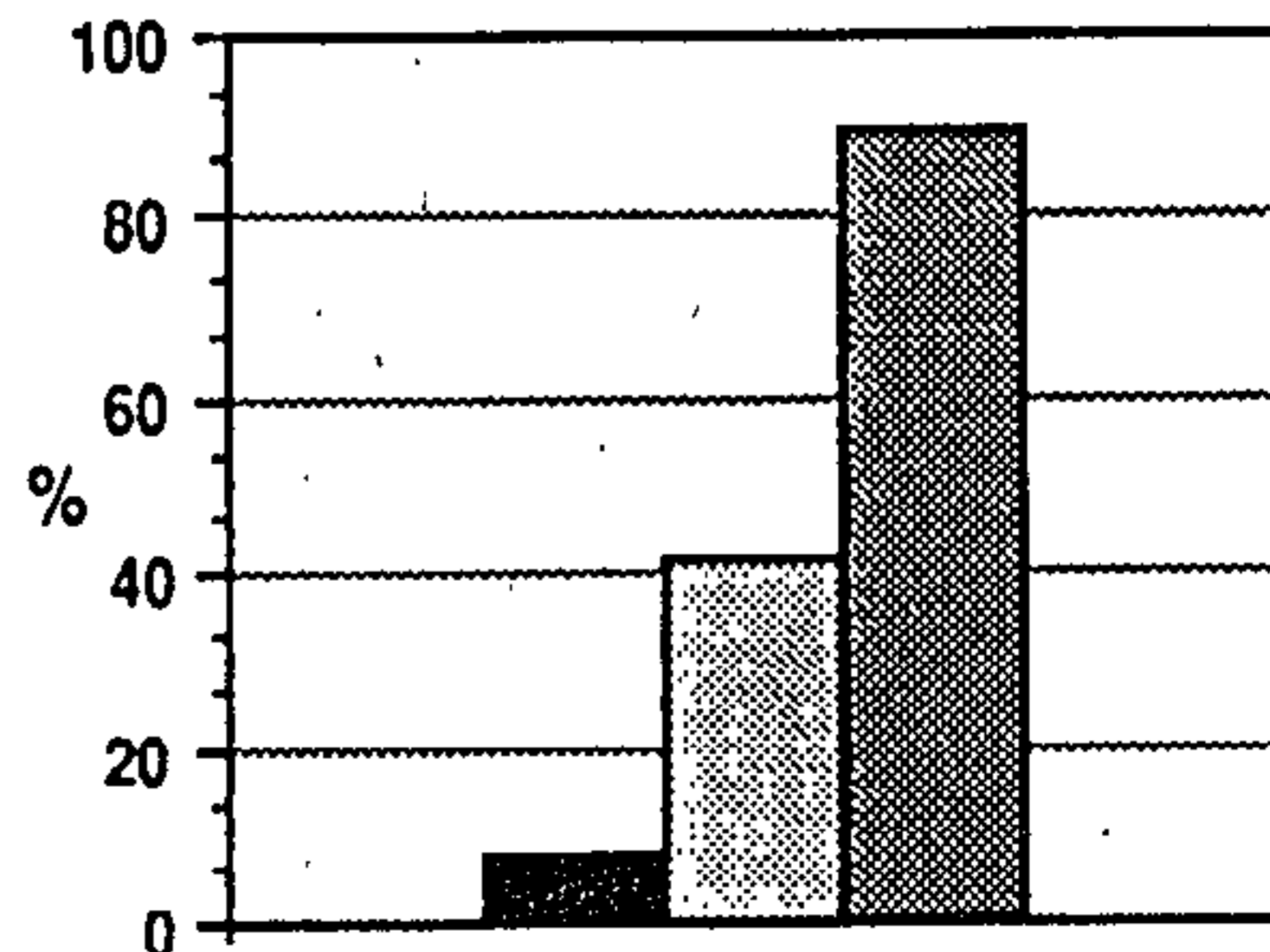
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a non-racial government?



forced removals to be stopped?



schools open to all races?

Language Group ■ Afrikaans □ English ▨ African

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PW slams CP's petty apartheid plan

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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15/11/84

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night criticised the Conservative Party for planning to reintroduce petty apartheid to the towns where it won control in the recent municipal elections.

Mr Botha told a crowd of more than 1 500 people at the opening of the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria that the CP's notices policy would play into the hands of communist terrorists if it clashed with the policies of the central government.

He was referring to the CP's plans to reintroduce apartheid notices on all public amenities, segregating facilities in the local authorities it controlled.

Mr Botha said apartheid signs had caused South Africa more problems than anything else.

The National Party Government had inherited the apartheid signs from the old United Party government in 1948, so they were not a holy cow but rather an old UP cow.

Mr Botha asked if the CP town councils had taken into account what it would mean internationally for South Africa if they went ahead with their plans.

He said: "It is very easy for Opposition members to climb on a stage and beat their chests to show how brave they are. But it is quite another thing to sit around a table with world leaders and plead for South Africa."

Mr Botha said the declared policy of the ANC and the SA Communist Party was to create alternate structures for every structure of authority which existed in South Africa.

Mr Botha said: "I want to ask the Opposition (the CP), have you now also decided to accept the principle of alternate structures that clash with the laws and administration of the country?"

"I want an answer on this. You cannot say you are against communism and terrorism and then accept the same principles as those people. I don't say you support them, but I do say you will fall into a trap."

The difference between the CP and the National Party was that the NP wanted to bring all the country's minorities together.

Stop

872/11/88 (3041A)

Schlebusch 'may take legal action against CP'

Pretoria Correspondent

The former Minister in the State President's Office, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, has hinted he may take legal action against the Conservative Party media spokesman, Dr Pieter Mulder.

This was in reaction to Dr Mulder saying there were surprising parallels between the "Back to Freedom" film project and the Info Scandal. The film has been criticised as a propaganda exercise that flopped.

Mr Schlebusch said in a statement last night Dr Mulder could find himself in a civil action sooner than he (Dr Mulder) thought.

Mr Schlebusch's statement read: "As far as your report in the *Pretoria News* of Monday November 14 1988 is concerned, regarding the 'Back to Freedom' film, I wish to draw your attention to the fact that I

was not in favour of the payment of the last instalment of R500 000 to Mimosa Films before fuller investigations of the whole matter. Nor did I authorise, recommend or effect payment thereof.

"One should study the structures and powers of the SABC Board before making statements to the effect that I actually effected payment under protest.

"As far as Dr Pieter Mulder's veiled insinuation is concerned, regarding my person as to the parallel between the Info Scandal and the 'Back to Freedom' film, I must warn this young man to weigh his words carefully before speaking.

"He can find himself in a civil action sooner than he thinks."

Asked yesterday whether his resignation from the Cabinet on March 30 was linked to the film project, Mr Schlebusch said he would speak "when the circumstances were right".

'White fears lead to SA injustice'

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr. Zach de Beer, questioned yesterday why South Africa had "fallen to such depths" when it consisted of such first-rate people.

He told the Union of Jewish Women in Johannesburg that South Africa had slipped from its honoured position to its present condition of international rejection and isolation, from steady economic growth to creeping poverty, from a human rights society to a permanent state of emergency and from internal peace and goodwill to chronic conflict.

(SAPA)
Putting part of the problem down to "white fear", Dr De Beer said this led to discriminatory political decisions, to injustice to blacks and to resentment and resistance by those blacks.

It also led to tension, conflict and more fear.

"Politics anywhere is about who gets what. In no society in the world are the resources available to government sufficient to meet all the aspirations of all the people. Star 15/11/68

"The active, ambitious politician is literally forced by the system to try to find the means to satisfy as many voters as he can with what is available.

"In a society with a universal franchise, this works, at least to some extent, because all adults vote and therefore have a claim on the resources being distributed.

"In South Africa, that is not the case, and the fears of the whites become the touchstone for what the politicians say and promise and do."

He criticised revolutionaries for creating "white fear" by detonating bombs to cause terror, adding that fear was a "bad master". — Sapa.

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15/11/88

'From place of honour to isolation'

De Beer traces the decline of a democracy

PETER DELMAR

PFP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday the country had slipped from an honoured position to international rejection and isolation.

He added that it had also gone from steady economic growth to creeping poverty.

De Beer told the Union of Jewish Women in Johannesburg the country had declined from "a human rights society to a permanent state of emergency, from internal peace and goodwill to chronic conflict".



● DE BEER

Fear, he said, was always a bad master. "One of the most important things people of goodwill can do is work really hard at helping black and white South Africans to know and trust each other.

"This could be the beginning of a

move towards a new, post-apartheid SA where there will be justice and confidence instead of injustice and fear," he said.

De Beer added white fears had led to discriminatory political decisions, to injustice to blacks, resentment, resistance, tension and conflict.

Whites' fears had become the "touchstone for what the politicians say and promise and do" because all people did not have the vote.

De Beer said "the initial mischief", leading to "the mess we are in", was contained in the design of the 1910 Union constitution.

"The mischief was that virtually exclusive political power in a quasi-democratic parliamentary system was given by that instrument to the white people, thereby ensuring white politicians would have to exploit white selfishness and fear in order to gain votes."

De Beer added: "A true genius, if there had been one at that time, would have seen in the provisions of the SA Act the spectre of Andries Treurnicht."

Facts and fallacies of a people's history

3024A

Volksgeskiedenis is "an uncritical history that glorified an Afrikaner past, vilified the British and presented blacks as savage barbarians", according to Mr Leslie Witz, a history lecturer at Johannesburg's Khanya Col- lege.

Against that, he says, people's history aims at developing a critical approach to the past, at encouraging the exercise of independent judgment.

But if people's history is not a new species of propaganda masquerading as history, neither is it a political tranquilliser.

If people's education aspires to people's power, people's history offers them power of a different sort, intellectual power, said Mr Witz, an MA graduate.

Elaborating in the interview on his article in the latest edition of *SA International*, journal of the SA Foundation, Mr Witz says: "People's history is giving people the power and skill to understand, to think critically. It is an empowering process."

People's history emerged formally from the work of a history commission set up by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). Now fettered by emergency restrictions, the NECC was itself a product of the National Consultative Conference on education of December 1985.

Since then a series of books has been published which, one way or another, facilitate the growth of people's history.

One is the NECC-sponsored textbook,

People's education, the historical analysis to Bantu Education, has developed its own history: people's history. But it is "different from Afrikanerdom's *Volksgeskiedenis*" PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

"What is History". Another is Mr Witz's book "Write Your Own History".

There are also a series of books published by Raven Press, including Luli Callinco's prize-winning "A People's History of South Africa" and two short histories on the Bulhoek massacre and — wait for it — liquor as a factor in South African history.

The NECC textbook offers a series of exercises aimed at encouraging students to assess historical sources critically. Following E H Carr's advice to study the historian as much as his history, it seeks to raise awareness of the bias or prejudices of the narrator.

Sharpeville shootings

One exercise involves reading four accounts of the Sharpeville shootings of 1960 in which 67 black people were shot, dead by police and scores more injured.

They consist of: an extract from a textbook used in white schools, which tells of the "threatening attitude of Bantu demonstrators"; a few paragraphs from a book, which records that the "overwhelming majority" of the dead people were shot in the back; a newspaper report in the *Rand Daily Mail*,

which refers to "agitators", "menacing mobs" and "hordes"; and an eyewitness account by journalist Humphrey Tyler, who describes the crowd as "amiable".

Students are invited to compare the attitudes of writers to the police and the demonstrators. The comparisons serve as a prelude to a general discussion. One conclusion seems inescapable.

No student of "people's history" is going to be ignorant of, or reticent about, the Sharpeville shootings.

Mr Witz offers similar exercises. One focuses on the shooting by a police constable of the Driefontein leader, Mr Saul Mkhize, in April 1983.

It contains extracts from the court record of the trial of Constable Johannes Nienaber for the murder of Mr Mkhize. They include the evidence of Mr Mordechai Maseko, a resident at Driefontein, Constable Nienaber — who was acquitted — and a firearm investigator, Adjutant Officer Bazil Young.

Students are asked a series of questions, which culminate in the pivotal question: was Constable Nienaber guilty?

They are then given the actual judgment of Mr Justice P O de Villiers, who found that there was "a reasonable possibility that Constable Nienaber acted in self-defence" and, accordingly, acquitted him.

The exercise does not end there. The students are asked to compare their assessment with the judge's and to ponder the disaffection of Driefontein residents, encapsulated in their view that "Mr Mkhize had been found guilty of causing his own death".

Mr Witz sums up people's history in two sentences. "It is moving away from a text which students have to learn by heart. It is moving towards a critical understanding of the past."

Professor Rodney Davenport, of Rhodes University, offers a different — but not un-sympathetic — perspective on people's history in an accompanying article in *SA International*.

He links people's history to the new radical school of history which emerged in the 1970s to challenge the liberal historians. The radicals emphasise class rather than race as the motor force of South African history.

Group solidarity

Their self-defined task, Professor Davenport says, was to write history to build up a sense of purpose in the workers. "Thus, a new kind of 'people's history' began to emerge, in close proximity to the workers' struggle."

But while correcting imbalances in earlier historiography — what the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko once referred to as the "appalling misrepresentation of facts" — the new people's history faces similar problems to Afrikaner *volksgeskiedenis*, Professor Davenport says.

He identifies them as using history to calculate "a sense of group solidarity" and, in attempting to reach wider audiences, imposing "norms of simplicity which require a bold line of argument rather than subtle qualification".

304X
15/11/88

CP undeterred by sanctions threat

THE CP was concerned about the consequences of sanctions, but would not abandon plans to implement its segregation policies because of the dictates of foreign countries, a party spokesman said yesterday.

CP organisation director Andries Beyers said the CP, like any responsible party, wanted to avoid sanctions and disinvestment from SA.

He said: "But we cannot abandon our policies just because some overseas countries demand certain things

PETER DELMAR

of us. They must learn to mind their own business"

More than 400 CP councillors agreed at the weekend to re-introduce petty apartheid in about 90 cities and towns under its control. However, Beyers said the media had painted a negative picture of the party's plans.

He said: "Apartheid signs are not CP policy. Our policy is not about throw-

ing blacks out; it is a question of creating separate facilities. Integration only causes friction and this is a means of ensuring good relations between the races."

Beyers said the NP was trying to terrify voters by threatening them with sanctions.

"We will obviously not invite sanctions. However, we have a mandate from our voters and we are concerned about seeing that mandate is implemented."

P W's bid to compare CP to the ANC 'disgusting' — Treurnicht

304A Political Correspondent SF 15/11/84

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today it was absolutely disgusting that the State President, Mr P W Botha, had tried to compare his party with the ANC.

He was reacting to Mr Botha's speech last night in which Mr Botha said the CP would be falling into a trap by supporting alternative structures which clashed with the policies and administration of central government.

Mr Botha said the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance had a stated policy of setting up alternative structures for every structure of authority in South Africa.

He rebuked the Conservative Party for trying to restore petty apartheid by erecting segregation boards in the municipalities it controlled.

Dr Treurnicht said he would react more fully to Mr Botha's speech in a statement to be released later today.

● See Page 6.

Law's on the right side for the CP

The Conservative Party is legally entitled to plaster plateland towns with "whites only" signs — any white local authority is, as the Act empowering town councils to segregate their areas down to a park bench has never been repealed.

But whether the CP will radically alter society in smaller towns with its decision to bring back rigid discrimination is a moot point.

Most towns outside the PWV area never opened their libraries, municipal swimming baths or park benches to all races in the first place.

Asked to give concrete examples of the desegregation the CP has vowed to wipe out, the party's director of organisation Mr Kobus Beyers said the CP was busy compiling a list.

He declined to give examples for reasons of strategy.

But a snap survey of small — and not-so-small towns — from Pietersburg to Potchefstroom as to whether libraries or municipal resorts were open to all races turned up not one. Reactions from librarians in CP-

Star 15/11/53 By CLAIRE ROBERTSON, Pretoria Bureau

The Separate Amenities Bill passed in 1953, which empowers town councils to enforce segregation, has never been repealed.

SEGS BLANKES SWHITES ONLY

controlled towns to the question: "May black people use your library?" ranged from "Oh no!" to "Unfortunately not... not yet."

Local authorities have been allowed to enforce segregation since 1953, when the Separate Amenities Act was passed.

The Act allows anyone in charge of public facilities — such as park benches, public toilets, counters or libraries — to set these aside for "the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race or class".

The Act does not force authorities to segregate facilities, but states that they may do so "whenever (they)

deem it necessary or expedient".

Anyone disobeying the segregationist notices — by, for example, a black man "wilfully" sitting on a "whites only" park bench — is guilty of an offence and liable to a fine, in those days of up to £50 or three months' imprisonment, the Act says.

The fact that a park bench, public toilet or other facility does not exist for races apart from those allowed that particular facility, makes no difference, according to the Act.

Such an order shall not be invalid "merely" for this reason or that facilities for other races are inferior. After the passing of the Act on Oc-

tober 5 1953, South African towns, almost without exception, found it "necessary and expedient" to segregate amenities.

It was only in the larger centres — almost exclusively in the PWV area — that so-called petty apartheid has disappeared by degrees in the past 10 years as individual city councils abandoned the "whites only" signs that once festooned public amenities.

The smaller towns rarely, if ever, abandoned the policy.

The CP's decision to close or keep closed local amenities has drawn the reaction that this would harm South Africa's image abroad.

But foreign journalists hoping to photograph or film a "whites only" sign need travel only a few hours from Johannesburg.

Or they can open the northern Transvaal telephone directory under Nyistroom. Between "Caravan Park/Swimming Bath" (whites only) and "Waterberg Museum" ("All nations welcome"), is a listing for the "Indian Library".

Hints of new media curbs alarm Dalling

PFP challenges PW to define his ^{Star 15/11/88} 'sources' threats ^{204A}

The State President, Mr PW Botha, should define more precisely what he was complaining about and what action he intended after his latest attack on the media.

This was the reaction of the Progressive Federal Party today to the speech last night by Mr Botha in which he threatened to consider further legislation to curb the media.

Mr Botha told the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria that the Government should give serious consideration to legislation which would force newspapers to disclose the identities of their sources in cases of libel.

He gave no specific reason for why such a law would be necessary in South Africa.

The tenor of Mr Botha's entire speech was that the media

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

was engaged in sensational speculation which frequently bore no resemblance to the truth.

He had accused the media of playing one Minister off against another and of speculating about the agenda and decisions of the Cabinet.

Mr Botha also talked of journalists as "little jackals and reckless people who were trying to rip the country to shreds", instead of writing about the positive aspects of South Africa such as the sunshine, the beautiful weather, wonderful nature and good facilities.

Journalists should be trying to attract tourists with their writing not terrorists, he said.

Mr Botha also said he would be calling the Media Council and the Newspaper Press Union to put matters right. If they did not want to, the Government would do it for them, he said.

PFP spokesman on the media Mr Dave Dalling said today Mr Botha had made yet another threat against that section of the press which annoyed him.

"If you legislate, however, the whole press is affected and not just one section.

"Mr Botha owes it to the public and to the media to define more precisely what he was complaining about and what he intends doing about it.

"Veiled threats, unclear and ambiguous statements only create a lack of confidence and solve little.

"Mr Botha should speak out more clearly," he said.

Afrikaans in Pool Shock

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AFTER a careful study of the recent opinion poll on "How to save South Africa", I was struck by two overriding trends.

Firstly, the sharp discrepancy between the opinions expressed by Afrikaans-speaking informants on the one hand and those expressed by English-speakers and those speaking an African language on the other. Secondly, the rather close correlation between the opinions of English-speakers and the speakers of an African language.

Of the 1 052 informants, 413 were English-speaking, 261 Afrikaans-speaking and 388 spoke an African language. Of the Afrikaans-speaking informants, 50 percent were living in white areas in Pretoria and 25 percent in white areas on the East Rand. The rest lived in Johannesburg and on the West Rand.

In the case of the English-speakers, only 6,5 percent were living in Pretoria, 23 percent on the East Rand, 30,5 percent in the white areas of Johannesburg and 32,7 percent in the grey, coloured and Asian areas of Johannesburg.

The income distribution of households of Afrikaans and English-speakers was remarkably similar.

It is important to keep in mind that 37,2 percent of the Afrikaans-speakers support the Conservative Party and 43,3 percent the National Party. In the case of the English-speakers, 29,5 percent support the NP and 24,2 percent the Progressive Federal Party.

In the case of the speakers of an African language, 40,8 percent support the African National Congress and 20 percent the United Democratic Front.

It is quite remarkable that on the open question of what informants personally believe is the single most important issue to be dealt with to save the country, 32,4 percent of the total were in favour of the abolition of apartheid (or of racial separation) and/or were in favour of equal (political) participation for all.

Only 13,2 percent of Afrikaans-speakers, 32 percent of the English-speakers and almost 45 percent of speakers of an African language regard it as the single most important issue.

The only other issue (out of a total of more than 40 mentioned spontaneously) that was regarded by more than 11 percent of any of the three language groups as being the single most important one is the economic problem (regarded as such by 11,5 percent of Afrikaans-speakers).

Only 5,3 percent of the English-speakers and 2,8 percent of the speakers of an African language regard the economic problem as the single most important one.

A similar trend is shown in numbers of issues.

While half of the total informants think that social, political and economic reform can best improve national security, only a quarter of the Afrikaans-speakers maintain this opinion.

While 42 percent of the Afrikaans-



A recent nationwide survey for Argus company newspapers showed that Afrikaans-speaking South Africans are out of step with the rest of the community when it comes to political and social trends, writes Professor S J Terreblanche, of Stellenbosch University.

speakers want tougher legal restrictions and police action, only 15 percent of the English-speakers and only 12 percent of the speakers of an African language want tougher measures.

While eight out of every 10 English-speakers and nine out of every 10 speakers of an African language are in favour of a non-racial system of government in South Africa (to be brought about immediately or gradually), fewer than four out of 10 Afrikaans-speakers favour such a system.

Almost 45 percent of the Afrikaans-speakers want to retain the Group Areas Act while only 12 percent of English-speakers and only eight percent of speakers of an African language want to retain it.

Eight out of every 10 Afrikaans-speakers want the state of emergency either intensified and/or retained, while fewer than four out of every 10 English-speakers and only one out of every 10 speakers of an African language want that.

While 63 percent of the speakers of an African language and 54 percent of English-speakers are prepared to allow people to buy and occupy farms irrespective of race, only 17 percent of Afrikaans-speakers are in favour.

As far as forced removals are concerned, 54 percent of the English-speakers and 89 percent of speakers of an African language want these to be stopped, while only 26 percent Afrikaans-speakers agree.

While almost 90 percent of the speakers of an African language want schools to be open to all races and 41,4 percent English-speakers also support this, only 7,7 percent Afrikaans-speakers are in favour. In fact, 60,5 percent of the Afrikaans-speakers want schools to be kept totally separate in sharp

contrast to only 15 percent of English-speakers and 5,2 percent of the speakers of an African language.

I am in favour of dismantling the apartheid system. I regard a non-racial future as inevitable for South Africa. Consequently, as an Afrikaner, I am very concerned about the verkramppte and racist opinions expressed by the majority of Afrikaans-speakers on the controversial issues mentioned here.

I am obliged to ask the question: Why does such a sharp discrepancy exist between Afrikaans-speakers' opinion on the one hand and those of speakers of English and African languages on the other?

I suppose I have no choice but to attribute this sharp difference mainly to the way the mass media and other opinion-forming institutions influence the three language groups.

I have reason to believe (or to fear) that the Afrikaans-speakers' opinions are moulded in verkramppte fashion by the SABC and the main Afrikaans-language newspapers and by other opinion-forming institutions such as the Afrikaner churches, schools and cultural organisations.

There can be little doubt that the sharp discrepancy between the Afrikaans-speaking informants and the rest are to a very large degree a reflection of the misinformation, the non-information, the miseducation and/or the propaganda of both the SABC and Afrikaans newspapers.

The opinions of the majority of Afrikaans-speakers are to such a large extent so out of step with the rest that it looks as if they are an isolated community.

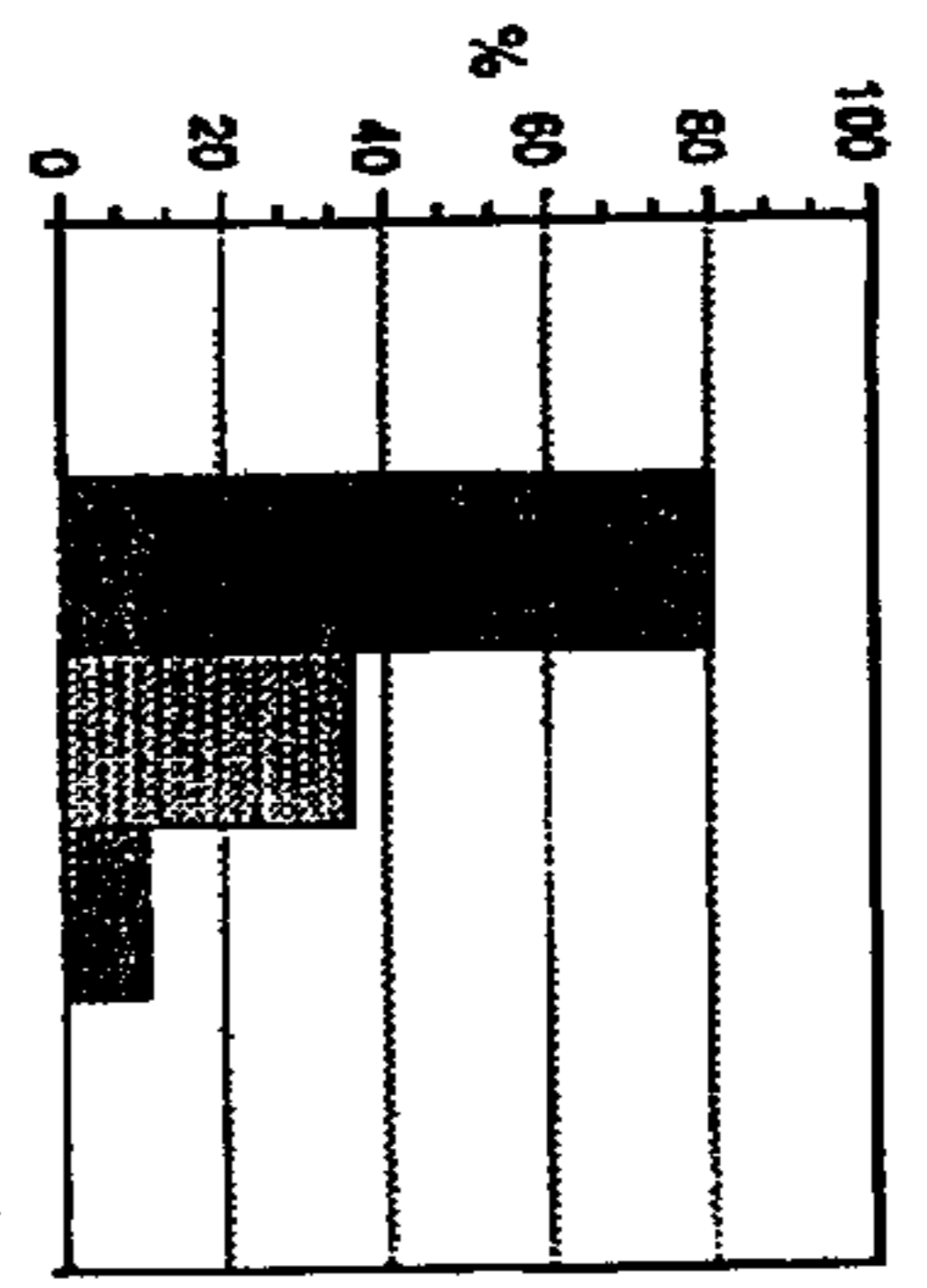
The fact that the opinion poll was taken in urban and not in rural areas makes the apparent "insulation" of the Afrikaans-speakers even more astonishing. It is also meaningful that 70 percent of the Afrikaans-speaking households polled receive a monthly income of more than R2 000. Their opinions are no longer the views of poor people.

One thing emerged clearly from the opinion poll: the dire need to re-educate the Afrikaans-speakers (and to a lesser extent the English-speakers) about the true dimensions of both the South African problem and structural reform.

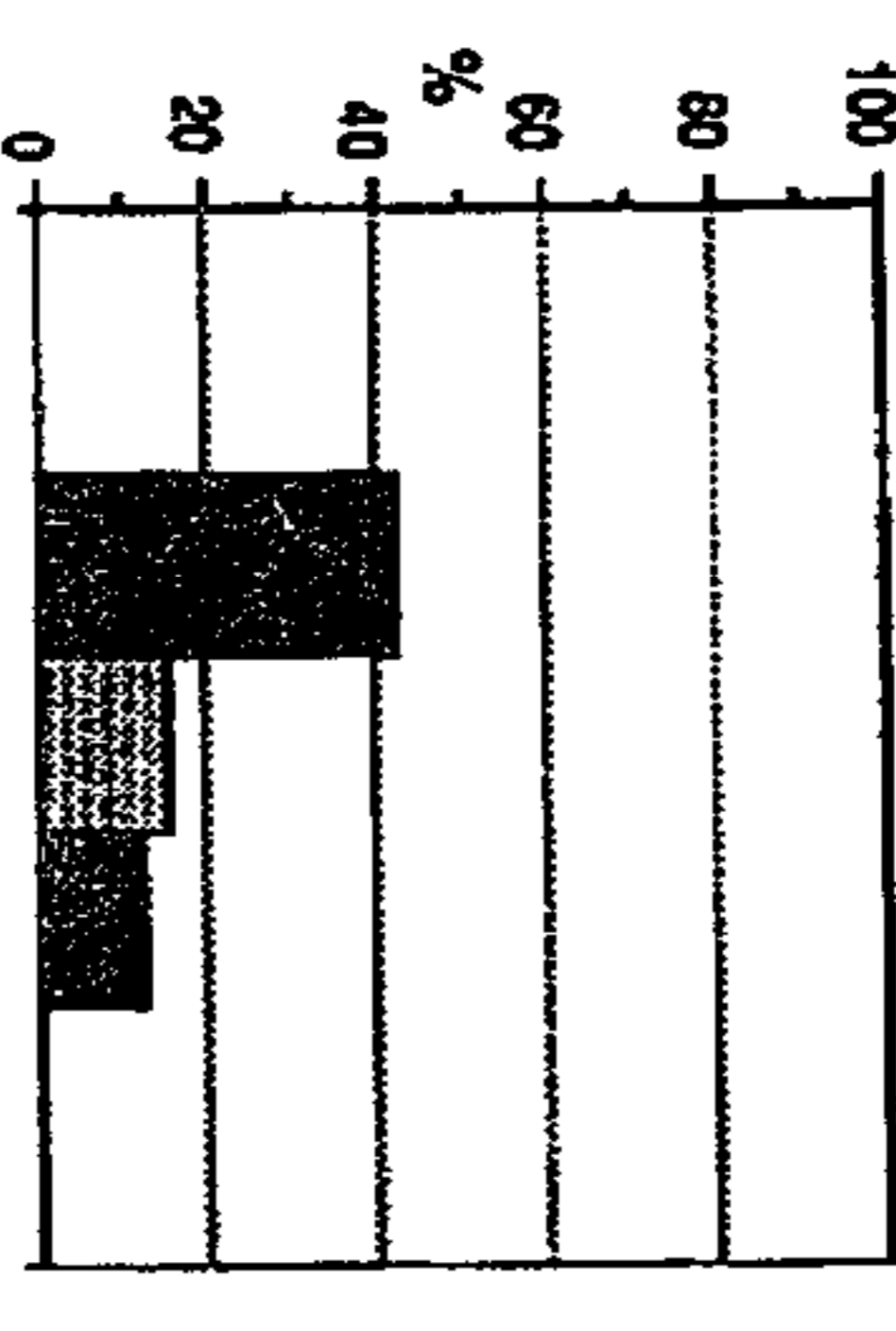
A comprehensive programme of moral persuasion is necessary to prepare everybody — but especially the Afrikaans-speakers — for those sacrifices that will also prove to be inevitable if South Africa is to succeed with adequate political and economic reform in an attempt to resolve the mounting crisis.

But where should one start to save South Africa from Afrikaner verkramptheid? Or must we first try to save the Afrikaners from those persons and institutions responsible for moulding, perpetuating and even strengthening their verkramptheid and their racial prejudices? Yes, but how?

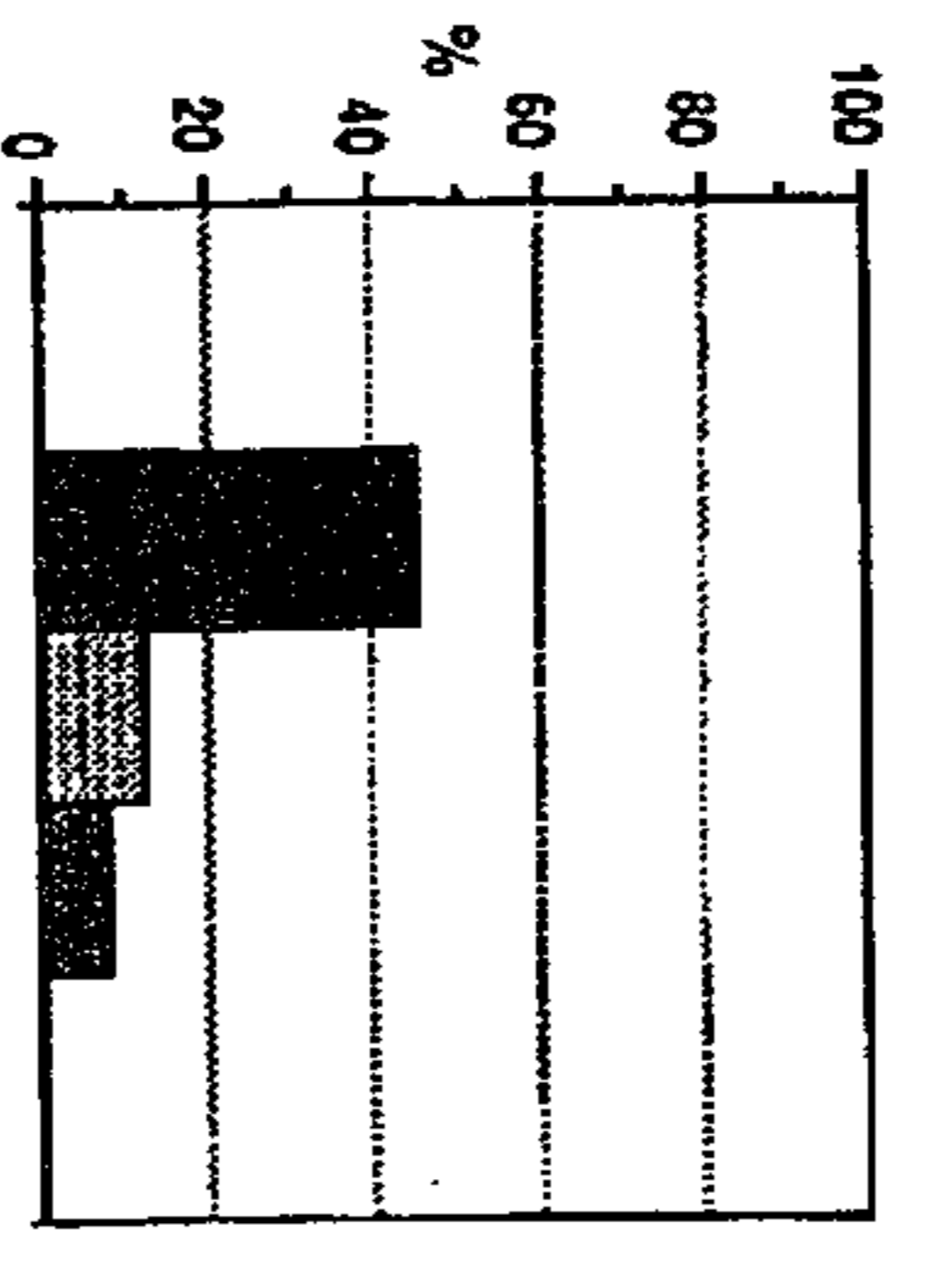
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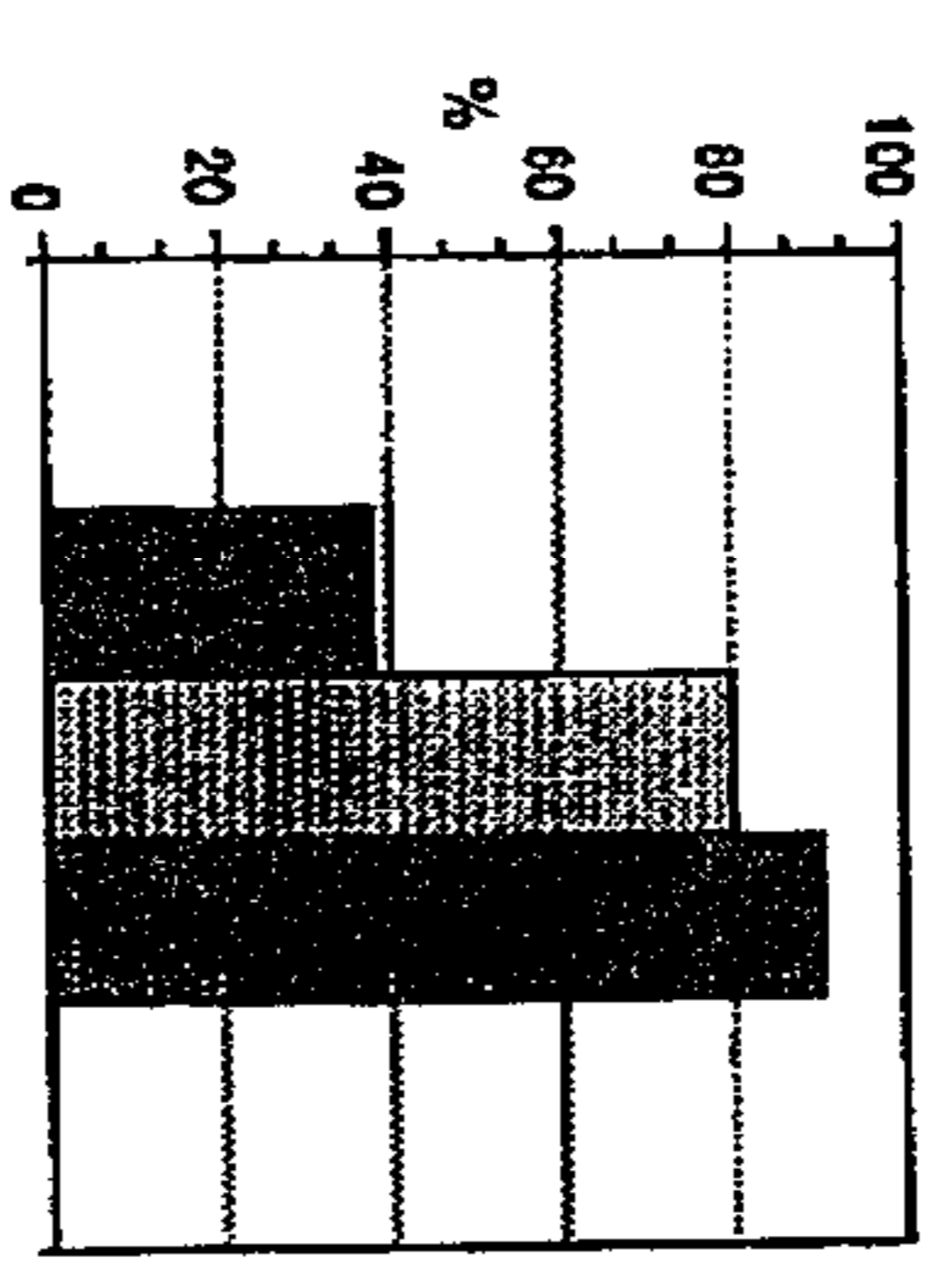
the state of emergency either intensified and/or retained?



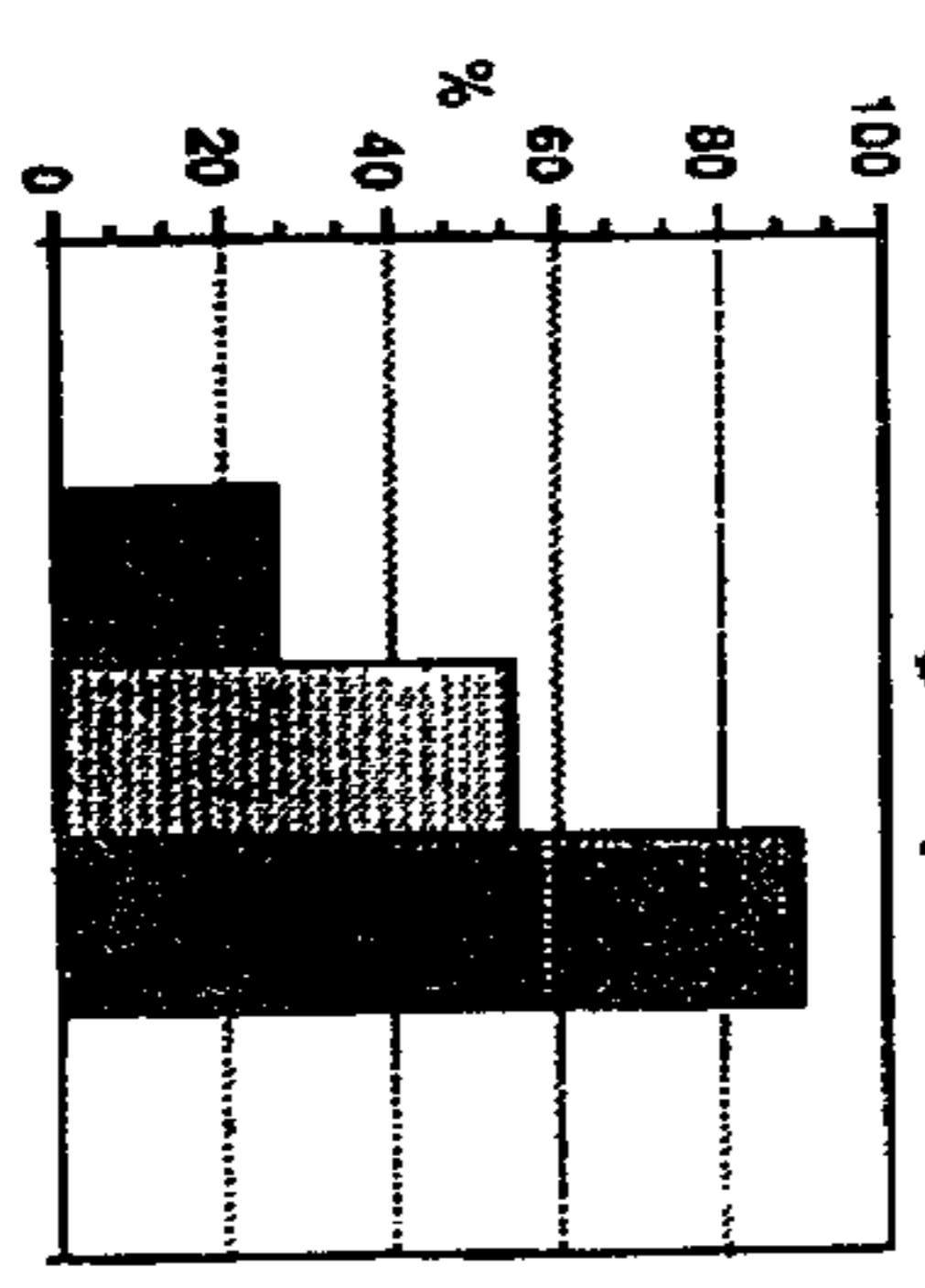
tougher legal restrictions and police action?



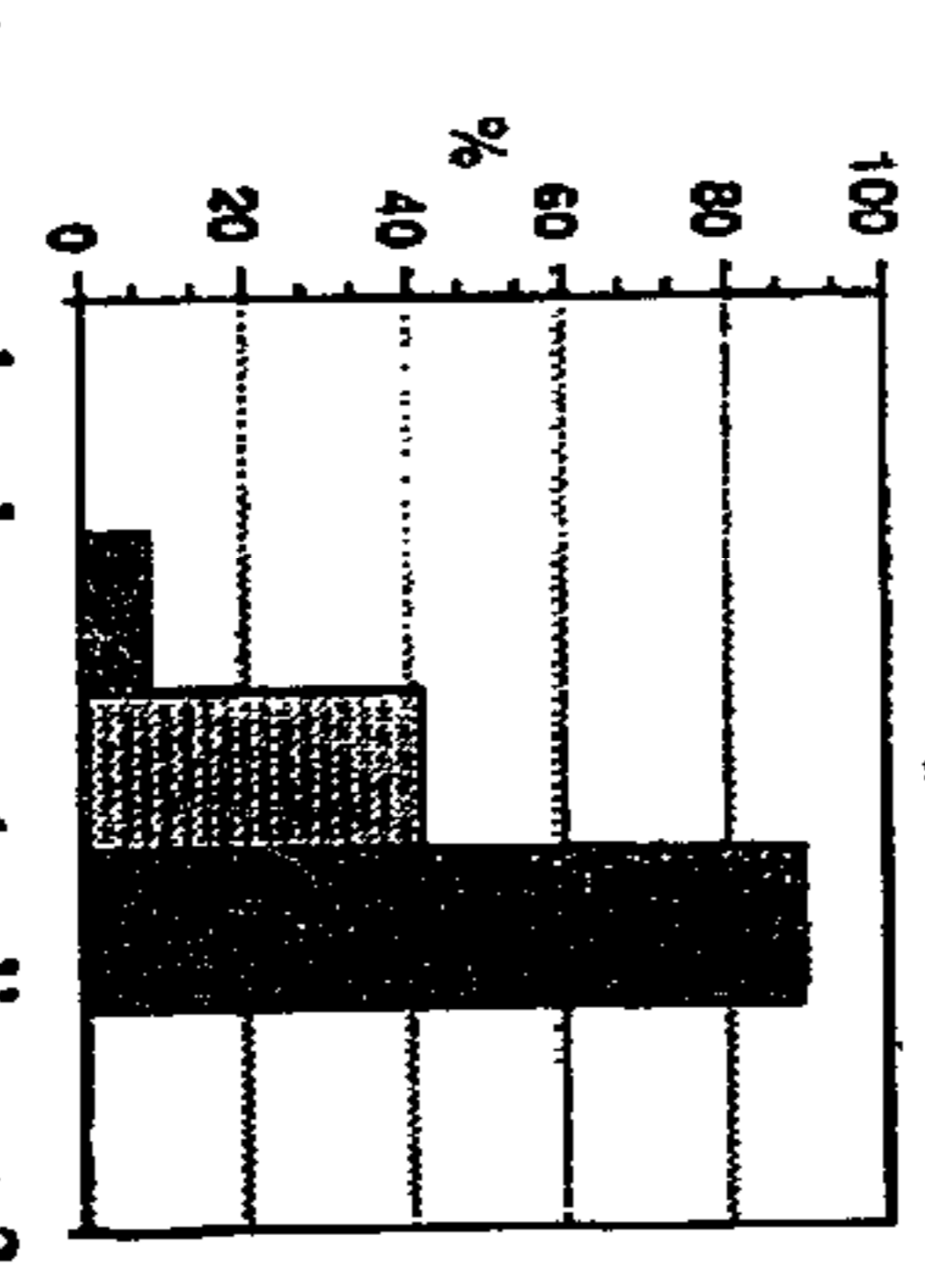
to retain the group areas act?



a non-racial government?



forced removals to be stopped?



schools open to all races?

Language Group ■ Afrikaans ■ English ■ African

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha last night threatened a further press crackdown to halt the spread of "gossip" about problems in the National Party at home and "distortions" about SA abroad.

Mr Botha also threatened "to expose" the people who he said were sponsoring the visits to the African National Congress.

In a wide-ranging attack on the press and his political opponents, Mr Botha told about 1500 of the party faithful packed into the city hall here that the government would "seriously consider" taking steps to force journalists to reveal their sources.

An angry Mr Botha lashed out at journalists who — because they were "on heat" — had written speculative reports about rivalry and division within his cabinet.

'Ripped to shreds'

He also slammed the "small jackals" who he alleged were undermining the country and furthering sanctions by creating false perceptions about South Africa abroad.

South Africa could not at a time when "undermining forces" were ranged against the country afford to be "ripped to shreds" by irresponsible journalists who used unnamed sources to "smear" individuals in government.

Referring to persistent press reports on rivalry and competition in the cabinet, Mr Botha said "attempts to play ministers off against each other" had harmed the NP's provincial leaders.

In his first substantive defence of the embattled Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Botha said to applause that the NP's Cape leader had done more for reform than any of his critics.

His remarks appeared designed to end persistent speculation that Mr Heunis was about to be relieved of his crucial portfolio because of the lack of visible success in government negotiations with blacks.

Mr Botha said the NP's leaders were "not sheep" and could differ like men.

In a strongly worded attack on the Conservative Party, Mr Botha said that unlike its rivals the NP did not attempt to build a society on "hate and condemnation, but on realities".

He said the CP had clearly not thought through the international and local consequences of its threat to reintroduce apartheid signs and undermine government reform initiatives in areas it had had recently gained control of during the nationwide municipal elections.

Accusing the CP of following ANC principles, Mr Botha said: "You (the CP) have also accepted the principle of alternative structures that come into conflict

To page 3

From page 1

with our country's laws and government.

"You cannot say you are against terrorism if you accept the same principles as them."

Mr Botha also attacked what he called "experts in nonsense" who had criticised the country's recent economic performance.

The government's economic programme had achieved "reasonable success" and the current account was showing a bigger surplus in the second half of the year than in the first six months.

Mr Botha also lashed out at his foreign critics, saying the country would not bow to unreasonable outside demands.

"South Africa's future cannot and will not be determined by a Lancaster House conference," he said in a reference to Zimbabwe.

"If there are people that are planning such a conference, then I want to tell them now: 'Don't try it because South Africa is not up for sale'."

South Africa would not be able to grow without the leadership of whites.

Mr Botha said that where there were difficulties with "other races" this was often caused by whites who could not get anywhere in their own community.

● Mr Botha indicated that he intended signing into law the Free Settlement Areas Bill recently referred to him by the President's Council.

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Cape Times
15/11/88
3044

'CP furious'

Sowetan 16/11/88
THE Conservative Party was seething yesterday at a comparison by President P W Botha that likened them to the ANC.

Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday: "It is disgusting."

Dr Treurnicht said in a brief interview yesterday that he had taken note of Mr Botha's speech and would issue a full statement later in the day.

In his speech to the National Party Transvaal congress this week, President Botha insinuated that the Conservative Party had adopted a similar strategy to the ANC/SACP alliance by wanting to reintroduce what he termed its "little board policy."

He asked "have you (the Conservative Party) also accepted the principle of alternative structures which clash with those of the country and of its laws."

He also asked whether the CP had considered the international repercussions of its apartheid sign campaign.

Under fire

THE Government should give serious attention to the possibility of legislation compelling disclosure of "responsible sources" which were quoted in the media and maligned or slandered people in public life, the State President, said, at the congress.

He dealt at length with recent reports in the media which speculated on political developments in the National Party and possible cabinet shuffles in the Government.

Emphasising that he had long standing friends within the national media, both English and Afrikaans, he singled out the two major Afrikaans Press groups, Nasionale Pers and Perskor.

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Those most likely to quit SA are liberals ^{SK 14/11/88} survey _{304A}

CAPE TOWN — Managers most likely to quit the country are English-speaking, in their 30s and "liberal" while "more conservative, older and Afrikaans-speaking" managers are intent on staying.

This information came to light in a recent survey on the "brain drain" by senior lecturer Dr Piet Human and MBA graduate Mr Jeremy Green of the graduate school of business (GSB) at the University of Cape Town.

However, only 9 percent of managers interviewed indicated they would definitely leave the country. Two-thirds said they would stay and 23 percent indicated they were unsure.

The survey found that the commitment to stay was distinctly related to language group and age.

The majority of managers considering leaving the country were English-speaking (82,7 percent).

Most Afrikaans-speaking respondents (91 percent) said they intended staying.

About 60 percent of the respondents who intend emigrating said they supported the Progressive Federal Party or Independent Party. Most of those who supported the National Party and New Republic Party (91 percent) said they would stay.

Forty-one percent of the managers who felt that blacks would dominate government in their lifetime said they would leave the

country while 92 percent of those who disagreed with this view said they were intent on staying.

The managers who indicated they wanted to stay were less inclined to get involved in influencing Government to effect social and political reform, the survey showed.

The majority of "leavers" (81,8 percent) felt that industrial action was the only non-violent political option for blacks while only 44,9 percent of the "stayers" shared this opinion.

The "leavers" also indicated that reform was necessary for economic recovery and were sceptical about the State President, Mr P.W. Botha's sincerity.

"The responses to most of the questions indicate that a manager's political orientation would strongly influence the decision to stay or leave," a report on the survey states.

"It is paradoxical, however, that those most likely to contribute to the achievement of a non-racial democratic society, in the sense that they are liberal and also managers who have power, are those most likely to leave the country.

"If you believe that blacks will dominate and it is assumed that is what you wish, why leave? One would expect, in theory at least, that that is exactly why the 'leavers' should stay and the 'stayers' leave," it says.

Wednesday November 16 1988

Whites 'are not ready'

Buthelezi to compromise on one-man one-vote

MUNICH — Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in Munich last night he was prepared to suspend his ideal of one-man one-vote in a unitary state in view of the "real terror" this concept held for many white South Africans.

He told the Minister President of Bavaria, Dr H C Max Streibl, that he was prepared to explore any constitutional form which maintained the basic principles of democracy.

This included a federal or canton system in which there was the maximum devolution of power, Chief Buthelezi said in a memorandum for their meeting here.

He shared his black compatriots' cherished ideal of a one-man one-vote system in a unitary state, which embodied the best that British parliamentary democracy had to offer.

If South Africa had such a parliamentary democracy plus the rule of law, no person or group should fear the future, he said.

"I am, however, faced with the reality that the prospects of this cherished black South African ideal strikes terror in the hearts and minds of a great

many white South Africans.

"They are wrong in being afraid of a real democracy, but it would be wrong of me not to recognise that the rightness and the wrongness of something does not create or destroy real fear."

Unlike those in other formerly colonial African states, whites in his country had nowhere else to go and had to live or die where they were.

"Nothing Africa could have ever produced by way of insurgents or revolutionaries could match the real damage that white South Africans could do to a government imposed on them by force," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said blacks would also fiercely reject anything imposed on them. Both groups would have to compromise.

"If we negotiate towards a multi-party democracy in which the winner-takes-all principle is toned down in one way or another, there are prospects of success," he said.

"It is against the background of these thoughts that I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that I will have to keep my own cherished ideals somewhat suspended while I explore every possible constitutional form which maintains the basic principles of democracy," he said. — Sapa.

CP in 'bid to win
the hearts and
minds of SAP'

Political Staff
Nationalists have been warned not to allow the Conservative Party to win the hearts and minds of South Africa's police force.

The warning was given by Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adriaan Vlok at the National Party Transvaal congress in Pretoria.

He was reacting to concern from delegates about possible politicisation of the police force.

Mr Vlok referred to the shooting rampage in Pretoria yesterday, saying the person detained had been involved in right-wing politics. This had not been acceptable and had led to his initial suspension from the police.

Policemen could not be permitted to support any political organisations.

He said the CP had been going out of its way to win over policemen.

For instance at road blocks CP members took policemen hot coffee and sandwiches and stood around talking to them, he said.

CP playing into hands of terrorists, PW tells congress

NP rejects petty apartheid

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Few congresses have highlighted the differences between the National Party and the Conservative Party as clearly as this week's conference of the Transvaal NP.

The issue that crystallised the differences so vividly are the CP's plans to reinstate petty apartheid in the municipalities it won control of in last month's local government elections.

To start with, the NP's most senior leaders all sharply rebuked the CP for its plans, and in so doing made it clear that the NP had crossed its Rubicon as far as this issue is concerned.

The party that had taken petty apartheid to its extremes (at one stage, one had eight choices when it came to public toilets, depending on one's gender and racial classification) this week bemoaned the use of segregation boards as hurtful, problematic and disastrous for foreign relations.

President Botha set the tone when he opened the congress when he said the CP was playing into the hands of communist terrorists if it pursued policies that clashed with those of the



Mr P W Botha . . . "What about foreign relations?"

central Government.

Mr Botha said apartheid signs had caused more problems for South Africa than anything else.

He said if the CP scrapped free trading areas in the small country towns, those settlements would be impoverished.

Mr Botha wondered if the CP town councils that wanted to restore strict apartheid had taken into account the effect their actions would have on the country's foreign relations.

Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk continued the theme. Voters were becoming aware of just where the CP was prepared to dump South Africa, he said.

Even prominent CP members



Mr Heunis . . . "What about good relations?"

were shying away from the attack on humanity and the removal of existing freedoms which Dr Andries Treurnicht was wanting to introduce.

"A growing number of misled voters realise the CP policy is a disastrous route towards poverty, violence and total isolation," Mr de Klerk said.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis criticised the CP for wanting to turn the clock back a few decades, as if there had been no development of the various communities over the past 30 years.

"The hanging up of boards and prohibitions in parks and buses is a mentality which has

disappeared as our country has developed.

"Every day, people are sitting in forums and councils, debating which discriminatory measures must go, and here comes a group of people who want to bring them back at the cost of our international relations and the economy of every town and village, as well as the good relations which must be built in our country," Mr Heunis said.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had even harsher words.

He suggested that perhaps the areas around CP towns that resorted to petty apartheid should be declared free trading areas, so that such municipalities could be bypassed and become ghost towns. "Then those towns can sit there isolated with their sign posts, which they think bring them security."

The Foreign Minister warned that if the CP proceeded with its plans, the party would in effect be imposing worse sanctions and boycotts on South Africa than the United Nations and the United States Congress.

He said the CP sign boards would bring economic disaster to SA. The country's friends abroad who resisted enormous pressure to continue trading with SA welcomed every move away from discrimination.

SJW 16/11/58 (306A)

Nats have passed the test, says FW

By Esmare van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The National Party had successfully passed the test of last year's general election and the recent municipal elections, the NP's Transvaal leader, Mr FW de Klerk, said yesterday.

Speaking at the party's Transvaal Congress in Pretoria, he said the NP was beginning to reap the benefit of seven years of toil after the Conservative Party breakaway.

"Our task now is to consolidate this new support, to mobilise the new volunteers, to translate the determination to do better into action, to launch an offensive against the irresponsibility of our opposition on both sides."

DID NOT IMPRESS

An NP survey conducted after the municipal elections found that the NP represented 47,3 percent of Transvaal voters compared with the CP's 39,5 percent, he said.

The CP did not impress anyone by boasting about the large number of local authorities it controlled.

Among the local authorities the CP controlled were at least 18 with less than 100 voters per councillor. On the other hand, the NP controlled Johannesburg and Pretoria with 5 090 and 6 105 voters per councillor respectively.

In a scathing attack on the CP's partition policy, Mr de Klerk said the CP was hampered by the unworkability of its policies.

Even staunch CP supporters realised the CP's promises of renewed discrimination were disastrous, leading to poverty, violence and isolation.

The NP was building a new South Africa based on the effective protection of group security and the maintenance of a community life for each group, the sharing of power and joint decision-making and the prevention of any one group from dominating the others, he said.

Negotiate while there is still time ^{STW 14/11/88} Heunis _(3067A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

sional Council, calling on the Government to lay out detailed plans for political reform.

South Africa's black leaders should set aside their preconditions while there was still a majority of whites who wanted to negotiate on constitutional reform, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

At the National Party's Transvaal congress in Pretoria Mr Heunis made an earnest appeal to black leaders to leave confrontational politics behind and join the Government in its quest for a new constitution.

He was responding to a resolution, introduced by the NP's Innesdal divi-

Several speakers urged the Government to define the constitutional goal towards which it was heading so as to avoid further loss of support.

Mr Heunis replied that it was impossible to do so under present circumstances.

"It does not help to have a plan on the table that is only yours."

Congress should rather accept a resolution calling on all leaders to come to the negotiating table to negotiate on peaceful solutions.

A once-only blueprint could not be laid down to provide an instant solution to the problem, Mr Heunis said.

Spell out our reform plans in more detail, pleads MP

sta 16/11/88
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

304A

Meaningful negotiations about political reform would not advance unless the Government spelt out clearly its intentions about black political rights, Mr Albert Nothnagel, National Party MP for Innesdal, said yesterday.

At the NP's Transvaal congress, Mr Nothnagel supported a resolution calling on the Government to provide details of constitutional reform.

He warned that the NP's credibility would be at stake if it did not speak out on black political representation.

In an interview with *The Star*, Mr Nothnagel said before meaningful negotiations could take place, "everyone should know what we are talking about. It does not help to talk in vague terms about black representation on the highest level. The key answer wanted by the average white voter is whether blacks will be represented in Parliament.

"If we mean something other than full black representation in parliamentary structures, there is no chance of getting the negotiation process off the ground."

He favoured a federal government based on a wide definition of group and individual.

"Therefore I believe that we should tell voters openly that the NP's group definition is flexible. Group does not mean a racial group only.

"It also means ethnic and geographic groups as well as any other groups which people wish to define."

Mr Nothnagel said that, while a one man, one vote system based on racial definitions was unworkable, "a one man, one vote system based on new group definitions clearly provides the answer".

In a hard-hitting attack on present reform initiatives, he said public debate among all political interest groups should be started.

"The whole country and all its peo-



Mr Albert Nothnagel . . . NP must spell out black rights.

ple should be involved.

"We will mislead ourselves if we do not acknowledge that many political voices are not presently heard."

There were two underlying problems with present negotiations, he said.

First, many people were still unsure of the course of political developments.

"Maybe we should ask ourselves anew how other people interpret our intentions. If we keep on using vague terms we should not be surprised if many blacks see us as offering an empty shell. 'Parliamentary representation' sounds more direct than 'representation at the highest level'."

Second, the Government should devote more time to creating a climate of trust. "It seems to me as if we still have to go a long way in creating a climate of trust necessary for meaningful negotiations," he said.

8JW 16/4/88

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PW says no to State-run lottery

The President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday rejected a Transvaal National Party congress resolution calling for a State lottery.

But he said that if churches agreed, he would order an investigation into the desirability of private lotteries.

Mr Botha said he did not want to be unreasonable, but he was personally against gambling and would not allow the State machinery to be involved in state lotteries.

"It will enthrone the goddess of chance in this country. It will undermine the work ethic," he said.

The resolution was introduced by Mr Daantjie Malan of Westdene who said the purpose would be to raise money to bring down the high medical fees and help the elderly.

Mr Botha referred to a Cape congress in the 40s when a similar resolution was debated and came close to gaining unanimous support.

"When the chairman asked whether there was anyone against it, Dr Malan stood up and told the congress that if the resolution was carried, it would be without him."

It was quickly withdrawn.

Mr Botha said he did not want to do likewise but would like to debate the question.

"A lottery is gambling and its advantages are often stressed, but there is silence on the misery that it brings to so many households."

It was against the Calvinistic principles of South Africans and could bring the State into conflict with the church, he said. — Sapa.

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...mized by President
...ech in Pretoria on
...Andrew said.
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...ignoring an
"And the biggest sign
blacks allowed' outside our parliamen-
tary debating chamber?" Mr Andrew
asked.

Multiracial issue: Pastor to defy CP

JOHANNESBURG. — A fundamentalist church leader pledged yesterday to defy Conservative Party policy on local level — "even at the risk of being fined or jailed" — if CP town councils tried to hinder multiracial schools or church meetings. Pastor Ray McCauley, founder of the Rhema Bible Church in Randburg and a leader of the International Fellowship of Christian Churches (IFCC), was reacting to what he said were threats made to a multiracial school run by the Word of Life church in Springs on the East Rand.

The school has 150 pupils, 40% of whom are black, coloured or Indian. The school had been threatened with closure since the CP gained control of Springs in the municipal elections. Mr McCauley said his church, which also has a multiracial school, and all other multiracial schools associated with the IFCC, would not bend to CP pressure.

"We believe apartheid is an abomination and contrary to the clear and simple teaching of the Bible," he said. "Therefore, it is our duty to obey God and His Word first, even if this means disobeying the town councils."

"We are not the cause of this conflict and we do not want to clash with the Springs Town Council, but they will leave us no alternative but to defy them if they try to place any restrictions on our school or church." — Sapa

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CAPE TIMES 16/11/88 3047

...participate in active re-
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illegitimate, oppressive
and exploitative."

Two things which af-
fected the substance of
their socialisation were
the Group Areas Act and
the takeover of school-
ing for coloured chil-
dren by the Coloured Af-
fairs Department (CAD).

Mr Justice O M Williamson was on the
Bench. Mr CH van Gend and Mr L P Francis
were the assessors. Mr Michael Donen and Mr
Johnny de Lange, instructed by E Moosa and
Associates and Wilkinson, Joshua, Gihwala
and Abercrombie Inc, appeared for the ac-
cused. Mr W C Viljoen appeared for the state.

NG Kerk rules out lottery

Political Staff

THE possibility of a private lottery in
South Africa — raised by President
P W Botha — was yesterday ruled out
by the largest of the three white Dutch
Reformed Churches.

The moderator of the Ned Geref
Kerk, Professor Johan Heyns, said his
church, of which President Botha is a
member, was opposed to any form of
lottery in South Africa regardless of
whether it was private or state.

Speaking at the Transvaal Congress
of the National Party in Pretoria yes-
terday, Mr Botha said that although he

rejected the idea of a state lottery, he
was willing to have the possibility of a
private lottery investigated by a for-
mer Chief Justice if the churches had
a "united, positive attitude".

But, said Prof Heyns, "We are
against any form of lottery. I don't see
the difference between a state lottery
and a private lottery. The ethical prin-
ciple is the same."

His emphatic rejection of any form
of lottery appears to rule out any
chance of a united stand by the
churches on even an investigation into
the possibility of a private lottery.

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De Klerk on CP votes

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party had
"many more" supporters
in the Transvaal than its
Conservative Party
rivals, the NP's provin-
cial leader, Mr F W de
Klerk, said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk dismissed
CP boasts that it con-
trolled the substantial
majority of municipali-
ties after last month's
elections, saying Dr
Treunicht's party did not
impress anyone with
their claims.

"Dr Treunicht can do
his little sums until day-
break. The fact remains
that there are many
more Nationalists in the
Transvaal than CPs."

Addressing the NP's
Transvaal congress, Mr
De Klerk said that a

NP congress crisis

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Confusion in Nationalist ranks about
black policy emerged at the party's Transvaal con-
gress yesterday.

Delegates warned that the NP could face further
electoral losses unless it came out with a clear
policy line.

But, while the delegates, led by outspoken MP for
Innesdal Mr Albert Nothnagel, wanted the party to
spell out its constitutional plans in detail and to say
how they would work, Constitution Minister Mr
Chris Heunis said it was not possible.

Mr Nothnagel said the party had been taking a
beating because it had no visible black policy and the
party's credibility was at stake.

Mr Heunis said the final constitutional model
could include federal elements,

"scientific analysis" of the municipal elections
showed that the NP could claim that it repre-
sented 47,3% of white voters in the province

against the 39,5% of the
CP.

Mr De Klerk said that
when a party like the CP
placed towns like Roed-
tan, Sannieshof and

Gloudina on the same
scale as cities like Pre-
toria and Johannesburg
(which the NP controls),
then it had something to
hide.

Among the local au-
thorities that Dr Treur-
nicht was claiming, at
least 18 had fewer than
100 voters per repre-
sentative, compared
with the 6 105 in Pretoria
and the 5 090 in Johan-
nesburg.

Particularly since the
CP had said that it in-
tended to re-introduce
discrimination in areas
that it controlled, a
growing number of mis-
led voters were starting
to appreciate that the CP
road would eventually
lead to poverty, violence
and total isolation, he
said.

APRIL 1988

NP 'shifts blame for...

THE TRANSVAAL WILL RETURN

Sowetan 16/11/88

304A

Botha
tells

National

Party

Congress

RESULTS of the recent municipal elections clearly showed the National Party in the Transvaal had overcome its setbacks and could regain lost ground, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Pretoria.

"The elephant has lifted its head and the trumpet call is clear: The Transvaal will return," he said in his opening address to the Transvaal National Party congress in the city hall.

The municipal elections showed there were still big challenges and hard work ahead, not only for the NP in the Transvaal but in all the other provinces.

The hard realities had to be brought home to every voter and this message had to be conveyed by the party's leaders.

"We must get our feet on the road again," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said his government had a case to put to the world, and South African voters. . . the Government was bound to democratic

principles and human rights.

The fact that its policy was based on a group concept did not mean it was prejudicing individual rights.

"There need be no clash between the protection of groups and individual human rights and equal opportunity . . . in spite of the gap

between our First and Third World (communities)," he said.

The SA Law Commission had been asked in 1986 to investigate protection of group rights and the possible extension of this to the individual, and its report was expected soon.

The Government would give the report the

proper attention, Mr Botha said.

The Government was bound to the principle of representative government and the devolution of authority but it could not allow chaos to develop with each one following his own course.

The Government would see that this did not happen. — Sapa.

Sowetan 17/11/88

Come join us — Heunis

SOUTH Africa's black leaders should set aside their preconditions for negotiations and come to the negotiating table while there was still a majority of whites who wanted to negotiate on constitutional reform, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal congress, in Pretoria, Mr Heunis

made an earnest appeal to black leaders to leave confrontational politics behind and to join the Government in its quest for a new constitution.

He was responding to a resolution, introduced by the NP's Innesdal divisional council, calling on the Government to lay out detailed plans for political reform.

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Define

Seven speakers — including Innesdal MP Mr Albert Nothnagel and former Deputy Minister of Development Aid and Land Affairs Mr Ben Wilkens — urged the Government to clearly define the constitutional goal towards which it was heading.

A once-only blueprint could not be laid down to provide an instant solution to the problems of a society that was divided in terms of development, exposure to western democratic process and participation in the free economic system.



Dr Zach de Beer... trans-
formation needed.

304A
Star 17/11/84
**De Beer calls
for new govt**

South Africa had an urgent need for a new government that could begin the transformation to a non-racial democracy, Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

He was speaking in Alberton at an inauguration of the town's PFP branch.

Dr de Beer said only when such a government had been elected would South Africa be able to repair its international ties and financial situation.

Only then could peace and trust be renewed and "only then can South Africa again become a respected country". — Sapa.

304A) 12/11/58

Luyt may be key to left unity

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Does verligte Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt hold the trump card for unity between the liberal opposition groups?

This question emerged today after it became known that Dr Luyt has organised a meeting between opposition leaders at his home tomorrow.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, have accepted invitations to discuss co-operation.

Dr Luyt is also reported to have said he would consider standing for Parliament if liberal opposition groups reached an agreement.

There is a widespread feeling in liberal circles that none of the three leaders should lead a new political party left of the Government. Apart from a looming leadership clash among the three, the feeling is that such a new party would immediately be tainted if one of the three was chosen.

Dr De Beer said he had accepted the invitation because he gladly met with people sharing his views. Dr Worrall and Mr Malan also confirmed they had accepted Dr Luyt's invitation.

Star 17/11/84



3000A

Newsmen are like jackals, says Botha

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Seldom has a political congress produced such a steady stream of attacks on the media as the one in Pretoria this week.

Even the Government's supporters in the media were shocked at the tone and content of President Botha's attacks on the press, which took up more time in his speech at the start of the congress than did his criticism of the Conservative Party, ANC communist terrorists and foreign meddlers.

Mr Botha's use of terms such as jackals and *lunsrieme* (slimy ropes used in the control of trek oxen) earned him a slap from *Beeld*, which said that newspapers had until now never used such derogatory language to describe politicians.

Beeld wondered where South Africa would be if the newspapers had not for years acted as South



President Botha ... angered by news reports.

Africa's conscience.

The Government would possibly do better if it took cognisance of the variety of images which were carried daily by newspapers in order to stay in touch with what was going on in the country, the newspaper said.

President Botha appeared to be greatly annoyed by newspaper speculation on a variety of subjects, but particularly about reports suggesting differences between his Ministers.

He said it was apparent to him that certain newspapermen

started to get on heat on Thursdays so that by the time the weekends, and particularly Sundays, came they were ready to offload all their fantasies on South Africa.

He singled out *Rapport* (although he did not actually name it) as being a poor version of the *Sunday Times*.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister who has political responsibility for the media and who has the power to close down publications, singled out *The Star* for a particularly venomous attack.

He claimed *The Star* was not loyal to South Africa and he warned that the newspaper could go the same way as the *Rand Daily Mail* (which was closed down by its owners after it ran into financial difficulties).

These comments were greeted with loud cries of "hear, hear" from the delegates.

Act against ultra-right, Govt told

Emotions ran high on the last day of the National Party Transvaal congress in Pretoria yesterday after a motion urging the Government to take firm action against "right-wing activist" organisations.

This follows Tuesday's shootings in Pretoria during which a gunman claiming to be the leader of the shadowy Wit Wolwe killed six people and injured another 14.

Moving the motion, Mr Roger Naude, of the NP's Bethal divisional council, said the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had promised for some time that action would be taken against left and right-wing activists alike.

"But we don't believe him any more. How many black organisations have been restricted? It is high time that we acted against the right wing too."

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

"We must grab the AWB and the activist White Wolves," Mr Naude said.

Referring to an alleged assassination threat to State President, Mr P W Botha, Mr Naude said: "For years I had to put up with insults against my State President, but I refuse to put up with death threats."

He urged Mr Vlok to take immediate action, even before the end of the day.

The motion was accepted with acclamation.

Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk responded by saying he shared the sentiments expressed in the motion. However, proper investigations were necessary before organisations could be restricted. This could take time.

(304A)

8/2/71 (28)

Growing distance emerges between NP and CP

Nats firmly anti-apartheid

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The Transvaal National Party congress this week demonstrated that the party remained the dominant political force in the province, in spite of a concentrated attempt by the Conservative Party to pretend to the title.

This fact was demonstrated in a clear and logical speech by Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, which must surely have settled the argument between the two parties as to who won the municipal elections.

The two sides have been bickering as to who won control of the Transvaal, the CP claiming it had most of the province's local authorities in its pocket and the Nationalists saying they had the most voters.

Mr de Klerk, however, produced the hard figures: the NP won the support of 47,3 per cent of voters and the CP 39,5 per cent. Whereas the CP was bragging it had control of Roedtan and Sannieshof, he said, the Nats had Pretoria and Johannesburg.

Among the CP-controlled local authorities, at least 18 had fewer than 100 voters for each councillor, compared with the 6 105 for each Pretoria representative and the 5 090 for each Johannesburg councillor.

And, Mr de Klerk said, the NP had won important victories in CP constituencies, including Tzaneen, Messina, Barberton, Belfast, Randfontein and Roodepoort.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this year's congress was the sharp attacks on petty apartheid from not only Nationalist

leaders but also from the delegates.

It highlighted the growing distance between the NP and the CP and served to sharpen the Nationalist policy and image on where it stands on race relations.

The attacks on apartheid boards, racial prejudice and intolerance, which would have been unheard of at an NP congress five years ago, took place against the tragic backdrop of the shootings in Pretoria.

A shiver of horror ran through the delegates when they realised that the gunman who shot down so many black people in the capital might have been among them on the night President Botha opened the congress.

The congress passed several motions connected with the shootings. One expressed condolences with the families of the victims, another urged the Government to act against rightwing paramilitary organisations and a third urged maximum protection for their "beloved State President".

President Botha had used the meeting to severely criticise the CP for reintroducing apartheid signs in its local authorities.

Other Government leaders added to the attack on the CP for turning back the clock several decades.

The NP congress is a cross-section of the white public these days, and it was noticeable how many English-speakers and immi-

grants were among the delegates.

There was also a fair sprinkling of small businessmen and professionals who contributed intelligent arguments to the debates on the economy and privatisation.

Apart from his opening speech, which dealt primarily with the CP and the media, President Botha's only contribution was to react to a call from the congress to introduce a State lottery.

The President rejected the notion of a State lottery, as he was opposed to gambling and he respected Church views on the matter. On the other hand, he gave permission for an investigation to be set up into the feasibility of a private lottery, provided the Church agreed to appointing one.

Mr Botha and his senior Ministers made frequent reference to the unity of the Government, which was an obvious attempt to refute speculation of Cabinet in-fighting.

Ministers went out of their way to praise one another and place the emphasis on the "winning team".

Mr de Klerk insisted on all election procedures being properly conducted in the recognised democratic tradition, and he was promptly nominated and unanimously re-elected as Transvaal leader.

One jarring note was the practice of segregation during tea breaks. Ministers and other Nationalists more equal than others got to drink tea out of china cups on one side of the hall, while the plebs were herded to drink out of plastic cups on the other.

PW's security to be reviewed

Govt poised for clamp on right-wingers

STW 17/11/88 (304A)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Government action to restrict far-right organisations and individuals is close.

The first move is likely today or tomorrow.

It was speculated today that the Government could soon act against right-wing organisations like the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

One of the first organisations against which Government action is thought possible is the extremist Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), according to press reports.

BBB leader Professor JC Schabert could be restricted, it was rumoured.

It is understood security authorities have renewed their scrutiny of the activities of rightists after a white man shot six innocent blacks dead and wounded 14 others in a deliberate shooting spree in Pretoria this week. Two of the victims are still in a critical condition.

Bomb attacks

The alleged leader of the Wit Wolwe — named as self-confessed AWB member Mr Barend Hendrik Strydom (23) — was arrested after the Pretoria incident on Tuesday.

There have been persistent allegations that bomb blasts at the South African Council of Churches headquarters in Khotso House, Johannesburg, and an arson attack on Khanya House, the Pretoria base of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, were the work of rightwingers.

Whites were also seen acting suspiciously before a bomb exploded in a Hillbrow disco recently, injuring 19. It was said the blast could have been a retaliatory attack for a terror blast at a crowded bus terminus the previous day.

The Government has been urged to give immediate attention to the activities of the AWB and other right-wing organisations, particularly those which foster a climate of racial intolerance and give paramilitary training to members.

There are firm indications that the Government may now restrict at least one right-wing organisation and one or more individuals, on the basis that they are a danger to society and harmful to sound relations between the different population



Helga Remané starts the celebration after the announce. The Bloodline Million will be run at Turffontein. Yearling Sales will qualify for the race, which is b

Forsyth granted an exit

STW 17/11/88

The British Foreign Office confirmed yesterday that Angolan authorities had issued an exit visa to alleged South African intelligence agent Miss Olivia Forsyth to enable

Own Correspondent

has asked us to keep those to said.

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It is believed that security protection for the State President, Mr P W Botha, is likely to be reviewed.

Sources say it has been confirmed that the man who allegedly shot civilians in Pretoria on Tuesday was the same man who phoned an Afrikaans newspaper on Monday night to say Mr Botha owed his life to the fact that he had not announced the release of Nelson Mandela on Monday.

Sources say the man was definitely present at the public meeting, although it is not known if he was armed.

The names of five of those killed in Tuesday's tragedy have been released. They are Mr Piet Mbedzi, believed to be a municipal worker and first victim of the gunman; Mr David Tlometane of Soshanguve; and Mr Samuel Mathipa (32), Ms Catherine Mokoena, and Ms Selina Nguna (88), all of Mamelodi.

The injured are: Miss Priscilla Matau (35) of Atteridgeville; Mr John Makathu (32) of Makapanstad, Bophuthatswana; Miss Julia Mpokane (28) of Soshanguve; Miss Nell Ndevi, Mr Geelboy Mabena, Mr Abdul Carrim (52) of Laudium; and Mr Alfred Tlometane (39) of Mamelodi.

● See Page 13.

Forsyth

The British Foreign Office yesterday that Angela Forsyth, an exit visa to a intelligence agent Miss Forsyth to leave the country.

Miss Forsyth, a South African citizen, was at the British Embassy in Pretoria when she sought an exit visa. She had allegedly escaped from the African National Congress (ANC).

She told embassy officials she had been held in prison and tortured by the apartheid government. She had been spying for the ANC.

The Foreign Office declined to give details of Miss Forsyth's case at her request.

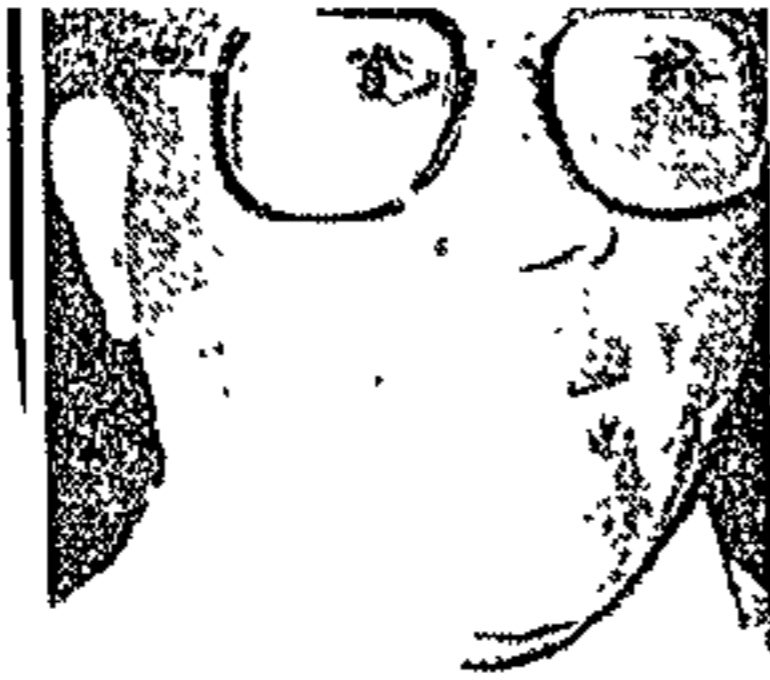
"I can say that she is a spy but as far as the manner of getting her out of the country is concerned, we have no comment."

No talks

LUSAKA — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said he would be no meetings between Zambia and South Africa until South Africa is independent.

After recent meetings with President Mr P W Botha, South African leaders there have agreed to submit a list of southern African demands to be prepared. The request was made by Dr Kaunda, who has been preparing Frontline states.

Dr Kaunda, who has been preparing Frontline states, said an agreement on a ceasefire had been reached at Lusaka. He welcomed the fact that the Government remained sensitive to the needs of the people and would honour it.



THE Rev Stanley Mogoba.

Mr MUNTU Myeza.

Shooting condemned

Conservatives

THE Conservative Party yesterday condemned the shootings in Pretoria when a lone white gunman went on the rampage, shooting six black people dead and wounding several others.

The party's law and order spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, said in a statement the killings could in no way be justified.

"This behaviour cannot... contribute to a solution of the country's problems," he said. — Sapa.

Myeza

THE shooting was a curtain-raiser to the culture shock that South Africa would experience as a result of whites having cocooned themselves against black people, Mr Muntu Myeza, of the Biko Foundation, said yesterday.

"That the action was carried out by a member of the AWB is an indication of the rabidity of 300 years of racism.

"The politically puerile attempt to equate white conservatism with black demands by black organisations is balderdash at its highest. When (Minister Adriaan) Vlok and (President P W) Botha say they will not tolerate leftwing or rightwing radicalism they are in fact escaping the blatant threat that faces them," Mr Myeza said.

Methodists

THE shooting illustrated the futility of retaliatory violence in a land that was already deeply "pockmarked" by the scars of the violent actions "of those who see

its use as a means to an end," the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said yesterday.

In a statement, the president of the Church, the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, said Methodists throughout Southern Africa "and indeed the world Methodist community," would mourn this further escalation of violence.

"During my recent addresses to the Methodist conference in Queenstown, I emphasised the need for people to begin to come together. In doing so, I warned that the advent of organisations such as the Wit Wolve boded ill for the future as they simply added to the problems already confronting us."

Nationalists

A DELEGATE at the Transvaal National Party congress yesterday morning demanded the immediate banning of the AWB because of Tuesday's slayings.

At the start of the congress proceedings, Mr Roger Naude of Ogies, asked to put an urgent order motion.

"We are not being believed by the blacks when we say we will act against radicals both to the left and the right," he said.

He referred to the Minister of Law and Order's undertakings repeated to the Congress on Tuesday night and said:

"How many black organisations haven't we banned? They just don't believe us when we say we will act against right (wing) radicals.

"These rightist activists with their divisive organisations must be banned."

30477

17/11/88

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The three main white parties to the left of the government will attend a summit at the home of rebel Transvaal rugby chief Mr Louis Luyt tomorrow.

The unprecedented meeting will bring together Independent Party (IP) leader Dr Denis Worrall, the leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Mr Wynand Malan, and the Progressive Federal Party's Dr Zach de Beer in a bid to form a united front to battle the government.

Dr Worrall and Mr Malan split before last year's election over a bitter dispute on how to catch liberal white votes, but yesterday indicated that the political hatchet had been buried.

Yesterday Mr Luyt said he might stand for Parliament — but only if the liberal opposition groups reached some sort of agreement.

The get-together has thrust Mr Luyt into the political limelight as the man behind the left-wing unification bid. He recently came under fire from the government for his role in the SA Rugby Board's talks with the ANC in Harare.

Election agreement

All three liberal leaders confirmed that they and senior members of their parties would attend the meeting at Mr Luyt's luxury Zoo Lake home.

They said it would not be their first meeting and that they considered it part of talks aimed at unity or at least an election agreement.

Commenting on his role of uniting the liberal opposition, Mr Luyt — who also raised the NP's ire when he broke with the party before last year's general elections — said he would "not be averse" to standing for Parliament, but he was not interested in a fragmented opposition.

"I want a unified opposition to them (the NP) and I want a SA where I can live and be proud of."

The meeting is being held the day before the PFP's federal council meets in Johannesburg. The question of unity within the liberal opposition is known to be an item on the federal council agenda.

Dr De Beer said yesterday that the left could not go into an election — predicted for early next year — without "an arrangement at the very least".

He said he did not think tomorrow's meeting would be a "signing ceremony" and added that no final undertakings had yet been made. "However, I am not pessimistic."

Dr Worrall said Mr Luyt was setting a good example to local businessmen.

"All I know about the meeting is that Mr Luyt approached me as he did the others and I accepted to have discussions."

Mr Malan said the meeting was a further development in long-standing dialogue the NDM had with the other two parties.

Mr Louis Luyt



ROBERTSON'S

17/11/88
APC Tom's

304A



Schabort's solution for the problem of SA's 'mud races'

ARGUS
18/11/88

3044

Argus correspondent ROBYN GREEN reports from Pretoria

THE Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB, or White Liberation Movement) has been effectively banned and its leader, Professor Johan Schabort, restricted.

The action came after the fatal shooting of six black people and wounding of 17 in Pretoria on Tuesday — and the suspect's acknowledgment that he was a member of a right-wing organisation.

What is the BBB? What are its aims and who is its leader?

Professor Johan Schabort, a 50-year-old biochemist, was head of the department of biochemistry at the Rand Afrikaans University until a few years ago. He is also, in his own words, a "positive racist based on love for my people" who refers to blacks as forming part of the "mud races".

In an interview reported last year in the BBB's mouthpiece, *Kommando, Voice of the White Race*, Professor Schabort was asked to define "mud races".

He said: "The mud races are the non-white races who, historically and scientifically, have proven that they are inferior. They cannot maintain the standards set by the excellent white race. It is important to understand that these differences are genetic and not environmental — that they are unchangeable."

His general philosophy, he said, centred on one crucial point — "the survival and genetic improvement of the white race".

A pamphlet issued by the BBB on what it stands for says: "The white man comes first in all situations. What is good for the white man is the highest virtue and what is bad for the white man is ultimate sin."

Repatriation would do away with the problem of the "mud races", according to Professor Schabort.

"In nature, where there is competition between different species or groups, the competition is always ended in one of three ways:

- "The weaker species may be enslaved; or
- "The weaker species is exterminated; or
- "The weaker species is either removed or flees."

He believes the last "option" is the most "just".

South Africa would have to use martial law

to enforce repatriation, he said, because the "non-whites" were not a labour force "but a parasitical invasion force just waiting for an opportunity to take real power and to destroy the white race and its achievements."

"This destruction of the white race includes the entire spectrum of the terror assault against the white race — from physical armed terrorism (bombings and so on) to crime, work stoppage and economic sabotage. Most of it also includes the genetic pollution of the white race's gene pool."

Professor Schabort said the BBB was probably choosing the "liberal" option with repatriation because the other options would probably happen spontaneously "as the mud races are incapable of the slightest achievement, let alone being able to feed themselves".

The whites' claim to South Africa was based on power, it being the "only right", and not on historical grounds, he said.

Asked how long it would take to repatriate all the blacks, Professor Schabort said the first priority would be to take political power and then institute a two-year plan. During this time the intention to remove "non-whites" from white areas would be made clear to all "non-whites".

The economic infrastructure — nationalisation of mines and the stopping of aid to blacks — would also be adapted. At the end of this period repatriation would have to be carried out in a matter of weeks.

Asked why the BBB did not join forces with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, he said the BBB rejected the "mere presence" of blacks in white areas as racial and cultural pollution whereas the AWB was still prepared to permit the presence of blacks in "the white homeland".

"Even to develop a pure culture requires a pure environment," Professor Schabort stipulated.

Asked whether he hated blacks, he replied: "Hate is a perfectly natural emotion, but blacks are not hated on principle because they are black, but we must bear in mind that historically and scientifically it has been shown that blacks have a degenerative and destructive influence on a culture, race and environment which is superior to their own."

Luyt talks may be first step to opposition unity

STV 18/11/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Today's meeting between 20 top members of the opposition, organised by rugby chief Dr Louis Luyt, could be the first step on the road to unity on the political Left, one of the involved personalities said yesterday.

Members of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement will be present at the meeting.

However, the source cautioned against over-optimism and highlighted the differences between the parties.

Although no fixed agenda exists for today's meeting at Dr Luyt's Zoo Lake mansion, differences and problems will be discussed in detail.

Dr Luyt said yesterday it was high time that someone openly and honestly told the involved parties that mere co-operation or a loose realignment

were not enough.

He was in favour of a strong new political party which could effectively oppose the Government.

The two main problems centre on the leadership of a new political party and the involvement of organisations such as Inkatha and the Labour Party.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan wants to involve parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups across the political spectrum and IP leader Dr Denis Worrall aims to draw disillusioned NP supporters.

PFM leader Dr Zach de Beer has a burning desire to revitalise his party.

304A

Treurnicht calls for an apology

Star 18/11/87

By Lloyd Coultts

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has demanded an apology for the alleged attempt by NP, Transvaal leader Mr FW de Klerk to link the CP to the Pretoria shootings.

The CP deplored radicalism and demanded that any transgressor be brought to book, whether a member of the CP, NP, AWB, PFP, the "Wit Wolwe" or any other colour of wolf.

"I now demand an apology on behalf of all those whites he has insulted," he said.

The Witwatersrand branch of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has blamed the Government for the tragedy.

The act by the "Wit Wolwe" or "Wit Terroriste" was not separable from all the acts perpetrated against those opposed to racism, the branch said in a statement yesterday.

"We need not to go and consult about what is the cause of these barbaric acts. It has become manifestly clear that the racist regime is to blame for the massacre in Pretoria."

Luyt to swop rugby for politics?

30 KA

CAH 7.10.88
18/11/88

Political Staff

Transvaal rugby chief Mr Louis Luyt, a former Nationalist, said yesterday he would cut ties with rugby and enter politics if all the liberal opposition groups in South Africa united.

A summit between the Progressive Federal Party, the New Democratic Movement and the Independent Party is being held at Mr Luyt's house today.

It is unlikely that a new moderate political party uniting the three groupings will be formed at the meeting, but a firmer basis for co-operation is expected, particularly in regard to the next election.

Mr Luyt said yesterday he believed the outcome of the talks — involving PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and IP leader Dr Denis Worrall — were vital.

"I will stress what I believe is crucial for South Africa and if it meant unifying all the opposition parties, as one party with one policy, then I would stand for Parliament," Mr Luyt said.

"But if it meant my being a lone voice in Parliament (like Malan), I would not consider standing."

Both Dr De Beer and Mr Malan stressed in interviews yesterday that

they did not expect agreement on the formation of a united opposition grouping at today's discussions.

Dr De Beer said: "I would not have felt on the basis of previous discussions that we are on the brink of a formal agreement. I wouldn't expect anything dramatic."

Mr Malan said: "Expectations of a new party today are over-optimistic, given, up to now, major differences on strategy on policy issues."

"Obviously, however, the more we have discussions, the more they do have influence and can only lead to convergence."

But Dr Worrall said: "I think the issues are clear enough and we know what the choices are. I would like to see us make them."

"We have insisted — and have been completely consistent in this — that there should be a basis for co-operation which cuts across political lines and should have as its goal the drawing of disenchanted Nationalists, of whom there are thousands."

"We are not interested in re-arranging the opposition."

All three political leaders said they believed their parties had enough in common to reach agreement on fighting the next election without competing with each other.

306A

P W guilty of double standards — Hulley

By SYBRAND MOSTERT

THE Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Roger Hulley, has slammed President P W Botha for double standards in his condemnation of the Conservative Party's bid to re-impose petty apartheid.

In a war of words in which Cape beaches have again become a focal point, Mr Hulley said that Mr Botha could not condemn others for wanting to put up apartheid signs when there were still several on display within Mr Chris Heunis's constituency.

He said that on a personal visit this week he had counted at least five prominently-displayed apartheid signs at various beach access points.

"Mr Botha's criticism is breathtaking in its cynicism when one considers

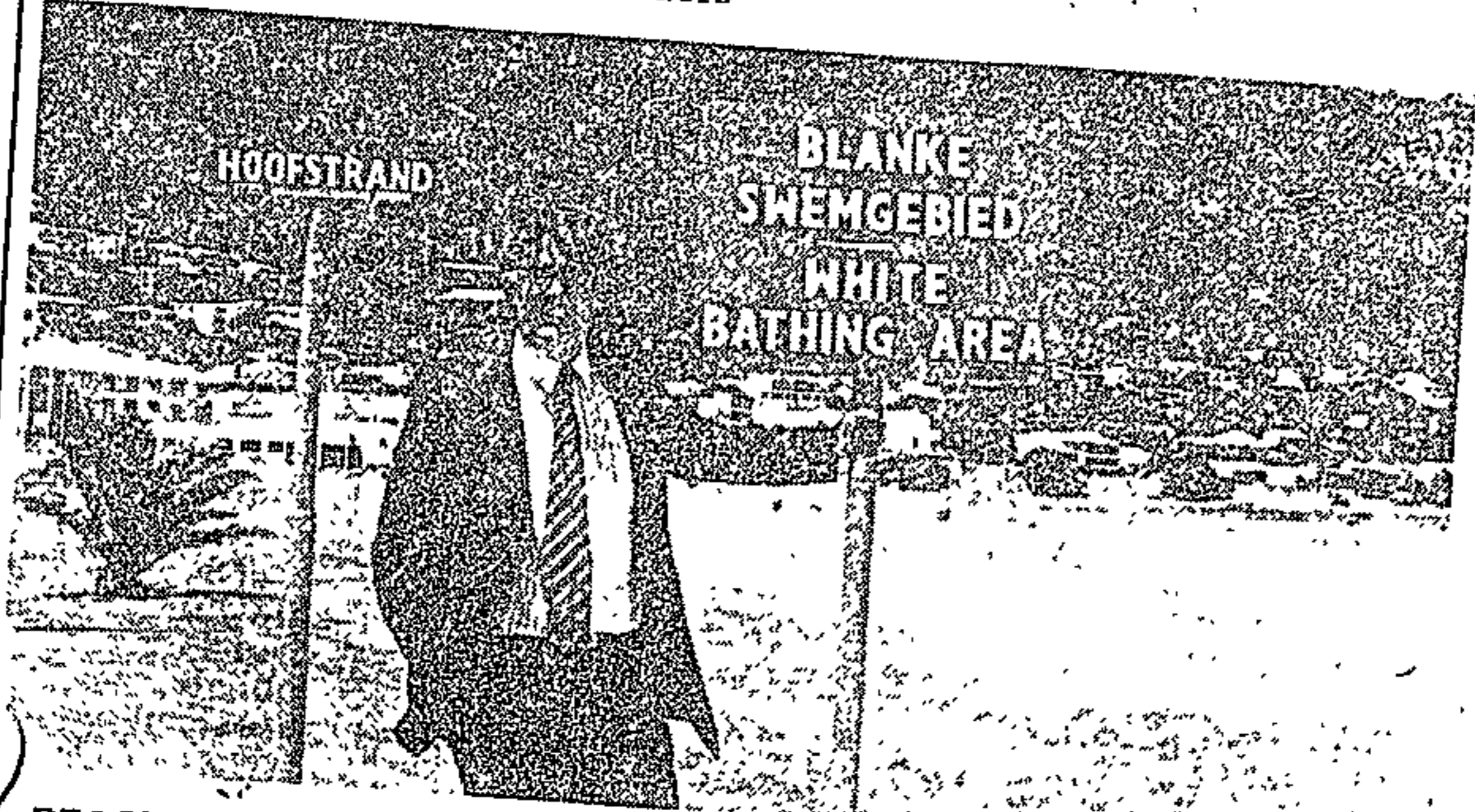
how much apartheid legislation is still upheld and imposed by his government," he said yesterday.

According to a spokeswoman for the Administrator of the Cape's office, there is scant hope that beach apartheid signs will be coming down this summer.

She said that a commission had been appointed in July to look into the matter of segregated beaches in the Cape.

A spokesman for Mr Heunis's office referred all enquiries on beach apartheid in his constituency to the mayor of Gordon's Bay, Mr Danie Miller.

Mr Miller said that "it was a sensitive issue" in Gordon's Bay, as there was a diverse community opinion.



BEACH APARTHEID LIVES ... Mr Roger Hulley with the apartheid sign.

Assocom to fight CP on 'Whites only' plan

The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry (Assocom) launched forceful counter-attacks yesterday against threats of the reintroduction of "Whites only" signs in municipalities which came under right-wing control in the recent elections.

A circular to the nationwide network of chambers urged businessmen to challenge the first hints of such moves and to continue battles aimed at opening all central business districts to black traders.

By Michael Chester

Assocom said it planned to renew its efforts to secure the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act as a matter of high priority.

Its circular said the reintroduction of "Whites only" signs and racial restrictions on the use of various public amenities would be not only retrogressive but also threatened to discourage investment and cause South Africa unnecessary harm in international

relations.

Such moves could only give added impetus to international pressure for further sanctions and disinvestment against South Africa, with a negative impact on the economy and the level of job creation.

Chambers of commerce in municipalities where the threats emerged should seek early meetings with their local authorities to establish their precise plans and mount immediate resistance if necessary, said the circular.

The implications of a Mandela release

By SHAUN JOHNSON and EDDIE KOCH of The Weekly Mail

30419

If Nelson Mandela and his Rivonia colleagues are soon freed, the anti-apartheid leaders of the 1950s will be coming out of prison just as legal proceedings against their counterparts of the 1980s wind up.

The release may also presage important realignments in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Modern South African political history has been punctuated by famous trials, usually known by place names.

"Rivonia" conjures up the top African National Congress accused led by Mandela and Walter Sisulu. "Delmas" will henceforth be connected with three key officials of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Mr Moss Chikane.

Marathon trials

The historical parallel between the two marathon trials, spanning more than 20 years, goes deep: both trials reached conclusion in Court C of Pretoria's Palace of Justice; both groups of accused faced the maximum penalty; both groups, curiously, were defended by advocates Mr

Arthur Chaskalson and Mr George Bizos.

But, most importantly, both trials took place in the aftermath of nationwide resistance to apartheid indeed, precisely because of that resistance.

Mandela and his co-accused were charged with plotting the violent overthrow of the South African Government after the banning of the ANC in 1960.

Molefe's and the others' charges are framed in a more contemporary idiom, but amount to the same thing. Their involvement was in what has come to be known as the "Vaal Uprising" of September 1984, the spasm of outrage which sparked the nationwide "long wave" of resistance lasting until 1986.

There is no reason to believe that the latest rash of "Mandela release" speculation has any more substance — save for its level of hysteria — than the hundreds of rumours which preceded it.

Nevertheless, such is Mandela's political magnetism that mere ru-

mours of his release have sent new political currents surging through the circuits of both government and the anti-apartheid movement.

This was vividly illustrated in Cape Town last Monday when rumours spread in the morning that the ANC leader and his Rivonia colleagues were on the brink of release.

The extra-parliamentary machinery in Cape Town, which appeared to have been smashed by detentions and the restriction of the United Democratic Front, was galvanised.

Wide network

Bright banners, proclaiming words of welcome, were painted; hundreds of buses were hired; and within a few hours 5 000 people converged on the University of the Western Cape.

The Mandela legend is capable of generating more than spontaneous displays of fervour. It is thought that a wide network of activists has been mobilised around the task of

welcoming Mandela and his Rivonia compatriots.

According to some sources, there is talk of setting up national and regional committees to see to practical arrangements such as media exposure, accommodation, family welfare — as well as political debriefing — for the veterans.

Representatives from a variety of anti-apartheid groups outside UDF circles may be included on the reception committees: white, liberal groups, homeland leaders opposing "independence" and even resistance groups whose ideals differ from the non-racial principles of the ANC.

"Clearly, there are far more people who would want to turn to the Rivonia leadership rather than the UDF or Cosatu," says one source.

Other sources say that the reception committees could be embryonic forms of a broad front to oppose apartheid.

All stress, however, that many decisions and directions may well be changed when Mandela and his colleagues come out of prison.

The Mandela factor has also whipped up a storm within the State President, Mr P W Botha's, Cabinet.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, charged with responsibility for persuading "moderate" black leaders to participate in the Government's programme of reform, appears to be pushing hard in favour of release.

There is, however, a powerful lobby within the Cabinet which believes that by releasing Mandela, the Government will be courting disaster.

Headed by Defence Minister General Magnus Malin, this grouping — dubbed the securocrats — is based in the powerful State Security Council.

The securocrats can also argue that the release of Mandela before a national election, expected to be called early next year, would strengthen the hand of right-wing parties.

Ultimately, it is the State President who will weigh up the advice of his warring navigators and decide which course to follow.

His decision will indicate the direction of the State's reform programme and this will influence the process already in motion within extra-parliamentary circles.

PASIGATE SANDTON CITY

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National Party. It is not yet clear, however, whether his threat at the NP's Transvaal congress to "seriously consider" yet another law to further curb press freedom in SA is more sinister than sabre-rattling.

But it is certain that the serious divisions within his Cabinet are causing Botha concern. Though he has in the past shown himself to be out of touch and ill-informed about events around him, there can be little doubt that he is painfully aware that the current power struggle between Constitutional Development and Planning Minister and Cape Nat leader Chris Heunis, and foreign Minister Pik Botha, is far more than media fabrication.

Apart from the implications of his obvious attempt to bully the press into subservience, Botha's threat to force journalists to reveal sources of what he called "gossip" about Cabinet rumblings could have interesting consequences. The sources feeding journalists span a range from junior Nat MPs to Cabinet ministers. The threat of exposure could shut them up completely — which is unlikely since many are fed-up with Botha's bullying and lack of leadership. Or it could force them deeper underground, but not

18/11/88 (304A) FMMAL
P.W. BOTHA AND THE CABINET

Slaying messengers

True to form, President P W Botha resorted to the age-old Nationalist ploy this week of blaming the press for problems in the

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FMMAL 18/11/88

silence them; or cause a split in the NP due to the build-up of pressure being relieved to some extent by press reports of internal squabbles.

Cutting off the outlet for Botha's caucus members' frustrations will by no means restore them to contentment.

Botha has good reason to be concerned about the press. Reports of the problems in the Cabinet are being published with equal and sometimes even greater prominence in the traditionally Nat-supporting Sunday press as in "opposition" newspapers.

He knows this and expressed disappointment that the two major Afrikaans press groups, Nasionale Pers and Perskor, which jointly own the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport*, were publishing a product which he described as a "poor edition of the *Sunday Times*."

His pique was obviously heightened by weekend reports linking him and members of his family to an SABC-backed "propaganda" film, and he said he wondered whether the press could "sink to a lower level."

It is significant that in Pretoria this week, Botha publicly backed Heunis to the hilt for the first time since the Cape leader's would-be political assassins started closing in more than a month ago. He praised Heunis as having done more for reform than any of his critics. The implication is clear. Heunis is not about to be replaced by Pik Botha or anyone else unless he asks to retire or be



President Botha ... never to be pushed too far

moved.

It is also significant that P W Botha again harshly attacked contact with the ANC (possibly setting the scene for a new law

outlawing meetings with the banned organisation), and spoke in terms that left no doubt that he is far from ready to negotiate anything with "terrorists and communists." He also rejected a "Lancaster House-type" solution for SA's problems in apparent reference to a growing feeling in some Western governments that an outside "facilitator" is needed to help government and the ANC (and other groups) get together around a conference table.

Much of his speech was devoted to an attack on the Conservative Party which he accused of using tactics similar to the ANC. He also attacked critics of government's running of the economy saying they were "experts in nonsense."

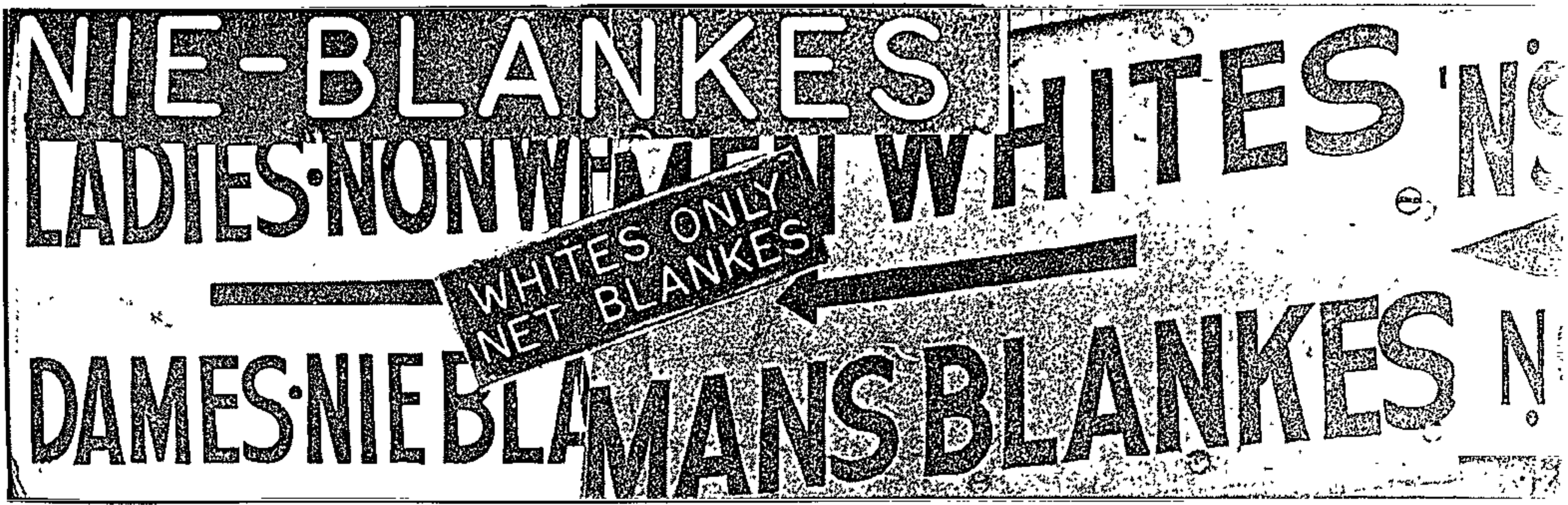
But his speech is probably as noteworthy for what he did not say as for what he did. There was no mention of Nelson Mandela in spite of intense speculation that he would make some announcement concerning the jailed ANC leader. The issue of a general election was left unanswered; and there was no reference to the delicately poised Namibian independence talks which is probably the most topical political issue of the moment.

Delegates were also not told what he plans to do now that the municipal elections are out of the way. "Reform," it appears, remains stalled and the best way to take people's minds off the problem is to attack the press. ■

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18/11/88

Petty apartheid ling



Conservative Party preaching what many municipalities

CONSERVATIVE Party plans to reintroduce apartheid signboards have drawn sharp reactions, most notably from President Botha. But the CP is only preaching what many municipalities practise even in the "liberal" Western Cape.

Although the CP line appears unlikely to succeed locally in view of its minimal following, many councils — especially in areas where the National Party enjoys substantial support — enforce segregation anyway.

And in spite of the gradual opening up of beaches, buses, trains and parks and the disappearance of many apartheid signs, the fact remains that laws enforcing separate amenities are still on the statute book.

So it was nothing new when the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said apartheid signboards would help enforce his party's segregation policy. He was merely proposing turning the clock back to the days when the Nationalist government decreed that everything from park benches to toilets bear "whites only" or "non-whites only" labels.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953, as amended by Acts 10 of 1969 and 38 of 1972, provides for "the reservation of public premises and vehicles or portions thereof for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class".

But the Cape Town City Council largely ignored this and fought for open amenities.

"For instance, we refused to have apartheid signs on the beaches, so the Province put them up — and charged us for it," said the public relations officer, Mr Ted Doman.

In 1984 the council took a policy decision to open all its amenities. Previously the council had separate amenities for different races but the 1984 policy decision changed all that. No special permits were applied for, Mr Doman said.

Things are less open farther afield.

In the Tygerberg area, municipalities say that all amenities except public swimming pools are open. Separate swimming pools in white and coloured areas have been provided.

Bellville, largest of the centres east of

Cape Town, says it has two Olympic-size swimming pools, one for whites and the other for coloured people in Bellville South.

Individual "non-whites" were not allowed to use the Bellville pool unless they were part of a mixed team at a gala, said the public relations officer, Mr Steve Gouws. Parks and other public facilities had no restrictions, he said.

Parow's acting town clerk, Mr J J Victor, said the coloured area of Ravensmead had a modern pool which was as good as those in white areas. He declined to comment further but added that there were no whites only signs at any of the parks or toilets in the town.

Goodwood has no coloured suburbs. There was no demand for other races to use the town's swimming pool, said the town clerk, Mr F H Conradie.

Neighbouring towns such as Kulls River, Kraaifontein and Durbanville do not have public swimming pools. Spokesmen said other facilities were not restricted.

One area in which segregation is enforced

— and signposted — is beach

Residents of the Melkbos that their beach remain for cause of lack of facilities for

The Strand has segregated according to the town clerk Groenewald, nothing stops "race" using local parks.

The parks, nature reserve, shopping areas in the Somersdorp were open to all races, clerk, Mr D J Human

"Even in the fierce days of we did not have separate rate services for different r-

The town clerk of Simon Charles Chevalier, said the not practised any form of years.

The Fish Hoek town clerk, said his municipality did not rate amenity laws.

The Gordon's Bay town

Nats and CP squaring up for new Transvaal battle

From Political Correspondent TOS WENTZEL in Pretoria

THE National Party and the Conservative Party are squaring up for a fight in the Transvaal as never before.

In the north there is increasing talk of a general election and April is most frequently mentioned as the possible month.

President Botha is playing his cards close to his chest. All he would tell the Transvaal Nationalist congress was that "when there is to be a general election I will tell you that the time has come".

The NP and the CP are

both confident that they can do well, for their own reasons.

The NP is set to exploit especially the CP's connections with even more extremist organisations such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its intention to turn back the clock to petty apartheid in municipalities it now controls.

The CP is already on the defensive on the question of restoring petty apartheid.

The party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said apartheid signs had not been discussed when about 400

municipal councillors of the party met in Pretoria.

The general secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, maintained that it was not a question of "driving out" blacks.

The erection of apartheid signs was not an important feature of the party's principles. Instead, there would be a positive approach of creating separate facilities for blacks.

There are many platteland areas where facilities such as libraries have never been desegregated.

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Spectrum

Apartheid lingers on



LEFT: These apartheid signs may be obsolete, but in spite of the gradual opening up of beaches, buses, trains and parks and the disappearance of many discriminatory signs, the fact remains that laws enforcing separate amenities are still on the statute book.

Many municipalities, even in the "liberal" Western Cape, still enforce segregation.

Argus staff reporters investigate.

teaching what many municipalities are still practising

Separate Amenities Act provides for "the reservation of beaches, buses, trains and vehicles or other public facilities for the exclusive use of persons of a particular race or class".

City Council largely responsible for open amenities.

Refused to have apartheid signs, so the Province argued us for it," said Mr Ted Doman.

Previously the council had different signs for different races which changed all that.

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One area in which segregation is enforced

— and signposted — is beach apartheid.

Residents of the Melkbos local area asked that their beach remain for whites only because of lack of facilities for crowds.

The Strand has segregated beaches but, according to the town clerk, Mr L J L Groenewald, nothing stops "members of any race" using local parks.

The parks, nature reserve, restaurants and shopping areas in the Somerset West municipality were open to all races, said the town clerk, Mr D J Human.

"Even in the fierce days of petty apartheid we did not have separate entrances or separate services for different race groups," he said.

The town clerk of Simon's Town, Mr Charles Chevalier, said the municipality had not practised any form of apartheid for years.

The Fish Hoek town clerk, Mr Eric Fry, said his municipality did not enforce separate amenity laws.

The Gordon's Bay town clerk, Mr Chris

Neethling, said enforcement of the Separate Amenities Act would depend on various circumstances.

"We have a small beach with insufficient parking and space for large crowds. That, and not political considerations, is the problem we will have to tackle," Mr Neethling said.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Constantia and Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, has challenged President Botha "to put his own house in order" by scrapping apartheid legislation before attacking the CP for racist policies.

It was ironic to hear him ask the CP if it realised how much harm its attitude caused in the outside world, Mr Hulley said.

Accusing Mr Botha of cynicism, he said the National Party and its apartheid policies had inflicted "incalculable damage" on the country's international reputation.

Mr Botha himself had been "a champion and a leading implementer of the policy of apartheid".

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n Pretoria

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THREAT FROM THE RIGHT

Security
forces
political
loyalty
cause fo
concern

A FRIGHTENING picture emerged this week of how rank-and-file policemen and other members of the security forces have turned against the governing National Party and now support the Conservative Party.

This became evident in a week in which the government used the Pretoria massacre of blacks by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and "Wit Wolwe" extremist Bar-end Strydom to warn against growing rightwing and leftwing extremism in South Africa.

Strydom, it emerged this week, had been an AWB member while he was a policeman despite the government's prohibition of AWB members joining the SAP.

He only left the force after a ghoulish incident in which he was photographed holding a knife to the head of a black man decapitated in a car crash.

This week new details emerged on how the political loyalty of the security forces has become a source of concern to the government which is struggling against the CP for the hearts-and-minds of the police and military.

A picture emerged at this week's Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria of a complacent government whose own supporters admit the NP has lost touch with its voters and have even alienated the security forces on which its existence depends.

One Nat delegate from Nigel disclosed that all members of the SA Police Reaction Unit in the town had voted for the CP in the recent municipal elections.

He said they were not CP members, but had cast a protest vote against the government because they were dissatisfied with their salaries.

said: "Ride on Dr, you are doing good work".

The CP general secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said this week that the CP made a point at its congresses and on election days of inviting policemen on duty to eat with them. "The police feel they are part of us," he said.

Mr Beyers estimated that 80 percent of police and of the security forces in general supported the CP, with the exception of "the people in head offices".

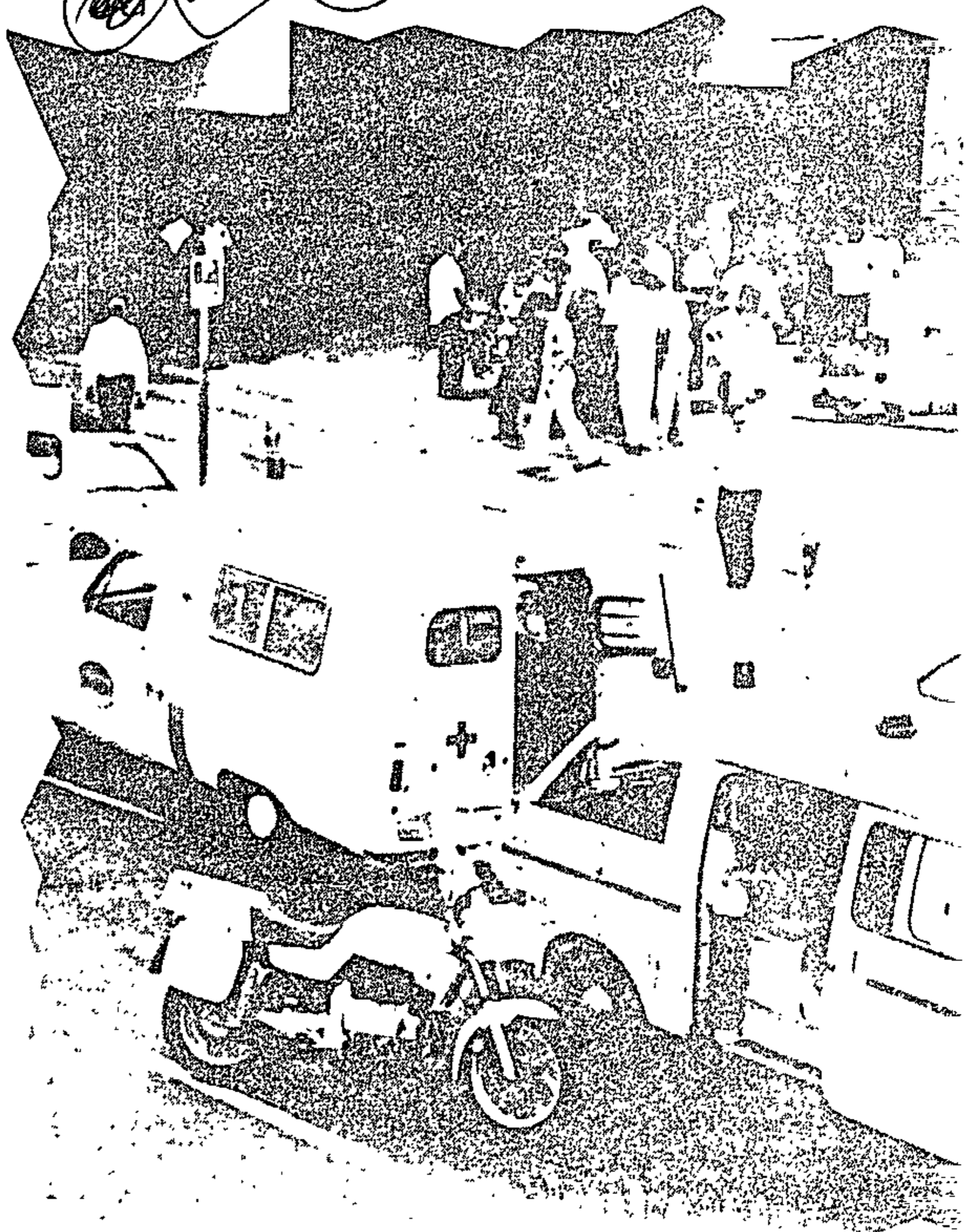
Delegates to this week's Nat congress also disclosed that voters had been captured by the CP's strategy of "huis-besoeek" — visiting and canvassing people directly instead of relying like the Nats on pamphlets and newspapers which nobody read, and on TV news which people ignored.

Mr Herman Immelman a Germiston city councillor, said people no longer read Nat literature. If the NP message was shown on TV, people went out for a stroll. He said the NP had to get off its backside and canvass voters directly.

Mr Immelman said the NP should owe its loyalty to the voters and not to committees and organisations.

MR Harold du Plooy of Primrose in Germiston said the NP had been hibernating in peace while people were being taken in by the CP's word-of-mouth propaganda.

W/E 19/11/88
Arrows
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One Nat delegate from Nigel disclosed that all members of the SA Police Reaction Unit in the town had voted for the CP in the recent municipal elections.

He said they were not CP members, but had cast a protest vote against the government because they were dissatisfied with their salaries. He said they worked overtime in dangerous conditions and received the same pay as office workers who had eight-to-four office jobs.

ANOTHER delegate said many policemen voted for the Right in the recent municipal elections in which the CP captured control of most Transvaal municipalities.

He said this in reply to a fellow-delegate who had said he had spoken to a number of SAP members who told him they supported Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Vlok himself then told the congress the extent to which the CP had ingratiated themselves among members of the SAP.

He said CP members brought coffee and tea for police manning roadblocks and befriended SAP members.

Mr Vlok said that when he spoke to policemen at roadblocks, they told him "a CP tannie brought us coffee and sandwiches".

"Where are we?" Mr Vlok asked the Nat delegates, exhorting them to follow suit and "show we are decent people".

He said the future of South Africa was not in the radical politics of the Right. He said he was convinced that the hearts of most SAP members were in the right place. Mr Vlok also said the police were prohibited from taking part in party politics.

A Nat delegate also warned that the new neighbourhood watch system was being hijacked by the CP.

THE extent to which South Africa's men in uniform support the CP emerged recently. Dr Andries Treurnicht, the party leader, told a CP congress how he had been stopped for speeding.

He said that when the traffic officer recognised him, he clicked his heels, saluted and

point at its congresses and on election days of inviting policemen on duty to eat with them. "The police feel they are part of us," he said.

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Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid and chairman of the Nat information committee in the Transvaal, acknowledged that the NP had become complacent. He said recent election results were a warning that the NP had to rouse itself.

He said the post mortem in his Vanderbijlpark seat where the CP won the recent municipal elections was that NP pamphlets were too complex. In future some NP publications would contain slogans as did CP pamphlets.

He said the view that voters did not read Nat literature at all was simplistic. He said this literature should be in language people could understand.

Dr Viljoen endorsed the message that President PW Botha had given the Nat congress — that they should take the "footpath" and canvass voters directly.

The solution lay in "huisbesoek" and Nats should become the "foot-soldiers" of the NP, he said.

But while delegate after delegate stood up near the end of the congress to voice concern at how the NP had become complacent and lost touch with the white voters, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs who was chairing that part of the congress, hurried them on.

He told them their speaking time was up — even though he added that he recognised this was a very important matter.

On the last day of the two-day congress, most delegates had wondered off, leaving the Pretoria City Hall sparsely filled. NP Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk said next year's congress would be held at a small country venue which would make it more difficult for delegates to leave early or go on shopping trips during the congress.



Get rid of YOUR racism, Nats told

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff *W/le ARGUS 19/11/88*

304A

THE government has been warned that its fight against the growing threat from extreme rightwing movements will be futile if the National Party does not get rid of its own racism.

The warning comes from Afrikaner academics, political scientists and former Nationalists who say the militant form of racism emerging from such movements is a product of racist ideas still existing within the NP.

The academics see the banning of the militant Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) as a move that does not even get near the heart of the problem of rightwing radicalism.

What is needed is the scrapping of remaining apartheid laws and a huge re-education programme for whites, especially within the NP, to rid them of the racist ideas on which apartheid was based, say some of the academics.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch and a former member of the NP, said that as long as the government had racist laws on its statute book it formed part of the far-right racist politics of South Africa.

The Group Areas Act, the race classification system and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act were all based on the NP's own racist thinking.

For President Botha to attack the Conservative Party now for its plan to resurrect apartheid notice-boards was "the crudest form of double standards."

The NP itself was applying the same apartheid which the CP and other rightwing organisations were advocating.

"The only way in which the government can fight the racism of the CP and other extreme rightwing organisations is to get rid of its own racism," Professor Terreblanche said.

It was the government's responsibility to educate the people, especially its own people in the NP. A huge re-education programme was needed to persuade people that any form of racism was morally unacceptable and intolerable.

The racist ideas of today had been instilled in people over 40 years of NP rule. This had occurred while the NP

consolidated and built up its position of power by openly strengthening white fears and exploiting racial prejudice.

With the rise of the rightwing movement, the CP and other far-right groups were trying to outbid the NP in the field of racism.

"By sowing the dragon's teeth of intolerance, racial prejudice and sectional patronage, they (the NP) now deserve to reap the ugly monsters of racial hatred and tribal obsession," Professor Terreblanche said.

The NP's own propaganda media, including its newspapers and SABC-TV, had played a major role over the years in spreading the racialism on which NP policy was based.

A recent nationwide opinion survey for Argus company newspapers had shown the extent to which the thinking of people had been affected.

While half of the total number of informants thought social, political and economic reform could best improve national security, only a quarter of the Afrikaans-speakers maintained this opinion.

Professor Terreblanche said one thing emerged clearly from the poll: the dire need to re-educate the Afrikaans-speakers (and to a lesser extent the English-speakers) about the true dimensions of both the South African problem and structural reform.

POLITICAL scientist Professor Albert Venter of the Rand Afrikaans University said the government's dilemma was that for as long as the NP relied only on a white power-base to remain in power, the CP and other rightwing groups would be a threat to the government.

The only way in which the NP could overcome this dilemma would be to form formal coalitions with coloured, Indian and moderate black political groupings.

But the NP could not do this while it was clinging to racial laws which those groups found unacceptable.

Professor Venter said the NP was caught in the further dilemma of having within its own ranks many of the people who had been fed politically on the racism of the NP's past.

The NP of 1948 was actually the "spiritual father" of the rightwing ideas and organisations of today.

The government could not now complain about rightwing moves to restore apartheid notice-boards when an NP law still existed to provide for such notice-boards.

Professor Venter said most of the rightwing organisations were "living in a dream world" because they were trying to escape from present-day political realities.

Some of the racist ideas of organisations like the BBB and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) were on the lines of a crude, romantic form of racism of the 19th century which glorified the white ruling class. Those were the ideas that were also propagated by the German nazi rulers in the 1930s.

The groups in South Africa wanted to create a "white heaven on earth".

The BBB was the most racist and reactionary of these groups.

The AWB seemed to have its intellectual roots in the old Ossewa-Brandwag and in the thoughts of nazi philosopher Rosenberg and others who had expounded the virtues of a "pure Aryan race".

PROFESSOR Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa, said the "feeding ground" of the white rightwing organisations was the Afrikaner nationalism of the NP.

The government's new constitutional dispensation had set off a polarisation in white Nationalist politics as well as in black politics.

The rightwing movements were saying the same things which the NP had been saying about racial issues.

While movements such as the AWB continued to be active, it would be difficult for the government to end the state of emergency.

Professor Wiechers said a question arising from the latest developments such as the banning of the BBB was: when is the government going to start detaining leaders of the extreme rightwing organisations?

Sociologist Professor Simon Bekker of the University of South Africa has warned that the white rightwing movement is forming a new base on which it wants to re-build Afrikaner nationalism.

Call Times 19/1/88 (304A)

New political party on cards

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party yesterday agreed to try "urgently" to form a new party.

A statement issued by Transvaal Rugby Union boss Dr Louis Luyt — at whose home "senior representatives" of the three parties met yesterday — said the objective of the new party would be "to promote the broad principles of a non-racial, multi-party democratic order which is to be achieved through negotiation and agreement".

The meeting was chaired by Dr Willem de Klerk, brother of Transvaal National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk. — Sapa

Barend Strydom

— apple of his father's eye

W/fe Argus 19/11/88

by KITT KATZIN, Weekend
Argus Correspondent

30CA

JOHANNESBURG.— Alleged mass killer Barend Hendrik Strydom was the apple of his father's eye — and he, in turn, worshipped and adored his father as he shadowed him closely along a path of extreme rightwing ideology.

The product of a staunch AWB Afrikaner family, Strydom was reared from his early years at Heidelberg on a homespun diet of political radicalism — to the extent that he was still at school when he allegedly had his first of several brushes with the police.

Known as "Wollie" to his family and friends, Strydom was a great source of pride to his father, Mr Nic Strydom, and followed in his footsteps by supporting the AWB, and joining the police force, after finishing school in 1983.

And like his father, Strydom too later quit the SAP, though for different reasons, before setting off on a bizarre one-man political crusade that ended in his court appearance in connection with this week's bloody Pretoria massacre.

Mr Strydom Sr, who resigned from the SAP on medical grounds in June, recently admitted in a letter to a local newspaper that he was the regional representative of the AWB.

He also stood for the CP in the municipal elections in Heidelberg, but was not elected.

Strydom Jnr, whose stepmother, Mrs Daphne Strydom, is also said to be a strong AWB supporter, was described by neighbours as well-balanced and friendly but as a non-achiever by his friends.

He was always laughing, they said.

While in standard nine at the Hoer Volksskool, Heidelberg, Strydom was allegedly questioned by security police after writing letters to President Ronald Reagan, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, President Botha and other world leaders.

He proposed guidelines to them as to how they should govern their countries and said if they did not reply he would assume they had accepted his suggestions.

He was visited by the police who also apparently rebuked a member of his family. This week police sources in Pretoria declined to comment.

Police, meanwhile, are investigating allegations that Strydom may have been involved in another shooting spree on November 8 in which one black woman was killed and another seriously injured at the Wheeler's Farm squatter camp near Johannesburg.

Police are also investigating Strydom's claim that he is the leader of the so-called ultra-rightwing terror group, the Wit Wolwe, which has claimed responsibility for a number of bombing and terror attacks in South Africa and Namibia.

Groups meet to form new opposition

Star
19/11/84
ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

304A

A MAJOR breakthrough has been made in negotiations between groupings on the political Left with a view of establishing a new party including the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The three parties yesterday held an eight-hour meeting at the Zoo Lake mansion of Transvaal rugby chief Dr Louis Luyt, to discuss the formation of a new party to unitedly oppose the Government.

Senior officials of all three groups attended the meeting, organised by Dr Luyt.

The meeting, which took place under the chairmanship of *ex-Rapport* editor Dr Willem de Klerk, was attended by about 20 people including NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and several others.

Although they remained tight-lipped about the discussions, several of the people expressed their satisfaction with the outcome of the meeting.

A joint statement issued to the press afterwards by Dr de Klerk read as follows:

● TO PAGE 2.

Non-racial principles

Star 19/11/84 ● FROM PAGE 1. 304A

"It was agreed that the three parties would endeavour urgently to bring about the formation of a new political party, which is felt to be essential. The objective of the new party will be to promote the broad principles of a non-racial multi-party democratic order which is to be achieved through negotiation and agreement.

"The representatives of the parties will meet again on December 14 to receive the report of the committee and to take the process further."

Govt in quandary over Mandela

Star

19/11/68

DAVID BRAUN
Political
Correspondent

GOVERNMENT appears to be in a quandary over the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

On the one hand the authorities do not want Mandela, who is recovering from a lung infection in a Cape Town clinic, sent back to jail.

On the other, Government is too nervous simply to release him for fear of unleashing forces it may not be able to control.

According to senior sources in Government, the most likely action the Government will choose will be a phased release. This process may not start until next year.

Some authorities believe the next step should be to confine Mandela to house arrest, so he can stay at home and be united with his family.

"We cannot simply dump Mandela back in the community. We do not know what the impact of that would be. We would not want to see vast crowds clamouring to get near him or welcoming him because we might lose control of the situation," a senior source told Saturday Star this week.

But the choice remains solely that of State President Mr P W Botha, and, for the moment, he is not saying anything.

Govt to block CP race laws revival

By BARRY STREEK

THE government yesterday bluntly told the Conservative Party that it would not allow the CP to subvert its reform process and restore petty apartheid.

Mr Chris Heunis, the government's chief constitutional spokesman, said powers would not be handed over to local communities if they took decisions to the detriment of other communities under the cover of 'local option'.

"The government is committed to the scrapping of discrimination and great progress has been made with this.

"It cannot be allowed to be undone," Mr Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Cape leader of the National Party, said at Mossel Bay.

It is the first time the government has told CP-controlled local

authorities it will not permit the return of petty apartheid.

The government's pledge is bound to lead to a political row.

The CP has committed itself publicly to reinstating old apartheid measures, including notice boards, in areas under its control.

Yesterday CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis criticized Mr Heunis and accused him of being dictatorial.

"This seems quite ridiculous when we still have the Separate Amenities Act on the statute books. It sounds as though local authorities which act in terms of this law will be acted against."

Mr Derby-Lewis demanded to know under which law Mr Heunis was acting in making these threats.

"The word 'democracy' has a totally different meaning for National Party cabinet ministers.

"It is Nat democracy, which is a

dictatorial 'democracy' if one can call it that. It is not a democracy, it is dictatorship."

In his speech, delivered at the annual congress of the South Cape Tourism Development Association, Mr Heunis said the government accepted "the principle of maximum devolution of power, decentralization of administration and minimum administrative control".

But the interests of local communities had to be balanced against national interests, and group interests had to be balanced against individual interests.

"If the power which local communities may get leads to a situation where such communities take decisions to the detriment of other communities under the cover of 'local option', the government will not hand such powers to local communities."

PROFESSOR Henri Scaillet of the French Cultural Centre in Cape Town takes issue with white conservatives who claim scientific support for their views on racial inequality on which, in turn, they base their right to reject people of colour. He is a professor of French literature and the author of several books in French about South Africa, including *Le Dernier Choix* (The Last Choice), which tells of the problems of a mixed race marriage.

W/E AR665 19/11/88 (306A)

What history? What science?

THE racial assertions of Professor Johan Schabort of the Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB), as published in the Weekend Argus of November 12 are appalling. To deform and re-arrange scientific and historical evidence in support of a doctrine is unforgivable in a man using the title of "professor".

According to Professor Schabort, the rejection of people of colour is justified by the "empirical evidence of history and science."

History? In fact, if we look back at history we cannot fail to realise that whites were still savage head hunters when the Chinese, Indians and Egyptians were living in their wonderful civilisations.

Being a white, I have the honesty to recognise the real facts of history and to admit what archaeologists, paleontologists and people of science in general have established.

And contrary to what Professor Schabort asserts, it is not the whites who have the highest IQs, in spite of the fact that the norms of IQ tests obviously favour the whites since it is they who set the criteria of what is, and is not, intelligent according to their materialistic civilisation.

In spite of this disadvantage to those who are not white, it is the Japanese who generally perform best at this sort of test in the United States.

As for the success and durability of a settlement, it is only when the invaders or the settlers actually mix with the local population that the settlement develops, and becomes a new, more vigorous and more prosperous community.

As an example, there was the in-

vasion of the Roman Empire by "barbarian" Germanic tribes in 500 AD. The Franks established themselves in the place now called France and their king, Clovis, was the first to mix by taking as his spouse the daughter of the king of Burgundy, Clotilde.

The Franks mixed so well with the indigenous population that in France today you cannot see a difference between the descendants of the Celts or the Romans or the Burgundians. All have mixed to form a new harmony and a new civilisation, which has not been too bad so far!

Another example? For centuries, the Vikings raided and looted the towns of Northern France. These Vikings were savages and remained thus until they settled in the region now called Normandy and mixed with the local population. As a Frenchman, I do not believe there is the slightest evidence that the population of Normandy is more, stupid or degraded than the population in the rest of France.

Perhaps Professor Schabort would claim that all this "mixing" was between "white" people. If so, then he should do some more research, for before the Celts and the Romans we had in France and Spain indigenous peoples called Iberians and Ligurians, and long before them populations which probably came from Africa settled along the Mediterranean coast.

So, contrary to Professor Schabort's claims, the European population is not "pure Caucasian" but is the result of the biggest melting pot in the world — and we need only look at the Europeans to establish their differences. Some have red

hair, other black; some have straight hair and others curled. The same goes for their eye and skin colours.

In fact, it is probably because it has such a mixed population that Europe is so dynamic and vigorous since the genetical truth is that consanguinity is what brings degeneration, sickness and extinction.

Interbreeding of people of the same race produces degeneracy, as is also true in botany and zoology. Human procreation must follow the laws of nature and respect the imperatives of nature. I'm afraid in this respect, Professor Schabort ignores both the laws of Mendel and the latest discoveries in medicine.

Under our skins what do we find? The same blood, the same cells, the same biological functions in all the peoples of the world. In fact, the purest group genetically were the Africans and American Indians prior to the advent in those areas of the white man.

The whites, indeed, should be ashamed of their record in the New World, for they reduced to ashes — by the most savage means — wonderful civilisations such as those of the Incas and Aztecs, in order to impose their materialism.

With views such as those of Professor Schabort and his followers South Africa seems under threat of repeating the human tragedy of the nazis which brought about the deaths of 50-million people.

Why preach rejection, violence and domination under a nazi-like flag, instead of collaboration, love and peace between the races? To avoid genocide in South Africa, it is time to think of human rights instead of apartheid.

...date of implementation. — Sapa-Reuter

New political party on cards

Call Times 19/1/88 304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party yesterday agreed to try "urgently" to form a new party.

A statement issued by Transvaal Rugby Union boss Dr Louis Luyt — at whose home "senior representatives" of the three parties met yesterday — said the objective of the new party would be "to promote the broad principles of a non-racial, multi-party democratic order which is to be achieved through negotiation and agreement".

The meeting was chaired by Dr Willem de Klerk, brother of Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk. — Sapa

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RISE OF THE BLOODY RIGHT

304A
ST. Times
20/11/88



OPTIC AND OPTICAL

ONLY hours before Barend Strydom allegedly shot to death six black people and wounded 17 others he wrote a note to his parents. In it, he spoke of a Derde Vryheidsoorlog — a Third War of Freedom.

In this, of course, he was grossly insulting his ancestors by comparing the heroism of the Boer commandos to the sordid violence on Pretoria's Strydom Square.

Yet he did have a point. There is a Third War underway. The Government and its propaganda services have focused attention exclusively on one, albeit deeply disturbing, aspect of it — leftwing terrorism.

Its counterpart, rightwing terrorism, has largely slipped past public notice by default.

In many cases, rightwing terrorism in modernising societies has proved in the long run at least as bloody (and sometimes more so) as leftwing violence.

Dominant

The history of ultra-right resistance lies deep in our history.

During the Second World War, 810 members of the SA Police were suspended after it was discovered they constituted two full battalions of the Ossewabrandwag, an anti-Empire, Afrikaner nationalist organisation then engaged in a low intensity guerrilla war against the Smuts Government.

They, too, believed they were fighting a Third War of Freedom.

After 1948, the Third War died. Afrikaner nationalism dominated government, black resistance was inchoate and when it did coalesce, the State responded massively, brutally, effectively.

There was no need for ordinary whites to doubt the ability of those early, earthy Nationalists to defend their interests.

It was in the mid-'70s and with increasing rapidity after the accession of President Botha to power that ultra-right resistance began to gather momentum.

This group — embittered and increasingly impoverished — was unable to understand the precariousness of Afrikaner nationalist isolation, it was blind to changing economic facts, deaf to the shifting tides of regional reality.

The Botha administration may, in retrospect, be accused of grievously misjudging its response to those domestic and international

Brian Pottinger

traces the danger signals and looks at how the authorities have responded



realities, but it cannot be said it ignored them.

In merely raising and attempting to address a growing legion of inherited social, economic and political crises, President Botha ensured he would encounter fierce rightwing resistance.

The political expression of this ultra-rightwing resistance first arose some 15 years ago with the emergence of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Its first foray into civilised discourse was to tar and feather an honourable, intelligent Afrikaner academic who dared to argue that many of the symbols of Afrikaner cultural pride were seen by other South Africans, rightly or wrongly, especially by blacks, as symbols of repression.

Later, some of its members were prosecuted in the courts for criminal acts — possession of Soviet-made weapons and hare-brained schemes to sabotage homeland casinos.

These sort of people would no doubt have remained forever in the beer halls where they belonged had it not been for the social upheavals of the mid-'80s.

Force

At that point, the Government surrendered moral leadership and clarity of vision to security expediency with consequences which are beyond the scope of this discussion.

One of the immediate results, however, was that the ultra-right, the AWB, emerged as a brokering force between deplorable, yet not despicable, political groupings such as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

The leadership of those parties have yet to answer for allowing that situation to arise, to explain their part in this "respectabilisation" of the crass.

This, however, strays from the question of the terroristic violence which emerged from the moral ambivalence created by racist dogma, by the pervasive government rhetoric about "survival", by the pursuit of ends above means.

There have been successful

State actions against some rightwing acts of terrorism. The person who firebombed Colin Eglin's home in the '70s was arrested and convicted.

A group of largely Italian immigrants calling themselves the Wit Kommando were similarly dealt with.

There, unfortunately, ends the success story.

Sabotage

Since the upheavals of the mid-'80s, it is estimated, there have been 17 assassinations of radical and prominent opponents of the Government.

There have been no arrests. There have been more than a dozen acts of sabotage against buildings owned by the radical, yet lawful, groups of opposition to the Government.

There have been no arrests. The radicals, naturally, claim this dismal record is the consequence of either State incompetence or, worse, complicity.

There is as yet no compelling evidence as to the latter. Yet the SA Police's defence that it has spent considerable effort in infiltrating the left but not yet the right, and therefore is less successful in this virgin territory, is neither convincing nor a justification — it is an indictment.

The simple, cruel, reality of our society is that the more the Government seeks to redress the grievances of the left, the more it invokes the response of the right — a riposte which the Khotso/Cosatu/Khanye house blasts show is sinister, informed, skilled and infinitely more threatening than the random terrorism of the ANC.

If the Government is not conscious of this threat, it should be. If it has not anticipated it, it should have.

Even its approach to the alleged central figure in this week's catalytic events is open to question.

The following points have nothing to do with his culpability or otherwise in Tuesday's events.

Mr Strydom was twice questioned by the security police about

his rightwing political views while a serving constable.

He was suspended after discovery of a ghoulish photograph of himself with the severed head of a black victim of a road accident and a mass of AWB literature — the poison of an organisation to which members of the SAP are not allowed to belong.

For whatever reason, he succeeded in resigning from the force instead of being drummed out.

He was never prosecuted for his unchristian, barbaric indulgence with the remains of a human being, no doubt somebody's father, son, husband or lover.

The creature who humoured Strydom in this endeavour by taking the photograph remains unidentified and unprosecuted.

Within two months of Strydom's resignation came claims by a mysterious voice of the existence of the Wit Wolwe and its complicity in a range of rightwing terror acts, including a tear-smoke attack on a mosque in Heidelberg, Strydom's home town.

Radical groups strongly implied a link between the Wit Wolwe and the security establishment.

The SA Police proclaimed its determination to hunt down this mysterious organisation, yet the first time Strydom, one would hope a prime suspect, was questioned was nine months later when he smilingly handed himself over to Reaction Unit members after his alleged

shooting spree last Tuesday.

It is with this record that the Government has until now sought to convince us of its sincerity about resigning the artillery on the right, as opposed exclusively on the left.

The Government has correctly expressed its horror at Tuesday's events.

The alleged killer is now before the courts and the Government has banned the Blanke Bevyrdigingsbeweging — a repulsive and racist organisation, but whose rhetoric is only slightly worse than the AWB, and which does not muster big parades of armed storm-troopers and whose infiltration of the SA Police is considerably less than the AWB (only seven police reservists have been suspended from the force for being AWB members, and if Pretoria thinks that represents the extent of the cancer it is in a dream world).

Danger

Also, unlike the AWR, the BBB does not count among its members one Barend Strydom.

There is a great danger in all this legitimate horror at Tuesday's events.

An insignificant, flaky group and a possibly deranged young man may become the scapegoats for a far deeper, critical malaise lying within our country and its institutions.

Birth of new party

A COMPLETE re-alignment of liberal opposition politics may be the result of this weekend's meeting of Progressive Federal Party, National Democratic Movement and Independence Party leaders.

Party representatives who attended the meeting at the home of Transvaal rugby boss, Dr Louis Luyt, were yesterday optimistic that a new political party could be formed in the not too distant future.

The PFP's Federal Council has endorsed the meeting and is taking steps to convene a special congress to discuss the possibility of creating a new party.

Endorsed
Council chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday the PFP had endorsed the agreement reached at the meeting on Friday and noted with appreciation the efforts of

On the cards

By DRIES van HEERDEN and PIETER VENTER

those who wished to bring into being a broadly based party to promote a non-racial, multiparty democracy.

A source said: "We are talking about a new name, new philosophy and strategy and some new faces. It is not merely a recycling of present parties."

Former newspaper editor, Dr Willem de Klerk, who acted as "facilitator" to the talks, said: "I am heartened

by the positive spirit that prevailed.

"I am optimistic we will already see considerable progress at our next meeting on December 14."

A committee representing the parties will report then on the drafting of a joint declaration of intent and statement of principles. Sources said the new movement would follow a two-pronged strategy aimed at getting support in white

politics and across the colour line.

The joint statement after the meeting also emphasised "discussions with other organisations inside and outside the parliamentary system."

This is seen as an indication that negotiations will be entered into with groups such as the Labour Party, Inkatha and some UDF-affiliated movements.

Recognise

A source said: "We recognise the need for a broad approach which moves beyond the confines of conventional politics."

"We all agree that 'whites



TALKING TURKEY... Willem de Klerk, Zach de Beer and Louis Luyt

only' politics cannot solve the problems of the country or lead the way towards a post-apartheid society."

In parliamentary politics, the new party is expected to try to consolidate the support of the three parties and to woo disaffected Nats who may have been reluctant to leave the NP because of the dissension in opposition ranks.

In spite of the optimism, party representatives agreed there were a number of major problems which still had to be ironed out.

These include personality clashes between leading party figures. Little love is

lost between the NDM's Wyn-ral and Malan and Dr Denis Worral, of the IP, who clashed earlier this year leading to the break-up of their Independent Movement.

The NDM ranks also include three senior ex-PFP politicians, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman, who left the PFP amid bitter acrimony.

Smoothed

The election of Dr Zach de Beer as leader of the PFP in the place of Mr Colin Eglin may, however, have smoothed over some of the differences.

Handwritten note: AFSA 20/11/88

(3044) Spiner 20/11/88

THE "omph" has left the Transvaal National Party. It has been replaced by a blandness and uniformity that leaves little room for mild dissidence.

Three days at the Transvaal congress of the NP in Pretoria were enough to convince me that this is no longer the party of yesterday. It may still have the bodies and the voices, but it is searching for a lost soul. There have always been striking differences between Cape and Transvaal congresses of the NP. The Cape has always resembled the meetings of an Eastern European farming co-operative.

Everything is planned to ensure there are no hitches or surprises. Over the years delegates have come to know when to applaud, when to hiss and when to show "bruised geesdrif".

President Botha cracks the whip and the yes-men in the lower ranks refuse to say "No". But in the Transvaal the mood has been different. One could invariably rely on some maverick delegate to put the cat among the pigeons.

There were often lively debates with members differing sharply on contentious issues. Five years ago, Interior Minister Stoffel Botha would not have gotten away with a prepared speech on a motion from the congress. Some or other delegate would have stood up to complain that the Minister "did not answer our questions".

Shortly after his election as leader of the NP, President Botha faced an almost hostile Transvaal congress, still smarting over the fact that their golden boy, Dr Connie Mulder, lost out in the premiership stakes and was disgraced by the Info scandal.

A strong group of rightwingers were already rallying round Dr Andries Treurnicht, determined to resist any attempts by "Cape liberals" to speed up the reform process. A combative Mr Botha tackled the Transvaal National Party head-on and won them over. Those who came to jeer him went home cheering the man's strong leadership and sense of direction.

Many who listened to Mr Botha this week must have left deeply disappointed. His mood was angry and his fuse short. The major part of his speech was devoted to defending his actions and his policies. His intemperate language did not endear him to his audience.

Even the newspapers well disposed towards him this week chided him for his outbursts.

Search is on for the lost soul of the party

NP has lost its P-U-N-C-H

Two faces of a man at the helm
P W Botha as a victorious commander waves to his followers in a show of confidence and faith



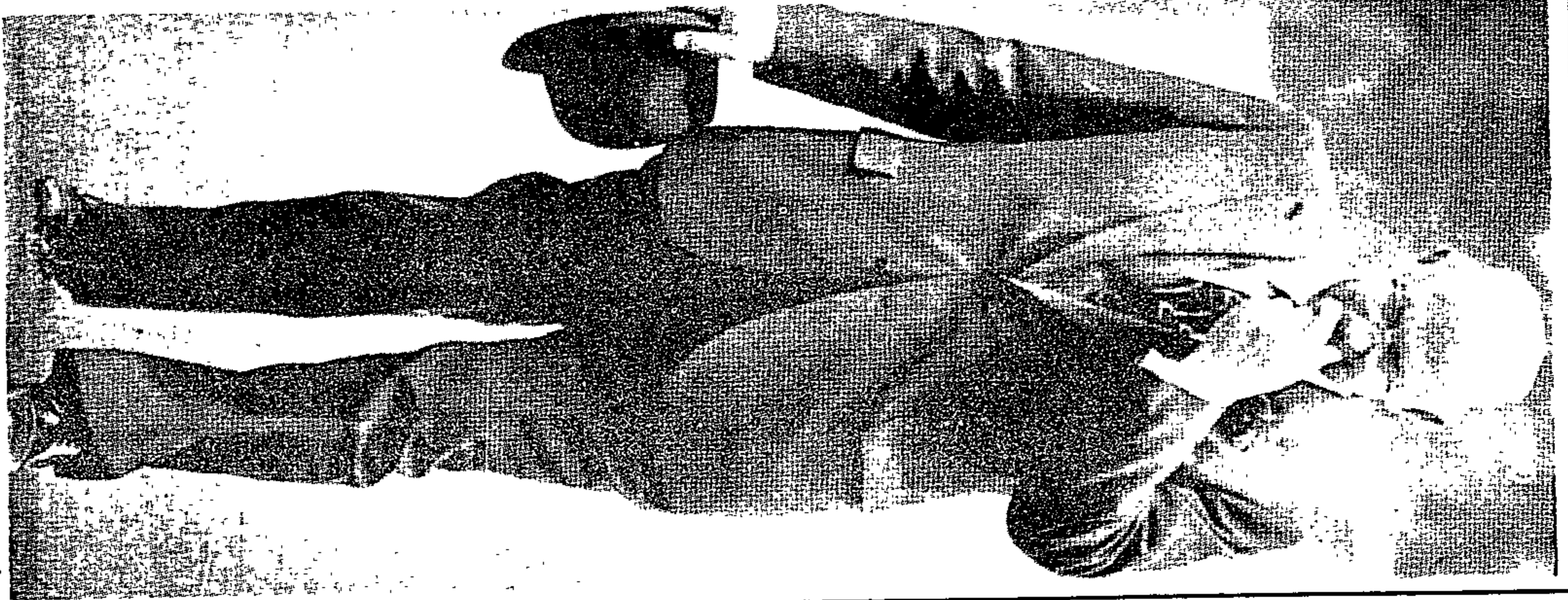
F W DE KLERK ... Insisted on nomination



CHRIS HEUNIS ... elements of federalism



MAGNUS MALAN ... cheerleader for unity



UNEASY LIES THE HEAD ... P W caught in pensive mood as the forces of change rage around him

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN



His harshest words were saved for his favourite bugaboo, journalists. But even this Press bash-

ing — the surest sign yet that an early election is due — could not elicit much enthusiasm from the

audience. Behind him sat a Cabinet racked by divisions, emerging from the most intense period of manoeuvring since the heydays of Info.

Three days of congress provided a number of interesting political snapshots which may have more bearing on the future of the country than all the boring policy statements by Ministers combined.

Mr F W de Klerk's insistence that he be duly nominated and seconded as provincial leader instead of the customary "election by applause". Obviously Mr De Klerk took notice of efforts by supporters of General Magnus Malan to canvass support for the Defence Minister's candidature.

Efforts by General Malan to finally put himself in a civilian suit and assert himself in party politics. He took it upon himself to act as the cheerleader for unity in the party, protesting (perhaps too much?) about the team spirit in the Cabinet.

The Government again showed its mastery in slipping in a number of hitherto unpalatable "buzzwords" to describe its policies. Faithful Nats may have been started to learn that the NP is now a great believer in the principle of "freedom of association and dissociation".

Next year "federalism" will be the vogue term. Already maverick Nat MP Mr Albert Nothnagel urged the Government

NP insiders take heart from the fact that it fared better against the CP in last month's polls than most pundits expected. They believe the CP is strapped for cash and will have difficulty providing an encore to its municipal showings. Transvaal will be the major battleground between the NP and the CP in a coming poll.

PFP go-ahead for new party

PFP leader Zach de Beer was given a broad, unqualified mandate by the party's federal council at the weekend to bring about the formation of a new political party to the left of government.

It was described by one PFP source as an extraordinary step.

The move was also seen by senior PFP representatives at the second day of the council meeting in Johannesburg as an indication of how committed the party was to the creation of a new party which would link the PFP with the IP and NDM.



● DE BEER

The mandate formed part of a resolu-

BRUCE ANDERSON

tion in which the council endorsed the agreement reached by the PFP, IP and NDM on Friday after meeting for a day at Louis Luyt's house in Johannesburg.

The resolution expressed enthusiasm for the formation of a new, united party and requested De Beer to take all appropriate steps to facilitate it.

Most PFP leaders were optimistic about prospects of forming a new party and there seemed to have been little opposition to the idea.

Referring to Friday's agreement, one senior PFP source said: "It's going to be difficult for anyone to get off now."

IP leader Denis Worrall was also en-

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● To Page 2

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De Beer gets go-ahead for new party

thusiastic about the prospects of forming a new party.

Worrall said IP co-chairmen Jannie Momberg and Dave Gant would represent the IP at the report-back meeting on December 14.

NDM leader Wynand Malan could not be reached for comment at the time of going to press.

□ The PFP federal council said: "The hard-pressed consumer, buffeted by price increases in everyday necessities, has had to withstand a series of in-

← ● From Page 1

creases in the mortgage bond rate."

It added the abysmally low growth rate during the past six years had meant that the average South African was worse off than he was in 1969 and getting poorer every year.

"The government has shamelessly kept interest rates artificially low for purely domestic political considerations," the council said.

Germiston council to choose a mayor

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

Today is D-day for the choosing of Germiston's mayor when the new city council meets for the first time in the civic centre after the municipal elections.

The party situation is as follows: 10 Nationalists, six Conservatives and seven Independents.

A division among the ranks of the NP has placed the balance of power in the hands of the independents.

Negotiations to secure positions in the council reached a feverish pitch early this week.

Mr Viv Morris, spokesman for the independents, however, said they had not formed a political alliance with anyone.

He said the independents wanted fair representation and would work for the good of the city.

Mr Morris indicated that there was a strong possibility that Mr Sarel Naude who served as mayor until the elections, would complete his term of office.

Supporters are of the opinion that Mr Morris and several others should take a more leading role in the management of the city.

Among the NP there appears to be two factions with former management committee chairman Mr Stan van Eeden again drumming up support for top position after years in the post.

Rumour has it that he would make a deal with the independents rather than surrender his position to the other NP faction.

The independents are determined to have at least two people serving on the management committee with Mrs Kelly Morris opting for deputy mayorship.

2048
21/11/88

ON MY desk lies a pile of draft constitutions sent to me in response to the recent plea in this column for a liberal answer to Archbishop Tutu. The response, including letters and telephone calls, has been extraordinary, suggesting a desperate search for answers.

Usually, I refuse to read any "plan to save the world" until it has built a constituency of supporters, but I have scanned these constitutions and have come to my usual conclusion: firstly, they are premature, and, secondly, they try to pre-empt negotiated compromise.

Indeed, the attempt to solve the problem by imposing constitutions on the country is typically South African: bureaucratic, and mildly authoritarian. It displays a preference for structures over processes which is really foreign to liberalism. Chris Heunis is the prototype, even if his constitutional ideas are different.

The alarming thing about these responses is the extent to which liberal thinking has atrophied. Most astonishing, I think, is the failure of any single person to suggest that the answer to Archbishop Tutu lies in stimulating the process of wealth-creating growth that has transformed countries from Britain to Singapore and from Japan to Italy.

Harold Laski, the famous socialist, described liberalism contemptuously as "the creed of the merchant". He was right. It is, at heart, a revolt by commercial interests against the overweening state, represented in medieval Europe by the rule of kings and in the modern world by the totalitarian state, whether fascist or communist.

The lesson of Britain's decay into seediness under socialist governments, and its revival under Mrs Thatcher — suddenly, the British are rich and we have become poor — seems to have been lost on South African liberals.

Even the lesson of Soviet failure, spelled out by Mikhail Gorbachev, seems not to have penetrated the

Well then, how's this for an answer to Tutu?

KEN OWEN

liberal consciousness here, although Gorbachev's description of a failed Soviet society fits the South African national-socialist state like a glove.

Of course, by the time any idea reaches Cape Town it is bound to be about 30 years out of date in Europe. That is why political debate among opponents of apartheid is still dominated, especially at the universities, by neo-Marxist theories that have lately been collapsing in ruins around the world.

More or less liberal societies, employing market theory in combination with modern technology, have demonstrated that per capita incomes can be raised within a single lifetime from US\$100 a year (that is, about R20 a month per person) to US\$7 000. Socialist societies, from Ghana to the Soviets, have demonstrated the opposite: they subsidise slowly but inexorably into poverty.

Ironically, Khrushchev's bombastic threat to "bury" the US has been fulfilled in reverse. The socialist societies have been "buried" by the free market economies of the West and the Far East, but we in SA have been diligent in our ignorance of these great events.

It is a tragedy that SA, a modernising society for most of the past century, has in the past two decades slid into intellectual backwardness. At the universities, economics is taught mainly by sociologists, using poor Hobbes as a foil for their Marxist thrusts. One major company, I know, has decided in desperation to put 35 000 employees through a simple course on market economics to try to offset the damage.

In the wider society, the influence of a totalitarian bureaucracy has produced a deadly conformity. Young South Africans seem to me to have become pathetically dependant creatures, grasping desperately for one or other orthodoxy. They have not been trained for freedom.

The liberal intellectual elite which, as Charles Simkins has pointed out, once set the tone of political thought in all communities in this country, has been very careless in allowing Marxist thought to become the dominant orthodoxy at the universities. (If you doubt me, try engag-

ing any university student in a conversation on Hayek or Von Mises, or on any modern liberal thinker. Their knowledge stretches no farther than the prejudices of their teachers).

There is another dimension to the discussion which I would have expected to emerge from responses to Archbishop Tutu: the core political problem in SA is to accommodate an infinite diversity, so complex and subtle as to defy any attempt to define the divisions.

Vertigite Nationalist thinking breaks down on the impossibility of defining race, but it is no easier to define this society by other criteria. Moreover, we are a society changing at breakneck speed, so that any attempt to construct a permanent order is likely soon to be undermined.

Liberalism, which seeks the maximum individual liberty compatible with equal liberty for all, is uniquely suitable to this kind of multi-faceted society. For SA, more than most countries, the best government is the least government, and the emphasis of the law should fall on the preservation of individual rights. The demands of economics, in this

country, come together with the demands of a just political order: a weak central government, charged with the defence of the borders and the currency, and with upholding the common law, a severely decentralised system of administration; weak taxing powers; a multiplicity of jurisdictions; and maximum freedom for individuals and for markets.

The cause of failure in modern societies has been well charted: the centralisation of power, the extension of bureaucracy, the proliferation of controls, the protection of cartels and vested interests, economic interventions to redirect the flow of wealth, discrimination between classes, growing militarism, patronage and corruption.

It is no accident that these are also the instruments of political tyranny, or that they are so much in evidence in SA today. President Botha is destroying his country, as Nkrumah destroyed Ghana, not because he is an evil man, but because he is ignorant. The enemy of freedom, the oppressor, is the state itself.

For liberals, this analysis should suggest many avenues of immediate political action: to revive liberal teaching at the universities; to support decentralisations of power; to support privatisations and almost any deregulation, especially of markets; to co-operate with the informal sector and strategies of "black empowerment"; and so forth.

Two things are lacking: firstly, a clear policy which spells out, in convincing detail, the manner in which liberals seek to disperse power between competing power centres; and, secondly, a set of policies covering local government, RSCs, regional developments, Bantustan authorities and provinces.

There is a great need for a series of liberal task forces to work out, in considerable detail, how to apply the formula for success of the liberal, free-market countries to the specific conditions of SA.

That is the proper answer to Archbishop Tutu's strategy of destruction.

'Tension' in the CP ranks

Mr. Treurnicht 2/11/88

SACA

JOHANNESBURG. — Contradictions in Conservative Party policy might cause serious tensions within its ranks, according to research by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute's 1987-88 Survey records major disagreement between CP members who want simply to reimpose classical apartheid and those who favour smaller white homelands. This division was reportedly papered over at the CP's Transvaal congress in August this year.

In addition, the idea of a much smaller white homeland is being advocated by Prof Carel Boshoff, who has launched a new group called the Stigting Afrikanerwyheid.

The survey points to statements by him that whites are too thinly spread to control the whole of South Africa and that desegregation has in any case now gone too far for it to be possible to reimpose classical separate development.

Other contradictory statements by CP leaders emerged during the period under review. While Dr Treurnicht said it was CP policy that 70% of blacks would be back in their homelands in 10 to 15 years, on another occasion he conceded that blacks were permanently urbanised and that the CP might have to negotiate with them about the final borders of a white state.

An admission by a CP member of Parliament that black people could not be removed from the Johannesburg grey area of Hillbrow was denied by Dr Treurnicht, who said his party would continue to fight to make Hillbrow white.

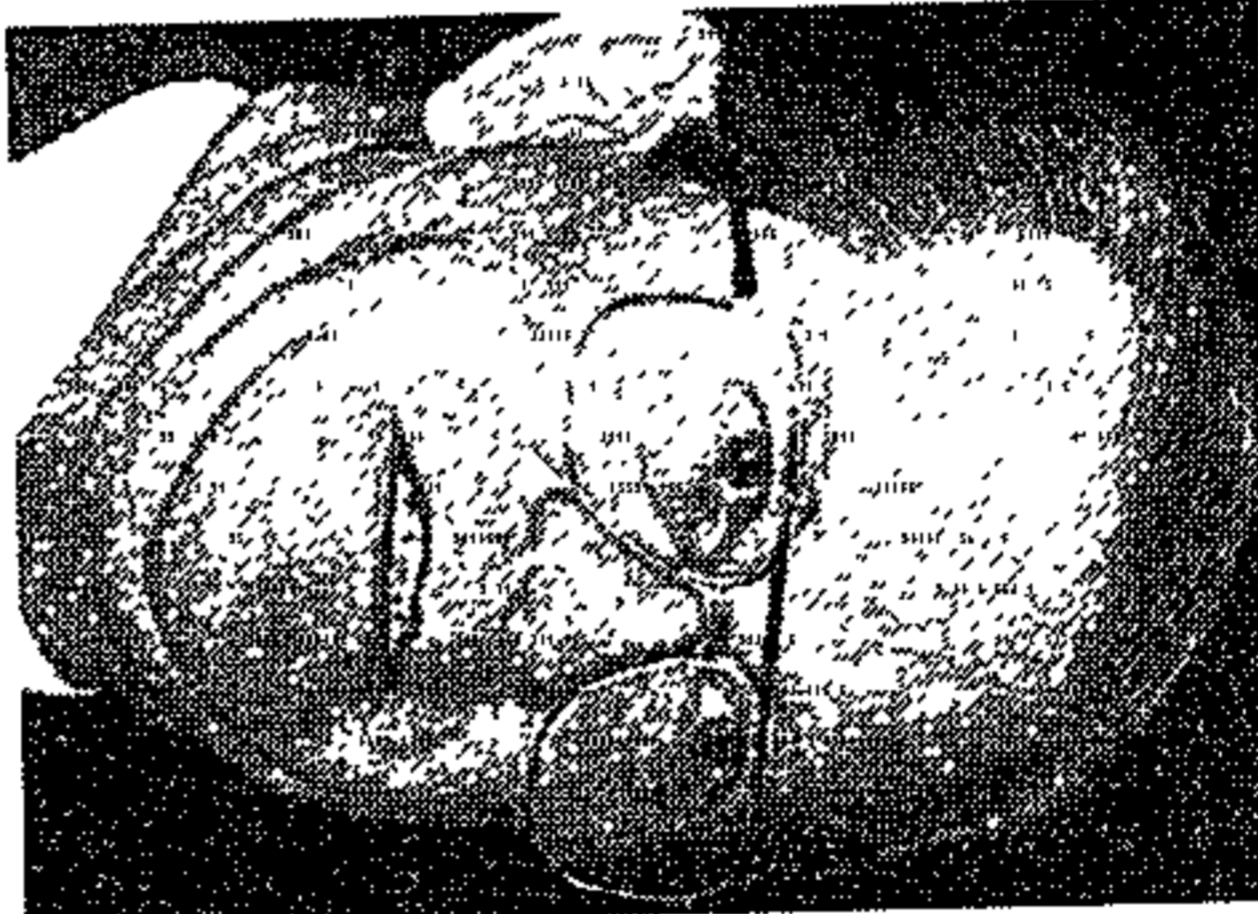
Church v state

THE survey also says that among major political trends during 1987-88 was a renewal of church-state tension following the imposition of restrictions on various organisations on February 24.

The survey records a statement by Dr Allan Boesak that it was the church's duty to step into the gap left by the banning. It points to some uneasiness about this within the



Dr Allan Boesak



Dr Andries Treurnicht



Mr F W de Klerk

Survey finds that right is split on major issues

churches and notes that in an address to a meeting convened by the South African Council of Churches the organisation's president, Dr Manas Buthelezi, warned against the total politicisation of the church.

Twenty-six church leaders called on all Christians in the country to boycott the municipal elections on October 26.

The survey notes that Pope John Paul II said during a visit to Zimbabwe in September that he opposed election boycotts, and that he also rejected violence and spoke in favour of negotiation.

It also points out that the then President- Elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, has said that he could not subscribe "to a school of thought that recognised that while violence was a fact

at present, its continuation was inevitable". He rejected the notion of a just or holy war and, in March, also called for negotiation.

Information gap

THE survey notes that the fragmentation of information arising from the tricameral Parliament has made it extremely difficult to obtain accurate statistics about South Africa. "Restrictions on the media and other forms of censorship complicate matters even further," the institute said.

In a special preface to the survey, the institute reported that statistics covering the entire country (including all 10 of the homelands) were often very difficult to obtain and in some cases did not appear to be kept by

anyone. "To make matters worse," says the institute, "even official publications, never mind the public media, sometimes do not indicate whether figures relating to some or all of the homelands are included or not".

While it was once possible to obtain a figure for spending on African education by asking one minister one question in Parliament, the institute said that obtaining such figures today might necessitate approaching 10 homeland education departments as well as the central government.

School boycotts

OVERALL, fewer school boycotts were recorded in 1987 and 1988, the survey says.

However, it noted that there was no effective education in at least 54 Soweto high schools during the year under review. Some of the reasons for this, according to the Department of Education and Training (DET), were:

- Lack of motivation and discipline among pupils,
- Dilapidated conditions in schools, and
- Demotivation among teachers as a result of assaults.

Parents blamed pupils' lack of discipline but also cited detentions and the presence of security forces, the survey said.

Criticisms of school boycotts by the National Council of Trade Unions and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania are recorded in the survey.

The survey mentioned a statement by the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, that the government's 10-year plan for greater parity in education had been stalled by the country's weak economic growth.

The plan — originally announced in 1986 — had been based on an expected economic growth rate of 4.1%. However, Mr De Klerk said this did not mean that the plan would not materialise. — Sapa

● Jobless figures 'lowest in almost two years' — Page 8

CP divided over policy

Staff Reporter (304A)

Contradictions in Conservative Party policy might cause serious tension within the CP's ranks, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The institute says its 1987/88 survey recorded major disagreement between CP members who want simply to reimpose classical apartheid and those who favour smaller white homelands.

This division was reportedly papered over at the CP's Transvaal congress in August.

The survey points to statements by Professor Carel Boshoff that whites are too thinly spread to control the whole of SA, and that desegregation has gone too far for classical separate development to be reintroduced.

Other contradictory statements by CP leaders emerged during the period under review, the statement says.

While Dr Treurnicht said it was CP policy that 70 percent of blacks would be back in their homelands in 10 to 15 years, on another occasion he conceded that blacks were permanently urbanised and that the CP might have to negotiate with them about the final borders of a white state.

An admission by a CP Member of Parliament that black people could not be removed from Hillbrow was repudiated by Dr Treurnicht, who said his party would continue to fight to make

Hillbrow white.

Other points to emerge from the survey are:

● The unemployment level in South Africa dropped to its lowest level in almost two years in March 1988, but nevertheless remained a major problem.

● SA's economic problems continue to be exacerbated by expenditure on segregated structures and by the Government's failure to meet black political demands.

● The State is committed to the redistribution of income through social investment.

● The renewal of church-State tension following the imposition of restrictions on various organisations on February 24.

● Fewer school boycotts were recorded in 1987 and 1988, but there was no effective education in at least 54 Soweto high schools during the year under review.

● The period 1987/88 saw the highest number of strikes in South African history, as well as unprecedented levels of violence in the labour field.

Despite Government restrictions which limited the Congress of SA Trade Unions to trade union activities only, 1988 saw the biggest worker stayaway in the country's history when at least 1.6 million stayed at home in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

The survey records 1 148 strikes in 1987.

kwaZulu blacks say ^{304A} SA ^{str 21/11/88} peace is possible ⁽¹⁾

DURBAN — Most kwaZulu blacks believe a peaceful, negotiated settlement to South Africa's problems is possible and reject violence as a political alternative.

A Research International survey involved 802 black men who were interviewed in their homes in the language of their choice.

A massive 92 percent agreed with the statement: "A peaceful, negotiated constitutional solution to South Africa's problems is possible." Three percent disagreed while 5 percent did not know.

The statement: "I believe black-on-black violence will lead to political change" drew disagreement from 78 percent of the respondents. Three percent agreed and 19 percent did not know.

Nearly the same result was achieved with the statement: "I am prepared to accept black-on-black violence as a means of ensuring dominance of my party" with 78 percent disagreeing, 4 percent agreeing and 18 percent not knowing.

The statement "I am prepared to accept black-on-black violence if it sorts out radicals and troublemakers" drew the disagreement of 77 percent, 7 percent agreed and 16 percent did not know.

Attitudes towards the presence of the security forces in the townships also showed a positive response with 64 percent agreeing that the army helped to make the townships safe for residents. The percentage of those that disagreed was 13 and 23 percent did not know.

— Sapa.

Du Plessis jnr under scrutiny

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Advocate-General Mr Justice Piet van der Walt yesterday confirmed that he was investigating the sale of a Pretoria building to Mr Johan du Plessis, the son of the Minister of Manpower and Public Works, Mr Pietie du Plessis, following a complaint.

Mr Du Plessis jnr bought Housing Building in Volkstem Avenue, Pretoria, from Sanlam for R2m on June 10 last year.

The building is leased by the Department of Public Works, which is included in the minister's portfolio.

Mr Van der Walt said yesterday: "A complaint was received of possible improper advantage or enrichment in respect of a lease concerning Mr Du Plessis jnr and the Housing Building."

He said he could not say when the results of the inquiry would be available.

The minister and his son have declined to comment.

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BBB may be first right-wing group to be banned



Prof J C Schabort

Political Correspondent

THE Blanke Bevrydigingsbeweging (BBB) is likely to become the first far-right organisation to be banned in South Africa.

The crackdown on the white extremist BBB will take place "very soon" — possibly today — according to well-placed sources.

And the outspoken leader of the organisation, Professor J C Schabort, will be silenced by a restriction order, it is reliably understood.

The crackdown is part of the government's programme politically to emasculate what it considers radical forces on the left and right of the spectrum.

In telegraphing the government's next move, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told the National Party's Transvaal congress this week: "Without adequate means and the will to maintain law and order, radical forces to the left and the right will believe they have a free hand to terrorize and intimidate defenceless people."

The government has already effectively banned 23 organisations on the left this year — and more curbs are in the pipeline.

The action against the BBB and its leadership is the first concrete step against the right.

It is understood that other white ultra-right-wing bodies like the AWB and the Wit Wolwe are currently being investigated — but that a decision to act has so far only been taken against the BBB.

One government source yesterday said the BBB was responsible for "fanning the flames of racial hatred" in a potentially explosive political climate.

The gunning down of blacks in Pretoria this week has helped prepare the psychological climate among white South Africans for a crackdown on white extremists.

It is understood that a number of AWB supporters have recently migrated to the BBB and the government sees the impending action as a way of nipping the burgeoning organisation in the bud.

The restriction of the BBB is likely to follow a pattern similar to curbs placed on organisations such as the UDF and Azapo earlier this year.

While the organisation will still be allowed to exist in name as a legal entity, it will be prevented from politically mobilising its supporters.

● Earlier this month Prof Schabort told about 350 people in Goodwood that if the government "capitulated" and handed over power to blacks, the BBB and the AWB would merge and "seize power by force", reports Chris Bateman.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The leader of the PFP was given a broad, unqualified mandate by the party's federal council at the weekend to do everything necessary to bring about the formation of a new political party to the left of government.

Dr Zach de Beer's mandate was described by one PFP source as "an extraordinary step".

It was seen by senior representatives at the federal council meeting in Johannesburg as an indication of how committed the PFP was to the creation of a new party which will link the PFP with the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The mandate formed part of a resolution in which the federal council endorsed the agreement that had been reached by the PFP, IP and NDM on Friday after meeting for a day at Mr Louis Luyt's home in Johannesburg.

The resolution expressed its enthusiasm for the idea and asked Dr De Beer to take steps to make a new political party a reality.

Most PFP leaders were optimistic about the prospects of forming a new party.

There appeared to have been little opposition to the idea at the PFP's weekend meeting.

Referring to Friday's agreement, one senior PFP source said: "It's going to be very difficult for anyone to get off now."

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall was also enthusiastic about the prospects of forming a new party, though he added he was conscious of his responsibility to IP followers.

Dr Worrall said IP co-chairmen Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Dave Gant would represent the IP at the report-back meeting on December 14, which was agreed to on Friday.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan could not be reached for comment.

BARRY STREEK reports that the new party, which as yet is unnamed, could be formed before the end of the year.

Optimism among the participants is high, in spite of acknowledgement of some difficult problems in the pre-launch negotiations and behind-the-scenes manoeuvring about who will stand in different seats.

Some 35 seats in the House of Assembly are believed to be within reach of the grouping and many more are up for grabs, particularly if the more conservative vote is divided between

To page 2

P.T.O.

PFP to ZACM: Go for it!

CW TMS 21/11/88

SKP



Dr Zach de Beer

Govt and AWB in war of words

Cap Times 27/11/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent *30/11/88*

A WAR of words has erupted between the government and the AWB, with both accusing the other of creating a political climate in which violence flourishes.

Tension between the political rivals has been heightened by repeated government warnings that it intends to crack down on the radical right and of a police probe into the activities of the AWB.

Last week's Pretoria massacre, allegedly by an AWB member, provided a fresh opportunity for government ministers at the National Party's Transvaal congress to attack the AWB and accuse the militant organisation of contributing to a climate in which could lead to such acts.

AWB leader Mr Eugène Terre'Blanche, who could not be contacted for comment after the killing spree in central Pretoria on Tuesday, hit back at his government critics at the weekend with a lengthy front-page statement in the Sunday Times.

W Cape backs liberal front

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN 22/11/88 304A
THE Progressive Federal Party's regional council in the Western Cape last night endorsed the moves for a new united liberal party.

A resolution was passed at a meeting of the council expressing "full support" for the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, in his efforts to achieve opposition unity and congratulating him on the "dramatic progress" he had made during the first few months of his leadership.

As the Western Cape is one of the PFP's strongest regions, with six MPs in the House of Assembly, last night's decision is an indication that support within the party for a new party is widespread.

The regional council said it strongly endorsed "the concept of forming a

new party that will unite all who stand for a non-racial, multi-party democratic system — and it will be achieved through negotiation and achievement".

Dr De Beer, Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, have agreed to meet again next month to consider the possibility of combining forces with others as well to fight the next general election.

There is strong speculation even in Nationalist circles that the State President, Mr P W Botha, will call an election late in March, 1989.

A select committee made up of representatives of the three parties will report back to the three parties on a proposal for a merger on December 14.

Idasa conference on (30/11) strategies for change SA 2/11/87

The Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa is to hold a conference at the University of the Witwatersrand on strategies for change, Idasa said in a statement yesterday.

The conference, due to take place on Friday and Saturday, is to focus on political strategies for change and how these could be played out by local and regional government, the church, the economy and the international arena.

Speakers include the heads of the three parties who held talks last week to form one united front.

They are Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement, Dr Zach de Beer of the Progressive Federal Party and Dr Denis Worrall of the Independent Party.

Speakers of other political persuasions are also expected to address the conference. — Sapa.

Star 22/11/88

Party needs a a name, a leader

306A

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The proposed left-of-Government party will start discussions with extra-parliamentary groups this week to inform them of the latest developments and to canvass their opinion, sources have disclosed.

Although the Progressive Federal Party, Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement have agreed not to reveal details of last week's meeting at the house of Transvaal rugby chief Dr Louis Luyt, the sources indicated that a new party could be established as early as January amid growing speculation of a general election in March or April.

The three main issues to be thrashed out are a statement of principles, a name for the new party and the pressing issue of a leader, the sources added.

A special committee is to be announced this week to prepare a joint declaration of intent and a joint statement of principles. The committee is to report back on December 14.

Some sources said that not one of the three leaders — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall or Mr Wynand Malan — should lead a new party. They favoured a charismatic, respected and high-profiled Afrikaner "such as former newspaper editor Dr Willem de Klerk".

Others mentioned Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader, and Dr Luyt himself.

December deadline for new party IP

22/11/88

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Blom

IP leader Denis Worrall made it clear yesterday he saw December 14 as a make-or-break deadline for the formation of a new party that could bind the IP, PFP and National Democratic Movement (NDM), but the other two party leaders were more cautious.

In terms of the agreement reached on Friday, a committee of representatives will report back to the parties on a proposal for a merger on December 14.

"We (the IP) don't intend messing around after December 14," Worrall said. "We know this initiative has caused

BRUCE ANDERSON

some confusion among our members, and if we let it go on beyond December 14 we feel we won't be prepared for the general election ... next year."

The committee's brief is the preparation of a joint declaration of intent and statement of principles.

Worrall said IP co-chairman Jannie Momberg and Dave Gant would represent his party, while NDM leader Wynand Malan said Estier Lategan and Jan-

nie Hofmeyer had been chosen from his party.

Malan said he did "not wish to put up December 14 as a cut-off date".

EDYTH BULBRING reports PFP leader Zach de Beer said the two PFP representatives would be former PFP leader Colin Eglin and Deon van der Merwe, and added he did not see December 14 as the final date.

□ The PFP, IP and NDM leaders will take part in a discussion on political strategies for change at a two-day Idasa conference in Johannesburg this week.

304A →

Front to fight NP

TWO leaders involved in the formation of a new political front to fight the National Party will speak in Durban at each other's political party meetings tomorrow night.

Originally, the Progressive Federal Party arranged for Dr Zach de Beer to speak at the Durban Exhibition Centre. It will be his first address in Durban as new leader of the PFP.

So we have 22/11/88

Mr Peter Gastrow, National Democratic Movement MP for Durban Central had meanwhile arranged to hold a report-back meeting at St Thomas' Hall on the same night. He asked the leader of the NDM, Mr Wynand Malan to share the platform with him.

Party sources stressed that it was a coincidence, as the first they knew of each other's meetings was when the posters went up.

Malan to speak to PFP, and De Beer to NDM

Cape Times 23/11/88
Political Staff

30/6/88

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, is to speak at a National Democratic Movement meeting in Durban tonight, and the NDM leader, Mr Wynand Malan, is to address a PFP meeting tonight, also in Durban.

They would in fact address both meetings, said the PFP's director of communications, Mr James Selfe.

Mr Malan was originally only scheduled to speak at St Thomas's Hall at a report-back meeting for the NDM MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow.

Dr De Beer was originally only scheduled to speak at the Exhibition Centre as part of his nationwide tour since his election as PFP leader in August.

The decision to share platforms tonight follows the agreement in principle last week by the PFP, NDM and the Independent Party to form a united liberal opposition party.

CAE this 23/11/88

City talks for 3 'left' parties *20 4A*

THE PFP, NDM and IP will gather in Cape Town on Monday night in the first of a series of "ice-breaker" meetings in the Peninsula designed to prepare the way for a formation of a new party.

The meeting will attempt to break down misconceptions about the three parties.

The PFP's regional chairman, Mr. Bill Sewel, said yesterday that Monday's meeting would try to create "good vibes" among supporters of the parties.

"By getting to know each others' positions better we can build up trust," he said. "The PFP will do everything possible to make the new party a reality."

The NDM's South Peninsula chairperson, Ms Beverly Roos, also welcomed the Monday meeting.

However, she cautioned: "We must not underestimate the genuine differences between the constituencies. But I believe that if the will is there they can be overcome."



ON STAGE: The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, with the party's insignia in Parow last night.

AWB is 'the will of the Afrikaner'

McG 23/11/88
30/11/88

Political Correspondent

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging represents the will of the Afrikaner nation, says the leader of the movement, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who warned the government not to "touch" it.

At a meeting attended by more than 1 400 people in the Parow Civic Centre last night, Mr Terre'Blanche was given a standing ovation amid chants of "AWB, AWP" when he entered the hall preceded by three young members of the movement bearing flags.

There was a brisk sale of AWB mementoes and insignia in the foyer of the hall and many people signed membership forms. A number of AWB members in khaki uniform, some with batons, stood around the hall.

In a fiery speech, often interrupted by applause, Mr Terre'Blanche rejected insinuations by government spokesmen that racism as propagated by the AWB was behind last week's bloody incident in Pretoria when six blacks were killed.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the actions of the government — such as the "opening up of the country to everyone" and the spending of two-thirds of the taxes of whites on other race groups, along with the frustrations this created — could be said to be responsible for such incidents.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the man responsible had written to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to point out that, while he was still a policeman, he was detained along with criminals but that no charge had been laid against him. "Something inside this man had broken."

Immediately after the Pretoria incident the government had acted against the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging in an effort to satisfy leftists and radicals.

The leftists were being gingerly handled and the danger was now said to come from the right because it pleaded for the identity of nations.

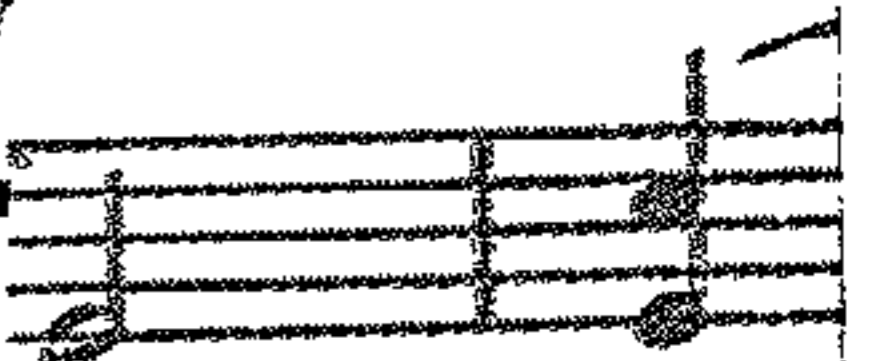
It was too late to act against the AWB because it gave expression to the will of the Afrikaner nation while the National Party had for too long lost contact with the "volk".

The AWB stood for an own country for the Afrikaner.



APPLAUSE: The crowd of 1 400 leader Eugene Terre'Blanche

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A BLACK LEADER?

New moderate alliance will be multiracial say negotiators

THE proposed new moderate alliance would definitely be multi-racial and could have a black leader.

None of the people involved in the current negotiations are prepared to predict who would lead new alliance of moderate political groupings.

However, it is understood that someone from outside the existing establishment in white opposition politics would be drawn in to either a new multi-racial party or a looser alliance of political groups from across the colour line.

No firm proposals are being made at the moment but indications are that someone of the stature of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be preferred.

Former leader of the party working in alliance with parties from other groups which would mean the leader would have to be white.

The party would be open to all groups and would have a multi-racial membership but would be predominantly white being based on the three parliamentary parties to the left of the National Party.

However, it was made clear by spokesmen of the various parties that there are still a number of hurdles to be covered before leadership becomes an issue.

SOWETAN Correspondent

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Violence: Vlok warns AWB leader on probe

AK64S 23/11/88

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Political Staff

A SPOKESMAN for Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok today reminded AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche that the Minister would be closely investigating all rightwing organisations which incited people to violence.

Responding to warnings by Mr Vlok at the Transvaal National Party congress last week that he would be investigating all organisations, left or right, which incited people to violence, Mr Terre'Blanche said it was too late for the government to ban the AWB.

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He was reacting to Mr Terre'Blanche's taunt last night in Parow that Mr Vlok dared not ban the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging) as he had banned the "tiny Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging" (BBB).

This was not because it was "big and strong", but because it was conducting its politics according to the will of the people and the Creator.

● AWB "will of Afrikaner", See page 4.

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6/1/88 23/11/88

Dear Sir,
I READ with interest Ken Owen's reply (Business Day, November 21) to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's challenge to provide an alternative to sanctions which will expedite the demise of apartheid.

First, let me say that I consider his challenge perfectly justified, considering that it comes from a man who, though an adult South African citizen, head of the Southern African Anglican Church and a Nobel Laureate, nevertheless does not have the vote.

My interpretation, however, of the Archbishop's challenge is different from yours. I do not believe he seeks an alternative ideology so much as a practical suggestion to end the apartheid system.
As I have attempted to point out to

My view of Tutu's challenge

American audiences over the last 10 years, there is, in fact, no instant solution which will transform the South African scene, sanctions and disinvestment notwithstanding.

There is only the long-term effect to economic expansion within the country itself — leading to growth and the creation of jobs. These are the factors responsible for the non-cosmetic changes which have already taken place, such as the repeal of job reservation, the recognition of black trade unions and the acceptance of the permanence of blacks in the urban areas.

Power takes many forms, and the slowly increasing economic muscle

LETTERS

P.O. Box 1138
Johannesburg 2000

which blacks can use as they are drawn into the national economy at rising levels of skill will be the major factor which will redress imbalance in privilege and wealth in SA. This solution is long term, and understandably blacks want fundamental change now, and the end of apartheid.

But the alternative will lead to isolation and a wrecked economy — this may give moral satisfaction to

some who oppose apartheid, but the disastrous unintended consequences thereof must surely be weighed in the balance.

HELEN SUZMAN, MP
Hyde Park
Sandton

Star 23/11/88

Star 23/11/88

Defence objects to Bop State evidence

Own Correspondent

MMABATHO — As a general rule, the State was under no obligation to disclose evidence except factual, the Bophuthatswana Assistant Attorney-General, Mr F Elf, told the Mmabatho Supreme Court yesterday.

He was replying to objections made by the nine members of the People's Progressive Party (PPP) charged with treason following the February 10 abortive coup.

Mr CR Mailer, for the defence, yesterday examined allegations point by point to call for further particulars to enable the accused to prepare their defence and to plead.

He asked Mr Justice EA Smith to rule on an order forcing the State to give the following information:

- How many meetings were held at the Molopo Military Base when it was taken over by the rebels on February 10 and who was there.
- Who told the soldiers that the government had been overthrown?
- Who announced that President Mangope had resigned and Mr Rocky Malibana-Meitsing had been sworn in?
- Which one of the accused allegedly conspired to overthrow the government and with whom?
- What were the terms of the alleged conspiracy?
- Which of the accused incited or instigated others to commit offences?

Mr Maler said the State had failed to set out essential particulars and the accused were entitled to a proper reply to their questions under the Criminal Procedures Act

Mr Elf admitted the State did not have all the information, but the summary of facts in the indictment provided all the detail needed.

The hearing continues.

Step in the right direction, says chief

Buthelezi approves move to form party

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has given his cautious support to efforts by the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement to form a new party on the political Left.

"I must necessarily applaud any attempt anybody could make to promote the broad principles of a non-racial, multiparty democratic order," he said yesterday.

The political situation was plagued with the fear that such a democracy could not be established, more than the fear that whites would not fare well if it was established, he said.

Chief Buthelezi, also the president of Inkatha, said Inkatha would be pragmatic about "how we go about putting intentions to co-operate into practice".

He had neither been briefed personally about the latest de-

velopments nor had he had the chance to discuss the issues with Inkatha's leadership.

The PFP, IP and NDM met last week at the house of the Transvaal rugby chief, Dr Louis Luyt, and sources have indicated that a new party could be established as early as January.

The three main issues to be thrashed out are a statement of principles, a name for the new party and the pressing issue of a leader, the sources added.

A special committee is to be announced this week to prepare a joint declaration of intent and a joint statement of principles.

Some sources said that not one of the three leaders — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall or Mr Wynand Malan — should lead a new party.

They favoured a charismatic, respected and high-profiled Afrikaner "such as former newspaper editor Dr Willem de Klerk".

Others mentioned Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader,

and Dr Luyt himself.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Forces to the left of the National Party are divided. We cannot wish these divisions away because many of the divisions revolve around fundamentally important issues.

"We must work our way through them and if this move among white political leaders is a step in this direction, then I welcome it," he said.

Commenting on rumoured differences of opinion between the three groups about which extra-parliamentary organisations should be involved, he said it was "sad" that that should be a problem.

"The final analysis of the South African situation is yet to be made and it is not wise right now to be rigorous in the allocation of organisations into camps.

"When things move, they may well move with an awesome rapidity which will demand radical realignments in the pursuit of a non-violent transition towards a democracy," Chief Buthelezi said.

Robbers murder guard

West Rand Bureau

Robbers killed a middle-aged security guard at a Westonaria greengrocer's shop on Monday and escaped with about R7 000 in cash.

A West Rand police spokesman said Mr Teyi Mbali was on guard duty at the Drive-In Fruiterers in Suurbekom, Westonaria, on Monday night when he was overpowered and tied up.

His assailants dragged him about 50 m away and apparently suffocated him.

They then cut the fence around the shop and broke in.

They took about R7 000 in cash from the office of the owner, Mr R M Pellers.

Imported medicine to cost more

By Toni Youngusband, Medical Reporter

The registration of imported medicines is to cost drug manufacturers more next year — and consumers must expect an increase too.

The South African Medicines Control Council has proposed an increase of registration fees from R1 000 to R5 000 per medicine from January.

A spokesman for the MCC said this is the first increase in 10 to 15 years and is an attempt by the Government to make the MCC more self-sufficient.

"The MCC costs the Government an estimated R3 million a year to run. It was felt an increased registration fee would bring in more revenue and the MCC would become less dependent on State funding," the spokesman said.

All medicines must be registered with the MCC before they can be sold. The registration takes a minimum of 18 months.

Dr Gerhardus Oberholzer, of the Department of National Health and Population Development, said the MCC had failed to break even or keep up with general price increases for years.

"We are now trying to get to where we should be," he said.

Mr Johan Schlebush, registrar of medicine control at the department, said he did not think the increase would be as high as was proposed.

Dental medicines, which in the past have not had to be registered with the MCC, will also be affected.

Mr Schlebush said dental medicine, such as dental cement, came into direct contact with the patient and could have an effect on that patient's health and should be under MCC control.

The executive director of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, Mr John Toerien, said the proposed increases were "enormous" and should be implemented in phases rather than all at once.

SURCHARGE, TOO

"We feel a three-year period is fair. The fees should be increased slowly over this period. Manufacturers are facing not only the fee increase but also an import surcharge on certain medicines and the declining rand.

"These additional costs have to be passed on to the consumer," he said.

Mr Toerien said the pharmaceutical manufacturing industry had protested to the department about the proposed increases.

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How 'other Botha' moved from local stage to world spotlight

CAPE TOWN — Twenty-five years ago, a junior, 31-year-old South African third secretary at the embassy in Bonn, West Germany, returned to South Africa to be attached to the section of the Department of Foreign Affairs dealing with the South West Africa question.

The preliminary objection to the continuing mandate of the territory had just been lost at the World Court at The Hague in the Netherlands and a start was being made on the appeal.

It was the initial immersion of Mr Roelof Frederik Botha, better known as Pik, in what was to be a long and arduous diplomatic struggle.

This struggle now appears to be reaching an end with the major hurdles in the Namibian-Angolan peace negotiations overcome.

As a lawyer, he was attached to the departmental legal team which supported the group of top advocates who were to present the South African case.

The advocates included the retiring Chief Justice, Mr Justice Rabie, and the former chief of Nasionale Pers, Mr Dawid de Villiers.

Research

Mr Botha's function was to assist with research. The main reason given by Ethiopia to support its argument that the mandate for the territory should be removed from South Africa was because racially discriminatory policies were being applied.

South Africa set out to prove that although there was racial separation, there was no discrimination, comparing every facet of life from hospitals to schools in the territory with those of other countries in Africa and the rest of the world.

In 1965, Mr Botha went with the South Africa team to The Hague to help present oral evidence on the case.

In July the following year, Mr Botha was present when the World Court ruled in favour of South Africa with the President of the Court, Sir Percy Spender of Australia, using his casting vote when the court deadlocked seven for and seven against.

Pik keeps

SA's flag

flying in

face of

mounting adversity

As he was to put it later in language that has been typical of him ever since, "all hell broke loose" at the United Nations.

South Africa was accused of all sorts of things, including bribing the judges.

In 1966, Mr Botha was appointed chief legal adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs and the following year, in addition to this, he was made head of the South West African and United Nations sections of the department.

With his appointment as head, the desk started a long association with the United Nations, having to travel to New York every year for the start of the sittings of the General Assembly on the third Tuesday in September running through to Christmas.

In 1969, when it was already confirmed that he was to be the next Ambassador to the United Nations, his career suddenly switched directions. It was at the height of the row over whether Maoris could



The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, became immersed in the South West African issue 25 years ago. Now, with major hurdles in the Namibia-Angola peace talks overcome, the struggle appears to be reaching an end. **BRUCE CAMERON** reports.

be part of an All Black team and whether the children of black diplomats could go to white schools, with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) splitting from the National Party on the issues.

The Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, opted for an early general election in 1970 and Mr Botha was offered what was considered the tough seat of Wonderboom in the Transvaal, held by the HNP.

Despite predictions that he would lose, Mr Botha quit the diplomatic field and entered politics. He entered Parliament for the Wonderboom constituency with one of the largest majorities in the province.

Although he had left the Department of Foreign Affairs, he was retained as a consultant and was admitted to the Bar as an advocate.

While still a Member of Parliament, he was appointed the SA Government Agent to the World Court (virtually ambassador) in 1971 after a renewed application was made to declare South Africa's continued presence in SWA-Namibia illegal.

A new panel of judges was on the Bench and the decision of the previous Bench was reversed.

However, his first foray into politics was cut short in 1974 when Mr Vorster appointed him Ambassador to the United Nations.

It was at this stage that he really caught the eye of the public in South Africa with his aggressive debating style — a style he has maintained.

That year he became the last South African Ambassador to address the General Assembly

before South Africa's credentials were withdrawn.

He was there when Angola was granted independence and South African troops entered the country for the first time, pushing to the outskirts of Luanda before being withdrawn.

It was also the first time that South African troops clashed with the Cubans.

In 1975, ambassadorship to the United States was added to his duties.

At the time, Swapo was stepping up its incursions into the territory and South Africa was under fire for launching raids against Swapo bases in Zambia.

Mr Botha had to address repeated sittings of the United Nations Security Council on the issue as well as her continued presence in Namibian territory.

As well as organise some of Mr Vorster's African contacts with the new African détente policy. In 1977, Mr Vorster announced that Mr Botha, who with the advent of television had become one of the best known figures in South Africa, appearing almost nightly on the news, would be the new Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Botha returned to South Africa to win the Westdene by-election and take his seat in Parliament.

Since then, he has been at the helm of negotiations to achieve independence for Namibia which led to a negotiated settlement for an independent Namibia enshrined in what is commonly known as United Nations Resolution 435 of 1978.

Unstuck

But attempts to implement the resolution came unstuck at a conference in Geneva in January 1981.

Later in the year, however, South Africa achieved a major coup when the United States accepted linkage between the withdrawal of Cuban troops and the implementation of Resolution 435.

A whole new ball game started, but South Africa still faced the threat of total sanctions from the United Nations because of her continued presence in Namibia and because of repeated raids into Angola.

In February 1984, with South African troops well into Angola, the Lusaka Agreement was signed by Mr Botha which resulted in the gradual withdrawal of South African troops under a Joint Monitoring Commission.

But hopes that the Lusaka Agreement would lead to greater things failed and by mid-1985 it was virtually in tatters.

Last year, South Africa re-entered Angola in force to support Unita. This, in turn, sparked a major Cuban buildup and a situation where all sides faced heavy losses.

Mr Botha was once again back in the thick of negotiations which led to him being able to announce on Tuesday night that the "toughest nut has been cracked" and South Africa had accepted the peace proposals.

Hurdles ahead of unity seekers

Star 24/11/88

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

304A

Many hurdles still have to be overcome before a left-of-government political party can be formed, having as its goal a "non-racial multi-party democratic order".

The need is appreciated by the parties participating in the negotiations — the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) — but there are serious differences of strategy and projection to be reconciled.

Under the new leadership of Dr Zach de Beer, the PFP wants to improve its image which was severely tarnished during last year's general election. It also urgently needs to get away from its image as a party of English-speakers with little backing from Afrikaans voters.

Stressing the need for hope among all South Africans, Dr De Beer has highlighted the unification of liberal-minded groupings inside and outside Parliament as one of his main objectives since he took over the party leadership in August.

Insiders say much of the credit for the new momentum in the unity talks should be given to Dr De Beer, who has worked indefatigably to accomplish it.

Keenly felt

The differences between the parties are most keenly felt between Dr Denis Worrall's IP and Mr Wynand Malan's NDM.

The divisions go far beyond their widely publicised personal squabbles, which led to the break-up of the Independent Movement after its effective joint campaign in last year's election.

The IP strives for a "realignment across political colour lines", mainly aimed at providing a political home for disillusioned National Party supporters. It wants to involve, among others, Inkatha and the Labour Party.

The NDM, on the other hand, has introduced a new concept of "process politics", which aims at including parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups across the political spectrum in an effort to seek a negotiated settlement.

Its contact sphere already stretches from the African National Congress to the right-wing Oran-jewerkers.

While the IP engages in practical politics aimed at winning power, the NDM follows a more philosophical approach of reconciling an historically divided society.

One of the main reasons for the new urgency in the unity talks is the increased speculation about a general election early next year.

Reluctant

Another is the financial pressure from supporters, notably liberal businessmen, who are reluctant to back three fragmented groups.

A third reason is the growing disillusionment and confusion among voters who battle to understand the subtle dividing lines between the three, and who often regard the divisions as artificial and self-centred.

There is also increasing concern about the Government's inability to enter into meaningful negotiations, and its reluctance to bury apartheid, in the light of the Conservative Party onslaught.

New hope has been raised in liberal circles since last Friday's extraordinary meeting at the house of "facilitator" Dr Louis Luyt.

Whether or not liberal unity is attainable — and capable of grasping the imagination of voters — depends on delicate negotiations in the coming weeks and on the three parties agreeing on a charismatic and effective leader to promote the merger with the voting public.

One of the aims of the merged party, if it can be created, would be to extend links with voters from other racial groups while remaining effective as a campaigning force in white politics.

For this purpose, consideration is being given to forming alliances with black, coloured and Indian political groupings, such as Inkatha, Solidarity and the Labour Party, while forming a single merged party for white voters.

Like Brazil, there are signs of Third World blight, but .

SA still a First World count

By James Clarke

I bought some stamps in Lisbon's post office last month and was handed a messy pot of glue to stick them down. The same thing happened in Brasilia.

It was my first taste of Third World standards for many years.

In Rio I came across deep holes in two major roads filled with paving slabs and tree trunks to stop cars falling in.

In one of Rio's *favelas* (squatter settlements), which look more like landslides of rubble, 300 000 people were living. One of these cascades of shanties cut through a suburb of multi-million dollar mansions whose owners employed armed guards in sentry boxes.

That's symptomatic of where the Third World meets the First World.

Tourists are pestered throughout Brazil by *abandonados*, abandoned children who are expert thieves and over whom the police have long lost control. There are millions of them.

Geriatric muggers

There are also the desperate geriatrics: on a Rio bus three elderly men pinioned a young woman, while an old lady accomplice fished her moneybelt from under her skirt. The passengers and conductor looked the other way.

You do not bother to report such incidents to the police. It's as commonplace as spitting on the sidewalk.

When I had to hand over two 150 000 cruzeiro notes for two beers in Recife, Brazil, the tour guide noted my hesitation. "It's cheap!" she said. "What can you buy for 150 000 in your country?"

"A four bedroomed house and a new car," I said.

During the three weeks I was in Brazil, inflation rose 20 percent. Last year it rose 400 percent.

The country owes R100 billion in foreign debts yet the government still builds bureaucratic palaces and the politicians live in a style crazily out of scale with the rest of the 140 million Brazilians.

I visited Europe and South America partly to see what happens in cities where the Third World interfaces with the First.



As safe as anywhere in the world?

I learned that South Africa is unquestionably First World. Town planners who say South Africa is Third World, and we should plan accordingly, are premature.

We have spreading patches of Third World in our midst. And there are signs of serious Third World blight. Inflation, for instance, is increasing; we owe \$30 billion in foreign debts and are about to have to pay almost half our annual export earnings just to service our debts, just like Brazil, the world's most bankrupt country.

One admits that South African bureaucrats and politicians line their own nests; censor opposition; fes-

toon each other with medals; undermine overseas confidence in the country's intelligence; pour money into city halls and officials' homes, so typical of black Africa... But the fact remains that, right now, we are not Third World.

Our cities, highways, coastal attractions, tourist spots, national parks and general efficiency and personal safety put us on a par with the United States and ahead of most countries in Europe. There is no better country out there.

In Lisbon I was taken to a squatter area called Musqueira which is comparable with Alexandra township and, in a fairly central area, I found people living in caves.

It is a matter of whether Lisbon should be called Third World or First World city.

I walked in downtown Lisbon which have hardly changed in years where six to eight people share tiny apartments cramped as Soweto's 51/100.

Thousands sleep in the streets in Brazil millions do.

The effects of bankruptcy have to be appreciated. And once things slip so far, economic stagnation to indifference and then creep in; civil servants and themselves cabin cruises on the coast, and the government needs the army to protect it from the people.

The army is very powerful in Brazil yet it is at war with itself. There's nothing racial about it of course, yet there are white officers in its army. And the *donados* I saw were all brown.

SA radicals

The potential exists for a revolution in South Africa. There is a risk of being taken over by socialists or by Pietermaritzburg fundamentalists. The result is the same, as would be the result.

At present we have a civilised world still believes South Africa can be saved.

In Britain I found a belief in a change of policy which most reverse the brain drain. A lot of people, even my own relatives, are waiting to see what the frightened old "Boers" will do in a lethal comeback.

I told them how I doubt our national infrastructure is in good repair; how we can't afford ourselves; how our fuel is more expensive than we are saying; how inflation is not yet out of control; how our business and industry base is still basically sound; how clean South Africa is, and so on.

And I keep telling my friends, but mostly my friends, that South Africa is from the First World.

Star 24/11/88

Mandela 'being gradually given back to society'

WASHINGTON — Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela was in the process of being given back to society, according to the South African ambassador to the US, Dr Piet Koornhof.

Dr Koornhof said Mandela "is no longer in prison" during his first major television appearance since his arrival in the US 19 months ago.

"He is no longer in hospital either," said Dr Koornhof. "He is in a clinic, a very good clinic which I happen to know well."

Dr Koornhof said he foresaw a decision to free Mandela — "yes, I hope that it will be coming. I sincerely hope it will be coming," he said on Cable News Network.

But he refused to speculate on a date, merely expressing the hope that Mandela would be released "sooner rather than later".

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

Dr Koornhof was being interviewed on the government's clemency involving the Sharpeville Six. Stressing the need for negotiation and conciliation between South Africans, he was asked if South Africa was emulating US president-elect Mr George Bush's ambition for a "kinder, gentler" nation.

"I think so, yes," he said. "I would go along with that."

On how South Africa would get on with a Bush Administration starting in January, Dr Koornhof said the Republic had "to do it's own thing. And we must find solutions to our problem inside of South Africa. To the extent that we do that, we will not only get on with the Bush Administration, but with America and the world at large."

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Star 24/11/88
Decision rekindles hope for early release of Mandela

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The dramatic reprieve of 13 Death Row prisoners — including the controversial Sharpeville Six and policemen Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe — was widely welcomed locally and internationally today, but has led to renewed condemnation of the death penalty in South Africa.

And the Government's lenient attitude towards the Death Row prisoners, many of whom had been sentenced to death on politically-related crimes, has sparked off new hopes that ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be released soon.

The Western world welcomed State President P W Botha's reprieve of the Sharpeville Six.

The United States Embassy said President Botha had acted in the interests of South Africa.

The Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, expressed "relief" at the granting of reprieves to the Six.

Government spokesmen for Britain, The Netherlands, Bel-

gium and Western Germany all expressed their approval.

In Washington, SA ambassador Mr Piet Koornhof said the Government's decision demonstrated that South Africa wanted to be a "friendlier" nation.

He expressed hope that Mandela would be released "sooner rather than later", and said his Government "was in the process of giving Mandela back to the community".

Locally, the reprieves were welcomed by most political parties. PFP national chairman Mr Colin Eglin said the Six's reprieve was significant in respect of our international relations.

CP justice spokesman Mr Chris de Jager said he hoped the decision was not the result of political pressure.

The Black Sash called on the State President to declare a moratorium on all hangings until a commission of inquiry could be established. — Political Staff-Own Correspondents-Sapa-AP-Reuter.



Dr de Cuellar
... "relief."



Dr Koornhof
... "hope."



Mr Eglin ...
"significant."

Shy beau hot in print, but not

By Joe Openshaw

IP sets deadline for new party

By Esmaré van der Merwe,

Political Reporter

87N 24/11/88
The Independent Party regarded December 14, the date determined for further unity talks between liberal opposition groups, as the final deadline for the formation of a new political party, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

If a definite decision on a merger between the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the IP was not taken at that meeting, the IP would go its own way.

Speaking in Johannesburg, Dr Worrall said that as the newest political party, the IP had to be persistent about a final commitment.

There was some confusion among its supporters about the latest developments, which had to be cleared on December 14.

However, he stressed that there was no reason why the parties should not have the answers by that date.

Dr Worrall said a realignment, in whatever form, was not intended to create a liberal opposition only.

"If we could get our act together, if we could bring the strengths of the IP, PFP and NDM together while neutralising our weaknesses, we would not only be the official opposition but we could have a hung As-

sembly after the April election."

● At a meeting in Durban last night, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan stressed the importance of extra-parliamentary involvement in a realignment.

"It would be pointless to form yet another quasi-liberal white political party if it cannot look beyond participation in the parliamentary system only.

"Above all, we have to find co-operation, if not agreement, of all South Africans. We need to demonstrate that every South African has a stake in the future ... security lies in liberation for all."

The NDM was in favour of discussions with the broadest possible spectrum of political organisations, including parties in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, Inkatha, UDF affiliates and Azapo.

"We will all have to proceed together towards the future. If not, it will simply be a recycled opposition with no future."

● The committee which will prepare a joint declaration of intent and determine strategies and structures for a new party will meet next week.

The PFP is represented by Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, the NDM by Dr Jannie Hofmeyr and Dr Esther Lategan and the IP by Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr David Gant.

Unity talks: New group to liaise closely with blacks

DURBAN. — The national leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement were enthusiastically greeted at separate meetings of the two parties here.

There was a political version of "musical chairs" when Dr Zach de Beer, PFP leader, spoke to 70 people at an NDM meeting before he and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan left for a PFP meeting where they received a standing ovation from an audience of about 400.

Speaking of unity talks between the two parties and the Independent Party, Dr de Beer said an important part of the joint approach was that this new grouping should also work in the closest possible way with black political leaders towards the goal of a non-racial democratic society.

Mr Malan said the new grouping had decided to talk with the broadest possible spectrum of political organisations inside and outside the Parliamentary system.

"REALISTIC"

These would include parties in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, Inkatha, UDF affiliates, Azapo and a range of other organisations.

At the PFP meeting, Dr de Beer said he hoped the three parties would form "a new non-racial democratic party" which would offer a home to all "realistic" South Africans.

Real democracy in South Africa would jeopardize only the unfair privileges presently enjoyed by white people and not their rights.

These privileges enjoyed by whites were worthless and less as South Africa grew poor "because of the corrosion in our economy caused by apartheid and Nationalist mismanagement", he said.

"DWINDLING TO NOTHING"

"Whites have to choose whether they want a fair share of a rapidly growing cake, or a disproportionately large share of a cake that is dwindling to nothing."

An apartheid-free and democratic society would have every prospect of rapid growth and great prosperity, Dr de Beer said.

"Isolation will end, capital will flow in again, productivity will improve, savings and investment will increase once more, the growth rate will easily recover to the five or six percent we used to achieve and of which we are certainly still capable."

The time had come for all to accept that South Africa was a nation — "and it is a nation of 35 million people."

PEACE, STABILITY

"We shall sink or swim together. Either we are going to find each other politically, establish peace and stability, and move forward towards prosperity and security — or we are going to continue in conflict as at present and experience growing paucity, growing isolation, growing militarisation and ultimately political chaos and economic decay".

There was "no way" that five million white people could maintain themselves or the country unless they had the goodwill and the active co-operation of their black compatriots.

Dr de Beer said "to the best of my knowledge and judgement" the majority of blacks still had goodwill towards whites.

"There is every reason to have hope, once we enter our apartheid-free and democratic future."

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Liberal indaba: IP want Gatscha

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

Black groupings important

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The national leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement were enthusiastically greeted at separate meetings of the two parties here last night.

Dr Zach de Beer, PFP leader, at an NDM meeting at St Thomas's Church Hall, said, speaking of unity talks between the two movements and the Independent Party, that a very important part of the joint approach was that the new grouping should also work in the closest possible way with black political leaders.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said the new grouping had decided to talk with the broadest possible spectrum of political organisations inside and outside the Parliamentary system.

AN Independent Party demand that the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, should be part of the new liberal opposition party caused a stir yesterday within the ranks of the negotiating parties.

Although the Independent Party (IP) demand appeared to break the agreement by the three parties involved not to make public their conditions for the proposed merger, the other participants, the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement, avoided making an issue of it.

Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for his comments.

The IP demand was made by one its co-chairmen and one of its representatives on the working party of the three parties to discuss the merger details, Mr Jannie Momberg.

Speaking at an IP meeting in Uvongo on the Natal South Coast, Mr Momberg said the new party "must be able to reach across the colour line and the IP is therefore adamant that Chief Minister Buthelezi is a key player in the new policy.

"Chief Minister Buthelezi is the one black leader who has widespread support and must be part of the new party."

Mr Momberg also said the IP was adamant that any new alignment must be able to "attract those disenchanted Nationalists and also those English-

speaking voters who voted NP in the last election".

He said the National Party was unable to halt South Africa's economic slide and it was therefore crucial that a new party was formed as soon as possible.

Asked for his comments, the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said: "It is certainly true that the Chief Minister is one of the important players on the scene and we will therefore be seeking to co-operate with him as well as with a number of others."

National Democratic Movement spokesmen were unwilling to comment on Mr Momberg's statement but they broadly agreed with Dr De Beer's views.

However, on the basis of discussions with senior members of Inkatha, the possibility of Chief Buthelezi's movement being part of the merger process and discussions is not considered likely.

In Durban last night Dr De Beer, speaking on an NDM platform, said he was "very happy" that coincidence had resulted in his being at the meeting.

Principles remained unchanged but policy could be changed depending on circumstances.

"There can be room in a party for people who differ about ways and means of achieving their aims, but to bring together people who have differing basic convictions is to create a false unity, which is doomed to break down under strain," he said.

Cape Times 25/11/88

Buthelezi nod for unity bid left of govt

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE move to unite the political parties to the left of the National Party must obviously be applauded and the emergence of a really strong multi-racial party was inevitable, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday.

But Chief Buthelezi, the head of 1,5 million-strong Inkatha, stopped short of saying that he would at some stage join the new liberal opposition party.

Although he applauded the developments to unite the parties, "I must add that at this stage it is too early to forecast what the final mix will be of an opposition party which unites existing parties and political organizations".

He also stressed that he was not present at last week's meeting in Johannesburg between the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, and added: "I have in a sense been witness to action without being an actor myself."

In response to an inquiry about the demand by the Independent Party's Mr Jannie Momborg that he be part of

the new party, he said: "For me history has already decreed that we shall have one multi-racial South Africa with one sovereign Parliament.

"The road I walk is a road that I see as one which merges with the road that other opposition parties walk.

"There is an inevitability about the emergence of a really strong multi-racial party supported at the grass-root level.

"I will be watching current developments with great interest."

Ever since the PFP had been stripped of its status as official opposition, there had been a growing recognition that some kind of realignment to left of President P W Botha would take place, he said.

However, some people did not understand the implications of the Population Registration Act and while it remained on the statute books, "we can do everything to maximise black-white co-operation to oppose apartheid but cannot pretend that multi-racial politics can become a reality.

"There is a division of labour in opposition to apartheid in which the best we can perhaps hope for is a multi-strategy approach in which each organisation does what it best can do in its own circumstances to oppose apartheid."

(10)

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Cape Times, Friday, November 25, 1988 5

Assocom to discuss CP apartheid threat

Political Correspondent

THE CP threat to turn back the apartheid clock in municipalities the party now controls is expected to be the major focus of the first meeting between Dr Andries Treurnicht and Assocom on Wednesday.

Dr Treurnicht said yesterday that he viewed the meeting as an informal "getting to know you" exercise.

He said he did not envisage a "severe agenda" for the meeting.

And Assocom's law adviser, Mr Ken Warren, had indicated that the organisation was not looking for confrontation with the CP and would approach Wednesday's meeting in a spirit of dialogue.

The meeting, organised at Assocom's request, follows the CP warning that it would reintroduce apartheid signs and lobby against open CBDs in towns it won in the October municipal elections.

The CP's spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, has also been critical of Assocom recently, saying his party would not allow business leaders to be intimidated to dance to a liberal tune.

Just what is this animal in South Africa, the ESSA?

Star 25/11/88

(304A)

ASMIN

I have spent most of my life trying to understand the English-speaking South African (ESSA). He is a great puzzle to me, and, when he can spare the time to think about it himself, a great puzzle to himself.

He does not, however, appear to be a great puzzle to some Afrikaners, who seem to have a fairly clear idea of him as a money-minded worldly likely to be serving international un-South African interests, and who provides a shifty base for all kinds of cultural and political threats to Afrikanerdom and Afrikanerskap.

I suspect this is partly a 19th-century hangover, when the British Empire certainly posed such a threat. To regard the ESSAs today as a threat to Afrikanerdom is to be guilty of using them as a political "skrikpop".

Some have said to me, when I talk of ESSA identity, that there are too few to amount to much politically, or to develop a distinct identity like the Afrikaners, New Zealanders, or Americans, let alone a distinct culture.

What are they, then?

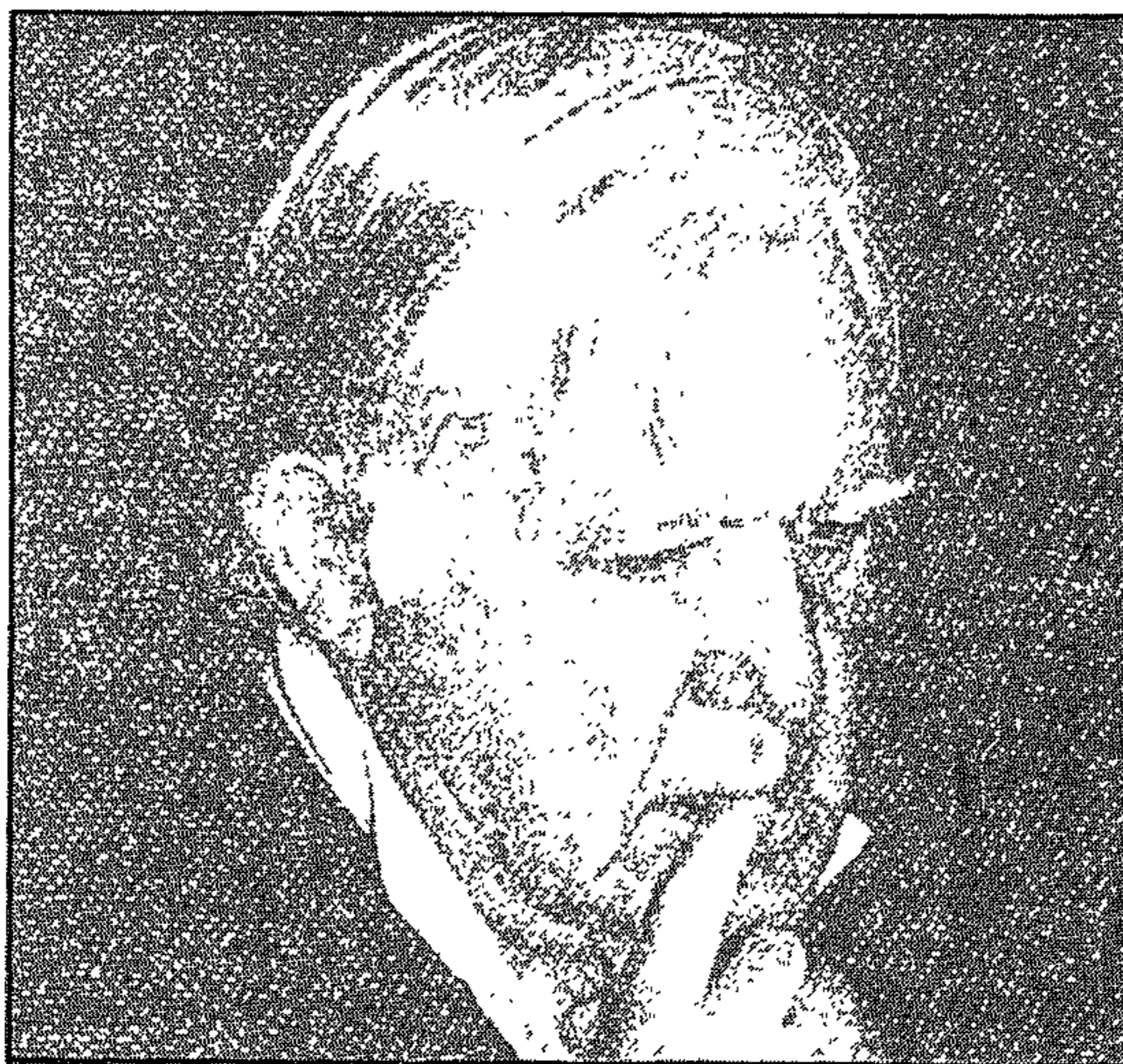
Stranded

Are they a little, stranded minority of English speakers left by the receding tide of the Empire, or are they a colonial remnant suffering either from incurable nostalgia for a time when they basked in the glory of the sun that never set, or indulging in grandiose fantasies about playing a role in our national affairs which their dwindling numbers will simply not allow?

I believe we are dealing with a peculiarly complex, changing and diverse element of the population about whom it is difficult, and, perhaps, dangerous and premature, to generalise.

Because there are so many subspecies of English speakers (in a global sense), the fact that the ESSA speaks English does not help to define him: instead it commits him to the role of "world citizen" in a way which is more difficult for other groups in South Africa, whose languages and histories differ markedly in this respect.

Professor Guy Butler, a doyen of Rhodes University and a distinguished author, is in Johannesburg this week posing some questions about the identity and role of English-speaking South Africans. Here are some of his thoughts.



Some would claim that that gives him an enviable self-confidence, as he belongs to so large and widespread a family that he does not need to worry about his identity or survival.

Awareness of that large family, and a long and varied cultural tradition and inheritance, makes it easy for him to be culturally tolerant and hospitable, or insufferably patronising.

This confidence may account for the difference in approach to culture by ESSAs and Afrikaners.

The Afrikaner sees himself as biologically in danger of being swamped by the blacks, (and) as culturally threatened by the atheistic and sophisticated ESSAs whose world, language and press flood the country with foreign products from the decadent and materialistic West.

I am less interested in ESSA culture than in a common, growing South African culture, which already exists.

There are no unilingual cultures, no isolated cultures. Cultures are the product of trade in goods, techniques, beliefs and ideas, and cultures are dynamic, perpetually changing and growing.

A sign of a living culture is its ability to examine and modify its understanding of its own past history. It seems to me that is what many ESSAs — and some Afrikaners — are doing.

The English language is not a defining possession of the English-speaking South African.

He has always been quite happy to see it being adopted by non-ESSAs, by blacks such as Soga,

Plaatjie, Dhlomo, Jolobe of a previous generation, and by Mphahlele, Nortje, Sepamla, Rive, Van Wyk today, and by many Afrikaners like Krige, Coetzee and Brink of today.

One of the difficulties of the cultural debate is the understandable but sad divisive influence of the language.

We can, and do, talk of Afrikaans literature or Zulu literature or English literature, but do we talk much of Afrikaans or English architecture or painting, or music, or ballet?

The fine and performing arts, it seems to me, are always breaking out of the kraals into which our present language policies place us.

What is the answer? It will be difficult to find.

I would argue that we are human beings before we are South Africans, and South Africans before we are Afrikaans or English, Zulu, or Tswana speakers.

Limited

I speak as someone whose language is no longer his, except in a very limited sense. It has been taken over and adopted by other language groups who do and will continue to use it for their own purposes.

They frequently use it for purposes and in a manner which I do not find congenial.

The simple fact is that our society needs a world language, and we are lucky that, for a century or so, we were part of an empire which left a world language behind as a useful legacy.

English in most of the world has ceased to be the language of the British Empire. It is apolitical, international and the medium of a large number of growing literatures.

And there is a growing South African literature in English, but it is not an ESSA literature, not an "eie saak". It is anybody's business who wants to make it so.

A new culture, a new sensibility, is slowly being created.

A rich, various, multilingual culture and cultural history should be sensitive to the manner in which all groups can enrich each other materially and culturally.

Legal murder or just retribution?

The reprieve of the Sharpeville Six, among 13 Death Row prisoners who were granted clemency by the State President, has intensified pressures from a wide range of organisations for the abolition of the death sentence in South Africa.

But the Government remains adamant that the death penalty is justified.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, reiterated the Government's viewpoint in Parliament earlier this year:

"I am not defending the death penalty but the fact remains that there are only 25 countries in the entire world which have abolished it completely."

(Interjection from Mrs Helen Suzman: "Only!")

"Nothing has happened to indicate that the death penalty should no longer be included in

Star
25/11/88
By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter
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The reprieve of 13 condemned prisoners has intensified pressure for the abolition of the death penalty. Mrs Helen Suzman of the PFP claims that capital punishment is "abominable" — but the Government insists that it is justified.

the system of penalties available to the judiciary of South Africa.

"To argue that it has not assisted us in curbing and curbing crime, is wrong.

Mr Coetsee turned down a PFP request for a commission of inquiry into capital punishment.

Elaborating on the State President's authority to exercise clemency, he said: "What may well be done is to refine and perhaps formalise the process of recording, or actually

the confidential private advice which a judge gives the executive power. With a view to this, we shall negotiate with the judiciary to ensure that we receive absolutely precise advice from them on whether there may be clemency when no extenuating circumstances have been found."

If the death penalty were to be abolished, it would have an effect on the entire penal system.

Mr Coetsee concluded: "I am convinced that honourable members will understand me

when I say that this penalty requires the least possible limelight. It is a sensitive matter to all. It is a delicate matter and should be applied in the most civilised form."

Mrs Suzman, the PFP's spokesman on prisons, said: "South Africa has a terrifying record of hangings. The death penalty is nothing but abominable and has been abolished in almost all countries," she said.

"As the only PFP MP in Parliament in the 60s, I asked for a commission of inquiry into the death penalty. I was then the only MP in Parliament opposed to capital punishment. In the 70s, the PFP again requested an inquiry. It was turned down by the Government.

"I will certainly continue my efforts. I will not rest before this horrifying sentence is abolished."

SA warns Angola and Cuba against bid to 'crush' Unita

WASHINGTON — South Africa has told Angola and Cuba that any attempts to crush Unita militarily will wreck peace efforts.

This emerged in a television interview with the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, broadcast in the US last night.

"We have told Angola and Cuba that if there is any effort to annihilate Unita militarily, the negotiations will be off," said Mr van Heerden, who led the South African negotiating team in seven months of peace talks.

Mr van Heerden was appearing on Christian Broadcast Network, interviewed by US evangelist and former Republican presidential candidate, the Rev Pat Robertson.

Mr van Heerden's assurance may come as a relief to conservatives in Washington who are highly suspicious that Unita and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, are being left to the mercies of Angola's Marxist government.

The Star Bureau

But Dr Savimbi said he supported the announced South Africa-Cuba-Angola agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal

Speaking to Mr Robertson while in South Africa this week, Dr Savimbi said his meeting with the President, Mr P W Botha, had gone very well. The only concern Unita had was how the withdrawal of 52 000 troops from Angola would be verified.

Dr Savimbi said he did not know details of this, but suggested that the United Nations might take part. He also wanted South Africa involved: "It will be good that all those who have negotiated agreement will be part of verification."

He said the US should not halt its military aid to Unita now that the goal of SWA/Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola was in sight. Unita wanted to keep both the US and South Africa as allies.

SA equips Maputo to defend lines

The Star's Africa
News Service

MAPUTO — South Africa is to deliver an unspecified amount of "non-lethal" military equipment to Mozambique on Monday, it was announced here yesterday.

The Mozambican news agency, AIM, said a South African ship would dock in the central Mozambique port of Beira on Monday with "a cargo of non-lethal military equipment" but gave no details about the kind of equipment to be supplied.

It said the military equipment would be used to provide logistical support for the defence of the power lines that run from the Cahora Bassa Dam in the northwestern province of Tete to the South African border.

The supply of the equipment was part of the agreement reached in Lisbon in June between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal on the repair and protection of the power lines.

Left-wing still talks of unity

The leaders of the three left-of-Government parties which are engaged in unity talks today expressed hope that their initiatives would bear fruit, but reiterated their conditions for a political realignment.

The Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement shared a platform at a congress held by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in Johannesburg.

The involvement of extra-parliamentary groups in a realignment received much attention, especially from IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan.

Dr Worrall said that with an early general election probable, every attempt should be made to influence white public opinion to facing up to demographic, economic and po-

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By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

litical realities.

Mr Malan said parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups which could decidedly influence political developments should be involved.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer expressed pleasure at the prospect of co-operating with the IP and the NDM.

● In an editorial, the Government-supporting morning newspaper *Beeld* today encouraged the formation of a new liberal political party.

"No fault can be found with the principle of an alliance to the left of the National Party. It can bring balance to a debate which mainly focuses on what happens to the right of the NP."

The Bookie's
Bet

Gosforth Park tomorrow:
Best bet — Hatch, Race 9.
Best eachway — Fire of Life,
Race 5.

Left clamours for unconditional release



Dr Owen ... wants international community to maintain pressure on SA.

STAR 25/11/88

A strong call for the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela was made by parties on the political Left today following the announcement that he is to be transferred to "suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation".

The Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement all urged the Government to release Mandela in order to enable him to play a role in the political process.

And in Britain, former foreign secretary Dr David Owen said international pressure had forced South Africa's change of heart on Mandela. He urged the world community to maintain this pressure on SA.

Commenting on the Mandela move, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was "sick and tired of the way in which the Govern-

ment plays games" on this issue.

"People want to know whether the Government is going to release Mr Mandela. In a purely human way, anything which makes his life more comfortable and gives him greater access to other people is to be welcomed.

"But most importantly, he should be released to make his contribution towards our political crisis," Dr de Beer said.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said:

"It does not make sense to free a man without giving him his freedom simply because you are concerned about his life."

Although Mr Mandela was the key to political organisations on the Left, other political prisoners and banned organisations should also be freed, he said.

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall

said the Government had clearly decided on Mr Mandela's phased release.

"The question now is whether he will be fully released before Christmas or after a general election early next year. The IP favours his full release as quickly as possible."

In London, Social Democrat Party leader Dr Owen said the Mandela move should not be taken by the international community as a signal to ease pressure on SA.

Dr Owen said Mandela was a man of great courage who was "probably the only person who can unite black leaders. It is therefore important to use his strength and stature while he is still fit and well." — Political Reporter and The Star's Foreign News Service.

cess of a worthy fun charity venture

Businessman and friend found dead

Left-wing still talks of unity

Star 25/11/88

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Plans to establish new non-racial party are under way at last

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TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent, examines the latest developments

AFTER much political manoeuvring, plans to form a new non-racial political party to the left of the government are at last under way.

Giving some urgency to the effort is increasing talk, also in Nationalist circles, of a general election, possibly in April next year.

Most prominent in the efforts to get a new party going has been Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

He has for the past few months been in regular contact with Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement.

There were tentative moves, mainly through correspondence, to get the IP and NDM to talk to each other, but there is still not much love lost between the two groups after the split in the original independent group in the aftermath of the general election last year.

When he became PFP leader in August, Dr de Beer stated as one of his aims the bringing together of "those who belong together because of their inner convictions".

The PFP congress endorsed efforts to bring about a new party. It declared itself willing to see the party merge into a new "progressive" party accepting the liberal values the PFP had defended for so long. There was unnecessary disunity in the liberal left.

Dr de Beer this week restated his view that there was a need for such a party because it was wasteful and inefficient for

three parties with the same aims to fight one another in an election. An election alliance would be a half-hearted way of trying to get more unity with the potential of disagreement emerging.

A more positive approach, also designed to appeal more effectively to people who believed in a non-racial democracy, would be to have one new party. One single, stronger party was more likely to attract support than three weaker ones.

Mr Malan described the effort as not merely a merger or a recycling of some of the existing Opposition forces. One of the concerns of the NDM is the broadening of such a party to include or to cooperate with extra-parliamentary movements.

While the IP has sought co-operation with the Inkatha movement and has also been in contact with the Labour Party, it does not appear to emphasise this approach as strongly as the NDM.

Some of its supporters maintain that the IP starts at the parliamentary base and from there moves to the extra-parliamentary field, while the approach of the NDM is the other way round.

At the weekend talks involving the three parties these differences were ironed out to some extent with the need for discussions with other organisations inside and outside the parliamentary system being emphasised.

The IP and the PFP also appear to feel more of an urgency about a decision to form a new party than the NDM.

Mr Malan said these were early days while Dr Worrall said that December 14,

when party representatives had to report back on their efforts after the meeting last weekend, could be the "make or break" date. The enthusiasm of some IP followers would wane if efforts to establish a new party dragged on.

Dr de Beer concedes that, when plans for a new party are mooted, there is a desire among some party members to keep their own organisation.

The NDM, with its "total politics" concept, feels that there should be a far greater bridging of the gap between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings. It feels that United Democratic Front and African National Congress elements must also be consulted and that December 14 must not necessarily be the cut-off date for the formation of a new party.

Apart from its belief in a political party cutting across colour lines, the IP attaches great importance to the need to have a party which would also attract disenfranchised Nationalists.

Certain imponderables remain, especially the question of personalities and clashes in the past, especially those between Dr Worrall and Mr Malan, and the hurt caused by the split of the independents.

It may well be difficult for the two to work together in the same party, but the weekend meeting went some way to resolving this problem.

The question of a leader for the new party has not yet been considered seriously, but in some circles the feeling is that some prominent outside figure must be brought in.



Dr Denis Worrall



Dr Zac de Beer



Mr Wynand Malan

'Apartheid to go on until 2000'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The process of attrition will not have eliminated apartheid in South Africa by the end of the 90s, says a major survey here on the prospects for the new decade.

Instead, the outlook is for progressive concessions made in response to progressive violence — neither going far enough to bring about a non-racial political system within 10 years.

This is forecast by "The World in 1989" and "On to the 1990s", published by The Economist Publications. The survey rates the odds on three possible outcomes in South Africa as:

- All-out bloody revolution — 5 percent.
- Progressive peaceful repeal of apartheid — 35 percent.
- Incomplete repeal and persistent violence — 60 percent.

Giving reasons for discounting peaceful change, the survey says 25 percent of apartheid has been repealed to date, but the "hard bits" (votes, land) have not yet been touched.

"The chance of moving from so low a base to 100 percent repeal within the decade without being goaded into these concessions through violence seems to us a 1:3 possibility."

Discounting revolution, the survey notes that the scale of violence of the past five years is only 5 percent of what would be needed to force the transfer of power from whites to blacks.

"The South African Government has 500 000 troops. The ANC probably has between 5 000 and 10 000 fighters.

"Even using hit and run tactics, it would need 20 times as many (100 000 to 200 000) to seriously threaten the State and even that would need heavy economic sanctions to soften the target."

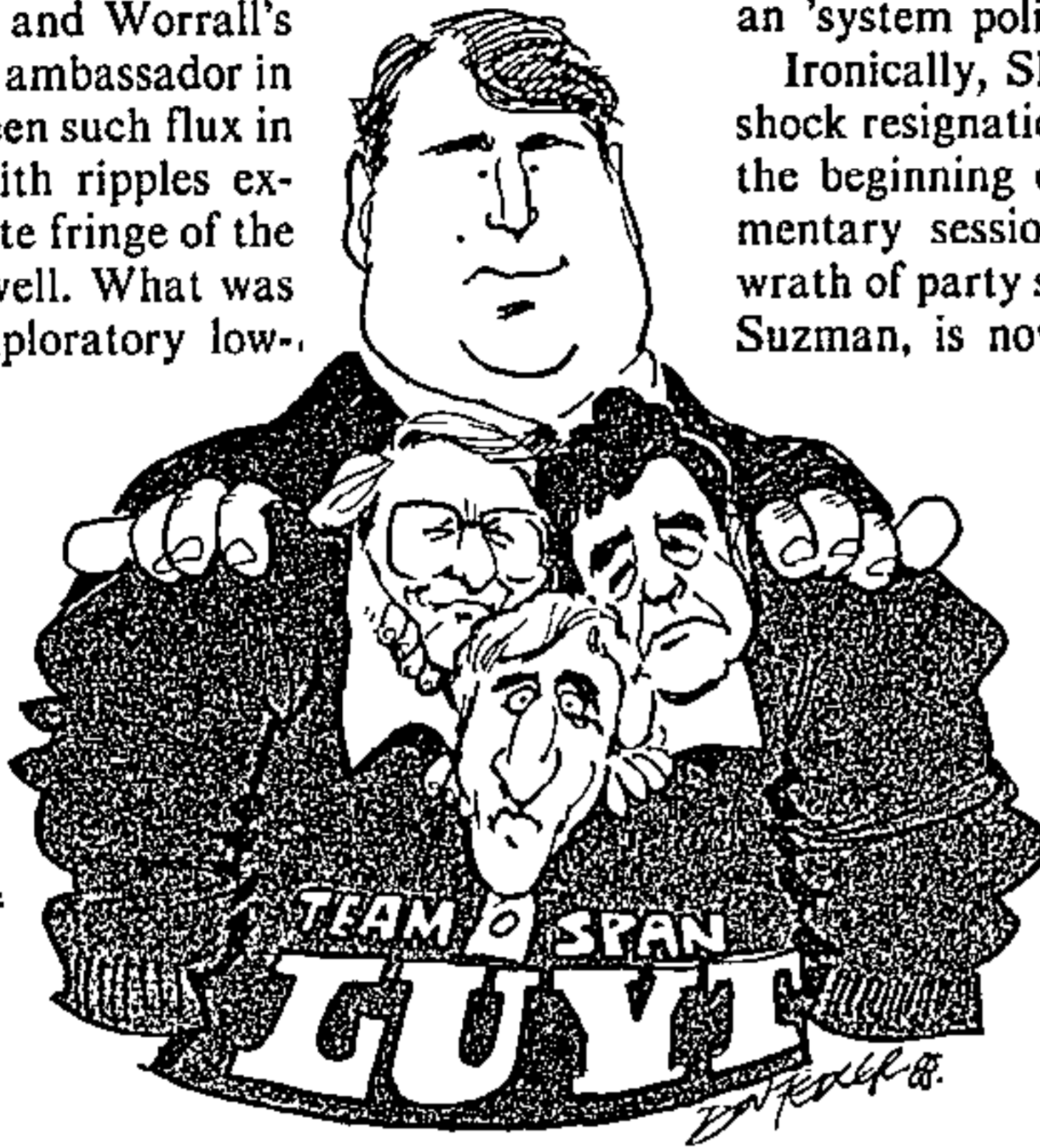
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OPPOSITION UNITY

Looking for a leader

On Wednesday December 14, moderate SA voters will face the prospect of joining a new united political party — the emergence of which was first revealed in the *FM* last week. That now seems a foregone conclusion as members of Zach de Beer's PFP, Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP) and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement prepare to iron out the final differences blocking such a merger.

Not since the breakaway from the Nats by Malan and Worrall's shock resignation as ambassador in London has there been such flux in white politics — with ripples extending to the verligte fringe of the National Party as well. What was meant to be an exploratory low-profile meeting between the three parties convened by Transvaal rugby supremo Louis Luyt has now become something else altogether. At the same time, the participants realise that failure to merge could be the kiss of death to the left-of-centre cause.



Encouraged by this development, former PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert tells the *FM*: "It has to be done. This could be the last chance."

Slabbert feels, however, that such a movement would have to go beyond the confines of traditional white party politics. "It would have to become an extension of a broader political spectrum," he says. "They would have to consult on a wide base. If, in negotiations, the new party gets stuck with only the parties in the tricameral system and homeland leaders, they will have problems."

So he is offering to help the parties overcome such problems. Since he became a co-founder of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), Slabbert has proved to be the most important white political figure in extra-parliamentary circles and has earned respect from a wide range of black leaders, locally and in exile.

Slabbert is expected to raise the matter on Friday when he and the three leaders share the same platform at an Idasa meeting at Wits. "I will have a few words to say about possible problems facing a new party and how to overcome them," he says.

The most delicate issue will be for the parties to find common ground. The IP has

already made it known that it is not prepared to do anything which may alienate loyal voters. "Some parties have stronger feelings about extra-parliamentary contact. We believe parliament is the place where things are done," an IP executive member told the *FM*.

Malan, on the other hand, has already shown that he is prepared to go beyond the borders of SA to negotiate with members of the ANC. "It will be up to us to find a middle ground between 'struggle politics' and 'system politics'."

Ironically, Slabbert, whose own shock resignation as PFP leader at the beginning of the 1986 parliamentary session earned him the wrath of party stalwarts like Helen Suzman, is now being mentioned

as a possible leader of the new party. "His function as a bridge-builder and his parliamentary experience make Van Zyl Slabbert definitely a front-runner for the position as leader of a new party," says one of the people involved in the recent meeting at Luyt's Zoo Lake

mansion.

Slabbert's Idasa connection is seen as an advantage. There is an overriding feeling in the camps of the three parties that extra-parliamentary groups should not be given the cold shoulder in the new party's quest to earn credibility among all South Africans.

Political commentator Willem de Klerk, a brother of the Transvaal Nat leader F W de Klerk, has also been mentioned as a possible contender for the position. Highly respected, De Klerk — invited by Luyt to act as chairman of the meeting — may not accept such an offer, unless asked to do so by close friends. That is the view of some of his close friends. While his relationship with F W could be an inhibiting factor, friends say De Klerk might just regard this relationship as an "interesting dimension."

Luyt himself has an outside chance. A forceful character, who proved his leadership during the Ellis Park palace revolution when his predecessor at the rugby union, Jannie le Roux, was ousted, Luyt has indicated he might not be averse to a career in politics.

He could certainly claim credit for his efforts to unite the three parties. Retired and with a family fortune to back him up, Luyt has in recent months often criticised the Nat

government which he backed in the run-up to the 1983 referendum. However, Luyt is known to shoot from the hip and this may damage his chances with the others.

The most likely scenario in the leadership stakes is that it would be left to the "old man" of the PFP, Zac de Beer, to take the new party through its initial stages.

This choice would be influenced by the expected announcement of an early election. In that case it would be De Beer's task, assisted by a national executive, to consolidate the new party during the elections. Party members involved in the talks are confident that some influential businessmen and academics would be willing to serve on the executive.

After the elections, the national executive would be looking for an outsider to lead the party — someone with the stature of an Anton Rupert, the *FM* is told. It is also felt that successes in an early election would entice outsiders.

A united front by the three parties, with a new name, could also attract disillusioned Nats like Innesdal's Albert Nothnagel and Bellville's André van der Walt.

In the absence of an early election, it is expected that De Beer will lead the party for the first three or four months of next year while the search for a suitable leader is on. Worrall and Malan — because of earlier personality clashes which led to the break-up of the first "independent" group — cannot be regarded as serious contenders.

The December 14 meeting will be dominated by a report-back by the representatives of the three parties. The PFP will be represented by former leader Colin Eglin and Green Point MP Tiaan van der Merwe; the IP by co-chairmen Jannie Momberg and David Gant; and the NDM by Esther Lategan and Jannie Hofmeyer.

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL

Sinking in

FINAL
 25/11/88

It will take a while yet before the full impact of Justice van Dijkhorst's 1 520-page judgment in the Delmas treason trial becomes clear. The judicial procedure is not over. Members of the legal fraternity and foreign diplomats have, however, already expressed concern at the political implications of the judgment, which finds four of the accused guilty of treason and seven guilty of terrorism.

The trial resumes on December 5 for evidence in mitigation and sentencing. Notice has also been given of the defence's intention

26/11/88

Cape Times

2 Cape Times, Saturday, November 26, 1988

304A

'Struggle pointless if SA ruined'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A liberation struggle would be pointless if it left South Africa in ruins, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) conference on Strategies for Change, Dr De Beer said the "stream of SA history" was flowing in the direction of a single, integrated nation.

Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said the time had come for anti-apartheid groups to take a new look at all the strategic options available, including participation.

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said South Africa would go through a civil war similar to the Rhodesian experience unless present political trends changed dramatically.

Idasa man 'was tied, suffocated'

BISHO. — A police officer of Ciskei's Elite Squad described yesterday how the Idasa co-director for the Border area, Mr Eric Mntonga, was suffocated with a tyre tube while lying on his back on the floor with his hands tied and his feet held.

Six senior Ciskei policemen have pleaded not guilty to murder and two other charges relating to Mr Mntonga's death.

Warrant Officer Zamekile Bojane, warned as an accomplice, told the Bisho Supreme Court that he went to the security police offices about 1pm on July 24 last year.

He ate lunch in an office and while telephoning he heard a noise from an adjacent office and heard people saying: "We want the truth only."

He said he entered the office and found three of the accused, Major Mtekesiki Potwana, WO Tamsanqa Hlunani and WO Khayaletu Ncandana, and some other policemen. The other three accused are: Maj-Gen Witness Ngwanya, 42, Maj-Gen Mountain Ngcanga, 50, and Col Mabandla Mbejani, 47.

He said Mr Mntonga was lying on his

back on the floor with his hands tied together with a piece of cloth.

WO Bojane said Maj Potwana took a piece of red motor tyre tube and put it on Mr Mntonga's face. WO Bojane left to make another telephone call.

On his return he found Maj Potwana alone, suffocating Mr Mntonga.

Maj Potwana, who was angry, ordered WO Bojane to hold Mr Mntonga's feet.

After Maj Potwana suffocated Mr Mntonga he stopped holding the dead man's feet, said WO Bojane. He looked at Mr Mntonga and found he was not breathing.

WO Bojane said he told Maj Potwana he intended reporting the incident. Maj Potwana had however told him not to tell anybody as "he did not know how the people would react".

WO Bojane said that he decided to drive to Maj-Gen Ngawanya's house and report that Mr Mntonga had died during interrogation.

"He said I should not worry and should leave as it was 'a minus one problem'," WO Bojane told the court.

The trial resumes on Monday and the accused were remanded. — Sapa

Blacks lauded for reaction to massacre

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa's black community was yesterday commended for responding to Pretoria's Strijdom Square massacre — in which eight people have died so far — with such control.

The Rev Peter Storey, chairman of the South-western Transvaal District of the Methodist Church, was speaking at a prayer service for the families of the victims at Johannesburg's City Methodist Church.

He said it was as if black South Africans knew that because this event "was so beyond the pale of human behaviour that to talk of revenge would taint them too".

He said it would be a mistake to interpret the event as an isolated crazed act.

"It is not an individual killer so much as a

whole society that stands indicted for what happened on the streets of Pretoria. There we saw the logical end result of South Africa's race-sickness.

"If you spend decades convincing people that a black skin is of less worth than a white skin, you declare the life in that skin to be of less value too.

"If, moreover, you instil in the minds of a whole society the idea that a black skin is really an enemy uniform, then everyone in that uniform becomes a potential target," Mr Storey told about 100 people at the service.

He said the event was the "bloody outcome of the resurgence of crude white racism".

"When political partakers and neo-fascist bodies are permitted to openly organise the

resurrection of racism, we must not be surprised if violent people interpret their teachings as a licence to kill.

"We must indict those politicians who, for fear of losing right-wing support, have been equivocal of their judgment of these organisations.

"The government has said it will not tolerate the use of violence by those who seek their freedom. We need evidence now that it will demonstrate the same commitment to those who use violence to prevent freedom."

Mr Storey expressed his concern for the families of the victims and offered prayers for them and those still recovering from wounds inflicted in the shooting spree.

Another speaker, the deputy general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Miss Brigalia Bam, said little had been written about the families of the victims and asked if it was because they were considered merely "a notch higher than cattle".

Six victims of the Pretoria "White Wolf" shooting incident will be buried at the weekend.

Hundreds of mourners are expected to attend joint funeral services in the township of Mamelodi.

Organisers said they had been questioned by police and feared possible state of emergency restrictions on the funerals. — Sapa

Role for private sector in black advancement

Cape Times 26/11/88 (200) 3044

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

THE international community will be "clamouring to invest in SA" once this has become a democratic, free enterprise, non-racial country, the Director General of the SA Foundation, Kurt von Schirnding — former SA Ambassador to the United Nations — said at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce lunch yesterday.

And the quickest way to do away with apartheid and achieve this situation is through the economic forces at work in the marketplace.

"We in the private sector can play our role by encouraging and stimulating black economic advancement which must inevitably lead to greater social and political acceptance."

Von Schirnding said that if SA were a normal country, politics would not enter into any discussion of how to encourage overseas trade and foreign investment.

But "any assessment of international views on business involvement in SA cannot but focus on the political issues which are uppermost in the minds of our overseas trading partners."

Von Schirnding warned that South Africans should not be lulled into a false feeling of security by the fact that there appeared to be a sense of weariness, particularly in Western Europe, with "the SA problem" and the steam had gone out of the sanctions campaign.

There was a growing realization that punitive measures had retarded reform, furthered black impoverishment and played into the hands of the radicals to the right and the left.

There had been "a discernible shift in public opinion in the West which, if

intelligently exploited by the government to re-establish its reform credentials, could result in a re-assessment of the SA situation as a whole."

Stressing that "the key to change in SA, experience has shown, lies with the black majority, not the outside world".

Von Schirnding said that the danger of sanctions had not altogether disappeared and its avoidance depended on showing the world some progress.

It was incredible and macabre that right-wing "experts" on US foreign policy should suggest that the implementation of a Namibian solution would hasten sanctions.

"The fact that we have come so far as we have must be seen as a positive step."

The State President's decision to reprieve the Sharpeville Six and the latest move on Mandela were positive steps in the right direction.

But these could be undermined completely by any attempt by a right-wing municipality to restore old-time apartheid restrictions, Von Schirnding warned.

They would be portrayed in the overseas media, not as the actions of a small minority, but as the SA government turning its back on reform.

He went on: "We must recognize that the core of SA society, regardless of colour, has the same aims and aspirations as people everywhere and that in spite of cultural and other differences there is more that binds us together than divides us."

"In the final analysis it is progress on the domestic front which will determine the view of the international community."

SURVIVAL — That's the

name of this game!

b/c NRCL
26/11/88
2044



THE new party, to the left of the National Party, is definitely a reality. There can still be many difficulties, but to turn back is virtually impossible.

Should this happen — that this whole exercise turns out to have been merely a storm in a teacup — the two smaller parties (the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement) would be in shreds and the Progressive Federal Party would still be trapped in its impasse.

Therefore, this is about the formation of a really new party and not just a re-arrangement of the opposition.

Only a new party, which is more than the sum total of the three parties, can consolidate the white voters to the left of the Government and thus capture a significant power base.

The motivation for this party is therefore a matter of survival — with an election on hand — the idealism for formulating alternative policy, and the urgency to get the country out of the political *cul de sac*.

About the *cul de sac* just this: Negotiation, acceptability and feasibility of NP policy and unmanageableness of the budget are a few of the trouble areas. Our relations with the outside world are in a crisis of morality, legitimacy, credibility and isolation.

The starting-point and the end-point of the NP, namely, to build a constitution around the four racial groups (white, coloured, black and Indian) in a racial federation, is no settlement model whatsoever.

The new party would have to formulate the alternative and build recruitment power around a new political dispensation, with new structures, procedures and end-points.

This is indisputably a very heavy order.

I would not risk the formulation of principles and policies for the new party, because I am no spokesman for the parties involved. I am a pathfinder and commentator who, from the left wing of the NP, is searching for a new vision and new dynamics.

CAN this initiative succeed? This will be determined by a whole range of things which I summarise briefly.

■ **THE** binding together of different groups in the left opposition can produce many problems. It is no homogeneous group and there is a large spectrum of approaches and central issues. The test is going to be whether old disputes, personalities and policies can find a real compromise.

■ **THE** compromise will not succeed if it is a vague and spineless accommodation. Generalities in principles, if neither fish nor flesh, will bring no new momentum.

The whole programme of the new party — if it is to provide a new breakthrough — would, as it were, have to be formulated in four phases.

The first is the immediate policy action which they intend to launch. The second is policy for the interim period of, say, the next three years. There would have to be a spelling out of long-term policy. And lastly, of course, also the outline of an end vision.

The point is that the new party will have to be very concrete.

■ **THE** greatest marketing potential for the new party lies in the left wing of the NP. At least 15

percent of traditional NP support would have to be recruited. There are quite a number of drifters, away from the NP, but to get them involved also requires compromise to the side of group protection. These drifters have abandoned the racial concept for a constitution, but they are wary of the one-man-one-vote concept. The transition phase to more representative government of black majorities is very important for this group.

■ **THE** new party would have to succeed in mustering black and brown support in a significant way. The people of the system and the people of the struggle would have to be involved. It is not initially a matter of membership for all in the new party, but one of obtaining a positive attitude and response to the party, from the side of black and brown people.
The party will be able to recruit white support strongly if it can be seen and heard that the other

population groups associate themselves with the new party to a greater or lesser extent.
■ **LEADERSHIP** is obviously important. The whole leadership corps is important and not so much the single person. The leadership corps would have to create an executive council or something of the kind that must be representative of the new support basis which the new party seeks to obtain.

But — who will lead ...

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

WHO will lead the proposed new liberal opposition — if it gets off the ground? This remains the unknown, but crucial, factor in the manoeuvrings on the left of the government.

Participants have so far declined to discuss it, saying it is too early. But sources say political events in coming months could produce "the right person at the right time".

It is not known whether the leader will come from the participating groupings or from outside. Some sources say it could even be an influential outsider who shares the principles of the new party.

One view is that the impact of the leadership should lie in an influential group rather than a single leader. This could be achieved by having a leadership corps or executive council representative of the new party's potential support basis.

A likely course — if the move goes ahead — is to call a congress of participants at which a leader or leaders will be chosen, followed by the launching of the party.

At last Friday's meeting between leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration of intent and a statement of principles. It is to report back on December 14, when the parties' representatives will meet again.

Indications are that the moves initiated at the home of Transvaal rugby chief Dr Louis Luyt, under the chairmanship of Dr Willem de Klerk, former Afrikaans newspaper editor and brother of Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk, could introduce a significant dimension in the general election expected next year.

If the party gets off the ground at the right time, some say, it could become the focal point for a big party-political shake-up at a time when tensions in the National Party could reach crisis point.

Potentially divisive issues that could shake the NP up to Cabinet level include the future Presidency, clashes between reformists and secessionists, the advance of the rightwing movement, the government's handling of the economy, and any unforeseen difficulties over the implementation of the Namibian independence plan.

With such problems, Nationalists tensions could reach breaking-point even before the election.

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at Stellenbosch and a former NP member, said Nationalist Press reaction to the move reflected a "hysterical nervousness". All attempts were being made to discredit the initiative and the participants. Nationalist propaganda was clearly aimed at sabotaging the initiative at all costs.

"They know that such a party, if it succeeds, will expose the continued racism of the NP and become a real threat to the government."

The move had been met "with enthusiasm" by him and other academics who saw a non-racial democratic South Africa as inevitable for a peaceful, negotiated future.

Admittedly there were differences in policy and strategy, but the significant point was that the three groups had a common purpose.

Such a party could draw liberal-minded Nationalists who would increasingly have to reconsider their position as it became "morally more and more untenable for them to support the NP as a racist party."

The NP and its propagandists had been quick to recognise the danger of the proposed new party — hence the nervous reaction. They were afraid of the prospect of a hung Assembly in which the NP might find itself with fewer than 100 seats and an almost equal number of opposition seats.

In such circumstances the government, which already suffered from a lack of credibility, would not have confidence to govern. Dissension, already noticeable in its own ranks and in the Cabinet, would increase. The NP's fear was that the party's deep crisis would then come to the surface.

PFM leader Dr Zac de Beer sees the move as being in line with the concept that "those who belong together because of inner conviction should be brought together". He regards principles as unchangeable while a party's policy and strategy could be flexible.

He said from his observations he was convinced that the basic principles of Dr Denis Worrall's IP and Mr Wynand Malan's NDM did not differ from those of the PFM. All three stood for equal rights and dignity, freedom of the individual, and the rule of law.

THERE was no doubt that most liberal-minded opposition people wanted the proposed new party. This was confirmed by decisions taken at meetings and congresses. It had been confirmed once more by a strong resolution adopted by the PFM's federal congress this year

and by the party's federal council after last week's talks between the three groups.

He also believed that the proposed new party could offer a political home to disillusioned Nationalists.

He was optimistic that a strong new party would emerge — one with open membership and seeking links with all people favouring a non-racial democracy.

But he declined to discuss the leadership question.

NDM leader Mr Malan is confident that the proposed party has a viable future. If this had not been so, he would not have entered into the talks.

The plans were still at an early stage and he could not, therefore, discuss matters like leadership and procedures for launching the proposed party.

An important aspect of the new formation would be its relations with other political groupings inside and outside Parliament.

The NDM's view had always been that there should be liaison with all groups, to the left and to the right of the political spectrum, so that it could keep abreast of opinion on all sides.

Dr Worrall described the move as "a positive development". A decision on the formation of the new party and about "a lot of details" could not be delayed, he said.

ABOUT Party MP for Addo, Mr Peter Hendrickse, sees a role for the proposed party within the ambit of the "total liberation movement" which is striving for a "free, non-racial, democratic South Africa."

"We see strong possibilities for such a party, we welcome the move and wish to encourage it. We are prepared to work with anyone who is opposed to apartheid."

Some academics are sceptical about claims that the proposed new party can draw significant support from inside the NP.

Professor Hermann Gilloomee, of the department of political studies at the University of Cape Town, says that unless the new party can get a particularly strong leader who will inspire people to support it, it may be better for the three groupings participating in the move to continue as separate entities in an election.

Leadership would be an important factor in its formation. It would have to be an exceptionally influential person. "Perhaps somebody like Mr Jan Steyn of the Urban Foundation. Or if they can get Pik Botha, they will be in business."

Rumours surround

'SA spy's' return

Star 26/11/88

304A

THE imminent return to South Africa of alleged SA spy, Miss Olivia Forsyth, after being allowed to leave Luanda's British embassy, has caused ripples among local left-wing activists.

These have been caused by rumours there will be political trials at which she may appear as a State witness.

Student activists, who did not want to be named, believe that like superspy Mr Craig Williamson, Miss Forsyth might, on her return, be called to give evidence involving anti-apartheid groups.

Asked to comment on the rumours, National Union of South African Students (Nusas) president, Mr Steve Kromberg, said Miss Forsyth's activities had been under scrutiny by Nusas leadership long before she left the country in July 1986.

"Nusas leadership at the time was convinced she was a spy. We as an organisation have nothing to hide," he said.

But the 28-year-old ex-Nusas member — whose spying escapades, it is alleged, rival those of the John le Carre thrillers

PAT DEVEREAUX

she reads — has remained tight-lipped since she obtained an exit visa from Angola a fortnight ago.

Last night, Miss Forsyth's mother, Mrs Joan Brune of Pietersburg, said she did not yet have a date for her daughter's homecoming.

"But I'm expecting her home before Christmas," she said, adding: "Of course, Olivia will be spending time with me."

'Senior agent'

"I'm going to have to get special treatment since she has spent so much time with her father in London".

Mrs Brune said Olivia was at present holidaying and sightseeing in and around London with Mr Peter Forsyth and relaxing after her 22-month spell in captivity and being holed up in the British embassy since May this year.

She refused to comment on *The Mail on Sunday's* report that anti-apartheid activists in London were insistent

that Miss Forsyth was a captain in the South African intelligence service and one of the most senior agents to have been caught.

Allegations are that Miss Forsyth was captured by the ANC in 1986 and accused of spying for South Africa after visiting the organisation's main base in Lusaka.

The one-time journalist and Rhodes student has reportedly claimed that the ANC moved her to a military base in Angola where she was interrogated and tortured.

But, incredibly, she managed to escape her captors in May and took refuge in the British embassy until she obtained an exit visa after months of diplomatic negotiations.

During the diplomatic wrangle to have her leave her embassy sanctuary, the South African Ministry of Law and Order and Miss Forsyth's family denied that she was a security branch agent or in any way involved with the South African Police.



RE-UNITED: Miss Olivia Forsyth in London with her father, Mr Peter Forsyth.

Businessmen want the Left to get their act together

Star 26/11/88

304A

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

SPECULATION is increasing that financial pressure from liberal businessmen played a decisive role in the rather surprising commitment by the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) to try to form a united political party.

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall this week publicly raised the issue when he said Transvaal rugby boss and well-known businessman Dr Louis Luyt had called the parties together and said "the business community wants you to get your act together".

A highly placed political source told the Saturday Star that Dr Zach de Beer, who recently retired as a director of Anglo American to become the leader of the PFP, had the full support of the liberal business community. However, business had lost patience with the strife-torn political Left and was no longer prepared to split funding between the three parties.

The three parties, however, remained adamant they were genuinely committed to a new party with a view to ousting the Conservative Party from its Opposition status in order to increase pressure on the Government for political reform.

At a conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), held in Johannesburg yesterday, the three party leaders for the first time shared a public platform to debate strategies for political change.

From the debate, it was clear that there were still deep divisions, particularly between the NDM and the IP.

The NDM practised "inclusive process politics" involving political groups across the political spectrum, Mr Malan said. Parliamentary and extra-

● To Page 2

Worrall under fire

parliamentary initiatives should be complementary in creating a democratic future.

Dr Worrall stressed the IP was mainly interested in parliamentary politics. With respect to the PFP, he said, the IP had demonstrated it was the only party which could effectively draw disillusioned white voters from the National Party.

In the two-hour debate, Dr Worrall particularly found himself under fire from the delegates.

One delegate even questioned Dr Worrall's motives for participating in the realignment talks, saying he was mainly interested in "setting the white mind at ease".

From the discussion, it was clear the extra-parliamentary democratic movement did not necessarily approve of a merger.

Prominent Black Sash member Mrs Joyce Harris suggested a "soft option" which involved both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary constituencies and which did not need a new party.

"The soft option requires that the entire opposition spectrum co-operates temporarily to get this Government out peacefully, because it will never negotiate outside its own parameters, and to set in motion the process of real negotiations."

Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, rumoured to be one of several possible leaders considered for a new party, stressed the necessity for both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary participation.

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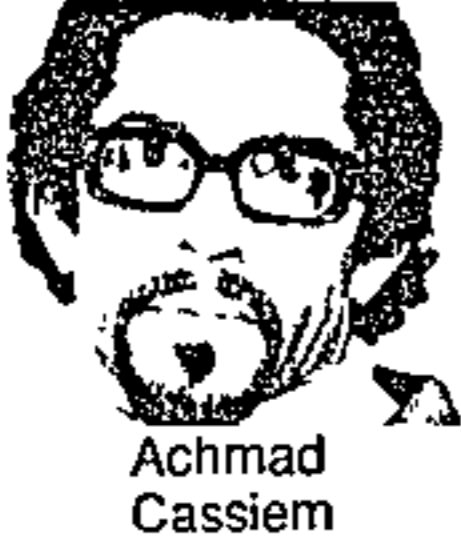
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Altogether seven men are facing terrorism charges for furthering the aims of the PAC, including two Cape Town members of Qibla, Achmad Cassiem and Yusuf Patel



Achmad Cassiem

The others are Mabatu Enoch Zulu, Ndoda Ganga, Vincent Mathunjwa, Paul Setsiba Mohohlo and the Rev Daniel Nkopodi. All are also charged with defeating the ends of justice.

Mr Dennis de la Hunt, for Cassiem and Patel, said the state had failed to prove that a conspiracy existed.

A big NO

304A South Oct 27 - Nov 2/1988



DON'T VOTE FOR ST 26 ELECTION

University of Western Cape students show how they won't make it happen

CLAIMS of huge voter turnouts in the municipal elections are being hotly disputed. Experts on local authorities say figures on registered voters released by the government were "highly suspect" and contained "large discrepancies".

Voters went to the polls to elect about 7 000 councillors to more than 1 000 municipalities in an election marked by tight security, sporadic bombings and worker and pupil stayaways in some areas.

Government spokespersons said the poll was a "massive endorsement of reform".

But monitoring groups have disputed government claims.

Local authorities expert Mrs Kim Elias regards the election figures as "highly suspect".

"An extensive study, using data from Hansard and the Government Gazette, painted a different picture. Many thousands more people were eligible to vote, but were not registered," she says.

She disputes the government's figure of 67 000 registered voters in Khayelitsha.

Residents Intimidated

It had always been government policy to "undernumerate" the African population in the Western Cape.

Another researcher attached to the South African Labour Development Research Unit of UCT says the government manipulates figures to "suit its own purposes".

Mr Pat Govender says numerous allegations of voting irregularities cast further doubt on the government's optimistic assessment.

"We are also investigating several allegations of residents being intimidated by candidates."

Extra-parliamentary organisations in other parts of the country have dismissed the voters rolls as "hopelessly outdated" and "unrepresentative".

Transvaal Indian Congress president Cassim Saloojee said it was hard to believe that Lenasia and the "coloured" areas, each with an estimated population of more than 100 000, had only 33 000 people over the age of 18.

"The voting is a flop, there's no doubt about it," he said.



A Labour Party supporter shows just how she plans to make it happen

ANC man weds in jail

WHEN next Yasmina Pandy goes to the Supreme Court, it won't be as an accused.

Pandy was released this week after serving a six-month sentence for contempt of court.

It will be to follow the proceedings in which her husband, Ashley (Ashraf) Forbes, and 13 others face ANC-related charges.

She was an accused in the same trial as her husband, until her acquittal recently. Forbes, found guilty of terrorism, converted to Islam about four months ago.

Pandy, 21, and Forbes, 24, were married on Monday in a simple ceremony conducted by Muslim Judicial Council president Sheikh Nazim Mohamed at Pollsmoor Prison.

At his wedding he wore a dark blue suit, white silk scarf and a black fez. Pandy wore a white wedding gown with white and silver headgear and an orchid bouquet.

South 27/10 - 2/11/88

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Boksburg is set to become the centre of a huge political storm as its Conservative Party-controlled Town Council defies growing pressure from the government, business and various communities by persisting with plans to reintroduce racially segregated amenities.

A by-election will test the reaction of the white community in Boksburg on Wednesday and a protest meeting has been arranged for Thursday.

Legal action and a move by residents of Vosloorus, Reiger Park and Boksburg to isolate the town are also in the pipeline.

But the Conservative Party controlling the council has promised to "stick to its guns" in segregating public facilities.

For whites only

Among the Boksburg facilities which are again being reserved exclusively for the use of whites are Boksburg lake, tennis courts, swimming pools and other amenities owned by the municipality.

But the council has no authority to segregate facilities it does not own, such as the town's cinema.

The Conservative Party has said it would not be deflected from its policy of enforcing segregation, which was the central plank of its platform in last month's municipal elections.

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said last night that the party would "most certainly" not be influenced by threats of business or consumer retaliation.

Government sources today insisted that the central government was powerless to prevent the Boksburg Town Council from carrying out its plans, even though President Botha has appealed to local authorities to take into account the repercussions of any return to a system of petty apartheid.

"Not effective"

The President has frequently in the past said he did not believe that the separate Amenities Act was an effective law. He has also appealed to local authorities to open facilities which could not be duplicated.

Government and provincial sources said today that government policy and the law entitled local authorities to act independently when it came to segregating their amenities, and no other level of government had the power to do anything about it.

Meanwhile, residents, sports bodies, businessmen and consumer bodies are voicing their protest in growing numbers at the re-introduction of "whites only" signs.

Wednesday's by-election in Ward Seven (Parkdene/Cinderella) — being contested by the CP's Dr J van Ryssen and the Independent National Party supported Mr Issy Kramer — has taken on new significance in view of the CP's plans.

Mr Kramer today said a pro-
(Turn to page 3, col 4)

P. T. O.

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — In the wake of widespread reaction to the Conservative Party's move in Boksburg to close amenities to other races and to put up "whites only" signs, the CP in Springs took down a photograph of the State President, Mr P W Botha, in the civic centre.

The Springs Town Council is dominated by the CP which holds 10 of the 13 seats. The management committee chairman, Mr Gert Parsons, who was unavailable for comment yesterday last week told the Springs Advertiser that he regarded President Botha as the leader of the National Party and said the President was not his leader.

"I respect the title of State President but he is not my leader," Mr Parsons was reported to have said.

The mayor, Mr David Botes, said it was not a council decision to remove President Botha's photograph.

The photograph has been replaced by the Springs coat of arms.

PW's photo removed

ARGUS
 Boksburg 28/11/88
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BRITAIN SHEET
 CP

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Zach warns of 'ruins of liberation'

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'Count the costs'

A LIBERATION struggle would be pointless if it was so costly that it left SA in ruins, PFP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) conference in Johannesburg on strategies for change, De Beer said the "stream of SA history" was flowing in the direction of a single, integrated nation.

"However, a struggle must not be fought to gain a society of which, having won victory, you may then be ashamed," he said.

Strategies to change the system must consider the efficacy, cost and the impact they would have on a post-apartheid society, he said.

Rejecting the use of military force to overthrow the government, De Beer said it was "not only morally questionable" but bound to fail at



● DE BEER

PETER DELMAR

a great cost to its backers.

Violence against the state would provide government with perfect propaganda material to exploit white fears, he said.

De Beer said an "Operation Friendship" was needed to overcome white fears and to change their perceptions about blacks.

Stressing the need to co-operate with black leaders, he said the white Parliament would become the "tomb of selfishness and privilege".

NDM leader Wynand Malan, sharing a public platform with De Beer and IP leader Denis Worrall for the first time, said a major problem was that there was no constitution covering the full range of political activity.

SA politics, Malan said, had almost developed into a "system versus the struggle and the struggle versus the system". However, it would be foolish to regard the government and parliamentary system as irrelevant.

'The Mandela'

3044
Blaney 28/11/88

ONE point almost all political observers agree among white voters there is a desire, amounting to yearning, for a reasonable and decent society that will accommodate the aspirations of all South Africans.

Lately, this yearning has acquired an edge of impatience. From all sides, the leaders of the splintered parties on the left of the Nats are being told to "get their act together".

When sports administrators begin to steer political parties into accommodations, the message is pretty plain, there is a great opportunity waiting for the leader who can draw together all the dissident strands represented by such people as former Nats Willem de Klerk and "Lang David" de Villiers of World Court fame; Johan Rupert of Rembrandt and Chris Ball of First National; and Louis Luyt, Progs and homeless ex-Progs; loosely held Nats and homeless ex-Nats; Worrallites and ex-Nerps. All the people who perceive that CP policy is a Gadarene rush, and that Nat policy goes nowhere.

So why can't they all get together in one happy party? Why should it be so difficult for the three existing anti-apartheid parties to form a new party?

Let me try to frame an answer, if only as a target to shoot at. At the top of the list I would put the authoritarianism of white South Africans. "Solutions" are devised at the top, in conferences and seminars, encapsulated in boring documents, and handed down to the voters like holy tablets. Nobody bothers, really, to ask the voters what their problems are.

The one question which, I believe, dominates the thinking of every dissident voter is what kind of country South Africa will be after liberation? Will it be worth living in? If not, might it not be better to hang on to the guns and hope for something to turn up, or to go for partition, or to emigrate? Or at least, send the kids away?

Ordinary voters confront such

Out there, voters are waiting for a clear answer

KEN OWEN

questions every day. It affects decisions on schooling, on buying a house, on choosing a career. Yet the political parties brush the questions aside, frequently with a patronising scorn that pretends fear of the future is cowardly. In fact, fear of the future in South Africa is the reasonable response of a sane person.

Part of the problem is that the political style of opposition parties has been corrupted by their long years in the wilderness. They have elevated a carping dissatisfaction with the Nats to the status of a policy. Their responses are old, tired and so predictable that journalists talk of telephoning a politician for "a clock-work quote" — you wind him up, and he chatters.

What the voters get are ritual responses about the "rule of law", or "a just society", or some such meaningless platitude. When a truly thoughtful person like Professor Tony Mathews of Natal University suggests a compromise formula to protect civil liberties, one that takes account of threats to security, he is simply ignored.

The suggestion of compromise interferes with the brave slogans that sell so well overseas, like "End the

Emergency" (which is understood by many as meaning "Clear the way for the Necklace"), or "Troops out of the townships" ("Hoorary for the free-for-all").

Underlying all this is an implicit scorn for the ordinary South African who with a vote — for his accent, his values, his safari suit, his rugby, and his racism. And, of course, for his fear.

The problem is compounded by strong foreign connections, such as association with foreign criticism, support for sanctions, the emigration of children or close relatives, or even excessive interest in foreign policy. Colin Eglin has always thought his informed interest in foreign affairs to be a strength; in fact, it is a weakness that has more than once brought him low.

Denis Worrall, on the other hand, draws strength from his record as a fighting ambassador and, in any event, he is always careful not to take the side of "the outside world". This may seem trivial, but without

such sensitivity to the moods and prejudices of the plebs, no politician has much future. The perceptions of the electorate are subliminal, but acute, and one does not learn to deal with them at policy conferences or think tanks.

Policy, in any event, raises its own problems. Most politicians hate to be questioned about policy, and they try to fob questioners off with smart answers.

Only the Marxists in South Africa (if one excludes the CP) have a clear idea of where they are going, and only they match means to ends. The Nats follow Chris Heunis, wherever he may be leading, and the anti-apartheid parties try desperately to straddle neo-conservative (extreme free market), liberal, social-democratic, socialist, and radical socialist positions, for fear of alienating some or other aggressively spoken, but otherwise obscure, intellectual group.

The simple fact of the matter is that the question of economic principles in a post-apartheid South Africa cannot be ignored. Let me choose a simple example: the politician who says bluntly that property rights will be protected in liberated South

Africa will immediately drive from his party a sizeable group of quite influential (or at least vociferous) people who see the Freedom Charter as a holy writ, and who intend to confiscate private property and redistribute it.

If on the other hand, a politician admits that a great deal of wealth will have to be redistributed, and that property rights are therefore not sacrosanct, he will be rejected by those who see their lifestyle threatened by confiscation of their hard-earned property. Unless he specifies exactly how, and how much, redistribution will occur, he is on a hiding to nothing.

The two positions, in short, are irreconcilable, and the politician who straddles them will seem duplicitous, and will be distrusted. In fact, many of the political failures at the polls can be traced to the suspicion among voters that, when negotiations with the ANC-SACP arrive (as they must), their candidate will be sitting on the other side of the table.

Lack of leadership has cast people back on their own resources. Ordinary folk are churning out constitutions like sausages. Many are struggling with unworkable formulas for a qualified franchise based on some non-racial criterion which is intended to preserve race privilege.

Flocks of anxious people are listening to "The Solution" of Leon Louw and Frances Kendall. Clem Sunter is a guru because he says, "Take the High Road", even though he hasn't told us how to do so. Black people like Aggrey Klaaste who hold out an idea that seems vaguely workable are drowned in goodwill, and swamped by invitations to talk to white audiences.

There is a vast audience out there, waiting to be led. It is waiting for a leader who knows where he wants to go, and how to get there, and who can explain it all in clear, simple terms. People want answers.

The real question is whether the leaders have any answers. This column will be suspended for the holiday season and will resume next year.

Slabbert quashes comeback rumours

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28/11/88
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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former leader of the opposition Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert quashed speculation this weekend about his imminent return to parliamentary politics, but declined to rule out such a possibility.

Opening the Strategies for Change conference, organised by his Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), Dr Slabbert said the time had come for a fresh look at all anti-apartheid strategies, including that of participation.

In an interview at the conference, Dr Slabbert said he had not been approached by any of the three liberal opposition parties currently engaged in unity talks to take over the leadership of a new united party.

He said it would be presumptuous of him to "just skip over the hurdles and present myself as leader of a fictitious party".

"I have no desire right now to go back, but I have no principled objection to doing so," Dr Slabbert said. "However, I still have practical problems with parliament."

Dr Slabbert said there were "tremendous obstacles which must still be overcome before a viable party can be created".

Although the concept of a united liberal opposition was accepted cautiously by most of the 330 delegates at the conference, it was clear that considerable unease still exists within the democratic movement about parliamentary participation.

CP driving black
business away

Political Staff

IN SPITE of assurances that it is serious about removing discrimination, the government appears powerless to stop Conservative Party-controlled local authorities from enforcing "board apartheid". Moves by Boksburg to prevent blacks, coloureds and Indians from sharing local amenities such as the Boksburg Lake have created a new racial furore in South Africa and abroad.

Court cases have been threatened and the large coloured community — about 50 000 — near Boksburg are threatening to turn it into a ghost town by taking their business elsewhere.

Asked what the government intended to do about the situation and the CP's attitude, a spokesman in the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning referred inquiries to a speech by Mr Chris Heunis in Mossel Bay recently.

In the speech Mr Heunis said devolution of power to local authorities could not take place without qualification.

The government would not pass on powers to local authorities or they could be used under the guise of "local option" to prejudice the rights of others.

JOHANNESBURG. — Big business yesterday prepared to hit back at Boksburg — South Africa's new apartheid town.

With 60 Conservative Party-controlled municipalities in the Transvaal ready to follow Boksburg's lead in turning back the apartheid clock, commercial giants led by OK Bazaars and Tradegro joined the growing row, threatening to drag the government along with them.

OK Bazaars managing director Mr Gordon Hood said the indications were that Boksburg's black residents were already taking their business to neighbouring towns.

Sales at the Boksburg outlet were markedly down, while other East Rand stores have improved.

"If a race group decides it is not wanted in town, it may boycott the businesses in that town," Mr Hood said. "It has happened before."

Tradegro chief executive Mr Donald Masson said his group would not make any new investments in towns like Boksburg where CP councils re-imposed old apartheid measures.

'Financial sabotage'

Both men voiced total opposition to the CP's actions. Mr Masson said he was convinced the government will take steps to counter the CP's move.

Tradegro would maintain its existing investments in Boksburg, mainly in the form of retail stores like Dions, but would not stand for any discrimination in its stores, he said.

The Boksburg Chamber of Commerce condemned the town's partition as "financial sabotage" and predicted that massive disinvestment of overseas companies could result.

The president of the chamber, Mr Johan Viljoen, said the decision to segregate amenities would only apply pressure to multinational companies operating in industrial Boksburg and give them the excuse to disinvest.

Some of the multinationals who had promised to remain in South Africa could be "pushed over the edge".

"We are very concerned at the effects that the decision will have on the welfare of the town. It could cost us millions of rands.

"Not only will South Africa lose, but the people of Boksburg will suffer in lost jobs and reduced buying power."

Interleisure chairman Mr Ian Heron, whose firm runs a string of fast-food outlets and restaurants including Bimbos and Captain Dorego, said Interleisure was "totally against racism".

Even if the CP only managed to re-impose apartheid on property controlled by CP councils, Interleisure would "make the strongest representations to government".

Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay — which has one supermarket and one hypermarket in Boksburg — has promised to lobby for change and possibly discuss the Separate Amenities Act with the government.

"Through our own efforts and those of business organisations we will try to have their action reversed."

The action could mitigate against the positive overseas reaction to South Africa following government moves over Mr Nelson Mandela, the Sharpeville Six and Angola, he said.

The managing director of leading multinational Colgate Palmolive, Mr Gerald Kocker, said the situation was "just ridiculous" and vowed to do everything to "convince those people they are not doing the right thing".

While disinvestment was not an option, his organisation might decide to support an increasingly popular idea to have their factory rezoned to near-Benoni.

But even as the volume of protests against the CP's return to old-style apartheid grew yesterday, the unrepentant Boksburg town council said it

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From page 1

would stick to its guns. The chairman of the Boksburg town council management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, said the CP represented most of the town's wards and would carry out its mandate from last month's elections.

He also announced that a new suburb, Willowmore Park, would be reproclaimed for exclusive white residence and Indian families living in the area would have to move out.

Meanwhile the PFP is expected to join Boksburg's outraged black residents in taking court action against the right-wing council's moves to restore Verwoerdian-style apartheid.

A party source said the matter was being considered by the Boksburg PFP, though local chair-

man Mr Tony Dutton could not be reached yesterday for confirmation.

Black residents have indicated they are investigating the feasibility of an urgent court application to set aside the council's apartheid measures.

A municipal by-election in Boksburg is expected to give an indication of whether Boksburg residents believe their council has gone too far.

Parties to the left of the CP have rallied around independent candidate and president of the SA Amateur Swimming Union Mr Issy Kramer, who is fighting the election with the unofficial backing of the NP and has also been offered support from the PFP.

A major protest meet-

ing in the town is being planned by numerous sports bodies for Thursday.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address a public meeting in the town next week when he is likely to insist that the party continue to implement its policy at local level, regardless of the reaction.

Own Correspondent

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BUSINESSMEN

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CP 29/11/88
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Idasa conference

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A liberation struggle would be pointless if it was so costly that it left South Africa in ruins, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Zach warns of 'ruins of liberation'



Dr De Beer

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) conference in Johannesburg on strategies for change, Dr De Beer said the "stream of SA history" was flowing in the direction of a single, integrated nation.

"However, a struggle must not be fought to gain a society of which, having won victory, you may then be ashamed," he said.

Strategies to change the system must consider the efficacy, cost and the impact they would have on a post-apartheid society, he said.

Rejecting the use of military force to overthrow the government, Dr De Beer said it was "not only morally questionable" but bound to fail at a great cost to its backers. Violence against the state would

provide government with perfect propaganda material to exploit white fears, he said.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, sharing a public platform with Dr De Beer and Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall for the first time, said a major problem was that there was no constitution covering the full range of political activity.

South African politics, Mr Malan said, had almost developed into a "system versus the struggle and the struggle versus the system". However, it would be foolish to regard the government and parliamentary system as irrelevant.

Govt 'forces blacks' to choose ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is forcing blacks to choose between its official institutions and the ANC, a choice they would not necessarily want to make, Cosatu publicity secretary Mr Frank Meinijes said here at the weekend.

This had led to the "ridiculous situation" in which even PAC supporters

were told they supported the ANC, he said.

Mr Meinijes said the "democratic movement" had been shocked by the judgment in the so-called Delmas treason trial. The "sweeping" definition of treason meant opposition would be further restricted.

The democratic movement sought a broad unity between anti-apartheid groups, he added.

Worrall warns of civil war

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall warned of likely civil war unless political trends changed dramatically.

He said at the weekend that for the next four or five years the most direct way of influencing events would be through Parliament.

"After that, if present trends have not been turned around, nothing is likely to prevent the country from the trauma of a civil war."

He said circumstances called for a new political alignment committed to an apartheid-free, traditionally democratic and free-enterprise country.

A hung Parliament was possible after the next general election, he said.

"Candidates of the new political alignment or coalition would need to draw 24% of the National vote to achieve this."

Mandela release could end deadlock — Boraine

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Releasing Mr Nelson Mandela was the one single act which could decisively break the current deadlock in South African politics, Idasa co-director Mr Alex Boraine said at the weekend.

The government should be convinced that in Mr Mandela it had someone who could be the catalyst towards the beginning of real negotiation.

But he said this could only happen if Mr Mandela was released without restrictions and allowed to become a major statesman.

"We have one key factor which can break the present deadlock — the release of Nelson Mandela. He is someone who enjoys the support and the admiration of the vast majority of South Africans — someone even Gatscha Buthelezi sees as his leader."

Harris outlines united strategy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Black Sash president Mrs Joyce Harris has proposed a soft option to the debate on anti-apartheid strategies.

She told the Idasa conference at the weekend that her plan would make a unified liberal opposition party unnecessary.

The plan required the entire opposition to cooperate to get the government out of power.

This meant a new party would not be needed. Mrs Harris proposed that all anti-apartheid groups should shelve their differences temporarily and "place their particular aims, objectives and principles in cold storage".

"All anti-apartheid groups should work together to devise a platform with a limited objective acceptable to all."

Nats

Angry Boksburg blacks promise to fight back

The Argus Correspondent

ARGUS 29/11/88 30 KA

JOHANNESBURG. — "Boksburg will not survive without us," angry black residents said at a protest meeting last night while vowing to take their business outside the "whites only" town.

At the meeting, residents of the Reiger Park township said the Conservative Party-controlled council's decision to close amenities to non-whites would have serious consequences for the town.

It was decided at the meeting that residents would heed a Conservative Party call and take their trade "to those who recognise us as equals".

An open letter to the white residents of Boksburg, adopted unanimously at the meeting, said:

"On October 26 1988, the white voters of Boksburg sent a very clear message to our town's (coloured, African and Indian) citizens. As blacks we are once again subjected to the power of the white vote, the only vote that counts for anything in our country...

"We too, have a message, which we wish to send to you: 'Boksburg will not survive without us'."

RESIGNED

At the meeting a Labour Party member of the Boksburg Coloured Management Committee, Mr Edgar Hansrod, resigned in protest against the town council's decision to reinstitute petty apartheid.

Meanwhile Boksburg Conservative Party management committee chairman, Mr Gideon Fourie, dismissed as "complete rubbish and stupid" a challenge to CP members to withdraw their business interests from Boksburg's coloured suburb Reiger Park.

The challenge came yesterday

CP hits back: 'Take a look at Pretoria'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The furore over Boksburg Town Council applying apartheid laws is "a storm in a teacup, brewed by the Nats," said Conservative Party administrative secretary Mr Andries Beyers.

"Apartheid is still rife in Pretoria. Look at the swimming-pools, libraries and buses. They're not multiracial. The Nats mustn't preach to us."

Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will add the final touches to Boksburg's decision. He will address a public meeting there on Thursday night and "once and for all stipulate the CP's policy," Mr Beyers said.

Mr Beyers said head office fully backed the council's decision to "close" amenities.

"It's our policy and we have been given a mandate by the majority of people in Boksburg, which we have to carry out," he said.

day from the chairman of the Reiger Park management committee, Mr Butch Jantjies.

Vowing "never to give up until the CP rescind their measures", Mr Jantjies said coloured shoppers would be taking all their business to other towns. He knew many who had

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Angry blacks fight back

(Continued from page 1)

already transferred their bank and shop accounts out of Boksburg.

He estimated that of the 50 000 coloured people in and around Boksburg approximately 95 percent spent most of their money in the city centre constituting about 65 percent of the town's income.

Yesterday 84 coloured teachers cancelled their annual Christmas dinner at a Boksburg restaurant in protest against the town council's action.

And it has been reported that several leading stores have lost sales.

In Cape Town meanwhile, Capab has refused to include the Conservative Party-controlled Northern Cape town of Kuruman in its platteland tour because the town council has decreed that its town hall is for white audiences only.

Instead it will schedule an extra performance of its popular show, *Die Vonkel In Haar Oog*, which stars Afrikaans TV personalities Dulcie van den Berg, Flip Theron and Pieter Bredenkamp, at Kimberley.

"It has been our policy for years only to play to open audiences. We are under General Affairs and we play for the masses," the general director of Capab, Mr Gé Korsten, said today.

Mr Korsten said Kuruman was not the only Cape town which would not open its facilities.

There had been problems with Oudtshoorn in the past and unless the town council changed its policy and opened the town hall to all races it too would be off Capab's list of venues.

And in Johannesburg last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said South Africa could not stop at condemning the Boksburg council's reintroduction of segregated facilities.

"The South African government considers petty apartheid

by Boksburg and other towns as a threat to the economic welfare and good relations of the people in the country.

"If Boksburg and other towns return to the apartheid system, they will do immense harm to the country. If they carry on we will lose our jobs.

"MAD IDEA"

"I appeal to the people to help suppress this mad idea. We cannot have it. We must fight this and persuade the CP to break their verkramptheid.

"Boksburg's actions will send a negative message to the US, indicating to them that we have taken a step backwards. We must show the world that this was just a temporary aberration."

The Progressive Federal Party's media spokesman for the Southern Transvaal, Mr Pat Rogers, last night said the Conservative Party's apartheid stance in Boksburg was totally in line with the law of the land and the wishes of the electorate.

"What do they expect after 40 years of swart gevaar? If they really do not like it why do they not abolish the Separate Amenities Act?"

The executive chairman of Shell South Africa, Mr John Wilson, has condemned the Boksburg municipality's decision as "nothing short of appalling".

"Shell South Africa will not accept the imposition of this sort of nonsense lightly, and will fight it with every means at its disposal.

"If any of its service stations or indeed its black dealers operating in white CBD's are threatened, the matter will be taken to the highest courts in the land."

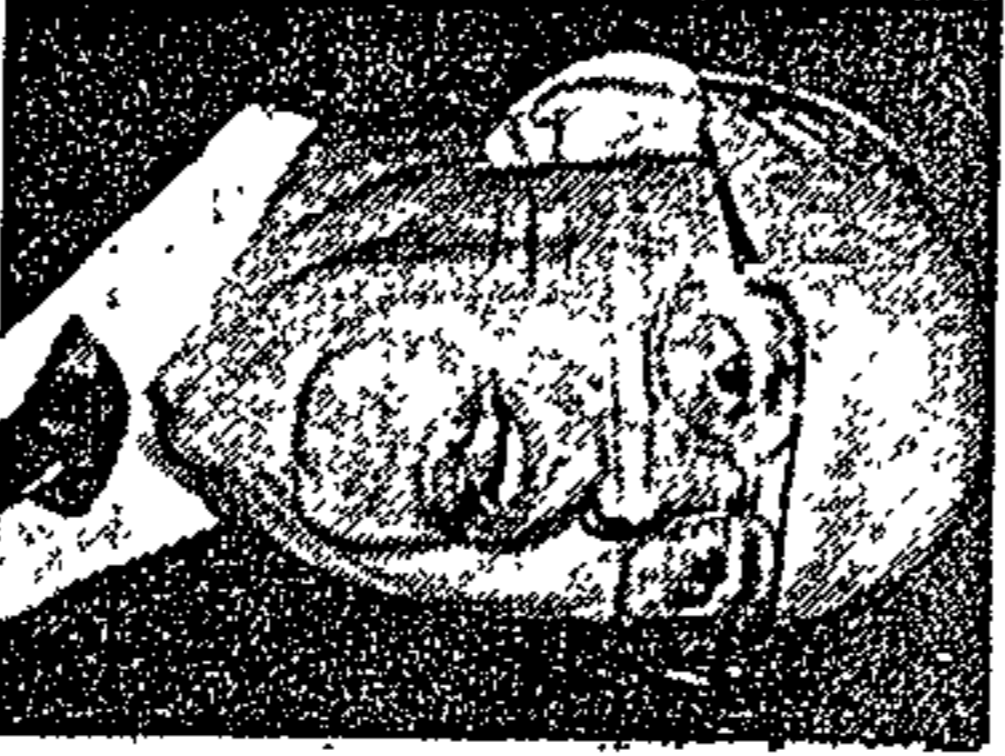
In Krugersdorp, the management committee has recommended to the council that an application by the Southern African Black Taxi Association to build ranks in the town, be turned down.

See page 14.

His condition for release of Nelson Mandela

BOTHA FIRMLY OPPOSES VIOLENCE

WASHINGTON — State President P W Botha has ruled out freedom for African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela unless he renounces violence.



PRESIDENT BOTHA

VIOLENCE

Sowetan 29/11/88

SOWETAN Foreign Service

This emerged in a report by US politician and televangelist, the Rev Pat Robertson, who interviewed Mr Botha in South Africa last week. Mr Robertson said that in private conversation, not part of the recorded interview, Mr Botha had said African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would not be returned to prison.

but probably would go to some sort of "halfway house". Nor would he be freed until he renounced violence.

assassination of Mandela by either the left or the right and that he did not wish to see him killed," Mr Robertson reported in a segment of a series on South Africa.

The US State Department welcomed the decision not to return Mandela to prison:

"From a humanitarian standpoint this is a commendable gesture. We continue to believe that the unconditional release from detention of Mr Mandela and other representatives of opposition opinion is essential to the search for peaceful solutions to South Africa's severe internal problems," said State Department spokesman Charles Redman.

"We hope that the South African Govern-

"It is an ordinary process taking place from time to time in South Africa," he told Mr Robertson, a candidate this year in the US presidential election.

"And it is not as a result of pressure being applied from outside because then I would have done it months ago," Mr Botha added. "I am not the type of person who will be pressured into a situation in which I don't want to go into."

Death knell of town's sport?

ARGUS 29/11/88

30/11

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The restoration of petty apartheid in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg could be the death knell of sport in the town, the chairman of the Boksburg Athletics Club, Mr Jimmy Hill, said today.

The club — which is home to about 100 black members including John Sebata, who won the Johannesburg Marathon and came third in the South African championships, and Wiseman Ngwenya, winner of the Johannesburg Street Mile — has vowed to fight the council "with every means at our disposal".

"Should the South African Road Runner's Association ban their licensed runners from running in Boksburg the effects would be drastic."

"There would be no road races, our membership would plummet, in fact road running would be dead in the town. And this would certainly apply to other sports as well," Mr Hill said.

Lose races

He said the town could lose its position as venue for two major national races.

"There is a good chance that we will openly defy any 'whites only' signs."

The South African Road Runners' Association has called for government protection from "retrogressive steps".

The chairman of the Boksburg Association Football Club, Mr Rus Swinney, said he was confident that at the

club's annual meeting tomorrow night all CP interference in the sport would be rejected.

He was speaking following a decision by the Natal Football Association (NFA) to ban all its clubs from playing any games in the town in future.

"Not welcome"

The chairman of the NFA, Mr Jack Cox, said: "As from today no NFA club will play in Boksburg and clubs from the town are not welcome to play in Natal."

"I have many non-white footballers from the under-6 league right up to Currie Cup level and I am not prepared now to tell them that they cannot play on the East Rand."

"I have the full backing of my executive as well as clubs and no NFA team will be allowed to play there until the municipality rescinds its decision."

The Amateur Swimming Union said it too would defy the all-white signs at swimming pools.

Mr Issy Kramer, president of the Amateur Swimming Union is reported to have said: "We will continue to use the town's swimming pools and allow blacks to participate. If they want to arrest us they can bring the police. Everybody has paid for the swimming pool, not just the CP."

The South African Cricket Union has warned its affiliates that they will be expelled if they play at the Prince George Stadium.

Govt drops plan to cut foreign cash

Cape Times 29/11/18

30/11/18

Political Staff
A BILL designed to cut foreign funding of anti-apartheid organisations has been dropped in favour of another bill aimed at the disclosure, rather than halting, of foreign money.

The new Disclosure of Foreign Funding Bill, which has been published in Parliament, will require all organisations and people, which have been officially notified, to reveal all sources of external funding and to have their books audited.

It replaces the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

A Registrar of Reporting Organisations and Persons will be appointed to administer the new measure and he will submit an annual report to the Minister of Justice, who will then table the report in Parliament.

Penalties of fines up to R40 000 or 10 years jail or both have been imposed for people who refuse to comply with the provisions of the proposed law or who use foreign funding other than for its declared purpose.

One of the major changes in the new bill is that provisions in the old measure which enabled the government, through an arbitrary decision of the minister to declare organisations restricted, to stop organisations or individuals from receiving foreign funding have been scrapped.

In the original bill, an organisation or individual could be restricted merely if the minister was satisfied they were engaged or participating "in the furthering, propagating, pursuing or opposing of any political aim or object".

Oil giants vow to keep service stations open

CAC Times
30/11/88



By CHRIS STEYN

FOUR major multi-national oil companies have warned white Boksburg that they will fight tooth-and-nail to keep their service stations in the town non-racial and one has threatened to take the council to court.

Shell executive chairman Mr John Wilson yesterday vowed to go to "the highest courts in the land" if the company's service stations were affected in any way by the reintroduction of petty apartheid legislation and practices.

Mr Wilson said: "Shell South Africa will not accept the imposition of this sort of nonsense lightly, and will fight it with every means at its disposal.

"It has for years now insisted that facilities at its retail sites be open to all. It will brook no interference with this policy. If any of its service stations or indeed its black dealers' operating in white CBDs are threatened, the matter will be taken to the highest courts in the land."

Mobil chairman and managing director Mr Robert J Angel said the company would vigorously oppose "with all the means at its disposal" any attempt to interfere with its non-discriminatory business practices.

"Mobil deplores the action of the Boksburg Town Council which clearly is a retrograde step in the evolution of a just and fair society," said Mr Angel.

BP chairman Mr I J Sims said the company would resist efforts by any local authority to prejudice the position of any BP dealer or reverse the company's long-standing policy of open facilities at service stations.

Mr Sims said: "The overwhelming majority of our customers support our policy of open facilities and we deplore the possible implementation of steps to reverse this."

Caltex deputy managing director Mr Jock McKenzie said the company would not accept any move to limit its ability to treat all customers equally.

"Caltex has for many years practised complete non-discrimination within our company and at all the facilities we provide to our customers through our service station network," said Mr McKenzie.

BOKSBURG

SHUNNED

SOUTH AFRICAN sports chiefs and top sportsmen last night vowed to shun Boksburg — and any other towns that attempt to reimpose Verwoerdian-style apartheid.

At the same time:
● The CP-dominated town councils of Schweizer Reneke, Brakpan and Pietersburg joined Boksburg in its hardline pro-segregation stand.
● And four international oil companies joined the big business revolt over the Boksburg council's stand.

CPPL 7/9/75
30/11/75
30/11/75

The Brakpan council unanimously voted to ban blacks from all municipal parks, pools, toilets and sports facilities, except on an international level.

Hardest hit by the decision will be the Brakpan Athletic Club which has battled for 10 years to gain top status in the Transvaal league and was last year granted admission to the cross-country league.

Last night the Pietersburg town council decided to sever ties with the multiracial Northern Transvaal Regional Services Council.

This meant that the electorate of the town will still have to pay the RSC levies though it will have no say in how the levies will be spent, said Minister of Con-

stitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis.

The "petty apartheid" issue has led to unprecedented interest in today's by-election in Boksburg's ward 7 — called after the death of a CP candidate before last month's municipal elections — which is being contested by NP and PFP. Supported independent Mr Issy Kramer.

Mr Kramer, the president of the SA Amateur Swimming Union and a former councillor, said he hoped to give the CP a hiding in the poll of about 1 900 voters in two of the town's upper-middle-class suburbs.

SA sportsmen and their administrators yesterday joined the outcry over the

Boksburg council's restriction of its facilities to whites only.

SA Rugby Board president Dr Danie Craven said his board would not "tolerate any apartheid, whether it's petty or not".

Mr Abdul Bhamjee of the National Soccer League (NSL) said the NSL would not be dictated to by any racist organisation.

"The NSL will not sit back and watch the CP turn Boksburg white. We will go there and take them on and destroy them. The masses will win."

Dr Craven said three "very important decisions" had emerged from a recent

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P.T.O

Civic leader quits in protest

Sweelan
By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

20/11/67
A MEMBER of the management committee in the coloured township of Reiger Park in Boksburg resigned and three others threatened to follow suit in protest against what they termed "the return of oxwagon apartheid".

At a meeting in Reiger Park this week the chairman of the local management committee, Mr Edgar Hansord, announced his resignation. He is a member of the Labour Party.

Three others, Mr Butch Jantjies, Mr Paul Looting, both of the LP, and Mr Johnny Arendse of the United Democratic Party, have threatened to resign.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday said South Africans should unite on this matter and make it clear to the Conservative Party leaders in Boksburg that sanctions and boycotts of a more severe nature would be introduced against South Africa if they carried on.

"The SA Government considers petty apartheid by Boksburg and other towns as a threat to the economic welfare and good relations of the people in the country," he said.

Huge support for axed hospital chief

118645 30/11/88
Medical Reporter

SUPPORT is pouring in for axed Groote Schuur Hospital chief medical superintendent Dr Jocelyn Kane-Berman and colleagues have demanded her reinstatement.

The medical fraternity has rallied behind the popular administrator following her summary transfer this week.

She was removed from her post by the provincial administration because of her suggestions for additional members of government, including Mr Nelson Mandela as prime minister, which were published in a light-hearted article in Weekend Argus.

She has been shifted sideways and is to become Western Cape regional medical superintendent next year.

In a statement, the National Medical and Dental Association expressed a "sense of outrage".

"The autocratic and arrogant action of the authorities in depriving the hospital services of a highly respected and outstandingly competent superintendent reveals a flagrant contempt for free-

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Argus 30/4/88 (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20) (21) (22) (23) (24) (25) (26) (27) (28) (29) (30) (31) (32) (33) (34) (35) (36) (37) (38) (39) (40) (41) (42) (43) (44) (45) (46) (47) (48) (49) (50) (51) (52) (53) (54) (55) (56) (57) (58) (59) (60) (61) (62) (63) (64) (65) (66) (67) (68) (69) (70) (71) (72) (73) (74) (75) (76) (77) (78) (79) (80) (81) (82) (83) (84) (85) (86) (87) (88) (89) (90) (91) (92) (93) (94) (95) (96) (97) (98) (99) (100)

Support for axed doctor

(Continued from page 1)

dom of speech, and also the prioritising of political bullying above the welfare of the patients at Groote Schuur.

"It is actions of this kind which bring the health services and the medical profession of South Africa into international disrepute," the statement said.

The medical faculty at the University of Cape Town expressed confidence in Dr Kane-Berman's "integrity, ability and dedication to the Groote Schuur Hospital and the Teaching Hospitals Group" and called for her reinstatement.

The faculty said she had been head of the planning and commissioning unit for the new hospital until her appointment as chief superintendent and she had continued to play a key role in the development of the hospital.

"The absence of her unique knowledge and understanding will be a critical loss.

"We feel that her transfer is a harsh reaction to an indiscreet comment as a public official, which appeared in the press some weeks ago.

"We believe that her reinstatement would be in the best interests of the hospital and its patients."

Other prominent medical authorities today accused the government of continually disregarding the standard of health care in this country in favour of politics.

Dr Marius Barnard, the Progressive Federal Party's

spokesman on health, said it was the MEC in charge of Hospital Services in the Cape, Dr Andre van Wyk, who should have been removed from his post.

"The government continuously disregards the standard of health care for political motives. This is purely another petty example of their policies," said Dr Barnard.

Dr Nic Lee, editor of the SA *Medical Journal* — official mouthpiece of the Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) — said: "It is always difficult to comment without knowing all the facts.

"However, if Dr Kane-Berman's dismissal was simply due to her heavily tongue-in-cheek comments in the article in Weekend Argus, I can only say that I am sorry that her puckish sense of humour has been swamped by what seems to be a distinctly humourless over-reaction."

Mr Jan van Gend, MP for Groote Schuur, said the article was light-hearted and not all that seriously intended.

"Be that as it may, many of her suggestions have substantial merit. The suggestion of Nelson Mandela as prime minister is one which would carry the approval of a large section of the South African population, and not only the black section.

"What really concerns me is that by all accounts, she was doing her job exceptionally well. I have had dealings with her and I was most impressed."

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Maria Berman has been reinstated

New survey keeps track of SA's history in the making

THOSE who do not learn from history are condemned to relive it. With a little adaption, the aphorism can be applied to contemporary history.

One reason for failing to learn from contemporary history is, of course, to be ignorant of it.

But there is no excuse for ignorance of history in the making as it unfolds in South Africa today, even if events, rushing at one from the newspaper headlines, over the air and through the TV screen, initially confuse rather than illuminate.

The annual "Race Relations Survey" published by the SA Institute of Race Relations, provides a calm, ordered and dispassionate chronology of current developments. The latest survey, covering 1987 and, as a bonus, much of 1988, is no exception. Almost 1 000 pages long, the survey offers

an overview and then a detailed chapter-by-chapter synopsis of recent episodes in South Africa's evolving political economy.

Even the overview contains some fascinating snippets of information, the kind that sometimes provide a better insight into the essential nature of South African society than formal analysis.

To cite a few examples, there are 133 unlawful organisations in South Africa (excluding restricted organisations which have not been prohibited outright); between 1984 and 1987, 121 people were charged with murder for the deaths of 392 people by "necklacing"; since the start of the township rebellion in 1984, more than 70 policemen have been killed and more than 880 injured, while 72 soldiers died in military operations in 1987.

The survey contains a chapter on South Africa's main political organisations, rang-

PATRICK LAURENCE

ing from the African National Congress to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB). It includes entries on recently restricted Blanke Bevrydigingsbeweging (BBB) and the South African Communist Party (SACP).

The BBB was formed last year by a retired biochemist, Professor Johan Schabert. It stands for the total removal of black people from "white South Africa".

The survey quotes Professor Schabert as saying: "We believe that the whole of South Africa and South West Africa belongs to the whites." He openly boasts that the BBB is "racist", saying: "We are the only organisation in the country to acknowledge that."

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, considers the BBB "a bunch of sick

people" and unfit for membership of the AWB.

Formed in 1921, the SACP was outlawed in 1950 and today operates in exile and in close alliance with the ANC, the survey says. It quotes a United States intelligence report as calculating that half of the ANC's 30-man national executive consists of "known or suspected communists".

The best-known leader of the secret SACP is Mr Joe Slovo, who, until his appointment as secretary-general of the SACP, was the chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. But, according to Dr Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr Slovo retains his position on the ANC national executive.

The survey quotes the US intelligence report's conclusion that the best way to minimise SACP influence in the ANC is for Pretoria

to initiate negotiations with the ANC. Negotiations may "shatter the SACP" because of its policy differences with the ANC, according to the US report. National-minded men on the ANC may be tempted to conclude a separate deal with SA's rulers, the US report adds.

But, by turning back a few pages, the reader can discover that the ANC has set its own conditions for negotiations.

They include release of all political prisoners and captured guerrillas, unconditional return of exiles and refugees, ending of the state of emergency and withdrawal of troops from the townships and elimination of the "bantustan" system.

Even then the ANC will have to consult with all "democratic forces" in South Africa and obtain their go-ahead before opening negotiations.

Star 30/11/88

304A

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New Bill on foreign funds

Sources of money must be disclosed

CAPE TOWN — Government threats to close organisations receiving foreign funding have been dropped, but legislation forcing disclosure of foreign funding may go ahead.

In a major revamp of the original Bill, which would have opened the way for arbitrary Government action against foreign-funded organisations, a new Bill has been drawn up by a parliamentary committee.

In terms of the new Bill, the Government will now only be able to make specific foreign-funded organisations disclose their funding and give an account of how the money is spent.

Penalties of up to R40 000 or imprisonment of 10 years or both have been imposed on people who refuse to comply with the provisions of the Bill or who use funds for purposes for which

Political Staff

they were not intended.

Mr David Dalling, Progressive Federal Party member of the parliamentary committee, said yesterday: "The PFP is happy with the Bill which can now be defended.

"The previous Promotion of Orderly Politics Bill was a draconian measure which would have speeded up sanctions against South Africa.

"The previous Bill was destructive of democratic principles and would have further alienated us from the Western community."

Mr Dalling said he assumed other provisions aimed at para-military right-wing organisations in the original Bill would now be taken up in other legislation.

Locusts

Knysna elephants

Kramer hopes govt will act if CP loses

30/11/88
30/11/88
30/11/88
PETER DELMAR

A RESOUNDING defeat for the CP in today's Boksburg council by-election could prompt government to abolish the Separate Amenities Act, independent candidate Issy Kramer said yesterday.

Kramer is standing against CP candidate J J van Rijssen.

Opposition leaders yesterday called on government to do away with the Act which allowed councils to decide for themselves whether to open or close amenities in their municipalities.

There has been speculation the outcry surrounding the CP-controlled Boksburg council's decision to close numerous facilities in the town to blacks, could force government to scrap the Act.

Hiding

Top government spokesmen, including President P W Botha, recently indicated the Act was not a "holy cow" and could go.

Kramer, president of the SA Amateur Swimming Union, said he hoped "we give them (the CP) a hiding. Hopefully that will prompt government to step in and repeal the Act".

About 1 900 voters in the Boksburg suburbs of Parkdene and Cinderella will go to the polls today to choose between Kramer and Van Rijssen.

Kramer starts as the odds-on favourite for the mostly white collar Ward 7 contest, having previously represented the area and enjoying the active backing of the NP.

A good showing by the CP would delight the party which would take it as a vindication of its segregationist policies.

Anti-apartheid union 'can split Parliament'

Staff Reporter

ARCUS 30/11/88 (30/11/88) are not about to give it up."

DR Denis Worrall is confident a new party comprising the Independents, the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement will emerge as a powerful anti-apartheid opposition within a fortnight.

Dr Worrall told a meeting in Plumstead last night: "I believe a new political party will emerge on December 14 which will have appeal across the colour line and to disenchanted members of the National Party, of whom there are thousands and thousands."

The new party would not be "a merger, nor will it be unity for unity's sake".

The Independents' leader said he understood the anxiety among some Independents over creating a new party, but he appealed to the audience of about 200: "Trust your leaders. We have created something remarkable in the party and we

The combined forces would enable the new party to achieve a hung Parliament in the next election.

Each had its "strengths and weaknesses" ... and the new party would work at "maximising" the strengths and "reducing" the weaknesses.

Dr Worrall warned that under the "sterile" leadership of the Nationalists South Africa was not facing "realities".

"We can accept the realities, move into the negotiating mode and shape the future, because we have the power to do so now. The choice is ours."

● The executive director of the Independent Party, Mr Keith Gurney, said a hung Parliament was likely.

A feasible scenario after the next election — possibly in April — was one in which the Nationalists had 82 seats, the Conservatives between 43 and 45 and the Independents, the PFP and the NDM alliance 41.

CP banishes portrait of PW

CARLETONVILLE — A portrait of the State President, Mr PW Botha, was removed from the Carletonville council chamber by the newly installed all-CP town council last night.

The portrait was immediately replaced by the town's crest.

The council decided to ban mixed gatherings at municipal facilities. One exception would be an international swimming gala at the municipal pool.

"Whites only" notices are

once more to be put up.

Earlier this month, it was decided to rescind a decision by the previous town council to allow a free trading area.

Mr J J G Nel, chairman of the management committee, said re-introducing a night curfew was being investigated.

He said the council, with a two-thirds majority, was in full support of the measures taken

By Elfreda Burrows 30/11/87

in Boksburg.

● The portrait of Mr Botha is to be offered to the previous mayor, Mr Leon du Buys, in lieu of a gift worth R600.

The council, which took exception to a report in the *Transvaal* in which Mr Du Buys allegedly accused it of small-mindedness, feels that if an outsider, a pensioner living in Johannesburg, is willing to pay R500 for the portrait, it ought to be worth more to Mr Du Buys.

304A

Leon lashes 'pathetic' NP response

Stv 307/11/84
A Conservative Party attempt to "do a Boksburg" in Johannesburg by introducing racially segregated amenities in the city "as soon as practically possible" was heavily defeated at last night's council meeting.

This amendment was the response of CP council leader Mr Jacques Theron to a PFP motion calling on Johannesburg to sever ties with Boksburg.

PFP leader Mr Tony Leon also urged the city's Transvaal Municipal Association representative to push for the abolition of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which empowered Boksburg to racially seg-

Municipal Reporter

regate its facilities.

Instead, a watered down NP amendment expressing "disquiet" over the CP's irresponsible actions in Boksburg was adopted.

In a scathing attack on the NP, Mr Leon labelled its handling of the CP action as "pathetic".

Mr Theron warned there was a white groundswell in South Africa for the creation of a white state. There are only two options: no discrimination and one man, one vote, or partition, he said.

SA in 'uncertain transition'

MMABATHO — South Africa was now being seen as in transition towards an uncertain future whose shape and form would depend on the management of the transition process, the managing director of First National Bank, Mr Chris Ball, told a seminar here yesterday.

Speaking on "Economic Confrontation", Mr Ball said South Africa was at a point of opportunity in domestic economic management and political management.

The domestic economic opportunity was to adopt the lessons of fundamentalism highlighted by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher. This would mean taking firm control of the economy by reducing the level of public expenditure.

The goals should be a small budget deficit, a lower level of inflation, lower taxation and higher levels of employment. All would be achievable in a short time if a firm hand were put on the till.

The political opportunity was similar. Po-

Own Correspondent

political action should be taken with the same firm hand.

Without such action, South Africa remained trapped by the external constraint of economic confrontation which put a limit of about 2 percent a year on South Africa's real growth rate.

The real growth rate since 1970 had averaged no more than 2,6 percent a year, less than the population growth rate.

If the real growth rate had rather averaged 5 percent a year since 1970, then the gross national product would now be two-thirds more and the issues surrounding South Africa would have a very different and more manageable dimension.

"We would live in a different world. Our rulers have bestowed upon us political and economic infamy," he said.

The seminar continues today.

Furore over petty apartheid ^{star} ~~200~~ ^{304A}

The countrywide furore over the Conservative Party's resurrection of old-style apartheid grew today, with some NP-controlled councils vowing to cut links with their CP counterparts, and the functioning of Regional Services Councils being threatened.

Following Boksburg's decision to reinstate "petty apartheid" the CP-dominated Brakpan council last night adopted a motion to close municipal amenities to other races, while Carletonville introduced similar measures and decided to investigate the possibility of a night curfew for blacks.

Opposition leaders today urged the Government to repeal the Separate Amenities Act as soon as possible, saying the CP was acting within the law but should be stopped by Government interference.

But Government sources indicated that the abolition was definitely not on the cards. Independent Party leader Dr Denis Wor-

30/11/68 Staff Reporters

rall urged the Government to do "something quite dramatic" to stop the CP.

The Progressive Federal Party's Transvaal chairman, Mr Douglas Gibson, called on the NP's Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk to take the initiative.

Johannesburg City Council has dissociated itself from the CP's actions and Sandton has cut all ties with Boksburg.

Among the latest CP actions to reintroduce apartheid at municipal level was a decision by Pietersburg CP-controlled town council to boycott the Northern Transvaal RSC because it was multiracial.

Last night, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, threatened that Pietersburg would no longer remain the seat of the Northern Transvaal RSC.

Star 30/11/88

Group Bill goes back to PW for a decision

By Tos Wentzel, Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council yesterday decided to send the Group Areas Amendment Bill back to President Botha with the advice that certain amendments should be made.

A report of the council's constitutional committee suggesting modifications to some of the harsh penalties and steps to decriminalise group areas contraventions was passed with only the two Conservative Party members indicating their opposition.

A motion by Dr IM Jajbhay of the National People's Party that the council call on Mr Botha to scrap all group areas-related legislation was not supported by anybody else.

During the debate the CP's Mr Jan Hoon moved as an amendment that the council express its support of the principles of the Group Areas Act and that it call for the scrapping of any measures detrimentally affecting those principles.

If the Bill were referred back, it would be the fourth time it had gone before Parliament, Mr Hoon said. The NP was making a farce of the Act, and what was happening was casting a dark shadow over the workings of the legislative machinery.

Beach signs challenge

Defending the decision of the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council to reintroduce separate amenities, Mr Hoon challenged the next NP speaker to say that Somerset West, in the constituency of Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, should remove its beach apartheid boards. Those boards had been put there by an all-NP council, he added.

Mr Peter Marais, a former member of the United Democratic Party who has applied to join the Labour Party, said the Group Areas Act was the umbrella Act of all the evil apartheid laws.

These gave the CP the right to turn back the clock and to catapult South Africa back into the dark ages by using the Separate Amenities Act to bring back apartheid signs.

The CP had the protection of the law in spite of the fact that the President's Council had recommended in September last year that the Separate Amenities Act should be scrapped.

While supporting the committee's report because of the changes suggested, Mr James Rennie of the Progressive Federal Party said the Act remained the most hated of all.

Instead of spending millions of rands and wasting millions of work-hours on unproductive and negative issues such as group areas enforcement, it was time to dismantle the remaining apartheid laws, starting with the Group Areas Act, Mr Rennie said.

Today the President's Council will debate the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill.

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Groote Schuur chief's transfer slated

Medical Reporter

THE transfer of Groote Schuur Hospital's chief medical superintendent, Dr Jocelyne Kane-Berman, to another post after remarks she made about an alternative cabinet was yesterday condemned as "harsh" and "authoritarian" by leading Cape Town doctors.

Dr Kane-Berman, who was appointed chief medical superintendent at Groote Schuur in 1986, has been transferred to the post of regional medical superintendent in the Western Cape.

The faculty of medicine at the University of Cape Town yesterday called for her reinstatement as medical superintendent of the hospital.

Dr George Watermeyer, executive director of hospital and health services for the Cape Provincial Administration, said that remarks made by Dr Kane-Berman in the press about an alternative cabinet were a "contributing factor" to her trans-

fer. In an article in a daily newspaper in October, Dr Kane-Berman was one of several women asked what sort of country South Africa would be if it were run by women.

Dr Kane-Berman's reply was: "I am not in favour of women only in charge of the country, I'd like people purely on merit — men or women. Perhaps Nelson Mandela as Prime Minister, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Health; Anna Starcke, Finance; Van Zyl Slabbert, Defence; Helen Suzman, Justice, Police, Prisons, Law and Order."

Dr Watermeyer said that for a senior civil servant, this was a "most irresponsible remark to make — to put forward the suggestion that an individual sentenced to a long prison sentence should be the next prime minister".

The remark had embarrassed the administration, he said, adding though

that the new post carried more responsibilities than the Groote Schuur post.

"She is now the superintendent in charge of Victoria, Wynberg, Conradie, False Bay and Karl Bremer hospitals in the Peninsula, and of hospitals in the Western Cape as far as Upington, Knysna and George."

Asked how the transfer to a job of greater responsibility related to Dr Kane-Berman's embarrassing the administration, he said: "It gives her another chance at starting afresh."

Dr Kane-Berman was on leave and Dr Gilbert Lawrence, deputy medical superintendent at Groote Schuur Hospital, was acting as medical superintendent while the post was advertised, he said.

Dr Kane-Berman yesterday said she had no comment to make on her transfer.

The University of Cape Town's medical faculty yesterday issued a statement saying Dr Kane-Berman had played a key

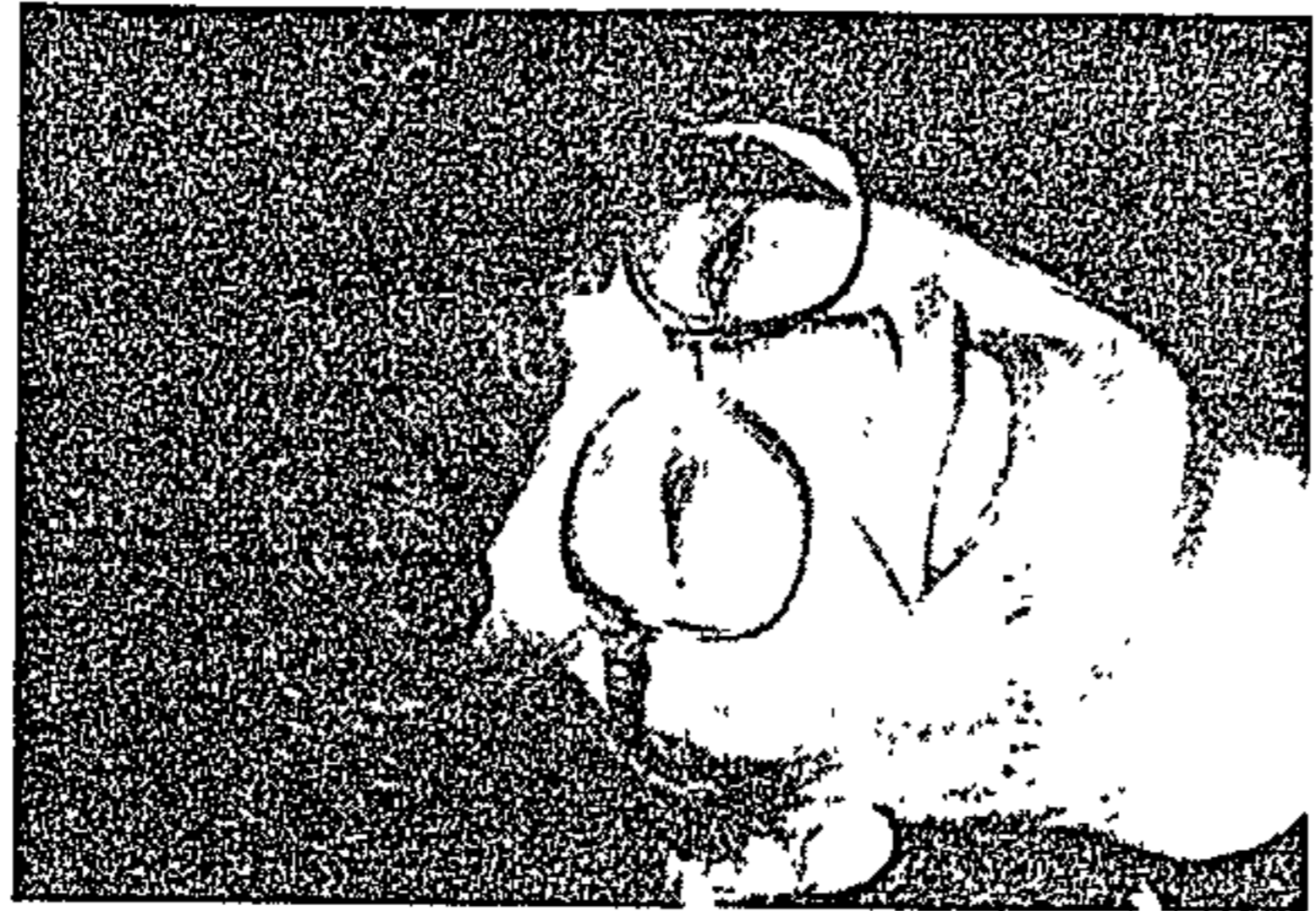
role in the development of the hospital and that the absence of her "unique knowledge and understanding" would be a critical loss.

Expressing their confidence in her integrity, ability and dedication, the faculty said Dr Kane-Berman's transfer was "a harsh reaction to an indiscreet comment as a public official" and her reinstatement would be in the best interests of the hospital and its patients.

Professor Eugene Dowdle, professor of clinical science and immunology in the faculty of medicine at UCT, said: "One doesn't like to see an authoritarian attitude taken on an expression of opinion," adding that the "powers that be" should not react with "overkill" to the remark.

He said Dr Kane-Berman was well-liked as medical superintendent.

"I don't think there's anyone immediately available who would be a repository of the same trust."



Dr Jocelyne Kane-Berman

PHOTOGRAPH BY ...

JOHANNESBURG. — More Conservative Party-dominated town councils have followed Boksburg in reverting to Verwoerdian-style apartheid by again barring non-whites from using municipal-owned amenities.

Pietersburg, Brakpan and Carletonville have become the latest towns to make changes at local government level.

The Pietersburg council also decided at its monthly meeting that it would no longer negotiate with the Northern Transvaal Regional Services Council for funding of its projects.

The council also decided that the RSC would be given notice to vacate its present premises in the municipal offices as soon as possible.

And, in response, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said consideration would have to be given to whether Pietersburg would remain as the seat of the Northern Transvaal RSC.

Brakpan Town Council yesterday unanimously voted to ban blacks from all municipal parks, toilets and sports facilities except on an international level.

The council also decided to ban blacks, with immediate effect, from the swimming pool and the Charl Baard Stadium.

Earlier this year the council spent R600 000 to rebuild the Brakpan municipal pool and now sporting events like inter-school galas will not be able to take place there.

No "Whites Only" notices are to be posted but municipal officials will patrol parks and inform "offenders" of the new ruling.

Tried for years

Brakpan Athletic Club will be among the hardest-hit by the ban on blacks. It has battled for 10 years to gain top status in the Transvaal league and was last year granted admission to the cross-country league.

Carletonville's all-CP Town Council voted last night to reintroduce a ban on mixed gatherings at municipal facilities.

But it decided that one exception would be an international swimming gala at the municipal pool.

Notices are to be put up again in all parks and recreation areas in the residential areas, reserving their use for whites only, and the reintroduction of a night curfew is being investigated.

At an extraordinary meeting earlier this month it was already decided to rescind a decision by the previous town council to allow a free trading area.

A portrait of President Botha was removed from the council chamber last night and replaced by the town's crest.

Dr Willie Hoods, the Transvaal MEC in charge of Group Areas, said today the decision taken by Boksburg to reinstate apartheid has "taken the country back several steps and is to the detriment of the country".

In the Cape, the Town Clerk of Mossel Bay, Mr W S van Heerden, said the town was not in the same category as towns like Kuruman and Boksburg when it came to applying petty apartheid.

Mossel Bay was the largest of the sprinkling of towns in the Cape which have fallen into Conservative Party hands.

Mr van Heerden said no changes were envisaged in the town's policy — which allows mixed audiences and municipal parks, but which has segregated beaches.

Mr van Heerden said the council had resolved several years ago to leave the decision of whether to allow mixed audiences at the City Hall to the Town Clerk and the Mayor.

Reacting to the Boksburg Town Council decision at a function last night, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, appealed to all South Africans, including the CP, to look at what was being

done to the country, "to your own jobs, to your own future by the returning to a system and a sentiment that is past".

"We are on the threshold of moving into a new era, with equal opportunities, sharing of power, sharing in the wealth of this country," he said.

"Black and whites are becoming friends, casting off the old suspicions of the past and are moving towards a new South Africa."

The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa has banned Boksburg squash club members from all interprovincial or other tournaments run under its auspices.

Boksburg's squash players will automatically forfeit their membership of the Eastern Transvaal SRA and will no

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Meanwhile, sports administrators have reacted speedily to the closure of sports facilities by various municipalities.

Mr Rafangee

More cities so white only

MRGAS 30/11/88

30/11/88



Star 1/12/88



Mrs Margaret Thatcher
... no apartheid in Northern Ireland.

IRA can vote, ANC can't, says Thatcher

Pretoria Bureau

An important difference between the African National Congress and the Irish Republican Army was that a member of the latter had the right to vote, said the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in justifying British action against one but not the other.

In an interview with the editor of *Beeld*, Mr W J Wepener, in London this week, Mrs Thatcher pointed out several differences between the ANC and the IRA, and in the manner Britain and South Africa deal with the organisations.

"South Africa and Northern Ireland can in no way be compared. There is no apartheid in Northern Ireland. There it is a case of people who have the vote, but do not want to accept the result of an election and turn to terrorism," she said.

"It is a completely different situation to that in South Africa, where you have apartheid and where people, because of the colour of their skin, are prevented from participating in the political processes."

VIOLENCE

As a political movement, the ANC was undoubtedly a factor in South African politics. The question was how to get it to abandon violence. The best approach was to hold out the possibility of negotiation, she said.

Asked if she meant Pretoria should negotiate with the ANC, Mrs Thatcher said it was not she who should decide on that.

Mrs Thatcher drew a distinction, too, between the actions of British soldiers in killing three IRA members in Gibraltar and raids by SA soldiers into neighbouring countries.

British soldiers had never crossed an international border when acting in Gibraltar, she said.



Rabbi Cyril Harris.

**'Bloodless
revolution
the answer'**

By Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

The only answer to South Africa's problems was a "bloodless revolution", the chief rabbi of South Africa said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking on a Jews for Social Justice platform, Rabbi Cyril Harris said: "The answer is for the silent majority of ordinary, decent, fairminded South Africans to become a mass movement with a deliberate programme of dismantling apartheid."

Rabbi Harris said the two other solutions commonly put forward — sanctions and violence — were both to be rejected, although both could bring about change in the country.

STA 11/2/88

304A

Other countries' courts tackled discrimination

Star 1/12/88 (304A) (281)

Moves to re-enact municipal apartheid in line with Conservative Party policy are a good reason to examine how other countries tackled similar problems, writes Councillor TONY LEON, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City Council

In the wake of the October municipal elections, a political firestorm rages over the grim Conservative Party move to reintroduce apartheid into every nook and cranny of local life.

The issue is the CP undertaking to rigidly resurrect the granite rock of segregated facilities and amenities in every local authority under their control.

How ironic, then, the State President's earnest appeal to Dr Andries Treurnicht to think carefully about the local, and global, implications of such a backward step.

The gap which the CP leader has exploited was created, last October, by Mr P W Botha. In a singular act of political timidity, he refused to accept the one positive recommendation of the otherwise controversial report of the President's Council on Group Areas and related matters.

Repeal recommended

The report recommended that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act be repealed, leading in turn to the discontinuation of all related legislation, ordinances and by-laws which authorise local authorities to provide amenities merely on the basis of colour and race.

The President's Council report was premised on the assumption that in regard to swimming pools, buses, recreation centres and other local amenities, attitudes concerning human relations have

"drastically changed all over the world, as well as in this country" since the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was enacted in 1953.

The Government's refusal to accept this proposal while simultaneously implementing the group areas proposals which will harm internal race relations and external perceptions, speaks volumes on the National Party's priorities and mindset.

The origin and purpose of the Separate Amenities Act are extremely significant; no less so the limitations of this legislation.

The statute was introduced as one of the original apartheid pillars. Dr D F Malan's National Party was frustrated at the tendency of the (then) highly independent Appellate Division to roll back the further reaches of legalised discrimination.

Unlike Acts of Parliament, the validity of by-laws and regulations emanating from subordinate law-makers, such as city councils, has always been subject to judicial review. This has meant the Supreme

Court is empowered to determine whether a local authority has acted beyond its powers when enacting a by-law which, for example, discriminates between races.

This test was premised always on the assumption that Parliament could not have intended anything so unreasonable as inequality between the races. As Professor John Dugard has indicated this was, in South African terms, a "blatant fiction".

Compromise

However in the absence of any Act empowering municipalities to provide unequal facilities, the courts compromised: they upheld the validity of separate facilities, but struck down by-laws and regulations which created substantially unequal amenities.

Undoubtedly our courts were influenced by the United States Supreme Court decisions which followed a notorious precedent in 1896 condoning the "separate but equal"



Tony Leon . . . locally we have the ability to create an open city, given the will.

philosophy. However, in the 1930s and 1940s the Federal judiciary faced a number of cases concerning the constitutionality of segregated public schooling.

The courts now adopted a stone for stone, book for book, test for equality, in the hope that the exorbitant cost of maintaining segregated schools would be so burdensome that they might be abandoned.

While our Appellate Division was never so bold, its refusal to condone substantial inequalities raised the ire of the newly-elected National Party. Thus the enactment of the Separate Amenities Act, which permitted (but did not oblige) municipalities and government departments to reserve separate and unequal facilities for different races, and ousted the power of the courts to set aside such differentiation.

Ironically, as Professor Dugard notes, the very year this legislation was enacted, the US Supreme Court repudiated the doctrine of "separate but equal" in the landmark decision

of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka*. In the memorable words of Chief Justice Earl Warren, "separate . . . facilities are inherently unequal . . . because of the feelings of inferiority aroused among negroes".

South Africa's Separate Amenities Act now allowed facilities to be grossly unequal. However, it did not oblige municipalities to discriminate. Hence the permissibility of the first, cautious steps by the Johannesburg City Council to desegregate parks and libraries in 1973.

Had the Act not existed, or should government abandon it, our Courts would have great difficulty in upholding segregation.

In Southern Rhodesia, as long ago as 1961, Chief Justice Sir Hugh Beadle followed the US approach.

He was not constrained by any Act of Parliament permitting segregated, unequal facilities. He ruled that racial segregation of swimming pools was unlawful.

He noted the prime reason for the segregation of pools was "the prejudice of Europeans against bathing with Asians" and that this criterion for discrimination "must induce among Asians feelings of humiliation, insult and inferiority". (*City of Salisbury v Mehta* 1961).

Drawbridge

If the Government were to rescind the Separate Amenities Act, any plan by CP local authorities to pull up the drawbridge on an open society could be successfully challenged in Court.

However, the fact remains that on the Reef there are few open amenities. Buses, recreation centres, swimming pools and the like remain closed to people with two much pigment.

Instead of using sensible, colour-blind criteria to manage such facilities (ie a limitation on numbers), our greatest city, under National Party control, remains voluntarily chained to the stone of apartheid.

Thus while Government has the power to frustrate the worst impulses of the far right, locally we have the ability to create an open city. All we require is the will.

Threat of night curfew in the Transvaal

APARTHEID

More CP councils clambering aboard

Sowetan 1/12/88 (3049) (285)

WAGON

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

MORE Conservative Party-controlled municipal towns in the Transvaal have followed the example of Boksburg in banning blacks from using public amenities in their areas.

The town councils of Pietersburg, Brakpan, Ermelo, Springs and Schweizer Reneke have become the latest towns to make changes at local level amid protest from the Government, business and various organisations.

Pietersburg decided at its monthly meeting that it would no longer negotiate with the Northern Transvaal Regional Services Council for the funding of its projects.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Mike de Klerk, said the decision was in accordance with CP policy.

In Schweizer Reneke

• To Page 5

CPS join

Sowetan 1/12/88

• From Page 1

the mayor, Mr Joey Fourie, said because no open business areas or community areas had existed in the town in the past, the status quo was being maintained.

CP sources said they would be introducing curfews in towns where the councils believed they had a security problem for their citizens.



Mkhonza jailed

A SOWETO shebeen queen, in whose premises a row over a Scorpion machine pistol led to the murder of two men and attempted murder of two others, was yesterday sentenced to 10 years imprisonment by a Rand Supreme Court judge.

Priscilla Lindiwe Mkhonza (29), of Zulu 3,

By MANDLA NDLAZI

had been convicted of murder at an earlier hearing. Her co-accused, Alex Seheri (33), had at an earlier hearing been convicted of two counts of murder, two of attempted murder and unlawful possession of an AK47 rifle, a Scorpion machine pistol and ammunition.

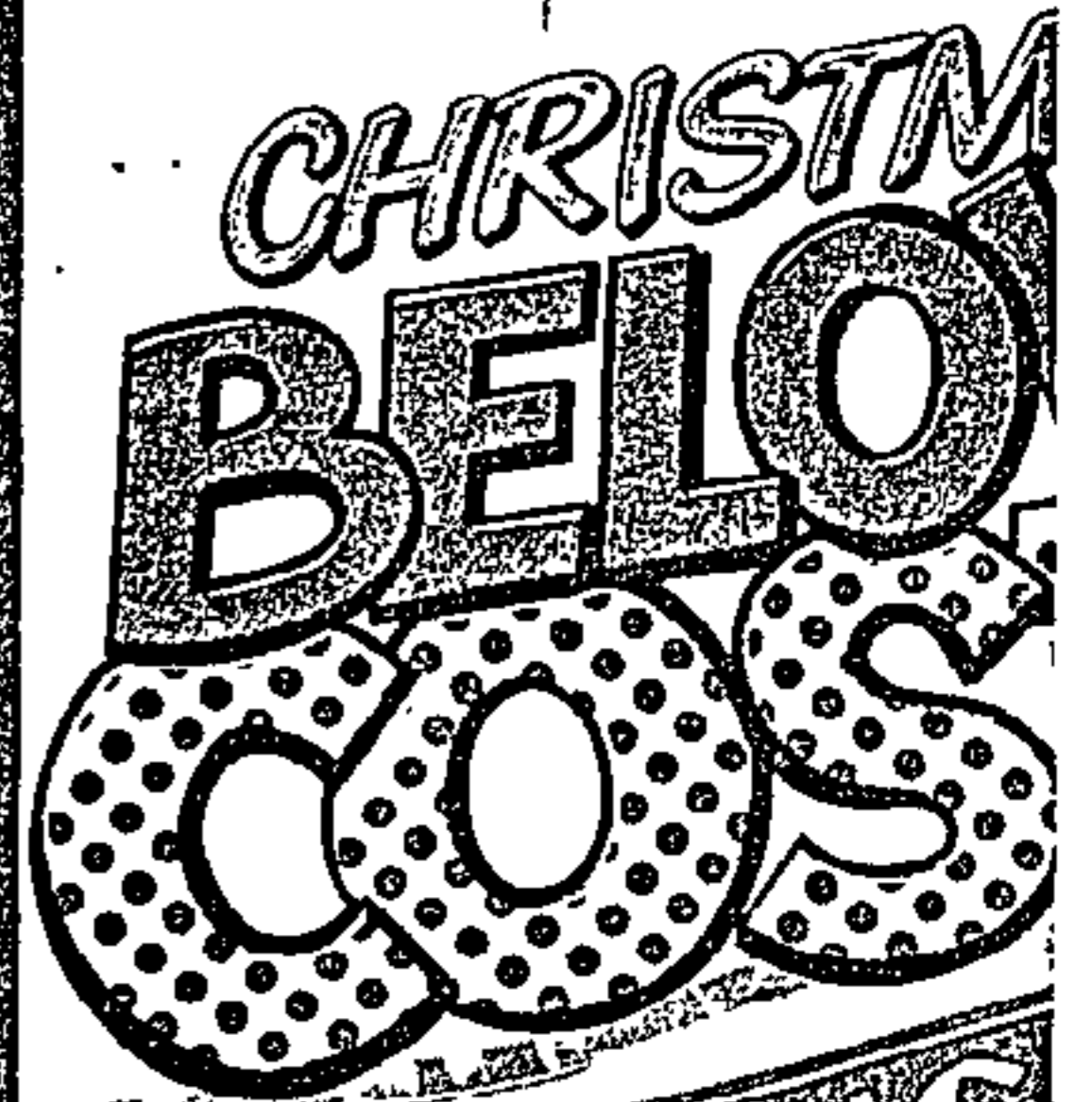
In his arguments for a jail term in the sentencing of Mkhonza, the prosecutor, Mr B Sheer, said a "lengthy prison term would be appropriate and the interests of society would have been served."

Mr Sheer said Mkhonza had urged Seheri to kill one of the victims so as to wipe off evidence.

• To Page 5

Xmas time again

IT'S Christmas time again and Mrs Maggie Makhudu, principal of Thablseng Creche, directs her children in a Nativity play during their Christmas party on Tuesday.



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Hysteria will die down, says CP ^{Boya}

Star 11/12/88

Once the hysteria about the introduction of Conservative Party policy in East Rand towns had died down, the situation would return to normal, the CP spokesman on administration and privatisation, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, MP, said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was interviewed after he and other CP members had discussed the situation on the East Rand with a delegation from the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The CP was represented by Mr Derby-Lewis, Mr Moolman Mentz, MP, and Mr Pikkie Coetzee, MP.

The Assocom delegation was led by its president, Mr Sidney Matus.

Mr Matus told a news conference that the talks had concentrated on separate amenities and trading within CBDs.

"We were given to understand by the CP that some of our concerns could be based on erroneous perceptions, so we have urged the CP to clarify their policy in an official statement.

"From our side, we would like all our constituent chambers to get together at local level with the municipalities and try to work out a solution for the benefit of the economy of the country as a whole."

Assocom was unable to say to what extent boycott actions by black communities on the East Rand had affected retailers.

"The reports that we have got are that business is moving from certain areas to others but it is far too early to set a pattern," he said.

Mr Derby-Lewis said the CP had no intention of preventing people of other race groups from shopping in one central business district.

Govt warns CP councils on plans

Protest at Boksburg move grows

304A
B/day
11/2/88

Brakpan spurns R200m project over race issue

PETER DELMAR

THE CP-controlled Brakpan Town Council this week voted to stop a "Chinatown" development in the East Rand town, reputedly worth almost R200m, because it believed it was contrary to its separationist policies.

The council decided at its monthly meeting on Tuesday to halt negotiations with a group of Taiwanese businessmen on development of the centre, which would have included a three-star hotel, several industries and tourist attractions.

THE Boksburg CP conceded defeat before polls closed in last night's town council by-election in Parkdene/Cinderella. Independent Issy Kramer, actively backed by the NP, appeared to be heading for an easy victory over Jannes Van Ryssen.

Brakpan decided at the meeting to follow the example of Boksburg in barring blacks from numerous amenities in the town. It is understood the management committee viewed the development by Chinese businessmen as being contrary to the interests of the town.

Senior council officials last night declined to discuss the project or the council's decision.

THE town councils of Vosloorus and Reiger Park, whose communities together represent 80% of Boksburg's spending power, yesterday officially announced a consumer boycott of the town by township residents, starting today.

Government yesterday warned apartheid moves by CP-led councils could prejudice the transfer of functions to local authorities.

SIPHO NGCOBO

"The CP is hereby warned that the consequences of its actions will be disastrous for the town as it will be completely sealed off so that it basks in its whiteness," said Mofokeng.

Mofokeng said he was aware that by calling for the boycott the two councils were contravening the law, but said the CP had pushed the situation too far.

A Law and Order Department spokesman said police would act only accord-

● To Page 2 →

● See Pages 3 and 9

And in other developments, two big golf tournaments in Boksburg and Brakpan have been cancelled, and a Cape company has withdrawn a large order for goods made in Boksburg.

The Vosloorus and Reiger Park councils are also planning alternative employment for their communities in anticipation of the effects of the boycott on job opportunities, it was announced at a Press conference at the Vosloorus council chambers yesterday.

Vosloorus management committee chairman Sidwell Mofokeng said councillors would lead a march and a sit-in at Boksburg Lake, now closed to blacks, in defiance of the CP.

WHITE BUSINESS FEARS THE WORST

ROBERT GENTLE

HASTILY spray-painted signs in Boksburg shop windows say: "All races still welcome", while white business in central Boksburg fears the worst as a drive for an all-out consumer boycott gathers momentum.

The manageress of the shoe retailer, Cheslers, warns that Boksburg "will become a ghost town", while the manageress of nearby Freda's Bridal Boutique says: "Without the coloureds this shop would not be in existence."

A large clothing outlet, Hydes of

Boksburg, depends on coloureds and blacks for about 70% of turnover. "We simply cannot survive solely on white patronage," says owner Salvatore Zacchiono.

He is considering getting shop owners to put anti-CP signs on their windows to distance themselves from council policy. Other white shop owners also slammed CP policy as "disgusting" and "ridiculous".

Protest grows over Boksburg's move

ing to situation and not on hearsay. The CP could not be reached for comment.

GERALD REILLY reports Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday government would, in the light of the CP's backslide into petty apartheid, have to reconsider how functions and authority could be entrusted to local government with the assurance the country's policy would be taken into account.

In a statement, he said the CP councils, through their defiant attitude, could prejudice the transfer of more authority to local authorities.

He stressed the creation of more facilities for the use of all population groups was still the foundation of government action and singling out existing facilities for exclusive use by whites was a recipe for conflict that government could not tolerate.

PETER DELMAR reports the CP appeared determined to continue with the

implementation of petty apartheid in towns under its control after a two-hour meeting with a top-level Assocom delegation in Pretoria yesterday.

It was agreed the CP and Assocom would hold on-going talks after the meeting, which was described by both sides as "useful".

□ Entercom, which sponsors golf's Winter Tour, cancelled plans to stage two R50 000 tournaments in Boksburg and Brakpan next year, Sapa reports.

"And if anybody else starts turning the clock back, we will cancel any plans for tournaments there as well," said Entercom director Sam Feldman.

□ Eerste River transport company Clarries Passenger Service has cancelled a R300 000 order for two buses made in Boksburg and says it will stop orders for other goods made there, Sapa reports.

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B/day
11/2/88

● From Page 1

(3448) 8/1000 11/2/88

Taking the liberal debate a step further

KIERIN O'MALLEY

IT WOULD be tragic if the ongoing debate between "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals were to peter out into inconclusive nothingness — because the differences highlight one of the major issues facing liberalism in SA.

The middle ground is in dire need of some definition and direction — or, as Ken Owen has put it, South African liberalism needs to start producing answers to the "hard questions".

Sorting out the major differences that have been highlighted in the debate, and definitively determining who the kosher liberals are, would certainly seem an appropriate place to begin.

For example, are "extra parliamentary liberals" correct in asserting that expressing "moral outrage" — to borrow Andre du Toit's phrase — against the status quo in concert with the oppressed is a more important, effective and more liberal tactic than the reformist/encourage-the-NP-to-liberalise type tactics favoured by "system liberals"?

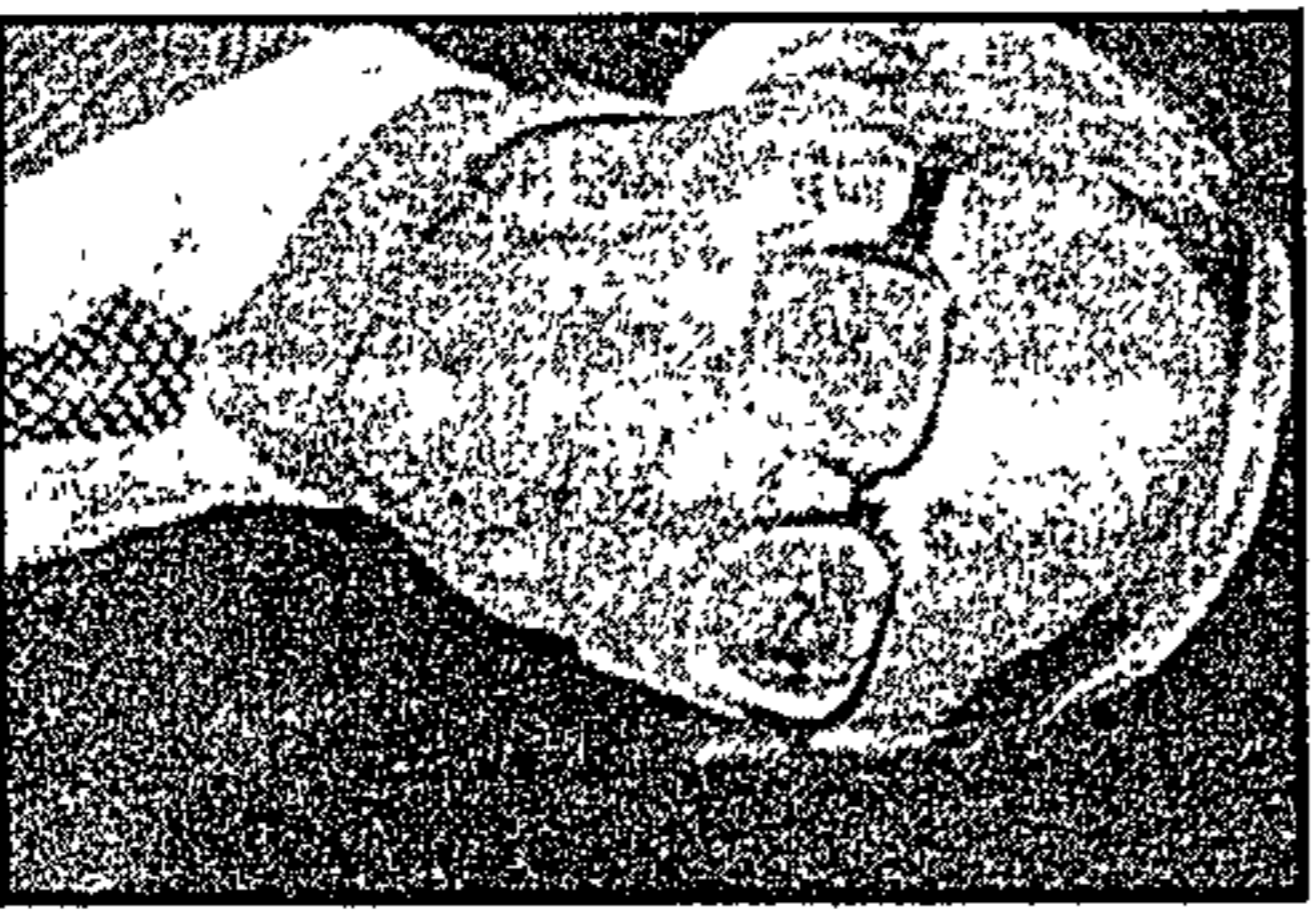
And is the importance attached by "system liberals" to winning an increasing number of white voters to the non-racial cause by addressing white fears a realistic goal under current circumstances?

Or are "extra-parliamentary liberals" correct in implying that it is more important to show solidarity with the oppressed — which results in support of sanctions and boycotts — than it is to concern oneself with the electoral nitty gritty of winning marginal white constituencies and wards for the liberal cause?

These are a few of the questions that have implicitly run through the debate between "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals. They are not easy questions to answer — especially as an answer will mean that those on the "wrong" side will no longer be liberals, but answered they must be.

For far too long liberalism and liberals have been catch all concepts for those who are anti-apartheid but who differ widely and often irreconcilably on how to end apartheid and on what is to replace it.

Commentators who argue that "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals must stop bickering amongst one another and unite against the common foe are expressing an understandable desire for greater unity amongst the fractious



□ WORRALL... fight wing liberal

left, but they fundamentally misconceive and underestimate the nature of the differences between the two liberal camps.

For these differences are not superficial. Nor do they have anything to do with personal or professional rivalries. They are rather the result of intrinsically divergent approaches to politics and political change.

The left wing or "extra parliamentary" liberal position is a moralising position. Expressions of moral indignation at repression/oppression and Jeremiahs are the standard trade-

marks — although in SA there is the worrying tendency for left wing liberals to overlook these evils on the political left.

This moralistic approach to politics tends to eschew the politics of power — i.e., the approach to politics becomes in a very real sense apolitical.

In Volume II of his autobiography, Alan Paton writes that he "did not join the liberal party to achieve power," and until last year the political flagship of South African liberalism — the PFP — had as its major goal being an "effective opposition".

Seeking to attain power themselves is often seen as almost immoral. Victory is defined as simply reaffirming one's moral convictions through suffering. Akin to Gandhi's satyagraha is the implicit belief that evil laws and rulers will succumb to moral protest.



□ MALAN... "extra parliamentary"

he apolitical approach to politics of many South African liberals also leads them to neglect the just means/just ends relationship which can rightly be considered the methodological building block of true liberalism. This in turn led some — beginning with John Harris and the Johannesburg bomb and the Armed Resistance Movement — into adopting tactics of a quasi revolutionary nature.

"System" or right wing liberals attach far more importance to gaining the root cause of the current weakness of the middle ground.

They not only explain the fractiousness of the liberal parliamentary parties, but they also represent the major stumbling block in the attempt at liberal unification that is currently taking place amongst the PFP, NDM and IP.

The PFP for a long time has been hurt by its consistent efforts to do the impossible — i.e., to keep itself politically healthy and keep both "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals happy within its ranks.

Can "system" Progs, for example, really expect to win greater electoral support and marginal constituencies while "extra parliamentary" Progs throw black power sautes, shout amandla and act as if everything the UDF does is manna from heaven?

The clear message to those participating in the current unity talks is that a financially forced unity between "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals would be detrimental to all.

he split between Worrall and Malan is also to a large degree the result of divergent opinions as to the appropriate liberal role and strategies for political change.

Worrall is a right wing liberal — or, as he has put it, "a liberal with a small 'r'". Malan is an "extra parliamentary" liberal in all but name. Hence the emphasis the NDM places on extra parliamentary activity, and the contempt with which its supporters view Worrall's interest in winning Nat support for the non-racial cause.

South African liberals must start facing up to the hard questions and not continue to duck the major issues that separate "extra parliamentary" and "system" liberals.

For they can either support selective sanctions, market socialism, the just war theory and claim to "understand" the armed struggle, or they can recognise the necessity of incremental reform, power politics and addressing legitimate white fears. They cannot do both.

In this process of purification they will by necessity have to jettison certain "liberals". But they will be left with a committed core of liberals, who share more in common than mere opposition to the current regime. Only then can the reconstruction of South African liberalism really begin.

□ O'Malley lectures in African Politics at Unisa.

304A

1/12/88

Cape Times, Thursday,

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

Heunis hits out at CP

THE government last night slammed the Conservative Party for restoring petty apartheid, but stopped short of saying what action, if any, it planned to take.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, criticised the CP for its "ill-considered" decisions and said its actions had "resulted in the nurturing of dissatisfaction and resentment in communities where there is order and peace".

"No government can allow its policy to be sabotaged at a local level," said Mr Heunis, but he did not say what action the govern-

ment would take to stop the CP reimposing petty apartheid in white towns under its control.

All Mr Heunis said was: "Through their defiant actions the CP city councils can prejudice the transfer of more authority to local authorities.

"It will, therefore, have to be considered anew over how functions and authority can be entrusted to local government with the assurance that the policy of the country will be taken into consideration."

In a recent speech, Mr Heunis

stressed that the government wanted local authorities to have greater powers provided they agreed to operate within the framework of official policies.

Mr Heunis said last night that the government was committed to eliminating discrimination. All communities would be treated on a non-discriminatory basis with the protection of individual and group rights.

"It will not be tolerated that we move backwards towards practices and customs that have long since been abolished," he said.

Doctor's transfer may worsen boycott

CAPE TOWN TIMES 1/12/88
Medical Reporter

THE transfer of Dr Jocelyne Kane-Berman, medical superintendent of Groote Schuur Hospital, to another post because of remarks about an alternative cabinet would worsen the international medical boycott on South Africa, the Medical Association of SA (Masa) said yesterday.

Dr John Steer, chairman of the Cape Western branch of Masa, said the organisation was concerned about Dr Kane-Berman's transfer for what some might regard as a "slightly indiscreet" remark.

Dr Kane-Berman was transferred to the post of regional medical superintendent in the Western Cape after remarks she made in a newspaper saying that Mr Nelson Mandela might be a prime minister of South Africa.

Her transfer provoked condemnation from leading medical people in Cape Town.

Dr Steer said yesterday that politics had no place in health care.

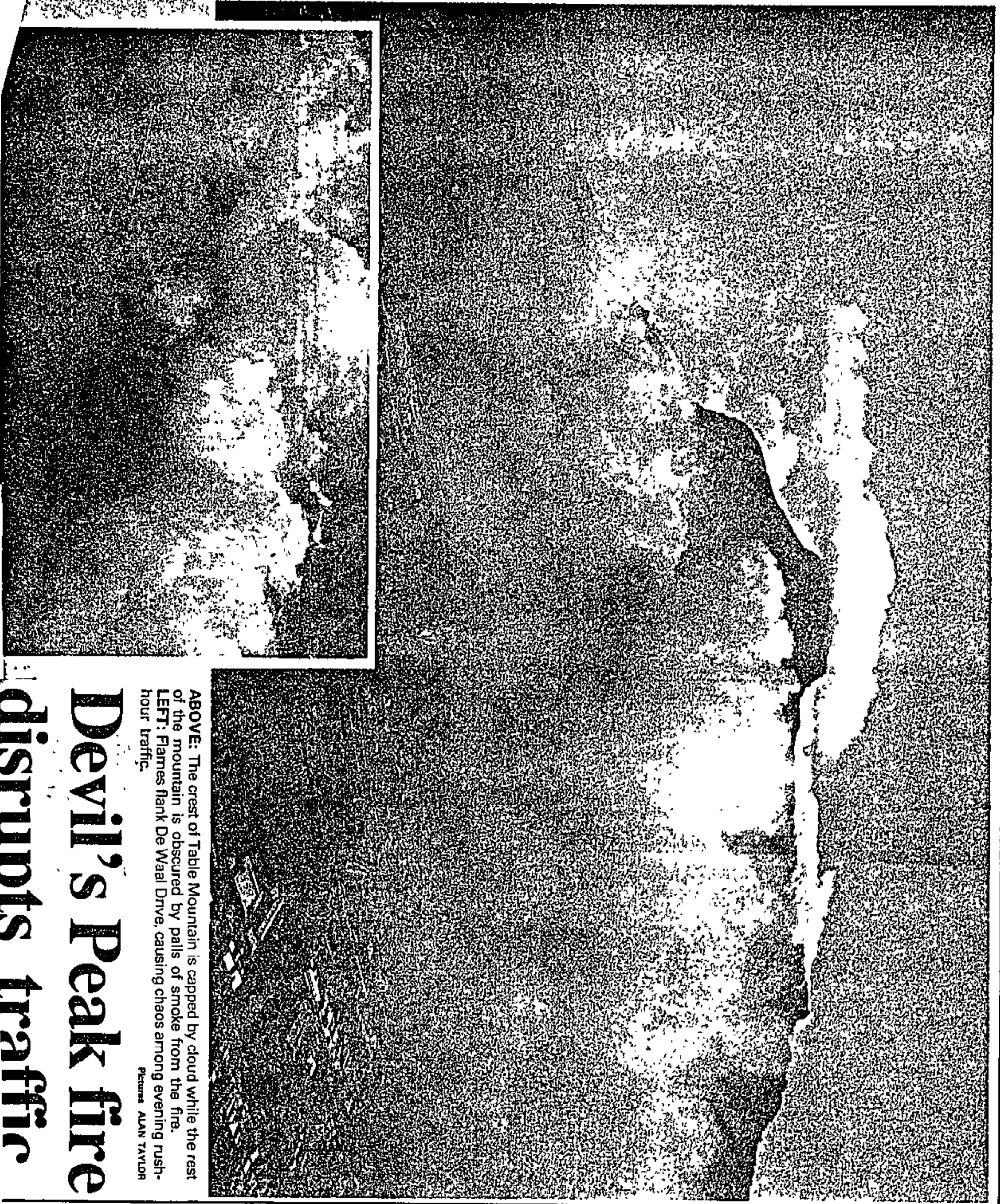
"This action will have a tremendous negative impact on doctors and nurses, particularly at Groote Schuur, and further worsen the worrying outflow of skilled medical personnel to other countries.

"It will also undoubtedly worsen the international medical boycott we already suffer from and can ill afford," he said.

LET'S NO TO CP

see Times 11/11/88

Boksburg's landslide vote against petty apartheid



ABOVE: The crest of Table Mountain is capped by cloud while the rest of the mountain is obscured by palls of smoke from the fire.
LEFT: Flames flank De Waal Drive, causing chaos among evening rush-hour traffic.

Devil's Peak fire disrupts traffic

PHOTOS: ALAN TAYLOR

BOKSBURG. — This town's Conservative Party-dominated council last night received a dramatic setback as an independent candidate in a crucial by-election overwhelmed his CP opponent with a huge majority.

And in another blow, the town's black and coloured residents launched a counter-attack against the council's return to Verwoerdian apartheid with the announcement of a boycott of Boksburg businesses, starting today.

Mr Issy Kramer, who stood against Conservative Party candidate Dr James van Rysse in Boksburg's ward 7 municipal by-election, won with a 991-vote majority.

Mr Kramer polled 1151 votes against Mr Van Rysse's 160 votes in a 69% poll.

After 30 days of CP rule, the voters of Boksburg had shown that they wanted back their dignity, he said.

Earlier, the town councils of Vosloorus and Reiger Park said their communities represented 80% of Boksburg's spending power which would now go elsewhere.

Sit-in at lake

Council members also intend leading a march and a two-hour sit-in at Boksburg Lake — now restricted for white use only — in defiance of the CP-dominated Boksburg town council, they said.

The dramatic development in the growing "petty apartheid" row came as the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, stated the CP but stopped short of saying what action, if any, the government planned to take to stop the CP from derailing its national reform strategy.

He attacked the CP for its "flimsy, considered" decisions which, he said, had resulted in the nurturing of dissatisfaction and resentment in communities where there is order and peace.

Meanwhile, the CP-controlled Carletonville town council management committee is investigating the introduction of curfews for blacks.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that Carletonville had the right to ensure the safety of its white residents.

• The country's professional golfers yesterday cancelled plans to stage tournaments in Boksburg and Brakpan next year in reaction to the CP moves.

Free Times 1/12/88

Suspended

MP jailed for 3 years

JOHANNESBURG. — Suspended National Party MP and current independent MP for Hillbrow Leon De Beer was sentenced to three years' imprisonment — with one year suspended for five years — in the Regional Court here yesterday.

This follows his conviction on 70 counts of electoral fraud — the handing in of 58 false address changes in his writing and the casting of 12 false special votes — on October 17. All the charges related to the last general election on May 6, 1987.

Committee meets on party merger

Call 71015 1/12/88 (30kA)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE working committee, representing the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Independent Party (IP), to discuss details of the possible merger of the three parties is to meet for the first time this morning.

The committee, with two representatives from each group, will meet in Cape Town today.

It was appointed after the leaders of three parties met under the chairmanship of the former editor of Rapport, Dr Willem de Klerk, in Johannesburg two weeks ago at the home of the



Mr Eglin



Dr Worrall

Transvaal rugby chief, Mr Louis Luyt, and agreed in principle to a possible merger.

The committee is scheduled to complete its work by December 14 when the three party leaders are due to meet again.

Although the first meeting of the working committee is being held today, it is expected that it will convene again for further

discussions before December 14. IP party leader Dr Denis Worrall has said he would like a decision on December 14 on whether a new party will be formed.

The PFP representatives on the committee are its national chairman and former leader, Mr Colin Eglin, and the MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe.

The NDM representatives are Mrs Esther Lategan, who was the independent candidate in Stellenbosch last year, and Dr Jannie Hofmeyr of the University of Cape Town, while the IP will be represented by its co-chairmen, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr David Gant.

It is unlikely that any statements will be issued after today's meeting.

'We won't be stopped' CP after poll defeat

ARGUS 1/12/88

(304A)

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of the Boksburg management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, says the Conservative Party-dominated council will not be deterred from its policy of racially separate amenities in the town in spite of the heavy defeat of the CP's candidate in yesterday's crucial by-election in Ward 7.

The National Party-backed independent candidate, Mr Issy Kramer, won by a 991-vote margin, convincingly beating Dr Janes van Ryssen who polled 160 votes and lost his deposit. The percentage poll was 69 percent.

"Boksburg has reacted to 30 days of fanatical CP racial radicalism," Mr Kramer said as he was sprayed with champagne by ecstatic supporters when the results were announced last night.

Today Mr Frank le Roux, CP MP for neighbouring Brakpan, said he thought the "hysterical television and Press campaign" against Boksburg's re-introduction of petty apartheid had probably accounted for about 20 percent of Mr Kramer's winning total.

"SABOTAGING"

Meanwhile, the government has threatened to withhold further powers from local authorities following the decision by Conservative Party-controlled town councils to reinstate racial discrimination.

This warning was issued last night by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who added that the government would also not tolerate the "sabotaging" of its policies by town councils.

"Through their defiant actions the CP councils can prejudice the transfer of more authority to local authorities," Mr Heunis said.

Referring to the Separate Amenities Act, the Minister said it was adopted 35 years ago under specific circumstances existing at the time.

Mr Heunis pointed out that the Act was an "enabling" Act and not "prescribing".

Many local authorities had systematically abolished regu-

latory measures which had become redundant he said.

In reaction to the Boksburg council's decision on separate amenities residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus, supported by residents of Katlehong and Actonville, have officially started a consumer and bus boycott of Boksburg.

At a meeting last night it was agreed that residents of the townships would continue to work in Boksburg but would not patronise its shops or use public transport.

The Natal Building Society yesterday terminated its agency agreement with the Mayor of Boksburg, businessman Mr Beyers de Klerk, because the NBS as an equal-opportunity employer "could not reconcile its views with those of the Boksburg town council".

CHURCH'S PLEDGE

The Mayor operates De Klerk's Real Estate and Auctioneers in Commissioner Street, the town's major trading street.

NBS has its own branch in the town which would continue operating, Mr Terry Bradshaw, the society's Southern Transvaal regional general manager, said.

The Roman Catholic Church has promised to maintain multi-racial schools in Boksburg and has pledged to support the initiative of those barred from using "whites only" amenities.

The church runs two schools in white areas with more than 1 000 pupils.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

CP defiant after defeat

(Continued from page 1)

The South African Cricket Union is to withdraw all crick-eting subsidies and coaching from schools and clubs that practise race discrimination.

Dr Ali Bacher, the SACU's managing director, said today he "deplored" the recent decision by Brakpan and Boksburg town councils to reintroduce petty apartheid.

Dr Bacher said that no cricket under the control of the SACU would be played at municipal or private grounds where any laws barred spectators or playerson the grounds of race.

● The Argus Political Correspondent reports that Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, last night accused the Government of hypocrisy and double standards in the controversy over the Conservative Party's "whites only" policy.

Speaking at a report-back meeting in his constituency, Mr van der Merwe said the CP's plans to segregate towns under their control was a case of it applying laws of the National Party.

The Nationalists were therefore equally responsible for "this crazy trend", he said.

The National Party had the power to undo all the harm the CP was doing in towns like Boksburg, but were unlikely to do so because they lacked the commitment to abolish apartheid, Mr van der Merwe charged.

Star

11/2/88

(2037) (2038) (304A)

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

SA gives Americans, Soviets a warm glow

WASHINGTON — South Africa is scoring valuable political points in the United States with recent decisions that are viewed here as positive and helpful, and there are indications of a slightly warmer view of South Africa in the Soviet Union.

Signs that Moscow does not see the situation as entirely bad came in a report in the Soviet weekly journal *Seroviyen*, which noted that the Government was starting to present the Soviet role in southern Africa more objectively than in the past.

But the writer, Vladimir Ordanskiy, cautioned

that "only time will tell if the Government has really shifted from anti-Sovietism or whether it is a temporary policy".

Mr Ordanskiy wrote that it was important to continue discussions between South Africans and Soviets at meetings such as the recent conference at Leverkusen, West Germany.

More important for South Africa's current effort to hold off Western economic sanctions was the response in Washington to a series of events

that have pleased the Reagan administration.

The latest was this week when a spokesman for the State Department welcomed the arrival of the SAS Drakensberg at Maputo with non-lethal military supplies for the protection of the Cahora Bassa dam.

The spokesman said the delivery of the equipment appeared to be in the context of the tripartite agreement between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal earlier

this year, and that the US welcomed it as a sign of positive co-operation between the three countries.

Other recent developments that have been commended by the US include the decision not to send Nelson Mandela back to prison, the commuting of the death sentences on the Sharpeville Six and South Africa's decision to accept the Angola-Namibia agreement negotiated in Geneva.

Analysts believe these will be persuasive arguments to be used by the Bush administration when liberal Democrats resume their bid next year to impose tougher economic sanctions on South Africa.

Race laws will go in time, says MP

304A
The Government would eventually scrap all laws which discriminated on grounds of colour, the National Party's Mr Andre Fourie said last night.

He was taking part in an SABC TV debate with Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party over the moves to segregate certain municipal facilities.

Mr van der Merwe said moves by some town councils to restrict municipal facilities to whites only had caused hysteria whereas similar situations had existed for years in NP constituencies and had been glossed over.

Mr van der Merwe pointed out that buses and recreational areas in Pretoria were segregated.

He added that a similar situation existed in Vereeniging, the seat of the NP's Transvaal leader,

Stev 1/12/88
Mr F W de Klerk. Blacks were also discriminated against in George, hometown of the State President, Mr P W Botha, he said, adding that no fuss had been made of these situations.

Mr van der Merwe said the CP in the areas that had introduced the discriminatory legislation had acted within the law and cited the Separate Amenities Act.

Mr Fourie admitted the legislation was still on the statute books but said the Act was not there to bring hardship to any part of the community and had been handled in the past few years with circumspection.

He said the NP would "eventually do away with all the laws dealing with racial discrimination on grounds of colour".

NP slammed for apartheid 'hypocrisy'

National Party attempts to claim moral high ground in its ongoing apartheid squabble with the Conservative Party backfired yesterday when opposition groups condemned Government "hypocrisy" over the controversial Separate Amenities Act.

Political parties, anti-apartheid groups, business and industry, churches and sports bodies are united in the strongest outcry yet against the Act.

They have pointed out that despite strong NP condemnation of the CP's plans to reintroduce petty apartheid, facilities in most NP-controlled towns are segregated.

The bitter row between the two parties took a new turn with the CP accusing the NP of adhering to segregation in bus ser-

vices, libraries and other facilities.

The Progressive Federal Party's Transvaal leader, Mr Douglas Gibson, challenged the Transvaal NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to take the initiative in scrapping the Act.

He said the Boksburg apartheid drama had highlighted the "stupidity" of both the CP and NP.

"While National Party MPs are expressing shock and horror at CP attempts to reintroduce segregation in Boksburg, those same people have remained strangely quiet about towns and cities ruled by Nats, where exactly the same bigotry and selfishness is tolerated and condoned."

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall urged the Government to do "some-

thing quite dramatic" to stop the CP — which he said was acting within the law.

The Labour Party also placed the blame for the CP actions squarely at the door of the NP. Spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said the NP had made the rules, and paved the way for CP action. He said it was ironic that the NP were condemning the CP when racial segregation was par for the course in the constituencies of several high-ranking NP Cabinet members.

The NP-controlled Johannesburg City Council yesterday distanced itself from events in Boksburg.

Last year State president Mr P W Botha refused to accept a President's Council recommendation to scrap the Act.

CP town councils warned by Heunis

3048 Star 1/12/54

Pretoria Correspondent

The Government has threatened to withhold further powers from local authorities following decisions by Conservative Party-controlled town councils to reinstate racial discrimination.

This warning was issued last night by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who said the Government would not allow town councils to sabotage its policies.

"No Government can allow its policy to be sabotaged at a local level," he said.

Through their defiant actions, the Conservative Party councils could prejudice the transfer of more authority to local authorities.

"It will, therefore, have to be considered anew over how functions and authority can be entrusted to local government with the assurance that the policy will be taken into consideration."

Mr Heunis described the CP town councils' decisions as "embarrassing".

Ill-considered action by certain CP councils over the past three weeks had resulted in embarrassment for their voters, for their towns and for the whole of South Africa, he said.

Referring to the Separate Amenities Act, the Minister explained that it was adopted 35 years ago "under specific circumstances that existed at the time".

He pointed out that the Act was an enabling, not a prescribing, Act.

"The Act therefore places no constraint on any municipality by prescribing to them that they have to enforce separation.

"The Act enables a local authority to merely do this where it is necessary and is deemed to be desirable."

Mr Heunis said many local authorities had systematically abolished regulatory measures which had become redundant.

He added that the Conservative Party-controlled town councils' decisions to reintroduce racial discrimination could create racial conflict.

Hillbrow MP to appeal against prison sentence

Star 11/2/88 304A

By Celeste Louw and Clare Harper

Hillbrow National Party MP Leon de Beer was sentenced yesterday to three years' jail, one year suspended, for 70 counts of electoral fraud during the general election last year.

He was granted bail of R2 500 pending an appeal.

A Johannesburg magistrate, Mr I Luther, found that 58 false change-of-address cards had been submitted to the Department of Home Affairs and 12 false absent votes had been issued over a period of time.

It was not a crime committed in the heat of the moment, it had been planned, Mr Luther said in passing sentence.

CORNERSTONE

"An honest voting process forms a cornerstone of our system and candidates in elections should be above suspicion," Mr Luther said.

Mr Luther said it had not been proved that De Beer's conduct influenced the outcome of the election.

"If he had resigned his seat after being charged, I would have taken it into account in mitigation, but it is not an aggravating factor that he had not

resigned."

Legal experts said yesterday that De Beer would not be able to stand for Parliament for a period of five years if the appeal failed.

BY-ELECTION

A legal expert said that, in terms of the Constitution Act, a person could not be nominated or elected as an MP for a period of five years if he were sentenced to a term of imprisonment of more than 12 months with no option of a fine. Exceptions were made in the case of an amnesty or free pardon.

Pending the outcome of the appeal, De Beer, who was suspended from the NP after he was charged with fraud, will continue to act as an independent MP. Should his appeal fail, a by-election will follow.

● Former Progressive Federal Party MP for Hillbrow Mr Alf Widman said last night he felt personally vindicated, following the sentence imposed on De Beer.

Mr Widman, who held the Hillbrow parliamentary seat for 10 years until De Beer's victory in the last general election, said: "More importantly, the sentence deprived De Beer of his seat in Parliament which will lead to a by-election."

CP defeat in Boksburg 'a reaction to fanaticism'

Star 1/12/88

(304A)



Mr Issy Kramer ... won by-election by 991 votes.

By Tim Cohen

The Conservative Party candidate lost his deposit in yesterday's Boksburg by-election, which triumphant National Party-backed independent candidate Mr Issy Kramer termed a victory for thinking Boksburg residents.

"Boksburg has reacted to 30 days of fanatical CP racial radicalism," Mr Kramer said while being sprayed with champagne by ecstatic supporters last night.

Mr Kramer won by 991 votes. The CP's Dr Jannes van Ryssen polled 160 votes. The percentage poll was 69 per cent.

Mr Kramer said the large margin of victory showed Boksburg residents wanted their dignity back, referring to the CP-dominated city council's re-in-

roduction of old-style apartheid.

Mr Kramer's victory will not unseat the CP, which holds 12 of the 20 wards. The by-election was called after CP candidate Mr Kallie Jooste died before the October municipal elections.

Mr Kramer described the CP's victory in October as a "flash in the pan" and as a mistake Boksburg residents would not make again.

However, CP members said that in the municipal elections five years ago, the National Party candidate who stood against Mr Kramer polled only 212 votes and also lost his deposit.

Boksburg management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie said the result would not deter the city council from declaring major sporting facilities and all halls "whites only" areas.

WITLONS ARELTONS

Swelam
21/2/88
30/304H

BUSINESSES and industries in the **East-Rand** towns of Brakpan and Boksburg which have been declared "white" by the Conservative Party have begun counting losses which already run into millions of rands.

Reaction to CP's petty apartheid

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

- A Taiwanese company that had intended to build a R150-million multi-racial hotel in Brakpan has withdrawn its plans.
- A Cape Town transport company has cancelled a R300 000 contract with Bus Centre of Boksburg for the buying of two buses.
- The Natal Building Society has closed its only agency in Boksburg.
- Golf sponsor Entecor has withdrawn R50 000 tournaments from both towns.
- Top clothing chain, Edgars, has suspended

plans for business developments in Boksburg. And the nearby town councils of Vosloorus

and Reiger Park have decided to start a consumer boycott of Boksburg town. To Page 3

December 2, 1988

Page

Petty apartheid

From Page 1

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce has called on all black leaders to come together and formulate appropriate action in protest against petty apartheid in the CP-controlled towns.

Nalcooc's public affairs manager, Mr Gabriel Mokgoko, said the steps taken by the CP-controlled cities could not be blamed on the party alone, but on the whole Parliament and administrative machinery of South Africa for nurturing and consolidating apartheid since 1910.

"We are unhappy with the situation and will fight it until apartheid is scrapped completely. We want to negotiate with all parties involved," Mr Viljoen said.

A top-level delegation of Assocom led by the president, Mr Sidney Matus, met with CP leaders in Pretoria this week.

The black man's burden

304A

The thought of Boksburg being transformed into a ghost town through a commercial boycott might come as a surprise to those who have ever visited this hub of the East Rand, and the fabled riviera of Boksburg Lake. Perfectly reflecting local white political opinion, its voters elected a Conservative Party council — which has set about implementing CP policy to the extent it can do so at local level.

So parks, pools and the CBD are to be emphatically proclaimed for "whites only" — a folly whose penalty will be felt in the High Street shops and a capital starvation which will probably benefit surrounding towns. White people who are only living — not trading — there will also be the poorer: a money drain coupled to the stigma which the mere name of the place will now arouse will probably see a drop in residential property prices.

Other CP towns which follow suit will experience similar effects.

However, the Boksburg council is perfectly correct in pointing out it is only following the law to the letter. The Separate Amenities Act, which gives it the mandate to close out other-than-whites, was passed decades ago by the self-same Nat government which now so vocally abhors the council's action.

Indeed, amid the legal tangles that lie ahead, it might also be considered whether, for example, the SABC was in contravention of the emergency regulations by giving so much air time to those firmly advocating a consumer boycott of white shops. Suddenly the government — in slamming the CP on this issue — appears to be saying segregation is wrong and not in the national interest. Well — what about the Group Areas Act, then?

And even Johannesburg, with its sizeable PFP representation, should put its hand on its heart and say it has done as much about desegregating the buses and swimming pools as, by implication, it ought to have done if it is to beat Boksburg about the ears for its feudal ways.

So while the CP in Boksburg has demonstrated its inability to reckon with the serious consequences of racism — forgetting that Verwoerd once clearly linked being white and separate with being poor — it has been given the luxury to do so by a ruling party that throughout all the tiers of government places the emphasis on local option, with the deck stacked in favour of the whites, who are becoming poorer.

If you really don't want embarrassing racial segregation in Boksburg or Krugersdorp, get rid of the laws that make it possible anywhere — including Pretoria and Durban. ■

Pretoria stumblings ON

It was clear from the start at the first meeting of the new Pretoria City Council this week that the question of open facilities would receive much attention in the months ahead.

Mr Joseph Chole of the CP called in a motion on the council to revoke a decision to support industrial development on the farms known as Pretoria Town and Townlands 531JH on the grounds that this would benefit blacks at the expense of white residents.

He said that such development would have serious socio-economic implications for whites in the "white heartland" of South Africa. It would lead to strikes, boycotts, unrest, terrorism and vandalism. These would become the "order of the day".

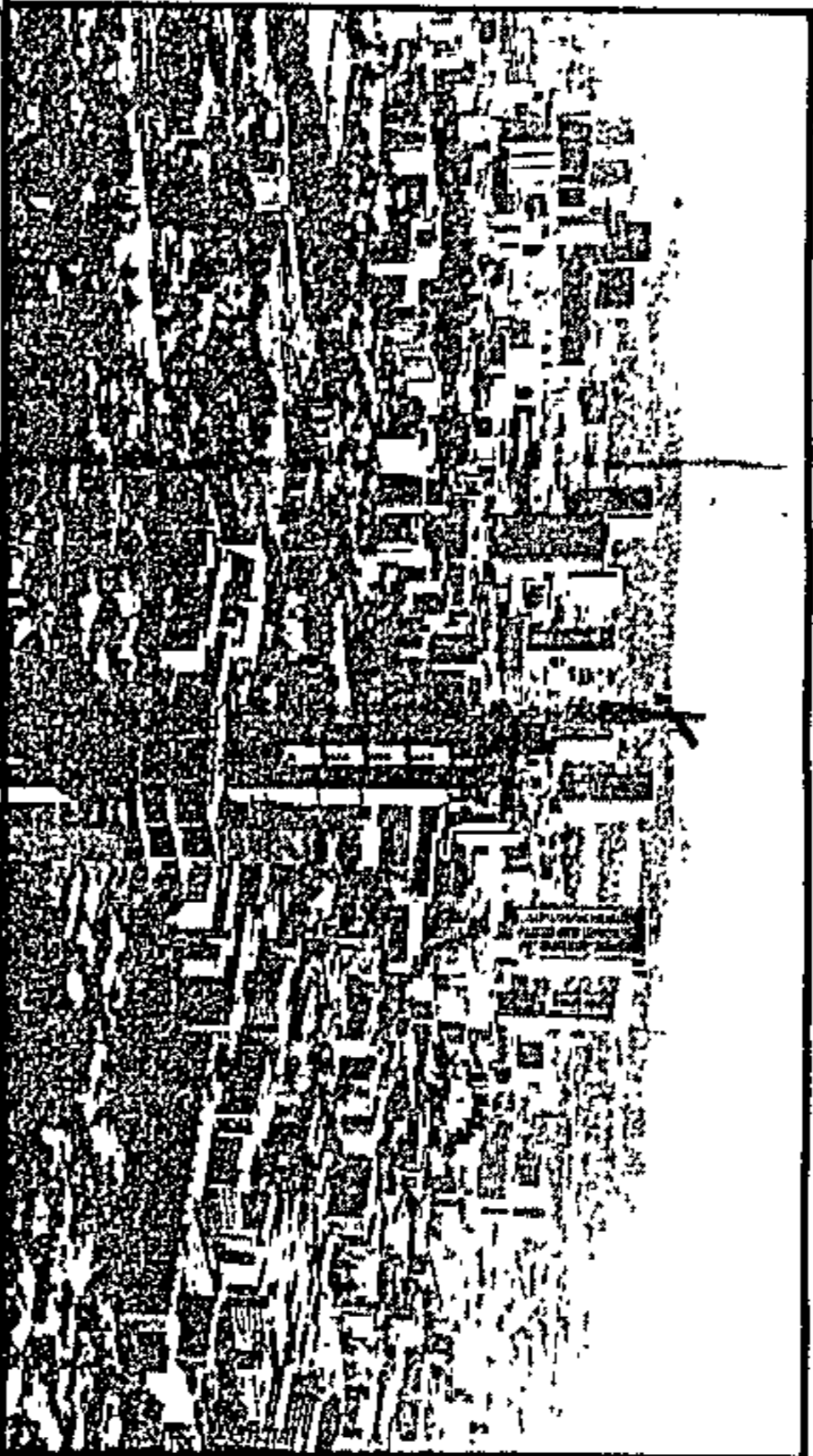
All this would "spill over" into the adjacent white residential areas, making them more "racially integrated" with a subsequent reduction in safety on the roads and eventually a situation where whites were forced out of their facilities.

Although Pretoria's long-standing residents will have noticed a slow but steady dismantling of several aspects of apartheid, many of the services and facilities in the capital remain closed to blacks.

Residents may recall a time when Muntoria and many other city buildings had separate lifts or when there were "white" and "non-white" counters at the post office and in the rates hall at Muntoria.

There was a time when not all people could relax during off-duty hours in the city's parks, go to the cinema, have

Just look at SA's capital, says CP row on Boksburg apartheid



a drink in a city hotel or attend a match at Loftus Versfeld.

In days gone by blacks could not visit the Pretoria show on the same days as whites.

In some cases the final say rests with the council. In others the council is approached for comment. And in still others the decision whether facilities should be open or not by-passes the council completely.

So it has been that some changes were initiated by the city council and others brought about in spite of it. The council was not in fa-

vour of open cinemas, but pressure from film distributors eventually put the council in a position where it opted rather to have open cinemas than no cinemas at all.

A long and bitter battle was fought over proposals in the early 80s to fence off and close the city's suburban parks to blacks (with the possible exception of "nannies" looking after young white children). Eventually the council decided that parks should remain open to all.

However, there remain inconsistencies in the parks policy. Whereas ordinary parks are open, those which can be classified as "recreational re-

sorts" — Fountains, Derrdepoort and Wonderboom — remain closed to blacks.

These parks, with their diversity of facilities, could be seen as the city's equivalent of the Boksburg Lake, which was open to all until the CP took over the town.

The fact that white rate-payers have paid for local facilities or that equivalent facilities exist in the African, coloured and Indian areas has been mentioned for years as the justification for exclusive white use of municipal facilities such as libraries.

However, the council-owned Art Museum and Melrose House, in addition to monuments such as the Voortrekker Monument, are open to all.

Swimming pools are closed to blacks, but there is an exception. Hillcrest. However, while it may not be used by casual black swimmers, it is available for multiracial gaps.

Unlike Boksburg, this applies not only to those with international competitors but also to school galas involving white schools with black pupils.

When it comes to other sports facilities the Pretoria council has a more relaxed attitude, passing the responsibility to clubs which hire the facilities.

In Boksburg tennis courts are to be closed to blacks, but in Pretoria most municipal bowling greens, tennis courts and soccer fields are, because of the membership policy of the clubs concerned, open to all race groups.

The decision on restaurants and other privately owned amenities rests with the owner, and often the council has no say. Where it does have a say, the general trend in recent years has been to approve mixed facilities.

But in spite of repeated calls by the Progressive Federal Party during the six years it was represented on the council, the bus service remains firmly "whites only".

Boksburg's new Conservative Party-controlled town council has placed itself in the local and international spotlight with its decision to deny various amenities to African, coloured and Indian residents.

The uproar over Boksburg's plans has drawn a retort from the CP: it points to Pretoria's Nationalist-controlled council facilities — many of which are also segregated.

Argus Correspondent VALERIE BOJE has made a check and found that Pretoria does indeed have a great deal to answer for.

The service has for years been in deep financial trouble with annual losses running at about R13-million. The PFP argued that a racially mixed service was not only right but could also solve this problem.

The council dismissed the argument because a mixed service would not solve the biggest financial problem — that of providing a cost-effective service at off-peak times.

The CP in Pretoria has strengthened its position as official opposition and this, coupled with its newly found strength in areas such as Boksburg, is expected to embolden it to use every possible opportunity to force debate on the use of facilities.

In its path is the NP, which now for the first time controls the council as a political party and not indirectly through NP sympathisers in the Federation of Ratepayers Associations.

The NP majority is small, and Pretoria traditionally conservative, so the new council is unlikely to rush through any dramatic changes. But it is equally clear that the CP has embarrassed the government and South Africa in the eyes of the world.

CP denies defections to Nats on council

BOKSBURG. — The Conservative Party in Boksburg has denied that three of its town councillors are to leave the CP caucus.

The chief secretary of the CP here, Mr A S Beyers, said in a statement today that it was "a usual lie" that was sent "throughout the world".

"I was personally present at the CP caucus meeting in Boksburg and there was no question of any CP councillor considering leaving the CP caucus."

Mr Beyers added that the CP would be holding a news conference later today at the Boksburg Civic Centre.

Earlier it was reported in Johannesburg that the CP Whip in the Boksburg council and two other CP councillors might cross the floor and vote with the National Party and independents to have the CP-controlled council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid declared null and void.

It was reported the claim was made last night by the leader of the National Party caucus in the council, Mr Chris Smith, who named one of the CP members as Mr T J Ferreira.

Mr Smith was addressing a meeting of more than 300 members of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, several independent councillors, the local business community, sporting bodies and residents of Boksburg, Vosloorus and Reiger Park, who met to discuss a plan of action after the CP's apartheid move.

If three new independents were to side with the National Party, which has seven members and the support of independent Mr Issy Kramer on the 20-member council, the CP would lose control of the town.

When CP councillor Mr Charles Hawkins was asked whether he would cross the floor to the independents, he replied: "I will not rape my own conscience."

Another councillor, Mr Koos van der Merwe, was unavailable for comment, as was Mr Ferreira.

The town's Mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, who lost his NBS agency as a result of his politics, was not available.

Meanwhile, the Randburg council has noted its displeasure and rejected the "irresponsible decisions" of the town councils of Boksburg, Brakpan and Carletonville to reintroduce apartheid measures at a local level.

The Randburg management committee has decided to approach the Transvaal Provincial Administration with a view to preventing the implementation of these decisions.

"This will be to the detriment of the stability and relationships of their own communities and of the Republic of SA," the committee said. — Sapa.

● 'Apartheid-option' towns feeling the bite, page 3.



WORLD

Nat criticism of CP 'hypocritical'

3044
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The Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — National Party criticism of the Conservative Party for reintroducing racial segregation was hypocritical because it was the NP which had passed laws like the Separate Amenities Act.

This was said here last night by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, who was speaking at the Human Rights conference.

He said the CP "was only acting in terms of legislation which was still on the statute books and it was laughable to see the government criticising these moves".

The NP, by criticising the right, was trying to come out "smelling like roses".

Dr Slabbert said he was excited about the current dynamic in South Africa. Never had he seen the government without vision or plan for the future. They did not know whether to placate the right or concede to the left.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE "DAILY"

While they still had strong coercive power the results of rapid urbanisation following the scrapping of influx control had resulted in a situation like Hillbrow, where people of colour had spilled over into former white areas. Civil disobedience was thus being committed on a daily basis.

Externally the situation was also changing rapidly. There was the possibility of common strategies by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union to bring new kinds of pressure on South Africa.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said discussions were continuing on moves to unite the PFP, National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party.

"All agree that there should be a single party committed to nonracism."

Dr de Beer said that some good remained in institutions such as Parliament and the courts in South Africa "in spite of, and not because of, those who govern us".

17665 2/12/88 (304A)

Botha reform bid faulted on 'racism'

From STANLEY UYS, The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Whereas Mikhail Gorbachev was trying to bridge the gap between the different nationalities in the Soviet Union, President Botha was still pursuing a "group" approach towards South Africa's problem of reconciling the races, Professor Sampie Terblanche, Professor of Economics at Stellenbosch University, told the Royal African Society here.

Listing 10 similarities between the Soviet and South African systems, including the fact that they are both one-party states, Professor Terblanche said that Gorbachev was using universal principles which no one could fault to try to resolve his country's ethnic problems — by encouraging morality, efficiency, democracy and socialism — whereas President Botha was applying particularistic principles.

It was too early to tell whether Gorbachev would succeed, although if he failed it would not be for lack of effort, courage, imagination, persuasiveness and style.

But President Botha had failed. "After 10 years we can admit that he has tried hard and courageously, but his objective — to reform apartheid — and his still racist-orientated convictions are wrong and he lacks the persuasiveness and style."

It was not possible to reform or legitimise apartheid, which was nothing less than group selfishness.

Professor Terblanche compared Gorbachev to the headmaster of an English private school trying to instil moral motivations in 280-million pupils. Similarly, what South Africa desperately needed was a headmaster who would educate its 35-million people in the same way.

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WORKING GROUP . . . From left, Mr Jannie Momberg, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, Mr David Gant, Mr Colin Eglin, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Tian van der Merwe.

Meeting on new moderate party

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE first meeting of the working party to negotiate the formation of a new moderate opposition party, which was held in Cape Town yesterday, went off successfully, participants said.

No statement was issued after the meeting, and the representatives of the three negotiating parties would not disclose any details.

The talks mainly focused on the policies and strategies of the new party and once agreement has been reached on these, the working party, which is scheduled to meet a number of times before the December 14 deadline, will look at possible party structures.

The working party is to meet again early next week to discuss draft policy statements.

The PFP was represented yesterday by its national chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, and the MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, the IP by its co-chairmen, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr David Gant, and the NDM by Dr Esther Lategan and Dr Jannie Hofmeyr.

306A

Petty apartheid towns feel black boycott bite

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —

East Rand towns which voted to reintroduce petty apartheid stand to lose millions of rands as the black consumer boycott tightens its grip, businesses halt expansion and large companies pull out of development schemes.

The East Rand Regional Services Council, funded by a percentage tax on the turnover of towns, will receive a significantly reduced income which could affect the development and upgrading schemes in the pipeline for black townships on the East Rand.

As companies in Boksburg and Brakpan put expansion projects in the towns on hold, organised business and industry are formulating a plan of action to try to change the Conservative Party municipalities' decisions to restore whites-only signs in facilities under council control.

Plans scrapped

Brakpan Town Council voted this week to scrap plans for the construction of a multimillion-rand Taiwanese development scheme in the town.

Former Brakpan mayor Mr Jan Koen, who organised meetings with several Taiwanese companies last year to get the project off the ground, confirmed today that during the October municipal elections he was accused of trying to "make the town yellow" because of the Taiwanese project.

"There was to be an Oriental plaza, Chinese restaurant, four-star hotel, shopping centre and playgrounds," Mr Koen said.

"I also had some companies interested in setting up factories in the industrial section. In all, the various schemes would have amounted to about R225-million."

"Significant"

The president of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johann Viljoen, expressed concern over the new council's decision to re-introduce of petty apartheid, saying it would seriously affect business. He said the financial loss would be significant.

Mr Viljoen has called a meeting with the Afrikaanse Sakekamer and organised industry tonight to gauge the local business community's reaction and to formulate a plan of action.

The group general manager of Edgars Stores, Mr Fred Haupt, said his company had cancelled a property development in Boksburg following the council decision.

"In any towns where petty apartheid rears its ugly head the economic future of that town is obviously unsure," he said.

Open "for now"

"We will keep our Boksburg store open but if any effort is made to tell us who we can employ and who we can sell to, it will be a different matter and we would have to re-think the situation."

Pick'n Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman said that Boksburg was his company's biggest store. He was not considering closing it but would "look twice" at further development in the area.

Spokesmen for Ster-Kinekor and Metro said their cinemas would remain open to all races.

BOKSBURG AND APARTHEID

Giving them rope

304A
FMAL 2/12/88

As Boksburg businessmen weigh the effects on their turnovers (and continued operation) of a highly probable black consumer boycott of the town, government is taking a wait-and-see attitude to the Conservative Party (CP) controlled town council's plans to reimpose old-style apartheid.

This is the first concrete example of CP policy in action, says a highly placed National Party (NP) source, and government is using the opportunity "to let the voters see what happens when they're in power." Pretoria's plan, clearly, is to watch the CP get hoist by

its own petard. Signs are that this could well happen (already some stores are displaying "open to all" signs) — and in the process no doubt deliver a salutary lesson to reactionary whites nationally. Could Boksburg mark the beginning of the end for the Conservatives?

Indeed, it was confidently being predicted that the by-election in Boksburg's Ward 7 (which was due to take place on Wednesday), would see the independent/PFP candidate Issy Kramer trounce the CP. NP leader in the council, Chris Smit, went so far as to tell the *FM*: "I will be surprised if the CP candidate retains his deposit."

According to Smit, the CP won its council majority (12 of the 20 wards) in October due purely to the bad publicity attached to two NP councillors' particular circumstances. "The CP slipped in through the back door. That is why they will not accept my challenge to resign, as we will, and fight the

election again. If they do, the Boksburg electorate will discard them with the necessary contempt they deserve for this action (bringing back the past)."

Smit, incidentally, has claimed in council — apropos of the question of white "nomi-

grows.

Therefore, says Malan, who is also an NP councillor and industrial relations officer for Malbak, CP policy will have a "disastrous" effect on small businessmen in Boksburg. He describes the CP decision as "irrational as it

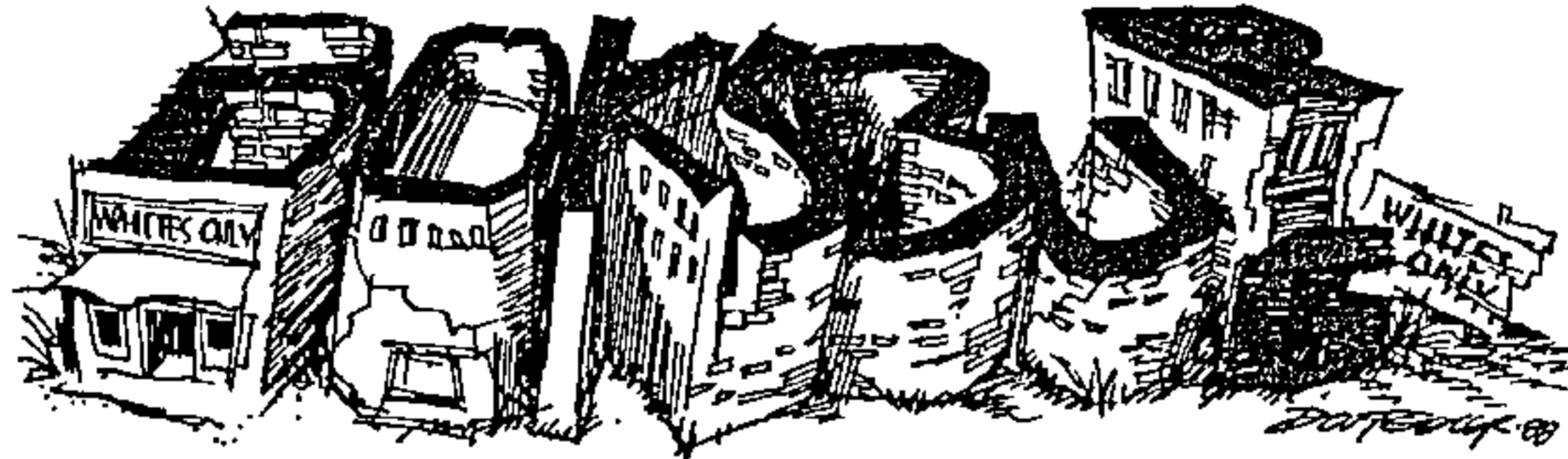
does not consider its effect on business and buying patterns, the effect on international companies, import of strategic components — and it ruins race relations. We are going backwards, to a policy which it has been proven cannot work."

He warns of the possibility of companies decid-

ing to relocate away from Boksburg, the East Rand's biggest industrial town, and the implications this would have for the town's tax and rates base. A branch of a leading bank this week cancelled its booking at the Boksburg lake where it had planned to hold its Christmas lunch party, just as Reiger Park High did for its matric party.

Boksburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries chairman Johann Viljoen says "this town is going to suffer from this (CP policy)" and expresses grave concern at the prospect of a black buyers' boycott, since blacks account for about 50% of the town's purchasing power. Viljoen observes that such a cut in turnover will mean less funding for RSCs, which depend on levies on business. He warns further of the potential the CP step has of causing disinvestment from the town, and scaring off any new investment.

Meanwhile, the local chamber, sakekamer and the Boksburg Industrialists' Association were due to meet this week to discuss the situation and make plans. A meeting with the council was postponed; in any event, it is highly unlikely that the CP will reverse its decision.



nee" stores — that the CP chairman of the management committee, Gideon Fourie, "who started all this nonsense," has his suits made by an Indian tailor, and that the CP mayor Beyers de Klerk, also has an account with an Indian shop in Boksburg. Perhaps this explains the CP's apparent intention *not* to interfere with black traders who have white fronts — even though the Boksburg CBD has not been declared an "open" business area.

The NP MEC for local government in the Transvaal, Olaus van Zyl, points out that in terms of the Separate Amenities Act, the Boksburg council has full jurisdiction over municipal "own" facilities such as the lake and parks (but not over stores, cinemas and hotels). Local authorities, he explains, are independent bodies. Further, the devolution of power is government policy and is being extended. The central authorities cannot, therefore, act against a reactionary town council — or a more liberal one such as Cape Town's.

"I've appealed to all local authorities to think very carefully before taking certain decisions; not to harm race relations and to look to their interests and those of the country," says Van Zyl — in terms of whose party's statutes the CP is, after all, acting.

Boksburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer chairman Denis Malan described CP plans for the town as bad news for Boksburg and its business environment. He points to projections that coloured people's buying power on the East Rand as a whole is set to increase significantly — due partly to population growth. Also, that 40% of Africans, coloureds and Indians already shop in their own group areas, while 26% of purchases are made outside the East Rand. And CBD shopping areas in the region are set to decline from around 57% to 48% in the next decade, as the number of black small businesses

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE WHITE RESIDENTS OF BOKSBURG

On October 26 1988 you, the white voters of Boksburg, sent a very clear message to our town's black (Coloured, African, Indian) citizens.

As blacks we are once again subjected to the power of the white vote — the only vote that counts for anything in our country. We have come to know this vote as a powerful force in our lives — always to our detriment, pain and sorrow.

It is the same vote that 24 years ago arbitrarily uprooted us as residents of Benoni and made us residents of Boksburg, destroying community and family life in its wake. It is the same vote that uprooted the community of Stiltonville (how many of you remember that?) and resettled them in what you today prefer to call the "city" of Vosloorus. It is the same vote that continues to bar us from sharing in the wealth and progress of Boksburg and take our rightful place as full citizens.

Now you have used that vote again. You chose to continue trampling on our dignity and to deny us our right to full citizenship of this town.

That you again responded selfishly to the genuine and legitimate aspiration of your fellow black citizens was not a total surprise. For years we have suffered verbal abuse from your leaders in the town council be they Nationalist or Conservative of whatever. Abusive rhetoric such as that we are leeches riding on the backs of white tax payers characterised their dealings with the people of Benoni and Vosloorus.

Your new town council hardly wasted time implementing the "invest gemaar" mandate you gave them.

We too have a message which we wish to send to you :

The Conservative Party has stated its view namely that although black shoppers are not barred from shopping in the CBD they would prefer it if black shoppers shopped within their own residential areas. We will heed that call and show them a different kind of power, a power born of a community confident of its own dignity and worth. We will take our trade to those who recognise us as equals.

This is not about swimming in "your" pools, walking on "your" lawns, dancing in "your" halls or playing on "your" sports fields. This is about our pride and dignity as human beings and our God given right to be treated as equals. We refuse to be dehumanised further, because of your misplaced fears, blatant bigotry and extreme selfishness.

From the residents of Reiger Park

POLITICAL PRISONERS
Generation gap
FMAL 2/12/88

Many will see the hand — or at least, the increased influence — of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha behind a number of welcome moves this week that, if nothing else, could begin to crack the political stalemate that has dominated our lives this year. Hopefully the momentum can be sustained.

It was a rare week for SA — which basked in international praise following the commuting of the death sentences of the Sharpeville Six, an agreement on Namibian inde-

Change
CAE Tim's 2/12/88
'likely
3041
to involve
violence'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The structural change needed in South Africa was likely to involve violence and it was up to people who accepted the need for change to minimise the disruptions, Stellenbosch Economics Professor Sampie Terblanche said here yesterday.

Prof Terblanche was delivering a lecture at the Royal Commonwealth Society on the subject "Botha's reforms versus Gorbachev's perestroika".

He said democratic movements, including the ANC, wanted to give precedence to political transfer of power.

But reform-minded academics in South Africa stressed the need for economic change as a precondition for a peaceful and stable transfer to a non-racial system.

South Africa could not achieve economic reconstruction as long as the National Party was in power.

"Botha's attempt has failed. It is not possible to reform apartheid in the way he tried to do it.

"In a sense South Africa has fallen behind history. They can't catch up so they denounce history. What is happening in South Africa goes against the grain of the history of the world in the past ten years."

Difficult for
CAE Tim's 2/12/88
SA doctors to
stay ethical

JOHANNESBURG. — It took great courage for doctors to refuse to set aside their ethical standards in the name of so-called patriotic duty, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, a leading Johannesburg pathologist, told medical graduates at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

"Those in authority — often in the name of patriotism — urge doctors to submerge their ethical standards for the supposed greater cause. It takes great courage for the doctor to say no to the senior police officers who would want the detainee to be interrogated before a painful condition is treated," said Dr Gluckman.

"It may require even greater courage for a doctor to intervene on behalf of a detainee by insisting that he should not be returned to social isolation if the subject is depressed and there is some danger to his life."

Dr Gluckman, who conducted the post-mortem on Steve Biko, said that all too often a prisoner was at the mercy of personnel of the lower echelons of the police and prisons services who either could not or would not appreciate the medical problems that might arise while an individual was incarcerated and, as a result, frequently made it difficult if not impossible to have access to proper medical care.

Dereliction of duty

"There are denials of various forms of ill-treatment of detainees. Those in authority often query the veracity and good faith of those who say that detainees, including children, are ill-treated.

"Numerous court records and substantial sums paid out by the government to the injured or their widows and children speak for themselves," Dr Gluckman said.

"To quote McQuoid-Mason: 'District surgeons should refuse to treat detainees who are kept in cruel, degrading or inhuman conditions, or when their clinical independence is interfered with by the detaining authorities. They should also refuse to administer to detainees where no proper treatment is possible'.

"Panels of doctors are available in all areas to assist any prisoner or detainee if requested. The system cannot work, however, without sufficient awareness among the public and the co-operation of the authorities. Let these panel doctors be called upon regularly to intervene on behalf of those who need their help," Dr Gluckman urged. — Sapa

304A 8/day 2/12/88

Free trade areas face CP threat

PETER DELMAR

FEARS have been expressed that the CP could undermine government's free trade area programme, much of which has been planned for CP strongholds.

Free trade areas have been declared in 85 municipalities around the country and a further 52 are currently under investigation.

CP-controlled councils in Boksburg and Krugersdorp have come out strongly against opening their CBDs to all races. On Wednesday the council of Akasia, near Pretoria, decided to apply to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning to have its free trade areas closed.

At a meeting with CP leaders this week Assocom urged the party to give a clear statement of policy on free trading areas and separate amenities.

Assocom CE Raymond Parsons warned yesterday that investments in existing and planned open CBDs were being put on ice pending clarification on the matter.

"In certain towns such as Phalaborwa, open trading areas have been created under CP control. In other towns, CP councils are strongly against opening up their CBDs. The whole question needs clarification," Parsons said.

Investigated

He said CP leader Andries Treurnicht would have an ideal opportunity to state his party's policy on the issue when he addressed a public meeting in Boksburg next Thursday.

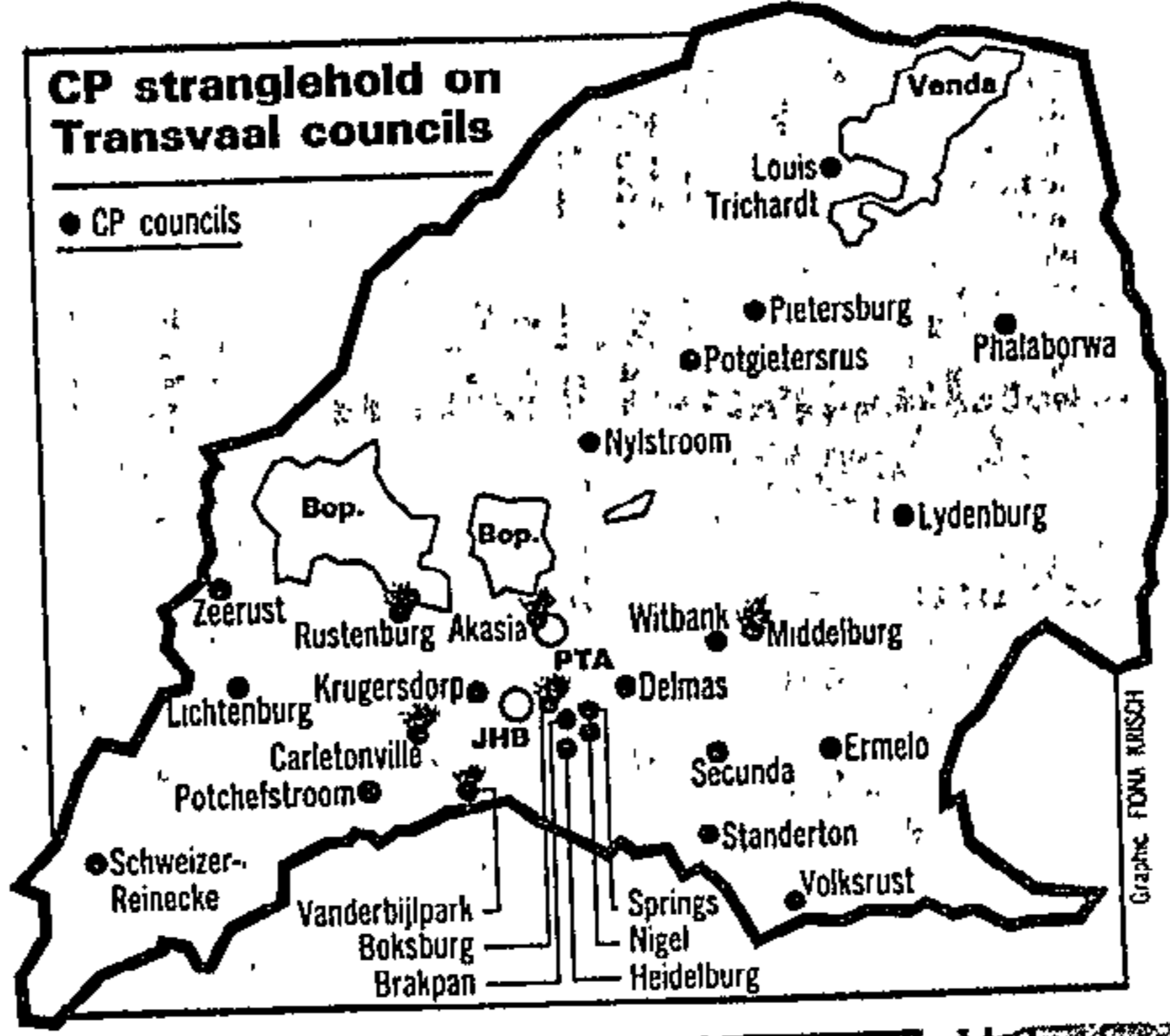
Several of the areas being investigated for proclamation as free trading areas are in CP-controlled towns, among them Sasolburg, Lichtenburg, Rustenburg, Heidelberg, Standerton, Middelburg and Richards Bay.

CP spokesmen acknowledged yesterday that although municipalities were required to give recommendations on free trade areas, they could be overruled by Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

CP economic affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis said there was an incorrect impression that the CP would evict blacks doing business legally in open trading areas.

However, the CP would not hesitate to take action against those trading illegally.

Government spokesmen were not available for comment yesterday but statements by Heunis and other ministers indicated government was determined not to let CP local authorities interfere with its reform plans.



Tina Do Peralro, a store owner in Boksburg's main street, makes public protest against CP measures to reintroduce petty apartheid in the town. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

... and party vows to wreck RSCs from within

PETER DELMAR

CP-CONTROLLED councils would work within the RSC system to bring it down, CP local government spokesman Pikkie Coetzee said yesterday.

Coetzee was speaking after the Pietersburg CP town council's decision not to negotiate with its RSC on allocation of funds and to order the RSC offices off its premises.

Several CP leaders canvassed, including Coetzee, said they were unable to say precisely how many of the Transvaal's 12 RSCs the party now controlled.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration is expected to "punish" Pietersburg by removing the seat of the Northern Transvaal RSC to Tzaneen. It is

understood three towns have applied to take over the RSC headquarters -- Messina, Louis Trichardt and Tzaneen.

Another CP-run council, Middelburg, could also lose its position as capital of the Highveld RSC if it follows Pietersburg's example, an official said. He added nearby Witbank, another CP stronghold, would not get the honour.

Provincial authorities were not taking the CP threat to RSCs seriously yesterday. One official said Pietersburg received the largest allocation from the RSC's capital budget of about R5m. Its decision meant there would simply be

more money for other communities, Transvaal MEC Fanie Schoeman said.

Although CP boycotts could have a disruptive effect, CP towns are not legally able to stop collection of RSC levies from businesses in their areas.

In terms of legislation, any RSC member, regardless of voting strength, can appeal to a special board chaired by the Administrator. It is likely the board will overrule any CP attempts to prevent funds being allocated to black, coloured and Indian local authorities. The CP is investigating implementing curfews in towns under its control, chief secretary Andries Beyers disclosed yesterday.

New party 'on cards'

Sowetan 2/12/88

200A

INDEPENDENT party leader Dr Denis Worrall is confident a new party comprising the IP, PFP and the National Democratic Movement will emerge as a new powerful anti-apartheid opposition within a fortnight.

Dr Worrall told a meeting in Plumstead near Cape Town: "I believe a new political party will emerge on December 14 which will have appeal across the colour line and to disenchanted members of the National Party, of whom there are thousands and thousands."

The new party would not be "a merger, nor will it be unity for unity's sake".

Anxiety

He said he understood the anxiety among some IP members over the creation of a new party, but he appealed to the audience of about 200:

"We ask you to trust your leaders. We have created something remarkable in the IP and we are not about to give it up.

"I ask you to stay with us and continue to work in the new political party I believe will be created."

The combined forces of the IP, PFP and NDM would enable the new party to achieve a hung parliament in the next election.

Each of the three parties had its "strengths and weaknesses" ... and the new party would work at "maximising" the strengths and "reducing" the weaknesses.

The IP would be a major factor in the new party and the IP's "achievements" since its formation eight months ago were being taken into



DR DENIS WORRALL

account in the process of negotiation with the other two parties.

Dr Worrall warned that under the "sterile" leadership of the nationalists, South Africa was not facing the "realities" of the situation.

Three, two, one

As December 14 — D-day for the merger of the three opposition left-of-centre parties — looms, serious behind-the-scenes efforts are being made to reconcile the two independent antagonists, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan. Names of well-known Stellenbosch academics and businessmen are being enlisted in one another's cause.

One major stumbling block — the way in which extra-parliamentary groups will be accommodated — remains. The Independent Party (IP) does not rule out talking to them; but sees consolidation of a party structure with the eye on an early election as the priority.

However, Malan of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) maintains that no political future in SA is possible without

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reaching out to groups like the UDF and Azapo. Both leaders claim their respective viewpoints have the support of the PFP's Zach de Beer.

Worrall also differs with both Malan and De Beer on the significance of December 14. He sees that day as a cut-off period should no new party (and all that goes with it) emerge. Should that happen he'll go it alone, Worrall has warned.

De Beer, the *FM* understands, is still optimistic that a merger is possible; he sees the differences between Worrall and Malan as merely differences of approach which can be overcome.

NDM insiders say Malan and the PFP have been talking to each other and extra-parliamentary groups at grassroots level for close on three months. There have also been talks with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha and Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party.

Both De Beer and political commentator Willem de Klerk, who has been acting as a facilitator in the talks, believe a new party is a *fait accompli*. The inclusion of all three parties is seen as first prize — but the feeling is that the PFP and any one of the other two can go it alone.

It is also known that De Klerk does not see December 14 as a final date by which the new party must be born. Insiders say he feels that an announcement of definite progress should be made on that day, but that the final rounding off could still be discussed at a date early in January. ■

2/12/88

AWB (304A) ~~304A~~ FMTL

Day of reckoning?

Government's patience with Eugene Terre-Blanche and his neo-Nazi-style Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has finally come to an end. The recent massacre in Pretoria and certain public statements by Terre-Blanche have convinced the security hierarchy that action against the organisation has to be taken in the interests of the safety of all — especially blacks.

The *FM* has learnt that security police chief Johann van der Merwe visited Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok on Monday morning to discuss the seriousness of the matter. "We are taking a penetrating look at the situation," the *FM* was told.

Vlok and Van der Merwe's personal intervention follows in the wake of Terre-Blanche's stormy performance in Cape Town last week. While Terre-Blanche did not openly preach violence, his words could influence people's way of thinking, a senior police officer told the *FM*.

It is understood that Terre-Blanche's statements have long been the subject of a police investigation — as was the case with the recently banned Blanke Bevydingsbeweging (BBB). The action against the BBB was not a direct result of the Pretoria massacre; but the shooting, in which seven blacks died, was an important factor in the eventual banning of the organisation.

The increasingly militant air displayed by Terre-Blanche and his khaki-clad stormtroopers — muzzled Rottweilers on leashes form part of his personal guard — have compelled other groups to resort to their own protective measures. A branch of the New York-based Jewish Defence Organisation (JDO) was formed in SA about 18 months ago in response to what was perceived as a growing threat from the AWB, the latest annual *Survey* of the SA Institute of Race Relations reports.

The belief that the AWB is capable of violent acts against Jews was further strengthened when a group of the organisation's supporters attended a wreath-laying ceremony for former Nazi leader Rudolf Hess. The group, who carried flags displaying swastikas and gave Nazi salutes, made references to the Jewish community.

According to the *Survey*, a spokesman for the JDO said that "the Nazi AWB must realise that they are no longer dealing with the Jews of the period before the Second World War." The AWB should be prepared

to face the consequences "if they continue to give the Hitler salute to the swastika flag and incite racial hatred in SA," said the JDO.

President P W Botha also took up the issue and warned Terre-Blanche that government would take action against any organisation which wanted to start an anti-Jewish campaign. Replying to this, Terre-Blanche said the racial hatred was fanned by the Zionists.

Prior to the Pretoria massacre and Terre-Blanche's recent speech, government looked reluctant to take action against the AWB. Vlok said it was difficult to "sniff out" policemen who belonged to the AWB.

The race relations *Survey* points out that Terre-Blanche had admitted that he had instructed AWB members — not allowed to join the police — to become involved in neighbourhood watches. This was followed by a warning from Neighbourhood Watch president Gaye Neille that her organisation would not allow the AWB to hijack the scheme for "its own devious, violent ends."

Barend Strydom, the alleged Pretoria killer, is the third AWB member to stand or face trial on charges of violence. Two former AWB members, Jacob Viljoen and Hendrik Jacobs, were recently released after having served five years of a 15-year sentence after being found guilty of terrorism. Both had resigned from the AWB before being sentenced. Their release was, however, welcomed by Terre-Blanche.

The NP government has for years embarked on a policy of banning organisations perceived to be a threat to the safety of the State and its people. The wisdom of such a policy (driving banned organisations underground) can be debated. However, while it is still Nat policy, it is difficult to understand how Terre-Blanche can be allowed to operate as freely as he does. ■

Backing from Potgietersrus

POTGIETERSRUS — Potgietersrus Town Council yesterday said it appreciated the way in which Boksburg's CP council was protecting the interests of its residents.

The chairman of the Potgietersrus management committee, Mr G E Mörkel-Brink, said his council had "gratefully noted the Boksburg council's strong standpoint on its principles".

"It is the right of Boksburg to make separate facilities available for the different ethnic groups and communities." — Sapa.

Treurnicht is feted, President slighted

By Melody McDougall
Vereeniging Bureau

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, is to be granted the freedom of Vanderbijlpark, while a portrait of President Botha is to be removed from the council chambers.

Motions to this end were adopted by the CP-controlled Vanderbijlpark town council this week.

Mr Botha's portrait is to be removed from the council chamber and transferred to the mayor's parlour "before the next council meeting."

The council also decided to commission a portrait of Dr Treurnicht which will hang next to that of Mr Botha in the mayor's parlour.

National Party-backed councillor Mr Johan Kilian opposed the motion



Dr Andries Treurnicht
freedom of the town.

to grant honorary citizenship of the town to Dr Treurnicht on the grounds that the CP leader "has had no direct links with Vanderbijlpark or made any achievement in the town".

According to Mr Cas Pieters, chairman of the management committee, the freedom of the town will be conferred on Dr Treurnicht next October.

SAF 8/12/88

PETER DELMAR

CP warns boycott is 'double-edged sword'

CP MUNICIPALITIES might reconsider their investments in the NBS and other institutions that employed boycott tactics against CP-controlled councils, the party said yesterday.

CP economic affairs and technology spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis was reacting to the NBS's cancellation of its agency agreement with Boksburg mayor Beyers de Klerk over the council's re-implementation of petty apartheid.

"The NBS could find itself in a position where CP-controlled municipalities could be forced to reconsider their investments not only in the NBS, but in other financial institutions that may be

contemplating similar intimidatory tactics," Derby-Lewis said in a statement.

Boycott tactics, Derby-Lewis said, were double-edged swords. "The CP appeals to the NBS to reconsider its hasty action against Mr de Klerk."

The NBS signs outside his agency, however were already being removed late yesterday afternoon.

"The whites generate this country's economy and so-called black spending power is nothing more than the by-product of the white economy," Derby-Lewis said.

The NBS, he said, should be advised to concentrate its efforts on finding ways to avoid the imposition of bond rate increases on over-burdened homeowners.

Asked whether CP councils would attempt to persuade their employees' pension funds to withdraw investments in the NBS, Derby-Lewis said the CP was not threatening the society and that such a case would be hypothetical.

Several of the Durban-based NBS's executives could not be reached for comment last night as they were attend-

ing a three-day instruction course in speaking Afrikaans.

SIPHO NGCOBO reports most white-owned businesses in Boksburg experienced a drop of 40% in custom yesterday, while others saw a total boycott.

Members of the SADF kept a close watch on the council building.

Indian-owned businesses in the town were also hit by the boycott.

The Moosa brothers, Abdul and Ismail, who run a jewellery shop opposite the council offices, reported a 40% stayaway from their shop.

CP: boycott is 'double-edged sword'

Crispy Chicken, said his business was about 40% down. If the boycott continued for about three months, he would be forced to close down. He said politics should be kept out of business.

George Green, MD and co-owner of Meyer Furnishers, said: "There are no customers here today, my friend." One of Green's salesmen said no black customer had visited the shop yesterday.

Department stores like the OK and Checkers were also quiet.

TANIA LEVY reports Boksburg Estate Agents Association chairman Brian Dugmore said prospective homebuyers no longer seemed interested in Boksburg with its ox-wagon politics.

In some instances, Boksburg estate agents' earnings had dropped around 50% in the aftermath of the council's election, a situation worsened by its reintroduction of petty apartheid.

November had been agents' worst month this year, although it was traditionally one of the best, said Dugmore. Edgars group GM Fred Haupt con-

From Page 1

firmed his company had cancelled a property development in Boksburg but was unable to furnish details.

Dugmore said suffering estate agents and other businessmen in Boksburg felt bitter that their business was being so detrimentally affected by the CP.

Homeowners had also expressed concern that the value of their properties has dropped with the decreasing demand from buyers.

ERP chairman Clive Knobs yesterday slammed the Boksburg council's decision to turn back the clock on race relations as ill-conceived and completely out of step with reality. ERP is the largest employer in the area.

"The crusade that the council has embarked on will cause more problems than it will solve, heightening conflict and increasing polarisation between the different race groups — something that South Africans of all races should be desperately trying to remedy," Knobs said in a statement.

SAF 8/12/88

Mall · Rosebank Mall · Sandton City · Durban

Abdul Moosa said many customers came to the shop only to cancel their lay-by deposits.

"There is nothing much we can do about the situation. But I think the boycott is all right if something good is going to come out of it," he said.

Ranchers Meat Market co-owner Lionel Karpelowsky said his business was frighteningly down yesterday — by 50%.

"Today is the indication of the worst that is still to happen to this town. It is frightening. There is a great deal of insecurity among businessmen in Boksburg. Our futures are doomed," he said.

Jan Joubert, proprietor of Rooster's

To Page 2

NP urges blacks to boycott white centre

Some Jan 21/2/88



By THEMBA MOLEFE

NATIONAL Party members in Vanderbijlpark have called on blacks in the area to withdraw their buying power from the town's centre in retaliation to the Conservative Party's decision to keep the town white.

They said in a statement yesterday that it could be "very dangerous" for blacks because the CP was intent on returning the clock to old-style apartheid.

The statement, issued by a spokesman Mr Gerrie van de Venter followed the town's CP-controlled council's Wednesday night decision that barred blacks from using parks and sporting facilities.

The statement said: "We, the NP members of South Africa, are not going to be ruled by Treurnicht and we ask all blacks to stay out of Vanderbijlpark for their own safety.

Black people unite for your money, families and your communities. We urge you to use shops outside Vanderbijlpark or in your township."

Alleged thief on second charge

THE MAN who was arrested in the recently uncovered massive car theft racket is facing a second charge of attempting to defeat the ends of justice in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Yesterday the court heard that Mr Derrick Pailman (25) asked a policeman to pass a message to a friend that he should not give any more information to the police about the cars because he was already in big trouble.

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Bill of Rights essential to new SA constitution

Staff Reporter

South Africa's next constitution, based on the authority of all the people, must contain a fully entrenched Bill of Rights, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said in Port Elizabeth last night.

Speaking at a human rights conference, Dr de Beer said the protection of minorities would be of cardinal importance in South Africa for a very long time to come.

"This can be achieved through a system of proportional representation, with a low threshold like 5 percent, either per province or throughout the country, as may be negotiated.

"This truly is important: The British winner-take-all, first-past-the-post system, which we inherited, serves its purpose in its mother country only because the deep-rooted conventions which govern parliamentary practice there are inviolable," he said.

Dr De Beer said the constitution of any country which claimed to be free and democratic should be the supreme organ of the government.

SOVEREIGNTY

The sovereignty of parliament itself should be circumscribed by the higher sovereignty of the constitution.

"I do not think it worth taking up your time with a description of the present South African Constitution, poor gerrymandered, prostituted thing that it is.

"But when next we get one — and this one will be based upon the authority of all the people — then it must contain a fully entrenched Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to all South Africans an adult franchise, freedom of speech, expression, assembly, religion, association, movement, the right to acquire, own and dispose of property, privacy of home and correspondence, Habeas corpus, equality before the law, regardless of race, sex or other arbitrary criterion and other fundamental rights," he said.

If human rights were to be protected and to flourish again in South Africa one day, then freedom had to be extended into the economy because prosperity depended on the imagination, ambition, drive and efficiency of free people.

Woodgate,
Reporter

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Briefing

The National Party has been urged to climb off the fence and clearly state what its policy towards racial segregation is.

Politicians to the right and left of the National Party say the Government is guilty of double-talk and fuzzy thinking over the issue of petty apartheid.

On the one hand, National Party politicians, including the State President, Mr P W Botha, condemn the Conservative Party's "bordjje beleid" (sign-board policy — a reference to whites only signs at public amenities).

Yet on the other hand, dozens of Nationalist-controlled municipalities practise *bordjje beleid*, including Johannesburg, where the buses remain segregated, and Pretoria, where blacks may not use white swimming pools, libraries, public toilets and the Fountains recreation resort.

Growing ambiguity

Adding to the confusion is growing ambiguity over the Government's local options policy.

On the one hand, the Government aims to devolve and divide power, giving local communities maximum autonomy over their own affairs.

On the other hand, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, this week threatened to clip the wings of local authorities if they pursued policies which conflicted

Nats under attack for apartheid fence sitting

Star 2/12/88

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

When it comes to the issue of separate amenities even the Government seems confused.

by overcrowding of public facilities.

Last year the President's Council recommended, after completing an investigation ordered by the State President, that the separate amenities legislation be repealed and that it not be replaced by other legislation. It said the use of public amenities could be controlled by natural law (right of admission).

President Botha outlined the Government's policy to Parliament on October 5 last year.

He said it would be irresponsible of the authorities simply to repeal legislation on such matters without knowing what the consequences of such a step would be and without laying down policy guidelines.

Mr Botha said the groups must have the assurance that the laws of the country recognised their right to their own amenities and that these were guaranteed to them.

Mr Botha said a balance would have to be struck which could not be found in the present stringent application of the Reservation of

Separate Amenities Act, which in any case, as he had often said before, had not given full satisfaction and had never been successful.

Mr Botha's speech summed up the dilemma the Government faced then.

Acute dilemma

That dilemma is more acute today, now that the Conservative Party has decided to make separate amenities a major political issue.

The Government is being called upon to make up its mind one way or another as to what it wants.

Mr P W Botha talks of a complete phasing out of apartheid signs, in such a way that it is acceptable to the majority of people who have the interests of their country at heart.

Because signboards exist in some NP-controlled towns is no excuse for the CP to re-instate them where they have already been taken down, he says.

"The important point is that we are committed to removing all hurtful discrimination wherever possible and in as orderly a way as we can.

"This is completely different to the arrogant way in which the Conservative Party has gone about trying to stem the flow of the tide, and all South Africans can surely see the difference," he says.

when Mr P W Botha came to power.

Mr Botha, who later became South Africa's first executive State President, launched a string of reform policies which hastened the demise of segregation.

Unfortunately for Mr Botha, his reforms also caused the split in his party which led to the formation of the Conservative Party.

Under the Botha administration the Government has sought to promote contact between the different population groups.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act fell into increasing disuse until a flare-up of racial friction on certain beaches last year.

But the Government appeared to have found the solution to dealing with pressure points caused

use of whites and for the use, or all too-often non-use, of "non-whites".

In the 1960s black South Africans could be seen at work in white towns, but never at play. They were barred from restaurants, hotels, pubs, swimming pools, parks (or at least they could not sit on white benches in parks), whites-only toilets and all but a handful of beaches reserved exclusively for them.

In the late 1960s, and largely because of the growing sport boycotts of South Africa, the first cracks in this system of apartheid began to appear.

Blacks and whites could play sport together as long as such competition was at international level.

Petty apartheid started to break down on a larger scale

Voters 'react to racial radicalism'

300A

By Tim Cohen

The triumphant National Party-backed independent candidate in the Boksburg by-election, Mr Issy Kramer, said his win was a "victory for thinking residents".

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"Boksburg has reacted to 30 days of fanatical CP racial radicalism," Mr Kramer said.

He won in Ward 7 by 991 votes. The CP's Dr Jannes van Ryssen polled 160 votes. The percentage poll was 69 per cent.

Mr Kramer's victory will not unseat the CP, which holds 12 of the 20 wards. The by-election was called after CP candidate Mr Kallie Jooste died before the October municipal elections.

Boksburg management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie said the result would not deter the city council from declaring major sporting facilities and all halls "whites only" areas.

December 7. ... resigned as director at the end of ... of R10 000 was still out-
September this year. ... standing.

CP - 7.12.15 3/12/88
No defections from the CP

304A
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — All 12 CP councillors in the Boksburg town council — including chief whip Mr T J Ferreira — yesterday enthusiastically and unequivocally declared their allegiance and support to the policies and measures taken by the CP in Boksburg.

A special fund is to be set up by nominated CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis for those CP councillors who are intimidated or who run into financial difficulties as a result of threatened boycotts or other actions against their businesses.

Earlier it had been claimed that two councillors would defect to the National Party, but the CP's majority in the council remains.

CP - 7.12.15 3/12/88
NBS 'loses out' on Reef deal

JOHANNESBURG. — The NBS has lost out on a stake in a R10-million townhouse development in the southern suburbs here because it ended its agency agreement with Boksburg's CP mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, the party's Johannesburg chairman, Mr Fred Rundle, said yesterday.

The NBS this week said it could not reconcile the CP-controlled Boksburg town council's decision to implement petty apartheid with its stance as an equal-opportunity employer.

Ms Eileen Kovacs, a spokesman for co-marketers of the Mayfield project, said yesterday: "Because of uncertainty surrounding the business methods of the NBS the developers found it difficult to place their trust and money with the society while there is uncertainty that bonds may be withdrawn overnight because one or two people may belong to the CP."

omits

Interviewed along with Mrs Engela, Mrs Jenny le Roux, SRC president Ms Ractcliffe.

Businessmen feel losses of up to 50%

BOKSBURG's economic equilibrium has been shattered, with some businessmen suffering losses of up to 50 per cent.

Furious shop-owners have united in their bid to fight the CP, as black and coloured customers united in their bid to teach the town the sort of lesson that hurts most.

"Open public libraries in NP-held towns. Open swimming pools, parks and pleasure resorts." CP Information chief Mr. Koos van der Merwe taunted.

8 000 deaths KHARTOUM. — Hunger and disease killed nearly 8 000 people in the south Sudanese town of Aweil between June and September this year, relief workers said.

Hardest hit were the smaller business concerns, many of which rely heavily on black and coloured customers for their livelihood.

Delport Motors, saw a drop in his trade of 7 000 litres of petrol in seven days.



Mr Raymond Parsons, chief executive of Assocom, warned that Boksburg — "indeed the whole of the East Rand" — would be turned into an economic wasteland.

Either the NP should accept his challenge and open amenities in their own towns, "or shut your mouths and never criticize the CP again," Mr van der Merwe said.

The officials said the town needed nearly 30 000 tons of supplies.

Turnover In the town's main street, the oldest established furniture shop on the Reef, E S Myer Furnishers, was almost deserted and the owner, Mr George Green — who described himself as "a very liberal South African, but one who has been draad-sitting for years" — reported a drop in turnover of 30 per cent.

At a packed meeting of businessmen and other interested people this week, National Party MP Mr Sakke Blanche received tumultuous applause when he said the CP had given the town a bad image around the world.

At a special Press conference at the height of this week's drama, the CP reinforced its intentions to carry out its policy at local level and tried to show up the hypocrisy of the National Party which has led the chorus of outrage against the CP in Boksburg.

Someone from the black community remarked: "It is very painful to know you are unwelcomed."

Boksburg's CP cadre still intact

Weekend Argus Correspondent JOHANNESBURG. — In a show of strength all 12 Conservative Party members of Boksburg Town Council yesterday scotched rumours that three were considering crossing the floor and affirming their "enthusiastic support" for their party's policies.

Chairing an open meeting in the council chambers, the Conservative Party MIP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said that there was dissent in the Boksburg caucus was "valderdaar" and the product of National Party

swimming-pools, libraries and holiday resorts to all races in his constituency of Vereeniging or else "to shut his mouth and never criticize the CP again".

He said the CP had started a fund which would help any businessman whose livelihood was threatened because of his conservative principles.

It was time to expose the hypocrisy of the National Party, who should stop criticising the CP and start to open facilities in Pretoria such as the Fountains, Wonderboom, the swimming-pool and beaches throughout the country.

Earlier NP councillor Mr Chris Smith said Mr J J Ferreira and two others would cross the floor, thus denying the CP a majority in the council. Mr Ferreira has denied making these remarks.

To shouts of "Hoer, hoer" Mr van der Merwe challenged the Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to open parks.

"If businesses want to boycott us we will be forced to retaliate and withdraw every cent from the NBS. But I hope this will not be necessary."

"We are prepared to give money to help people of colour to upgrade their facilities, but we want our own areas for ourselves."

Among the small group at the lake was Mr Issy Kramer.

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'WE'LL TAKE ACTION, WARN CP

3/12/68
by DAVID CAPEL, Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The Conservative Party has vowed to take action against oil companies or anyone else who threatens or intimidates its Boksburg councillors over the council's petty apartheid move.

Already there have been hints that two CP councillors who own petrol stations in the town could find themselves in hot water with their petrol suppliers and a stayaway by black and coloured customers has resulted in a drop of 30 percent at one of the stations in less than a week.

Mr. Koos van der Merwe, who runs a Sonop service station in the town, told Weekend Argus he believed the oil companies were "too responsible" to take any sort of action against him.

He said the CP's recently established fund to assist businessmen who find themselves at the receiving end of consumer action would support him and others "if we really start feeling the pinch."

He said if oil companies and other big concerns pulled out of the town the CP could withdraw its investments in towns across the country.

BOYCOTT

The other CP councillor who owns a petrol station in Boksburg is Mr TJ Ferreira, who is experiencing a boycott by black taximen who normally support him in large numbers. It was reported today that turnover at Mr Ferreira's garage had dropped by R4 000 a day.

Meanwhile CP MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said if what he read about possible action by petrol companies was true, "I believe we have a case under the Harmful Business Practises Act."

He said he would be surprised if oil companies attempted any action against the CP councillors. "These people know the law of the land better than anyone," he said.

Asked what the CP would do if oil companies insisted that CP service station owners opened toilets to all races, Mr Derby-Lewis said: "If oil companies try to intimidate and penalise CP businessmen into their way of thinking, we will have a case under the Act and we will not hesitate to take action."

Pietersburg feels the financial pinch

PIETERSBURG — This week's upheaval here, when the Conservative Party-controlled town council decided to kick Northern Transvaal Regional Services Council chairman Mr Jack Botes and his staff out of the civic building, gave birth to a slogan which seems likely to be used countrywide by the National Party to discredit the CP.

During a heated debate in the council chamber, councillor Mr Nick van Oudtshoorn, an NP-backed independent, said: "The

**DIRK NEL,
Northern Transvaal
Bureau**

CP is costing us money, and this is becoming unacceptable."

He was referring to a R1,3 million development project — to be funded by Pietersburg taxpayers — for which money could have been obtained from the Regional Services Council, and also the R27 000 the council would lose in rentals because of the departure of the RSC from its civic

centre offices. *Star 3/12/84*
The CP majority in the town council has decided not to negotiate any further financial grants from the RSC because it is "a multiracial authority".

The chairman of the town council's management committee, Mr Mars de Klerk (CP), also rejected a proposal that the town's increased abattoir fees be reconsidered.

The immediate result of this has been a huge increase in the meat prices of the town's leading butchery chain.

The slogan is regarded by Nationalists here as a winner and has already been passed on to the party's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Public opposition to the CP measures is increasing in Pietersburg, judging from letters published in the local press.

The CP regime appears to be walking a dangerous tightrope, as it is not very firmly entrenched, having got home in the council elections by a mere five to four majority in an 11 000-strong vote.

W/Lc NKou's

3/12/88



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Something to harp over

ONE really should not harp on the past, as NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns says. Especially, one imagines, when it happens to be a questionable past.

It is just that looking at the politics of the present between the Nationalists and the Conservatives reminds one so much of another era.

It keeps on bringing to mind times 30 or 40 years ago, and even till quite recently, when talking about the past seemed a matter not of shame but of patriotic virtue.

I need to confess at this point that I am reminded of these things probably because I was born into a Sap home. It is probably more so because it happened to be in the north-western region of the Transvaal called the Marico, where politics of the past, present and future tended to be one and the same thing.

I was much too young in 1948 to know what was happening politically. But in 1953 one of Marico's election booths was at our primary school of Lindleyspoort, and I remember there was much shouting about the bad things the English had done and how they were finally going to be chased into the sea, at the same time as the blacks — they were not called that — were going to be put in their place.

Being threatened at that tender age with being chased into the sea was a matter, naturally, not to be taken lightly. But I distinctly remember also having a sense of excitement at the prospect, for at that stage our family had never been to the coast.

ONE of this week's incidents which inspired these musings was the way President Botha's portrait was removed from city halls in CP-controlled towns. It happened with remarkable civility, gentleness even, compared to the way I seem to recall the portrait of the Queen being kicked down the front steps of a certain Rand town at that time.

But most strikingly familiar between what happened then, as one recollects, and now, is the way the Nationalists are responding to the CP antics.

At one stage this week there was so much shouting from them about the injustices perpetrated to blacks in Boksburg, about the damage it was causing race relations, and about the international wrath it was bound to unleash upon this country, that at some moments it seemed possible the Torch Commando might rise up once more and set off for Boksburg.

As with the United Party then, the Nationalists seem to have much difficulty trying to explain why, if they hate what the CP is doing so much, they practice apartheid themselves; why they continue applying it in their own towns; and why they keep its laws on the statute book.

One remembers UP-types responding that it was not so much the practice of apartheid that was wrong. It was calling it by that name and putting it on the statute book, and so making it known to the world at large. "Oh, if only it wasn't for that word!"

CP challenges of hypocrisy were this week countered by Nationalists mutterings about the spirit in which apartheid was applied and about doing so with sensitivity. On television they even employed the services of former Sap Andre Fourie, a protégé of the silver-tongued Marais Steyn, to make sure the government would not be put into a corner about its own apartheid policies by the CP's Koos van der Merwe.

Fortunately, that is about where the reminiscences about the past end. For as this week's events showed, the world in which apartheid came about, and once thrived, had come to an end.

It did not help the UP to chase up spooks about black resistance and world rejection. On the whole, both proved extraordinarily patient, and the South African economy was strong, al-

lowing the Nationalists to pound their chests, boast about the unassailability of South Africa and in general laugh the UP off the stage to the point where they tore their party apart.

THE Nationalists of today are able to present their CP adversaries with first-hand, indeed personally gained evidence, about world reaction. And as for the black response, the Boksburg experience is showing with growing effect that not even the most ordinary people of colour will stand by idly any more as the whites continue to play their crazy politics at their expense.

Unwittingly the white voters of Boksburg might well have done this country a massive favour by voting in the CP. They have ended up bringing home to themselves and the CP, and seemingly also to many others, not least the Nationalists, what a cancer in our society this thing called apartheid really is.

After the outcry over Boksburg — in which Nationalists joined with equal vigour — who is going to say with any conviction whatsoever that apartheid in that town's parks and lakes and city amenities is wrong; but that it is right in Pretoria and Vereeniging's parks and on Gordon's Bay's beach?

How can one reject with such emphasis what the CP is doing in Boksburg, Springs, Rustenburg and other places when you provide them with a law of Parliament to do exactly that?

How can one say that apartheid in parks is abhorrent but that it is perfectly acceptable in schools and residential areas as prescribed by the Group Areas Act?

Is it too much to hope that now that people have come face to face with apartheid's caricature in Boksburg's mirror, they will be sufficiently shamed to root it out of their own lives and backyards?

If so, Boksburg might one day salvage some pride from the service they had done the country.

TWO SHADOWS OVER THE LEFT

THE two leaders who cast the longest shadow over last week's "Strategies for Change" conference did not attend the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa's gathering. They couldn't — they were in jail.

The influence of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, and United Democratic Front publicity secretary "Terror" Lekota, spoke volumes about the hunger for new anti-apartheid political directions at the (largely white) conference.

Idasa executive director Alex Boraine cited the release of Mandela as the "catalyst which could break the (state/resistance) deadlock", and closed the conference with an exhortation to delegates to heed Lekota, whose words had been smuggled out of the prison where he is awaiting sentence after being convicted of high treason.

Lekota wrote: "It is my genuine desire that when freedom day comes, it should not find reconciliation too far to attain ... Non-racialism as a metaphor embodies the process of pulling blacks and whites together so that they jointly dismantle apartheid."

Here was still more confirmation of the need for new, non-racial alliances, said Boraine.

The conference was shot through with the recognition that old strategies and old alliances — particularly in white "left-of-government" circles — were no longer good enough.

The conference did not produce a fresh strategic blueprint for anti-apartheid activism. But it may come to be hailed as one of the progenitors of an important new phase of "broad front" anti-apartheid politics.

There did emerge a single, unifying *cri de coeur* that could regalvanise the myriad forces of opposition.

The cry was encapsulated at the outset when Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said: "Those who govern are poor in vision and rich in strategy, and those who oppose are rich in vision and poor in strategy."

This lack of creative thinking among anti-apartheid groups was clearly identified as the crux of the impasse. More than ever before, it was agreed, the vast majority of South Africans were committed to a democratic and non-racial future. And less than ever was there a coherent, directed and dynamic set of

The IDASA conference at the weekend could not have been better timed. In a week of re-alignment in parliamentary opposition politics, it provided a valuable forum for synthesising ideas. But the men who dominated the conference were not even there ... they were in jail

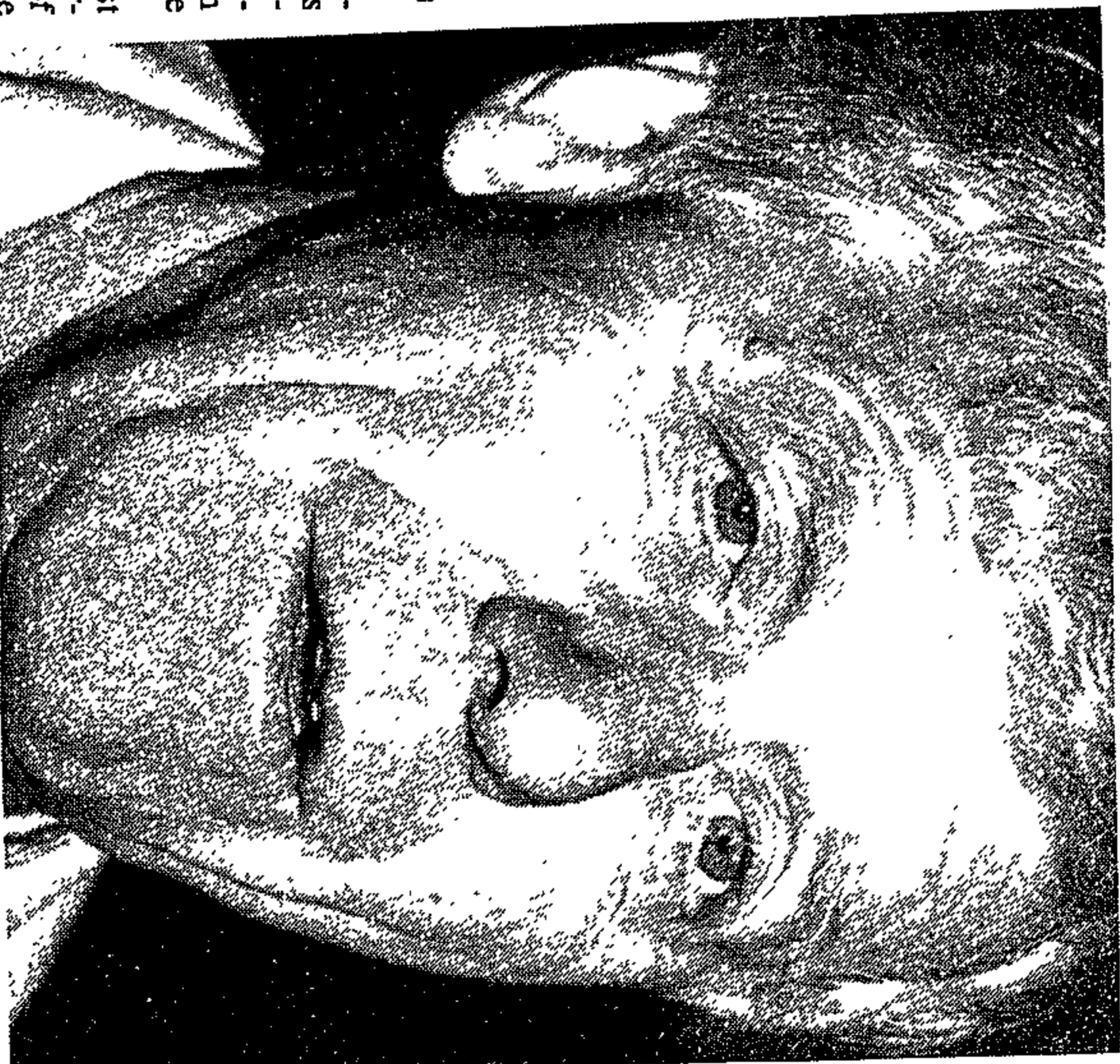
**BY SHAUN JOHNSON and
THAMI MKHWANAZI**

strategies in pursuance of that goal.

The conference, which brought together representatives in the spheres of politics, labour, business, religion, education and community development, focused on five key areas in which new strategies for change could be developed.

The composition of the first "political" panel excited much interest, throwing together the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party in the immediate wake of a meeting convened by industrialist and rugby administrator Louis Luyt.

Those who expected a dramatic announcement of unity were disappointed. But there was telling agreement on the need for fresh ideas, and an inking of openness to them which has long been lacking in white parliamentary politics. Thus the thread, to run unbroken through the confer-



Alex Boraine: Mandela's release 'could break the deadlock' Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

ence, was immediately spun by figures from differing backgrounds.

Other areas focused upon were the roles of the church, local government initiatives, the economy and the international arena. While there was intense debate and disagreement, it was tempered by the shared belief in the need for new approaches.

Several leading South Africans participated, including the Congress of

concluding address — "Towards a non-racial democracy" by Boraine. He said "considerable consensus had been achieved", and isolated three broad areas of agreement which served to unify the somewhat heterodox collection of delegates.

There was acceptance, he said, of "the need to distinguish between principle and strategy" in devising new tools for dismantling apartheid. "Strategy," he insisted, "must not be elevated to the level of principle."

Debates about the desirability of "participation", be it in national, local or regional structures, should be conducted within the framework of tactical advances, not absolute goals. This, he said, should provide the latitude for "genuine strategic differences between different groups engaged in the struggle for a democratic future."

The parliamentary/extra-parliamentary conundrum, he added, could best be broached by turning the traditional dichotomy on its head: "The real question is not whether parliamentary parties can accommodate the extra-parliamentary democratic movement, but the other way around ... and by remembering that what happens in the wider democratic movement is more representative of the majority of South Africans than that in the hallowed halls of parliament.

"There are different conditions in the townships and the suburbs ... for some, strategies are for very survival, not just change."

Boraine also highlighted a "general commitment" among delegates to the principle of non-racial democracy, but said people understood the term in different ways — another gathering was needed to "rediscover the content of the goal itself".

Expanding on Slabbert's opening caveat that "we are going to work much harder and longer (for the realisation of non-racial democracy) than we had imagined", Boraine said the time had come "for all of us to be a little more modest about our claims, more realistic". This meant "actually inventing new strategies, new ways, if we are not going to continue following slavishly those which got us nowhere in the past. We must abandon those that do not work."

There was no possibility, however, that the government could be induced to change by "nice, intellectual and academic" imprecations.

The viability of a coalition could be explored by calling "a smaller meeting of representatives" of those involved in the struggle," he said.

Irrespective of this, however, Borraine held up "one key factor with the potential to break the deadlock: the release of Mandela."

"I am not saying Mandela will be the catalyst if released on compassionate grounds, or into a larger prison like Govan Mbeki. I am saying that if he is able to be released as a major statesman, we can begin to edge towards the pre-negotiation period which we are not in yet.

"If it just means meetings, marches and outbursts of emotional fervour, the state will just clamp down again. I argue that we must combine all our pressures (to make the most of someone who enjoys the support and admiration of the vast majority of South Africans ... The government must be convinced that in Nelson Mandela they have someone who can be the catalyst for negotiation."

The conference was lengthy, intensive and draining. Only an unusual intervention ensured it ended on a high note, and this was provided by the words of Lekota. If the struggle against apartheid is waged in the correct way, said the UDF leader, "when freedom comes, it will not be the victory of blacks over whites, but that of the people of South Africa over an evil system that has for so long set them against one another.

"The non-violent path is the one that creates the greatest possibility of bringing black and white South Africans together."

Dip in optimism about future

Star 31/12/88 304A

SOUTH Africans are less optimistic about the outlook for 1989 than they were a year ago.

Only one in three people interviewed in a recent Markinor Gallup Poll expect that next year will be better than 1988. At the end of last year, 43 percent of people said they expected things to get better.

The poll was carried out by the Markinor Research Group among 2 300 urban adults — 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks. It was part of a year-end poll conducted in 35 countries by Gallup International.

While 36 percent of people expect 1989 to be better than 1988, 31 percent expect things to get worse, and 22 percent expect the status quo.

On the whole, blacks are more pessimistic than whites. Some 34 percent of blacks expect things to get worse, as against 27 percent of whites. Only 31 percent of blacks look forward to the possibility of improvement, compared with 43 percent of whites. Whereas a year ago, 42 percent of people expected strikes to increase, this figure has now dropped to 37 percent, with 21 percent expecting a decrease.

While 45 percent of whites expect strikes to increase, only 31 percent of blacks expect such escalation.

"Perhaps," speculates Markinor deputy managing director Christine

2 300 interviewed

THIS Markinor Gallup Poll was carried out in November. It is based on interviews with 2 300 adults — 1 000 whites and 1 300 blacks — in metropolitan areas throughout South Africa. The survey has a high degree of accuracy.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Question 1: Do you think 1989 will be better or worse than 1988?

	1988	1989
Better	43%	36%
Worse.....	29%	31%
Same	18%	22%
Don't know.....	10%	11%

Question 2: Will strikes and industrial disputes here increase, decrease or remain the same?

	1988	1989
Increase.....	42%	37%
Decrease.....	22%	21%
Same.....	26%	28%
Don't know.....	10%	14%

Question 3: Will it be a peaceful year, more or less free of international disputes, troubled with much international discord or remain the same?

	1988	1989
Peaceful.....	18%	18%
Troubled.....	34%	32%
Same.....	38%	36%
Don't know.....	10%	14%

Woessner, "blacks have experienced the detrimental effects of such disputes too frequently in the past, and are more reluctant to advocate such measures than

whites imagine".

Turning to the international scene, 32 percent of South Africans expect next year to be a troubled year with much international discord, while

36 percent expect it to follow the same pattern as 1988, and 18 percent expect it to be peaceful.

These views are almost exactly the same as those expressed last year — despite Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* and US president Ronald Reagan's conciliatory moves.

Looking at opinions worldwide with regard to the outlook for 1989 versus 1988, the dominant view is one of optimism.

The most optimistic nation around the world is once again Korea where this year 55 percent of people gave a positive net score (5 percent more than last year).

In second place is Russia where 41 percent of people are looking forward to a good year.

On the question of the possibility of war breaking out in Europe within the next 10 years, all European countries, including the USSR, show an increase in thinking that there is little danger of this occurrence.

Boksburg's CP councillors vow: We're united

The big backdown

Star 3/12/88

2044

SUE VALENTINE

IN A SHOW of strength, the 12 Conservative Party members of Boksburg Town Council yesterday scotched rumours that three of their band were considering crossing the floor.

They affirmed their "enthusiastic support" for the CP's policies.

Chairing an open meeting in the council chambers — where the mood was unrepentant — the party's MP for Overvaal, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said talk that there was dissent in the Boksburg caucus was "balderdash" and National Party "disinformation".

At the request of the chairman, each of the 12 CP councillors stood when their names were called and emphasised their support for the party's policies.

Earlier, NP councillor Mr Chris Smit had said CP councillor Mr T J Ferreira and two other party members would cross the floor — thereby ending the CP majority in the council. Mr Ferreira has denied this.

However, controversy is brewing over the fact that Mr Ferreira owns a filling station which sells Mobil petrol.

Asked about its strategy towards towns where petty apartheid was being reintroduced, a spokesman for the oil company said: "We cannot answer. We need more time to consider the situation."

At least one station selling BP petrol had posters up stating opposition to discriminatory practices and stressing support for open facilities.

General manager of BP, Mr Graham Barr, has reiterated a statement made by the company earlier in the week saying it was committed to opposing discrimination and would resist any efforts to reverse these policies.

Shell and Caltex also said this week that their

Swinging time had by all at Sun City

MELANIE GOSLING

SUN CITY — There was a carnival atmosphere at Sun City's Million Dollar Golf Challenge yesterday, with about 6 000 brightly dressed spectators, hundreds of dazzling umbrellas and gaily coloured flags on display.

The smell of boerewors and hot dogs hung in the air, while ice cream carts and cool drink and beer vendors did a brisk trade.

Many spectators tried a nifty companion for watching a day's golf — a convertible shooting-stick which doubled as a broley.

In true golfing tradition, the competitors were outrageously dressed. Chip Beck took the cookie in bright red trousers, a red, blue, green and white shirt and two-tone "Al Capone" golf shoes in cream and brown.

Fulton Allem's golf bag would win the Kirsch prize with its golf club covers of fluffy animals and birds. As the crowds watched



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Shell and Caltex also said this week that their service stations were keeping their premises open to all.

As a result of the mayor of Boksburg, Mr Beyers de Klerk, losing his Natal Building Society agency because of his politics, Mr van der Merwe cautioned the NBS not to pursue "this boycott action".

"The CP is extremely powerful. We control 100 municipalities. If businesses want to boycott us, we will be forced to retaliate and to withdraw every cent from the NBS. But I hope this will not be necessary."

He said the CP had started a fund which would help any businessman whose livelihood was threatened because of his conservative principles.

He added that all over the world sanctions and boycotts were being levelled at South Africa and the Government spent vast amounts of money campaigning against such measures.

"If they start to boycott us here, they will have no leg to stand on to work against the international boycott."

Mr van der Merwe, who is chairman of the CP's information committee, and who describes himself as "the Goebbels" of the party,

● TO PAGE 2.

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Boksburg backdown

3000 ● FROM PAGE 1. 3/12/88

appealed for calm.

He said events in Boksburg over the past few days were "a storm in a teacup". The policies suggested by the CP were practised by "every second town in South Africa".

"We are prepared to give money to help people of colour upgrade their facilities, but we want our own areas for ourselves."

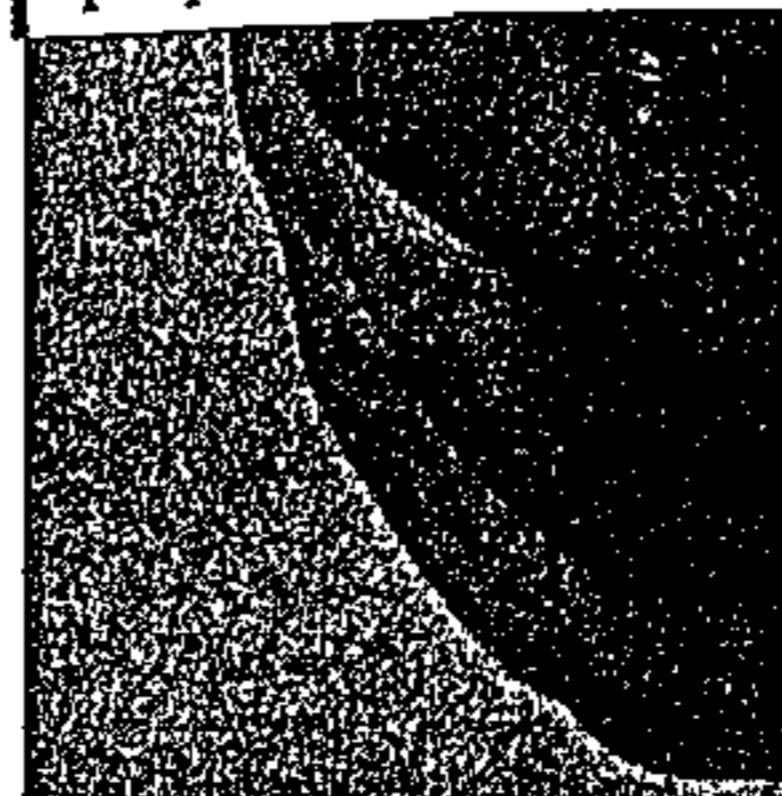
He said it was time to expose NP hypocrisy and challenged the Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to open parks, swimming pools, libraries and holiday resorts to all races in his constituency of Vereeniging, or else "to shut his mouth and never criticise the CP again".

"We offered the electorate an alternative," said Mr van der Merwe, "and we are carrying out the will of the majority of white people. We will not surrender."

Earlier yesterday, the chairman of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umdsa), Mr Tom Boya, stood in defiance of the CP's whites-only policy on the banks of Boksburg Lake, and read an Umdsa response.

Among the small group at the lake was Mr Izzy Kramer, the independent councillor who defeated a CP candidate in a by-election on Wednesday in Boksburg North.

He said that crime had dropped by 14 percent in Boksburg and by 10 percent in Boksburg North, and he saw no need to build artificial barriers between people.



As the shockwaves of Boksburg spread out, a British view of South Africa's angry underclass

EACH weekday as dawn breaks over Johannesburg, the unemployed and unemployable of Claremont, one of the Golden City's least imposing suburbs, congregate outside the municipal offices.

They smoke and talk, impatient for the arrival of the lorry which will take them to the day's place of work. For the next six hours they sweep leaves, dig weeds, paint swings in the public parks.

In mid-afternoon the lorry brings them back, and they are paid R12 for their day's endeavour.

The 200 or so white men who daily take advantage of the Government's unemployment relief programme are the lucky ones; hundreds more would take the work at the same rate if the scheme were extended.

The labourers are not proud of their work, for they are whites — or "Europeans" as they rather quaintly call themselves — doing the black man's work.

They are the white underclass. These days, poverty in South Africa knows no racial barriers.

The country has just emerged from nation-wide municipal elections. It was the first time all races went to the polls, on the same day, to elect segregated local town councils.

The streets were festooned with election posters, the vast majority for the Conser-

vative Party: "Say NO to open living areas" and "The Conservative Party will put it right".

In response, the National Party could merely whimper, almost apologetically: "Think".

South African politics was never ruled by the head. In last year's general election, the CP turned on the racial rhetoric to sweep through much of the Transvaal and become the official opposition in the white Parliament.

But that was only a rock-fall; next year in a general election they expect the landslide.

South Africa's poor whites welcome the prospect of that landslide. Andries Louis, a handsome man in his early 30s with deep blue eyes, used to work as a clerk but now falls back on the charity of Johannesburg municipality for his daily wage.

"The National Party is taking too much s*** from the black man," he explains.

"It's time now for radical change; when the Conservative Party gets

in, the kaffirs will walk on the streets, and the white man on the pavement, like it used to be, like it should be."

His eyes glisten with excitement as he adds helpfully: "I say that because I'm a Boer."

A cluster of casual labourers nod their assent. Frikkie Hendricks, a former blaster on the gold mines, cannot support his wife and three children on his monthly pension of R150, plus child welfare.

He makes a further R330 a month with his council labouring. He knows it is bad money, but then: "The blacks

Report by
STEPHEN ROBINSON
of the
Daily Telegraph
Pictures:
LOUISE GUBB

POOR, BRITISH VIEW

POOR, BRITISH VIEW



ABOVE: Krugersdorp petrol attendant Jan Barnard. LEFT: Jan, centre, and his wife Annie, far left, live with Jan's brother Ewert and his wife Joanna. Both couples have five children

20th century, thousands of Afrikaners migrated to the cities from their overcrowded farms for the promise of high wages.

W ANY failed to find work, squeezed out of the labour market by the prevailing prejudices of the English-speaking businessmen and mining magnates who then dominated the economy and viewed Afrikaners with ill-disguised contempt.

At that stage there was no Afrikaner-owned industry, a wrong the National Party could only begin to put right after its election triumph in 1948.

As early as the First World War, the main Afrikaners churches had begun to address the problem:

In 1916 the Dutch Reformed Church held a special *Volkskongres*, where one of the main speakers was Daniel Malan — then editor of the Afrikaners daily newspaper *Die Burger* — who was to become Nationalist prime minister in 1948 when South Africa first embarked on the experiment of grand apartheid.

"I have observed instances in which the children of Afrikaner families were running around as naked as kaffirs in Congoland," he told the conference.

The spectre of white poverty became the foundation stone of the National Party victory in 1948. The most notorious tenets of apartheid legislation introduced in the 1950s appeared racial in motivation but were in fact

□ To Page 21

are getting all the decent jobs: they take even less money." They certainly support the Conservative Party.

Fifty kilometres to the west in Krugersdorp, the Barnard children scramble for a seat around the kitchen table

Jan and Annie, Barnard and their five children have lived here since Jan was forced to leave his job on the gold mine three years ago

with a lung disorder. Jan's brother Ewert, his wife Joanna and their five children moved in a few months ago when Ewert left his job on the railways and lost his tied house.

HE seven of them slept in the car before Jan took pity on them and told them to move in. "I told him it wasn't safe out there with the natives," Jan explains.

The council has warned them that it is unhealthy for 14 people to live in three rooms, but it won't provide Ewert with a subsidised house.

Annie, Barnard is a large, jovial woman, scarred by varicose veins the doctors have long since given up on. She is proud, too, and finishes with anger as she recalls how a social worker informed her that her children were malnourished.

Supper is rice flavoured with mince, and all the food is provided by the council welfare scheme. The house is dark, sparsely furnished, but clean. The Barnards never go out in the evening, never take holidays.

Their only entertainment is an ancient black-and-white television which flickers incessantly in the living room. The children appear healthy, but new clothes for them are out of the question.

Mrs Barnard waits until neighbours or church groups pass on hand-me-downs: "If you pray, God provides."

Jan used to earn good money in the mines, but now can only find work as a petrol pump attendant. His manager, a Conservative Party sympathiser, began to bring whites into an exclusively black trade after scores of unemployed knocked on his door. "No white man would have

taken this sort of work 10 years ago, but things are bad now in Krugersdorp," he explains. "I like to help a guy out."

The four white forecourt workers earn exactly the same as the blacks. R85 a week basic plus a little overtime. They fill tanks, check oil, clean windscreens. Local residents in Krugersdorp, a depressed and deeply

depressing mining and industrial town, have taken the experiment to heart and turnover has rocketed.

Conservative Afrikaners like to see a white man helping his own kind: it strikes a certain chord. The poor white problem has intruded into South African politics before, most notably during the great depression of the 1930s. From the beginning of the

POOR, BITTER & WHITE . . .



SOLE DESTROYING . . . poor whites eagerly shift through second hand shoes at an AWB support centre at the Pretoria home of Lenie Pretorius

□ From Page 19

fundamentally economic. The pass laws, influx control, job reservation in the gold mines were all designed to fix the labour market in the white man's favour.

Apartheid was essentially a job-protection racket for unemployable Afrikaners; a welfare system to protect a deprived group from black economic competition and social proximity.

As soon as the Nationalists had achieved their dream of forming the first truly Afrikaner government, they packed the ranks of the civil service, the railways and the police with their own kind.

Positive discrimination in economic policies lifted many Afrikaners out of the poverty trap, but the new bourgeoisie left many behind in the gutter.

TODAY, more than half of all economically active Afrikaners are state-employed, but the National Party appears unable to protect those beneath them.

Today, rather as Afrikaner churchmen and politicians demanded action 50 years ago, so Eugene Terre Blanche screams from behind his three-legged swastikas: "No Afrikaner child should go hungry."

He and his paramilitary AWB are moving in to fill the vacuum in working-class white politics. All over the Transvaal the AWB has established *Volkshulp-skeme* (literally, People's Help Schemes) to distribute food provided by AWB supporters, who include farmers and professional people.

The AWB, which claims to be a cultural organisation, has formed a tacit electoral alliance with the Conservative Party.

In a depressed suburb of Pretoria, Mrs Lenie Pretorius, an enthusiastic, khaki-clad AWB member, lays out sacks of "mealie meal" — white maize, the black-man's traditional staple diet — for the local whites.

Second-hand shoes and clothing are also handed out from the verandah of the suburban home. Johannes van Tonder, who has been unemployed since he lost his labouring job at the water works two years ago, walks away triumphantly clutching his bag of maize.

He is only 50, but as a totally unskilled man he is unlikely to work again.

He receives a monthly pension of R250, and supplements his diet with the black man's food. He is hesitant in talking, Mrs Pretorius explains, because he is scared he will lose his pension if he complains about the Nationalist Government.

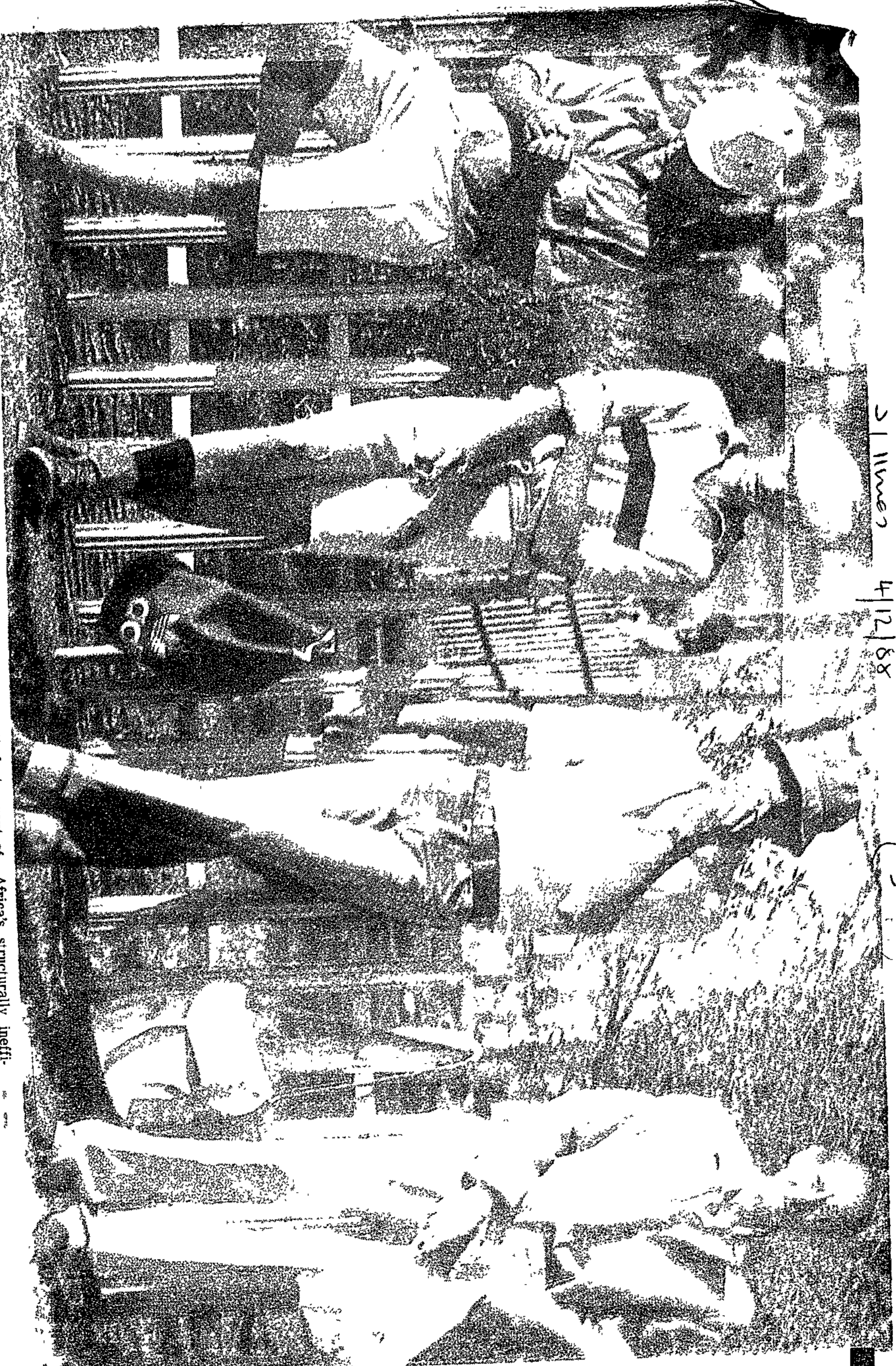
He says he will mix the maize with sweet potatoes, and try to make it last for a week. Yes, he will vote for



More and more whites have to rely on food handouts to survive

CHEAP LABOUR ... unemployed whites queue up for "black man's" work in Johannesburg's parks

'The Nats' stand for the black man now. They're giving it all to blacks'



21110007 4/12/88

the Conservative Party. "The National Party, you understand, is for the black man now, the Conservative Party stands for the white man. The Government is giving everything to the blacks."

Twice a week, Mrs Christina Koen walks across Pretoria on a 18km round trip to pick up food for her three children from the Volkshuiskema.

Her husband is relatively lucky with his menial but safe cleaning job at the Government Printers. But his salary is not enough for a family of five.

"We always wonder where the next meal comes from, and usually it's from here," Mrs Koen explains, pointing to the crocodile of people queuing in the afternoon sun.

The AWB service extends beyond merely handing out sacks of food. Local white businessmen, exasperated by the growing militancy of black trade unions, are turning to white labour.

Mrs Pretorius ferries them around Pretoria into local factories where they replace unionised black workers or act as temporary strike-breakers.

"If the blacks won't do it, there are plenty of white men around who will," Mrs Pretorius explains. "We are filling the need created by the Government's decision to give everything away to the black man."

Working-class Afrikaners, who have grown accustomed to 40 years of the National Party's strictly planned economic policies, have a naive approach to economics. They see the national wealth as a cake to be cut and distributed according to racial preference.

Thus what is given to the blacks must, almost by definition, have been snatched from the mouths of whites. From the poor white's perspective, President Botha's tentative reform programme is a sleight of hand, foisted on the Afrikaner by the international Jewish money powers to entrench white impoverishment.

At Conservative Party meetings in the Transvaal South Africa's politically dominant province speakers drive home this simple point. "Why is the Government giving the black man schools when he only burns them down? The National Party is now the party for fat-cats," explains Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated Conservative Party MP.

Mr Derby-Lewis is one of the few English-speakers in the Conservative Party. Like most far-right politicians he talks enthusiastically of the partition of South Africa into white and black "nations", and claims to detect a resurgence of Afrikaner and white nationalism. But his ideological enthusiasm is shared by few of the white underclass. Most appear entirely ignorant of AWB and Conservative Party policy and there is outright contempt for the AWB's dream of a smaller Boer state carved out of existing South African territory.

The poor whites' understanding of politics extends no further than a suspicion that the National Party is no longer on his side.

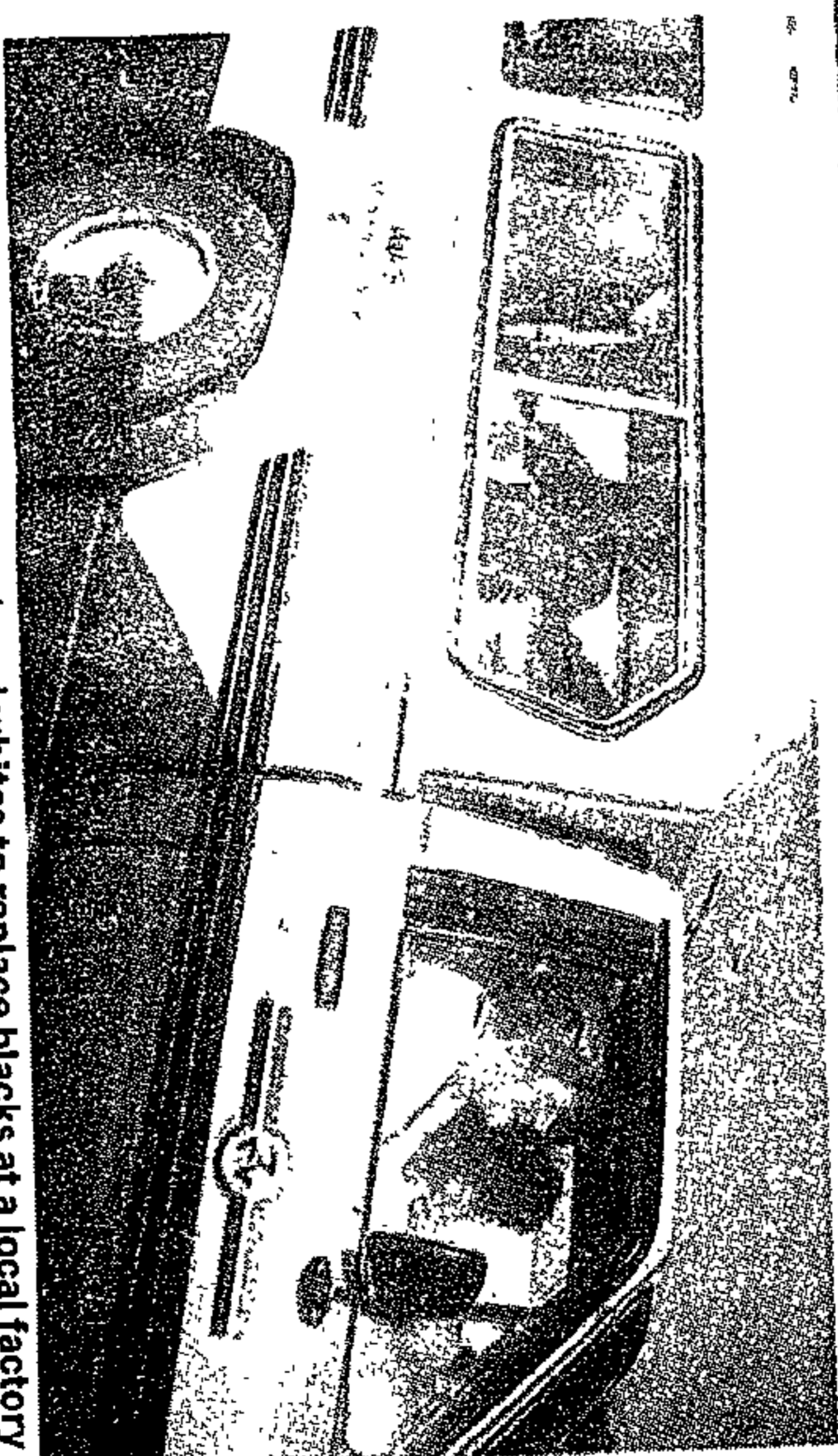
IMPLY put, reform of apartheid is in the interests of South Africa's middle class which years for international acceptance, but it spells disaster for the unskilled white worker.

Sanctions and the severing of foreign credit lines, are speeding up the painful, drawn-out collapse of South Africa's structurally inefficient economy, which was always doomed to fail.

In the meantime, fired up by romantic but misleading notions of racial solidarity, the white underclass seeks to convince itself that the far right can emerge as its saviour.

Andries, the self-confessed Boer who longs for the day when the black man covers in the gutter again, fails to perceive that it is black economic strength that really threatens him.

So the South African poor white, fearful that he may have no future under black majority rule or even under a reformist more modern Afrikaner state, can only stand back and resurrect his dreams of the past.



An AWB van transports unemployed whites to replace blacks at a local factory

CP warns of curfew

Businesses urge opposition

Consumer boycott starts

BRITAIN

C/Pres 4/12/88

Residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus will be joining a sit-in at the Boksburg Lake.

"People are determined to bring the things they have bought elsewhere and enjoy them at the lake," he said.

Among the developments this week:

- The town councils of Vosloorus and Reiger Park officially announced a consumer boycott of the town by the townships' residents;
- The CP warned that it was considering imposing a night curfew for blacks in towns under its control;
- At least 27 firms, among them NBS, Checkers and Colgate

Palmolive, condemned the CP council and urged Boksburg residents to unite in opposing it;

• The CP was trounced in a council by-election won by an "anti-racist" NP-backed independent, Issy Kramer, who won the Parkdene Park constituency against his CP opponent, JJ van Ryssen.

Fears for an all-out consumer boycott in Boksburg reached a peak this week with some businessmen displaying signs saying: "All races still welcome"

CP spokesmen have countered that they are merely putting into practice NP policies drawn up in 1948.

This was echoed by Progressive Federal Party MP for Green Point, Tiaan van der Merwe, this week.

Van Der Merwe said the government was equally to blame for the "crazy" trend of the CP.

"The public ought to be reminded that the CP is applying the laws of the NP," he said.

The fact, he said, was that the NP had the power to undo all the harm the CP was doing in towns like Boksburg, but was unlikely to do so because it lacked the commitment to abolish apartheid.

It was the NP that had introduced the Separate Amenities Act.

While the furore in Boksburg was raging, the town councils of Brakpan, Carletonville and Vanderbijlpark threatened to follow Boksburg's lead.

CP spokesman on privatisation and administration, Clive Derby-Lewis, said the furore surrounding the party's decisions would subside.

Budget Minister in the House of Assembly, Kent Durr, who arrived this week from a three-week tour of Europe, said the impression overseas was that "the news from Boksburg is very bad news for South Africa indeed."

See page 6 and comment page 8

As the residents say no to petty apartheid

By CHARLES MOGALE, KERRY CULLINAN AND HAPPY ZONDI

AN all-out confrontation is looming in Boksburg following the town council's decision to reintroduce old-style petty apartheid.

Tension reached fever-pitch this week with the Conservative Party unyielding in its decision to apply apartheid wherever possible.

The CP this week stood steadfast by its decision to bar non-whites from all municipal amenities.

Leaders of the party remained unshaken by a joint protest coalition by big business, the communities of Vosloorus and Reiger Park - which constitute 80 percent of the town's buying power - and the ruling National Party.

Yesterday chairman of the Reiger Park Management committee Butch Yanties said black people in the Boksburg area were disgusted at the CP reinstatement of petty apartheid.

"I hope for harmony in South Africa, people must not be party to the CP's action had united

30479

Early poll may force left into a shotgun wedding

Stime 4/12/88 (304A)

ELECTION talk is in the air again.

The worst thing that can happen to the three parties talking about forming one party is to allow the prospects of an early election to force a shotgun marriage.

Whatever obstacles still remain for the formation of a party among themselves, one factor that must be taken seriously is President P W Botha: Why is he calling an election, and what will his strategy be?

Unless the three leaders agree on the answers to these two questions and on a common counter-strategy during the election, they might as well try their luck separately because, either way, the old man is going to have them for breakfast.

Loaded

Not because he is a brilliant far-seeing visionary — on the contrary — but because the dice are heavily loaded in his favour. The most important strategic advantage he has is the use (or more correctly misuse) of information. He controls TV and through that the political thinking of the bulk of the white population.

His electoral strategies have two characteristics — they are simple and effective. Any counter strategy must have the same qualities and specifically on the issues which President Botha chooses to dominate the election — and he has that choice.

What will his strategy be in the next election? My guess is (once more) security. "To the right of me I have mad dogs (Conservative Party, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging); to the left of me I have mad dogs (South African Communist Party, African National Congress, United Democratic Front, Congress of South African Trade Unions); I am the only one who can steer the ship of state through the storm."

Night after night, the white voter will see Eugene Terre Blanche giving the Nazi salute

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert

discusses the P W Botha factor in the formation of a new political party



and footage of rioting, pillaging and necklacing in the townships. In between, snippets of "leftwing" politicians stressing human rights, a sound economy, justice for all, and shots of Andries Treurnicht taken 45 degrees below his left nostril with his glasses flashing madly in the lights.

A minimum of Chris Heunis, a maximum of Pik and President Botha with fatherly smile preferably saying nothing with his index finger strapped to his thigh.

The task of the rightwing is fairly straightforward. They have to present themselves as better than the media and President Botha. They can go to white voters and say: Look! Touch, feel me! I am OK. They have a distinct advantage over the left because they are concrete and very much part of the election staff.

But the party (or parties) left of government in the election? Whichever way they look at it, they have to present the extra-parliamentary majority, who cannot participate in the election, as part of the solution and not part of the problem.

This is the only counter-strategy of any consequence. If they accept the president's rules of the game that everybody left or right of him are "mad dogs" then they inevitably become an extension of that madness.

The 1987 election saw this strategy work like a charm for President Botha. While "the left" was turbo-charging around the countryside waiting for the Nats to split and statistically winning seats that did not exist, President Botha, night after night, presented their support with a simple choice: "It's me or the ANC."

To present the extra-parliamentary majority as part of the solution rather than the problem is the bullet that has to be bitten by a parliamentary party left of the Government. But to do that, such a party must know and consult with organisations and movements in the extra-parliamentary field, find out what "their solutions" are, debate them and, if possible, present them as credible and viable options within the realm of parliamentary policies; together with its own.

It is difficult but it can be done. The problem, of course, is time. This has not, for a variety of reasons, been done in the past, and to start now is going to take time.

Why does the Government become hysterical and apoplectic each time whites, and particularly Afrikaners, make contact with the ANC? Because they know sooner or later they will have to do it themselves.

Hysterical

For years we were fed on an anti-Soviet, anti-Cuban, anti-Swapo diet. Our youngsters died in the struggle. In the end, President Botha negotiated with "the enemy" for a settlement — there is no other way.

His strategy for the next election is clear. Why does he want an election? To buy time. For what? To negotiate himself out of this mess. With whom? That is where a parliamentary party left of Government must have consensus on a counter strategy before the election.

Otherwise they will be jumping out of the trenches with their pants around their knees.

CAUGHT IN THE

S/Times
4/12/88

Economic muscle may yet be CP's undoing

S/Times 4/12/88
3049

TODAY Boksburg is notorious. Tomorrow it might be famous — if local sanctions thwart the town council's attempts to reimpose apartheid in areas where it has disappeared.

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, upon which the council is relying, has notorious origins.

It was enacted because the courts had ruled that if separate facilities were provided for different races, they had to be equal.

The Act empowers anyone in charge of public premises or vehicles to reserve them for a particular race. It stipulates that such reservations may not be set aside by the courts "merely" because similar facilities have not been provided for the excluded people.

The Act was one of the earliest steps by Parliament to undermine the principles of equality in South African common law.

The South African Institute of Race Relations said at the time that it was a "blot" on the statute book. So it remains — although the Government has been "investigating" it since 1981.

Two years ago President P W Botha said at the Cape National Party congress that the Act was not practical. Had he then scrapped it, the Boksburg town council would not now have the power to turn back the clock.

Promise

About a year ago, a committee of the President's Council recommended outright repeal, but Mr Botha said that alternatives would have to be considered before "adjustments" could be made.

Legislation to amend the Act was promised for 1988, but did not materialise.

Down the years the Government has said that segregation is necessary to prevent racial friction. In making this claim it has taken into account the views of conservative whites only, and ignored the feelings of everybody else.

In 1985 the Human Sciences Research Council said that South Africa's conflict potential was high because of the division of its inhabitants by official segregation.

It warned that delays in addressing issues of relations between groups would have "cata-

by John Kane-Berman

executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations



strophic consequences".

Given the recommendations of the PC and the HSRC, it is tragic that the Government should be so dilatory in crossing so small a Rubicon as getting rid of the Act.

Experience over 15 years suggests that the initiative in bringing about change in discriminatory laws has increasingly been taken by black people.

Black people organised trade unions; created the kombi-taxi industry; increasingly ignored the pass laws; and steadily undermined the Group Areas Act — relegating the Government itself more and more to the sidelines.

Is this now going to happen in Boksburg, as the local authority and the black victims of its policies square up to one another?

Even as the Government continues to dilly-dally about the Separate Amenities Act, will blacks in Boksburg render it unworkable anyway? Perhaps in the long run the final liberation of Boksburg from Verwoerdian apartheid will be achieved by black people.

As long as the Act remains on the statute book, the town council has the law on its side, but blacks have economic muscle, and they are already beginning to exert it — with the support of white business.

Their combined threat of sanctions against Boksburg could yet lead to second thoughts among at least some CP supporters. This would not be surprising

There have been several signs this year that the party is not as monolithic as might appear.

Shortly before the municipal elections, for example, CP officials admitted that desegregation in Hillbrow had gone too far to be reversed. Perhaps the CP will now learn the hard way that this is also true of Boksburg.

Several critical questions arise, however.

One is whether the black people who contribute to Boksburg's well-being are, in practice, able to vote with their feet and take their custom elsewhere — over a sustained period if necessary.

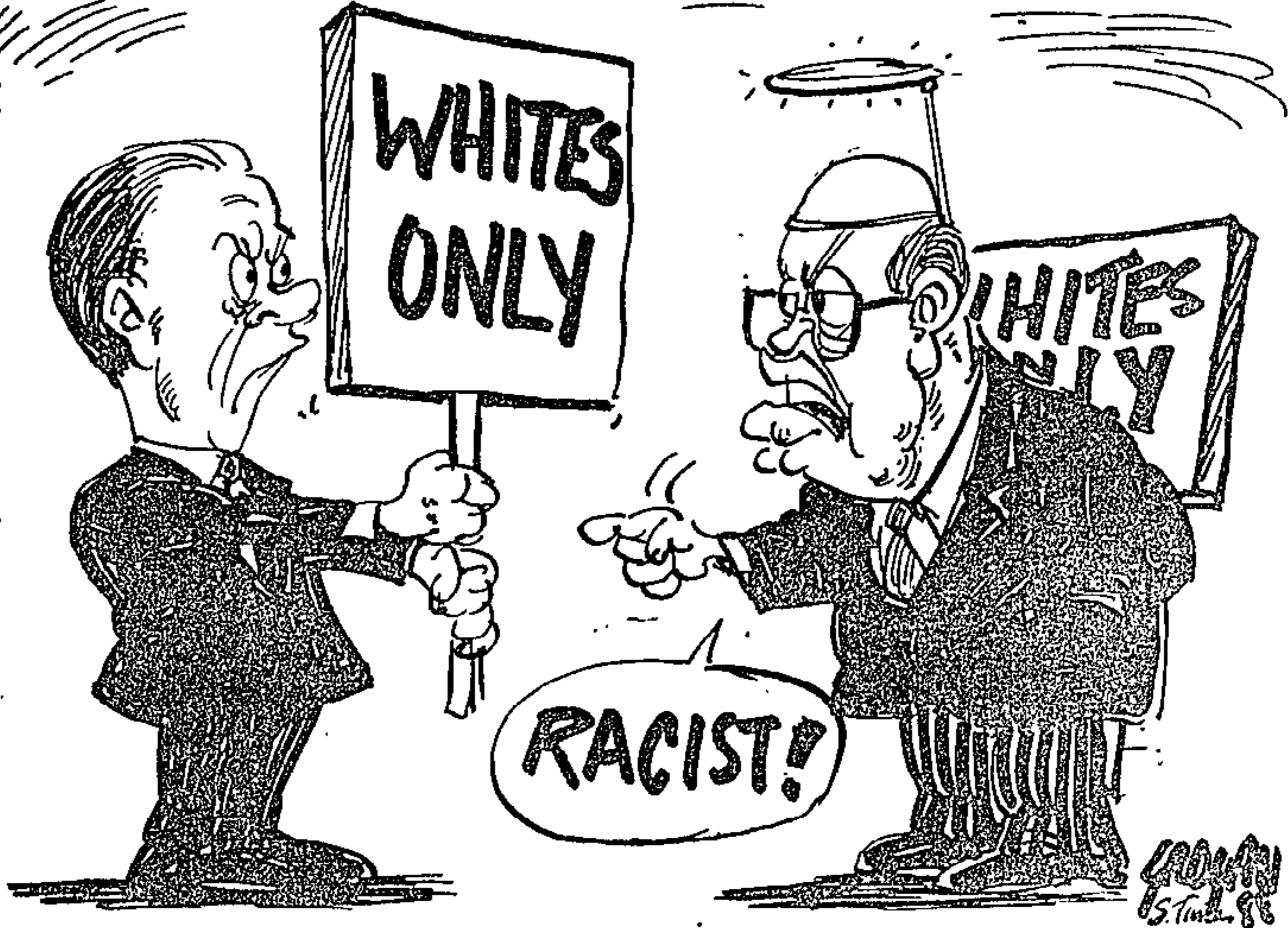
Tragedy

There is also the question of what transport systems are available for an effective re-direction of consumer spending. For its part, the CP is pooh-poohing a black consumer boycott.

Further, there is a risk of conflict. Consumer boycotts have been effectively deployed in the past, notably in the Eastern Cape and on the East Rand, but they were sometimes attended by coercion, which undermined community cohesion.

Violent coercion in Boksburg would also enable the CP to drive a wedge between blacks and the white businessmen who are themselves also taking practical action against the CP.

Several black leaders have told



the Government that the way to neutralise the CP is to change fast enough to enlist them as allies against it.

Emergency regulations prohibit calling for consumer boycotts, but the Government may find itself secretly glad to see at least this one succeed — provided violence does not force it to intervene.

One of the abiding tragedies of South Africa is the inability of black groups to rise above their political and strategic differences. Will the Boksburg CP now be the catalyst for united black action?

If blacks can sustain what could be a drawn-out process of attrition, the CP's capture of Boksburg may yet turn out to be a hollow victory as the party comes up against the reality of economic in-

terdependence in South Africa.

An extended period of attrition could lead to lay-offs. The ability of retrenched people to find jobs in other towns is now less than it might have been, in that international sanctions have reduced the employment-generating capacity of the economy.

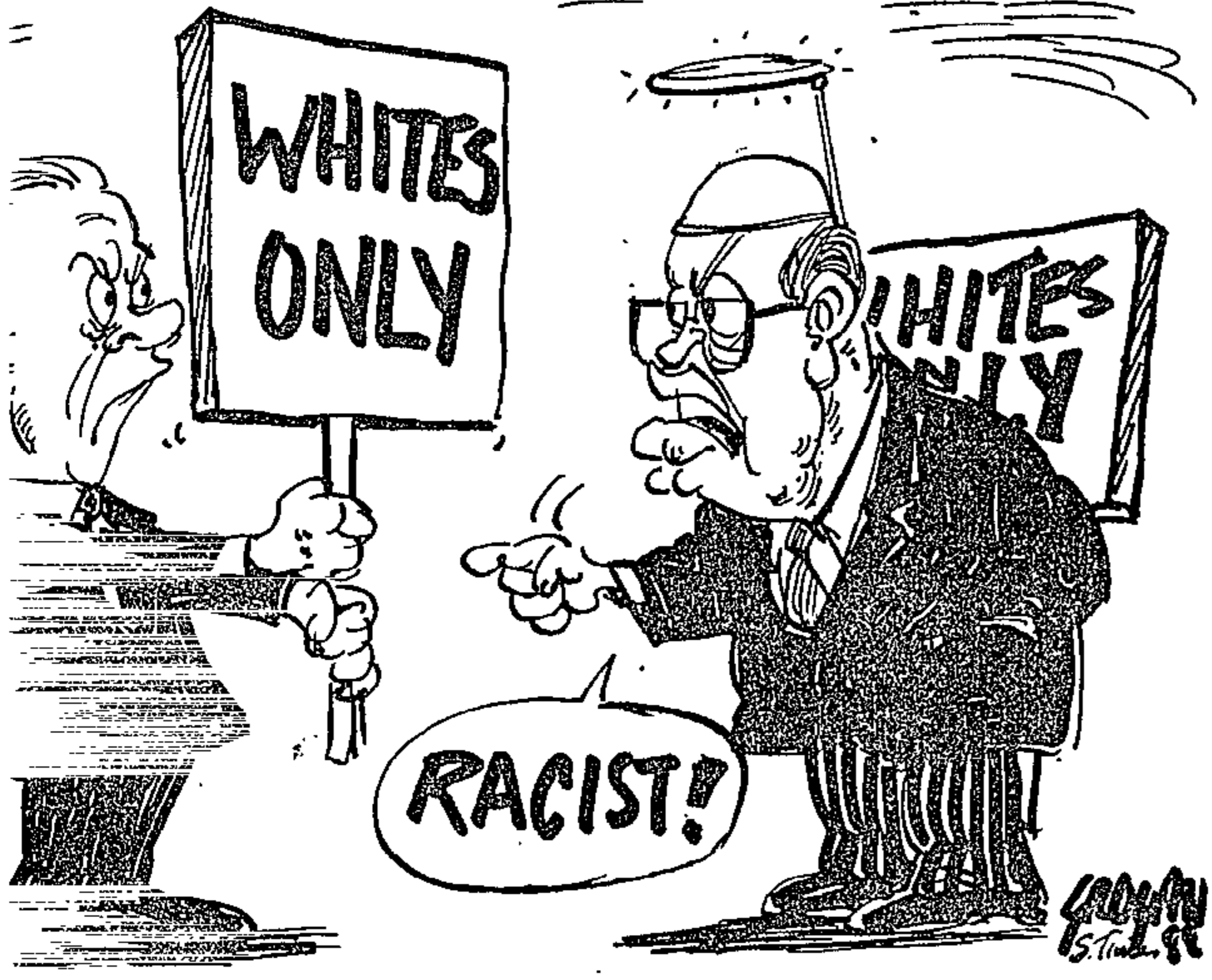
The capacity of black consumers to hurt the CP depends on a shift in the balance of consumer spending power from white to black people.

This in turn depends on rising employment and rising wages in the economy as a whole, neither of which is possible in the context of international sanctions, which risk removing from black people in Boksburg and elsewhere the single most important weapon they can wield for change — greater economic leverage.

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HIT IN THE ACT

S/Times
4/12/88



HATS off to the town fathers of Boksburg. And power to those — black — arms that will hammer the “whites only” signs back into the ground.

At least they will be striking blows for honesty in politics.

In a time when the words of politicians have become a cent a dozen, here you have some men who are prepared to deliver on their election promises.



Dries van Heerden A vote for CP honesty

The good folks of Boksburg, Brakpan and Vanderbijlpark knew what they were in for when they voted the Conservative Party into power.

Like it or lump it, everybody knew what the CP stood for. It is a concerted policy of returning to apartheid signs, white-by-night suburbs, social separation of races and petty apartheid excesses.

And the CP is not even coy about it. It is quite prepared to practise what it preaches even if it is making a public fool of itself in the process.

It is overt racism compared with the covert variations firmly in place in municipalities controlled by the National Party.

In CP-run Boksburg a black man cannot dive into a municipal swimming pool — but neither can he in NP-controlled Pretoria.

took power in Zimbabwe. He is still using those laws conveniently bequeathed to him by the Ian Smith government.

What will the CP do with the National Party's laws if it wins an election next year? One shudders to think.

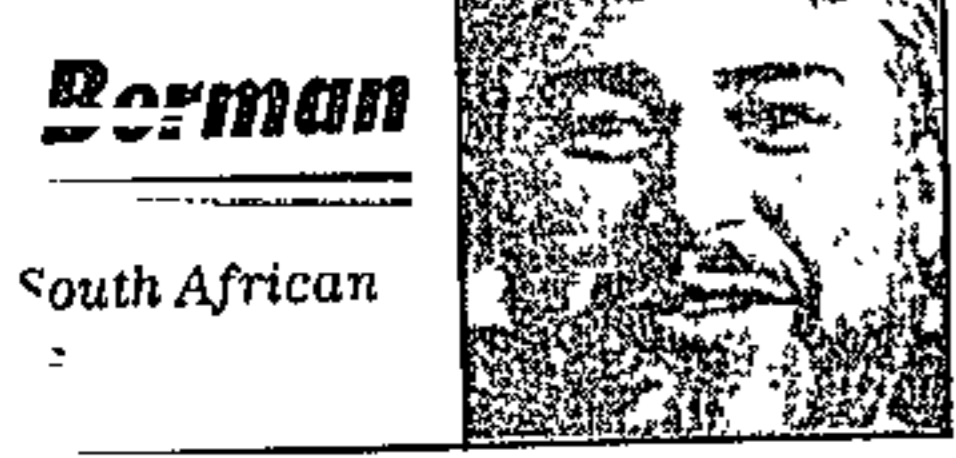
Give President Botha's unfettered powers to President Andries Treurnicht and see where the country is going to be 12 months later.

Make Mr Eugene Terre Blanche the Minister of Police and let him administer the state of emergency, the Internal Security Act and the Police Act. Guess where Mr Adriaan Vlok and his benign securocrats will be the morning after?

Stiffen the media regulations and succumb to Mr Botha's wishes to force newspapers to reveal their sources on legitimate, innocuous stories like Cabinet reshuffles. Then put a member of the AWB in charge and watch him ban the Burger.

Politicians should heed the golden rule of politics: Govern others as you would wish to be governed.

If Boksburg can jolt NP politicians back to reality and force them to take a long hard look at the quality of laws and regulations they are passing through Parliament, then something good may still come out of this sordid mess.



Borman
South African

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SOUTH AFRICA, post 1984, has experienced a hitherto unknown fluidity.

The era of political stereotypes and single track political directions is for ever over.

New forces straddle the political scene. Such forces, born out of circumstances of instability and turmoil, tend under such conditions to veer towards polarisation. This process takes place at the expense of the forces of moderation.

The vast majority of opinion-makers and influential people who form the backbone of society, through an absence of choice, veer towards one or the other poles.

This process, left unchecked, generates a momentum of its own.

Voices of moderation within such polarised spheres are simply drowned by the general thrust. Voices outside such spheres are treated with contempt.

The reaction to United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede's tentative call for a review on participation in 1987 is a pertinent example of such a phenomenon.

The response to one form of political straitjacket is thus another form of political straitjacket.

A classical illustration of the absence of moderation is the refusal by many people to communicate or negotiate differences — "we do not speak to terrorists/we do not speak to racists".

Non-racialism must succeed because it is intrinsically and infinitely better than the best form of separatism.

Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste describes the phenomenon in the following words:

"There is also a swing to the right in white politics which is perhaps as frightening as the necklace phenomenon of the '80s ... Somebody must do something to stop this madness, or at least to cushion the blow when it comes ..."

He calls for a programme of nation-building to avoid the catastrophe that the whirlwind of polarised politics will reap.

When newspaper editors like Mr Klaaste see fit to take up the political mantle of moderation, then surely it is time for the scores of organisations that believe in

How to close the gap

Ismail Omar

a President's Council member, argues for participation politics

bridge-building politics, who operate independently in a host of structural bases, to take stock and begin the process of directing their different constituent units towards a more unified and streamlined approach.

For too long have these organisations been the butt of contempt by those who seek monopoly in wearing the mantle of "liberation".

A vivid current example of such straitjacket thinking is evident in the proposed symposium by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa on strategies for change.

Not a single organisation of colour belonging to the participation camp has been invited to deliver a paper lest they offend the "authentic liberationists".

Ironically, in an almost inverse form of racism, white organisations which participate are invited.

There is, however, no vacuum in the moderate sphere.

The forces of moderatism that can accommodate both black aspirations and white fear are scattered and, therefore, ineffective.

United, as a moderate front, I believe they can be the single most important force in this country and can marshal the power to give direction in abolishing apartheid; attaining a just and democratic order; achieving national reconciliation; and protecting and developing our economic infrastructure.

Corruption on the increase as Third World embrace tightens

5 Times 4/12/88
Business Times Reporter
ETHICS and morality were casualties this year as SA appeared to sink deeper and deeper into Third World status.

Allegations of corruption in TVBC countries have been rife and eminent names have been named in various commissions of inquiry.

The Alexander Commission unveiled corruption in Transkei, in consequence of which former Prime Minister George Matanzima is now facing criminal charges.

The Harms Commission is looking at allegations of cross border corruption, which has so far taken evidence involving casino franchises, involvement of some National Party members in links with a convicted Mafia

drug dealer and recently a R150-million banking scandal.

A third investigation is under way by Mr Justice James in Durban into allegations of impropriety and corruption in the House of Delegates.

Shocks *304A*

The fourth inquiry under Mr Justice van den Heever is into allegations of impropriety in the purchase of computer equipment in the Department of Education and Training.

The Advocate General is investigating irregularities in the acquisition of Public Works property.

The sheer scale of some of these irregularities has left taxpayers gasping.

Incompetence also featured. Sats shocked everyone with the extent of its

exposure to foreign exchange markets totalling R3-billion. In essence, the Cross commission found that Sats staff had been incompetent rather than corrupt in not covering forward.

Then there were the great finrand fiddles. They started with the African Bank inquiry two years ago but culminated this year in alleged grand larceny in Escom stock by a party or parties as yet not properly identified.

Trust Bank was shocked when one Simon Samuel disappeared together with R60-million. Mrs Samuels, who was left behind, was equally shocked.

Then came the celebrated Swiftsure case. Bulgarian venture capital man, Javour Gourkits launched a proposed yacht building ven-

ture by taking celebrities to Monte Carlo and taking over the Kyalami race track — before millions were lost as the house of cards collapsed.

These were some of the biggies. Among the minnows perhaps there was better behaviour.

Reluctance

With their money apparently being squandered on public sector salaries and pension benefits, not to mention rip-offs at every turn, taxpayers might have felt more reluctant than ever to pay their dues.

But national service bounty hunters raked in a rich haul for the Exchequer and according to tax accountants, the example has frightened many big taxpayers in sticking to the straight and narrow.

Swing away from rightwing 'embarrassment'

THE Conservative Party would probably be toppled from power in Boksburg if a municipal election was held tomorrow.

That was the opinion of political observers and residents in the controversy scarred town who said the CP-controlled town council had become "an embarrassment".

Several voters questioned at Wednesday's municipal by-election, where the CP lost its deposit, said they would have voted for Dr Andries Treurnicht's party a month ago. But they said they had since

changed their minds. The sharp dip in the CP's popularity — which is likely to be reflected in other East Rand towns where the CP has control — comes as Boksburg's hard-line verkrampies patched up a split which threatened to oust the CP in the town this week.

The pact ended 48 hours of behind-the-scenes political drama which began when two of the three CP councillors, who subsequently denied they planned to defect from the party, showed signs of "disillusion" at the town council meeting on

Thursday last week. Mr T J Ferreira — whom the National Party said was going to head a three-man breakaway which would have cost the CP the control of the council — walked out of the council chambers when the closing of the Boksburg North swimming pool to "non-whites" came up on the agenda.

National Party officials refused to give the names of the other two alleged defectors. But the Sunday Times has established they were Mr Koos van der Merwe (no relation to the MP) and Mr Charles Hawkins.

But Mr Koos van der Merwe (the MP this time) denied there was a swing away from the CP, although his party polled only 12 percent on Wednesday.

The victorious by-election candidate, Mr Issy Kramer — who had the support of the NP and the Progressive Federal Party — said the CP would be beaten "comfortably".

The usually busy Commissioner Street in Boksburg was deserted yesterday with blacks staying away from the business district.

But . . . the clock never moved in the first place

IT took me just an afternoon in Boksburg this week to end up wondering what all the fuss is about.

Amid the hullabaloo over "whites only" signs, Boksburg's detractors may have overlooked one thing — the East Rand town does not really need such signs. They are still displaying "non-Europeans only" signs from the Verwoerdian era.

Anyway, here is my story of a day in what has suddenly become the most talked about part of South Africa.

Driving down one of Boksburg's busier streets, my first experience was nothing one would have expected.

A courteous traffic officer let me off with a warning after a minor violation. I wondered as I drove off whether the municipality in this new citadel of apartheid would have accepted "non-white" money had I been fined.

Placid

The scene at the Boksburg lake was rather placid. There were no rabid racists chasing blacks away with clubs.

But there were black municipal employees working hard, pruning trees and mowing the lawns to keep the park spruced up so the white voters who voted in the Conservative Party can have a lovely picnic this weekend.

At the public conveniences they have weather-worn signs that say "non-European toilets".

I am non-European all right, but I thought the white residents of Boksburg were also not Europeans. I always thought they were more South African than me, which is why they have the vote and I do not. But sure as hell, they do not use the non-European toilets.

At the Masonic Hotel, black

Mandla Tyala

takes a walk on the wild side to find out what all the fuss is about

S Times 4/12/88



staff, anxious to spare me embarrassment, warned me at the door that black customers were not welcome.

The two men looked rather serious about this. "Yesterday they would not serve a black gentleman here."

The message was loud and clear: If your business is to scrub floors and make tea, come right in, but as a guest you cannot be served the food your black brothers and sisters are cooking for whites in the kitchen.

The warning by the men at the door was not lost on me. I have had my fair share of being prevented from supporting the economy by being thrown out of eating places and other establishments.

On the sidewalks, they still rub shoulders with blacks. This week's furore has at least forced some enlightened white people to show a friendly face in the street. A few smiles were flashed in my direction.

I left Boksburg with a strange feeling.

Here was a council supposedly putting back a clock which had never moved in the first place.

I could not bring myself to be agitated, if anything I was happy for Boksburg.

They have, by applying the law to a T, just woken up the rest of the country to the realities of our situation — that the Separate Amenities Act is still in the statute books. If you discriminate

against blacks the laws of this country are on your side, notwithstanding Mr Pik Botha's shrill protestations about Boksburg.

The CP has just created the ideal climate for some serious soul-searching. One would expect councils like Johannesburg to mind the dirt in their backyard before they rush out to censure Boksburg.

Honest

I would rather be in Boksburg where they are at least honest about their racist stand, than be in Johannesburg where there are no "whites only" signs on buses but I cannot ride anyway.

You are better off to be in Boksburg where you know you are not wanted, than, for instance, be in the "friendly city" of Port Elizabeth where you get thrown off some of God's beaches because you are black.

Thousands of black families around the country live in neighbourhoods where they are at the mercy of their white neighbours. You have to think twice about taking your neighbours to task about their dog barking through the night.

One complaint to the relevant authorities would set the group areas machinery, which may soon get even sharper teeth, into motion.

While grand apartheid exists, it is perhaps better to have overt petty apartheid than to have it in covert fashion — lest we forget.



Mr Chris Heunis.

Constitutional service gets a new function

Pretoria Correspondent

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has announced a Cabinet decision to transform the present branch of Constitutional Development and Planning into the Constitutional Development Service.

Although the new Constitutional Development Service will be independent of the Department of Development Planning, it will be part of the same ministry.

The new body will function from January 1 with its own Director-General, Mr S S van der Merwe, at present Director-General of the Department of Justice.

The service will be responsible for the promotion of constitutional development in self-governing territories, releasing information on alternative constitutional models and for negotiations on ongoing constitutional development.

The changes were made because the stage has now been reached where it is necessary to extend negotiations on constitutional development considerably, said Mr Heunis.

Star 5/12/86

304A

Call for full probe into story in Rapport

Star 5/12/88
304A

Opposition parties called today for a full investigation into allegations that State machinery and Government officials were being misused by a group of companies headed by the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, and his son, Johan.

The allegations were made yesterday in the Afrikaans newspaper *Rapport*.

The newspaper said persistent speculation had it that the Minister's position and influence were being misused to enrich and expand the Du Plessis empire.

It detailed allegations that State machinery and full-time personnel of the Manpower Department had been misused.

In a statement, the Minister said he had referred the front-page report to his lawyers to "consider the necessary steps" against the paper and others involved.

He said it was clear the article was aimed at damaging his integrity and honesty.

CONFIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Neither *Rapport* nor its correspondent had contacted Mr Du Plessis for comment and this ran contrary to the practice of good journalism, the statement said.

Mr Du Plessis denied the contents of the article, saying that he had never misused either his position or his personnel.

Rapport said the allegations had been confirmed by confidential documents in its possession.

The report named a top Department of Manpower official, Mr Jan van Tonder, as acting in the interests of the Du Plessis group during official time and at State expense, and Mr Piet Felstead, the regional director of Education and Training in the northern Transvaal, as an organiser of hunting trips for Mr Johan du Plessis.

There has been no immediate comment from the State President's office, but the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said this morning that an accusation of this kind, particularly coming from a paper like *Rapport*, demanded a full public investigation and report.

The Conservative Party MP for Lichtenburg, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, has called on Mr Du Plessis to resign. Dr Hartzenberg said it was difficult for a Cabinet Minister to give his undivided attention to matters of State "with a cloud hanging over his head". — Political Correspondent-Staff Reporter-Sapa.

NDM-IP conciliation bid?

NDM leader Wynand Malan met Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week in what was being interpreted in some quarters as an attempt to pave the way for conciliation between the NDM and Denis Worrall's IP.

Malan confirmed yesterday he had met Buthelezi, whose political position observers believe could have a crucial bearing on the success of the opposition unity talks now under way.

However, the meeting was part of continuing dialogue between the NDM and Inkatha, Malan said, adding that the NDM was not prepared to exclude any actors from its attempts to further contact between all anti-apartheid groups.

Worrall has consistently backed Buthelezi, but the Inkatha leader has been rejected by leaders of the so-called democratic movement with whom the

NDM is most often associated.

Buthelezi has publicly backed unity talks between the NDM, PFP and IP and said he was under pressure to support various new white political parties.

All sides agreed at the weekend that the talks, which resume in Cape Town today, were still progressing according to plan. A target date has been set for December 14 by which time a joint report will be submitted to the leaders.

A PFP source disclosed that a wide range of businesses was holding out "enormous" financial incentives for the parties to achieve unity.

Party leaders earlier angrily denied reports that business leaders had threatened to withdraw support if nothing came of the latest unity effort.

PETER DELMAR 30/11/82

PETER DELMAR DANIEL SIMON
and BRENT MELVILLE

Intrigue and threats now riddle Boksburg

5/12/88

3047

THE NP opposition on Boksburg council has commissioned a top-level independent survey of the town to prove residents oppose the ruling CP administration's return to petty apartheid.

NP leader Chris Smith said the survey would be undertaken by a reputable private company. He said he also expected at least 20 000 voters to sign a petition against the council's decision to bar blacks from amenities in the town.

All 12 CP councillors on Friday declared allegiance to CP policies and measures taken in Boksburg. This put

paid to a claim by Smith the previous day that three members, including CP whip T J Ferreira, were preparing to cross the floor.

This would effectively have robbed the CP of its majority.

The black boycott of Boksburg shops, which started on Saturday, appeared to be successful.

Security forces maintained a high profile but few black shoppers were seen.

CP sources said at the weekend mayor Beyers de Klerk was one of three NP

members planning to leave the party.

Both he and Ferreira have been hit by threats to their businesses because of their pro-apartheid stand.

It is understood Ferreira insisted on chairing a new management committee in return for joining the opposition and that CP leader Andries Treurnicht personally intervened to prevent the party slipping from power in Boksburg.

It was announced at a Press conference on Friday that a special fund would be set up for CP councillors who are

Klerk should open all facilities in his constituency of Vereeniging.

"We are going to carry out our policy fearlessly. We will not surrender," Van der Merwe said.

Johannesburg's CP chairman Fred Rundle claimed the NBS had lost a stake in a R10m townhouse development in the southern suburbs because of its action against Beyers de Klerk.

Rundle said at the weekend the developers of a townhouse complex in Mayfield Park, Macrun CC, had decided against approaching the NBS for bonds for about 150 townhouses.

The NBS denied it had agreed to a top-level meeting to discuss the controversy surrounding De Klerk's agency and threatened CP retaliation. Public affairs GM Brian Short said the NBS did not believe a meeting was necessary.

United Municipalities of SA president Tom Boya warned at the weekend that a complete consumer boycott of all Boksburg businesses could be expected if the council continued its apartheid plans.

Boksburg backlash as blacks boycott

The NBS this week ended its agency agreement with Beyers de Klerk because it said it could not reconcile the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council's decision to implement petty apartheid with its stance as an equal opportunity employer.

Rundle said the CP's regional office had been inundated with telephone calls from "conservative minded" estate agents expressing dissatisfaction with the NBS decision to close its agency agreement with De Klerk, who is an agent in the East Rand town.

Eileen Kovacs, a spokesman for co-marketers of the Mayfield project, Loveday Real Estate, confirmed Macrun planned to approach the NBS before its

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To Page 2

Minister denies misusing position

CM Tuis 5/12 (2007) 3044

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has referred a front-page Afrikaans Sunday newspaper article to his lawyers to "consider the necessary steps" against the paper and others involved.

A statement late last night from the minister said it was very clear that Rapport's front-page lead story was aimed at damaging Mr Du Plessis's integrity and honesty, among other issues.

The article detailed allegations that state machinery, and in particular full-time personnel of the Department of Manpower, had been misused to the benefit of the Du Plessis group of companies.

The statement said Mr Du Plessis had not been contacted for comment and this ran contrary to the practice of good journalism.

Mr Du Plessis denied strongly the contents of the Rapport article, saying he had

never misused his position or personnel.

In another development yesterday, it was learnt that the advocate-general, Mr Justice Piet van der Walt, had not approved the newspaper story, as the newspaper claimed. The judge declined to comment.

The deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, yesterday called on Mr Du Plessis to resign. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Rapport claims Van Tonder was involved in various negotiations on behalf of the Du Plessis companies.

He is currently busy with an investigation into a property deal involving Du Plessis junior and said yesterday he hoped to submit his report to Parliament by early next month.

The investigation followed a complaint of listening bugs.

possible improper advantage or enrichment after Du Plessis bought the building for R2m in June last year.

Rapport says the documents it holds also refer to dealings with certain officials from the Department of Education and Training, and to Defence Force personnel who were allegedly required to search several buildings related to the Du Plessis companies for listening bugs.

Monday, December 5, 1988

NP commissions 'anti-CP survey'

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party opposition in the Boksburg council has commissioned an independent survey of the town in the hope it will prove that residents oppose the ruling Conservative Party administration's return to petty apartheid.

Leader of the NP opposition Mr Chris Smith said the survey would be undertaken by a reputable private company. He said he also expected at least 20 000 voters to sign a petition against the council's decision to bar blacks from amenities in the town.

All 12 CP councillors on Friday declared their allegiance to the CP's policies and measures taken in Boksburg, putting paid to a claim made by Mr Smith the previous day that three members, including CP whip Mr TJ Ferreira, were preparing to cross the floor, effectively robbing the CP of its majority.

However, CP sources said at the weekend that CP mayor Mr Beyers de Klerk was one of three CP members planning to leave the party. One CP

AWB guards 'white homeland'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB members are carrying out unofficial border control duties at the entrances to the proposed "whites-only homeland", Morgenzon, a recent visitor claimed at the weekend.

A salesman who asked not to be identified said AWB members were stopping cars arriving in the town and asking drivers what their business was.

Mr Hendrik Verwoerd of the Oranjewerkers — an Afrikaner separatist movement based in Morgenzon — said he did not know of such activities. The Oranjewerkers had no official ability to control who entered the town, he said, but could not vouch that other groups did not do so.

Brakpan blast at govt offices

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An SPM limpet mine exploded in Brakpan's Victoria Avenue yesterday morning causing slight damage to the exterior of the Department of Home Affairs regional offices, a police spokesman said.

No one was injured. Minor damage was caused to windows and the door of the Home Affairs building. Windows of a doctor's consulting room across the street were shattered.

On Friday morning a limpet mine exploded outside the offices of the Boksburg Receiver of Revenue causing R20 000 damage.

leader said Mr De Klerk had received a "lucrative" offer to cross sides.

Black communities meanwhile began their boycott of white businesses on Saturday in

Boksburg in earnest, and vowed to continue shopping in Benoni and Alberton for as long as the Conservative Party-run council remains adamant in its decision

to close public amenities to people who are not white.

Security forces maintained a high profile in the town, but few black shoppers were spotted, with hundreds being bussed to nearby Benoni and Germiston.

The CP's Johannesburg chairman, Mr Fred Rundle, claimed that the Natal Building Society had lost out on a stake in a R10-million townhouse development in Johannesburg's southern suburbs because of its action against Mr De Klerk.

The NBS last week ended its agency agreement with Mr De Klerk because it said it could not reconcile the CP-controlled Boksburg town council's decision to implement petty apartheid with its stance as an equal-opportunity employer.

● The African Council of Hawkers and Informal Businesses urged all Reiger Park and Vosloorus residents whose jobs could be threatened by the consumer boycott, to consider becoming self-employed as hawkers. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Benoni's buses and libraries still segregated

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Buses and libraries remain racially segregated in Benoni.

A survey of nine cities around the country showed that while NP municipalities generally employed less petty apartheid than Boksburg and other towns under CP control, they remained way

behind centres such as Cape Town and Somerset West which have moved decisively to remove local discrimination.

A Benoni city council spokesman said the city had very little, if any, petty apartheid left "due to the council's enlightened attitude".

He admitted, however, that

blacks were not allowed on white buses. The town's libraries were also segregated.

He said that although the town council did not subscribe to a policy of "separate but equal" facilities between the races, amenities were shared only where inadequate separate amenities existed.

Kwa-Zulu: Conciliation?

Cape Times 5/12/88 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week in what was being interpreted in some quarters as an attempt to pave the way for conciliation between the NDM and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP).

Mr Malan confirmed yesterday that he had had an hour-long meeting with Chief Buthelezi, whose political position observers believe could have a crucial bearing on the success of the opposition unity talks currently under way.

However, Mr Malan said the meeting was part of an ongoing dialogue between the NDM and Inkatha.

Dr Worrall has consistently backed Chief Buthelezi, but the Inkatha leader has been repeatedly rejected by leaders of the so-called democratic movement with whom the NDM is most often associated.

All sides agreed at the weekend that the talks, which resume in Cape Town today, were still progressing according to plan.

Sowetan 6/12/88

Support for NBS move

MANY South Africans have contacted the Natal Building Society in the past few days with messages of support for its withdrawing an agency from Mr Beyers de Klerk, the Conservative Party mayor at the heart of the Boksburg petty apartheid row.

Mr Brian Short, the NBS general manager of public affairs said

yesterday: "We have had many calls from people supporting our stand. In fact they are going to bring their business to us. There are many South Africans out there who favour our position."

The NBS took away rights after his council reintroduced petty apartheid recently with

the re-erection of "whites only" signs at various places in the town.

Oil companies may also act against CP councillors who have garages in Boksburg.

The CP has said that it would urge all CP controlled-towns and members to withdraw their funds from the NBS.

Mr Short stressed that the NBS did not want to get dragged into the political arena and wanted the matter "put to rest now."

He said that the NBS would not be meeting with CP leaders "as there is nothing to discuss."

He went on: "The NBS does not have anything

against the citizens of Boksburg or any other town. We want to serve all South Africans without fear or favour."

Mr Short did not see that the CP could dictate to the NBS where it did business or force it from any town.

The president of the Friends of the Springbok Association, Mr Stuart Sapa.

Weaving, says it is shocking that right-wing town councillors are trying to reverse the progress made towards integration over the past ten years.

Mr Weaving spoke about the Conservative Party's Boksburg controversy at a meeting of the association at Heathrow outside London. —

Boycott costing R150 000 a day

304A
Bldg

Boksburg group unveils plan of protest action

6/12/88

WITH the Boksburg consumer boycott starting to cost the town an estimated R150 000 a day in lost revenue, the Boksburg Alliance protest movement headed by Issy Kramer last night unveiled a new and urgent plan of action.

The first stage of the multi-approach strategy will be executed today and involves calling an immediate extraordinary council session at which the CP councillors will be asked to present a clear and unambiguous agenda for the rest of their term of office.

Secondly, the protest resolutions taken last week will be sent to all local businesses and industries, who will be asked to give their support. They will also be asked to provide the committee with details on the extent to which they have been financially affected.

Thirdly, the petition will be stepped up. Tables will be set up at major points, and various sports personalities will be called in to assist.

Kramer said the idea was to wrap up the whole petition as soon as possible.

This would enable the Alliance to proceed with the fourth stage of its strategy, which is to call an urgent meeting with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

SIPHO NGCOBO reports that Boksburg is gradually turning into a ghost town as the five-day old consumer boy-

ROBERT GENTLE

cott of white and Indian-owned businesses by blacks sends turnovers crashing by almost 80%.

Thousands of rands worth of stocks accumulated for the normally booming festive season are being returned to the manufacturers, some businessmen said yesterday.

And some Indian businessmen, who have been caught in the cross-fire between the blacks and whites, announced they would be moving out of the town soon to trade elsewhere.

An Indian owner of a Commissioner Street clothing shop said his turnover was 80% down and he and other Indian traders were going to pull out of Boksburg into a neighbouring town by the end of December.

He said he was returning R50 000 worth of goods to the manufacturers as no-one was buying.

Boksburg Liquor Discounters manager said his turnover was 70% down and he was considering not making any more orders.

Allan Tempest of Allan's Clothiers said his black trade was 80% down.

Leven's Furnishers owner Jack Leven, whose custom is 90% black, said his business turnover was 50% down. He said he would definitely lay off some of his employees if the boycott continued.

...in development

Sowetan 6/12/88

TURF PROF IS CP MAN

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

A PROFESSOR at the University of the North is among the five Pietersburg town councillors who last week voted to kick the multiracial Regional Services Council out of the town.

Prof Willie J. Botha, head of the Department of Economics at the university, said he had joined the Conservative Party and the town council in his personal capacity. He declined to confirm that he had voted with the other CP members.

It is however an open secret that the professor voted to pull the Pietersburg Town Council out of the RSC, which is a cornerstone of the Government's tricameral policy. The Conservative Party is against racial mixing and has vowed to disrupt the Government's "reform" policies.

Another councillor, Mr Koos Kemp, is a former lecturer in Northern Sotho at the University of South Africa. Mr Kemp, who owns a bottle store with 99 percent black clients, said he was against "mixed business areas and not against business between races."

Mr Kemp said he was a CP member and said the council decision was in line with CP policy. He said he saw no contradiction in his acceptance of black customers in his shop while he refused to have them as competitors. "They can open their stores in Seshego," he said.

The town council decision, which includes an intended re-introduction of racial segregation signs, has brought the council into direct conflict with the local Chamber of Commerce. The chamber said in a statement that the decision was "purely obstructionist and ideologically motivated."

The chamber met on Friday afternoon and issued a statement vowing to fight the reintroduction of "petty apartheid signs." The statement said businesses in the town had spent money building their concerns and were not going to stand idly by while the "CP councillors persisted with their resolution."

The chamber is also to buy full page advertisement in local newspapers carrying their statement.

A telex inquiry to the University of the North concerning Prof Botha's position had not been responded to at the time of going to press.

Former Rapport editor joins talks on new party

CAC TIME Political Staff 306A

THE three-party negotiations for the formation of a new moderate opposition party were joined yesterday by Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the former editor of Rapport.

The negotiations in the working party, established by the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, remain on track and the six-person committee is to meet again later this week.

The working party has to complete its discussions and work towards a joint agreement on policies and strategies for the new party by next week.

The leaders of the three parties are due to meet in Johannesburg on December 14 to discuss the working party's progress.

Dr De Klerk was the chairman of last month's meeting between the three party leaders at the home of the Transvaal rugby chief Mr Louis Luyt.

Heunis to meet Labour today

CAPE TOWN
6/12/88
By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE leaders of the Labour Party and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, are to meet in Cape Town today for the first time since they clashed heavily in Parliament in September.

Today's meeting follows a warning in the President's Council last week by LP representative Mr Billy Ross that if the government forced through its proposed laws on the Group Areas Act and squatting the government could expect every law to end up in the President's Council next year.

Mr Ross hinted that the Labour Party, the ruling party in the House of Representatives, would refuse to pass any bill submitted to it.

A Labour Party spokesman said yesterday that today's meeting was being held at Mr Heunis's request.

Members of the party's leadership and the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives, including the party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, will be involved in today's discussions.

The talks are the first since Labour Party MPs walked out of a joint sitting of Parliament to discuss the trilogy of group areas bills in September.

Earlier the party's national executive passed a resolution accusing Mr Heunis of being unwilling to negotiate.

No indication has been given of what will be discussed at today's meeting, but it seems likely that it will be aimed at trying to develop a more harmonious working relationship.

All or nothing ^{17645 6/12/88} or it's war, CP tells NBS

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has challenged the Natal Building Society to curtail its operations wherever facilities are not open to all races and has threatened to view a failure to accept the challenge as a declaration of economic war against the party.

In a statement yesterday, CP spokesman on economic affairs and technology Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said the NBS had seven days to convince the party and South Africa of its consistency, and called on it to act against "all or none".

Mr Derby-Lewis said negotiations by both Mr Tom Langley, on behalf of the Transvaal executive of the CP, and himself, in an endeavour to stop the NBS's "discriminatory action" against the CP Mayor of Boksburg, Mr Beyers de Klerk, had proved unsuccessful.

"The NBS are not prepared to see any reason in the matter and as a result the Conservative Party now challenges the NBS to curtail its operations in every city and town in South Africa where facilities are not open to all races.

"Should they not take this action, we will consider this as a declaration of economic war against

the Conservative Party and its members, purely on the grounds of political preference."

The CP saw the NBS move as an attempt to hijack the democratic process in South Africa.

The NBS, he said, was creating a dangerous precedent in South Africa and were using methods "initiated by the country's enemies" to force whites to submit to the political philosophies of a handful of directors of one of the smaller building societies.

"What sort of people are prepared to cut off a man's livelihood because he does not toe their Big Business line? Is this what they call democracy?"

"Should they fail to remedy what is to us a totally unacceptable situation, the CP will have no option but to notify all CP members, CP-controlled businesses and CP-controlled local authorities throughout the country of the fact that the NBS does not want to do business with Conservative Party people or bodies.

"We appeal to all fair-minded people to join us in our efforts to ensure fair play in the South African business sector. After all, anyone could be a future victim of this perfidious type of behaviour should it be allowed to continue."

No comment could be obtained from the NBS.

Budlender: Govt, ANC both in favour of bill of rights

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The government is cautiously interested in a bill of rights and so is the African National Congress, but stronger and more seriously, says the director of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Geoff Budlender.

He was one of the speakers at the human rights conference here this weekend.

But, he said, the government could not

be relied on to create a rights' practice because it did not represent all South Africans — and would make no impact on people who had no part in choosing it.

Though South African common law was strongly rights-orientated, parliament could make whatever laws it chose and was not bound by common law, he said.

Our legal system had a liberal heritage and a number of judges were in favour of a

bill of rights, including our next Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Corbett.

But, Mr Budlender said, it was not a government which created a rights' practice, but the people. Though governments are influential, a rights practice would not emerge if people were to wait for any government to create it.

He said that rights became real when people were prepared to defend them.

Group Areas 'middle road' seems unlikely

Third ambush to come?

One step forward and two steps back. Parliamentarians are likely to be led a merry dance to the group areas polka again next year.

The decision of the President's Council to recommend changes to the Group Areas Amendment Bill will very likely lead to Parliament having to consider this controversial draft law for the third time in the space of 12 months.

For the moment the Bill is back with the Government's legal advisers, having nearly broken up the tricameral Parliament and causing huge embarrassment for the Government as the National Party rammed it through the legislature this year.

The stormy passage of this Bill is therefore by no means over.

The Labour Party has threatened to block the Bill again at every stage of the legislative process if it should reappear on the parliamentary order paper. The results could place further strains on the tricameral system.

The Group Areas Amendment Bill was introduced to Parliament originally as a package of three draft laws which the Government had hoped would improve the application of the Group Areas Act.

The Group Areas Act, which provides for the reservation of residential areas for the exclusive ownership and occupation of property by a particular population group, had largely broken down over the years.

There had been massive "infiltration" of white group areas by people of colour as a result.

Some estimates placed the number of illegal residents in white areas as high as 200 000.

A combination of factors had caused this infiltration.

There was the huge shortage of housing for people of colour and the growing surplus of white housing.

Whites, generally upwardly mobile and also a decreasing population, have tended to desert inner-city sub-economic homes as they move into the leafy suburbs.

Some of this has been made possible by the relative ease with which many whites have been able to obtain home loans from employers and institutions.

People of colour, often encouraged by desperate or unscrupulous landlords, simply moved into places like Hillbrow and Mayfair in Johannesburg, often paying outrageous rentals for the privilege of getting a roof over their heads.

The authorities became powerless

The harder the Government tries to graft an acceptable face on to the Group Areas Act, the more the Indian and coloured Houses, backed by the PFP, give it the thumbs down. NP experts at the Department of Development Planning are back at their drawing boards tinkering with the proposed legislation for a third time before again presenting it to Parliament — but no-one expects the latest version to be received with any more enthusiasm. DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent, reports.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse . . . right place for the Bill is in the dustbin.

to act when, in the now-famous Govenender case, the courts ruled that offenders of the Group Areas Act could not be evicted unless suitable alternative accommodation could be found for them. Given the massive housing shortage for blacks, this was not possible.

The Government's inability to enforce the law became a major issue in the general election of 1987, with the Conservative Party claiming the National Party simply could not, or did not wish to, apply the Group Areas Act.

The National Party therefore devised what it believed was the ideal solution to its problems: It would provide henceforth for both integrated residential areas and for segregated group areas.

A trilogy of Bills was introduced to Parliament. Two of them provided for free settlement areas, where people of all groups could own and occupy properties.

The third, the Group Areas Amendment Bill, provided for a drastic toughening of the present law with regard to segregated residential areas.

In its original form, it made it obligatory for any offender to be evicted even though no alternative accommodation had been obtained. It also provided for a massive increase in penalties.

There followed a huge outcry as the public realised that 100 000 or more people could be evicted from their homes. Lawyers and organisations threatened to clog the courts with actions if the authorities proceeded in terms of the new law.

The Conservative Party aggravated matters by announcing it would take it upon itself to seek out all offenders of the law and ensure the authorities acted against them.

The Government hastily withdrew the legislation and introduced a new Bill which provided for the Minister of Local Government and Housing in each of the three own affairs administrations (for whites, coloureds and Indians) to make the final decision whether offenders should be evicted or not.

It became clear the Government would not act against offenders of the law in irretrievably integrated

areas such as Hillbrow.

The new Bill, like the previous version, was rejected in principle by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates which meant it could not be amended by the remaining chamber, the white House of Assembly.

The Progressive Federal Party moved amendments, effectively blocking the legislative process as any amendments had to be considered by all three Houses.

The PFP also accused the Government of plunging Parliament into its worst crisis and it refused to have anything more to do with procedures concerning the legislation.

Lengthy talks between the NP and the LP resulted in an agreement by the Government to withdraw the legislation which had been dealt with by means of rules changed by the Assembly.

The Government agreed to re-introduce the legislation and the two minority Houses agreed to take part in procedures dealing with it, provided that the three Houses could debate and vote together on the measures in a joint sitting.

The Group Areas Amendment Bill was therefore withdrawn for the second time.

When the three Houses debated the legislation the Conservative Party slammed the procedure as a farce, saying the Government had made a mockery of Parliament and wasted white MPs' time.

The Labour Party and other opposition parties used the joint debate to berate the Government in the strongest terms for the policy of group areas. The debate generated heavy and damaging publicity against the Government.

At the end of the debate, the minority Houses refused to vote on the legislation, prompting the Government to claim bitterly that the agreement between the NP and Labour to dispose of the legislation had been breached.

Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the only way the legislation could be disposed of was by putting it in the dustbin.

The State President has announced the Bill has been referred back to the Department of Development Planning for consideration.

It is now very likely a revised Bill will be introduced in Parliament next year.

What will remain of the Government's original intentions with regard to the legislation, and when it will eventually be implemented, no one is venturing to predict.

Racism cancer in our country can be cured

Stw 7/12/88

304A

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Recently, I attended the funeral service of Velani Thula, 21-year-old only son of a good friend, who had to be buried with 13 bullet holes inflicted by two policemen now under investigation for murder.

Velani died three days before the Strijdom Square killing spree; naturally people attending the funeral tended to link the two distressing events — symptoms of a rising tide of racial violence in our country.

There is deep anxiety among black South Africans — and among other concerned citizens — about the ease with which black lives are snuffed out, whether it is as a "suspect shot while trying to escape", or as someone suspected of being an informer or of supporting the

FRANZ AUERBACH voices the concern of many in South Africa at the way black lives are so easily "snuffed out".

"wrong" political group as in the 1986 Guy Fawkes killing of Bongani Kheswa (11) and the Pretoria massacre, just because they had black skins.

We need to ponder the issue and act on it.

In 1946, Jan Hofmeyr, in his graduation address as Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, said: "The chief cause of our large measure of failure to realise the ideal of freedom in our land is the strength of race and colour prejudice in our midst."

I believe it is wrong to bring up children to judge other human beings as inferior or wicked or ob-

jectable just because — whatever their individual character, profession, age or position in life — they happen to have a skin of a certain colour (or, as happened to some of us 50 years ago, a certain religion).

Unfortunately, race prejudice often leads, from a feeling, to "negative action" like race discrimination by law, or physical attack, or murder, or even genocide.

All those who are subjected to racial segregation by law (group areas, separate entrances, separate schools, etc) feel it is a form of rejection. And it is.

In the heyday of segregated sport I once wrote an article on the topic which I headed "Why won't they play with us?" That sums it up.

One hears stories of black people being beaten up, of men and women who have "inter-racial" friendships being insulted or assaulted, and many whites seem to condone such actions.

People of all races should feel that when they are treated in such a way the law will protect them, the police will show interest in their plight when they seek redress.

In this connection it was heartening to hear Mr Vlok speaking out so strongly against racism when addressing recruits at a recent passing out parade at Hammanskraal.

One wishes that many more people in authority would echo and act on the views he expressed.

But over the past few years the opposite trend has gained ground. People are actively campaigning against "open" facilities.

If you tell your friends that, because of my colour (and for no other reason), you do not want me to sit next to you, ride in the same lift or railway carriage, or share a meal with me, then you are telling your friends to regard me as inferior, to



Dr Jan Hofmeyr recognised the symptoms in the 1940s.

avoid me, in the end to dislike or even hate me.

And from there it is just one step to the absurd argument put forward by some right-wingers: To share facilities with blacks justifies me in feeling threatened and that might make me attack or perhaps kill blacks.

So, it is said, if blacks get killed, as happened in the middle of Pretoria, then blame those who allow all citizens to share public facilities: Phasing out laws enforcing racial segregation ... contributed to the massacre.

This is close to incitement to assault people if you oppose their perfectly legal use of public facilities. It should be stopped.

We should all join hands to combat race prejudice, a cancer in our country which can be cured.

But it will take hard work and joint effort across lines of colour and politics — and those who seek to encourage people to avoid/reject fellow-citizens because of their "race" should be prevented from doing so, for this spreads rejection and hatred and violence.

It should be stopped.

Middelburg council not talking to blacks

By Therese Anders,
Highveld Bureau

Communication between Middelburg Town Council and the town's black communities ended on October 26, the day the Conservative Party took control of the town, the mayor of the Middelburg black township of Mhluzi, Mr Philip Nhlapo, said this week.

He disclosed that he had not heard from the council since election day. Usually he was contacted about every fortnight on matters of mutual interest and forthcoming meetings.

The monthly non-racial Middelburg co-ordinating committee meeting had not been held in November, he said.

"I have not been notified, but I read in the press that blacks are now not welcome in the Middelburg council chamber. This will affect meetings of the Highveld Regional Services Council, which are held

in that chamber."

Mr Nhlapo said there had been a good working relationship between the town council and the black communities when the council had been controlled by the National Party.

"However, unless the CP is stopped now, we will go back in time to where blacks are no longer allowed to walk on the pavements, and where we have to buy our food through shop windows."

In response to the council's restriction on blacks using all but one Middelburg park, Mr Nhlapo said: "We are going to defy that straightaway."

One Middelburg local authority that has been contacted is the Indian management committee. Its chairman, Mr Mohammed Pilodia, said a council letter had arrived informing the committee that decisions made by the previous council regarding trading permits for Indians in the central business district would be repealed.



● DE BEER

Unity is vital — De Beer

Bldwy 7/12/88

PETER DELMAR

THE PFP would lose at least a third of its parliamentary seats, while the NDM and IP would be wiped out if they opposed each other in a general election expected early next year, says PFP leader Zach de Beer.

Writing in the latest issue of the party mouthpiece Progress, De Beer appealed for a single merged party, rather than an election agreement.

De Beer said he doubted whether the advantages of each party retaining its own image would outweigh the potential for "quarreling inherent in the existence of three

separate parties".

"The conclusive factor, to my mind, is that we shall be able to raise far more money as a single entity than we can as three units, even if these are in an alliance."

It is understood that big business is holding out the promise of sponsorship for a unified liberal opposition.

□ Our Port Elizabeth correspondent reports De Beer confirmed yesterday that he was interested in contesting the Hillbrow constituency, should a by-election be held.

SOYA

.....

Mr. T. D. M. 7/12/88
**Dhlomo new chairman
of KwaNatal Indaba**

Political Staff

3064

THE KwaNatal Indaba has elected the Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, as its new chairman.

It also announced that the director, Professor Dawid van Wyk, would be based in Pretoria.

Dr Dhlomo, the secretary-general of Inkatha, succeeds former principal of Natal University Professor Desmond Clarence, who has been chairman of the Indaba since its inception in April 1986.

Prof Clarence, who is to remain actively involved in the Indaba, has been elected an honorary vice-president of the organisation.

The moves are in line with the group's efforts to step up communication with the government and follow the establishment of an office in Cape Town earlier this year, a statement said.

CP threat to cut business with oil giant

MOBIL Oil has been drawn deeper into Boksburg's apartheid row.

CP sources said yesterday Nigel municipality had threatened to cancel its petrol account if the company stopped supplying a Boksburg councillor and garage-owner.

The claim came amid growing indications the CP was preparing for a confrontation with business over its plan to reimplement apartheid.

CP sources said Nigel municipality had written to Mobil threatening to end

304A
8 days
PETER DELMAR 7/12/88

its 000 0001-a-month account. This followed speculation the company would boycott Boksburg councillor T J Ferreira because of his council's decision to bar blacks from amenities. One top CP source said several other CP councils would almost certainly have followed suit. Mobil this week denied it would stop supplying Ferreira. Boksburg Chamber of Commerce president Johan Viljoen said yesterday the black boycott of shops was critical.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht is expected to reaffirm his party's commitment to petty apartheid, regardless of economic pressures, when he addresses a public meeting in the town tomorrow.

□ SIPHO NGCOBO reports that the NBS, which cancelled an agency agreement with Boksburg CP mayor Beyers de Klerk because of the council's apartheid policy, said yesterday its Boksburg clients would not be inconvenienced by the closure because there was a sub-branch in the town.

Boksburg

1966
2/12/88
306A

boomerang



Divorcee Mrs. Monika Sharp, 24 ... slain in her Tamboerskloof flat.

Killing of woman in blue: Man under guard in hospital

By STEPHEN WROTTESEY
Crime Reporter

AN Ottery man found in a coma from a drug overdose hours after 24-year-old Mrs Monika Sharp was slain in her Tamboerskloof flat is under police guard in Victoria Hospital.

Mrs Sharp, the divorced mother of a seven-year-old boy, was found dead yesterday morning on the floor near the front door of her bachelor flat in Hillendale, Kloofnek Road.

Near her were bunches of fresh flowers, which police believe were given to her shortly before she was killed.

Hours after her body was found by her mother, Mrs Bridgette Schuerstedt-Kochem, and a colleague, the 29-year-old man was found unconscious in the locked bedroom of the Ottery house where he lived.

Detectives got into the room through a window and the man was rushed to Victoria Hospital for treatment for a drug overdose.

HEARD SCREAMS

Police established that he bought the drugs about 11am yesterday after asking a pharmacist to obtain a telephonic prescription from a doctor.

Police said the man was later arrested in connection with Mrs Sharp's death.

He was under police guard and would appear in court soon.

Police believe Mrs Sharp was killed late on Monday night. Her son, Michael, was away.

When she finally got inside she found her daughter lying on her back, dressed only in a blouse and a pair of panties.

Police were called and started a search for a man who, according to neighbours, frequently visited Mrs Sharp.

They found out the man lived in Ottery.

Detectives were told the man was resting in a room at the back of the Ottery house.

When they looked inside they saw he was in a coma and in a "state of distress".

● See page 6.

The Argus

Christmas bonus:
Save on your Argus
— see coupon on
page 8 of Tonight.

Gold \$425,25

GOLD traded at \$425,25 an ounce in London today, against \$427,45 at last night's New York close. The rand traded at R2,3227 (\$0,4305) to the US dollar today from yesterday's R2,2717 (\$0,4401) close. — Business Staff.

● See page 31.

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.

Businesses face ruin in wake of boycott over CP petty apartheid policy

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Many Boksburg businesses are facing ruin this Christmas as the consumer boycott bites deeper.

The boycott was triggered by the Conservative Party-controlled Town Council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid.

With many businesses reporting losses of 50 percent on their average turnovers for December, the boycott has already caused one store to close and has put several others on the brink of bankruptcy.

Mr Issy Kramer, independent councillor and head of the Boksburg Alliance protest movement, said today: "We have to do something about the CP's sabotage of Boksburg. I have been inundated with calls from businessmen saying they are facing ruination this Christmas."

Mr Kramer said that several outfitters and shoe shops were facing closure as a direct result of the consumer boycott.

Mr Joe Annegarn, former president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries and spokesman for a group of 60 local businesses who have united to fight the Conservative Party move, today said he had received drastic reports from local shopkeepers who are being put out of business.

Huge drop in turnover

Mr Annegarn said a chain store's turnover had dropped from R90 000 in one day to R18 000.

A butchery which usually has a turnover of R8 000 now reports a R800 turnover.

Mr Annegarn said that 43 businesses in Brakpan, where the CP has also reintroduced petty apartheid, had united to take action against a looming consumer boycott.

Besides monitoring the effects of the boycott, the Boksburg Alliance is collecting signatures for a petition to be presented to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

It was learnt today that the CP is considering laying charges against the Natal Building Society and other companies in connection with contravention of the emergency regulations and intimidation.

The chief secretary of the CP, Mr Andries Beyers, said he would release a statement later today.

The row between the CP and the NBS follows the building society's withdrawal of an agency from Boksburg's Mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk.

Yesterday, the NBS refused to take up a CP challenge to curtail its operations in all towns where facilities are segregated — saying that its action in Boksburg was against Mr de Klerk.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, said the NBS had a week to convince the party and South Africa of its consistency and called on the NBS to act against "all or none".

"Put your seats at stake"

Mr Rhoan Gardiner, a prominent Boksburg businessman, today challenged the Boksburg City Council to "put their seats at stake and to hold a referendum immediately, because 45 percent of the people there "does not give them the mandate".

Mr Gardiner criticised recent remarks by Mr Derby-Lewis that black people have no buying power in Boksburg and said "80 percent of Boksburg's buying power is black".

Mr Gardiner said the Conservative Party should consider the disastrous effects of its actions for Boksburg and the whole of South Africa.

He said the CP needed to review and clarify its policies and carefully weigh up all the facts.

"They need to consider all race groups on moral as well as economic grounds. I am fighting on moral grounds," he said.

Mr Gardiner's son Gavin, who owns a furniture store in central Boksburg patronised mostly by black customers, said he had had no sales in the past 10 days and that all lay-byes he had accepted had been cancelled.

Not selling anything

"I'm not selling anything, business is going down," he said, adding that he knew of two business in the area which were closing down so far.

Sapa reports that the Conservative Party-controlled town council Stillfontein in the Western Transvaal today started putting up "Whites only" signs in the town's parks.

Stillfontein, a gold mining town about 120km west of Johannesburg, has no town hall or municipal swimming bath, but a decision was taken at a council meeting this week to keep the parks reserved for whites only.

It is believed that the council had also been investigating the possibility of introducing an after-dark curfew for blacks.

Meanwhile, the nearby town of Carletonville decided last night to abandon its proposed after-dark curfew of blacks in the town.

At a meeting of the Town Council on November 29 it was decided to investigate the possibility of introducing a night-time curfew.

But the council has since discovered that the legislation that would have allowed the curfew was repealed some years ago.

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Botswana, SA meet on security

Political Correspondent

Government delegations from South Africa and Botswana took the first steps in Cabinet-level talks in Pretoria yesterday to devise a security agreement between the two countries as a matter of urgency.

It is understood that high-level delegations from the countries' security forces will meet at the end of this week to implement yesterday's agreement.

The talks appeared to have made progress on solving long-standing security differences.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha met his Botswana counterpart, Dr G K T Chiepe, for several hours.

He was accompanied by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and senior officials.

Dr Chiepe was accompanied by Mr P H K Kedikilwe, Minister in the office of the Botswana President in charge of public affairs, defence and security.

Mr Botha said officials would be entrusted to meet urgently to design and construct an agreement and a method to resolve the security problems between the two countries.

Dr Chiepe described the talks as "penetrating and frank" with the two sides understanding each other.

She said she still had no knowledge that Botswana was being used to penetrate South Africa.

"We are studying the whole situation and we are using whatever information we can get," she said.

Dhlomo chosen as chairman of Indaba

Star 7/12/88 (304A)

DURBAN — Dr Oscar Dhlomo, kwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, is the new chairman of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

He was chosen to succeed Professor Desmond Clarence at the Indaba's annual general meeting this week. Professor Clarence has served as chairman since the Indaba's inception in April 1986.

The professor, who will remain actively involved with the Indaba, was elected an honorary vice-president.

Accepting the chairmanship, Dr Dhlomo re-committed the Indaba to achieving a new constitutional future for the Natal/kwaZulu region. — Sapa.

Star 7/12/88



The Boksburg Alliance protest movement has already received almost 1 000 signatures for its petition to have the CP's return to petty apartheid in the town overturned. Here petition organiser Mrs Pam Berry receives a signature from businessman Mr Johan Botes.

3-sided attack on Boksburg council

The Boksburg Alliance protest movement, headed by NP-backed independent councillor Mr Issy Kramer, has launched a three-pronged attack on the CP-controlled Boksburg council in an effort to "get things under control".

The first step, said Mr Kramer, would be to call for an immediate extraordinary council session.

"We will ask the CP councillors to present a clear, unambiguous agenda for the rest of their term of office — and to have the decision to return to petty apartheid overturned."

Secondly, all local businesses and industries would be asked to support protest resolutions adopted last week and would be approached for details on the extent to which they have lost business as a result of the consumer boycott.

Mr Kramer said the third step, already under way, was the collection

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By Helen Grange

of signatures for a petition to be presented to Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis.

"We have got to do something about the CP's sabotage of Boksburg. I have been inundated with calls from businessmen saying they are facing ruination this Christmas. It is a demonstration by the CP of their intention to kill where they can't rule," he said.

The CP, in turn, has lashed out at Mr Kramer's plan and challenged him to implement the same strategy in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Vereeniging and "all other towns where the National Party is doing exactly the same".

CP information spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said Mr Kramer's strategy in Boksburg would not deter the CP from carrying out its policy.

Star 7/12/88

Zach de Beer for Hillbrow?

PORT ELIZABETH — Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, confirmed yesterday that he was interested in contesting the Hillbrow constituency, should a by-election be held there prior to his having any other opportunity to get into Parliament.

The seat was captured from the PFP by National Party candidate Mr Leon de Beer in the 1987 general election.

Mr de Beer has since been sentenced to three years' imprisonment — with one year suspended for five years — following a multiple electoral fraud conviction. (3049)

The verdict is the subject of an appeal. If his conviction is upheld, he will automatically lose his seat. Mr de Beer has been suspended from the National Party.

Approached today, Dr Zach de Beer said he could not commit himself "absolutely" to contesting the seat because there were other people in the party — including the former MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman — who might also like to contest the seat.

However, if there was a by-election before the next general election — speculation is the general election will be in April next year — he believed it would be "a good thing for the party for me to have a go at it". — Sapa.

'Disaster course'

THE Conservative Party should consider the disastrous effects of their actions for Boksburg and the whole of South Africa, Mr Rhoads Gardiner, a prominent Boksburg businessman, said yesterday.

Mr Gardiner said in a statement the CP needed to review and clarify their policies and carefully weigh up all the facts.

"They need to consider all race groups on moral as well as

^{sowetan 2/12/83} economic grounds. I am fighting on moral grounds," he said.

He said legislation controlling the Separate Amenities Act should be scrapped.

"If this isn't adhered to, South Africa will have to pay the price for myopic and unrealistic ideas."

304A
Mr Gardiner challenged the Boksburg City Council to "put their seats at stake and hold a

referendum immediately, as 45 percent of the people there "does not give them the mandate".

He criticised Mr Derby-Lewis' recent remarks that black people have no buying power in Boksburg and said "80 percent of Boksburg's buying power is black".

So far the number of Boksburg businessmen to join his stand has increased to 80, Mr Gardiner said.

Indaba prof ^{Sowetan} moves to Pta ^{8/12/88} 306A

THE director of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, will in future be permanently based in Pretoria to extend the organisation's promotion of the Indaba process and proposals.

A statement from the Indaba said the move was in line with the organisation's efforts to step up communication with Government and other important sectors and followed the extension of its activities to Cape Town through the establishment of an office there earlier this year.

Professor Van Wyk will be based in Pretoria as from January 1, 1989. In addition to continuing his role for the Indaba, he will also lecture in Constitutional Law at the University of South Africa.

He said that in practice he had spent far more time in Pretoria and

Johannesburg than in Durban during 1988. This was due to the location of large numbers of important Government and business leaders in the Transvaal. This move to the Transvaal would recognise this reality.

To facilitate this arrangement Mr Peter Mansfield, currently Associate Director of the Indaba, has been appointed Executive Director as from January 1, 1989. Mr Mansfield will continue to be based in Durban.

Mr Mansfield is a former Durban city councillor and has been closely involved with the Indaba since the initial negotiations which produced agreement in December 1986.

He said he believed the new arrangement would strengthen the Indaba's ability to communicate its message to decision-makers in South Africa.

CP lays charges (2049) over apartheid plan

Star 8/12/88 By Helen Grange

The chairman of the Boksburg management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, yesterday laid charges against the Natal Building Society, Save Boksburg Committee, SABC and *Beeld* in a counter attack on bodies opposed to Boksburg's enforcement of apartheid.

The charges were announced in a statement by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Conservative Party deputy leader and MP for Lichtenburg.

Dr Hartzenberg said the charges against the Save Boksburg Committee, SABC and *Beeld* were for alleged contraventions of the emergency regulations governing the media, and the Public Safety Act.

The charge against NBS, laid by Boksburg mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, alleged a contravention of the Intimidation Act.

Mr Hartzenberg said the CP had decided to act because of the "apparent unwillingness or inability" of Government to apply the measures.

The NBS held a meeting with its management committee this morning to discuss the charges, but had no comment at the time of going to press.

Party to go on despite new policy

The Conservative Party-controlled council in Boksburg has been obliged to allow a multiracial Christmas party to take place in its town hall because of an old council by-law.

The management committee resolved last month to make the town hall available only to persons "qualified in terms of group areas."

The old by-law states, however, that the council must, by prior approval, agree that a "disqualified person or anybody who admits such persons to membership may lease the hall and agree that disqualified persons be admitted to the hall".

"The firm giving the party in this case made an application about a year ago and it was agreed to," Mr Robert van der Merwe, acting town clerk, said.

CP to act on blacks in Newlands

By Shirley Woodgate, (304A)
Municipal Reporter

The Conservative Party, already embroiled in the storm over the reintroduction of petty apartheid in Boksburg, has announced plans to take steps against blacks living or doing business in Newlands, Johannesburg.

Addressing a ratepayers' meeting, Mr Jacques Theron, leader of the four-man CP council team and recently elected councillor for the area, warned: "Non-whites currently living or conducting businesses in Newlands are doing so illegally and should expect steps to be taken against them very soon."

"It is also illegal for anyone to either sell or let property in Newlands to non-whites," he told the meeting, which he said was attended by two unsuccessful NP municipal election candidates.

"Guilty estate agents could well lose their registrations."

Mr Theron also warned householders the police would be asked to investigate the occupation of backyard rooms by relatives or friends of black domestics who did not have a permit to do so.

He later said it was clear that the mood at the meeting favoured these steps as early as possible, in spite of the controversy in Boksburg.

8/12/88 (30/9)

Left-wingers resume their unity talks

Political Correspondent

Delegations from three political parties to the left of the Government met in Cape Town today for a nitty-gritty round of negotiations on a possible merger.

Representatives of the Progressive Federal Party, National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party have already met several times to discuss unity between them.

The parties have set a deadline of December 14 to produce an agreement. Until then, they have agreed not to make statements to the media on the progress of their negotiations.

However, sources close to the talks say discussions so far have given cause for optimism.

Talks have focused on common principles and a statement of intent, and this has presented relatively few difficulties given the similarity of the goals.

'WHITE' STRATEGY

More tricky issues to be finalised include the strategies of the new party and the leadership.

The Independent Party has made it known it prefers to concentrate on a strategy which would wrest power from the National Party by luring the governing party's supporters and dissident MPs. This would imply a strategy which is based on white parliamentary politics.

The other parties, particularly the NDM, is keen to focus on the entire political spectrum.

The question of leadership is likely to be difficult, given the personal differences between NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and IP leader Dr Denis Worrall.

IP sources insist surveys show Dr Worrall has more personal public support than PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

204A B/day 8/12/88

Now the CP counter-attacks with charges

THE Conservative Party yesterday laid charges against the Natal Building Society, Save Boksburg Committee, SABC and Beeld as pressure mounted on the CP-controlled Boksburg council to abandon its petty apartheid policies.

CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a statement Boksburg's management committee chairman Gideon Fourie had laid a charge against the Save Boksburg Committee, SABC and Beeld. The charge related to the emergency and media regulations which make it an offence to support a consum-

PETER DELMAR

er boycott.

Hartzenberg said Boksburg mayor Beyers de Klerk had laid a charge against the NBS in terms of the Intimidation Act.

Hartzenberg said the CP had decided to act because of "the apparent unwillingness or inability" of government to apply the measures.

The NBS declined to comment and the Save Boksburg Committee could not be reached last night. Sapa reports that

spokesmen for the SABC and Beeld also declined to comment.

Meanwhile, Boksburg councillors, businessmen and sportsmen opposed to the CP moves are pinning their hopes for a resolution of the crisis on a meeting with Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Boksburg NP MP Sakkie Blanché said yesterday Heunis had agreed to meet the Save Boksburg Committee. The date

● To Page 2 →

Now CP counter-attacks with charges

of the meeting was being kept a secret, he said.

NP and independent councillors are expected to move the repeal of the apartheid measures at an extraordinary council meeting tomorrow.

In other developments yesterday:

□ Boksburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries president Johan Viljoen said estimates that the boycott was costing businesses R150 000 a day were conservative. He described the situation as

← ● From Page 1

"extremely critical".

□ The Consultative Business Movement announced plans to hold a closed meeting next week for business leaders to discuss the CP's "infringement of human dignity and rights".

□ Sapa reports that the Stilfontein council has begun erecting "Whites only" signs in the town's parks.

204A B/day 8/12/88

Angry divide over PFP in Cosatu

3047
Witwatersrand
2-8/12/88

A STORMY debate during the annual congress of Cosatu's powerful Witwatersrand region preceded the decision to meet the PFP.

Workers were strongly opposed to meeting the PFP because of a widespread belief that the party is bankrolled by big business and its policies are shaped by this.

Mass dismissals during the miner's strike last year by Anglo American, of which PFP leader Zach de Beer is a director, were raised as one of the objections to the talks.

"Workers pointed out that De Beer and his party are in favour of deregulation and privatisation," said a union organiser. "We in Cosatu see the

policies as part of an attempt to undermine unions."

Delegates also complained that the PFP had not strenuously opposed the Labour Relations Amendment Act in parliament, which the labour movement says is designed to shackle the power of unions.

The refusal of the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), which represents all the major employer organisations, to recommend that its members refuse to implement six controversial clauses in the law was also a major source of discontent about closer alliances between Cosatu and organisations like the PFP.

South Africa pays the price of being world's maverick

Star 8/12/88

304A

BY JOHN DUGARD, of the Human Rights Commission

Saturday is Human Rights Day — the 40th anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.



Before World War 2, states took the view that the way in which a state treated its own citizens was its own domestic affair. It was not the function of international law, a legal order governing relations between states, to concern itself with such matters.

Consequently, governments of the world made no serious attempt to intervene in Nazi Germany to protect German citizens — Jews, political dissidents, trade unionists and others — against their own government.

During the course of the war, as the atrocities of the Nazi regime became apparent, world opinion changed. As a result the United Nations was created not only to maintain international peace, but in the words of the UN Charter, also to “encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all”. The notion that a state might treat its own citizens as it liked was abandoned.

Abstained

The UN Charter did not elaborate on the rights and freedoms to be promoted. This was left to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which took the form of a resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10 1948.

No state voted against the resolution, but the Soviet bloc, Saudi Arabia and South Africa abstained.

The Universal Declaration proclaims the basic civil and political rights: the right to life and liberty; freedom from torture; the right to a fair trial; freedom of conscience, expression and association and the right to take part in the government of one's country.

It also reaffirms the most important social, economic and cultural rights: the right to favourable conditions of work, to equal pay for equal work, to form and join a trade union; the right to education; the right to a decent standard of living and the right to marry and found a family.

All these rights are to be recog-

nised without distinction based on race, sex, language, religion or political opinion.

The Declaration is not a treaty binding on states with enforcement machinery to provide for measures to be taken against delinquent nations. It is a statement of faith, of aspiration — “a common standard of achievement for all people and nations”.

However, since 1948, the principles of the Declaration have been given legal form. Many states have enacted enforceable Bills of Rights modelled on the Declaration into their own domestic law.

Two international covenants, one to protect civil and political rights, and the other to promote economic, social and cultural rights, came into force in 1976. These covenants, which impose legal obligations on states and provide machinery (albeit weak) for their enforcement, have both been accepted by some 90 states.

In addition, the Declaration has been given legal form in regional treaties, notably the European Convention on Human Rights (1953), the American Convention on Human Rights (1978) and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1980).

However, it is not only Western states that accept the Universal Declaration. Even the Soviet Union, starting with the Helsinki Accord of 1975, and now in Mr Gorbachev's initiatives, acknowledges the need to promote human rights in accor-

dance with the Universal Declaration.

These developments have influenced the evolution of international common law.

Many of the rights and freedoms contained in the Declaration are today viewed as part of international common law, with the result that states which have signed no international convention or which abstained from voting on the Universal Declaration, are bound in law to respect and promote human rights.

Thus South Africa cannot claim it has no legal obligation to respect human rights.

South Africa

Perhaps the main significance of the Declaration is that it has destroyed the old notion that human rights are not a matter of international concern. Today the promotion of human rights features prominently in the foreign policies of states. No state can claim that the way it treats its own citizens is a domestic matter only.

For more than 20 years the National Party Government rejected the Universal Declaration in word and deed. The notion of human rights was alternately rejected as a manifestation of Western decadence or as a sign of Russian imperialism.

In the United Nations, Mr Eric Louw protested that South Africa's race policies were a domestic affair. In Pretoria Mr BJ Vorster complained that human rights were getting out of hand.

In the 1970s, National Party rhet-

oric began to change. Mr Pik Botha publicly acknowledged that the Government had erred in not endorsing the Universal Declaration and Government spokesmen stopped attacking the notion of human rights.

The rhetoric of the NP Government may have changed, but not its actions. South Africa continues to be a principal violator of the Declaration: the law and practice of apartheid violates virtually every provision of the Declaration.

Detention without trial is a regular feature of our way of life; mental torture is permitted by law; the freedoms of speech, assembly and association are drastically curbed; racism permeates our law and the franchise is denied to 70 percent of the population.

To aggravate matters, Pretoria makes no attempt to identify with the human rights movement. South Africa is not a party to any human rights convention. There is no Bill of Rights in our Constitution. Rights have no part in NP philosophy. It is preoccupied with power.

“So what,” cynics will say — if they have read this far. “What does this all matter?”

It matters a lot. South Africa owes its present precarious position in the modern world to its poor human rights record. Economic decline, political isolation and sanctions are all the result of the Government's refusal to respect the rights and freedoms contained in the Universal Declaration.

Unfortunately white South Africa fails to realise the link between the violation of human rights and sanctions. But it is very clear.

The international community believes that the violation of human rights is a matter of international concern.

Consequently it has imposed sanctions to coerce South Africa into fulfilling its international obligations. Sanctions will therefore remain until the South African Government makes a serious effort to promote human rights.

BOKSBURG: CP Calls in Politics

CME

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8/2/88

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party yesterday laid a complaint with the police against the Natal Building Society, the anti-apartheid Save Boksburg Committee, the SABC and Beeld newspaper as pressure mounted on the town council to abandon its petty apartheid policies.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg announced that the chairman of Boksburg's management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, had laid the complaint.

Dr Hartzenberg said the complaint was related to the emergency and media regulations which make it an offence to support a consumer boycott.

Boksburg has been hit by a crippling black consumer boycott since last weekend which is threatening to put several retailers out of business.

Dr Hartzenberg said the mayor of Boksburg, Mr Beyers de Klerk, had laid a complaint against the NBS in terms of the Intimidation Act.

The NBS recently cancelled its agency agreement with estate agent Mr De Klerk.

He said the impression had been created that the government silently supported the boycott and was practising selective double standards.

'Economic sabotage'

The SABC, the NBS and Beeld have said they would comment on the moves once their lawyers had been contacted.

The Save the Boksburg Committee was not immediately available for comment.

A Boksburg businessman, Mr Rhoan Gardiner, warned the CP spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Derby-Lewis, not to challenge and ridicule the businessmen of the town.

Commenting on the CP possibly forming a fund to help these businesses survive, Mr Gardiner said, "in Boksburg there are 200 small businesses who have to survive and your party will be held responsible for the economic sabotage which is taking place."

Meanwhile, Boksburg councillors, business and sportsmen opposed to apartheid are pinning their hopes for a resolution to the crisis on a meeting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

The date of the meeting has not been released. President of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries Johan Viljoen yesterday described estimates that the boycott was costing the town's businesses R150 000 a day, as too conservative.

NP and independent councillors are expected to move the repeal of the apartheid measures at an extraordinary council meeting tomorrow.

CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the party's municipal committee had abandoned investigations into whether CP councils could impose curfews to keep blacks off their streets at night.

It's God's will, says council's 'English Boer'

By MUSA ZONDI and ZEYNEP ERSAN

"I WAS sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matthew 15 vs 12)," are the words the newly-elected mayor of Boksburg, a staunch Conservative Party member, uses to describe his role.

Beyers de Klerk, proud of his Irish-Scottish heritage, calls himself an English Boer. He believes he has been called by the Almighty to be a mayor.

"I must either do what the world says or what God says; and I am doing what God tells me to do," he says. He seats himself behind the big desk in the centre of the office. From one of the drawers he takes a Bible.

"If I want to know about your organisation, I would take the document and read it. This is my document."

De Klerk is a businessman, not a politician. He says he was asked several times by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, to stand for the council in Boksburg but he always refused, until the day God instructed him to do so.

"There have been several threatening phone calls," he says. "I am prepared to lose my life, my wife, my children, my business - everything that I have - to carry out God's will."

The anticipation of losing some of his businesses came to fruition two days ago, with reports that he has lost his building society agency.

He believes races have to develop separately in order to keep their own identity.

"We are a minority here. We (the CP) are here because we are realists, we want to protect what we have. One cannot forever rule people of other colour."

De Klerk says: "Of course some of the people might be offended but the majority voted for segregation. South Africa is a country of minorities."

"Zulus should rule Zulus, Sothos should rule Sothos, coloureds should rule coloureds ..." he says.

"I am not saying races should not mix." He made a point by saying "Zulus are seen as being as proud as we are".

"If I come to stay in your area I must be prepared to abide by the rules."

"We are not chasing anybody away. There have been Indians doing business in this town for a long time now. Until such time that a proper place has been set aside for them they will continue trading here."



A Reiger Park resident wishes white Boksburg the compliments of the season. He was at a rally called this week to launch a consumer boycott of the town.

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

A dry, white Christmas — whatever you may call it

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

RESIDENTS of Vosloorus and Reiger Park yesterday delivered their "Christmas present" to "white" Boksburg — a total consumer boycott.

Because boycotts have been outlawed by Emergency regulations, few are prepared to actually say the word. But despite the substitution of gentle euphemisms, the intention is clear: from today Boksburg's black communities will take their business elsewhere until the Conservative Party-controlled town council stops implementing discriminatory by-laws.

At a press conference yesterday, Reiger Park management committee chairman Butch Jantjes delivered this message to the Boksburg town council: "You can have your white Christmas without the snow because your wish has been granted with love from the residents of Reiger Park."

Despite the haste of the black communities' management committees to distance themselves from the word "boycott" their reluctance is clearly a thinly veiled safeguard from possible prosecution.

An anonymous pamphlet doing the rounds in the two townships does not mince words: under the heading "Keep Boksburg White" it calls upon residents to "Boycott Boksburg town ... hold back your buying power and show the racist CP your strength".

While Jantjes insisted that Reiger Park's management committee and other "radical" organisations were "absolutely at one" on this issue, he admitted that in the past councillors had "sat back and let ourselves be kicked around". It remains to be seen whether their structures will gain any long-term credibility in their communities as a result of the CP issue.

One event in the escalating campaign of defiance is a huge sit-in to be held at Boksburg Lake — now officially out of bounds to blacks — this afternoon.

There is no municipal police force in Boksburg and it remains to be seen whether the South African Police will be present.

Storm breaks over Boksburg: but who's the real 'skelm'?

THE Conservative Party has dismissed reaction to what happened in Boksburg ten days ago as a "storm in a teacup, brewed by the National Party". In one sense, the CP is right.

There is no doubt that the public has been genuinely shocked by events of the past week in CP-controlled towns. But for its outrage to focus solely on the CP is a little off the mark — after all, the party is simply using a law created and maintained for 35 years by the Nationalist government.

About two years ago, when the Boksburg town council was still controlled by the National Party, a representative of the non-racial South African Council on Sport (Sacos) inquired whether it might use the Reiger Park swimming pool for galas.

The answer was no. The Reiger Park pool was for "coloureds", Sacos was told — not for blacks or Indians.

On another occasion in Actonville, the response from the Benoni town council (also NP-controlled) was the same, because the Actonville pool is for Indians — not "coloureds" or blacks.

Municipal swimming pools in so-called white group areas have always been out of bounds to blacks — except by special permit for a one-off event.

As CP member of parliament, Koos van der Merwe, briskly pointed out this week: "The NP has opened so few facilities, there is little for the CP to close."

From the other side of the political spectrum, Sacos' Transvaal spokesman, Agit Gandaby, expressed a similar view: "All (the CP) has really done is explode the myth that sport, or anything else in South Africa is, or ever was, non-racial."

While Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha spent the week denouncing the CP for its "keep the kaffirs at bay" mentality, it seemed momentarily to slip his mind that the Separate Amenities Act and Group Areas Act had been created by his party for precisely the same purpose.

NP members lost no time in seizing on the potential of their new role as good guys simply because some even badder guys had ridden into town.

The picture was, if anything, enhanced by the remarks of Boksburg's management committee chairman and former HNP parliamentary candidate, Gideon Fourie, who described the government as "leftist liberals".

But the basic fallacy of this image

There's more than a little humbug in National Party's noisy outrage over recent events in the East Rand town, writes CHARLOTTE BAUER

was neatly, if unwittingly, summed up by Pik Botha himself when he said of CP supporters: "(You) still take your black maids along to look after your white children on whites-only beaches."

Again it was the CP's Van der Merwe who put the remark smartly back in its place.

"Allan Hendrickse may not swim in the sea, but if we decide he cannot swim in Boksburg Lake, then all of a sudden it is immoral and unchristian."

White Botha, throwing caution to the winds, continued to haul the CP over the coals for discrimination "based merely on the colour of skin" government sources were quoted as saying there was no question of scrapping the Separate Amenities Act.

About the same time, the CP-controlled Brakpan Town Council announced its intention to follow the Boksburg example.

The Johannesburg City Council, meanwhile, had taken pains to distance itself from "the irresponsible actions of the Conservative Party", but would not go as far as dissociating itself from the town councils in question.

Johannesburg city councillor for the PFP Tony Leon expressed little surprise.

"The city council has always adopted a half-hearted approach to desegregation. The last major reform came in 1973 with the opening up of parks and libraries to all races. Buses, pools and recreation centres remain closed."

It has been speculated that city council leader Danie van Zyl is treading softly for fear of jeopardising his presidency of the Transvaal Municipal Association, in which the CP now holds a majority.

Leon commented that although CP action in Boksburg, Brakpan and Krugersdorp was "the other side of the same coin" it was still "very retrogressive".

It is clear that what the CP-controlled town councils on the Reef have done goes against current Nationalist sentiment rather than policy.

Stilfontein next to mount campaign against blacks

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By Dawn Barkhuizen

Conservative Party-controlled Stilfontein in the western Transvaal has become the latest town to follow Boksburg in enforcing stringent petty apartheid measures.

The mayor, Mr Pieter Groenewald, scoffed last night at possible action by the National Party against CP-controlled town councils enforcing the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and challenged the National Party "who have many towns with separate amenities, to decide whether they want to be honest or not".

RIGHTS

Included in the measures taken by the council is a decision to erect notices in about 43 parks and public lawns "merely informing people of their rights in terms of the law".

Mr Groenewald said the council would also:

- ⊗ Attempt to force a multiracial hotel in the town centre to become a "whites only" preserve.
- ⊗ Take action against black businessmen with major shares in businesses in the white CBD.
- ⊗ Build public toilets for whites only.
- ⊗ Reserve an area with benches and awnings — "not a park" — for blacks to rest between 1 pm and 2 pm in the CBD.
- ⊗ Consider re-introducing an after-dark curfew for blacks, should the situation warrant.

Mr Groenewald said the action was being taken because white taxpayers felt they were "being pushed out of their own town".

"White residents shop in other centres because the town is being flooded out by blacks."

'Nannies may not visit parks'

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

MIDDELBURG — The closing of Middelburg's parks to blacks means that some white children will not be going on outings to the swings and merry-go-rounds during the school holidays.

The town's CP council has closed Middelburg's residential parks to all blacks, even nannies accompanying white children, said the town clerk, Mr Peter Colin, yesterday.

Mr Colin said the council had decided that any black person found in a residential park — the town's central Van Blerk Square is still open — would be told to leave by municipal officials.

A mother, Mrs Magda Hilligan, said it was unsafe to allow children into the park without supervision. "If the maid is good enough to look after children at home, I can't see why they can't be allowed to look after them in the park as well," she said.

The CP, which ousted a National Party-dominated council in the municipal elections with a pledge to keep the town white, was merely carrying out a mandate given by the people, he said.

Events in Boksburg did not deter them.

"Most of that is media-hype. But in the event of a boycott, whites will probably stream back to the CBD and business would boom."

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Local government 'more politicised' — Heunis

Political Staff

THE position of town clerks had become much more important with the implementation of constitutional reforms at the level of local government, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Constitutional reform in local government entailed the devolution of power with the result that more and more important functions and powers were being handled by local authorities, he said in Cape Town at the induction of the first members of the Council of Town Clerks.

"The recent municipal elections indicated that the constitution of the elected councils is becoming increasingly politicised.

"In the interest of sound government and administration it is therefore necessary that the post of town clerk should be elevated above politics, and especially party politics, and be professionalised."

Boksburg: a microcosm of SA

GRAHAM LINSKOTT, an Argus Special Correspondent, reports from Boksburg

THE small East Rand town of Boksburg has suddenly become a microcosm of the debate which has raged for 40 years: Can ideology be made to prevail over economic forces?

And — a more recent question — is black consumer power reaching levels where it can substantially influence the political agenda?

In Boksburg the ideology is the Conservative Party's neo-Vervordism, and it is being challenged head-on by the town's black and coloured inhabitants — apparently with telling effect.

But is there any reason why these communities should not challenge the modified version of apartheid presented by the National Party? Or, for that matter, the policies of any other future ruling party?

The point should not be overstated. The blacks of Vervordism and the coloureds of Heiger Park have to shop somewhere. At present they are going to adjacent Germiston, Benoni and Alberton. Boksburg is almost symbolically shunned. It would be much more difficult — if not impossible — to similarly project consumer power on a wider scale.

Coiffage of politics

But the blacks and coloured people of Boksburg are going to considerable difficulty and expense to shop elsewhere and they have had impact.

They have thrown Vervordian apartheid into question at the most basic level. And they have caused a mobilisation of business and other interests which would not have happened spontaneously. People are co-operating against the CP council who, only a few months ago, would not even have spoken to one another.

Black consumer power in Boksburg has already influenced the local political agenda. Boksburg today is the very coalface of South African politics. What happens there could have far-reaching repercussions.

The CP in Boksburg are aggrieved that they should be singled out for condemnation

and ostracism. And they have a point.

Neighbouring CP-controlled Brakpan has taken a cautious and more pragmatic line in resegregating amenities and has escaped censure. CP-controlled Springs has not had to resegregate because in most areas the previous Nationalists never did desegregate.

Nationalist-controlled councils such as Vereeniging (constituency of the party's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk) still practise the cast-iron racial segregation they always did.

Why should the CP in Boksburg be hammered for stepping back into line?

It seems it is because the step has been backward, in the eyes of the national and the international community, harming the country's interests across a range which includes the economy, diplomacy, international sport and even internal reconciliation.

Meanwhile, Boksburg is under intense pressure.

Its shops are empty, estimates of the drop in turnover ranging from 50 to 90 percent. The people of Vervordism and Heiger Park have declared that their Christmas bonuses will be spent elsewhere.

There are rumblings that the national chains and even some industries might withdraw. The prospects of attracting new industry seem remote. Sports bodies in the town are under pressure.

The National Bowling Championships have already been taken away from Boksburg.

Businesses which stocked up for a Christmas rush which has so far not materialised could face bankruptcy in a few months. It is a tough struggle and the community on either side of the political divide is distressed.

The CP refuses to give in to what it regards as political blackmail. Meanwhile, ordinary people, its own included, are suffering. This is life at South Africa's political coalface.

But if there is a positive side, Boksburg could decide, in microcosm, a struggle which would be devastating if repeated countrywide.



BUSINESS BACKLASH: A board of a deserted BP garage in Boksburg protests against the CP's discrimination. Below: The controlling CP councillors in Boksburg stand together in defiance of the outcry, but profess their loyalty to the Vervordian principles under the gaze of the world's press.



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Unlovely East Rand town is storm centre

BOKSBURG is one of several small towns in the Transvaal's unlovely East Rand, where the hovels of the earth have been spewed up into mine dumps which share the skyline with winding gear and the apparatus of secondary industry.

Yet Boksburg itself, about 20 minutes' drive from Johannesburg, is a pleasant oasis in the midst of all this.

The mine dump which overlooks it is an old one which has been grassed to look like a natural hill. Between the dump and the town is a small lake ringed with green lawns, willows and poplars and spoiled only by hideous new municipal buildings nearby, in mock granite.

The town centre has two long main streets with smaller ones cutting across. The shop fronts are old-style and pleasantly inviting.

Boksburg is inhabited by 45 000 whites, 65 000 blacks and 10 000 coloured people. Many of its shops are run by Indians, but these commute daily from other East Rand towns such as Benoni because Boksburg has no Indian group area.

By far the majority of Boksburg's breadwinners are employed about equally between East Rand Premier Mines and industry, which has caught up to mining in economic terms. Until the 1950s, Boksburg (and all of the East Rand) was prime Labour Party country — the same Labour Party which pressed for the industrial col-our bar.

With the demise of Labour, these towns seceded between the old United Party and the Nationalists for many years, before seemingly going firmly Nat in 1977.

Then in the municipal elections this year, Boksburg, Brakpan and Springs fell to the Conservative Party, the Nationalists only just holding on in other East Rand seats such as Germiston.



Middelburg snubs all-race committees

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Middelburg's new Conservative Party-dominated Town Council has pulled out of one local non-racial advisory committee and drastically reduced its representation on another.

The Town Clerk, Mr Peter Colin, said the council had decided not to appoint any representatives to the Middelburg District Development Committee because it believed that this body was a duplication of council affairs.

The committee previously sat in the council chamber but this has now been restricted for white use only.

Another non-racial committee which also previously used the council chamber was the Middelburg Co-ordinating Committee, made up of representatives from the town's various race groups.

Mr Colin said the council had decided to appoint only one councillor to this committee instead of all nine councillors.

It had been decided that there would be no meeting of this body between the election and the New Year to give the councillors a chance to settle in.

Stilfontein set to put up the 'whites only' signs

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party-controlled Stilfontein in the Western Transvaal has become the latest town to follow Boksburg in strictly enforcing petty apartheid.

The mayor, Mr Pieter Groenewald, last night scoffed at possible action by the National Party against CP-controlled town councils enforcing the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and challenged the NP "who have many towns with separate amenities to decide whether they want to be honest or not".

Included in the measures taken by the Stilfontein Town Council is a decision to put up notices in the 43 parks and public lawns "merely informing people of their rights in terms of the law".

RESERVED HOTEL

Mr Groenewald said the council would also:

- Attempt to force a multi-racial hotel in the town centre to become a "whites only" preserve.

- Take action against black businessmen with major shares in businesses operating in the white CBD.

- Build public toilets for whites only.

- Reserve an area with benches and awnings, "but not a park", for blacks to rest in between 1pm and 2pm in the CBD.

- Consider re-introducing an after-dark curfew for blacks, should the situation warrant it.

Mr Groenewald said the action was being taken because white taxpayers felt they were "being pushed out of their own town".

MANDATE

"The people paying for the parks don't allow their children go there because of all the loiterers. White residents shop in other centres because the town is being flooded out by blacks."

The CP town council, which ousted a National Party dominated council in the October municipal elections with a pledge to keep the town white, was merely carrying out a mandate given by the people, he said.

Events in Boksburg did not deter them.

"In the event of a boycott, whites will probably stream back to the CBD and business would boom".

Triumph for the NP

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THE Conservative Party's October victory in a few municipalities has been a triumph for the National Party.

The Nats have turned the CP's attempts to reintroduce visible public apartheid (VPA) into a public relations exercise which makes them look like bleeding-heart liberals to their friends abroad and those inside SA who desperately seek signs of genuine change.

In fact, it is part of the "red-herring factor" on which the Nats thrive. Black political analysts have noted previously how the Nats take a side track on thorny issues, and then make these appear to be genuine steps on the road to reform.

Sanctions

The small CP victory has given the Nats a wonderful opportunity. The Nats have asked the CP if it is aware of the wider consequences, namely tighter international economic sanctions, and damage to domestic race relations.

That question suggests two things: One, that sanctions and damaged race relations are the result of the re-

introduction of VPA, not the Nats' own crude apartheid policies; two, that the Nats themselves no longer practise apartheid and their policies are accepted by black people.

The Nats avoid the question: If blacks are good enough to work, eat, play and patronise cinemas in white areas, why are they not good enough to live and attend schools there?

From the old Terrorism Act in the 1960s through the current Internal Security Act and the Emergency Regulations, it has been a criminal offence to advocate economic boycotts and sanctions.

Yet last week, SABC news bulletins repeated statements by black groups that they will "withhold" their economic support of white businesses in Boksburg.

That smells fishy. It suggests that it is kosher to call for a boycott of "racist" whites, but not of the others. In fact, recent municipal and parliamentary elections show that some 80 percent of whites support either

the VPA of the CP or the less visible public apartheid of the Nats.

In a move remarkable for its hypocrisy, National Party members in Vanderbijlpark last week reportedly called on blacks to "withdraw their buying power" from the town's centre in retaliation against the CP's decision to keep the town white.

Cynicism

That is political opportunism, or at best, cynicism. "Withholding economic support" is a euphemism for sanctions and boycotts.

Should extra-parliamentary activists call on their followers to withhold economic support from all-white businesses until the Nats introduce genuine democracy, they would be detained and face charges of treason.

The red-herring factor is repeatedly seen in issues such as the Menlo Park affair. A black youngster at a predominantly white private school is barred by the Menlo Park school from its athletics

track.

A huge outcry — orchestrated by the SABC which warns about greater international sports isolation — follows. The Government by criticising the Menlo Park move, gives the impression that it believes in non-racism.

White sports stars who claim they are not interested in politics suddenly dance to the Nat/SABC tune, endorsing anti-Menlo Park petitions.

The central issue is overlooked: If any black youngster is acceptable enough to run alongside whites on a school athletics track, he/she is good enough to sit alongside whites in the same classroom.

The Nats in fact are doing exactly what the CP says it will do.

Black classrooms are chronically overcrowded, white schools are closed for lack of pupils. Instead of doing the obvious, the Nats expect us to applaud when they reveal how much more money they are pumping into black education.

Similarly, Baragwanath Hospital is chronically overcrowded.

The Nats announce — again — that another hospital will be built in Soweto. Amid the applause, little mention is made of the fact that under-utilised hospitals for whites could give some relief to black patients.

Lenasia and Ennerdale residents remember the long-running saga of "St Nowhere," the unopened new provincial hospital.

Delegates

For more than two years, the provincial authorities, responsible for the hospital, plead that not sufficient funds or staff (or both) are available to open it. Eventually, after widespread public protests, the House of Delegates steps in to announce that it has found enough to open the hospital next January.

The HoD announcement comes in the run-



up to the municipal elections. Residents are expected to believe that the good Nats have made it possible for their good, apartheid-entrenching HoD to properly utilise the tricameral system created by the Nats in the first place.

In the African, "coloured" and "Indian" areas, the Government creates an artificial housing shortage by delaying proclamation of land for development. Eventually, some land is made available. The Government announced a subsidy for first-time homebuyers. Blacks are expected to applaud it for its generosity.

Then the Government introduces a red-herring: henceforth, the land will be developed by the private sector, thus pricing new houses out of the range of many ordinary workers.

Now the developers, the employers who cannot provide housing loans and the building societies which can't give low-interest loans, are seen as the culprits, not the policies of the Nats which force the economically worst-off to stay furthest away from their workplaces.

These red-herrings are gobbled up, not by blacks who often wonder what the fuss is about when they can't feel the benefits of Nat "reform," but by Pretoria's "friends" abroad, and whites in South Africa who are annoyed by blacks' refusal to be grateful.

Schabort leader of new right-wing body

PRETORIA — A new white supremacist organisation has been formed after Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok slapped restrictions on the White Liberation Movement on November 17.

The White Nationalist Movement of SA (WNM) was founded nine days later and restricted WLM leader Johan Schabort nominated as head of the new body.

WNM spokesman E van der Bergh said last night Schabort had been nominated in his absence, because of restrictions on him, as leader of the new organisation. (304A) B/day 9/12/88.

Van der Bergh said the WNM would "put the white man first in all circumstances" and protect the "white race from annihilation".

Police sources said they were aware of the formation of the WNM and were studying the matter.

Vlok yesterday restricted two student bodies allegedly continuing activities of the SA National Students' Congress that he restricted earlier.

Government sources said lawyers were considering amending orders to end this situation. — Sapa.

**New white
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supremacist
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organisation**

A new white supremacist organisation has been formed "as a direct consequence" of the restrictions the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, put on the Blanke Bevrydingsbewing (BBB) on November 17.

The Blanke Nasionale Beweging of South Africa (BNB) was founded nine days after the BBB had been restricted, and the restricted leader of the BBB, Professor Johan Schabert, was nominated as the leader of the BNB, a BNB spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

A BNB statement said the movement would "put the white man first in all circumstances" and protect the "white race from annihilation". — Sapa.

Star 9/12/88

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Leave Boksburg in peace — Treurnicht

It was time the mischievous propaganda and what he termed "illegal intimidation" directed at Conservative Party members and Boksburg town councillors ceased, the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night.

In a 90-minute speech to about 1 000 people in Boksburg — hundreds of whom had been bussed in from outlying areas and Pretoria — he rounded on the media, the National Party, the Natal Building Society, the Moderator of the NG Kerk and liberals.

AWB PRESENCE

Dr Treurnicht told the audience, which included a large contingent of members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) carrying banners and placards, that Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, should not be released unconditionally.

Dr Treurnicht went to great lengths to say that the Conservative Party was not the enemy of "the brown people".

He suggested that residents of the coloured township of Reiger Park should read the emergency regulations as the party believed that their boycott action of Boksburg shops was in violation of the regulations.

Dr Treurnicht also said newspapers should read the regulations as well because reports being published were, the party believed, also a contravention.

However, he also asked whether it was not time that those involved in the boycott, including the Boksburg Alliance — a group of businessmen who

By Tim Cohen and Norman Chandler

are fighting the CP's segregation policies in the town — should hold discussions with the Boksburg Town Council in the interests of the town and particularly the whites.

He appealed for Boksburg's community to be left in peace and their legally elected municipal representatives to be given the chance to act in the interests of ratepayers.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was not obsessed with apartheid signs and under a CP government they would not suddenly appear throughout the land, nor would they appear in Boksburg.

Threats of sanctions and boycotts were being used to intimidate whites into capitulation, said Dr Treurnicht.

'LUXURY HOME'

Dr Treurnicht said the Conservative Party could not see why Nelson Mandela should be released unconditionally, and the party was shocked to discover that he was now staying in "a luxury home". He said this was against the "feelings of the people of the land".

He attacked the Afrikaans morning newspaper *Beeld*, saying it was not welcome at CP meetings. The newspaper was "the enemy of Afrikanerdom". However, he held up his hands to prevent members of the audience — who were by now shouting "Out! Out!" — from removing the paper's reporters from the meeting.

Sowetan 9/12/88

A day to remember

304A

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

THE world's nations will be commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights tomorrow.

The Declaration was signed on December 10, 1948. It was adopted by 48 nations and South Africa joined eight countries who abstained. No country voted against it.

South Africa was represented by the National Party, which had just come to power on the Apartheid ticket.

"It is interesting but not strange that South

Africa is not a signatory of this declaration," said the regional organiser of the Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Aubrey Lekwane, in an interview.

"The Apartheid policy legislates on a basis of race and deprives sectors of the South African community almost all the rights stipulated in the Declaration.

"The Lawyers for Human Rights aim to create public awareness of these fundamental rights and to protect those who are deprived," said Mr Lekwane.

A gathering to celebrate the day will be held at the Central Methodist Church, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg tomorrow from 11am.

The gathering will be addressed by the American Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins and Rev. Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of

Churches.

"Even the most basic and fundamental rights stipulated in the Declaration are violated by South African laws," said Mr Lekwane.

One of the basic rights states that "everyone has a right to take part in the government of his country" has been violated as a majority of the South Africans are denied that right.

"The Internal Security Act, helped by the state of emergency, has managed to take away "the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association"; freedom of opinion and expression, freedom to receive and impart information and ideas through the

media".

"The Separate Amenities Act takes away "the right of equal access to public services.

"The creation of homelands effectively deprived millions of South Africans of their citizenship and nationality," said Mr Lekwane.

'Scrap it'

THE Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry, which represents the largest concentration of business in the country has called for the repeal of the Separate Amenities Act which allows local authorities to set aside public amenities for certain race groups only.

'Club not broke'

CAPE TOWN Spurs were not insolvent and would be able to settle its debts by "this week". Mr Noel Johnson, sole director of the club, told the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

In papers before the court, Mr Johnson, is opposing an application by chartered accountant Mr Michael Felthun, for the liquidation of Cape Town Spurs. The case continues on December 14.

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WHICH MEASURED
26" AND WEIGHED
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THE LIGHTEST OF ALL
VERTEBRATES AND THE
SMALLEST CATCH POSSIBLE
FOR ANY FISHERMAN IS THE
DWARF GOBY (SCHINDLERIA
PRAEMATURUS) WHICH
MEASURES 0.47-0.74 in
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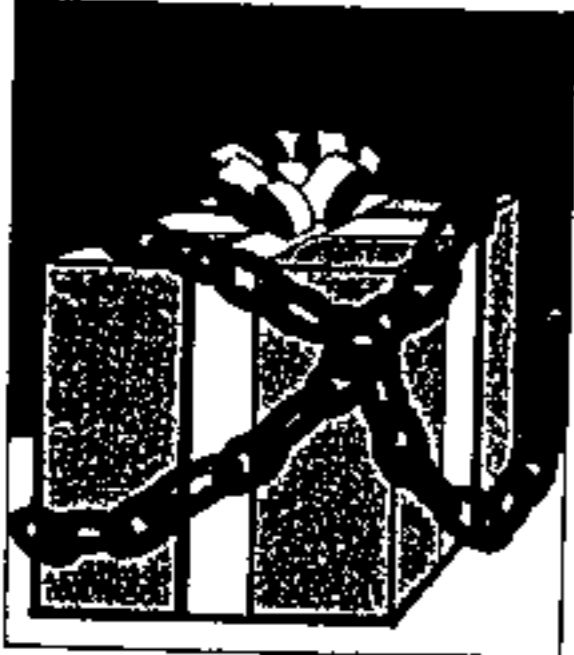


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DICK MILLINGTON

The ghost of apartheid past

■ The Conservatives in Boksburg will get their white Christmas — poor and bleak



Boksburg has written itself into history: it will be a name that stands for blunt, Verwoerdian apartheid, a place where the light of reform was plunged into darkness. But as events unfold there,

and in other towns that follow its example, the demonstration effect could be profound indeed.

It does not do to get too moralistic or simplistic about the matter. It was, after all, Verwoerd himself — hero of the folk that he was — who said it was better to be poor, white and separate than rich and mixed. But now real people are finding out what that really means. Many, particularly organised business in the town, have already said they don't like it.

Boksburg perhaps never really deserved its off-blue-collar image — the car up on bricks, the kids in a tyre swing, the wife in curlers and the dogs barking at passing blacks. But, though it has some extremely affluent areas, that *Siener in Die Suburbs* scenario stuck; like Brakpan, Nigel and Springs, it was seen as verkramp at the core.

So no one was really surprised that the Conservative Party (CP) won 12 of the town's 20 council wards in the October

municipal elections. But then the party revealed what everyone should have known — that it meant exactly what its leaders spouted on public platforms — and Boksburg has become the party's first urban testing ground for its perceived mandate to roll back any and all manifestations of change or reform. The "whites only" signs are back.

The result over the past fortnight has been a quiet but devastating boycott of the town by black and coloured consumers resident in the area — and they account for half of Boksburg's spending power. "This town is bleeding," warned Boksburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry chairman Johann Viljoen. Next year, market researchers estimate, black Boksburgers' spending will top R320m — though perhaps not, if the boycott is maintained, in Boksburg.

The growing importance of black consumer power is a national phenomenon ignored, as Boksburg demonstrates, to the peril of the Right and those unfortunate enough to live where they have control, white or black. This inevitably raises wider implications.

There is the principle of the boycott itself. Those, including the *FM*, who are opposed to sanctions against SA need to consider whether the same principle — a "liberal" seizure of the moral high ground through impoverishment — is not at work here. After all, if Boksburg council capitulates, or the town dies on its feet, foreign sanctioners will say this is simply a local demonstration of the efficacy of their tactics.

This is partly true. But there is one important distinction to be borne in mind: that sanctions are imposed on a country as a whole by outsiders, and that this boycott represents a consumer choice targeted at people who have said plainly enough they don't like the colour of the consumers' skin. That makes it a gut issue; the man in Reiger Park is taking his Christmas bonus elsewhere; there is no law that requires him to do otherwise. He is saying: if you don't want me in your park, I won't buy in your shop.

Sanctions are brought about through the imposition of various foreign laws and agree-

ments in a manner that distorts the rules of international trade. It prevents the consumer from exercising choice. Boksburg is a terribly *visible* symbol of racism, and the diversion of buying power in response is an understandable, human response.

It remains true that if you want to hurt someone, you hit his pocket. And so, because of that new-found visibility of the place, multinationals and companies who profess a

social conscience have already taken their own action. A number of corporate accounts, the *FM* learns, are now to be relocated to banks outside Boksburg. A major local employer, Colgate-Palmolive, has applied for rezoning to place it outside the council's ambit. Various contracts with Boksburg firms have been cancelled.

This means that the town's rates and tax base is already shrinking — and that, coupled to the direct money drain of the boycott, means Boksburg cannot be sustained as a prosperous entity unless Boks-

burgers and the CP do not really mind sliding back into the economic climate of the Thirties. With bittersweet irony, Reiger Park council leader Buch Jantjies observed of white Boksburgers: "They wanted their town white, they are going to get it white; it should be a white Christmas for them."

But Boksburg is not a monolithic place — white dissension is evident in all kinds of ways. There is a distinct backlash against the council — partly reflected in Issy Kramer's stunning victory over the CP in last week's by-election (*See People*); and in the generally held view, by NP council leader Chris Smith, for example, that a re-fought election would see off mayor Beyers de Klerk and his right-wing cohorts in no uncertain terms. It must after all be hard to take the stigma of your town having become the polecat of the country. Even sports fixtures are being cancelled since the council will not allow mixed team participation in its facilities.

Of course, the CP can legally take these steps because of the Separate Amenities Act — which specifically means that separate does not have to be equal, and that certain facilities, including park benches, can indeed



NP council leader Smith

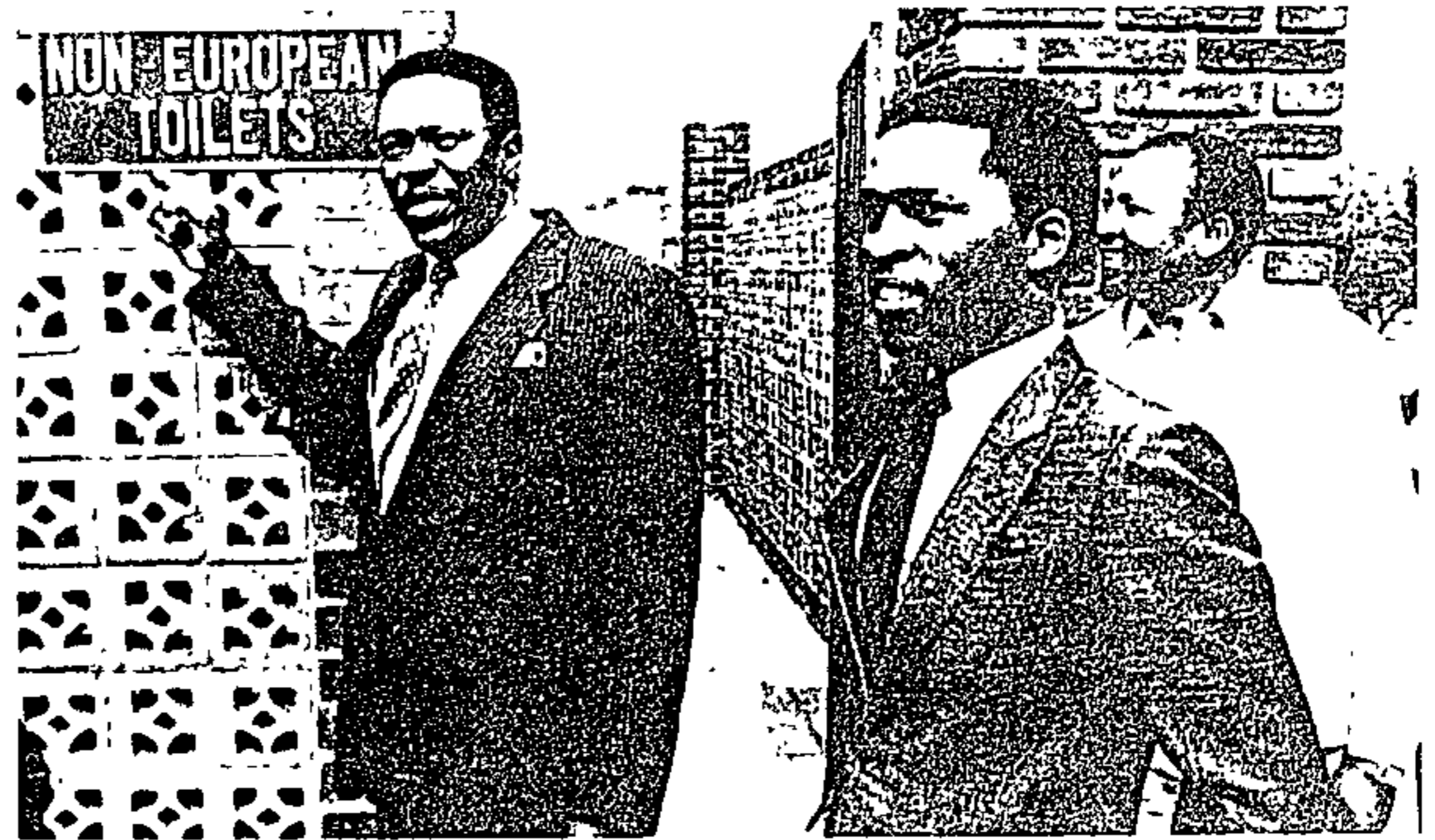


Trying to woo them back... but the stigma remains

(20/1/89) (304A)



Mayor De Klerk ... will he lose the next election?



Black civic leaders inspect Boksburg Lake ... writing on the wall

be reserved for whites. The Act was passed by the Nats in the Fifties, has been under investigation this decade, but stays on the books. So what is preventing Pretoria from simply scrapping it — as it should have done years ago, in line with the reform pronouncements of P W Botha?

So far government has been perfectly content to sit back and let the demonstration effect of CP rule sink in. Maybe it will get rid of the Act — but for the moment it can bask in the false perception that blatant racism is somehow a CP invention. This is not to deny that it has changed its ways and continues to do so — too little, too late, perhaps; but this week alone it responded to the permanence of black urbanisation by making huge tracts of land available for black settlement adjacent to Soweto (see *Current Affairs*). This, to an extent, ameliorates the intended effect of its squatting law which helped precipitate the constitutional crisis in parliament this year.

Of course, merely responding pragmatically to an ineluctable fact is in itself not particularly praiseworthy — but it is a far cry from the bulldozers and forced removals of the not-so-distant past. Remember that before Khayelitsha there was Crossroads and the notorious winter night raids on squatters; new townships in the PWV should avert such a repeated violation of human rights.

Ironically, while boycotts as such are illegal, this one actually suits Pretoria and no action has been taken against the residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus. The argument remains that if blacks really wanted sanctions against SA, and the resultant destruction of their jobs — which some church leaders insist they do — the best way to bring this about would be to resign *en masse*. It is spending power and discretionary capital which is being diverted from Boksburg — not labour.

Elsewhere on the CP-run East Rand (Brakpan, Springs, and Nigel), the black communities were waiting to see if the action in Boksburg leads to changes back to (rela-

tive) normality before embarking on boycotts of their own.

Boksburg, and the almost universal condemnation of CP policy it has provoked, has also provided a conundrum for blacks: whether it is preferable to have outright racism, CP-style, or the National Party's rather more embarrassed version, which at least holds out the prospect of more sensitive treatment. On balance, it seems the latter is easier to live with. But once the Boksburg issue is resolved — or if it simply drags on indefinitely into the new year — the focus of attention will definitely turn to the Separate Amenities Act, group areas and the race classification laws.

This is because, even despite the Act, town councils and local authorities do have the option of desegregating facilities within their control. What this usually amounts to is concessions for the local coloured, Indian or African township to use the town hall or swimming pool for some annual gala event. But white swimming pools, in particular, are as a rule reserved for whites only throughout the country. Johannesburg's bus services are

cunningly segregated.

What Boksburg has done is crystallise the offensiveness of overt petty apartheid, which is more-or-less a way of life in SA anyway. In September, a long-distance swimming event finishing at Bloubergstrand in Cape Town had to be moved elsewhere because blacks are not allowed on Bloubergstrand. In May, the mayor of Durban, Henry Klotz, was suspended from the NP for refusing to go along with fellow party members on the council who decreed the city's two remaining whites-only beaches should stay white.

Just prior to Klotz's suspension, the Supreme Court declared that Port Elizabeth's beaches (famed for Allan Hendrickse's illegal swim), had never legally been closed to blacks and would therefore have to be opened. But then, up popped the Administrator of the Cape, Gene Louw (NP), with an appeal — pending whose decision the beaches were once again closed.

But it wasn't all regression. In June, Sats officials burnt whites-only signs in Cape Town after racial segregation was formally abolished on trains in the western Cape. A

similar step was taken on suburban commuter trains in the PWV a month later — although the lifting of apartheid on all mainline trains looks like taking a little longer.

In short, since local government is an "own" affair, the rule, however you bend or apply it, is that the facilities under any council's control are often appropriated for the ruling race group. The CP's Koos van der Merwe is quite right in accusing the Nats of practising *skelm* apartheid and in challenging NP Transvaal leader F W de Klerk to throw open facilities in his Vereeniging constituency, or belt up The Independent Party's Jannie Momborg similarly challenged an altogether unctuous Foreign Minister Pik



MP Blanché ... fears of 'overcrowding'

~~304A~~ 304A FMAIL 9/12/88

Botha, who lambasted the CP over Boksburg, to "put your money where your mouth is" by telling President Botha to scrap the Act.

What excuse is there for not doing so?

Boksburg's MP Sakkie Blanché (NP), argues that separate amenities cannot be done away with — particularly not in Boksburg where the ERPM mine has its operation in the centre of the town, with 28 000 black hostel dwellers. If the facilities were opened to all, "the pool would be theirs, not ours. The Act is therefore necessary in a town like ours," Blanché says. He has called on the mine to build its own pools. "Scrapping the Act would create problems and drive people to the CP for all time," he believes, while conceding "we could probably make changes

to the Act."

In effect, the building of sufficient "own" facilities for each race group is government's answer to the problem — as Chris Heunis has explained in his own inimitable fashion. In the meantime, of course, whites may enjoy "their" facilities because, they say, they paid for them.

According to independent councillor Issy Kramer, however: "The CP argument that blacks don't pay rates and taxes is refuted by the fact that blacks don't own the homes they live in; and their consumer income subsidises the trader and industrialist thus enabling him to pay his dues to the local authority."

Again, the point about the interdependence of the economy is made. And there is a further dimension: the Nationalists, in at-

tempting to reform, have felt it necessary to create structures which make for a maximum of local control. White local authorities, particularly in the Transvaal, are very often verkramp. This exposes a serious flaw in reform — that it should be executed from the top down, not bottom-up.

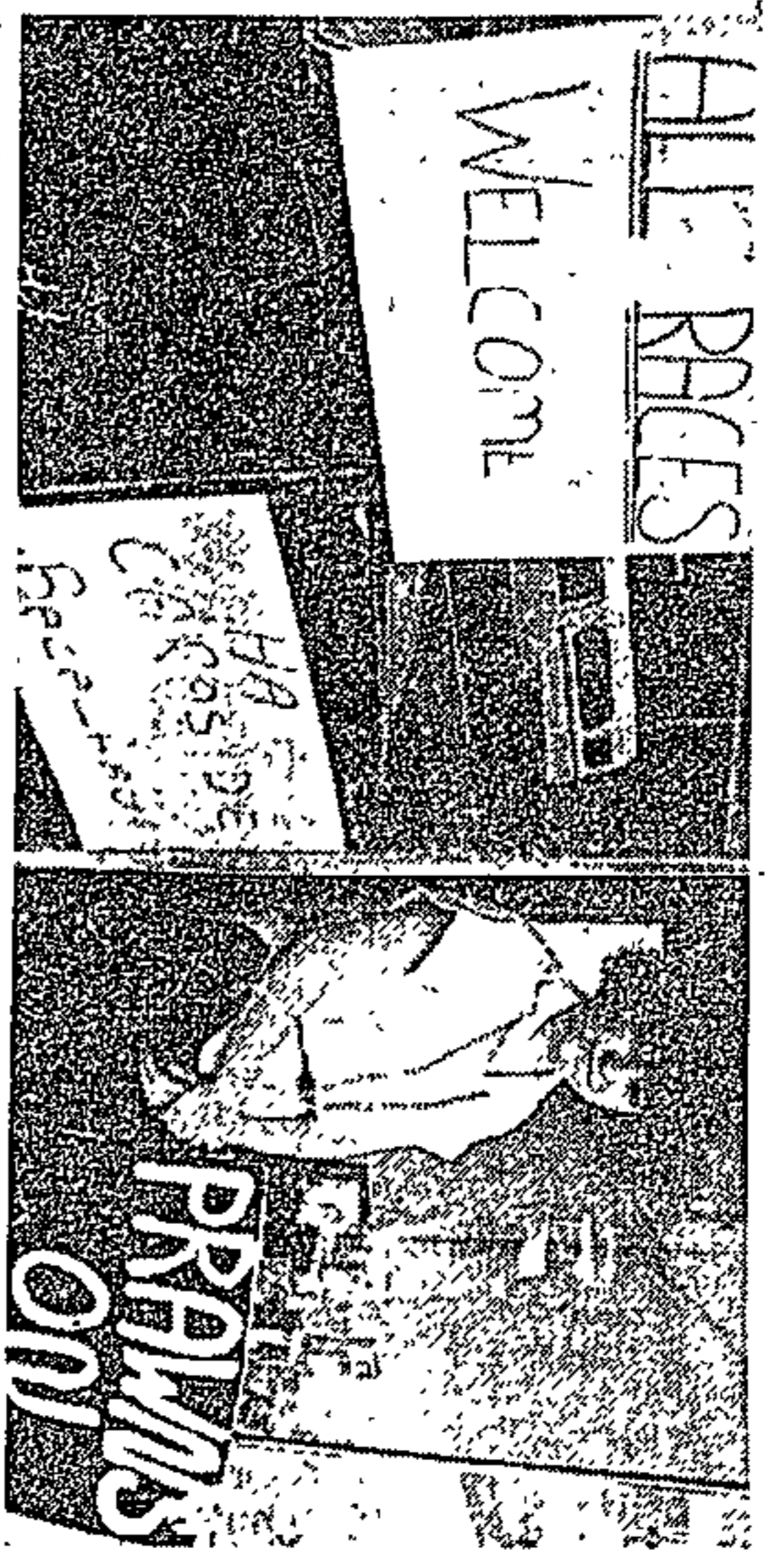
What Boksburg is doing is offensive — and it is paying a severe penalty for its ways. Government is pleased at the penalty because it believes voters will return to its fold as the High Street shops fail and the multinationals relocate and the buyers stay out. But the Separate Amenities Act is ultimately its baby — and this particular baby is going to have to be thrown out with the dirty bathwater of the past.

The Nats cannot have it both ways. ■

304R
9/12/88

BUSINESS

Boksburg learns a lesson in the business of politics



Signs of humanity in Boksburg shop windows betray a deeper fear — bankruptcy.

THE Conservative Party's determination to reintroduce petty apartheid in Boksburg has produced a hitherto unparalleled degree of consensus between white and coloured communities.

And, ironically, this consensus was reached in the finest tradition of apartheid — separately, at two different meetings last week.

Both were held in church halls. Both started 30 minutes late because there were too many people struggling to get in. Both kicked off with a word of prayer by a local priest.

Both heard solemn talk of Man having been created in God's image, and of dignity having been affronted in the most unpardonable manner.

Overflowing

Both heard speakers passionately declare, to rounds of applause, that "we have to stand up and show the CP that we are not going to take this anymore".

The ball started rolling on Tuesday night at Saint Anthony's church in the coloured suburb of Reiger Park, home to about 37 000 people.

An overflowing hall packed with foreign TV film crews heard Henry Jeffries of the Save Boksburg Committee state the CP for suggesting that Reiger

People are "talking business" with a difference in Boksburg these days. ROBERT GENTLE attended two meetings at which the crisis over the CP council's return to petty apartheid was discussed.

Park residents were "riding of the backs of white taxpayers" and pointed out that they were in Reiger Park not out of choice but because group areas had uprooted them from Benoni 24 years earlier.

"The CP has stated its view, namely that although black shoppers are not barred from shopping in the CBD, they would prefer it if they shopped within their own residential areas."

"We will heed that call and show them a different kind of power... We will take our trade to those who recognise us as equals."

The point was made that this was not a fight against the CP, but against the wider problem of general segregation.

"This is not about swimming in 'your' pools, walking on 'your' lawns, dancing in 'your' halls or playing on 'your' sports fields," Jeffries said. "This is about our pride and dignity as human beings."

The following day, the full import of the Reiger Park meeting finally dawned on local shopowners.

Signs in shop windows saying "All races still welcome" hid a much deeper fear — that of going bankrupt.

Salvatore "Zac" Zucchini, owner of a large clothes shop, summed it up in a terse

statement: "There's just over R1 000 in my till right now. Only R12 came from white customers."

Zac recalled a recent survey which found that barely 30% of white Boksburg residents supported their local shops.

With Zac's story repeated the length and breadth of Boksburg's Commissioner Street, the main commercial artery, the huge turnout of concerned white Boksburg residents at the local Methodist Church that night came as no surprise.

The meeting was decidedly businesslike. As Boksburg MP Sakkie Blanche said in the opening minutes: "Politics ended yesterday. Now we're talking business."

Representatives from major commercial, industrial and sports associations all confirmed the worst, outlining boycott measures which meant that even marathons were to bypass Boksburg.

An affable black representative from nearby Vosloorus had the white audience in the palm of his hand as he spoke of the boycotts.

"Have you ever seen a bus stop on a highway," he asked. "Well, the CP are trying to build one." He got a standing ovation.

Statistics were cited which showed that that day, December 1, Boksburg's OK Bazaars should normally have turned over around R90 000. The actual figure recorded was said to have been only R18 000.

The other figure that should have been cited, but wasn't, concerns the spending power of Reiger Park alone. Assuming that 25 000 of its inhabitants routinely spend a mere R30 a week, the monthly fall-off in revenue would be R3m.

Proud

But crucial as the business statistics were, the political dimension could not be washed away. Mohamed Navsa, a key member of the Reiger Park committee, told the hushed white audience that this protest was all very well, but only a few months ago his community could not use the town hall and other facilities.

"Will it be again permit here, permit there? I want to feel proud of Boksburg, but you've got to make it happen for me."

It was sincere, from the heart, and it hit home. There was a tangible sense of shame in the white audience, a realisation that if and when the CP threat disappeared things could never go back to the way they were.

The goalposts have been shifted. A new local political agenda has been set — and the irony is that residents have the CP to thank for it.

Star 9/12/88

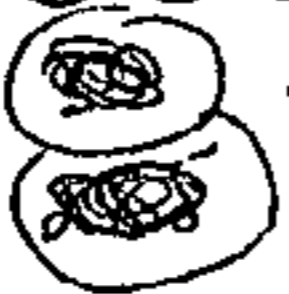
Heunis to meet Boksburg businessmen

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Chris Heunis has agreed to meet Boksburg's boycott, battered business community to discuss the Conservative Party's decision to segregate amenities in the town.

The Minister will see a delegation of the Boksburg Alliance on January 20, according to National Party members in the town.

Mr Heunis might also be presented with a petition which to date has been signed by more than 8 000 of Boksburg's residents objecting to the CP town council's decision to reintroduce apartheid.

The Boksburg Alliance includes businessmen who are opposed to the CP policy and who are deeply concerned at the economic



By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

3007

repercussions for the town due to consumer boycotts by the coloured and black communities.

One business has already been forced to close its doors because of the boycott, while others report that turnovers have plunged.

Government sources have indicated some action is likely to be taken to clip the wings of the Boksburg Town Council.

Also on the cards, according to one senior source, is the eventual repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, although

this is not imminent.

Government policy is to create adequate additional amenities and recreational facilities before the Act can be scrapped, so as to prevent the overcrowding of existing resorts.

Until the Act is repealed, it is not clear what the Government can do to override town councils such as Boksburg.

There is a school of thought in the Government that it should be left to local communities to put pressure on town councils.

Mr Heunis is likely to throw some light on the Government's views when he meets the Boksburg Alliance.

● See Page 6.

CP's Mulder ^{304A} ~~3~~ denies supporting ^{Star 9/12/88} Soweto extension

Conservative Party spokesman and MP for Randfontein, Dr Corne Mulder, has fiercely criticised a statement by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, that Dr Mulder supported the proposed extension of Soweto.

He said Mr Meyer's claim was blatant misinformation.

He said it was with shock that he noted the Deputy Minister's statement on TV1's 6 pm and 8 pm news bulletins last night that he supported the development of Soweto next to Randfontein, Westonaria, Krugersdorp and Roodepoort.

"Immediately after Mr

Meyer's announcement on Monday that the Government had agreed to go ahead with the development of Soweto next to the heart of the West Rand, I sent a statement in which I voiced my strong opposition against the move. This statement was fully reported on by the SABC and the press.

"At a meeting yesterday at the municipal offices of Westonaria, which was attended by advocate Mr SC Jacobs, advocate Mr Jurg Prinsloo, Mr Arrie Paulis, various council members, officials and myself, a statement was made, sharply criticising the Government's resolution." — Sapa.

New black township will increase crime

West Rand Bureau

The planned black community at the front door of white communities on the West Rand created the danger of massive black intrusion in the area and would lead to an

increase in crime and social evils such as squatting.

This was the opinion expressed by Mr S C Jacobs, MP for Losberg, at a press conference held in the Westonaria council chambers yesterday.

The conference was held after a closed discussion between Westonaria, Randfontein and Krugersdorp following the announcement on Monday of the planned expansion of Soweto.

In addition to Mr Jacobs, Mr Jurg Prinsloo, Mr Arrie Paulus and Dr Corné Mulder, all Conservative Party MPs, were present at the meeting. Randfontein, which is still busy with its own investigation, refrained from comment.

Mr Jacobs said the Government had now shown it had finally moved from the creation of separate infrastructures for the black population in or near black national states.

This development would mean an enforced removal of whites who had lived in the areas for years and who would not want to live in a black community.

He said the Government had not fulfilled its promise to recognise the residents in the affected area and added that it had shirked its duty towards the landowners, whose property values were poorly influenced by the announcement.

Stop the propaganda

Cape Times 9/12/88
CP
30 U.A.
Own Correspondent

Heunis to meet on Boksburg

BOKSBURG. — The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night called for an end to what he said was propaganda and intimidation concerning CP councils.

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at the Boksburg Town Hall, said the residents of Boksburg should be left in peace and their elected representatives should be given the chance to "act in the interests" of the ratepayers.

"The CP is not obsessed with apartheid signs. Under a CP government a

plethora of apartheid signs will not appear throughout the land and also not in Boksburg."

Dr Treurnicht said it was "malevolent propaganda" to say non-whites would not be allowed to shop in Boksburg.

"The CP and the town council of Boksburg acknowledge the need for decent housing and facilities for the non-white communities and have already proposed discussions and co-operation concerning the provision of facilities for each community."

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has agreed to meet representatives of the Boksburg Alliance next month for talks on the CP town council's return to apartheid, it was disclosed yesterday.

The NP leader in the council, Mr Chris Smith, yesterday said Mr Heunis would meet alliance representatives in Pretoria on January 20.

Members of the alliance, which includes NP and independent councillors and business groups, are hoping Mr Heunis will make a public statement on the government's intentions on the Separate Amenities Act — the legislation which gives CP municipalities the right to enforce segregation.

•CP leaders in Boksburg were expecting 2 000 supporters to cram into the 1 700-seat town hall for last night's meeting to be addressed by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

304A



NATIONAL

Treurnicht calls for end to 'illegal intimidation' of CP

BOKSBURG. — It was time the mischievous propaganda and what he termed "illegal intimidation" directed at Conservative Party members and Boksburg town councillors stopped, the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night.

In a 90-minute speech to about 1 000 people — hundreds of whom had been brought by bus from outlying areas and Pretoria — he rounded on the media, the National Party, the Natal Building Society, the Moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk and liberals, and threatened to switch off the electricity to Soweto if his party became the government.

Dr Treurnicht told the audience, which included a large contingent of members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — who hoisted aloft banners showing their three-legged symbol — that Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, should not be released unconditionally.

Many of the AWB members — some armed with pistols and batons — gathered outside the Boksburg Town Hall displaying banners bearing CP slogans.

Dr Treurnicht went to great lengths to say that the Conservative Party was not the enemy of "the brown people".

Coloured and black people this week began an economic boycott of Boksburg's businesses.

He suggested that residents of Reiger Park read the emergency regulations as the party believed that the boycott action was in violation of the regulations.

The Boksburg AWB regional leader, Mr Koort Scheepers, said after the meeting: "The AWB can't differ from the CP. We are working towards a 'volkstaat' and the whole idea is to get our people to rule ourselves."

DIVIDED

"This land is no longer ours; it's being divided up between Indians, coloureds and blacks and they are making the decisions over us."

"We're working towards a system where whites can rule over whites. We want our own schools, churches and other facilities," he said.

Mr Scheepers added: "What we want for ourselves, we also want for others. They must, however, look after themselves."

"Our taxes are being subverted to other racial groups; we pay 92 percent of the taxes and they pay eight percent yet they want three equal shares." — Sapa.



EYES RIGHT: Burly AWB supporters show the flag at the Conservative Party meeting in the whites-only Boksburg Town Hall.

Party leaders in talks on combined opposition

3044

By BARRY STREEK 9/12/88

THE three-party negotiations for a new moderate opposition party reached a critical stage yesterday when the leaders of all three parties joined the discussions of the joint working party.

After yesterday's discussions, both the Independent Party leader, Dr Denis Worrall, and the National Democratic Movement leader, Mr Wynand Malan, were all smiles but refused to say anything more than: "The talks are continuing."

The working party is to resume its discussions on Monday, possibly for the last time before the December 14 deadline,

when the party leaders meet in Johannesburg to formally consider the working party's report.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, also participated in yesterday's discussions in Cape Town, but left early to catch a flight.

No statement was issued after yesterday's meeting, but it is clear that a convergence of views on policies and strategies has taken place between the three parties.

However, not all the problem issues have been resolved and while there is cautious optimism by the representatives of the parties, it is not yet clear whether a formal decision to form a new party will

be taken at the December 14 meeting.

Last night Dr Worrall and his party's two negotiators, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr David Gant, and Mr Malan and his two party's two negotiators, Dr Esther Lategan and Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, held informal talks without the PFP representatives.

The success of last night's informal talks could determine whether the decision to form a new party will still involve all three groupings.

Enthusiasm for the new party throughout the country is reported to be widespread and the desire to keep this momentum going could facilitate a resolution of the remaining problem areas.

NEW OPPOSITION PARTY **304A**

Almost three in one

With less than a week left for the three left-of-centre parties to effect a positive change in SA's political spectrum, negotiations between the six representatives of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Independent Party (IP) and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) are said to be tough. However, after two meetings, the talks are still on the rails.

While both Denis Worrall's IP and Wynand Malan's NDM are sticking to their guns — the main difference between them re-

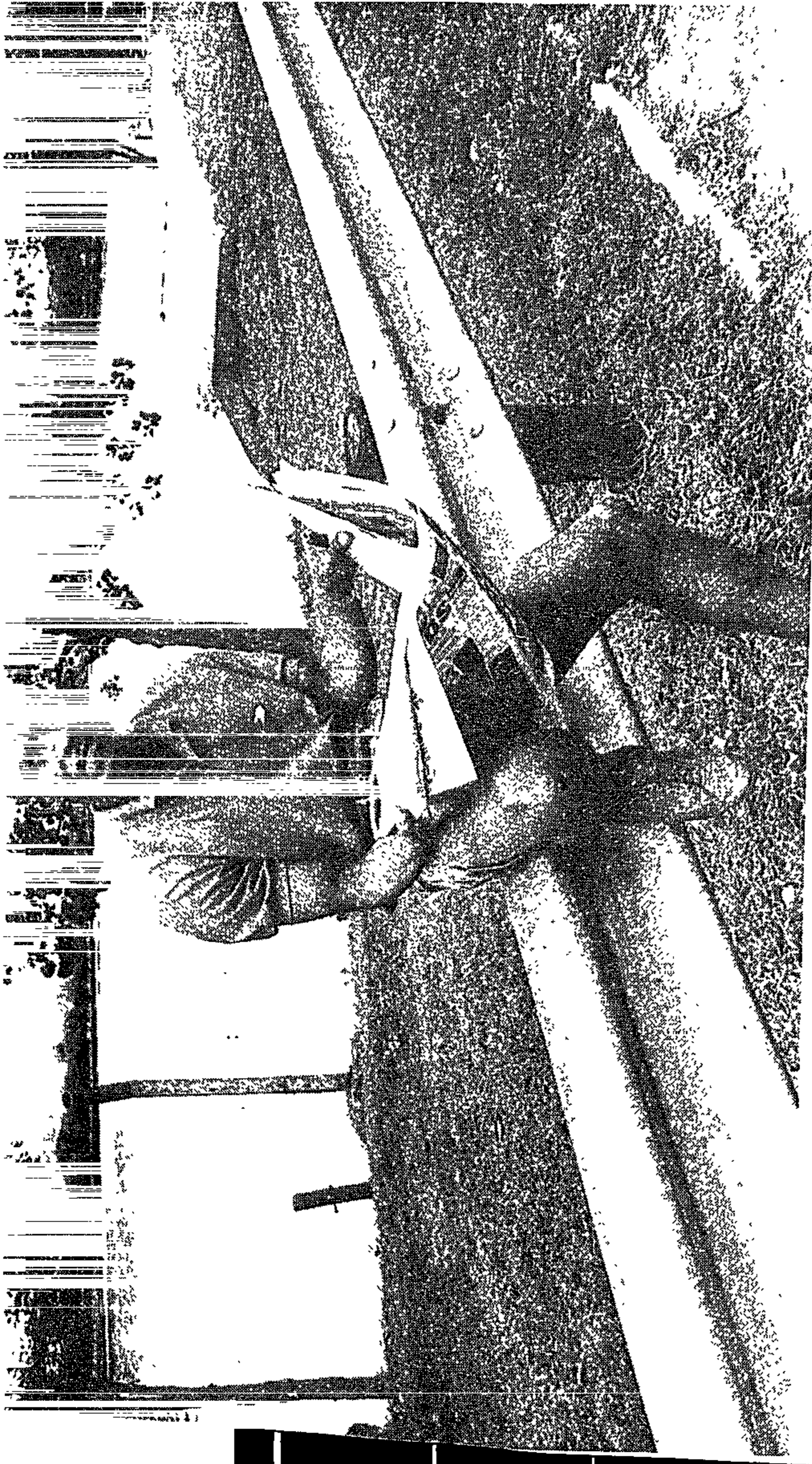
FINANCIAL MAIL DECEMBER 9 1988

304A FINANCIAL 9/12/88.

the existence of three separate parties, I very much doubt."

De Beer's vision of a single party which includes Worrall and Malan may have its practical advantages. The PFP has the grass-root structures, financial backing and (most importantly) 17 seats in parliament. Malan's NDM (with three seats including two PFP defectors) has established certain contacts across the colour bar and has in a sense won the trust of some "non-system" blacks.

The IP, claim staunch Worrall supporters, has one overall plus point apart from being the party which has shown the fastest growth: that is Denis Worrall himself. He is the only one of the three who, with his charismatic approach, could fill the Johannesburg City Hall or charm potential supporters if given TV time. ■



KEEP OFF THE GRASS: There's no lush spot at the Boksburg lakeside for blacks these days, but Mr Boy Mokoallo can still relax on the nearby crash barrier.

Racist wards' still part of greater Jo'burg



TONY LEON

(304A) Star 10/12/88

THE Conservative Party must remember that its four wards are part of Johannesburg, not some ultra-racist municipality to the east or west of the city, said Mr Tony Leon, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the city council.

He was reacting to a warning by Newlands city councillor, Mr Jacques Theron, that the CP planned to get rid of all blacks living in "backyard locations" as well as those running busin-

SHIRLEY WOODGATE Municipal Reporter

esses in the suburb

"Any attempts by Mr Theron to reinforce apartheid will not only be resisted by the affected blacks, but at municipal level by the PFP.

"This move is a direct challenge to Mr Danie van Zyl, leader of the National Party in the council, to show some courage and make less accommodating

noises towards the CP. So far it is clear his main aim in the council is to be conciliatory, not confrontational to them.

"What Mr Theron has suggested for Newlands is not that different from the Boksburg situation — they are once again merely enforcing laws which the Nat Government put on the statute books, and where the real root of the problem lies

"The CP's action may seem inappropriate, but Mr Theron is

merely taking advantage of a legal situation the NP refused to do anything about.

"In stark contrast to the CP moves in Newlands, on Wednesday I placed a motion on the order paper for January calling on the council to open all municipal facilities to all races in view of the Government's commitment to desegregation.

"That is where the real debate lies, between the two extremes," Mr Leon said.

CMT-7243 10/12/85 30647

'Decisive role' for blacks in new SA

Staff Reporter

BLACK people would play a significant and decisive role in the running of a future South Africa, the vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jaap Durand, said yesterday.

Professor Durand was addressing the faculties of social science and humanities graduation ceremony at UCT — one of six held between Tuesday and yesterday in which 2 500 degrees were awarded.

He said that if one took the future of South Africa seriously, "we must take seriously the democratisation of educational opportunities from which will evolve the black leadership that is needed".

'Gap must be narrowed

"This means that we must make use of the available human material despite the deprivation and the disadvantages."

The existing gap between the percentage of black and non-black students relative to the total population must be narrowed, "and this we cannot do by handpicking the few that would not upset the academic applecart of excellency", he said.

Furthermore the pressure of black upward mobility which UWC and UCT were experiencing in the field of education would build up to intolerable levels.

Professor Durand said the demand for student places in the Western Cape alone should by the mid-1990s exceed the maximum capacity of UCT, UWC and Stellenbosch University combined.

The Times says Mandela move deserves quiet encouragement

Star 10/12/86

304A

LONDON — Pretoria's decision to move Nelson Mandela's one step closer to freedom merits quiet encouragement, not noisy condemnation, says *The Times*.

In an editorial yesterday headed "Freedom by Instalments", it says President Botha is clearly trying to condition both black and extreme white opinion to the point where the political shockwaves can be kept to a minimum.

But this strategy is not without risk, particularly in the international context, where the benefits to South Africa's reputation will probably be discounted long before Mr Mandela is finally freed.

The paper says Mr Botha's response to almost universal lack of credibility has been political inertia.

"Today, however, emboldened by the results of the nationwide municipal elections, which appeared to indicate that the parties of the far right would

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

grow no further, and by the need to rescue his relations with Mrs Thatcher in particular, he is beginning to display a new and welcome political sophistication.

"A series of positive decisions in the last few weeks are all symptoms of a new, if still tentative, pragmatism in Pretoria ...

"Mr Mandela's release by instalments indicates just how tentative that mood is and how premature any advance applause might be.

"Nevertheless, the fact that Pretoria has seen fit to move the ANC leader one step closer to freedom merits not noisy condemnation but quiet encouragement — both from those who genuinely seek his liberty and from those who would spur President Botha on to greater courage."

Nats face 'frustration policy'

CP to cut RSC cash for blacks

str 10/12/88 (304A)

(207A)

THE Conservative Party is to restructure the budgets of the four multi-racial Transvaal Regional Services Councils (RSCs) in which it controls more than two thirds of the voting power — all in favour of whites.

The move comes as the PFP's Johannesburg leader, Mr Tony Leon, urged the Government to promote blacks to senior positions in RSCs to prove it was serious about participation politics.

Mr Leon's plea came as the CP announced its intentions "to frustrate the National Party as much as possible by composing budgets favouring whites in the multi-racial structures", according to the secretary of the CP's Municipal Committee, Mr Kobus Beyers.

Mr Beyers said the CP would prefer to abolish RSCs altogether.

The four Transvaal RSCs in which the CP controls two thirds of the voting power — Bosveld, Highveld, Rustenburg-Marico and Northern-Transvaal — will in future compose the budget to channel the money back "to where it came from", Mr Beyers said.

"In other words, the whites' money will go back to the whites," he said.

Nominated

RSC members are not elected by popular vote but are nominated by local bodies, according to the percentage of the RSC's total services which they purchase.

Each local authority has one representative for every 10 percent of the total services it buys, with a maximum of five members for any local body.

In RSCs where the CP holds more than 50 percent of the voting power, Mr Beyers said, the CP would delay budget decisions by removing them from the agenda.

In terms of the Act governing RSCs, the item then appears for a second time six months later.

Mr Beyers said the second voting on an agenda item only needs a 50 per-

STAFF REPORTERS

cent majority which the CP has in the Lowveld, Platorand and Wesrand.

In three other RSCs — Laeveld, Vaal Triangle and Wesvaal — the CP has a veto right as it controls less than 50 percent of the votes but more than a third.

In the Pretoria and Central Transvaal RSCs the CP holds less than a third of the votes, but has vowed to do everything in their power to frustrate the NP.

The CP's moves are in direct contrast to Mr Leon urging the Government to appoint blacks to top positions in the RSCs.

Objectives

"If the Government is really honest about its power-sharing objectives, it is reasonable to expect it to appoint a black chairman to at least one of the 30 regional services councils in South Africa," he said.

"This is particularly important when considering more than 80 percent of the RSCs' work is directed to upgrading black townships. Yet all the chairmen and most of the executive committees are white.

"The Government should really start redefining its *modus operandi* unless it plans to continue with its lip service to participation.

"Clearly the move to introduce blacks to the top tiers of the RSCs would also be an important symbolic gesture which should not be ignored," he added.

RSCs derive their funds from four main sources:

- Revenue from the sale of bulk services and commodities to local authorities.
- A regional service levy on all wages and salaries paid by employers in the region.
- A regional establishment levy on the turnover of all businesses and industries in the region.
- Capital borrowed on the open capital market.

Boksburg Opposition six walk out

3047

Star 10/12/88

SIX opposition members of Boksburg Town Council walked out of a special meeting last night in protest against the Conservative Party majority vote to hold the meeting in camera, thus barring public and press from any insight into the council's affairs.

The Opposition, consisting of Independent and National Party councillors, were outvoted on

the issue by an aggressive CP caucus by 12 votes to six.

The meeting was convened by the opposition in an effort to try to persuade the CP to rethink its reintroduction of petty apartheid.

Two members of the opposition were unable to attend the special meeting.

Mr Chris Smith, leader of the Opposition, said

ANNA LOUW

the CP had given itself a blank cheque to do as it pleased in Boksburg without considering the rights of others.

"We will walk out of the Council chamber again if they try to rob us of our democratic rights," said Mr Smith.

He said the CP should recognise the importance

of commerce and industry in Boksburg. In the area of electricity consumption alone, it was commerce and industry that footed no less than 70 percent of the town's total bill.

Mr Jac Rabie, MP for Reiger Park, said: "The attitude of the CP in this town is absolutely deplorable. They take the opportunity to insult us around every corner

when we are not present. We came here tonight to listen to the facts which the CP insists are being twisted by the press, and we found this not to be the case."

Regarding Boksburg's future Mr Rabie said: "The CP is destroying this beautiful town and has taken the momentum out of development in Boksburg."

● See Pages 2 & 6.

Billions staked in development frenzy

Our God-given rights

10/12/88

304A

Apartheid in conflict with UN declaration

GEORGE BIZOS

THE values fought for by the Allies in World War 2 were expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10 1948.

The Declaration was foreshadowed by the Atlantic Charter and other pronouncements by the world's leaders. The principles enunciated were not new.

The Ancients spoke of the laws of humanity or the God-given laws. But then time was right for such a declaration to be made and the constant reminder of how people were to be treated especially by their governments.

The Axis Powers propagated theories of racial superiority. The killing of millions because they held them in contempt as lesser people made racial discrimination anathema to the vast majority of the people.

The map of the world showed most of Africa and Asia in the colours of Great Britain, France, Portugal and the Netherlands.

During the war most of their leaders had solemnly declared that they respected the rights of all people to choose the form of government under which they were to live. Even while the war was being won, their various colonial people took seriously what may have been thought of as only rhetoric.

The Declaration enjoined all individuals and every organ of society to strive by teaching to promote respect for the rights and freedoms embodied therein. Forty-eight voted for its adoption. South Africa's representatives joined those from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Saudi Arabia, the USSR and Yugoslavia in abstaining; no one voted against.

The number of independent nations has trebled since then, mostly as a result of independence being granted to or won by erstwhile colonies. Almost as a matter of course every new member has subscribed to the declaration upon admission to the United Nations.

The South African Government's abstention was no doubt primarily prompted by at least two of the articles. Article 2 proclaims against discrimination on the grounds of race or colour, and Article 21 that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his or her country, the basis of whose authority would be the will of the people determined by universal and equal suffrage.

The policy of apartheid which the then new Government had adopted was in direct conflict with these principles and more particularly the belief expressed in Article 1 that all human beings are both free and equal in dignity and rights.

Indeed, with the possible exception of freedom of religion guaranteed in Article 18 no one who supported apartheid could subscribe to any of the 30 articles of the Declaration.

Hardly any constitution of any nation adopted since 1948 has not at least in part been influenced by the Declaration. Groups of nations like the European Economic Community have adopted substantially similar principles.

Federations of employers and workers' organisations have incorporated them into their constitutions. South Africa's Freedom Charter adopted in 1955 was partly based on it.

Various South African chambers of commerce and industry have proclaimed similar beliefs.

Up to the early '80s the Declaration's annual celebration on December 10 was ignored in South Africa except by small groups.

Since then, Lawyers for Human Rights, the press, community and student organisations, academics and others have tried to make the public aware of its content and meaning. Even supporters of apartheid who had previously scoffed at it as the product of a hypocritical world have begun to look at it as a possible refuge in post-apartheid South Africa.

Their support is qualified by attempts to introduce the concept of "group rights".

One would imagine that if the rights of the individual are guaranteed then so would the right of the group.

"Group rights" are suspected of trying to perpetuate colour and ethnicity as a basis of political rights to safeguard white privilege. If that is the motive then that support is likely to be rejected.

When the majority of the people have no meaningful say in the government of their country; in the mist of detention of many without trial, during a State of Emergency when the police arrest or restrict without due process; when the media are restricted or under threat of closure; when death row is overflowing with hundreds of people waiting to be executed; and there does not appear to be any clear plan to put right all those wrongs, it may seem naive and inappropriate to mark the Fortieth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But then, how much worse would it have been if we in South Africa ignored the occasion?

At least let us try and find some inspiration in its lofty ideals and remember that they are there for everyone's protection.

Let us try not to abrogate them further or for much longer because they may not be there or respected when we ourselves will require their protection.

● The author is a member of the National Council of Lawyers for Human Rights and jointly headed the Delmas defence team.

'Let us try to find some inspiration in the lofty ideals of the Declaration of Human Rights and remember that they are there for everyone's protection. Let us try not to abrogate them further or for much longer because they may not be there or respected when we ourselves require their protection.'



COMFORTED BY FRIENDS: Mrs Martha Chikane, wife of former Transvaal Her husband...

Delmas 4 accept ja

THE four men convicted of treason in South Africa's longest trial served the first full day of their prison sentences yesterday, having walked down the same stairs from the same dock that Nelson Mandela traversed nearly a quarter of a century ago.

But even before their sentences began, the four men — Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota, Moss Chikane and Tom Manthata — had been in jail as awaiting-trial prisoners for longer than the two Afrikaner nationalists who were convicted of treason in 1915.

The Afrikaner nationalists were Generals Christiaan de Wet and Jan Kemp. They were sentenced to six and seven years respectively for their role in the 1914 rebellion, but were released less than two years later.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, focused on that comparison in his address to the court on behalf of Molefe, Lekota and Chikane, all of whom were senior men in the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Arguing in mitigation of sentence, Mr Chaskalson said: "They have all been in custody since their arrest on April 23 1985 and that means they have already served over three and a half years in prison. That is longer than the periods served by Generals de Wet and Kemp.

The long period of incarceration of the four men weighed heavily in the determining of sen-

tence, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said when passing sentence before a packed court.

Molefe and Chikane were sent to jail for 10 years. Lekota was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, his earlier conviction under the Terrorism Act in the "black consciousness trial" of 1976-76 counting against him. Manthata, a stalwart of the black consciousness movement, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

The four men went to jail without rancour, smiling at their friends in the gallery.

Red carnations

They — and their seven co-accused who were convicted of terrorism but given suspended sentences — wore red carnations in their lapels. They tossed the carnations into the gallery as their voices filled the courtroom with the African national anthem, Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika.

Mr Chaskalson dealt with the theme of reconciliation in his address, weaving it into his brief sketches of the three UDF men.

Molefe had faced great adversity in his life, but emerged "without bitterness or a desire for retribution". Lekota "acted out of conviction" and "would serve his sentence without bitterness". Chikane had shown himself to be "a man of peace".

Mr Chaskalson did not refer to

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Manthata... Mr Chaskalson called fence deep role as

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MORE BACKING FOR A NEW OPPOSITION PARTY UNITY

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

AN "unaligned group" of influential Stellenbosch academics and professional people is to throw its weight behind efforts to form a new political party to the left of the National Party.

Academics and other prominent people in the Transvaal who are not at present in any political party will also be drawn in.

Prime movers behind the group are Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor in Economics at the university and Mr Piet Geustyn, a retired engineer.

Danie Craven

A meeting held by the group this week to discuss their strategy was also attended by Dr Danie Craven and by academics and prominent people from Stellenbosch and surroundings.

Some have had discussions with the leaders of the parties involved in the efforts to form a new party — Dr Zac de Beer of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Denis Worrall of the Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Party.

Professor Terreblanche said today the group would like to see not only a merger of political groups but a new political party involved in a new form of politics.

Non-racial

The new approach would emphasise the inevitability of non-racial politics in South Africa.

The continuing racism of other parties in white politics had to be exposed as well as the vulnerability of the National Party in a number of areas. The new group wanted to play a role in the formation of such a new party.

Dr Willem de Klerk, ex-Rapport editor and now at the Rand Afrikaans University, said there were also academics and professional people in the Transvaal who were unaligned or who had left the National Party.

They could also play a role and at a later stage efforts would be made to bring them into contact with the new party.

The support of Stellenbosch academics has in the past had great symbolic meaning in politics.

gan, did far better than had been expected in the general election.

Many academics have since continued to support her and the National Democratic Movement.

The new unaligned group is trying to draw support from more academics and prominent professionals for a new party.

Meanwhile efforts to form a new party are said to be "on track".

At a meeting of a committee of PFP, IP and NDM representatives on Thursday the leaders of the parties also participated.

This was partly in an effort to resolve differences between Dr Worrall and Mr Malan. Relations between the two have been strained since the split in the independent movement last year, which led to the formation of the IP and the NDM.

After the general meeting Dr Worrall and Mr Malan had dinner together and are said to have largely ironed out their differences.

The committee has to report back on Wednesday on its efforts to prepare a declaration of intent, a statement of principles and the formulation of strategies and structures for a new party.

Optimistic

IP sources said today they were optimistic about the chances for a new party. There were no differences on principles, although there might be differences of emphasis on certain issues.

On the PFP side the feeling was that there had been considerable progress and that there were no insurmountable problems.

NDM sources felt "the tone is good" and that a provisional blueprint for a new party could be drawn up by Wednesday.

Close watch
w/ ARGUS 10/12/81
on White
Nationalists

304A

Weekend Argus
Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A close police watch will be kept on the new-found White Nationalist Movement, a direct consequence of the banning of the Blanke Bevydingsbeweging, says the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok.

The BBB has not been banned overnight, he says, and the police are keeping a close watch on all left and right extremists.

The leader of the White Nationalists, Mr Wynand de Beer, says the organisation does not fear banning for continuing the policies of the BBB.

The movement is a more moderate organisation and willing to take part in white democratic activities, he claims.

What we can all learn

from the Great Trek

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S/Times



THE significance of the Great Trek as an historical event cannot simply be brushed aside — not even by those who are not favourably inclined to its commemoration.

Historians agree that the Afrikaners' Great Trek to the North, and the Mfecane or Difaqane (i.e. the traumatic regrouping) of inland black tribes, were probably the most decisive 19th century events shaping the South Africa of today.

Historical events are most often not commemorated for their actual significance but on account of the way in which later generations perceive them.

The Mfecane has, for instance, never been celebrated. Many Afrikaners have come to perceive the Great Trek as the single most important event in "civilising" the interior of South Africa and making it habitable. This perception is inadequate.

Honesty

Without a Mfecane or, for that matter, an influx of Uitlanders, an Anglo-Boer War, 20th century industrialisation, etc — and, most importantly, the interaction of these events — the South Africa of 1988 would have looked totally different.

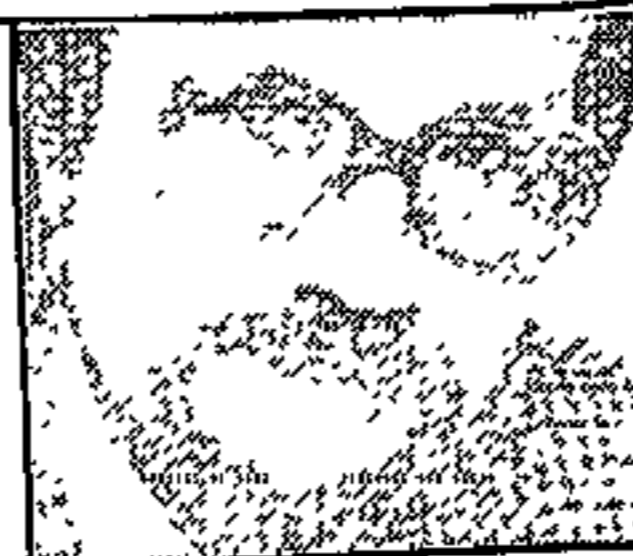
These days there is a need for a fresh honesty about not only the causes and achievements of the Great Trek but also its disadvantages and failures, its darker side.

This does not necessarily exclude all positive evaluations of this significant event. It does, however, introduce healthy realism to our assessment of present dilemmas and future opportunities.

The Great Trek did not bring an end to the uncertainty and insecurity with which the Trekkers formerly had to live on the eastern border.

Lourens du Plessis

Professor of Public Law at Stellenbosch and author of *Tien Perspektiewe*, explores the meaning of this week's historical celebrations...



On the contrary, new borders were created and an increasing number of black enemies were encountered. The Trekkers often had to resort to laager tactics in order to avert physical onslaughts.

Furthermore, they could not really substitute new or alternative cultural values for the colonial ones which they had rejected. Trade, education and organised religion were as a result adversely effected.

Isolation

The Trekker community could not for instance "produce" its own teachers or dominees.

It is fair to say that the Great Trek caused noticeable intellectual and cultural isolation and impoverishment. New ideas and alien influences were kept out of the laager.

It is, for example, interesting to bear in mind that the struggle for the recognition of the Afrikaans language was not initiated and, indeed, waged by Trekkers or their direct descendants but by "those who had stayed behind".

Finally, the Great Trek caused political and social fragmentation of the small Afrikaner community. This division became all the more apparent in "intra-tribal" feuds.

Lessons for today can — ironically enough — be drawn not so much from the positive achievements of the Great Trek but from its darker side.

It makes one realise that many of the weaknesses usually associated with "the Afrikaner", e.g. the fear of, and over-reaction to, "unfamiliar" forces and influences "from outside", cultural parochialism, the propensity for feud and division, are intrinsically linked to a decisive event in Afrikaner history and, indeed, the history of

South Africa.

The Afrikaner Trek — and that of many other members of the privileged (white) minority in South Africa — has not ended yet.

On the contrary, the final trek has only just begun. Hopefully this trek will not turn out to be a physical move to Switzerland or Australia — in other words a chicken run.

It is much rather a trek from within the confines of whiteness and Afrikanerism towards the broader and more inclusive horizons of Africanness.

Afrikaners must be convinced that this trek is not aimed at destroying their language or identity but much rather nurturing them to fruition in a context where they actually belong.

We South Africans can no longer solve our problems by trying to avoid one another. This Voortrekker strategy was dangerously deficient. The only way to face future challenges is to trek towards one another.

Racism

Just as, in the final analysis, the Voortrekkers could not avoid the English, there is no grouping in South Africa — whether cultural, political or economic — who will be able to go it alone. The Boksburg debacle is proving this at a very basic level.

I believe that the majority of Afrikaners and whites are ready for their final trek. It is merely a matter of time.

The death bell has tolled for both the pathological racism of the far right and the pragmatic racism of "those in the middle".

Especially this latter phenomenon, which presently prevails in, for example, NP and Broederbond ranks, is so obviously without a moral basis that it simply cannot endure — not even with the help of

the severest of seurocratic measures.

To say that Afrikaners and whites must trek their final trek is but another way of saying that they need to be liberated from prejudice and fear.

Those working for the total liberation of South Africa should therefore not merely sit and wait for pragmatic racism to die away while pathological racists go round wooing fearful people.

The eyes of Afrikaners and whites must be opened to the fact

that only a non-racial South Africa can provide them with a future which is both moral and secure.

In the final analysis my message to the liberators of South Africa is a simple one: do not desert the oppressors on account of their transgressions of the past but help them across the border of the land where they really belong.

Do this vigorously and yet with empathy. It will undoubtedly be in the interest of this more inclusive land for which we are all heading.

THIS was the year in which a character called Johannes Kerkorrel defined the word alternative. That is, alternative in the Afrikaner sense.

When Kerkorrel (he was Ralph Rabie once) discovered the alternative world he brought into life a band, the Gereformeerde Blues Band.

And that made life pure hell for folk troubadour Bles Bridges.

It is probably an accepted notion that our country thrives on splits — an amoebic quality we seem to be proud of. But no one knew how to split Bles Bridges — until Kerkorrel and his GBB came along.

Just when Bles Bridges thought he had it all — the adoration of the nation from Boksburg onwards, this man who wears black glasses in daytime turns up and tunes the volk in alternative Afrikaans. And what a dynamic, street Afrikaans peppered with alternative jargon, even English!

Symbol

Bles Bridges, you see, uses a safe, easy, antiseptic Afrikaans. The guy himself is a bit antiseptic. He wears gold lamé, waiter-type jackets, he stretches his hand out to a thrilled audience — or to the stars, something he sings a lot about.

He dishes out red roses to ladies in the audience and he has six platinum records. A film is currently being made of him. It is safe to say this is the guy who put the syrup back into the koeksister.

Some of his publicists claim that he is a symbol of our time.

And he probably is.

Which explains Kerkorrel's



Martie Meiring

There's life after Bles

rapid rise to fame (or notoriety if you are established).

There's nothing safe or rosy about Kerkorrel. He takes on the Stoffels of this world with the charge of a 10-ton truck.

You're in luck if you can get into a cramped Kerkorrel-do.

Style

There's smoke and noise and style. Kerkorrel groupies have taken on the Berlin Twenties nostalgia. Male alternatives have large moustaches and like to look pasty and jaded. Female alternatives choose between Colette and

Mistinguette. And, like Berlin, Kerkorrel is relevant.

He would care about the Brazzaville Protocols. And he would care not a hoot for Own Affairs, the total onslaught or apartheid. Which is why the Government is so green with envy.

Kerkorrel has started to talk with guys Chris Heunis would give his back teeth for. (There's nothing like power-sharing when you're blowing a saxophone or whipping up a storm on the drums in front of a mike — and after that a verbal rap becomes a sine qua non.)

Capitalist

As a growth industry the alternative culture does have the attendant pitfalls. When Son of Kerkorrel, the Vrye Weekblad, hit the stands (and you'd be surprised to know who's bedside tables), the Minister of Justice (no less) sent out warning signals.

Finally, the Government slapped a whacking R30 000 registration fee on this popular and valiant publication. This is capitalist talk (any non-stirring publication need only fork out R10), but it does point to the undoubted stature of being a threat to our present society.

Whether Kerkorrel had really foreseen that such respectability would hit the alternative Afrikaans world is to be doubted. All the guy really set out to do was to tell South Africa that there was life after Bles Bridges, which, come to think of it, was a very dangerous thing to do.

The real world and the roots of Africa

STimes 11/12/88

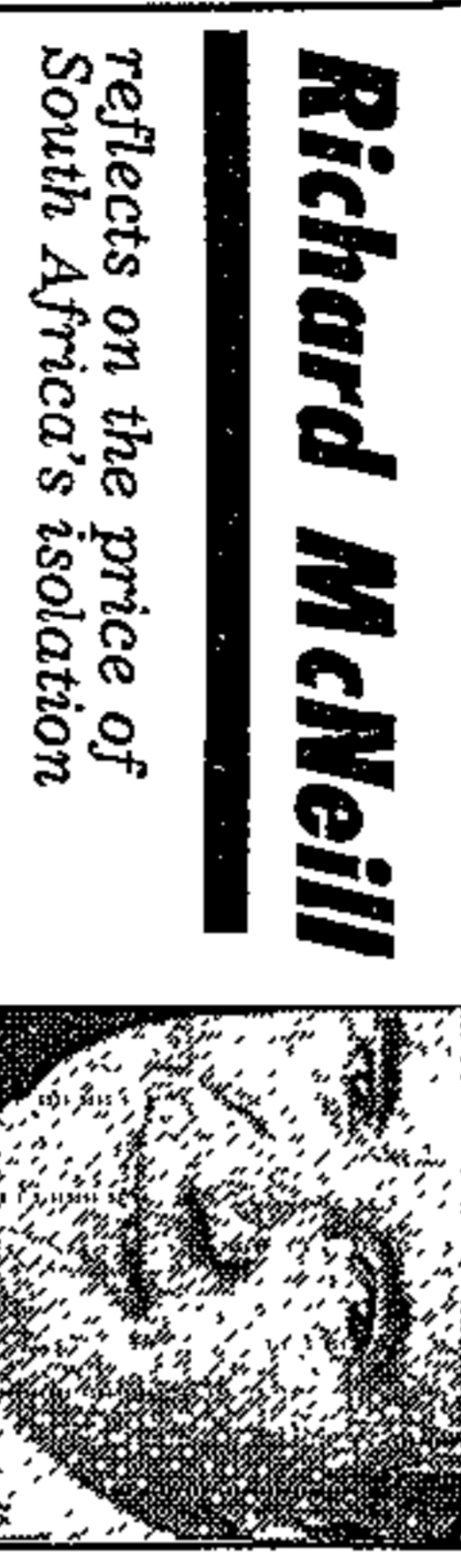
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As a hair-shirt experience to beat them all, may I recommend sitting in London watching a Boksburg town councillor on TV trying to justify the reimposition of petty apartheid?

I don't know who he was — the British TV reporter made an unpronounceable mess of his name — but what he said was inarticulate, unconvincing and deeply depressing. Something like: "The blacks are a different race... they have their facilities... we want ours for ourselves."

If only that man, and the rest of the CP councillors beating their breasts over segregation, knew how self-fish, alien and indeed baffling he must have sounded to the average European television viewer.

Another nail in the coffin of our international image. But in fact we have



Richard McNeill
reflects on the price of South Africa's isolation

become aliens, haven't we? All those adjectives we still apply to ourselves — western, Christian, European, civilised — have no real meaning as accurate descriptions of us any more.

Roots

It's not that we're better or worse people than anybody else. Just that we don't seem to be able to handle ourselves in a way which convinces any reasonable person that we're not a bunch of criminal charlatans.

Perhaps we should just call ourselves Africans, as the Afrikaner has literally

done for generations. But, honestly, we're not Africans either, are we?

Our roots are European. So are our culture and both our official languages. We live western-style lives in western-style homes. We pursue western-style leisure, playing games inherited from Europe.

Our schools, universities, educational systems and academic life are European. Our business practice, law, medicine and journalism are firmly rooted in European thinking and traditions. We espouse — or claim to espouse — western ideals of

morality and probity. But to sweep through half a dozen cities in Europe and America, as I have done in the past few weeks, is to feel a chill wind of alienation.

Somewhat, maybe without realising it and certainly without intending it, our stubbornness and narrowness of vision have put us beyond the commonality of ordinary people with whom we have many ties and with whom we ought to have much in common.

It's not something they've done to us. It is unrelated to the campaign for sanctions and boycotts. It is something we've done to ourselves.

Stand among the crowds enjoying beer and sausages at Frankfurt's Hauptbahnhof concourse, or watch a juggler amusing pink-cheeked children outside the historic Fatale Hall in Boston, Massachusetts, or sit in

a cafe in Lisbon where they serve hot custard tarts and coffee, or mingle with the throngs enjoying the Sunday street theatre in London's Covent Garden.

To me, there ran through them all a bond of fellowship which transcended the distances and national boundaries and even languages which distinguished them — something akin to the camaraderie of school reunions, even among people who don't know each other.

It is a curious feeling for a South African — like being a child out in the cold pressing its nose up against the window and envying the jollity inside.

Today's Europeans, today's westerners, are identifying more and more ideals and purposes they can share and jointly develop. The Continent itself — even if Britain is dragging its feet — is unting at a growing pace through its Common Market links and a realisation that it cannot afford ever to go to war again.

Barriers

Canada and the United States have lowered the trade barriers between them. They are already culturally almost one country. Eastern Europe increasingly looks West and even Russia — essentially a Eurasian land — seems determined to end its own alienation.

It is a wise man, of course, who displays caution about these sweeps of history. Europe is a centuries-long story of bloody nationalism. Its current chumminess may only be temporary. And Russia remains, in Churchill's phrase, a mystery wrapped up in an enigma.

But there is a sense of movement, of coming together, of progress, in which we do not share.

Those who argue that our isolation has been imposed on us by a hostile world which doesn't understand us have to explain away 40 years of squandered goodwill amounting to sheer bloody-mindedness which has characterised our internal politics as well as our relations with the rest of the world.

We have consistently put two fingers up at the international community and at the same time entertained the fond belief that somehow it not only needed us but we were still organically part of it.

Tiresome

The hard truth is that the world, especially that ordinary world away from public politics and activist rhetoric, the world of the German beerhall and the London theatre crowds, heeds us little and has all but turned its back on us.

We've become a tiresome and self-centred little country with a problem we're making a dog's breakfast over. We're another bad TV headline, a set of products to avoid buying.

As our European kin look forward to a future of hope and confidence, we can only look backwards, painfully rooted in our past, spending our creative energies squabbling about superficialities. *Slegs blankes?*

The human caravan is moving on and we are being left behind.



2/11/88
3048

Dhlomo elected head of Indaba

OSCAR Dhlomo, KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, is the new chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba.

Dhlomo succeeds Prof Desmond Clarence, who had served as chairman since the indaba's inception in April 1986.

According to a Press release, Dhlomo re-committed the 'indaba to the achievement of a new constitutional future for the Natal/KwaZulu region "in which the concepts of power-sharing and non-racialism could set an example for all.

Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the Indaba.

NOW that the year is almost over, we might as well start looking ahead and see what 1989 has in store for us. Following are the major events likely to take place:

- The release of Nelson Mandela and his fellow Rivonia trialists from prison.

- State President PW Botha will announce his retirement from active politics.

- Pik Botha, Magnus Malan, FW de Klerk and Chris Heunis will get engaged in a bitter struggle for the leadership of the party.

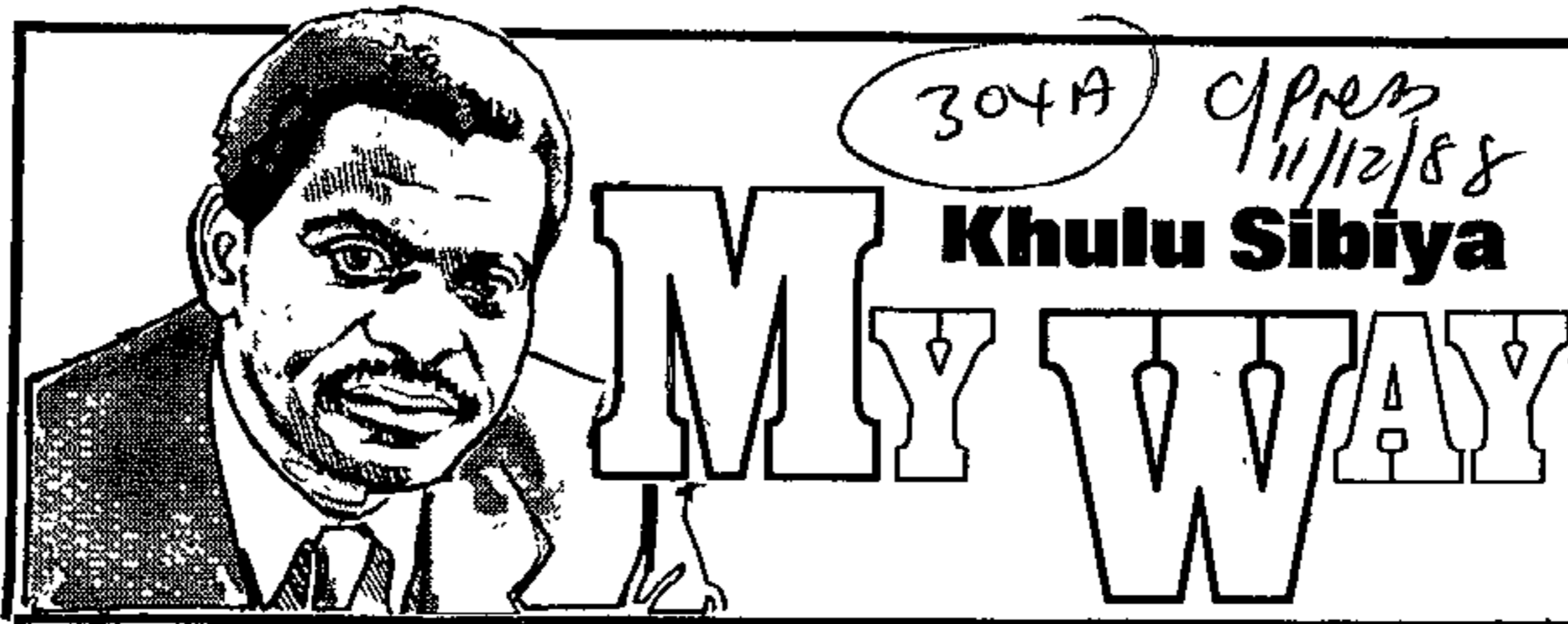
- Eugene Terre'Blanche will be placed under restrictions and his organisation, the AWB, banned.

- Dr Andries Treurnicht will be shattered by the CP defeat in the elections and he will be forced to start an underground movement.

- None of the existing apartheid laws will be scrapped by the government.

This is just the scenario for next year. But first let us look at the home situation.

Mandela and the other long-term political prisoners will, however, not be



What 1989 has in store for all South Africans

allowed to go to their homes in the townships on their release, but to a special place somewhere between the townships and the white suburbs.

Their new homes, where their families will join them, will be similar to the ones presently occupied by Soweto councillors at Power Park, near Orlando. Only people with permits will be allowed to enter the area to regulate the number of people who would want to see Mandela.

In his first interview,

Mandela will call for unity and reconciliation. He will call for the unbanning of the ANC and the PAC and the return of all political exiles.

As a first step towards unity, he calls for a meeting with PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and BCM leaders.

The government will also hold regular talks with Mandela in an effort to get him to encourage black people to participate in negotiations.

themselves in a desperate situation and resort to equally desperate actions, necessitating them to be banned.

Just before the coalition party comes into power, more and more black people will move into white areas. Fearing embarrassment to prosecute these people, the government will instruct the police to ignore them.

Outside our borders, Namibia will be granted independence and Swapo will make a clean sweep of the seats in the Legislative Assembly, against the wishes of the SA government.

The new government will not totally abandon their influence in that country. In fact, they will want to have a closer working relationship with Swapo.

There will be more negotiations between various groups and individuals. The West and the Eastern bloc will also play a major role in the negotiations for a post-apartheid era.

The general election will be the last to be held without black participation.

The CP will run into problems with their ox-wagon mentality of trying to re-introduce apartheid. They will lose most of their seats in the next general election likely to be held towards the end of next year.

And the coalition party left of the NP - comprising the PFP, Wynand Malan's NDM and Denis Worrall's Independent Party - will take over the reigns of government.

With the new party in power, people like Eugene Terre'blanche will find

STUNE 11/12/68 3047

Green light for new party

A NEW political party left of the Government could be announced within the week.

And the birth of the new and united opposition could occur as early as February next year — shortly before an expected general election. The leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement will meet again on Wednesday at the Johannesburg home of Transvaal rugby boss, Dr Louis Luyt, to assess the progress made thus far in their unity talks.

Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan were also present at a meeting in Cape Town on Friday where some of the major differences between the three groups appear to have been ironed out.

According to sources the most important bone of contention remained the differences between Dr Worrall and Mr Malan on the place and the role of extra-

De Beer, Worrall and Malan ready for unity

BY DRIES VAN HEERDEN

parliamentary organisations in South African politics.

But a late-night dinner on Friday night attended by the two leaders, who had an acrimonious fall-out earlier this year, seems to have smoothed the ruffled feathers.

Strong

It is understood that Wednesday's meeting will produce a statement of intent that will place emphasis on a two-pronged strategy for the party: Active involvement in white parliamentary politics, but with strong lines kept open to a wide spectrum of

extra-parliamentary organisations from Inkatha to the United Democratic Front.

Dr De Beer said yesterday that, while he abided by the leaders' agreement not to comment on the state of the negotiations, he was satisfied with the spirit that prevailed at the meetings so far.

He believed the negotiators found enough common ground to ensure the formation of a strong and viable party.

Dr De Beer said he did not regard Wednesday as a deadline or a cut-off date for the negotiations.

"Even if we can't reach a fixed agreement, then I believe we should continue with the discussions," he said.

Mr Malan said he was "very optimistic" that great progress would be made at Wednesday's meeting.

"I think all three leaders now agree that we should join forces. We are talking about a completely new party that will combine the best elements and strengths of the

three existing parties," he said.

Even if Wednesday's meeting does produce a commitment to the formation of the party, logistical problems may make it almost impossible for the new party to be formalised before the start of the 1969 parliamentary session.

The three existing parties would have to convene special congresses to dissolve formally. With the holiday season already in progress, it is difficult to envisage how this could happen before the middle of January.

Then a special congress of the new party would have to be convened where important decisions on its name, leader and policies would have to be made.

The leadership question

may still prove to be one of the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of unity. All three leaders will obviously stake strong claims and the possibility of a collective leadership, on the lines of the Social Democratic Party in Britain, has been mooted.

The other option would be to look for a leader outside active politics at present. Dr Willem 'de Klerk, former editor of Rapport and brother of Transvaal NP leader Mr F. W. de Klerk, is frequently mentioned in this regard.

Profile

It is also understood that supporters of the IP and NDM are concerned to ensure they are not completely submerged in the PFP.

They argue all parties will be able to contribute something to the movement — the PFP infrastructure, the IP public profile and the NDM extraparliamentary contacts.

S/Times 11/12/88

Verligte elements threaten to break ties with institute

BY RUSTY VAN DRUTEN

A SPLIT threatens in the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, with verligte AHI members planning to switch to Assocom.

There has already been a breakaway to the right, with AHI country branches forming their own "business circles".

A source said yesterday the threatened verligte breakaway had been precipitated by events in Boksburg. The platteland believed the institute was too pro-Government, he said.

Reports of the rift were given impetus by the implications of a news release in which the institute expresses concern at the buildup of external economic and political pressure against SA.

The news release gave details of impressions formed during a fact-finding tour of Europe by members of its executive.

Gloomy

Their findings, summed up by the president, Mr Dries Niemandt, paint a gloomy picture.

"It was clear that strong pressure is building up for further political and economic steps against SA.

"Economic steps imply additional sanctions, boycotts and restrictions on capital investment."

Political steps included the withdrawal of landing rights for SAA, as well as overseas airlines to SA.

Mr Niemandt said it would be difficult to avoid action, unless there was a change in attitude towards SA abroad — and that hinged on a dispensation acceptable to the majority of blacks.

A QUESTION which is routinely being asked by the Department of Foreign Affairs nowadays is: Are our core national interests still being served by existing foreign policy?

At this point, most traditional elements of our foreign policy are still in place. Here I refer in particular to South Africa's pro-Western stance, its opposition to communism, its adherence to the traditional rules and norms of international intercourse and its desire to play a constructive role in regional politics in southern Africa.

It is clear, however, that since these policy positions have been embarked upon, profound changes have occurred in SA's foreign policy environment.

An intensely hostile international climate has emerged, making it increasingly difficult for SA to maximise its key foreign policy objectives, e.g. security and welfare for the country as a whole.

Due to the increasing prominence of the "South African issue", our domestic policies have become internalised in many Western countries, resulting in a situation where policymakers have been compelled to follow what they perceive as "the popular line".

The result has been a more direct and confrontational approach towards South Africa.

Decline

Inevitably, this has led to the undermining of traditional diplomatic practices and a general decline in SA's relations with the West. Whereas some Third World countries had previously taken the lead in the vendetta against SA, certain Western countries began to take over that role.

Particularly disappointing was Western reaction to changes to eliminate apartheid. Instead of receiving international encouragement or support, the Government received greater censure. This was difficult to understand.

Today SA is one of the most-penetrated societies in world affairs. Apart from being internationalised, domestic political issues have become a rallying point in the domestic politics of some of the major Western democracies.

These developments put the SA Government under great pressure, to which it predictably responded in a negative way. The result was a slow-down in the reform process, the growth of both left and right-wing radicalism, and the stiffening of the Government's attitude towards outside interference.

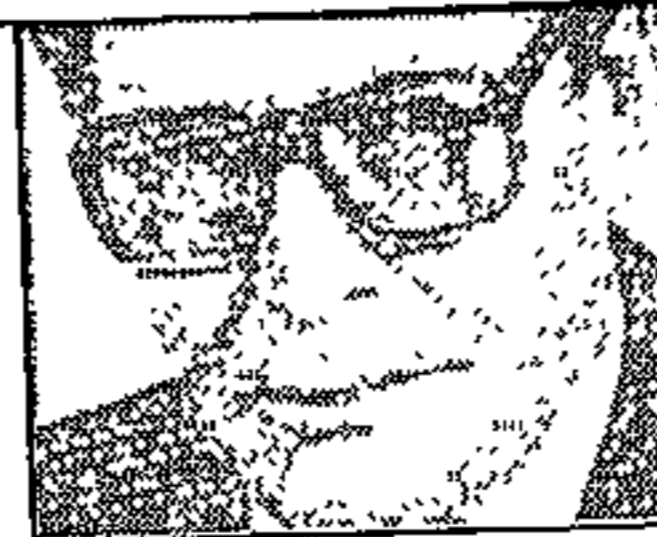
Only when the thrust of foreign interference recently showed signs of subsiding did a fresh momentum towards change start to emerge. While it cannot be said that the SA Government has com-

The challenges facing SA's foreign policy

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S/Times
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by **Gerrit Olivier**

Chief Director: Communication and Planning, Department of Foreign Affairs



pletely closed its mind to the outside world, events of the past three years have demonstrated that foreign interference in SA's domestic affairs will be futile.

In fact, such interference is counter-productive, as demonstrated by the decline of foreign government influence on SA politics.

Of particular concern to SA in its relations with the West is the cavalier fashion in which the rules and norms of conventional intercourse have been applied in some cases. Orderly international politics is mainly based on the principles of reciprocity, non-interference, sovereignty and the formal equality of states.

SA's foreign policy is strongly based on these principles. They form an intrinsic part of the Nkomati Accord and also of the recent trilateral agreement of principles with Cuba and Angola concerning the resolution of the conflict in south-western Africa.

However, many of the states which concern themselves with SA's domestic issues show a disrespectful - and disdainful - attitude. Indeed, a process of erosion of these principles, with implications far wider than the South African situation, has set in as part of the hostile reaction to SA's domestic policies.

It may well be argued that the question of human rights is a universal issue. That may be conceded, yet affords no justification for singling out SA for especially stringent scrutiny.

The time-honoured principles of international law and interstate conduct originated in the Western society of nations and a very dangerous international precedent would be created if they were to be

replaced by some other uncertain mode of conduct, as is threatening to occur in several areas.

Developments such as these have put a big question mark over the efficacy of SA's traditional pro-Western posture. This does not mean, of course, that it will in future place less value in relations with the West. In foreign policy the West will inevitably continue to play a dominant role.

Trade, tourism, culture and kinship ties have forged strong and lasting connections which will be maintained and strengthened, where possible, in the national interest. Without some degree of reciprocity and recognition of mutual interests it will become an increasingly difficult attitude to maintain.

Allegiances

After all, foreign policy is concerned with the maximisation of interests and values, and if we cannot succeed in the West, we shall simply have no choice but to seek to expand our options elsewhere.

While there are no easy options, such as switching allegiances between East and West, several other policy permutations are possible. What we are aiming at is a more inclusive or broadly based foreign policy, which will, inter alia, mean the abandonment of old hang-ups about "permanent" associations.

SA is aware that the global political environment is constantly changing and that these changes affect us closely. Most notable, for example, are the recent domestic and foreign policy changes by the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly, these changes have brought a new di-

mension, not only to East-West relations, but also to conflict areas further afield.

SA will have to take into consideration that this new situation could affect its own foreign policy environment and that it may want to make certain adaptations, also as far as its traditional approach to the USSR and Eastern Europe is concerned.

While the latter changes may still be peripheral, a more concrete example of new thinking and innovation is our African policy. Africa, and southern Africa in particular, has increasingly become the centrepiece of SA's foreign policy.

The racialistic and paternalistic overtones which at some stage in the past seemed to permeate our relationships towards the newly independent states in Africa have been replaced by a totally new style and approach. The old obstacles and inhibitions which in the past virtually ruled out normal relations between SA and other African states have, so far as SA is concerned, been abandoned in favour of a more open and pragmatic approach.

Mutual interests are the dominating factor. Philosophically we associate ourselves with Africa. In the words of Foreign Affairs Minister R F Botha, we regard ourselves as Africans.

On the diplomatic front, SA has in recent years consistently worked towards a rapprochement with African states.

SA's policy in respect of major issues and regional conflict has consistently favoured the principle of negotiated settlement. To this effect, it has offered its services as a peace-broker to conflicting parties.

The fact that certain states in the region adopted an unfriendly stance in the sense of making their territories available to the ANC for terrorist attacks on SA, compelled the Government to defend the country's territorial integrity

and safeguard its wider national interests. There was no other choice.

There are indications that a greater realism towards SA is emerging among African countries.

This brings me to the main problem confronting South African policy: the internationalisation and stigmatisation of the country's domestic policies. To the Government and moderately minded South Africans alike, this poses a problem of utmost concern.

SA is paying a high price for its exclusion from the mainstream of international trade, culture and diplomacy. There is no easy remedy, and the whole problem is exacerbated by the inverse relationship between progressive change in SA and the internal response to it. It is a classical case of two conflicting paradigms.

World opinion is largely dominated by the revolutionary paradigm in terms of which an immediate and total demise of the prevailing order in SA is required.

The Government's paradigm is one of transformation and evolution, suggesting peaceful, incremental growth towards a "post-apartheid" order in SA.

Ignore

It is not my intention to explore the deeper ramifications of these conflicting ideals here, but I would like to remark on an irrational factor in the revolutionary paradigm. In their fervour to be on "the right side" of the equation, the proponents of this desired state overlook or wilfully ignore the feasibility of their policy prescriptions.

In fact, they seem to operate in a moral climate which is largely averse to intellectual reasoning, especially so far as the practicalities are concerned.

It cannot reasonably be expected from the South African Government to respond favourably to irresponsible and irrational international pressure. At the same time, it must be stated that the South African Government is deeply aware of the moral challenges confronting it.

An attitude of "stop the world I want to get off" is obviously not helpful. Instead, I believe, we should be attuned to the Zeitgeist and resist the temptation to withdraw and isolate ourselves in a world of which we are an integral part.

Our greatest foreign-policy challenge right now is to regain moral legitimacy in world politics. This is the only way in which we can get back into the mainstream of international interaction.

□ Extracted from the latest issue of *Optima*, publication for shareholders of the Anglo American Corporation.

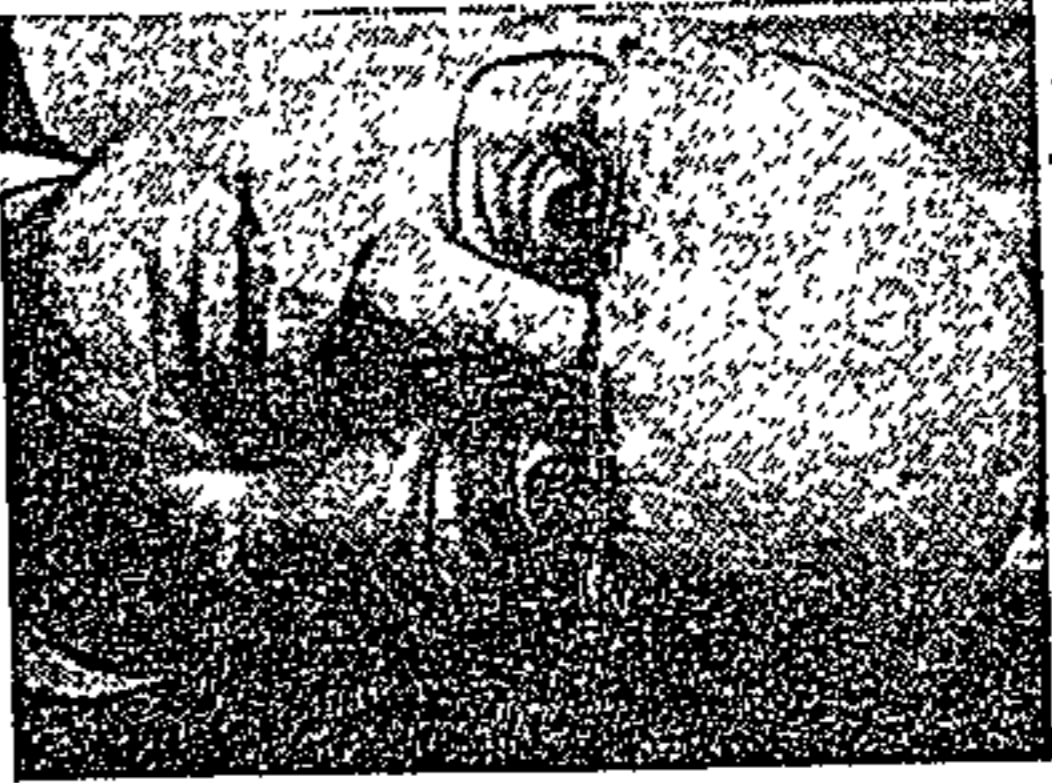
20 CP's

Zuurbekom decision a blow to the CP

By SOPHIE TENA

CONSERVATIVE Party supporters expressed shock and surprise at the announcement this week that Zuurbekom is to be proclaimed a black area.

The announcement, made by the Deputy-Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development, Roelf Meyer, is con-



PW Botha

trary to a demand made by CP members in October this year calling for action against blacks moving into the area.

The demand was made in a petition signed by white residents of Zuurbekom smallholdings and presented to State President PW Botha. The petition was presented by the Conservative

Party Ladies Club, under the chairmanship of C Willemse.

The residents said more and more blacks were infiltrating and illegally occupying smallholdings in the area and it appeared the government was allowing this.

The petition said whites in the area were living in fear because of the large

numbers of blacks and that the market value of smallholdings in Zuurbekom were rapidly depreciating.

Some CP supporters also demanded that action be taken against white estate agents who sold plots in the area to blacks.

Some black owners of smallholdings in Zuurbekom were full of praise for the government action.

"We have been keeping a low profile for fear of reprisals from our white neighbours and now we can live in our homes without fear of being evicted or arrested.

"We have also had threats made against us by some whites who do not appreciate our presence in the area."

Tembisa businessman aids charities

By SELLO SERIPE *APD/M*
TEMBISA businessman Joe Tuba, owner of Tuba Kentucky Fried Chicken and a confectionery and bakery, this week gave R800 to two local charities.
The Association for the Physically Disabled and the Society for the Care and Welfare of the Aged each received R400.
Most of the organisations' income comes from donations from businesses.
APD chairman Pescod Tindleni

said the R400 donation would be used to buy equipment. He added that the town council had allocated APD a site for a permanent centre to be used by the disabled.
Patricia Modise said the money donated to the SCWA would be used to help feed the aged who met for lunch and discussions each Tuesday and Wednesday.
She said the town council had given SCWA a site to build an old age home.

Tindleni and Modise also appealed to the community to give more money to the organisations as they did not have enough money to build the centres.
Tuba said: "It is my responsibility to sow what I have reaped from the community."
"I would be nowhere without their support."
Tuba challenged other local businessmen to give money to the two organisations.



Disabled Jerry Khumalo accepts a donation.

Yes, it's a party. No, there's no leader - yet

By ANTON HARBER

THE leaders of the three white parliamentary parties to the left of the government emerged late yesterday from day-long talks having made progress towards forming a new party.

However, problems still remain.

The Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party issued a three-page statement setting out substantial agreement in principle on the new party.

They said they were more convinced than ever that there was a firm basis for forming a new party.

They formed a steering committee, led by PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, which will plan a founding congress, draw up a new constitution and give further attention to issues such as a name and a leader for the party.

However, the three failed to actually form a party, as had been mooted when they met last month, and did not solve the key issues of leadership and party structure.

Nevertheless, the fact that the talks ended amicably and these issues did not cause a breakdown was reason for optimism among the participants.

"I would be very surprised if the

● To PAGE 8

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

No opposition leader as yet

From PAGE 1

wheels came off now," PFP leader Zach de Beer said last night.

"We made good progress," the NDM's Wynand Malan said.

It appeared that the three leaders had managed to agree on basic principles and policies for the party — and these were set out in detail in their statement. But, in the words of one observer, the three "still have to slot a lot of people in so that they feel comfortable".

The three entered the meeting with substantial outstanding differences, the main being over the question of leadership.

Worrall and Malan were demanding that they share the leadership, while De Beer hold the position of chairman. They argued that a party with PFP leadership and image would not have much prospect of attracting new members.

This was unacceptable to the PFP, particularly because it felt it was bringing the most substantial party structure to the merger and therefore had a primary claim to the leadership. In the words of one PFP member, "the other two parties won't be bringing much dowry to the marriage."

PFP members felt the stumbling block was "Worrall's ego" — his insistence on personal power.

De Beer entered the meeting proposing that the issue of leadership be left to the founding congress.

However, the statement released after the meeting said the three leaders will go back to their parties to seek further mandates, on the question of leadership in particular. This was probably a reference to the need for the PFP to change its mandate, which has until now insisted on PFP leadership for the new party.

It is significant that former *Rapport* newspaper editor Wimpie De Klerk is on the steering committee. He is being mooted by the IP and NDM as a possible compromise leader from outside of the existing parties.

The three also came to agreement on the crucial question of their relationship with extra-parliamentary organisations. Their statement explicitly rejected any separation between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

They said the new party would strive to gain strength in all the "organs of government" with a view to taking power eventually. Meanwhile, it would hold talks and, if possible, create alliances with others.

3044

The year was characterised by a flurry of activity: statements, meetings, grand plans, promises ... none of it leading anywhere. By ANTON HARBER

W/m 23 Dec 1988

ON THE MOVE. TO NOWHERE

It was a treadmill year: everyone in South Africa was moving briskly but with no sign that they were going anywhere.

This was best symbolised by Nelson Mandela, the Unknown Soldier of South African politics. He was shifted from prison to hospital to clinic to prison warder's house. At the end of the day, and after 26 years in the hands of the state, he had been shifted around a great deal, and everyone accepted that his freedom was coming closer. But he was still behind prison walls.

If he was any closer to freedom, it was only in theory. While most of the media trumpeted this idea, Mandela told the world through his lawyer in December that he was more isolated and less happy than ever, and did not foresee a quick release.

His 70th birthday, celebrated in July, made him probably the world's best known man, who nobody knows. A concert in London, broadcast to billions of television viewers, gave him the status of an international issue, like hunger and human rights, that the whole world can fight for. In a remarkable feat of conjury, he managed to increase his stature and fame immeasurably without being seen or heard. In a world of instant dissemination of images, the international community rallied around 30-year-old pictures of the man.

The person responsible for this was Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee who, in trying to construct a way to release Mandela quietly and manageably, has succeeded in whetting the appetites of the world's media — particularly with the release of two other long-term political prisoners, Harry Gwala and Zeph Mothopheng — and made it potentially the news story of the decade.

The result is the year ends with Mandela wielding almost as much power over his captors as they do over him. His refusal to compromise his beliefs, and give undertakings that would secure his release, holds the government to ransom: everyone knows that until he is out of prison the National Party can't proceed with negotiations, or reform, or in re-establishing international links, or countering sanctions. Everyone also knows the government is not yet ready to live alongside a free Mandela, because his power as a one-man rallying point could also make Pretoria's "reform" unworkable.

In his hands, manacled as they are, he holds the key to the success or failure of government reform.

The way Mandela was dealt with captured the nature of government activity this year: PW Botha's cabinet spent a good deal of energy indicating that it was moving towards more inclusive negotiations, but never actually doing so. Cabinet ministers spent more time talking to Soviets than to Sowetans.

They promised black participation in all levels of government but brought it no closer than it was in early 1988. They promised to deal with housing problems while threatening to tighten the Group Areas Act. Under pressure they dropped this but slipped through a more serious squatting Act that threatens the existence of millions of homeless people.

They swore to tighten up control of the foreign funding of their opponents, but then scrapped their Bill in the face of international resistance. However, just in case anyone was



In 1988 the government promised to broaden democracy. The result: PW Botha and his wife (above) flew to GwaQwa to open another multi-million rand legislative assembly

Picture: Walter Dhladhla, AFP

thinking there was cause to celebrate, they produced another Bill that would subject opposition organisations to government scrutiny — and they appeared to be using tax and trust law to assert their control anyway.

The government was adamant that the days of petty apartheid were over, but they empowered rightwing local authorities in towns such as Boksburg to implement it more vigorously than ever, through the National Party's own Separate Amenities Act.

They attacked the rightwing for segregating parks in Boksburg, and warned of grave political and financial consequences, but themselves enforced segregated beaches in the Cape, buses in Johannesburg, parks in Pretoria ...

The government continued to proclaim that it would talk to black leaders, provided it could select them themselves. Central planning may be going out of fashion in places like the Soviet Union and China, but our government was steadfast in its commitment to centrally planned reform.

Dealing with opponents on the left was one of the few areas where the government showed no hesitation and a clear-cut, imaginative policy.

They produced a constant supply of new methods of repression, the best example of which was the Emergency restriction order. This has replaced the slogan-painted T-shirt as the easiest way to recognise a government opponent. Individuals, organisations, even funerals, were subjected to the most extraordinary list of incomprehensible restrictions, dished out so fast that nobody could keep track.

Some detainees were released after serving long periods (Eric Molobi and Zwelakhe Sisulu, most notably),

but most were served with such severe restriction orders that they were removed from political, professional and community work.

It was a new form of prison without bars. The most extreme version was a regulation that enabled them to restrict an individual without even telling that person — they only have to publish it in the Government Gazette.

The government started the process by restricting 17 organisations in February, including the United Democratic Front and Azapo, and a partial restriction on Cosatu. This dealt with the major and best-known organisations. Gradually, as new bodies began to reveal themselves or old bodies took up the cudgels, they were dealt similar blows.

The outcry and protest after February was sufficient for the government to modify its tactics. The rest of the restrictions took place in groups of two or three, so that by the end of the year new restrictions on organisations merited no more than a brief mention in most of the press.

The church made a bid to step in. Within days of the February restrictions, religious leaders launched the Committee to Defend Democracy —

The government was never able to project a vision ... a credible image of where their policies were leading us and how we would get there ...

Despite Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha's declared war on the "alternative press", these papers remained open. In fact, a new one joined the stable: *Vrye Weekblad*.

The government also used its repressive measures against the far rightwing for the first time. But, showing a caution it has never shown against the leftwing, it made sure its targets were the most extreme fringes. The Blanke Bevrydingheidsbeveging was restricted, along with its leader.

However, the most serious and armed militarists of the far Right, such as the AWB's para-military structure Aquila, were left untouched.

The seriousness of the militant rightwing threat was demonstrated when Barend Strydom shot and killed seven black people and injured 15 on the streets of Pretoria. Currently on trial, he has showed no remorse and indicated no motive beyond a fanatical nationalism and racism.

The 150th anniversary of the *Groot Trek*, intended as a mass mobilisation of a united *volk*, turned into a display of disarray and flabbiness. Rallies at the end drew moderate crowds.

A new factor this year was the increasingly active and direct role played by the courts in assisting state repression. Having for some years successfully played the role of restraining the use of Emergency restrictions, some judges this year took the initiative from the government.

Some of the major resistance leaders of the 1980s, the people who pioneered the UDF-style of non-violent opposition, were dubbed violent terrorists and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in the "Delmas" treason trial. In the most chilling indication of the contradictions of state attitudes, the judge managed to praise the UDF and some of its leaders, expressing a hope that they will take up positions as important political figures, as he sent them down to the cells.

Death by court order, or capital punishment, continued apace. The combination of campaigns against the death sentencing facing the "Sharpeville Six", a group of people accused of indirect involvement in the killing of a councillor at the height of the 1984 uprising, and the policemen Le Grange and Van der Merwe, accused of torturing a prisoner to death, made this a hot issue this year.

These campaigns succeeded with the state president stepping in to reprieve the "Six" and the two policemen. The problem is likely to stay in the public eye with 117 executions so far this year keeping South Africa at the top of world's capital punishment list, and 273 people waiting on death row. About 80 of these were sentenced for politically-related crimes.

Most disturbing, however, was the increase in extra-legal repression: the bombing or burning of buildings housing resistance organisations (Khotso and Khanya houses, numerous smaller union offices, the office of the Community Research and Information Centre in Hillbrow and the *Namibian* newspaper in Windhoek), the mysterious shootings of activists (Sicelo Dhlomo), the unexplained disappearances (Stanza Bopape). These actions spread far afield: ANC member Dulcie September was shot dead in Paris, and Albie Sachs, also of the ANC, came close to death when a bomb exploded in Maputo.

All this meant the resistance movement was also on the treadmill, trying to keep going while being battered. An attempt was made to call a conference of resistance groupings, of all-

None of them fell off the treadmill.

● Continued overleaf

WHEN the president of South Africa's largest youth organisation goes on trial for terrorism in Pietersburg early next year, the "time of the comrades" will have entered a new — and apparently irreversible — phase.

Peter Mokaba, leader of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), "disappeared" on March 21 this year. Police later announced he was being held under the Internal Security Act — it was clear that his arrest formed part of an unprecedented state war of attrition against youth militancy.

This war is one of the most outstanding features of the relationship between state and resistance in South Africa in 1988. It also seems to have changed the form and tactics of youth politics forever.

No less than 12 youth and student groups have been proscribed under the Emergency regulations this year. The February clampdown removed the major national and regional structures: Sayco, the South African National Students Congress, the Cape Youth Congress, the Soweto Youth Congress, and the Azanian Youth Organisation. All had been key players during the 1984-1986 period, when

Under siege. Slogan-chanting students retreat underground

the youth played a key role in anti-apartheid activity.

The bannings dealt a debilitating blow to groups which had been struggling to adapt to the fundamentally altered conditions of nationwide Emergency rule. The days of "street revolt" were a distant memory, and the "semi-underground" mode of operation was still in its infancy.

Yet youth resistance sputtered on. There was a march in Soweto after the funeral of slain youth activist Sicele Dhlomo in February. Sporadic student stayaways took place in the Transvaal and Cape between March and August. Organised youth played an important part in an effective three-day stayaway in June.

In addition, poorly organised regions were affected by youth activism. The Far Northern Transvaal Youth Congress, for example, was

The state has launched a sustained attack on youth resistance. Organisations may have been silenced but they have not been immobilised.

By SHAUN JOHNSON and VUSI GUNENE

instrumental in organising a successful stayaway in Venda.

Such activities took place against the background of relentless repression. Groups could no longer meet and consult openly, top activists were detained on a continual basis, and the numbers of assassinations, disappearances and extra-legal forms of harassment shot up alarmingly.

Then came the next round of re-

strictions: the Soweto Students Congress was effectively banned at the end of October, to be joined two days later by the Transvaal Students Congress and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress. Barely a week later, Wits University's Black Students Society and Rhodes' Black Students Movement were proscribed.

Then, on December 12, the Mitchell's Plain Students Congress and the Western Cape Students Council joined the ranks of the silenced.

It is increasingly difficult to assess the state of the myriad youth structures around the country. Thus the membership figures which are normally given — about 700 000 in Sayco's case — cannot be tested. But as in the past, youth organisations appear to have replaced the decimated ranks of their leaders. This is no mean achievement, given that only

one member of Sayco's executive remains out of detention as 1988 draws to a close.

Thus while the positions of Mokaba — and other imprisoned Sayco office-bearers like Rapu Molekane and Ephraim Nkwe — have not been technically filled, it is clear that there is a leadership, and it is operating.

In an interview with members of Sayco regional affiliate, the Natal Youth Congress (Nayco) this week, the fact was stressed repeatedly.

The Nayco representatives said because Sayco was "formed (in March 1987) under conditions which did not allow for above-board activities... we managed to weather the state attack."

"The size of the organisation, and its regional, local and zonal structures has made this possible."

The youth activists concede that "underground is not a healthy terrain of struggle for an organisation that wants to reach the masses, make statements and operate above-board. But conditions of near-illegality have been forced on us".

This has led to a sober assessment of the options open to youth, and it has been decided that the "emphasis must be to build an advanced contingent of young activists... A tightly-knit organisation to operate like an advanced unit".

The leaders say the quality of the youth activists, rather than their numbers, is paramount in mobilising "the broadest range of youth, be they in church groups or on the streets, and even those who are outside the Sayco mainstream, like the Inyandza Youth Organisation in kaNgwane".

This illustrates the strategic distance travelled by the youth in three short years: the uncompromising anti-collaborationist stand maxims have given way to pragmatism. It is believed that while kaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement does not see entirely eye to eye with the "mass democratic movement," there is enough common ground to allow for co-operation.

This also forms part of the perceived need to explore and "manoeuvre within whatever legal space there is" for youth campaigns.

This will not hamper the already-advanced moves in Sayco to forge working alliances with other groups within the resistance fold — notably "the progressive labour movement", student or pupil-based groups and community organisations.

"The South African youth have not been crushed. The militancy is certainly still there," say the Nayco representatives, "and there are hundreds of youth organisations still operating in the townships."

"But their style has changed — from shouting slogans and chanting in the streets to organised and disciplined formations on the ground."

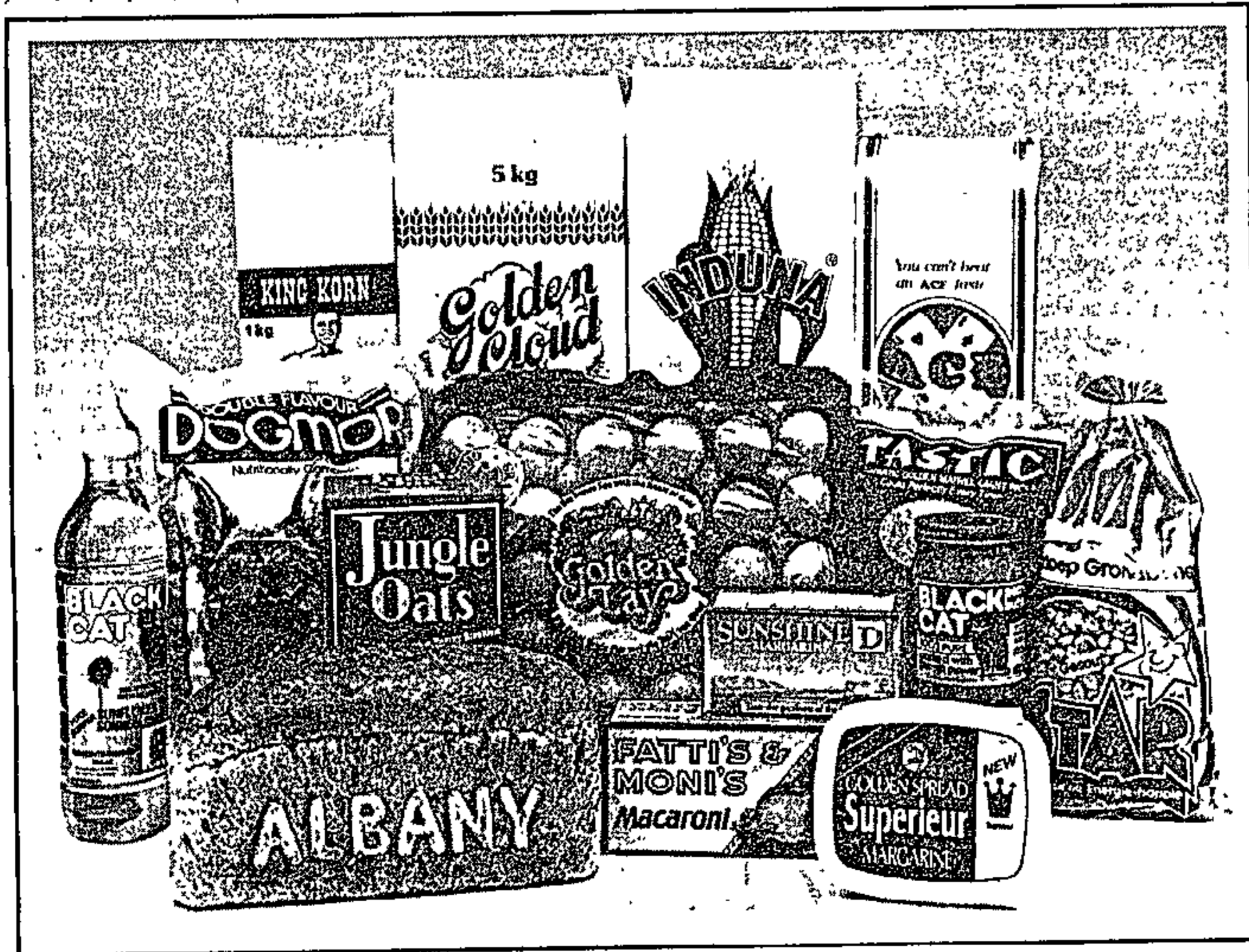
The leaders believe the government is under extreme pressure. "As the struggle heightens and as the regime becomes more isolated, the country becomes more tense," said one.

They are also prepared for a long haul. "Pretoria has been pushed to the point where it must fight for its survival, and use up all its resources to sustain its policies. In 1989, we are sure, there will be maximum suppression of opposition and resistance."

"But as far as the youth are concerned... the groundwork is being done in the townships."

● Peter Mokaba goes on trial, along with Malebane Tswai and Sam Siphoro, in Pietersburg on February 20 1989. They face charges of terrorism, alternatively furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress. There is a further alternative charge under arms and ammunition laws.

May there always be good food on your table



Benoni cashes in as boycott hits Boksburg

8/10/58
12/21/58
204A
CHARLOTTE MATHEWS

RETAILERS in Benoni are benefiting from the black consumer boycott of Boksburg shops, a random Business Day survey has found.

The Benoni branches of Edgars, Foschini, Beares and Jet reported noticeable increases in turnover from black customers, especially on Friday and Saturday, the main shopping days.

"Blacks and coloureds from Actonville, Daveyton, Watville, Vosloorus and Reiger Park, who don't usually come to Benoni, have been in. Turnover has doubled," said a Foschini spokesman.

The Benoni branch of Checkers said there had been no significant increase in turnover, perhaps because the store was in a residential area far from public transport.

Quiet

Shopping trends in CP-controlled Brakpan and Springs indicate they are not subject to boycott action.

In Brakpan, Checkers, Beares and Edgars noticed no significant drop in turnover in the past few weeks. Cuthberts said business was "very, very quiet", but Foschini said business was better than usual, and there had been a lot of black customers last weekend.

In Springs, there did not appear to have been a change in customer patterns. Edgars noticed a few black customers from Brakpan. Most other businesses reported the usual increase in trade at this time of year.

NEWS IN REVIEW / 88

304A

Rifles stutter. Cannons boom. The dying scream. The mist clears, to reveal ... nobody

DAWN. December 16 at the historic site of Donkerhoek, where, during the Second Anglo-Boer War, a small Boer commando held off many thousands of British Imperial troops.

But now the scene of a different kind of battle: the commandos of the extreme rightwing *Afrikaner Volkswag* are re-enacting the Battle of Blood River.

They are doing it at the festival grounds because the government-backed *Federasie Vir Afrikaanse Kultuur* (FAK) holds — with a force of some thousands of police and military personnel — the holy of holies, the Voortrekker Monument, for its rival festivities on the same day.

About 15 ox-wagons have been drawn up in a reasonable approximation of a laager. Inside, steely-eyed Boers are watchful and tense. Yet confident they have made their vow to Almighty God, and they are filled with the certainty that He is on their side.

Beyond the circle of the wagons, there comes a low and sinister murmuring, which mounts, as it gets closer, to a rhythmic chant, then to a savage roar.

"Hier kom hulle manne!" barks the Boer leader "Hou vuur ... Hou vuur VUUR!"

All hell breaks loose. Rifles stutter and echo against surrounding hills. Cannons boom. The screams of the wounded and dying curdle in the air. Zulu war cries pierce the noise. The Boers rush from aperture to aperture, defending their vulnerable points, coolly reloading, taking aim, firing another round.

But there is nobody out there. What the doughty Boers, in a pageant no less symbolic than it is absurd, have been fighting against is nothing more than the early morning mist — and a bank of tape recorders.

Max du Preez, editor of the newly-founded *Vrye Weekblad*, agrees: "For the most part it's just big people's Voortrekkers, camping out in the open, pretending for a weekend that things are the same as they were 50 years ago. *Lekker-sit-en-Boere-wees*. It doesn't have very much to do with the real world."

Certainly there is a kind of pathos about these festivities. Not only are the Afrikaners a divided people these days, but most of them don't seem to be terribly concerned any more about their heritage and putative national destiny.

In 1938, the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Blood River, they mustered 100 000 of the *volk* at the hill where they layed the foundation stone for the Voortrekker Monument, and 250 000 for its unveiling in 1949. Now, by contrast, the crowds are pathetically small.

At Donkerhoek where the extreme right, under the auspices of the *Afrikaner Volkswag*, were holding their Day of the Vow celebrations in a natural outdoor amphitheatre, there were hardly more than 20 000.

PW Botha, with huge state funding and SABC TV publicity, managed to pull less than half that number — thousands of policemen included — to hear him make an extraordinary attempt to transform a festival of ethnic exclusiveness and racial domination into a plea for power sharing.

The crowd at Donkerhoek — neatly clustered in nuclear families under bright umbrellas, were a bizarre hotchpotch. They were evenly divid-

There were the sullen men wearing swastikas, dutiful women in *kappies* and ankle-length pale blues and pinks, children in khaki enthusiastically waving little black, red and white flags with the AWB's triple-seven emblem. There were thousands of others in bright suburban streetwear.

Nearly all of them were there for the same reason: to hear the one man who can still excite the passions of the *Afrikaner volk*. For the right-wing faithful, Eugene Terreblanche can achieve the seemingly impossible: banish doubt and confusion to a realm of unreality, and recreate the

It was just another big picnic at Donkerhoek, with too many queues and not much to do. Then TerreBlanche arrived, wearing the voice of a prophet. Even on that hot day, one could feel a chill as he spoke in a lyrical and savage poetry, sinister, yet powerful enough to inspire men to bloodshed some day

By IVOR POWELL and MARK PHILLIPS

mythology of the chosen and guiltless "gelooftevolk"

Before the arrival of TerreBlanche, there is a sense of aimlessness. It feels as if the picnic has got too big, the boerewors queues too long, and the cool drink is in danger of running out. The crowd has seen pageants and turgid melodramas; now they are looking for something else.

TerreBlanche gives it to them. Blood and tears and war, "*grond, God en geloofte*" — the foundation of the Afrikaner volk. He recreates the Battle of Blood River in a poem, at once lyrical and savage, which speaks to the soul of Afrikanerdom in a way no crudely-recreated pageant could.

They are spellbound and enraptured as he takes them through the Great Depression, when "*die Jode en die internasionale geldmag*" (the Jews and international money power) bought the souls of Afrikaner maidens for "chocolates and scraps of tinsel paper".

And now there is a new enemy, a new crusade, against the PW Botha government about to allow a *baster-regering* to come to power in Namibia.

Even God, TerreBlanche fulminates, can bear no longer to look down on these iniquities. Abandoned by a faithless people, he has allowed the symbol of their covenant with heaven to fall; within days of the signing of the accord with Angola, Namibia's famous rock monument, the "Finger of God", crumbled into a thousand pieces.

God, TerreBlanche said, dropping his voice to a stage whisper, just closed his hand.

He calls on each of them to pick up a stone to affirm that "this was the day I made my unity with death and with God". They do, and by the time they have left Donkerhoek for their



"Voortrekkers for big people" — Afrikaners re-enact the battle to the strains of gunfire on a tape recorder

Picture: PAUL WEINBERG, Afrapix

homes in the suburbs, or their farms, they have erected a rough stone monument to remember this day, and to symbolise their commitment to recapturing the Voortrekker Monument for their festivities in years to come.

Though the day was hot, one felt chilled. In that voice and that poetry lies the power to make waves that will break bloody on the shores of history.

Already TerreBlanche's kind of sinister rhetoric has given a purpose to the racist derangement that presuma-

This, in essence, is what Strydom meant when, according to reports, he claimed to be firing the first shots in the Third Freedom War.

These days, however, Terreblanche is wearing the face of the prophet of the *volk*. He speaks less of the violence and the fires of purgation than he does of the glorious history of the people. The blood in his speeches is that which stains the soil and confirms its ownership, not so much the blood which will flow in the streets.

He wants to broaden his constituency and capture the soul of the Afrikaner people as a whole. So the violent urges of the master race are underplayed, and National Christianity, the sense of tradition and covenant, are pushed to the fore.

Hence the uneasy alliance with Professor Carel Boshoff's *Afrikaner Volkswag*, to most observers a basically harmless, ultra-traditionalist, cultural organisation with a set of goals which that strayed Afrikaner Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert describes as "Afrikaner Amishism".

The alliance is tearing apart. In defiance of earlier agreements, AWB flags were flying during the *Volkswag*-organised parade through the streets of Pretoria on December 9. Boshoff is frankly worried about what he himself describes as an "unknown quantity".

And now what TerreBlanche has done is to hijack Boshoff's nostalgia and turn it into something entirely and frighteningly different.

Because, no matter what face TerreBlanche is wearing, how hard he tries to present himself as the holy, yet benign, prophet of the revival of Afrikaner destiny, the truth is always clustered around him in the form of his private army, euphemised as a registered security firm called Aquila.

The two of us, *Engelse* among the *volk*, soon learn the truth about Aquila. Painfully.

As we make our way to the food stalls, and take our place in the queue to buy *pap en vleis* we are surrounded by seven armed and AWB-uniformed men.

We are marched off through the encampment of caravans and tents, beyond the circle of parked cars to a secluded place.

And there they proceed, with knives, stuck into the throat and ribs, threats of ears being cut off, as well as fists and boots, to have a little one-way conversation, and to take a few photographs for future reference.

No reasons are given except that one of us has the name of renegade Afrikaner Beyers Naude in his notebook, and has committed the ultimate solecism: to "*lyk nog slegter as 'n kaffir*" (look worse than a kaffir). The other tried to intervene when the knife wielder started to get really carried away.

But by the time, bloodied and bruised, with a damaged kidney and a cracked rib respectively, we break free and run away, we have stopped asking for reasons.

We already have our answers.

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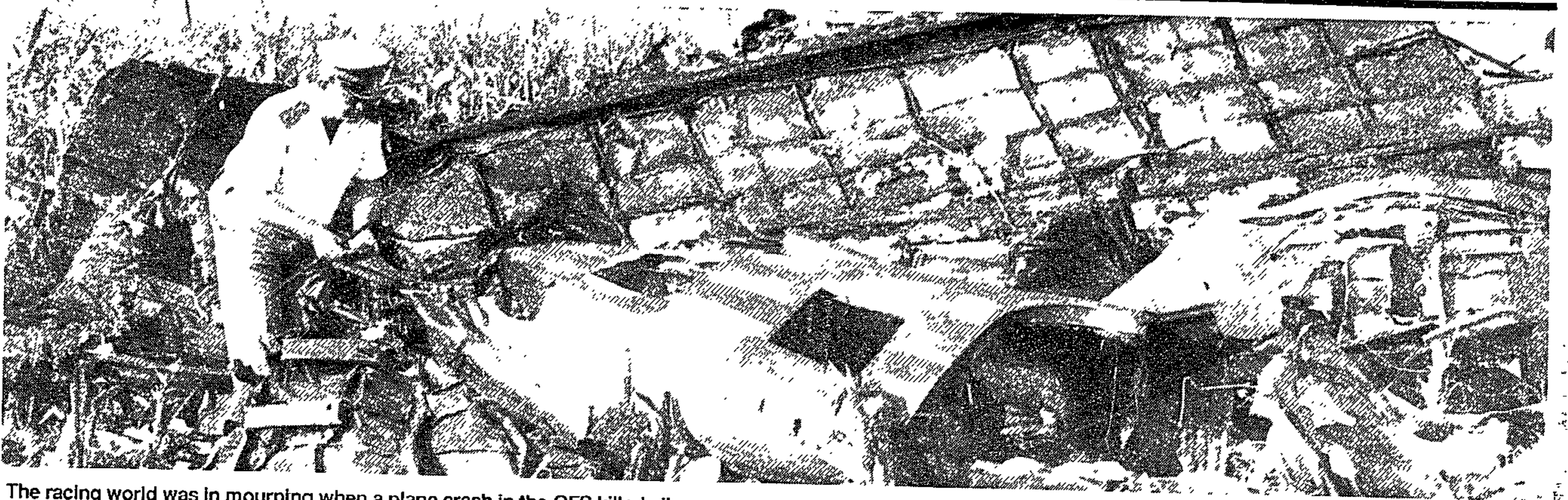
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Closing date 31 December, 1988.

Both



The racing world was in mourning when a plane crash in the OFS killed all passengers, most of them jockeys or trainers

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP



Spot the illegal gathering: The children at right were celebrating the birthday of Nelson Mandela, a risky business which brought out police riot squads throughout the country. The demonstrators at left were part of a church group calling for an end to sanctions. The marchers were not stopped. Neither, for that matter, were the sanctions



Pictures: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP; ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

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Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe, mindful of the fact his little strip is one of the poorest in the world, built and furnished a palace for himself not quite entirely at state expense. Rumour has it he got a great discount on some of George Matanzima's lounge suites, 19 of which were auctioned off when the former Transkei premier fled to Austria.

One-time Miss South Africa Andrea Stelzer transformed herself into a *fraulein* and won the Miss Germany title. But her efforts to become the first South African in years to enter the Miss World contest failed when she was disqualified ... for being too elderly.

PATTER OF TINY FEET

Rugby players Naas Botha and Cheese van Tonder took their eyes off the ball long enough to become fathers but by the time the tiny bundles arrived, their memories seemed to have glazed over. Both consequently found themselves embroiled in paternity claims.

While rock star Johnny Clegg didn't exactly turn a blind eye to his baby, he saw him for the first time in December — four months after wife Jenny gave birth. Clegg caught up with his son — after a concert in Mauritius, before continuing his world tour.

Though convicted ANC commander Ashley Forbes married Yasmina Pandy this year, there is little chance of the couple having any offspring. Forbes, married in Pollsmoor Prison

while awaiting trial, was subsequently sent down for 15 years.

A storm in a spice bottle erupted when Buddhist Elaine Ensor advertised for a handsome Indian sperm donor. The successful candidate sent Ensor his sperm in a spice bottle. She miscarried, tried again, and failed once more.

The father of separated Siamese twins Mpho and Mphonyana who, having initially abandoned his off-spring, curiously changed his mind. He even invited the twin's mother, Sophie, to go and live with him, his wife and eight other children.

The mother of South Africa's teenage sextuplets, Susan Rosenkowitz, left her eight children and husband Colin, to marry her Irish immigrant lover.

STICKY FINGERS

With a few monthly taps on a Standard Bank computer, employee Snowy Moshoeshoe succeeded in giving the bank its very own football club. The bank's newest auto-club, Mamelodi Sundowns, made good the investment by winning three major trophies.

A range of institutions fall prey to the new mathematics of the money fiddlers. The Receiver of Revenue lost R5.5-million and the Iscor medical aid fund R6-million. Kingmaker Albert Vermaas sneaked off with R150-million.

House of Delegates chief minister Amichand Rajbansi, described by a colleague as the "Idi Amin of Indian politics" investigated the credentials of his investigators. One investigating officer suggested that the man's morals were as synthetic as his wig. Fellow baldy, PW Botha, finally fired him.

Hillbrow MP Leon de Beer was convicted on 300 counts of poor arithmetic during the elec-

tions. National Party MP Peet de Pontes resigned after accusations that he over-indulged in that venerable South African tradition, hospitality, towards drugs king Roberto Palazzola. President Lennox Sebe and his cabinet voted themselves a 40 percent pay rise. To surprise themselves, they kept the gift a secret.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

An envoy of the South African government was barred from watching a performance of Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company. The name of the play, *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Novelist Salman Rushdie was asked to speak in South Africa. Then it was learned that he had just published a satirical novel, said to be blasphemous. After weeks of controversy and threats of violence, the guest was disinvented. Both Rushdie's opponents and supporters had one thing in common: none had read the book.

Naturist Beau Brummel's kids were expelled from Eden Christian School near Warmbaths because their parents misbehaved. The principal quaked at the possibility of the bare-bummed Brummel parents arriving at school on sports day.

Archbishop's wife Leah Tutu was handcuffed to the door of the Johannesburg Traffic Department for failing to pay a parking fine. She was told that the handcuffing of traffic offenders was merely one of the rules and she should not think she was being given special treatment because of her husband's celebrity status.

ANIMAL CRACKERS

This was the year in which Pik Botha held his own on the hump of a camel in Cairo.

The government unleashed its most powerful propaganda weapon to date — two civic-minded squirrels in jackets. One was later charged with molesting children.

The airforce launched a jet fighter called Cheetah with which it hoped to obliterate the Cubans in Angola. The Cubans appeared unruffled. The plane may soon be renamed the Poodle.

It was learnt that 20th-century living has ruined the prowess of our oxen. One died in the first week of the re-enacted Great Trek and the SPCA had to come to the rescue of its pampered fellows.

DEATHS

Professor Raymond Dart, discoverer of the archaeological phenomenon commonly known as the "Missing Link", died this year as did disgraced one-time presidential hopeful Connie Mulder, latterly of the Conservative Party. Dart proved that man evolved. Mulder's party proved that man can regress.

Liberal Alan Paton died four decades after his famous novel, *Cry The Beloved Country*, called for sanity. On his deathbed, Paton was still waiting.

PW Botha lost another of his rapidly dwindling coterie of international friends when heavyweight Bavarian prime minister Franz-Joseph Strauss died shortly after a South African visit.

Self-proclaimed life president of Venda, Patrick Mphophu, lived unnoticed but died amid controversy. Was he murdered? And by whom? His countrymen celebrated with an uprising, savagely repressed by Mphophu's goonish successors.

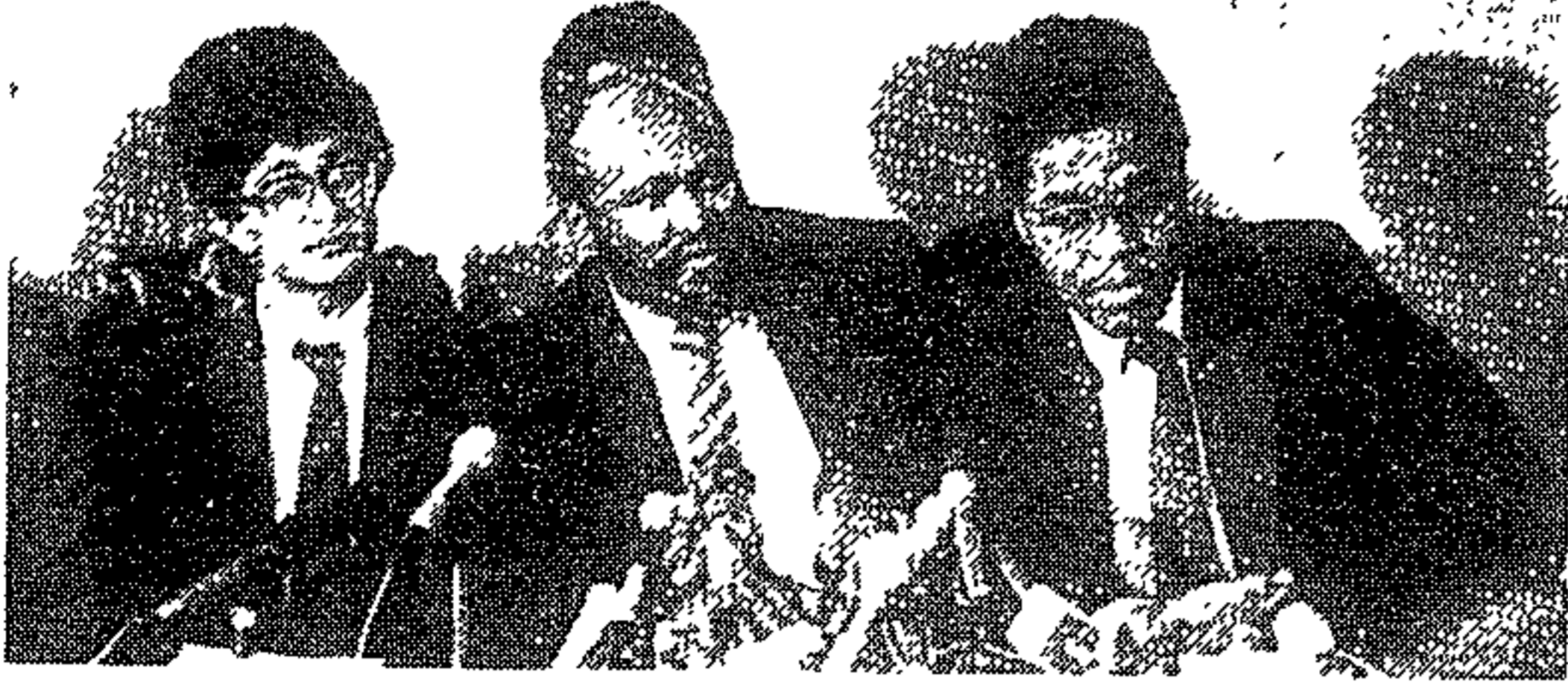
Feisty *City Press* editor Perry Qoboza died of a massive stroke after a life of hard-living, hard drinking and hard fighting.

Two boxers were killed in the ring: welterweight Brian Baronet died amid national mourning. Featherweight Daneil Thetele died almost unnoticed.

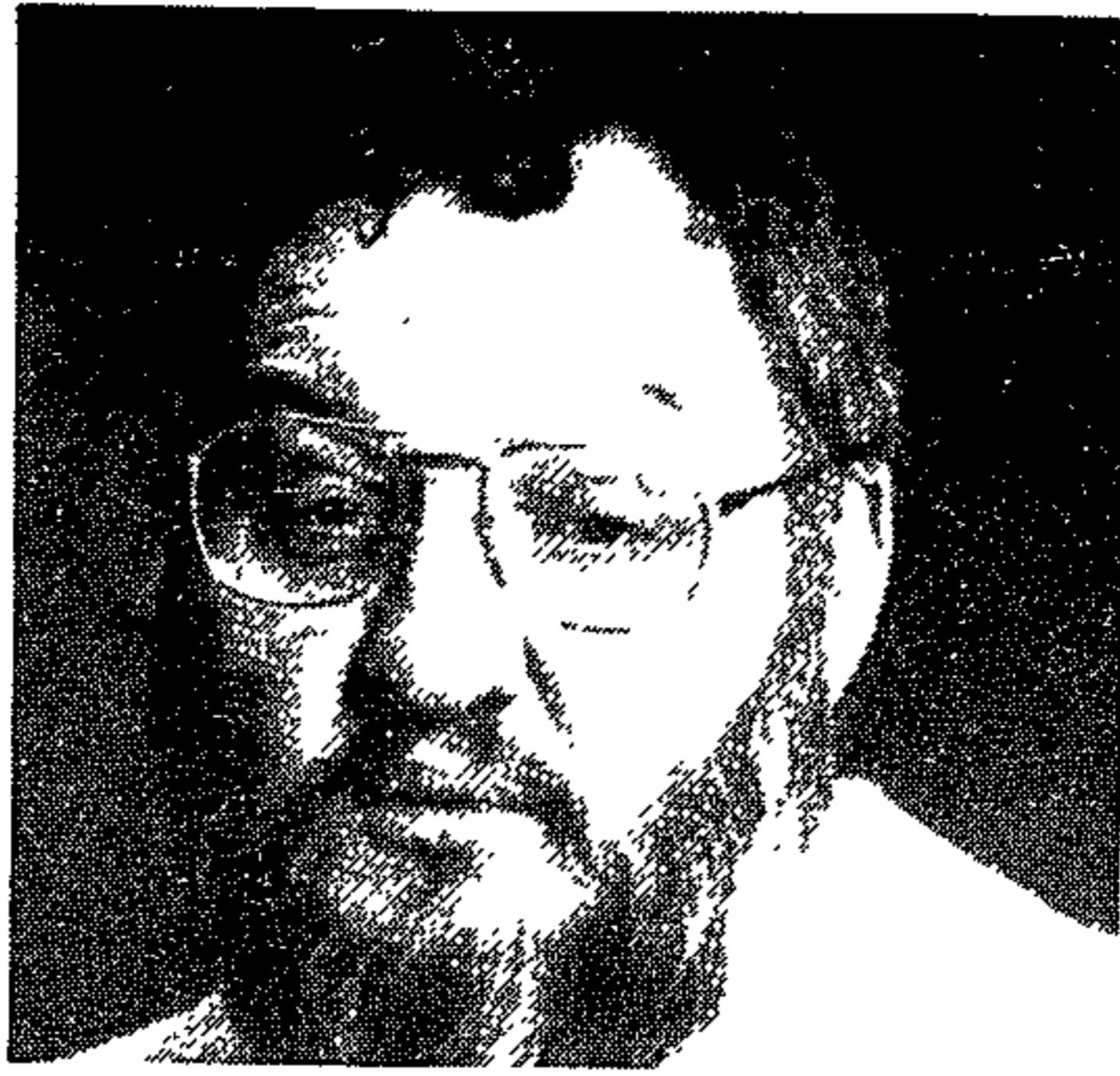
There were some deaths which may never be resolved. Who killed Dulcie September? Or Sicele Dhlomo? And where is Stanza Bopape?

3049

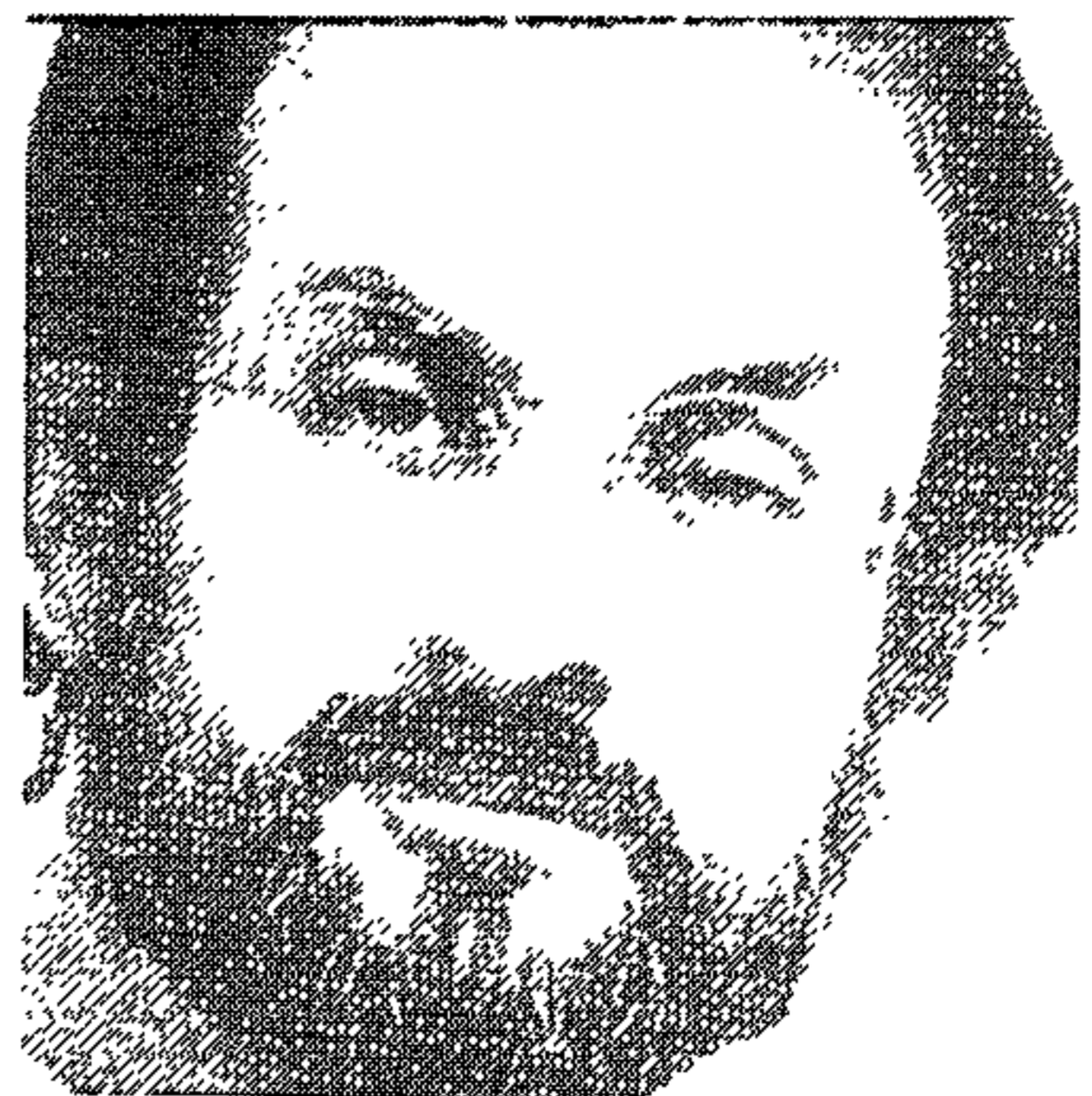
DETAINEE



Detainees Valli, Morobe and Khanyile freed themselves from custody and hid in the US consulate. Then Adriaan Vlok remembered he meant to free them anyway



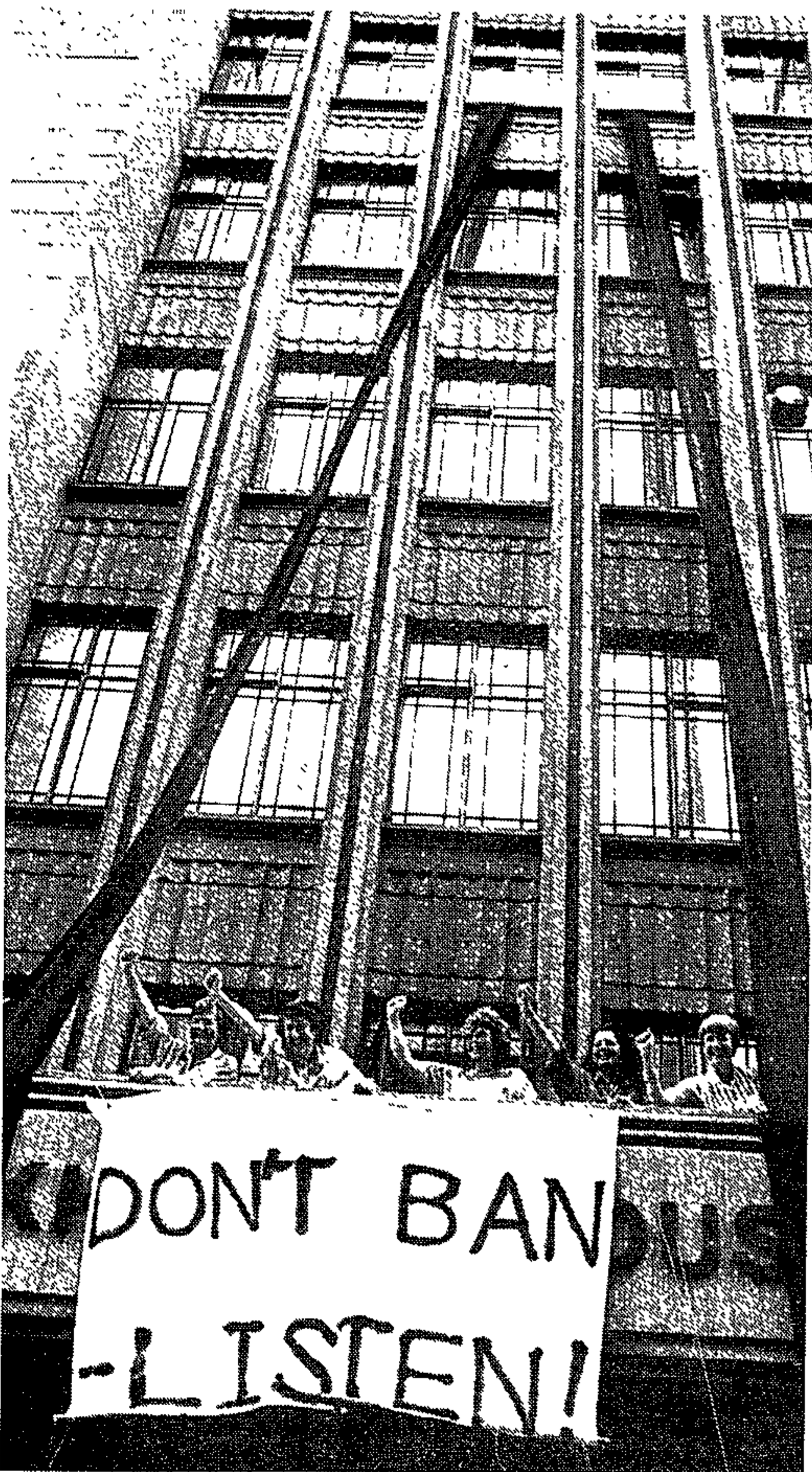
Boksburg's mayor got into trouble for doing what the Nats can get away with



Salman Rushdie lost out on an air ticket, but book sales are booming

Pictures: JUDA NGWENYA, (Reuter), The Guardian, Viking.

the schlepps. And the fiddles



Khotso House protests at the bans on 17 organisations. Months later, a bomb reduced the building to rubble

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix



A girl's best friend is her rifle. Black and white at attention during the 75th anniversary celebrations of the SAP

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

with all the hungry children in South Africa. The white children, that is.

The heaviest message of all arrived for prisoner Nelson Mandela. On his birthday he received 250kg of mail from Holland alone.

THE NAKED TRUTH

Two nuns were caught showering topless on Durban's North Beach. A bewildered Attorney General declined to prosecute. Other, less pious, breasts were quickly covered-up with pink "parking" tickets and prosecuted, despite a policeman's remark that the forces of law and order had "more important things to do than sit behind a bush waiting for topless bathers".

A topless dancer's show at Rand Afrikaans University was banned. But not for nudity. The repertoire included writhing in the strains of a speech by PW Botha ... on law and order.

PRESSING PROBLEMS

One-man cavalry Stoffel Botha launched himself into battle with the print media this year, scolding, warning and suspending almost everything bar *Your Family*.

Three newspapers were suspended after exhausting the ministerial patience. A fourth newspaper, Robert van Tonder's far-right *Die Stem*, suspended itself after receiving a surprise warning.

Pugnacious Pik took the war with the media into enemy territory at a rowdy dinner with foreign correspondents. He told a woman journalist who asked him a question: "I don't argue with beautiful ladies, I can think of better things to do with them."

PW Botha himself at the National Party Congress thought of better things for the press to do and asked wistfully: "Why can't they promote tourism instead of terrorism?"

Fashionable Reeva Forman set a style for litigation. She outdressed her *Style* magazine rivals in the year's glitziest court case and won the R2-million prize.

Mangosutho Buthelezi's winnings against *Frontline* magazine were paltry by comparison but he enjoyed himself mightily during a marathon self-examination session in the witness box.

The *Weekly Mail* sued Botha (Pik) while Botha (Stoffel) sued *New Nation* and Botha (PW) sued *Vrye Weekblad*.

GREY AREAS

Whites sporting Afro wigs and boot polish pretended to be "Hottentots" on the beach where the 400th anniversary of the landing of Bartholomew Dias took place. They couldn't use real blacks because they weren't allowed on the beach.

Like a beached whale Durban mayor Henry Klotz struggled in vain to turn the tide of government policy on seaside apartheid and was suspended by the NP for "acting disloyally and contrary to the party's interests".

Whiter-than-white CP leader Andries Treurnicht was told gleefully by a Labour Party MP that he had "enough mixed blood in his veins to have him re-classified coloured". Treurnicht denied the allegation, but nonetheless ran a check on his family tree.

Some 160 white Christians who went off to Mamelodi see how the other half lives found out all too quickly: A white guest was detained

along with his Mamelodi host and other whites were interrogated in the middle of the night by security police who couldn't comprehend why white people wanted to sleep in a township.

AIDS

Some South Africans began to wake up to the realisation that the killer disease was not the sole property of gay black heroin addicts in San Francisco. Others may take longer. An Alberton schoolboy was expelled for writing a project on Aids. The town council in Stellenbosch banned condom vending machines in municipal toilets.

A glimmer of hope shone when the Johannesburg city council had 100 of them installed and an Aids advice group released an unambiguous T-shirt bearing the message "Clever Dicks Wear Condoms".

GOOD SPORTS

Rugby bosses Danie Craven and Louis Luyt flew to Harare to swop locker-room stories with rising star Steve Tshwete (former Border and Robben Island man), now playing for the ANC. Despite the ANC's reputation for rough scrumming, the new camaraderie was said to have no connection with the upcoming centenary of the South African Rugby Board and the desire to "internationalise" it.

South Africa was spared the evils of anabolic steroids when we were barred not only from participating in the Olympics, but also from peeping from afar on our television sets.

Nelson Mandela, resident for years on an island where paddling was not encouraged, was moved to a new home with a swimming pool. His wife was unimpressed. "He can't even swim," she said.

LOONY TOONS

Rozanne Botha, daughter of an omnipresent TV personality, entered the showbiz world with a rendition of *There's Got to be a Morning After* at a police birthday party. The tune, theme song of the 1970s disaster movie *The Poseidon Adventure*, was a prophetic choice, for Rozanne soon became involved in local movie disaster *Back to Freedom*. Modestly, she had her name remodelled to "Both" to avoid international excitement. The change fooled at least one person: daddy, who said he knew nothing about the secret film.

A nation mourned when it was announced that *Dynasty* would be screened in apartheid South Africa no more. But what we lost on sex, we made up on violence. The distributors of *Rambo III* gave us first crack at it because, outside the USA, the preceding two *Rambos* had grossed more here than anywhere else in the world.

Richard Attenborough's depiction of the life and times of Donald Woods, *Cry Freedom*, got thumped by real-life Rambos when all copies were seized by police half an hour after the censors said there was nothing wrong with it.

SABC boss Riaan Ecksteen honed television into an ever-more strident mouthpiece of Authority, before being fired for insufficient meekness. His unhappiness is likely to have been short-lived. No man has been more handsomely rewarded for saying nothing.

After a shambolic trip to the southern tip of Africa, the Pope went back home to do what he's always wanted to do anyway — get into showbiz. He knuckled down to produce a play he had written some years before — a love story — performed at the Vatican just before Christmas.

● Continued overleaf

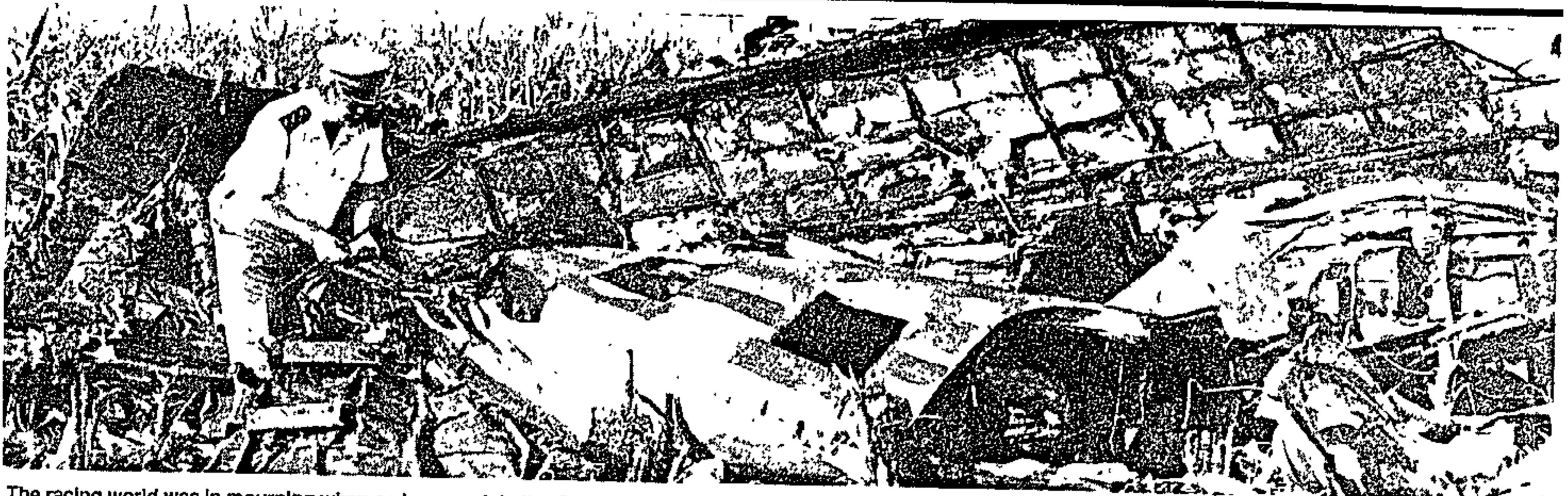
Khotso House

THE South African Council of Churches is to launch a campaign to rebuild Khotso House which was destroyed by a massive blast on September 1 this year, the SACC said in a statement.

Khotso (which means "peace" in Sotho) House symbolised more than the brick and mortar building, the SACC said, adding that a service to "celebrate the ministry of the SACC and the role of Khotso House in that ministry" is to be held this week.

The service is to take place at noon tomorrow at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg. — Sapa.

3044



The racing world was in mourning when a plane crash in the OFS killed all passengers, most of them jockeys or trainers

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP



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vention of "international Coca Cola cultures", he was piqued about not being able to wrest the showbiz rights to the Voortrekker Monument from the PW crowd.

Pik Botha flew to Brazzaville to talk to Cubans and other communists and was welcomed back a hero. Danie Craven flew to Lusaka to talk to the ANC and other communists and was denounced as a traitor.

Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe, mindful of the fact his little strip is one of the poorest in the world, built and furnished a palace for himself not quite entirely at state expense. Rumour has it he got a great discount on some of George Matanzima's lounge suites, 19 of which were auctioned off when the former Transkei premier fled to Austria.

One-time Miss South Africa Andrea Stelzer transformed herself into a *fraulein* and won the Miss Germany title. But her efforts to become the first South African in years to enter the Miss World contest failed when she was disqualified ... for being too elderly.

PATTER OF TINY FEET

Rugby players Naas Botha and Cheese van Tonder took their eyes off the ball long enough to become fathers but by the time the tiny bundles arrived, their memories seemed to have glazed over. Both consequently found themselves embroiled in paternity claims.

While rock star Johnny Clegg didn't exactly turn a blind eye to his baby, he saw him for the first time in December — four months after wife Jenny gave birth. Clegg caught up with his son — after a concert in Mauritius, before continuing his world tour.

Though convicted ANC commander Ashley Forbes married Yasmina Pandey this year, there is little chance of the couple having any offspring. Forbes, married in Pollsmoor Prison

while awaiting trial, was subsequently sent down for 15 years.

A storm in a spice bottle erupted when Buddhist Elaine Ensor advertised for a handsome Indian sperm donor. The successful candidate sent Ensor his sperm in a spice bottle. She miscarried, tried again, and failed once more.

The father of separated Siamese twins Mpho and Mphonyana who, having initially abandoned his off-spring, curiously changed his mind. He even invited the twin's mother, Sophie, to go and live with him, his wife and eight other children.

The mother of South Africa's teenage sextuplets, Susan Rosenkowitz, left her eight children and husband Colin, to marry her Irish immigrant lover.

STICKY FINGERS

With a few monthly taps on a Standard Bank computer, employee Snowy Moshoeshoe succeeded in giving the bank its very own football club. The bank's newest auto-club, Mamelodi Sundowns, made good the investment by winning three major trophies.

A range of institutions fall prey to the new mathematics of the money fiddlers. The Receiver of Revenue lost R5.5-million and the Iscor medical aid fund R6-million. Kingmaker Albert Vermaas sneaked off with R150-million.

House of Delegates chief minister Amichand Rajbansi, described by a colleague as the "Idi Amin of Indian politics" investigated the credentials of his investigators. One investigating officer suggested that the man's morals were as synthetic as his wig. Fellow baldy, PW Botha, finally fired him.

Hillbrow MP Leon de Beer was convicted on 300 counts of poor arithmetic during the elec-

tions. National Party MP Peet de Pontes resigned after accusations that he over-indulged in that venerable South African tradition, hospitality, towards drugs king Roberto Palazzola. President Lennox Sebe and his cabinet voted themselves a 40 percent pay rise. To surprise themselves, they kept the gift a secret.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

An envoy of the South African government was barred from watching a performance of Britain's Royal Shakespeare Company. The name of the play *Much Ado About Nothing*.

Novelist Salman Rushdie was asked to speak in South Africa. Then it was learned that he had just published a satirical novel, said to be blasphemous. After weeks of controversy and threats of violence, the guest was disinvented. Both Rushdie's opponents and supporters had one thing in common: none had read the book.

Naturist Beau Brummel's kids were expelled from Eden Christian School near Warmbaths because their parents misbehaved. The principal quaked at the possibility of the bar-bummed Brummel parents arriving at school on sports day.

Archbishop's wife Leah Tutu was handcuffed to the door of the Johannesburg Traffic Department for failing to pay a parking fine. She was told that the handcuffing of traffic offenders was merely one of the rules and she should not think she was being given special treatment because of her husband's celebrity status.

ANIMAL CRACKERS

This was the year in which Pik Botha held his own on the hump of a camel in Cairo.

The government unleashed its most powerful propaganda weapon to date — two civic-minded squirrels in jackets. One was later charged with molesting children.

The airforce launched a jet fighter called Cheetah with which it hoped to obliterate the Cubans in Angola. The Cubans appeared unruffled. The plane may soon be renamed the Poodle.

It was learnt that 20th-century living has ruined the prowess of our oxen. One died in the first week of the re-enacted Great Trek and the SPCA had to come to the rescue of its pampered fellows.

DEATHS

Professor Raymond Dart, discoverer of the archaeological phenomenon commonly known as the "Missing Link", died this year as did disgraced one-time presidential hopeful Connie Mulder, latterly of the Conservative Party. Dart proved that man evolved. Mulder's party proved that man can regress.

Liberal Alan Paton died four decades after his famous novel, *Cry The Beloved Country*, called for sanity. On his deathbed, Paton was still waiting.

PW Botha lost another of his rapidly dwindling coterie of international friends when heavyweight Bavarian prime minister Franz-Joseph Strauss died shortly after a South African visit.

Self-proclaimed life president of Venda, Patrick Mphophu, lived unnoticed but died amid controversy. Was he murdered? And by whom? His countrymen celebrated with an uprising, savagely repressed by Mphophu's goonish successors.

Feisty *City Press* editor Percy Qoboza died of a massive stroke after a life of hard-living, hard drinking and hard fighting.

Two boxers were killed in the ring: welterweight Brian Baronet died amid national mourning. Featherweight Daneil Thiele died almost unnoticed.

There were some deaths which may never be resolved. Who killed Dulcie September? Or Sello Dhlomo? And where is Stanza Bopape?

Boksburg business takes council to task

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A businessman with multi-million rand interests in Boksburg is considering holding the town council liable for any damages he incurs as a result of its racial policies.

But the council is sticking to its guns, and after a special meeting on Friday night "maintained the status quo", management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie said.

In a letter to the council, read at the special sitting, Mr Albert van Heerden of Merinda Enterprises said a deal in which he was to sell a factory worth R1,6-million had gone sour as a result of recent council decisions.

The multinationals Huck SA (US), Walon (French) and Uniroyal Chemicals (US), as well as the Post Office and Freightech (a member of the Barlow group), all of whom had leased factories from him, were threatening to withdraw from the town.

Mr van Heerden said in his let-

ter he was building a factory for the production of low-cost housing at 300 to 500 houses a month. A turnover of R40-million a month was expected from this company.

"I am afraid the factory for black housing will be severely affected. The houses are erected in all the black townships and if they know they are from Boksburg, they will not want to buy the houses," he said.

The letter included a copy of another to the MP for Boksburg, Mr J P I Blanche, in which Mr van Heerden asked the government to bring an end to "the fiasco".

Serious effects

Colgate-Palmolive managing director Mr G W Nocker said in a letter his company, as a major corporate ratepayer in Boksburg with no vote in the election, could no longer continue morally to fund the council's apartheid policies.

"Our company is suffering delisting of its products from retail outlets merely due to its ties with

Boksburg. We cannot and are not prepared to tolerate this situation any longer," he said.

The Boksburg Industrial Association said in a letter the enforcement of the council's discriminatory measures would have serious adverse effects on industry in the town.

Boksburg had become one of the largest industrial areas in South Africa with about 600 industrial firms, many of whom were internationally controlled.

"It is therefore of concern to us that the latest steps will turn out to be seriously retrogressive and could in fact mean that Colgate and others would leave Boksburg and cripple industry in our town," the association's chairman, Mr David Katzin, said.

Mr D J Bertels, chairman of the Quanta group of small high-tech companies operating in Boksburg, said the inevitable negative backlash would not benefit anyone, including the country, the multinationals, Boksburg retailers, black people and the council itself.

Deadlock on Reiger Park buying power

JOHANNESBURG. — The deadlock between representatives of Reiger Park and the Boksburg Town Council seems set to continue.

Boksburg Conservative Party councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe, who owns a petrol station, paid the Reiger Park management committee chairman, Mr Buchanan "Butch" Jantjes, and his vice-chairman, Mr Jannie Arends, a surprise visit at Mr Jantjes's home on Friday evening.

"He wanted an instant solution and said we must call off what he termed 'the boycott' as businessmen would suffer over Decem-

ber. I told him I would have to consult my committee, but the outcome would probably be that the CP rescind its decision and apologise to our community publicly before we withdraw our Christmas gift to the people of Boksburg," Mr Jantjes said.

Mr van der Merwe had said that an apology could be arranged, but the council would maintain the status quo.

"They want their bread buttered on both sides and that is not possible," Mr Jantjes added.

Referring to the term "boycott", Mr Jantjes said the community was simply responding to the CP call to keep the town

white by withdrawing its physical and economic presence. A boycott was illegal under the emergency regulations and the management committee had not been approached in terms of these regulations.

"There is nothing illegal about this. We're not fighting. We are simply adhering to their (the CP's) call. We are not fighting the government," he said.

Reiger Park representatives plan to meet the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, later, regarding political developments in Boksburg this month, said Mr Jantjes. — Sapa.



'Drastic change needed to block sanctions'

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) has warned that drastic change is needed in South Africa if further punitive economic measures from European countries are to be avoided.

The institute reached this conclusion after a visit by its executive members to four European capitals — London, Paris, Brussels and Bonn — and 30 interviews with, among others, government officials, bankers, politicians, industrialists and businessmen.

In a statement the AHI said pressure for political and economic action against South Africa was building up.

It was clear that influence

against increased sanctions, boycotts and disinvestment could not be exercised while the situation in South Africa was maintained.

The suggestion that evolutionary constitutional changes had gained overseas support for economic growth in South Africa had not been met with approval, the statement said.

The AHI said the measures facing the country included additional sanctions, boycotts and limitations on capital investment.

"In our opinion it will require vigilance not to give pressure groups the opportunity to succeed with additional action. The recent decision of the State President to reprieve the Sharpeville Six undoubtedly denied them such an opportunity."

People and institutions friendly to South Africa had emphasised that the attitude of many European Community countries was so negative that it would be difficult to prevent further punitive measures.

Only a dramatic step towards a new political dispensation would bring about a change in attitude. Such a dispensation would have to be acceptable to the majority of black South Africans.

"It was clear to us that such a step towards power-sharing for black South Africans points to central government level. The impression was created that power-sharing did not have to be instituted in a unitary state. It could also happen in a federal system," the statement said.

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Joint leadership sharing of new party demanded

IP makes shock proposal

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP) has dropped a bombshell on the unity talks with the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement (NDM) by insisting on a joint sharing of any new party's leadership.

Spokesman for the IP, Mr David Gant, confirmed today that the party had proposed Dr Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan as joint leaders of the new party with the PFP's leader, Dr Zach de Beer, acting as chairman.

Mr Gant said the IP was not interested in recycling an existing party, but wanted a new and fresh entity.

He said his party still stood by its earlier insistence that any agreement between the three parties must be reached by Wednesday.

Mr Malan said today that his party had gone along with the IP's proposals as a point of discussion. However, the NDM did not regard the proposals as final.

The IP's proposals have thrown a cat among the pigeons at the unity talks, which resume in Cape Town today.

The PFP is the only one of the



Dr Zach de Beer ... a main contender for party leadership.

three parties involved in the talks that has any structure and organisation to speak of. The party also has considerable financial resources and a large base in Parliament and in town councils.

The other two parties exist largely on paper. The NDM has only three MPs while the IP has none.

Nonetheless, the IP claims that it and the NDM have more support than the PFP, as reflected in several opinion polls.

The IP is using this as the basis for its claim that the PFP is in fact an equal, if not less than equal, partner in the proposed merger.

Prominent PFP leaders are



Dr Louis Luyt ... crucial meeting at his home on Wednesday.

privately expressing serious reservations about merging with the IP and the NDM on the proposed basis.

They do not see why the party should have to take a minor role in the proposed entity. They are in favour of Dr de Beer leading the new party and they want at least the word, Progressive, to be part of the new party's name.

Dr de Beer said today he could not comment on the content of proposals made by one of the parties at the talks.

He said it had been agreed not to make statements to the media on the contents of the talks, so he was a little surprised to see certain details published by the newspapers.

Any party had the right to make proposals, he said.

Dr de Beer today commented on a recent opinion poll, published by a Sunday newspaper, which showed support for the three parties involved in the talks had continued to fall, while that of the National Party had risen by 4 percent.

Dr de Beer said he was disappointed and a little surprised to see the liberal opposition support had dropped by about 1,5 percent from where it had been.

The fall had been mainly in the NDM and the IP, with the PFP being down a smidgeon.

He said he was surprised because the survey must have been done at about the time of the municipal elections, and these had demonstrated the PFP had done better than expected and the party had certainly held its own.

According to the survey, the combined forces of the three parties would equal the support of the Conservative Party at about 22 percent of the electorate.

The statistics do show that the NDM and the IP together have marginally more support than the PFP.

● See Page 15.

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Stellenbosch group backs new alliance

Political Staff

Influential academics and professional people in Stellenbosch, describing themselves as an "unaligned group", last week formed a committee and decided to throw their weight behind the efforts to form a new political party to the left of the National Party.

Academics and other prominent people in the Transvaal who are not at present in any political party will also be drawn in.

Prime movers behind the group are Professor Sampie Terblanche, professor in economics at the university, and Mr Piet Geustyn, a retired engineer. The meeting held by the group to discuss their strategy was also attended by Dr Danie Craven and by academics and prominent people from Stellenbosch and surroundings.

Some of them have had discussions with the leaders of the parties involved in the efforts to form a new party — Dr Zach de Beer of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Denis Worrall of the Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement.

NEW FORM OF POLITICS

Professor Terblanche said the group would like to see not only a merger of political groups but a new political party involved in a new form of politics.

The new approach would emphasise the inevitability of non-racial politics in South Africa.

In the process, the continuing racism of other parties in white politics had to be exposed as well as the vulnerability of the National Party in a number of areas.

Dr Willem de Klerk, former editor of *Rapport* and now at Rand Afrikaans University, said there were also academics and professional people in the Transvaal who were unaligned or who had left the National Party.

They could play a role and at a later stage, and efforts would be made to bring them into contact with the new party, he said.

Deadline looms in quest for a new anti-apartheid alliance

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The three political parties exploring the possibility of merging forces against the Government might come up against formidable hurdles in the way of unity.

Thus far, the talks behind closed doors in Cape Town have apparently been more successful than expected.

But there is by no means certainty that the parties can meet their self-imposed deadline of December 14 to secure a provisional blueprint on structures and strategies as well as a declaration of intent and principles.

And if they do meet that deadline, or agree to extend it, they will still have to agree on the thorny issues of the leadership and name of the new party.

The Progressive Federal Party, Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement have come together in the first place primarily as a result of being called in by business tycoon Dr Louis Luyt.

Criticised

Dr Luyt, fed up with the way he was criticised by the Government for his role in the rugby world's attempts to break out of South Africa's sports isolation by talking to the ANC, called in the leaders of the three groups to appeal to them to unite against the Government.

The leaders agreed to talk and they appointed representatives to hammer out the provisional declaration and blueprint by December 14.

Sources close to the talks are expressing optimism that they will be successful and that an agreement can be clinched.

Certainly, there can be little difficulty for the three groups to agree on their opposition to apartheid and the need to remove the Nationalist Government. But there are ominous rumblings from the different parties over the strategies necessary to achieve these goals and over what sort of system and society should replace apartheid.

There are also tensions between various personalities in the three groups.

To start with, there are deep suspicions between Dr Worrall and Mr Malan. The two have fallen out once before, splitting

By DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

The three political parties to the left of the Government are busy trying to find sufficient common ground with a view to merging before the next general election. But there are still several thorny issues to be resolved.



Dr Denis Worrall ... power key is white parliamentary politics.



Mr Wynand Malan ... prefers the approach of process politics.

their Independent Movement at a time when they were on the crest of a wave of popularity.

Dr Worrall was annoyed at the way in which the Malan faction ousted him.

There are also substantial differences between the men as to strategies.

Mr Malan's NDM prefers the approach of process politics, which involves individuals and groupings across the political spectrum from AWB to ANC.

Dr Worrall says the key to power is white parliamentary politics, and the key to that is attacking the NP's power base. Involvement with the far left would jeopardise any chances of shifting the Nationalist support base, he argues.

A large component of the PFP is still bitter at the way the NDM lured three of its prominent members across the floor of Parliament.

The way in which the three men left the PFP and the insulting comments they made about the party have left a lasting bitterness. The fact that the three who left were involved in the Dakar talks between Afrikaners and the ANC also rankles some of the more conservative PFP members.

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be together might be misinterpreted by some.

It would have to be made clear that if the PFP's principles were unacceptable to other groupings, then the party would prefer to go it alone, sources say.

There was no way the PFP would be prepared to merge forces so that certain people could win or retain seats in Parliament, one source said.

Any merged political grouping would have to have a clear policy and a vision.

The sources said the PFP would not be prepared to compromise on its commitment to a free-enterprise economy or a federal system of government.

There was concern that the NDM particularly could lean in favour of a unitary State.

There is also concern among the conservative elements of the PFP, said to be in the majority, that the NDM would be perceived to be soft on the ANC's campaign of violence and that this would destroy any new party involving the Malan movement.

Negotiators

The negotiators have not yet broached the issue of a name for a merged party, but here again there is likely to be much disagreement.

A large part of the PFP is said to be adamant that the word "progressive" be retained in the name, consolidating on decades of struggle and so as to retain the hard core of PFP voters.

The other parties, particularly the Independent Party, is keen to get away from what is considered to be the PFP's disastrous image, and is likely to insist on a totally new name.

Perhaps the trickiest question will be who will lead the new party.

Dr Worrall and Mr Malan are believed to be unacceptable to one another.

Dr Worrall is also unacceptable to many PFP members, who would rather see him be given an important position in the party under Dr de Beer.

Dr Worrall's supporters, on the other hand, say surveys show that the IP leader is more popular than the PFP leader, so their man should take top position.

There is suspicion in the ranks of the PFP that the NDM might not share the party's values and principles in certain respects.

For example, the NDM's embracing of the Freedom Charter could cause problems for much of the PFP membership, as could Mr Malan's views on the Delmas treason accused.

Unease

The first signs of unease on the part of the PFP were evident at a meeting of the party's southern Transvaal regional council this week.

After an intense debate, the regional council unanimously passed a carefully worded motion expressing support for merger talks provided that the groups involved in the negotiations clearly shared the PFP's principles, philosophies, value systems and political aims, particularly those relating to the methods of change and the nature of a post-apartheid SA.

Prominent PFP sources have confided that party leader Dr Zach de Beer's dictum of bringing those together who out of inner conviction should

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Boksburg: Big boost for Benoni shops

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Retailers in Benoni have benefited considerably from the Boksburg boycott, although businesses in CP-controlled Brakpan and Springs have not been affected, a Business Day survey has found.

In Benoni, Edgars, Foschini, Beares and Jet reported a noticeable increase in turnover from black customers — specially last Friday and Saturday, the main shopping days.

"We are getting all the blacks and coloureds in that never used to come from Actonville, Daveyton, Watville, Vosloorus and Reiger Park. Turnover has doubled," according to a spokesman from Foschini.

No increase was noticed by Checkers Benoni because they are in a residential area far from public transport.

In Brakpan, Checkers, Beares and Edgars noticed no significant drop in turnover since the boycott began. Cuthberts Brakpan said that business was "very, very quiet" but Foschini Brakpan said that business was better than usual — "on Friday and Saturday we had a lot of blacks".

In Springs the only store to report a change in customer patterns was Edgars, where at least two black customers from Brakpan had been reported. Most other businesses reported the usual increase in trade for this time of year.

Leadership issue ^{AR 648} ^{12/12/88} threatens unity talks

Political Correspondent ³⁰⁴⁹

THE question of leadership of a new leftwing political party today threatened to complicate efforts to form a new grouping as the Independent Party insisted that the issue should be considered a priority.

The feeling was in Progressive Federal Party circles that the IP had gone public with its proposals at the weekend while the understanding had been that moves in a committee of PFP, IP and National Democratic Movement representatives would be confidential.

Although the NDM agreed to a leadership proposal being submitted to the committee for discussion it did not regard the issue as important.

In IP circles the feeling was that a new party should not have the image of the PFP having swallowed up the other two groups.

"CUT-OFF DATE"

Mr David Gant, one of the co-chairmen of the IP, made it clear that it was an important issue for his party and that it regarded Wednesday as the "cut-off date" for efforts to form a new party.

The IP attitude was that its followers would become confused and demotivated if these efforts dragged on for too long.

Mr Grant confirmed that the IP had formulated leadership proposals aimed at having its leader, Dr Denis Worrall, and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan as co-chairmen for a year, with Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the PFP, as chairman of the party.

Mr Colin Eglin, one of the PFP negotiators, and Dr De Beer, indicated that it was for the committee to consider proposals and that details were not supposed to be announced in public beforehand.

Mr Eglin said the committee would on Wednesday report to the party leaderships on as much progress as it could make. He did not feel it was a question of a cut-off date.

Mr Malan said the leadership issue was somewhat premature at this stage.

His group had agreed to the IP raising it as a matter for discussion but did not regard it as an important issue.

Du Plessis: Paper apologises to AG

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Rapport has written to the advocate-general, Mr Piet van der Walt, apologising for the way his name was coupled with aspects of a report about property transactions involving companies associated with Mr Johan du Plessis, son of the minister of manpower.

The report on December 4 contained allegations that the office and position of the minister, Mr Pietie du Plessis, had been misused in the interests of the Du Plessis companies.

The minister has denied the allegations and stated he intends taking legal action against Rapport.

Rapport said yesterday it had not yet received notice of any legal action.

Documentary evidence

Referring to the advocate-general, it said it had written the letter at his request, apologising for any mistaken impression given.

The newspaper added that its report on December 4 was based on documentary evidence made available to it.

Rapport also reported yesterday that Mr Johan du Plessis had accompanied a group of policemen when they raided the home of his father-in-law and former business partner, Mr Johan Mörsner, to seize tapes and documents concerning certain transactions.

Mr Mörsner was the managing director of Natprop from July 1986 to March 1987, Rapport said — a company in which Mr Johan du Plessis had a strong interest.

Police comment on the report could not be obtained yesterday.

Leaked IP document threatens talks

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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A LEAKED Independent Party document which proposes IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan as joint leaders of the proposed new moderate party, last night threatened to break up opposition unity talks.

But although the PFP is annoyed that the document was leaked to the press the three parties do not believe they will necessarily disrupt the attempt to form a new opposition party.

But it is clear from yesterday's controversy that the leadership of the new party, if it is to be formed, is a thorny and potentially divisive issue.

The three-party working group is to reconvene in Cape Town today, where the leaked IP document is expected to dominate the talks.

Yesterday IP negotiator Mr David Gant said his party would suspend involvement in the unity talks if the PFP refused to accept the IP's leadership and party executive proposals.

Today's talks would be critical to the IP's continued participation in the talks, he said.

It was up to the PFP to accept the IP's proposals or suggest acceptable

alternatives.

Mr Gant said the IP had proposed that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan jointly lead the new party, with the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer as chairman. He said the proposals had been put to the NDM.

The IP and NDM had reached consensus over the party structure, leadership and electoral strategy, and recognised the need for a "totally fresh image", he said.

However NDM sources last night denied there had been an agreement on leadership and said the proposal that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan be joint leaders had not been taken seriously and was not their final position.

The NDM believes that none of the three party leaders should head the new party and favours someone like Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the former Rapport editor, or even Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Dr De Beer said last night: "Our position is that we will negotiate in the committees that have been set up. We do not believe these negotiations should be conducted through the press."

He made no further comment.

Oversized egos will doom new alliance, say Nats

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party has predicted that attempts by "left-wing" politicians to achieve a semblance of unity will be torn apart by clashing leadership styles and "oversized egos".

But the NP is clearly concerned about possible formation of the new party: the latest issue of its newspaper, Nationalist, has three separate articles on the unity talks — one on the front page — an editorial and two cartoons.

The front-page article, written by the MP for Umhlanga, Mr Renier Schoeman, said the question of leadership of the new party was undoubtedly going to be a problem "with such a gathering of oversized egos, with Dr Denis Worrall leading in terms of sheer ego size, followed closely by Wynand Malan.

"No matter who is 'imported' to act as leader (unlikely to be Louis Luyt who is seen as an accident-prone political lightweight), his task will be almost impossible, given the propensity to high-profile personalised campaigning of co-leaders like Worrall, Malan and equally ambitious Peter Gastrow (NDM), as well as maverick Pierre 'black power salute' Cronje."

This tension among the leaders, Mr Schoeman said, "will probably, as after the 1987 election, tear any party, pact or alliance apart at the seams, sooner rather than later."

He also predicted that the new party would have a problem finding the right label. It was already modifying "liberal" for fear that this would be unacceptable to the white electorate and many blacks, and it would also be difficult to market the new grouping as "moderate" or "centrist", he said.

NBS facing veiled boycott call from CP

THE CP is expected to make a veiled boycott call against the Natal Building Society within the next few days following the NBS's failure to respond to a deadline set by the party's economic affairs spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis over the society's cancellation of its agency agreement with the CP Boksburg mayor.

Derby-Lewis said the one-week deadline expired last night and he would ask the NBS today whether it would take similar action against its agents in areas under NP control where petty apartheid

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was still practised. Failure on their part to respond would signal to the CP that the NBS "has no desire to do business with CP people and we will inform all our CP councils and our people of this", Derby-Lewis said.

Derby-Lewis said he would also write to Colgate Palmolive and Unilever objecting to their threats to quit Boksburg. "We would not dare tell them how to run their businesses and we object to them telling us how to run this country."

Sapa reports Colgate Palmolive MD Gerry Nocker said yesterday his company, which employs 1 200 people in Boksburg, had applied for rezoning to Benoni.

A Volkskas spokesman said the bank had no plans to end its business arrangements with the Boksburg council and was, in fact, installing an ATM in the local civic centre.

□ Boksburg council has budgeted R190m for capital and operating expenditure during the current financial year.

● See Page 3

Govt likely to act against CP moves'

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GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The business community expected government to act soon after the opening of Parliament to block any more moves back into apartheid in CP-controlled local authorities, Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industries vice-president Eric Henderson said yesterday.

He was reacting to reports that pressure was mounting in the US for Boksburg-based Colgate Palmolive to disinvest.

Henderson said: "We cannot see government allowing the situation to develop to a point where there is a real threat of a new wave of disinvestment and other economic action against SA."

At the weekend, the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut warned that drastic

changes were needed to avoid further punitive economic action against SA.

PFP spokesman Harry Schwarz said it would be totally illogical for any multinational to pull out of SA because of the activities of a verkrampte town council.

By staying, multinationals were contributing to solving the problems created by the CP and other right-wing organisations.

In any case, punitive disinvestment action would not influence the CP to change its policies.

By staying in SA, Colgate-Palmolive and others would be supporting those who opposed the "Boksburg syndrome".

New party talks back on track

CMF Tr's 13/12/88 *(306A)*

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS for a new moderate opposition party, likely to be called the Democratic Party, are back on track after a leaked document and a potential dispute over leadership threatened to derail the discussions.

The executives and leadership committees of the three parties are to meet in Johannesburg today to consider unity proposals before tomorrow's meeting between the three leaders and party representatives at the home of Transvaal rugby chief Mr Louis Luyt.

Yesterday, after a 3½-hour meeting of the joint working group, the national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said in a statement on behalf of the six-member committee: "Today was a particularly frank round of discussions which ended with the negotiations well on track."

The national executives and leaders' committees of the various parties were scheduled

to meet in Johannesburg today and interim reports from the working group would be submitted to them.

A further consolidated report would then be provided to the combined meeting of the three parties tomorrow, Mr Eglin said.

This statement, he added, had been issued on behalf of the joint working group, which consists of two representatives each of the PFP, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party. Mr Eglin would not elaborate further.

One of the IP negotiators, Mr Jannie Momberg, confirmed that the negotiations were on track and said the negotiations were going "fine".

However, today's separate meetings of the three party executives are clearly going to be crucial, if a decision to launch the new Democratic Party or to continue the negotiations is to be taken at tomorrow's meeting at Mr Luyt's house.

Each of the three parties will have to make a decision on the basis of the working group reports and then give a mandate to

their representatives on what step to take next.

One of the issues that is potentially divisive is the leadership of the new party. The leaked IP document which proposed IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan as joint leaders, with PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer as chairman, has not been acceptable to all the parties.

However, the leaking of the proposals, which led to some tension within the negotiations, has clearly not disrupted the unity negotiations.

Mr Eglin's statement that yesterday's discussions were "particularly frank" indicates that there was some tough talking and the leaked document, as well as its contents, were undoubtedly discussed.

There is still cautious optimism among the different parties that the remaining problem areas could be resolved at tomorrow's meeting and that an in-principle decision to launch the new Democratic Party will be taken.

Cap. Times 13/12/88
22% support

opposition left

Own Correspondent
306A

JOHANNESBURG

Opposition parties to the left of the government have 22,5% support of SA white voters according to a poll published in the Sunday newspaper Rapport.

However poll results in July this year show the three parties have all marginally lost support, with the NP and the CP increasing in popularity.

The poll conducted by Mark en Meningopnames showed the NP had increased its support by 2,6% to 46% and the CP by 1,6% to 22,8%, giving them 68,8% of the votes.

The results were ascertained by asking voters across the country who they would vote for during a general election.

The abstention vote has decreased from 8,6% in July to 6,9%.

Own Correspondent

BOKSBURG. — Colgate-Palmolive had no intention of leaving South Africa or moving its factory from Boksburg, but had applied for rezoning into Benoni, managing director Mr Gerry Nocker said yesterday.

"More than 60% of our 1 200 employees are non-white and we have always been an equal opportunity company. The Boksburg Council's actions are an insult to their dignity and contrary to human rights. We will defend those rights to the maximum," Mr Nocker said.

He added that the return of petty apartheid would revitalise pressure for disinvestment and

Boksburg: Colgate stays put, applies for rezoning

sanctions. *CP Times 13/12/88*
Reacting to reports of pressure on Colgate-Palmolive to disinvest, the Vice President of the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industries, Mr Eric Henderson, said the business community expected the government to act soon to block moves back into apartheid in CP-controlled local authorities.

● Top business leaders yesterday came out against boycotts aimed at Boksburg and other CP-

controlled municipalities which have moved to reimpose petty apartheid in their towns.

A meeting attended by 40 top businessmen was held behind closed doors in Kempton Park yesterday.

A businessman who attended the meeting said the general feeling was that "businessmen should use the opportunity to build concrete relations between members of the community".

Cricket Over Pool?

Mr Tibb 13/12/88 304A

Crack of dawn



I believe a large toothpaste manufacturing company is being squeezed out of Boksburg.

Syfers Cape Times Share Challenge

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There was no winner yesterday

If your share price total movement equals exactly R12,26 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 208 4702/4780 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 208 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 14
STOCK PRICES — Page 15

Cricket

Carfinder will appear tomorrow instead of Thursday due to the public holidays.

By BARRY STREER

THE next election will now almost certainly be held towards the end of next year, possibly in October or November, after the announcement yesterday that a Delimitation Commission will be appointed early in 1989.

Though the government could still call an election in March, as has been speculated in the past, it is unlikely to do so while the commission is still sitting.

The Minister of Home Affairs and communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in Pretoria yesterday that President P W Botha intended appointing a Delimitation Commission early next year for the re-delimitation of electoral divisions for the House of Assembly.

The commission, which is to function in terms of the Constitution Act, was expected to complete its proceedings by June 1989, he said.

Mr Botha made no mention of a re-delimitation of the House of Representatives and House of Delegates electoral divisions.

Both Houses have so far refused to consider any re-delimitation or an amendment of the constitution to allow for the delay in holding a general election until the Group Areas Act is scrapped.

Report of commission

If no agreement is reached with the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, both of which have to agree to an amendment of the constitution, a general election of all three Houses will have to be held before March 1989.

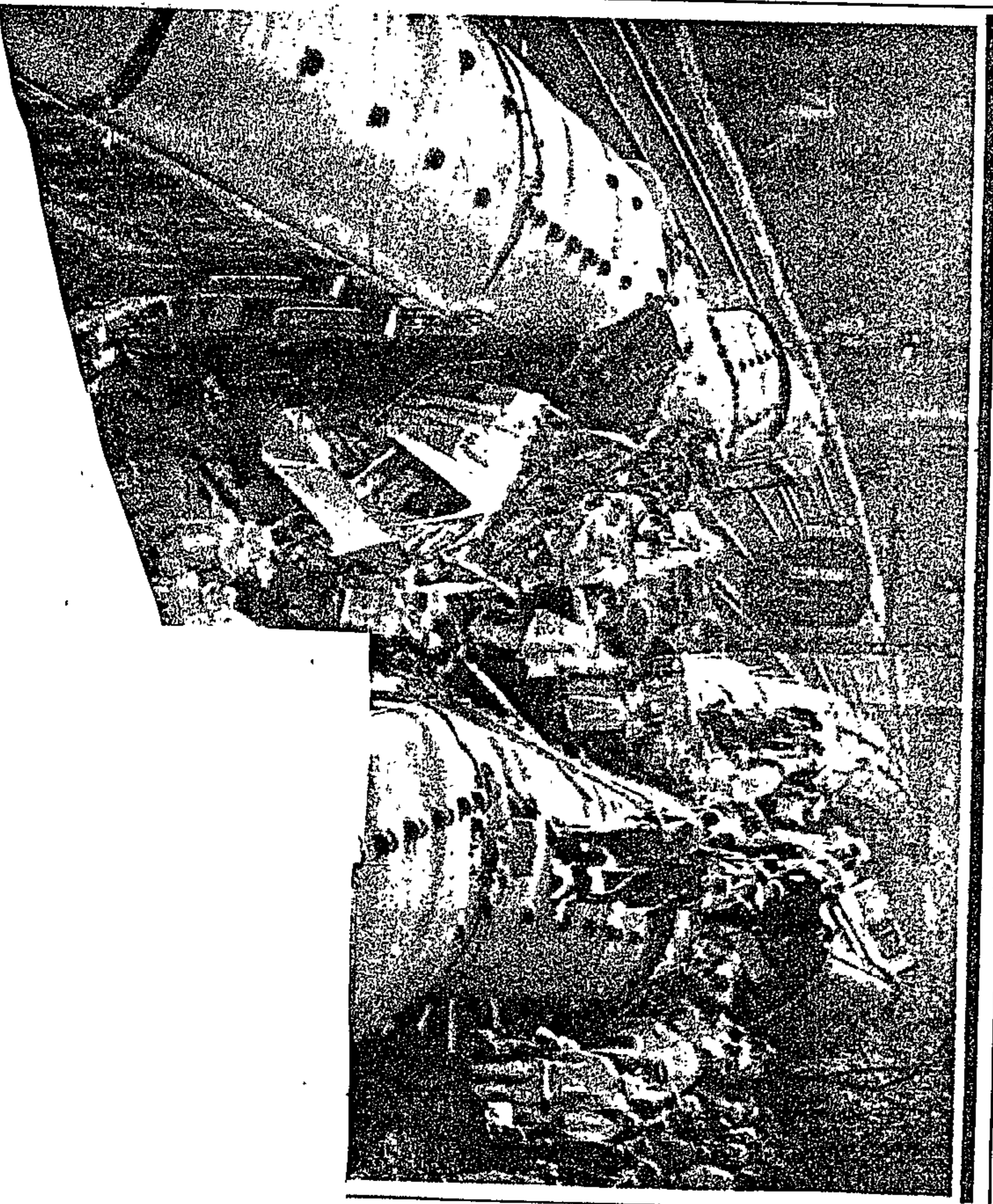
Observers believe that if this situation does not change, the government is likely to wait until the Delimitation Commission has reported before calling an election.

The PFP's national director of political information, Mr Neil Ross, said the announcement probably meant a general election would not be held until the commission had reported, although the government had the power to call an election at any time.

"It is unlikely that an election will be held simultaneously with the commission, because it could result in MPs holding seats which no longer existed."

He said the PFP welcomed the establishment of the commission as the last delimitation was held eight years ago and it believed a new delimitation was long overdue.

"Because it is overdue it has led to a very inequitable distribution of voters in various constituencies, giving greater weight to voters in some areas and less in others," Mr Ross added.





Businessmen unite to end Boksburg boycott

Argus
13/12/88

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Efforts are being made among influential groups to end the black consumer boycott sapping business from Boksburg and surrounding Conservative Party-controlled towns.

About 40 top business leaders yesterday came out against boycotts at a meeting of the Consultative Business Movement, held behind closed doors.

The opinion of delegates was that business should not be aligned with the National Party in opposing the CP move but it should act independently to improve relations between black and white.

Boycotts, it was felt, would only reduce Boksburg to a ghost town.

The chairman of the movement, Mr Christo Nel, said a statement would be made today.

In addition, a group of about 40 CP supporters in Boksburg founded the Boksburg Information Bureau (BIB) last night to counter the "bad publicity" the town had been receiving.

Councillor Mrs Gloria Bosch was elected chairman and the BIB decided to reorganise the Carols by Candlelight, which was to have taken place at Boksburg Lake last night before it was cancelled by the Boksburg Publicity Association.

BIB member Mr Bennie Carelson said the new bureau could not support anybody who wanted to boycott the town.

Efforts have been made by CP councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe to end the coloured boycott through negotiations with the chairman of the Reiger Park management

committee, Mr "Butch" Jantjes. This has not yet proved successful.

The Brakpan Alliance is to meet the management committees of the town's black and coloured townships, Tsakane and Geluksdal, over the next few days to establish the general feeling concerning the gradual boycott of the town.

"We would like to counteract their position by negotiation and also open channels of communication between the two communities," Mr Johan van Vuuren, chairman of the Brakpan Chamber of Commerce, said.

Rugby union man dies in smash

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Mr Matthew Benjamin, secretary of the Tygerberg Rugby Union, and a Grahamstown woman have been killed in a head-on collision near the Storms River bridge.

Mr Benjamin, of Penlyn Avenue, Penlyn Estate, Cape Town, and Miss Heather White, 21, of Hilton, Grahamstown, were killed instantly yesterday afternoon.

Mr Benjamin's wife, Denise, and children, Shirley, 8, and Cameron, 15, were seriously injured.

Mr Benjamin was returning to Cape Town with his family after a council meeting of the South African Rugby Union (Saru) in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

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Sowetan 13/12/88

Question of leader hampers formation of party

LEADERSHIP proposals for a new party left of the National Party which have been formulated by the Independent Party yesterday threatened to complicate the efforts to form such a party.

There was a feeling in PFP circles that the IP had gone public with its proposals over the weekend while the understanding had been that moves in a committee of PFP, IP and National Democratic Movement representatives would be confidential.

Although the NDM agreed to a leadership proposal being submitted to the committee as a subject for discussion yesterday did not regard this issue as being so important.

Image

In IP circles the feeling was that a new party must not have the image of the PFP having swallowed up the other two groups.

Mr David Gant, one of the co-chairmen of the IP made it clear that it was an important issue for his party and that it regarded tomorrow as the "cut-off date" for efforts to form a new party.

The IP attitude is that its followers would become confused and demotivated if these efforts dragged on for too long. Mr Gant said the new party had to be a totally new one and not just a recycled one.

He confirmed that the IP had formulated leadership proposals aimed at having its leader, Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan as co-chairmen for a year with Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the PFP, as chairman of the party.

Proposals

After the reconciliation between the IP and the NDM last week the latter had agreed to go along with the proposals. It would then be up to the PFP to accept them or to come with alternative ones.

The IP regarded the leadership issue as being of great importance.

Mr Colin Eglin, one of the PFP negotiators and Dr De Beer indicated that it was for the committee to consider proposals and that details were not supposed to be announced in public beforehand.

Mr Eglin said the committee would tomorrow report to the party leadership on as much progress as it could make. He did not feel it was a question of a cut-off date.

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Concern over reports that a new party to the left of the National Party would have three leaders, not one, was voiced here yesterday by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton).

She said: "If there is any truth in these reports, I would be astonished because the demand for a triumvirate would be excessive, con-

Suzman amazed at '3 leaders' report 304A

sidering that the PFP, unlike the other two parties (the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement), has 17 MPs and an extensive grass roots organisation."

According to the reports, Dr Denis Worrall's IP is demanding that he and Mr Wynand Malan,

leader of the NDM, be made joint leaders of any new grouping, and that the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, become chairman.

Mrs Suzman said she was confident that the PFP leadership would ensure that the PFP "retains a leading position in the opposition and that it

does not give away everything it has striven for over the years".

Star 14/12/88

Earlier this week, Mrs Suzman held discussions with the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and the Foreign Office Minister responsible for African affairs, Mrs Lynda Chalker.

306A

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CP STICKS TO THEIR GUNS

DESPITE immense pressure being exerted from all quarters of the black community the Conservative Party in Boksburg has not altered its policy of petty apartheid.

And indications are that the consumer boycott will be intensified during the festive season following statements by the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last week.

Dr Treurnicht, when addressing a public meeting in Boksburg, said the CP-controlled municipalities would refuse to back down on their apartheid stance in spite of threats of sanctions, boycotts and

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

attempts to force whites to capitulate.

Retailers in Boksburg say their economic equilibrium has been shattered in the past two weeks, with some businessmen suffering losses of up to 60 percent as the consumer boycott gains momentum.

The Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services, which includes the largest black consumer

and business bodies in southern Africa, has asserted that it will intensify the action until apartheid was demolished in the CP-controlled towns.

A spokesman for the organisation said they have consulted with their grassroots membership in and around Boksburg to investigate ways to make shopping and the general purchase of goods and services more easily available to the black consumer.

A representative of the

Reiger Park Management Committee, a coloured township near Boksburg, Mr Butch Jantjies, yesterday said they were intending to meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, this month to discuss recent political developments in Boksburg.

He said matters to be discussed include: the extension of Reiger Park and the effect of the CP-controlled council on business.

Meanwhile, Vosloorus

township on the East Rand has turned into a beehive of business activity as thousands of blacks who have withdrawn their buying power in Boksburg flock into the Lesedi City, South Africa's largest shopping centre in a black area, to do business.

The manager of the centre, Mr Gray Thathane, said the boycott of Boksburg has come as "a blessing in disguise for most businesses in the centre."

Campaign to rebuild Khotso House launched

Sowetan 14/12/88

304

THE CAMPAIGN for the rebuilding of the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, Khotso House, was launched

yesterday during a ceremony at the Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

The main speakers during the prayer ceremony were the SACC president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, who conducted the sermon and prayer, and the SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, who addressed the Press later. The Rev Chikane said the SACC

was awaiting information from an insurance company on how much they were to pay for the destruction and from engineers on whether to rebuild Khotso House or demolish it.

"Whatever the outcome we are committed to the rebuilding of Khotso House for the continuation of the ministry. Khotso House stands for human rights, justice and peace and these are the attributes

which have been to the negating of the evil forces which sought to destroy its existence," said the Rev Chikane.

The first contributors were a group of people from Kenya.

The SACC gave certificates of gratitude to several local organisations and bodies which accommodated its staff after the bomb blast which ripped the building apart.

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

RIGHT-WING people look different, they talk different and they are, well, just different.

This is not prejudice, it is a fact gleaned from a whole day of research in Boksburg.

I sometimes imagine that in hell there are several trains.

One of the worst ones has a giant snorr standing on a platform shouting: "Boksburg Brakpan, Benoni, Springs ... Alle stases".

Journalists like to make the world think they speed to each assignment with confidence and ease.

But if one is told to go to Boksburg and ask the whites there what they think, the confidence evaporates and you hope you have a minor accident that lands you in hospital with a badly bruised (but easily mended) something.

However, instead of the hordes of Neanderthal lynchers and racists who run prying blacks out of town, I found nothing but confused, embarrassed and panicky whites in Boksburg.

They look so different because they are so different.

At the famous Boksburg Lake I found only people who wanted to share their stretch of water with everyone.

For those of you who have been too bored to follow this "Dallas of the Dumps" saga, the story so far is

Amandla! AS Boksburg's whites amper join struggle

20/11/88
20/11/88
20/11/88

Oh, I almost forgot about The Lake, the centre of the controversy.

It is a flat, dull, greenish, dirty stretch of water with manicured lawns, a lifeless fountain and old coloured light bulbs that do not get turned on at night.

We, down here, can afford to be snotty about their "sacred" scenery. In any case, why do they desert such shrines to descend on us, round about now.

Who knows what alien forms could be defiling the Lake in the next few weeks while they moan about our beaches; sizzling fat and falling short of waistlines, decent manners and the exchange rate.

OK, I have one admission to make to the Boksburgers (surely there should be another term, this one makes them sound edible), I was really scared ONCE.

An African photographer and I were crossing one of the cute wooden bridges, next to a silent, giant wheel on the water (with more dead, coloured light bulbs).

A man in blue overalls, swinging a heavy chain started coming towards us.

We were mesmerised by the chain. My micro-second mental flashes went through a range of possibilities. Did we jump into the dirty green water... The worst.

Or did we face the chain... no choice for people like us who have actually braved evolution.

The man passed without incident. The thousands of people who voted for the far-right were nowhere in sight during my study in Boksburg.

One white woman said they were all "down the mines".

Looking at the week's massive loss of profits for the business people, they are more likely down in the dumps.

that the CP won the majority in the Boksburg town council and now they want everything - the parks, lakes, halls, sikamers, waslappies, broekies, prayers etc - to be so spierwit that most of the CP would not qualify for the usage and abuse if this were to happen.

Maybe that's why they look so different.

The "other" Boksburg whites, whatever they might be, say they have always been such nice people, but you know how it is.

One does not get involved in politics when one lives with one's soft-spots firmly ensconced in that "lasic rest" snuff.

No real butter in Boksburg.

Outside of a minority of serious people, white politics does not

involve thinking or skill. It is only a gut reaction - invariably pre-historic - to discomfort or comfort.

In Boksburg black people have been threatening for the first time, to remove the Rama.

But if you went to Boksburg last week you would swear that this is a town where the whites are clandestinely part of the struggle and the CP was just a passing, alien aberration.

They had a mass meeting - there was, I swear, an amper-fist in the air - where a Nat smoothie spoke of "solidarity".

I could quote some sentiments that sounds mind-boggling for Boksburg but the truth is that the whites were being punched in the pocket, the only attack they

understand.

A successful consumer boycott had been launched and one statistic stands out: In one day, one of the big supermarkets had their usual average takings for December 1 drop from R90 000 to R18 000.

Don't worry to ask where the police, dogs, guns, Casspirs and emergency regulations disappeared to.

This was a boycott in support of, well, the Nats who were sore that they lost this verkramppte town to the CP who in turn want to put the shine back on apartheid.

So next time the anti-apartheid activists get together, they should probably make sure they include some whites whose sole qualification is that they are anti-CP.

Star 14/12/88

Bishop urges Govt to share power 304

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The most important thing those in power had to remember was that power, unlike wealth, was not to be kept and monopolised, but rather to be shared with those who were powerless, the president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said yesterday.

In his sermon at the launch of the rebuilding of Khotso House campaign at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, Bishop Buthelezi said that in a democracy, the problem of politics was how to distribute and share power equitably, while "in an oligarchy such as we have in South Africa" the problem was how the powerless could gain power.

The bishop said power, which was not bad in itself, was not meant to remain in single hands, but



Bishop Manas Buthelezi
... powerless need help.

had to be passed on to others.

The secretary-general of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, said the Khotso House thanksgiving service had been organised to show their gratitude to all the people who helped the SACC since the bombing of Khotso House on August 31. *Star 14/12/88*

The State was pushing churches into a tight corner where they found themselves faced with

the option of either relinquishing their ministry out of fear or to continue with their ministry and face the consequences.

"We at the SACC have decided not to give up our ministry but to continue instead," he said.

Mr Chikane said that Khotso House would take about a year to rebuild and the SACC and other tenants had to find alternative accommodation.

They were now in a position to move to their own building, Queensbridge, in Braamfontein until Khotso House was rebuilt, he said.

People in Kenya had also initiated a campaign to raise money for the rebuilding of Khotso House, Mr Chikane announced.

The SACC gave presents to those organisations, groups and churches which housed the SACC after the bombing of Khotso House.

Boksburg publicity move is condemned

8th Nov 14/12/86

306A

By Helen Grange

The Boksburg Publicity Association (BPA) has lashed out at the newly formed Boksburg Information Bureau (BIB), founded on Monday night to counter the "bad publicity" given to the CP-controlled town.

The BPA yesterday dissociated itself from the policies of the CP-supported BIB in spite of the decision by the BIB to accept the manifesto and aims of the BPA as its own.

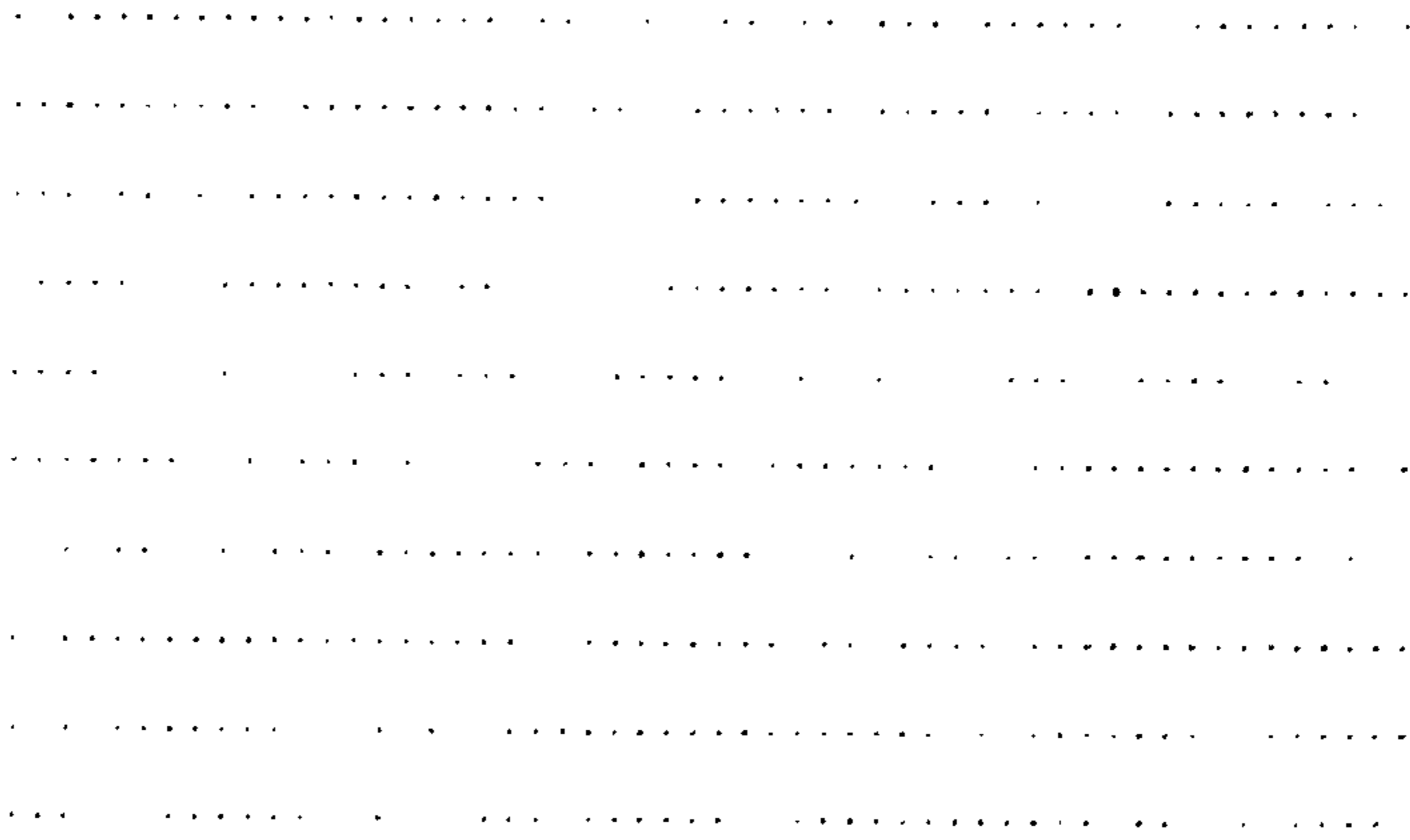
Councillor Dawn Jacobs, chairman of the BPA, said in a statement that the chairman of the BIB at its inaugural meeting, Mr Bennie Carelson, held "very different policies to ours".

"The difference between us and the BIB is that we shall be undertaking our projects in the interests of all the peoples of Boksburg and not just for the minority of CP supporters in the BIB. Have the CP not done enough damage to our town?" Mrs Jacobs asked.

She added that she was "astounded" at an accusation from the BIB that her association was boycotting Boksburg.

The BIB resolved to reorganise Boksburg Lake's carols by candlelight, which was last week cancelled by the BPA because of the inability of all races to attend.

"It was cancelled in the interests of public safety and because of the new CP legislation," Mrs Jacobs said last week.



CP lays charges against manager

CP/11/13 14/12/88
JOHANNESBURG. — CP councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe has laid a charge against the manager of Wesbank in Boksburg after the distribution in the bank yesterday of a petition against the council.

Police confiscated the petition. Mr Van der Merwe said the petition, initiated by the Boksburg Alliance protest movement, was an unlawful

205 30/11/88
attempt at making Boksburg ungovernable and attempting to overthrow a legally elected local authority.

Mr T J Ferreira, another CP councillor, is planning to lay charges against Mr "Butch" Jantjes, chairman of the (coloured) Reiger Park management committee, whom he alleges has contravened the emergency regulations regarding the call for boycotts.

The Brazzaville Protocol

Pik gets praise on race stance

30CA ~~14/12/88~~

BRAZZAVILLE. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday drew two sustained ovations when he told the Congolese president the South African government was removing racial discrimination and wanted to be accepted by its "African brothers".

He drew the applause from a large gathering of African dignitaries who attended the official signing of the Brazzaville Protocol in the Palais de Peuple.

He was one of the four delegation leaders to address President Denis Sassou Nguesso after the signing, following immediately after the US mediator and Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Botha repeated his analogy of a zebra and said it was futile to think that if one shot the animal in the white stripes it would not die.

"A new era has begun," he said. "We are removing race discrimination." (Loud applause).
"We want to be accepted by our



Mr Pik Botha

African brothers (more applause). We need each other," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha spoke at length on the difficulties which had faced the negotiators and praised Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko for having encouraged him and General Magnus Malan to sign the accord for Africa's sake.

"I am not sure what role the Soviet Union played... but whatever it was, it was not disturb-

ing," he said.

Mr Botha said African countries had to stand together economically and South Africa stood ready to play its role.

"Africa needs peace and understanding. We were never given the opportunity to catch up with the industrialised powers."

He said the industrialised powers had determined the prices of Africa's commodities and products and made Africa pay for technology.

"The time has come to stand together economically... if we don't we will never catch up with the industrialised nations, who will not worry about us either."

"I appeal to you as a brother," he said.

Mr Botha, who as a young advocate helped fight South Africa's case on its League of Nations mandate over South-West Africa in the World Court 30 years ago, said that experience had now proved that "might was right". He said though South Africa had won its case legally, world opinion and politics had decided the matter against it. — Sapa-Reuters

(Handwritten signatures and initials)
25/14

THE irony of the Conservative Party's victory in several municipalities during the October elections is it's been a triumph for the National Party.

The Nats have turned the CP's attempts to reintroduce visible public apartheid (VPA) into a public relations exercise which makes them look like bleeding-heart liberals to their friends abroad and those inside South Africa who desperately seek signs of genuine change.

In fact, it is part of the "red-herring factor" on which the Nats thrive. For long, black political analysts have noted how the Nats take a sidetrack on the road to reform.

The small CP victory has given the Nats a wonderful opportunity. The Nats have asked the CP if it is aware of the wider consequences, namely tighter international economic sanctions, and damage to domestic race relations.

That question suggest two things: one that sanctions and damaged race relations are the result of the reintroduction of visible public apartheid, not the Nats' own crude apartheid policies; and two, that the Nats themselves no longer practise apartheid and their policies are accepted by blacks.

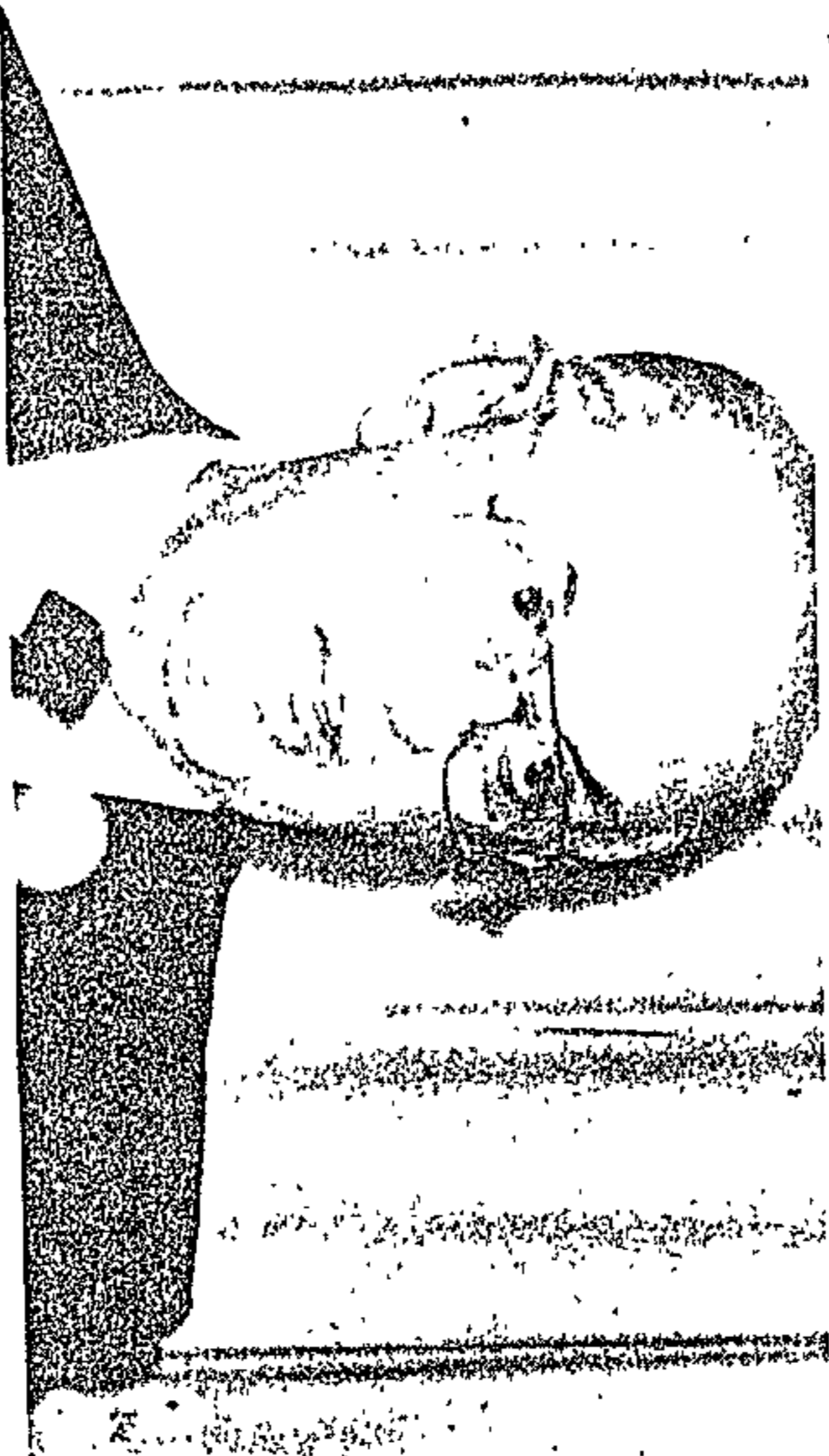
The Nats avoid the question: If we are good enough to work, eat, play and patronise cinemas in white-designated areas, why are we not good enough to live and attend schools there?

From the old Terrorism Act in the 1960s through to the current Internal Security Act and the Emergency Regulations, it has been a criminal offence to advocate economic boycotts and sanctions. Yet this week, SABC news bulletins have been repeating statements by black groups that they will "withhold" their economic support of white businesses in Boksburg.

That smells fishy. It suggests that it is kosher to call for boycotts of "racist" whites, but not of the other. In fact, recent municipal and parliamentary elections show that some 80 percent of whites support either the VPA of the CP or the less visible public apartheid of the Nats. "Withholding economic support" is

CP racism lets Nats off the hook

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA, editor of the Indicator



State president PW Botha

a euphemism for sanctions and boycotts. Should extra-parliamentary groups call on its followers to withhold economic support from all white businesses until the Nats introduce genuine democracy, they would soon face charges of treason.

The red-herring factor is repeatedly seen in issues such as the Menlo Park affair. An African youngster at a predominantly white private school is barred by the Menlo Park school from its athletics track.

A huge outcry follows — orchestrated by the SABC which warns about greater international sports isolation. The government

gives the impression that it believes in non-racialism by criticising the Menlo Park move.

White sportspeople who claim they are not interested in politics suddenly dance to the Na/SABC tune, endorsing anti Menlo Park petitions.

The central issue is overlooked: If our children are acceptable enough to run alongside whites on a school athletics track, they are good enough to sit alongside whites in the same classroom.

The Nats in fact are doing exactly what the CP says it will do. Black classrooms are chronically

public hospital. A 98-bed facility is eventually built. For more than two years, the provincial authorities responsible for the hospital plead that insufficient funds or staff (or both) are available to open it. Eventually, after widespread public protests, the House of Delegates steps in to announce that it has found enough money to open the hospital next January.

The announcement comes during the run-up to the municipal elections. Residents are expected to believe that the good Nats have made it possible for their good, apartheid-entrenching HOD to properly utilise the tricameral system created by the Nats in the first place.

The government creates an artificial housing shortage in our areas by delaying proclamation of land for development. Eventually, some land is made available. The government announces a subsidy for first-time home-buyers. We are expected to applaud it for its generosity.

Then the government introduces 8 red-herring: henceforth, the land will be developed by the private sector, thus pricing new houses out of the range of many ordinary workers. Now the developers, and the employers who cannot provide housing loans, are seen as the culprits, not the policies of the Nats which force the economically worst-off to stay furthest away from their workplaces.

These red herrings are gobbled up, not by those of us who often wonder what the fuss is about when they can't feel the benefits of Nat "reform", but by Pretoria's "friends" abroad, and whites in South Africa who are annoyed by our refusal to be grateful.

For most of us forced to accept Nat rules and regulations, the CP apartheid VPA is a red herring. Never mind VPA, if all residents of Boksburg, Pieterburg, Springs, Brakpan and elsewhere were allowed to vote in the municipal elections irrespective of race, the CP wouldn't be in control.

Nor, for that matter, would the Nats. And that is the crux of Nat-style reform.

NDM, IP have 'fallback' plan

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Party and National Democratic Movement seemed willing late yesterday to compromise their stand on the leadership of a new united liberal opposition party in a last ditch effort to salvage their negotiations with the PFP.

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan arrived at the Saxonwold home of PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer for an unscheduled meeting last night.

Asked how the thorny leadership question would be resolved, Dr Worrall said the IP and NDM had a "fallback" plan.

NDM negotiator Mrs Esther Lategan said she was still optimistic about the chances of success.

The PFP has rejected an IP-NDM proposal that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan become joint leaders of the new party, with Dr De Beer as chairman.

The three parties held top-level internal meetings in Johannesburg yesterday to plan for a joint make-or-break meeting at the home of Transvaal rugby boss Mr Louis Luyt today.

All three leaders remained tight-lipped yesterday, keeping to their agreement not to divulge details of the delicate negotiations. However, it was understood that the PFP remained strongly opposed to the joint IP-NDM proposal, which would include Dr De Beer as chairman.

Top PFP sources in the Transvaal yesterday flatly rejected the IP-NDM offer.

Dr Worrall earlier insisted that the unity talks should be shelved if agreement was not reached by today.

Sanctions, the future of SA and Mandela — Thatcher speaks

THE British Prime Minister, The Rt Hon

Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP, gave an interview at No 10 Downing Street to Mr W J Wepener, the editor of *Beeld*.

Attached is the transcript of questions and answers from that interview.

QUESTION 1: You have been called all kinds of names because of your "defence" of South Africa on matters like sanctions. Why is this stance so

important to you that you risk your popularity with so many people (notably the members of your own Commonwealth) because of a country you have visited only once?

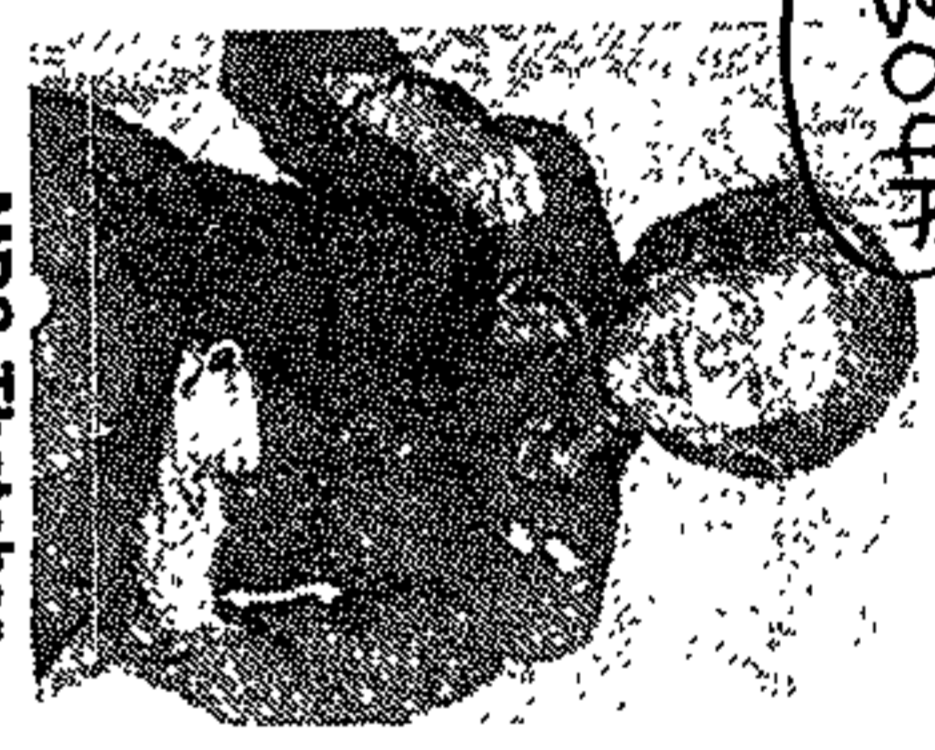
Opposition to punitive sanctions against South Africa often is misrepresented as support for apartheid. That is simply nonsense. Apartheid is contrary to my whole philosophy, which is that people should be able to live where they like in their own country,

exercise their full democratic rights and advance according to merit, not the colour of their skin. The reasons I oppose further sanctions against South Africa are clear. I cannot think how you can make things better in South Africa by making them worse.

General sanctions would put large numbers of black South Africans out of work permanently, would create immense hardship for their dependents and would be

likely also to have disastrous effects in the neighbouring states. They would not make the South African Government more responsive to the need for change, and would instead contribute to internal polarisation and violence. I find it very difficult to see how that could help the cause of those struggling for positive change in South Africa.

Q. 2: President Reagan recently told the United States Congress that (I



MRS Thatcher (quote) "The 1986 sanctions have increased the appeal to whites of isolationist, ultra-conservative and white supremacist movements".

Do you agree that the world plays into the hands

of the extreme right by increasing pressure on the country? And what will Britain's attitude to South Africa be should the far right get into power?

I think that increasing isolation does play into the hands of the extreme right. That is why I oppose it. As to the possibility of the far-right getting into power, I prefer to think that white South Africans will have the sense not to permit that to happen.

Q3: How do you feel about the use of sport boycotts as a political weapon against South Africa? Will you for instance support or object to the planned world rugby tour of South Africa next year to mark the South African Board's centenary? Will you agree to a Lions' tour of South Africa?

In Europe we are dealing with twelve countries which have existed for centuries as independent nations. We do not recognise the 'independence' of the homelands. I do think that arrangements will have to be worked out for South Africa which take more understanding?

I believe that South Africa, like all other countries, has the capacity to change its future. Unless bold initiatives are taken, violence may increase and South Africa could become more isolated. That is not what I want to see happen. I believe that if courageous reform steps are taken, it will be possible to look forward to a very different future in which all South

account of the country's diversity. But it is for South Africans, black and white, not for me, to lay down what those arrangements should be. **Q5:** How do you see the future of South Africa? What do you actually expect to happen? How do you see the future of the white man in South Africa?

Some sort of 'identikit' European personality. In South Africa we have at least ten different population groups which by these criteria may well claim to be called separate nations, each having its own language, customs, culture, traditions, religion, etc. In view of this, do you think that the political philosophy behind South Africa's homelands policy deserves

Q4: In a recent speech in Belgium you rejected the idea of a United States of Europe. You said 'Europe will be stronger precisely because it has France as France, Spain as Spain, Britain as Britain, each with its own customs, traditions and identities. It would be folly to try to fit them into some sort of identikit European personality'. In South Africa we have at least ten different population groups which by these criteria may well claim to be called separate nations, each having its own language, customs, culture, traditions, religion, etc. In view of this, do you think that the political philosophy behind South Africa's homelands policy deserves more understanding?

We abide by the terms of the Gleneagles Agreement. It is not for me to decide about rugby tours. Decisions of that nature are taken by the rugby boards, who are not under Government control. I do welcome, however, the initiative taken by Dr Craven towards full integration in sport and to help reduce South Africa's isolation.

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Thatcher explains Britain's attitude to SA

From page 12

Africans can play their full part and live peacefully together. As for the white community, they have an indispensable part to play, both now and in the future. It is not only the Afrikaners who have deep roots in South Africa and who have helped to develop the agriculture, industry and infrastructure to the state it has reached today. It is essential to preserve and build on what has been achieved and in that regard as in others the white community has a vital role to play.

Q6: At the moment one man one vote in a unitary state is an unacceptable idea to the vast majority of white people, inter alia because of the difference between the population groups. May I ask: what is your opinion of this question?

At every stage I have made it clear that future constitutional arrangements for South Africa must be worked out by South Africans. They cannot be laid down by outsiders. I must add that

I do not see how, in the modern world, it is possible to achieve political stability except on a basis where all adults have the vote. The issue is to reconcile the exercise of those normal democratic rights, which cannot be denied, with the reasonable protection of minority interests. How that is to be done has to be negotiated between South Africans.

Q7: Will you agree that South Africa has indeed moved a long way on the road of reform under President P W Botha? What other reforms would you most like to see in the near future?

I do indeed agree that many reforms have been carried through under President Botha and I have often paid tribute to these — in particular to the legislation of black trade unions, the scrapping of pass laws under which hundreds of thousands of people were arrested every year, and the ending of job reservation. As to what further steps might be taken, I have made clear that I would like to see progress towards the

abolition of the Group Areas Act. I do not believe that would have the dramatic consequences some people seem to fear: where people live is decided mainly by economic considerations. But, surely, people should have the right so far as possible to live where they wish. There are other steps I would like to see taken. I will come to those later.

Q8: How do you assess our State President's recent visits to African countries and his initiatives in the region? What do you think of political developments in Angola and Namibia? Do you foresee a lasting peace in that area?

I welcome President Botha's recent visits to other African countries. We attach great importance, and have ourselves worked hard to contribute, to the normalisation of relations between South Africa and Mozambique. We have very strongly and directly supported the negotiating effort to bring peace in Angola, and an internationally recognised settlement for



MRS Thatcher

Namibia. These negotiations are bearing fruit: it seems at last that there is agreement on the total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. This achievement will unblock the other problems in the way of Namibian independence. We shall be continuing to do everything in our power to help the talks on the remaining issues succeed. Apart from the benefits that could bring for the people of Angola and Namibia, it would also be of great benefit to South Africa in terms of its relations with other states in the region and in the outside world.

Q9: In your opinion, should South Africa end the state of emergency immediately, gradually, or keep it up for as long as it is deemed necessary?

I do not think any country should reconcile itself to the prospect of living semi-permanently in a state of emergency. I hope that the state of emergency will be ended soon and that steps will be taken to normalise the situation. That, I believe can best be done through the concept of negotiations in which all parties can participate, in the context of a suspension of violence on both sides. That concept has not yet been accepted. But I believe that it will be accepted one day and that it offers the best way forward.

Q10: You have mentioned that you may visit South Africa provided your visit could help to break down apartheid. Exactly what did you mean by that? And what

are the chances that we may see you in South Africa soon?

I have no present plans to visit South Africa. But I certainly would visit your country if I believed that, in doing so, I could help to end apartheid and promote positive change.

Mandela

Q11: Do you think that releasing Nelson Mandela will make all that much difference to the world's opinion (and may I say, prejudice) of South Africa?

I think that releasing Mandela, provided he is released without being subject to all sorts of restrictions, would make a great difference to the world's opinion of South Africa. If he were to die in prison, I believe that would have disastrous consequences for South Africa. If he were released, that could help to open up the prospects for real negotiation internally and, as you know, I have consistently supported that. I welcome the recent announcement that he will not be returned to prison.

Q12: The reasons for your concern about Nelson Mandela are obvious. But recently you have also expressed yourself strongly in favour of clemency for the six people commonly referred to as the Sharpeville Six. Why did you get involved in this case, because the "Six" were after all tried and sentenced by a South African court of law, and even our worst enemies admit that South African courts are fair and just, and free from political interference?

There were features of the case of the Sharpeville Six which caused many of us not to question the court's verdict, but to appeal for clemency. I am glad that clemency was exercised.

Interference

Q13: Do you think there may be enough common ground for you and President Botha to get



MANY reforms carried through under President Botha.

together and have a fruitful discussion on South African problems and the way it affects world affairs?

President Botha and I had long, very frank and useful talks at Chequers in 1984. I am in regular touch with him. If a further meeting would help to advance matters at some point, that will be a matter to be decided by us at the time.

Terrorism and the ANC

Q14: At last year's Commonwealth Conference you have described the ANC as a "typical terrorist organisation." The British Government afterwards described them as a representative black opposition organisation of South Africa and made it clear that it will stay in touch with the ANC. It was also reported that the statement was made with your approval. Does that mean that there was a shift in your attitude towards the ANC, if so, why? In your opinion, what is the difference between the IRA and the ANC?

Our attitude has not changed at all. I consistently have made clear the total opposition and abhorrence of the British Government for terrorist actions, whether they may be committed by indiscriminate acts of terrorism such as letting off bombs in restaurants and in the street are not something I will ever condone. We will go on condemning them and have made that very clear to the ANC. I have made clear also my opposition to violent actions by the security forces.

As a political movement, the ANC undoubtedly is a factor in South African politics. The question is how to get it to give up the politics of violence. The best approach is by offering the possibility of negotiations. I have already made clear my

view on that, which is that the way should be opened for a negotiation between all the parties, in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides.

As to the difference between the IRA and the ANC, the IRA is a terrorist movement which seeks to impose its views by violent means. Let me remind you that there is universal suffrage in Northern Ireland, as in the rest of the United Kingdom. The vote is denied to no-one. All people in Northern Ireland have the right to express their views in a democratic way. Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA, attracts few votes. That is why the IRA resort to violence.

Q15: Recently Britain's SAS unit crossed the border with Spain to Gibraltar and shot and killed three IRA terrorists to prevent them exploding a car bomb. It is not quite the same thing but how do you feel about South Africa's pre-emptive strikes into neighbouring countries used by ANC-terrorists as a springboard for their terrorist attacks in South Africa?

The three IRA terrorists were shot dead in Gibraltar, which is a British Dependent Territory, for the security of which the British Government is responsible. The terrorists were on a mission to plant a huge bomb in Gibraltar and were shot when they failed to respond to challenges from the security forces. At no time did the soldiers cross into Spain. In Northern Ireland, where we are working closely with the Irish Government to improve security in the border area, British Security forces scrupulously respect the border. There is no question of their breaching the border in pursuit of terrorists and at all times the security forces operate within the law.

R100m setback for Boksburg

PLANS for a R100m Boksburg shopping centre have been shelved until the situation "returns to normal".

And the property market in general has declined since the town council's decision to re-introduce petty apartheid.

The R100m shopping centre, to be called the East Rand Mall and situated on a 42 000m² site near the Pick 'n Pay Hypermarket, has been temporarily put on ice by developers Retail International (RI).

RI MD Joe Bentel said the 200-250 potential tenants, including Woolworths, Garlicks, Clicks, Truworths, Foschini and Ster Kinekor, had been notified and approved of the delay, though Edgars had withdrawn from the project.

Edgars MD Vic Hammond said the

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decision not to develop a new store, which would cost about R7m to furnish and stock, was a purely commercial one which might be reconsidered if the consumer boycott fizzled out.

Brian Dugmore, chairman of the Boksburg Estate Agents' Association, said the CP stand — together with higher bond and interest rates and the seasonal decline in property sales — had led to a slump in demand for houses. Dugmore estimated a decline of between 30%-50% because of these factors.

People transferred to Boksburg had

● To Page 2 →

R100m Boksburg shops plan put on ice

indicated they would rather live in nearby towns like Kempton Park and Benoni than make the embarrassing admission that they were Boksburg residents.

"Generally the market has gone down and there have been far fewer inquiries. A lot of people want to sell, but there are no buyers," Dugmore said.

"No-one wants to stay in a town which is going downhill."

Frankie Giles Real Estates manager Andy Smith said there was a large number of reluctant buyers unhappy about their inability to pull out of contracts.

In another development, residents of Atlasville, which is on the border between Boksburg and Benoni, appear to have revised their opposition to incorporation into Benoni.

Gerrie Wolmarans, NP councillor for Atlasville, said that in spite of higher rates the ward's about 3 000 residents would have to pay in Benoni, all indica-

← ● From Page 1
tions pointed to an about-face on the issue.

□ A group of major businesses with concerns on the East Rand has called for the rejection of petty apartheid and racially-based legislation.

In advertisements placed in the Press today, the businesses — BM Group, Colgate Palmolive, EMSA, Kellogg, Tupperware, Joy Manufacturing and Gillette — express serious concern about municipalities which have, or are contemplating, the re-introduction of petty apartheid.

They condemn the decision to re-introduce by-laws based on racial discrimination as an affront to human dignity, immoral and contrary to fundamental human rights.

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SANDTON Councillor Mr Peter Gardiner and the mayor of Alexandra, Mrs Jacobeth Poo at a luncheon in Johannesburg this week.

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Gardiner calls for fight against petty apartheid

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

THE Sandton City Council has appealed to all Transvaal municipalities to pledge their solidarity with black communities in the wake of the reintroduction of petty apartheid in Conservative Party-controlled towns such as Boksburg.

Addressing guests at a luncheon in Johannesburg yesterday, the former mayor of Sandton, Mr Peter Gardiner, said they were "deeply concerned" by the retrogressive measures taken by a number of right-wing municipalities, at the stage when the majority of the population was looking to Government progress towards a more normal society in South Africa.

He said to show their disapproval of petty apartheid the Sandton City Council has decided to disassociate itself from these municipalities as far as possible, by not accepting invitations from them nor issuing invitations to them.

The Sandton council has sought to maintain social contacts with the black community on regular basis. He believed other municipalities should follow suite in order to build effective bridges.



A new party comes to life . . . Mr Roger Burrows, Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Douglas Gibson, PFP Transvaal leader, at a meeting in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, yesterday.

New 'left' party aims to rule country

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

A new left-of-government political party will be launched in February or March — and aims to become the next government.

The new party, an amalgamation of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Independent Party (IP), came to life at a day-long meeting at the home of Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt in Saxonwold, Johannesburg yesterday.

The name of the party and its leader will be decided by the new party at its launch.

A steering committee was formed to prepare the ground for the formation of the party and draw up its constitution.

The committee consists of NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall, Professor Willem de Klerk of Rand Afrikaans University and PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, who is the committee's convener and official spokesman.

They will each nominate three members to the committee. In a joint statement after the meeting, the leaders committed the proposed party to a non-racial, democratic South Africa free of racism and violence as political instruments.

Dr Luyt, Professor de Klerk and the three party leaders said the new party, which "signalled a new dispensation for all South Africans regardless of race", would have a great impact on South African politics.

"The new party will perform much better in electoral politics. It will then already signal that it will be the next government of the country, because our main aim is not to become an Official Opposition party but to take over power.

"This has become possible because of the broader commitment of all South Africans to share the future and to find suitable arrangements for effective and non-discriminatory participation in the running of the country," said Mr Malan.

The strength of the existing parties would be maximised by:

- The PFP's established infrastructure and "its long record as a champion of human rights and a non-racial democracy".
- The IP's effective marketing orientation and its ability to excite voters about the potential of a new South Africa.
- The doors which the NDM had opened between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Biting the hand that drafted it

IF the government was given a taste of its own medicine over the Boksburg "apartheid" affair, latest developments in the town have practically forced it to finish off the bottle.

Police yesterday confirmed they are investigating charges laid by two Boksburg town councillors against various organisations for alleged contraventions of the Emergency regulations.

With its flair for tactics growing daily, the Conservative Party announced on Wednesday that charges had been laid in the light of "the apparent unwillingness of the government" to apply the provisions of its own Emergency regulations.

Gideon Fourie, CP chairman of the

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

Boksburg Town Council's management committee this week charged *Beeld* newspaper, the SABC and the Save Boksburg Committee with contravening Emergency regulations prohibiting the reporting of or promotion of consumer boycotts.

At the same time, the town's mayor, Beyers de Klerk charged the Natal Building Society with contravening the Intimidation Act. The building society took away De Klerk's NBS agency last week in protest against the council's reimposition of certain apartheid laws in the town.

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Nats 'not losing any sleep' over new Left

Star 15/12/88

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By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The National Party was not in the slightest bit concerned about the merging of parliamentary forces to its left, NP information director Mr Con Botha said today.

The National Party remained very interested but rather sceptical about attempts to combine the Progressive Federal Party, National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, he said in an interview.

The three parties yesterday announced they had agreed in principle to form a new party.

A steering committee of the three leaders, Dr Zach de Beer (PFP), Mr Wynand Malan (NDM) and Dr Denis Worrall (IP), has been set up to establish the new party, which might be called the Democratic Party.

This followed intensive negotiations between the three groups after industrialist and sports administrator Dr Louis Luyt invited them to try to pool their forces against the Government.

The Government, however, is officially pooh-poohing the plan.

Mr Botha said all the National Party

had heard from the so-called new party were some anti-NP noises.

"The real crunch is not so much the name and the question of who should be the leader of the new party.

"The real crunch will come when it comes to drawing up the new party's policy. Will Dr Worrall, for example, accept the NDM's flirtation with various extra-parliamentary organisations, including the ANC? What will the PFP have to say about the NDM's image of being rather soft on security?"

Mr Botha said the only thing the new party would appear to have gained was a formal acceptance by the PFP of Dr Worrall and Mr Malan. The parties had combined their forces in last year's general election and it had not presented any threat to the NP.

"We would have to have evidence of much stronger voter support for them before we would lose any sleep over the new party," he said.

Mr Botha predicted the new party would have a difficult job even to displace the Conservative Party as the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, let alone erode the Government's power base.

● See Page 6.



Steering the planned new opposition party are, from left, Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall, Willem de Klerk and Zach de Beer.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Crisis over leadership averted

Green light to form new opposition

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PETER DELMAR

THE PFP, IP and NDM yesterday reached a historic agreement to form a new united opposition party, but delayed decisions on a number of crucial issues.

Opposition hopes that a new party would materialise survived a make-or-break summit meeting at the home of Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt yesterday, attended by party leaders Zach de Beer (PFP), Denis Worrall (IP) and Wynand Malan (NDM).

Comment Page 4

Agreement was reached on the need for a new party, as well as on a number of broad principles and co-operation with extra-parliamentary groups.

The question of leadership, which earlier threatened to wreck the talks, was not decided. A steering committee consisting of the three leaders, party representatives and former newspaper editor and academic Willem de Klerk, will continue discussions leading to the forma-

tion of the new party.

De Beer said he hoped negotiations would be completed by February.

Among the issues the steering committee will consider are a new constitution, a new name, policy details and the leadership issue.

It will appoint other committees of party representatives and "other persons committed to the new party" at provincial and regional levels.

The leadership question will be debated internally by each party with feedbacks to the steering committee as soon as possible.

De Klerk, who will also nominate three members to the steering committee, chaired a Press conference after yesterday's meeting.

His role apparently represents a temporary compromise after the parties failed to agree on leadership, but he

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Green light to form united opposition

declined to comment on whether he would be available to lead a new party.

Malan said there had been no discussions on former PFP leader and Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert assuming a leadership position.

De Beer said: "We believe we are moving towards a new party ... we know how to do it and we see no reason why the wheels should now come off." Worrall said a "remarkable degree of concurrence" had been achieved.

The three leaders were particularly optimistic about the chances of a new party in a House of Assembly election.

A statement said it would maximise the strengths of each existing party: the PFP's organisation and infrastructure, the IP's "effective marketing orientation" and the "doors which the NDM has opened between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics to bridge the division between the two".

The three leaders agreed on broadly

liberal principles, including the establishment of a "purely SA democracy" with a "representative government for all the country's inhabitants".

There was also agreement on an independent judiciary, the rule of law, freedom of speech, voting and association and the rejection of racism and political violence.

As an apparent compromise on the tricky economic issue, the leaders agreed on "a system of private initiative with conditions conducive to a high rate of growth and with recognition that the state has important functions of human development and upliftment".

It was also resolved to develop inter-action with groups and individuals outside Parliament, regardless of whether they shared stated missions.



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President Botha sues newspaper for R100 000

MGUS 15/12/88

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President Botha is suing the recently registered Vrye Weekblad for alleged defamation and has demanded R100 000 damages and an unconditional apology before Monday, the newspaper said today.

Vrye Weekblad said it would not pay any money. It was prepared to fight the case in court, the newspaper said in a front-page article.

Mr Botha alleges that Vrye Weekblad attacked the office of the State President and injured "his character in his personal capacity".

Mr Botha's lawyers, De Klerk and Van Gend of Cape Town, who wrote on behalf of Mr Botha to the editor of the newspaper, referred him to an article headlined: "Pik, PW en die Mafia-baas", which appeared in the November 11 edition.



Mr P W Botha.

The lawyers said a claim of association was made between their client and the "infamous Mafia-boss Vito Palazzolo".

They said it was clear the article was aimed at, and was publicised with the motive of, attacking the office of the State President as well as to dishonour his character in his personal capacity.

The correctness of the article was denied and the lawyers said it was "devoid of truth".

"Our client's dignity in his official capacity as well as in his personal capacity was defamed by the headline and content of the aforesaid article," the lawyers said.

The amount of R100 000 and an unconditional apology was demanded before December 19.

The editor of Vrye Weekblad, Mr Max du Preez, said the article was based on an affidavit made by a Pretoria accountant, Mr Clifford Frederick Bentley, which was taken by police on February 17.

The affidavit was then read by Warrant Officer Andre Fouche at the Harms Commission in Cape Town.

Why PW flew in to a minor function in a town most of South Africa had forgotten

SHAUN JOHNSON reports on the Namibia bargaining chip each side waits to play: Walvis Bay

IT wasn't mere chance that brought South African State President PW Botha to the world's bleakest seaside town last weekend to open a "community festival".

Not even the inhabitants of Walvis Bay (population 24 000, situated more than 1 000km from the nearest grain of South African soil), would suggest that their illustrious visitor was drawn by the desert harbour town's physical charms.

The presidential presence had more to do with political symbolism and, particularly, with the sensitive stage which has been reached in the Angola/Namibia peace process.

For although the disputed South African enclave on Namibia's west coast has recently been overshadowed by such issues as the Cuban withdrawal from Angola and Unita, it could reclaim its historic role as an intractable obstacle to regional peace.

By making a personal appearance at a function of little consequence in Walvis, Botha was signalling that Pretoria's claim to the town had intensified.

His message was that South Africa had no intention of handing over the only major seaport in Namibia to a post-independence government.

Since the beginning of this year, the SADF has announced a R22-million "expansion and upgrading" scheme for its installations at Walvis; the navy has held the "biggest and most comprehensive" exercise in its history in the bay's waters; and a miscellany of deputy ministers has publicly assured the (white) citizens that the orange, white and blue will fly for ever over their little slice of Africa.

If this is posturing in preparation for a climbdown, it is expensive posturing.

Walvis Bay was a formidable obstacle to earlier international attempts to secure independence for Namibia. In 1978, for example, arguments over its ownership came close to scuppering the "Western Contact Group's" initiatives.

At the time, Swapo called Walvis Bay "the biggest single issue that could create first deadlock and then failure" in efforts to reach a settlement.

South Africa's then Prime Minister, John Vorster, said the bay was an "integral part of South Africa," and that he was "not even prepared to discuss it in negotiations".

PW Botha, then Defence Minister, added that it was "pure coincidence that geographically Walvis Bay bordered on international territory", warning darkly that it would be "defended in the event of any aggression".

Swapo said in response that South Africa had annexed the enclave "as an act of neo-colonialism" and that the organisation would have nothing to do with "any political settlement not based on the territorial integrity and unity of Namibia". Walvis Bay was a "natural part" of the country, said Swapo.

The issue is again rearing its head. Why does everyone care so much?

Beneath Walvis Bay's ugly duckling exterior, there are a number of attractions. It is Namibia's only deep-water port. Figures for 1978 show that 90 percent of the territory's mineral exports and many imports passed through its commercial docks. Control — or lack of it — over the bay would have a profound effect on the prospects of any new government in Namibia.

Walvis also has a recently rejuvenated pelagic fishing industry, and a line in salt processing which turns over a tidy sum. Partly because of defence spending, the town is experiencing a building boom, and there is a lot of direct spending by military-connected personnel. The depression days of the early 1980s are, for the moment, over.

But the attractions are not all economic, as was noted by Britain's Secretary for Colonies, Lord Kimberley, in 1880. "Walvis Bay was proclaimed British territory on the

grounds of the importance of controlling the only port along the great extent of the coast through which arms and trade can pass into the area," he said — and the point still holds.

Walvis Bay is a strategic foothold for South Africa, and this is why chunks of the defence budget have been lavished on it. In April 1978, Nujoma referred to the spectre of "enemy troops" in the territory if

Walvis was not included in an independent Namibia, and he has clear cause for concern.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha set out Pretoria's thinking quite frankly in July, 1978: "We have a military base there right on our soil. We have a port there, we have a railway system and installations which cost millions. Walvis Bay could in the future conceivably ... become an important civil

airport.

"It is closer to Europe than Johannesburg, and if you can't fly over Africa, it assumes greater importance." Botha omitted to say that the "civil" airport also serves the South African Air Force.

A pro-government newspaper commentator went even further, calling Walvis Bay the "soft underbelly" of South African security, one which

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could be used as a "splendid staging post for any anti-South African military action. Anyone who controls Walvis virtually controls the whole west coast".

Whether any of the parties to the peace talks will consider the Walvis issue important enough to extricate themselves — at tremendous political cost — from an agreement remains to be seen. But it could happen.

The most popular theory is that South Africa will cling doggedly to Walvis Bay as a bargaining chip, refusing to concede until after independence.

Meanwhile, the good citizens of the Territory of Walvis Bay (its official title), may have to content themselves with reciting the town's motto: *In Utrumque Paratus* — "Prepared for any opportunity".

CP letters criticise company actions

By Helen Grange

objections, surely you would be morally obliged to complain about the application of the Separate Amenities Act throughout the country," said Mr Derby-Lewis.

The Conservative Party yesterday accused Colgate-Palmolive of "intruding in the democratic process in South Africa" in a letter sent to the company by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs.

This follows Colgate's request to have its Boksburg factory rezoned to Benoni in an attempt to dissociate itself from the CP's reintroduction of petty apartheid.

The letter, sent to the managing director of Colgate, Mr G W Nocker, asked whether the company had made similar representations to NP or PFP-controlled towns where apartheid measures were still upheld.

"Obviously your company is situated in Boksburg, but if your complaint is based on moral

He asked of Mr Nocker how he knew that the majority of Afrikaans people did not support the Boksburg Town Council's actions.

The CP spokesman said Mr Nocker's attitude towards "the democratic process in South Africa" left much to be desired, and was unacceptable to the party.

It was impertinent of Colgate to set itself up as standard bearers of "what is good for Boksburg residents and for South Africa".

If Mr Nocker called the CP "retrogressive" then he was calling 750 000 South African

whites retrogressive. "That is a very serious statement, and we take strong exception to it."

Mr Nocker was asked to remember "that it is the white nation that keeps this country going" and was urged not to be misled by newspaper reports claiming that the African National Congress and/or the black majority would be in power in the future.

The CP also sent a letter yesterday to Mr Brian Short, incorrectly referring to him as Natal Building Society's managing director.

Mr Short is general manager, public affairs, for the NBS. The company's managing director is Mr John Gafney.

Mr Derby-Lewis asked Mr Short whether the NBS would be acting against all towns and cities where the Separate Amenities Act was being applied.

The letter follows the NBS's retraction of its agency status from Boksburg's CP mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, in protest at the council's actions.

Mr Nocker and Mr Short were unavailable for comment yesterday.

will swell Star's hamper

By Olga Horowitz

Here is a super idea for a last minute, very reasonably priced Christmas gift — a greening, growing, beautiful snail vine which produces clusters of delicately perfumed snail-shaped flowers.

Moreover, you'll be helping a marvellous cause — The Star Christmas Hamper Fund for which these special



**SOMETHING GO
SOMETHING TDE**

Petition in bank: A-G decides not to act

304 1/2

By Helen Grange

[Handwritten initials]

The Attorney-General's office in Johannesburg has refused to act on charges laid by Boksburg CP councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe against the manager of the Wesbank branch in Boksburg.

The charge was laid following the distribution in the bank of a petition against the CP-controlled council.

Police confiscated the petition on Monday.

The petition, initiated by the Boksburg Alliance protest movement, was an "unlawful attempt to make Boksburg ungovernable and to overthrow a legally

elected local authority", according to Mr van der Merwe.

Star 15/12/88

Staff at Wesbank in Boksburg have subsequently been reprimanded for keeping the petition form on the premises.

"We wish to make it clear that we are open to everybody," he said.

● The Transvaal Provincial Administration is reported as saying that a political reason for the rezoning of the Colgate-Palmolive factory in Boksburg to Benoni would not be enough to achieve rezoning.

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Seasons
Greetings

H J JOEL



MR JIM JOEL
OF LONDON
WISHES ALL
HIS FRIENDS

A Very Happy
Christmas and
a Prosperous
New
Year



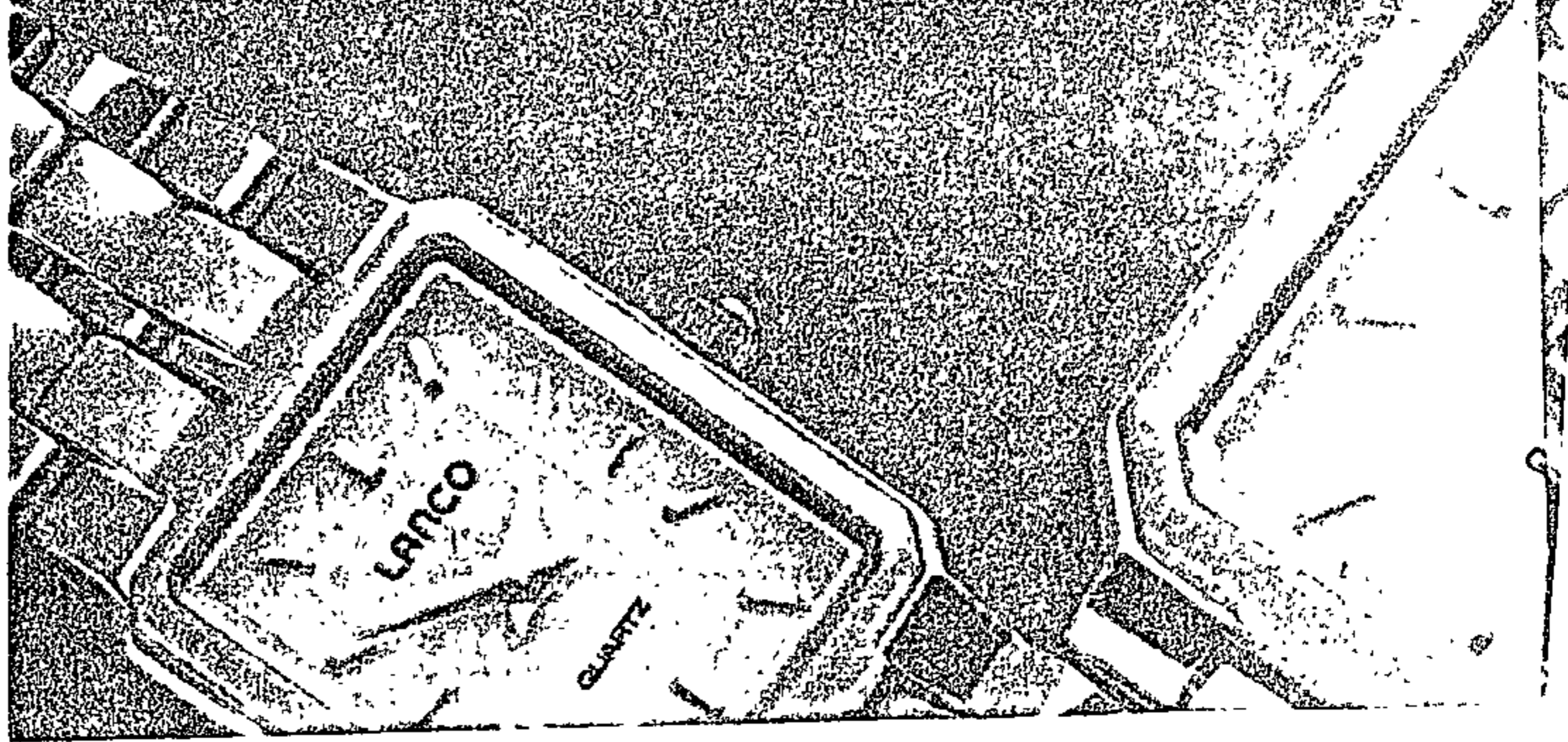
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We aim to take power say party-unity leaders

ARGUS 15/12/88

306A

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A new united left-of-government political party which aims to become South Africa's next government in the next general election is to be launched in February or March.

The new party, an amalgamation of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, was agreed on by the three party leaders at a day-long meeting yesterday at the home of Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt, who initiated the talks.

A steering committee was formed to prepare the ground and draw up a party constitution — Dr Zac de Beer of the PFP, the committee's convener and official spokesman, Mr Wynand Malan of the NDM, Dr Denis Worrall of the IP and Professor Willem de Klerk of Rand Afrikaans University.

The name of the party and who will lead it will be decided at the launch, the leaders said.

They and Professor de Klerk will each nominate three members to the committee.

Racism-free SA

In a joint statement they committed the proposed party to a non-racial, democratic South Africa free of racism and violence.

They said the new party, which signalled a new dispensation for all South Africans regardless of race, would have a great impact.

Mr Malan said: "The new party will perform much better in electoral politics. It will signal that it will be the next government of the country, because our main aim is not to become an official opposition party, but to take over power.

"This has become possible because of the broader commitment of all South Africans to share the future and to find suitable arrangements for effective and non-discriminatory participation in running the country."

"Sorted out"

Mr Malan and Dr Worrall said there was no longer tension between them or their parties. "We have sorted that out," they said.

The party would protect cultural, language and religious rights and would not believe that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics should be divided.

PFP heavyweight Mrs Helen Suzman threw her support behind the unity move, which she described as "a good thing in principle".

Mrs Suzman has just returned from abroad, during which she was presented with the Moses Mendelssohn Prize for Tolerance by the Senate of Berlin, lunched with Israeli President Chaim Herzog and in London met the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and Mrs Lynda Chalker.

POWER
LEADERS

White union

enters Boksburg

apartheid fray

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The White Workers' Union (WWU) has entered the Boksburg petty apartheid fray, threatening to boycott companies which oppose the Boksburg Town Council's segregation policy.

WWU general secretary Mr Attie Venter said his union expected companies to stay out of politics in the same way unions were required to.

"We warn all companies — especially those in Boksburg — which involve themselves in politics that the white workers will divert their buying power to companies not involved in politics."

Although the warning was directed at firms in Boksburg the situation was being monitored nationally.

We have a right to state our case, says Colgate

By Helen Grange ^{Star 16/12/80}
Colgate Palmolive, lambasted by the Conservative Party for "intruding in SA's democratic process" has retorted that as a major taxpayer it has "every right to have its say in SA's so-called democracy". (304A)

The CP's accusations followed Colgate's request to have its Boksburg factory rezoned to

Benoni in an attempt to dissociate itself from the CP's reintroduction of petty apartheid.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, CP spokesman on economic affairs, asked in a letter to the managing director of Colgate, Mr G W Nocker, whether the company had made similar representations to town councils controlled by the National Party where apartheid mea-

asures were still upheld.

He added that Mr Nocker's attitude towards "the democratic process in South Africa" left much to be desired and was unacceptable to the CP.

"As a representative of 57 percent of commerce and industry in Boksburg, we have every right to have a say in the present abhorrent situation," Mr Nocker said.

Problems have arisen in Colgate's application to be rezoned after the Transvaal Provincial Administration requested practical reasons — not only political ones — for the rezoning.

"We are being affected by boycotts, and our industrial relations are suffering substantially. These factors are affecting our profit margins," said Mr Nocker.

Discord threatens in Boksburg's CP caucus

By Helen Grange (304A) ~~283~~
Discord is developing in Boksburg Town Council's CP caucus as a result of CP councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe's visits to Reiger Park management committee chairman Mr "Butch" Jantjes.

Mrs Danilla Greyling, CP councillor for Ward 8, which includes Boksburg Lake, told The Star she was "sick and tired" of her CP colleagues "doing things without the consultation of other CP councillors".

"I have the impression that some CP councillors are negotiating with the coloured community about a

possible sharing of Boksburg Lake and, as I am the councillor for that ward, I am the first person who should know about it," she said.

Mrs Greyling said a council meeting held on Wednesday night, which was closed to the media, should have been open and covered by TV and the press.

She added that, as the councillor controlling Boksburg Lake, she would not allow the lake to be opened to all races.

"The lake has been a pleasure over the past few weeks and I have no intention of allowing it to be reintegrated," she said.

Armed 'PO gang' ambush Houghton woman

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter
Robbers posing as Post Office workers threatened to cut off a finger of the wife of a well-known Johannesburg doc-



(304A)

ape Times, Friday, December 16, 1988 3

Ex-councillor in court over NBS shoot-and-run

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Pretoria City Councillor Mr Piet "Skiet" Roedolf, 51, appeared in the Pretoria North Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with the shotgun attack on the NBS branch in Pretoria North this week and was released on R100 bail.

Mr Roedolf's appearance follows his arrest shortly after two men in a red bakkie were seen pulling up outside the Pretoria North branch of NBS in Gerrit Maritz Avenue at 2am and then discharging two rounds from a shotgun at the facade.

He has been described as a former policeman and a member of the HNP and AWB.

He was also a CP councillor before standing as an independent and getting defeated by the CP in the recent municipal elections.

Luyt, De Klerk play big role in unity talks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN 16/12/78
306A

THE unsung fourth element in the opposition unity talks — the non-aligned group represented by Dr Wimpie de Klerk and Mr Louis Luyt — is playing an increasingly important role in the decision to create a new moderate party.

Their importance in the unity process has been underlined by the joint decision to give the unaligned group the same status as the three parties involved in the talks.

Dr De Klerk, the former editor of Rapport and the Transvaler, is one of the four members of the joint steering committee and like the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, will nominate three members to the steering committee.

Moreover, with the conflict between the negotiating parties over leadership, it is possible that Dr De Klerk, the brother of Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, will become the first leader of the new party, which is likely to be called the Democratic Party.

At Wednesday's talks between the three party leaders, Dr De Klerk acted as chairman and played a crucial role in facilitating the agreement in principle to launch a new party.

Dr De Klerk was backed up in this role by Mr Luyt, the Transvaal rugby chief, and Professor Sampie Terblanche of Stellenbosch University, all of whom participated in the discussions.

The parties have now agreed to set up procedures for the merging of their local and regional structures before the formal decision to establish the new party is taken.

309A FM 16/12/88

POLITICS

Take me to your leader

Just as participants in the merger talks of the three left-of-NP political parties overcame, in principle, their first major obstacle, another hurdle arose: who will be leader?

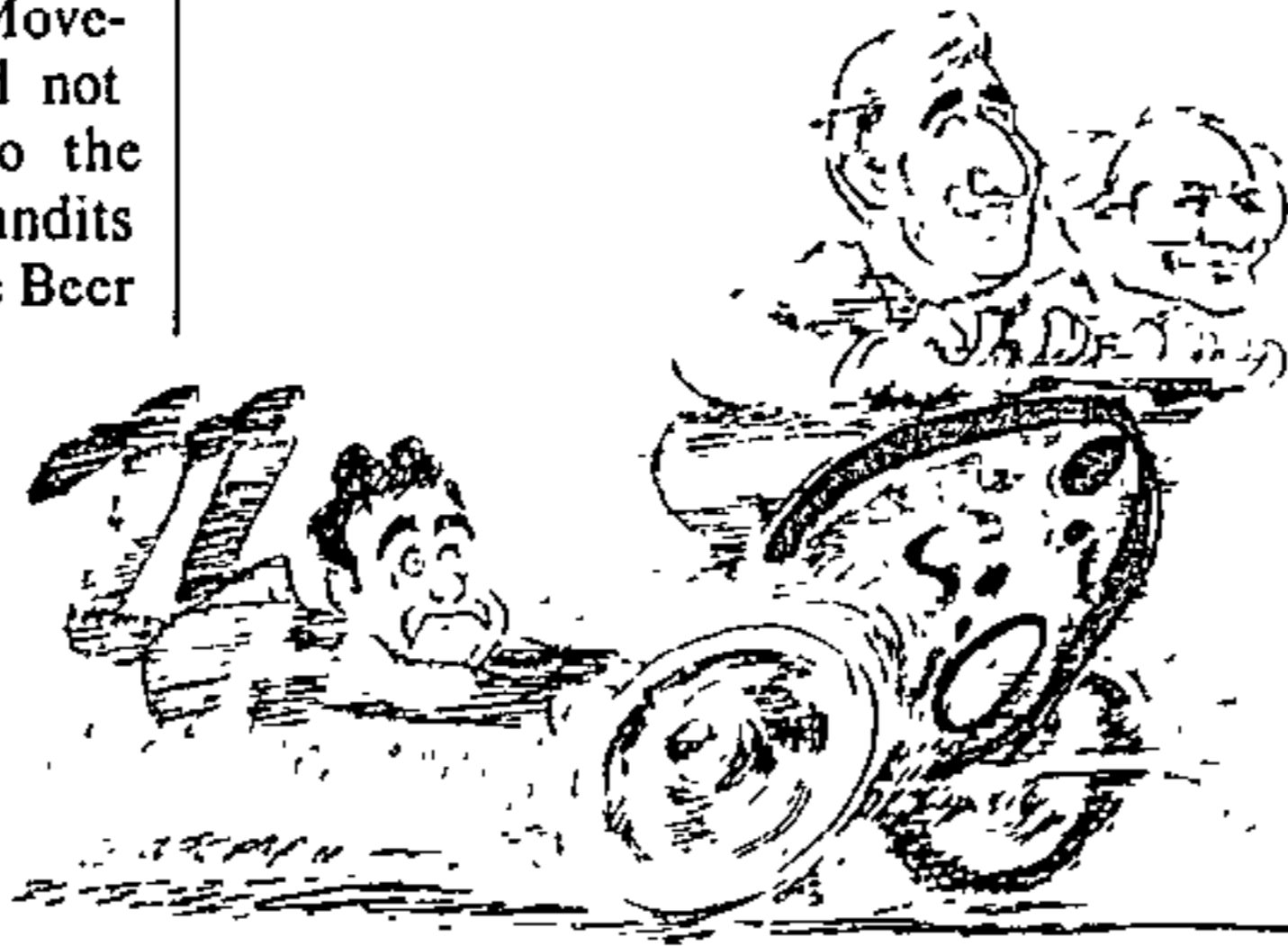
Wednesday December 14 is make-or-break day. Until last week, sceptics agreed that the Independent Party's (IP) Denis Worrall and National Democratic Movement's (NDM) Wynand Malan could not overcome the differences that led to the break between the two last year. Pundits reckoned it was up to the PFP's Zach de Beer to decide which of the two to take along with him on the unification quest.

The position has now changed drastically and De Beer may find himself in the cold. With dexterous manoeuvring behind the scenes, IP co-chairman David Gant organised a dinner on Thursday night at which Worrall and Malan were present. The result was confirmation of "our commitment to creating a unified political party from within the creative opposition capable of providing a credible alternative to the NP and its government."

That was the fax message Gant sent De Beer on Saturday after both De Beer and his colleague Colin Eglin reacted negatively to the initial IP-NDM suggestion that Worrall and Malan be given a transitional joint leadership position. De Beer, it was suggested,

will be the chairman "in recognition not only of your personal statesmanship and 'personalised' reflection of what the PFP stands for."

The PFP was expected to convey a new set of proposals to the negotiating committee as the *FM* went to press. That its leadership is



disappointed with the joint IP-NDM proposals (and the way it was leaked to the press) is an understatement.

Gant's dinner party must have worked wonders for Worrall and Malan. Paragraph 3 of the IP's message to De Beer reads: "We recognise that the new party must be able to make progress in developing relationships, either formal or informal, with black parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings,

in order to enhance the achievement of a power base in parliament."

Paragraph 5 continues: "With respect to extra-parliamentary activity we believe we have successfully reached a compromise with the NDM in so far as the conduct, nature, style and public perception of that activity is concerned. The IP confirms that this is an area of weakness within the IP and that the NDM has a particular strength in this area which is a crucial contributor to the overall strength of the new party."

The IP believes, it is further stated, that a new party "will be doomed to continued impotence and failure if it is seen through these structures (leadership and organisational) and strategies to be simply: (a) recycled opposition; (b) the PFP in drag; (c) a mechanism for retaining suspect opposition seats ..."

The proposals include an executive of representatives of the three parties, substantially broadened by representatives of the "fourth constituency." This, it is suggested, may include the likes of political commentator Willem de Klerk (brother of Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk) and Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt, who initiated the merger talks.

Malan sees the strength of a new party in the combination of the positive factors of all three existing ones. His own NDM, he feels, has embarked on "total politics" — the crossing of political borders to extra-parliamentary groups. The PFP has a symbolic record on human rights, while Worrall's IP has an aggressive marketing strategy which has an important influence on the white electorate.

Before last week De Beer, an elder statesman of SA politics, was seen, in the absence of a Great White Hope, to be the natural transitional leader. Now he finds himself in a lesser position as part of a leadership *troika*.

As the *FM* went to press the three parties were bracing themselves for a final confrontation before Wednesday's D-day. Perhaps Gant should organise another dinner party — this time including De Beer. ■

11A 32A **MANDELA — 'A GOOD JURIST'**

Nelson Mandela has completed an LLB degree with the University of SA (Unisa); his results were expected to be announced as the *FM* went to press.

Mandela, who has served more than 26 years of a life sentence for treason, qualified as an attorney in 1963 and later, while on Robben Island, received permission from the Prisons Department to continue law studies. He was described by a Unisa law lecturer as "conscientious and a good jurist," and an "above average student."

It is uncertain (and doubtful) whether Mandela will be allowed to attend Unisa's graduation ceremony in May.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee recently said that he would not be returned to Pollsmoor prison after being discharged from a Constantia clinic where he has been convalescing from tuberculosis. Instead he was moved to a house next to Victor Verster prison in Paarl, where his

family has free access to him.

But Coetsee quashed any doubt that the move changed Mandela's status as a prisoner (*The Weekly Mail* published photographs of him for the first time last Friday — before Coetsee made his statement).

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported in March that Mandela would receive his degree this year.

The newspaper said that Mandela received the necessary assistance from prison authorities and Unisa staff to obtain legal textbooks.

In his dissertation Mandela took a closer look at SA and its emergency laws since June 1986. His lecturer described it as a "sober viewpoint" without any political connotations.

If released, and should he wish to pursue a career as an advocate, Mandela would have to pass one more hurdle — Afrikaans — as part of the Bar exams.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Patriotic blues

A strong attack on US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker by rightwing Americans during a recent visit to SA, and a suggestion by an ex-top official of the former Department of Information that SA should

Today is a day
of division in SA

By BARRY STREEK

DIVISION, not only between Afrikaners but also between blacks and whites, will mark today's celebrations of the Day of the Vow or Heroes' Day, as December 16 is known.

In Pretoria, two different celebrations of the Day of the Vow will take place.

President P W Botha will make the main speech at the official celebration at the Voortrekker monument this morning, and it is likely that he will spell out his vision for the future.

However, at Donkerhoek near Pretoria, the right-wing will commemorate the Day of the Vow with the alternative celebrations involving speeches by the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, and the leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Mr Carel Boshoff.

In black circles, December 16, the day which Voortrekkers vowed to commemorate if they won defeat the Zulus, is regarded as heroes' day.

● Afrikaner history 'littered with heroes' — Page 2

SA may benefit from bigotry of Boksburg

12/12/88
30 CN

American opponents of sanctions point to black buying power

12/12/88

From NEIL LURSEN of The Argus Foreign Service in Washington

BOKSBURG'S civic politicians have captured internationally for their town the title of bastion of bigotry but, in an unexpected way, they may be doing the rest of South Africa a big favour.

They are providing American conservatives with the evidence they need to prove that South African blacks can score powerful political points through their buying power.

The conservatives are pushing this argument hard as they prepare for the next round of the anti-South Africa sanctions struggle. Signs that American liberals have not given up on sanctions came this week when the city of Boston banned Shell Oil products because of the company's trade links with South Africa — tenuous as they are.

Boksburg's black consumer boycott in response to a new outbreak of petty apartheid has clearly distressed the town's businessmen, who are learning that discrimination does not come cheap any more.

But the boycott has fallen into the laps of American conservatives, who argue that the best solution for a peaceful end to apartheid in South Africa is black economic empowerment. Give blacks the means and they will buy their way to power-sharing.

They argue that blacks cannot be separated out of the South African economy, as the sanctions movement in the United States seems to think is possible. Squeeze the economy and you squeeze blacks, too — perhaps even harder than you squeeze whites.

The reverse is that if you help the South African economy, you will also help blacks. Take this a step further: aim your assistance directly at blacks and you create a situation where they become so important to the overall economy

that no white businessman would dare risk offending such an important slice of his market.

This is an approach that has been articulated on behalf of President-elect George Bush by members of his foreign policy team — most notably Mr Alan Keyes, a black conservative who is expected to win a top job in the Bush administration after a spirited but unsuccessful attempt to win the Senate seat for Maryland.

Mr Bush likes the general approach and now it has been endorsed enthusiastically by the Heritage Foundation, a Washington think tank that had influence in the early stages of the Reagan administration and is seeking a similar role in the Bush era.

In a just-released policy study, the Heritage Foundation's Africa task force chairman, Mr Nicholas Eberstadt, says that to help blacks win more control of their country's economy, American assistance programmes should be targeted directly at black economic sectors.

"Too much of the current US assistance, by contrast, goes to political opposition groups," he says. "The Secretary of State (Mr James Baker from January 20) should design a programme through which the US, Western Europe and Japan assist black education, job training, health care, small business development and housing."

Whether or not Western Europe and Japan will fall into the plan remains to be seen. But it is clear that black empowerment will be one of the main elements in the argument about South Africa when the big sanctions debate resumes in Washington next year.

The conservatives will not have an easy time pushing their line in the Congress. Earlier this year, for instance, liberal Democrats — who control the Africa sub-committee in the House of Representatives — rudely ignored black businessmen from South Africa who travelled to

Washington to make a case for black empowerment.

But the climate may be different in 1989. The South African government has scored some valuable points with actions and events lately — among them the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol, the outspoken opposition to Boksburg's apartheid zeal, the commuting of the death penalty for the Sharpeville Six, the release of political prisoners and the realisation in Washington that there is, after all, a difficult right-wing problem facing the Botha government.

And now, along comes the Boksburg episode. If the black consumer boycott succeeds and the town's civic leaders decide that the trappings of all, the opponents of sanctions have a good case to take to the Congress in 1989.

American conservatives oppose sanctions not only because they consider them unfair and counter-productive. They have a secret fear that further measures will lead the South African government into a deal with the increasingly pragmatic Soviet Union.

Such a deal, they theorise, may take the form of a greater Soviet involvement in the distribution of South Africa's mineral riches in return for reduction of Soviet support for the African National Congress and Soviet pressure on a Swapo government in SWA/Namibia to behave itself and not stir up animosities with Pretoria.

The prospect of a weakening of the West's influence in Southern Africa, and especially a slipping grip on the mineral riches, horrifies American conservatives.

Thus they are pushing for aid to the South African economy through black empowerment. And every time Boksburg nails up a whites only sign, it may just help the American conservative effort to tear them all down.

Government is caught up in a dilemma over reform policy

By NORMAN PATTERTON of the South African Press Association

THE more the government reforms, the more blacks will expect.

This is the dilemma facing the Nationalist government, according to a paper published in the latest issue of the *Strategic Review*, issued by the University of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies.

Discussing social mobilisation, revolutionary war and change in South Africa, Dr J K Cilliers said that reform was "breeding expectations that cannot be met".

Some kind of damper had to be placed on the dramatically rising spiral of political agitation and expectations, he said.

He cited A de Tocqueville writing more than a century ago of the French Revolution: "It was precisely in those parts of France where there had been most improvement that popular discontent ran highest.

"... It is not always when things are going from bad to worse that revolutions break out. On the contrary, it oftener happens that when a people which has put up with an oppressive rule over a long period without protest suddenly finds the government relaxing its pressure, it takes up arms against it.

"Thus the social order overthrown by a revolution is almost always better than the one immediately preceding it, and experience teaches us that generally speaking the most perilous moment for a bad government is one when it seeks to mend its ways."

Dr Cilliers also cites a paper by M Arnheim, published by the University of Stellenbosch's Institute for Futures Research this year, which said that "the recent history of South Africa is itself proof enough that reform is not the antidote to revolution".

Arnheim added that young revolutionaries' expectations had been "catapulted sky-high — by government reforms.

"Once the situation is recognised for what it really is, it becomes clear how senseless reform is, and indeed how suicidal it is for South African whites."

Dr Cilliers said that reform was

not aimed at "buying off" black political protest, but at the establishment of a more cohesive and stable society.

Neither the African National Congress nor mass-based organisations such as the United Democratic Front or Cosatu would be able to "seriously undermine social stability in the immediate future" because of the strength of the government's security apparatus.

The very strength of the security apparatus was both a source of great stability and perhaps a source of false security obviating the need for rapid change.

Alan Paton had remarked that violence would continue as long as there was a disparity in living standards between whites and blacks. "If this is indeed so," said Dr Cilliers, "South Africa might not see an end to violence within the next century."

He said that most analysts agreed that the government's "reform by stealth" or "salami reform" had failed.

Attempts to get the ANC to renounce violence had little chance of success until the organisation had been rejected by most South Africans or been disregarded in favour of another organisation or had been offered or obtained substantial political power.

In the evolving South African society, the pace of social mobilisation exceeded the level of institutionalisation, resulting in a high level of social instability.

Dr Cilliers concluded that "some degree of ongoing security action is unavoidable in combating both the revolutionary threat and maintaining a minimum level of stability in the townships".

Strong security action ideally required strong political leadership, and for this the government had to have a clear political goal and overall plan.

Its programmes required goals compatible with black aspirations, and could succeed only if they increasingly involved them in the process.

BOKSBURG

304A

F.M.A.T.C.

16/12/88

Pressure mounts

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse has dismissed as hypocritical government's criticism of the Conservative Party (CP) for its reactionary policy in Boksburg. "Until the Separate Amenities Act is repealed, I say to the CP, continue to challenge government on it."

He was speaking in Port Elizabeth at a banquet in honour of his 10th anniversary as party leader.

Meanwhile, undaunted CP deputy leader

Ferdie Hartzenberg tells the *FM*: "We will not reconsider our policy. We are convinced that the boycott will not last and that its effects are not as serious as is made out. The situation will be different in the New Year."

Reflecting the turmoil, Boksburg mayor Beyers de Klerk last week laid charges against the NBS (which pulled out of the town), under the Intimidation Act. His colleague, management committee chairman Gideon Fourie, at the same time charged SABC-TV and *Beeld* in terms of the emergency regulations for in effect advocating the boycott, which has cut the town's business by at least 60%.

This week, Colgate-Palmolive chairman Gerry Nocker told employees that the company is committed to staying in SA. Nocker reaffirmed that Colgate has applied for rezoning into Benoni.

While the multinational has no wish to see Boksburg deteriorate, "we, however, cannot justify the payment of rates and taxes to a town council that has such backward views — and views that are totally opposite to ours."

The council's actions will increase pressure on foreign companies to disinvest in SA, he warns.

An opinion survey carried out by the *Boksburg Advertiser* last week found anti-CP sentiment running at 9:1, says editor Hilary Green, adding that the town is in a turmoil.

Boksburg Chamber of Commerce & Industry chairman Johann Viljoen says his chamber has had applications to join from businessmen who previously did not belong to any business association.

"They are beginning to see the need for a collective mouthpiece, especially now that we are going to see Chris Heunis."

Independent councillor and chairman of the Boksburg Alliance Issy Kramer tells the *FM* that CP leader Andries Treurnicht and Hartzenberg failed to turn up for a meeting with the alliance scheduled last Friday.

The same day, says Kramer, opposition councillors called a special meeting in vain, "to discuss a resolution to rescind all the decisions taken by the new council." ■

Moscow's foreign policy has 'positive implications for SA'

Star 16/12/88 (3047)



Mr Anatoly Adamishin . . . acknowledged reforms made under President Botha.

A fly on the wall of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's suite in the M'Bamou Palace Hotel in Brazzaville, Peoples' Republic of Congo, the other weekend might have thought that he and the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister for Africa, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, were allies.

The atmosphere was cordial and open. Mr Adamishin told Mr Botha that the Kremlin's review of foreign policy had positive implications for Pretoria, because Moscow found that, since World War 2, violent conflicts had not produced the desired results for the Kremlin.

The Soviet Minister assured Mr Botha that Moscow valued the technological advances made in South Africa and would not like to see them lost. He acknowledged the reforms made under President Botha, and the two Ministers discussed the similar problems each government faced in bringing about reform.

But the significance of Mr Adamishin's courtesy call lies elsewhere. What the Soviet Minister was saying is almost exactly what Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Mr George Bush and their officials are saying to South Africa.

Developing consensus

The developing consensus between Moscow, Washington and London on southern Africa goes beyond the Angola-Namibia settlement.

It goes to the heart of the South African problem itself, where although under Mr Bush and Mrs Thatcher there will continue to be opposition to economic sanctions, the three governments are increasingly determined to see real, not cosmetic, change.

They realise change will take years, but they agree that the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela into a climate in which he can participate actively in the political process is central.

The indications are that a superpower strategy will include pressure, albeit more careful pressure than that imposed by the US Congress, the United Nations General Assembly or the anti-apartheid movements.

JOHN MATISONN of The Observer newspaper in London looks beyond the Angola-Namibia settlement to future relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union.

Soviets want real change in Pretoria

The leverage they will use is not yet clear, though the most obvious terrain is South Africa's need to convince Western banks that they should re-schedule about R50 billion of debt which is frozen until early in 1990.

Mr Bush and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev are expected to place South Africa high on the agenda of their first summit next year. Mrs Thatcher has predicted that Mr Bush will make the region a priority.

In academic papers and diplomatic discussions, the Soviets have made it clear that they have a new policy for South Africa, which involves co-operating with the West.

Moscow proved its good faith by helping end the Cuban troop presence in Angola. American officials have been fulsome in their gratitude.

Eastern bloc and Western leaders now agree that South Africa cannot be overthrown by an African National Congress military assault.

South Africa is the regional power. They agree that stability should be maintained during a period of transition to a post-apartheid society.

They agree that South Africa's whites should be encouraged to feel secure, so they do not deprive the region of technological expertise. That may include some form of constitutional protection, even though that is not the position of the ANC.

Mr Bush and Mrs Thatcher stick to their opposition to economic sanctions, but they know that the market imposes sanctions of its own, as US and UK businesses tire of the frustrations and leave. What they are offering Mr Botha is an umbrella from the sanctions storm but it's only useful if he acts. And Mr Gorbachev, though he will not stop supplying the ANC with weapons, is unlikely to encourage an escalation of the fighting.

Indeed, the Angola agreement provides for economic co-operation with South Africa, which the Republic is interpreting as an anti-sanctions clause. And there is likely to be a deal providing that ANC bases be moved out of Angola in return for an end to Pretoria's support for Unita.

East-West consensus next year seems easier to predict than Pretoria's response to it.

President Botha's new dovishness in the region, and his acquiescence to Western demands that he not return Mandela to his prison cell or allow the Sharpeville Six to hang, show that he is vulnerable to a strong international approach.

Share power

What they do not show is how he will respond as the demands that he share real power become more insistent.

On the central demand, for the unconditional release of Mandela, Mr Botha has found ways to avoid the spirit of compliance while trying to appear to oblige on the letter.

Hawks in the Cabinet have been persuaded for the moment to give up Namibia because the costs have escalated and a Swapo government will be dependent on Mr Botha. The special treatment of Mandela results from world pressure that has become overwhelming.

It is also an effort to undermine him with the luxury of his gilded cage, in growing contrast to the conditions of his people. That it will not succeed is likely to make Pretoria more reluctant to take the next step, unless it is firmly pushed. — The Observer News Service

PW calls for a new Trek to national unity

3044
8 Jan 17/11/88

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

THE VIOLENT denial of civil rights — which even the most unworthy whites may enjoy — would ensure and hasten the approach of eventual revolution, and would make it all the more disastrous.

This was the warning given by the State President, Mr P W Botha, as he wound up the 150th anniversary celebrations of the Great Trek and the Battle of Blood River in a speech before about 10 000 people in the arena at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria.

He was quoting former Nationalist Prime Minister Dr D F Malan. Mr Botha said this warning should be taken to heart in the evaluation of the road ahead.

Mr Botha's speech, in which he called for a greater South African national unity, marked the high point of yesterday's Great Trek celebrations co-ordinated by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK).

A rival celebration organised by the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) was addressed by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht at Donkerhoek, on the other side of Pretoria.

Mr Botha was warmly applauded when he told his audience that blacks and coloureds were also in the laager at Blood River on December 16 1838, irrespective of those who today tried to deny this in their attempt to justify their current attitudes.

This co-operation in the laager across group boundaries did not limit

Drivers

refuse

to pay

at tolls

SATURDAY STAR
REPORTER

HOLIDAY motorists refusing to pay tolls ran the risk of police action, toll plaza authorities warned yesterday.

Since the start of the holiday season more than 100 motorists have refused to pay cashiers at the Mooi River and Tugela toll plazas.

Drivers are avoiding the tolls either by driving through the plazas without stopping or simply refusing to pay.

Police at Mooi River and Bester are investigating more than 70 toll offences.

A Talcron spokesman said that anyone refusing to pay the toll was breaking the law and that car registration numbers would be taken down and handed to police.



SURPRISE, SURPRISE: Santa Claus — in balloon-size proportions — popped in at Randburg's Cresta Centre without his

on all national

Star 17/12/88 (Sapa)

PW calls for national unity

build with dedication a greater national unity, which must form the essence of a national will to survive, said the State President.

"Without a purposeful national will we will disintegrate in the face of the determined onslaught of our competent and well-organised enemies," he said.

● Addressing thousands of people at a Donkerhoek farm, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the division of South Africans into different race groups with different boundaries derived from God's message in the Bible, reports Sapa.

"It is the right of the Afrikaner nation to be ruled by its own people.

"If Europe's nationalities have the right to live in separate countries, what is wrong with the white South African nation living apart from non-whites?" asked Dr Treurnicht.

The meeting addressed by the CP leader was held in opposition to the similar celebration at the Voortrekker Monument.

Referring to the State President's meeting, Dr Treurnicht said: "We will return to the Voortrekker Monument with a growing unity and the idea and principle that we can be a free nation."

He thanked members of the crowd for travelling from all over the country and SWA/Namibia to attend yesterday's celebrations.

Dr Treurnicht added: "The Afrikaner is busy healing the breaks in his ranks.

"Today is a demonstration of unity, vision . . .

"We are looking back to the past and we are opening up the way for a new future.

"We may not be a mighty nation but throughout our history, we have had a vision of the future.

"We are prepared to take up the challenge of going forward. We might be small, but today we say to each other you should not fret when God is with you. We are big in historical heritage."

He said the Afrikaner nation had a calling from God to move forward and the calling was about "a rightful own existence and the freedom of a nation."

He also acknowledged: "Our eyes are not blind to the needs of others. We will look after

● FROM PAGE 1.

others with love, but without losing our own identity."

The human race was a unit that praised God, but it was God who had placed boundaries between different nations and races, Dr Treurnicht said.

"We recognise other nationalities, but others must recognise ours."

The Afrikaner had made friends with the Zulu nation, "but we have the right to live in our own land and them in their own homeland.

"We won't be sacrificed on the altar by big international powers. We are a nation with a God-given land."

● The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, said yesterday that the Afrikaner nation must fight international communism and liberalism.

He was speaking at the celebrations held at Donkerhoek.

Thousands of people from all over the country attended the function organised by the Afrikaner Volkswag.

Mr TerreBlanche, clad in traditional AWB attire and surrounded by armed body guards, also told the crowd that a "stange government" had deprived Afrikaners of the opportunity to hold their celebrations at the Voortrekker Monument which was the Afrikaner nation's own property.

The crowd waved AWB flags and banners bearing slogans such as "We share our power with no one" and "The AWB knows no fear — we will die defending our cause".

Mr TerreBlanche, amid loud cheers, said: "Today we have shown the world the Afrikaner nation will not die for a long time.

"The Afrikaner cannot afford to let what is his be taken away."

Telling the crowd to combat international communism and liberalism, he said the Afrikaner language and culture must be maintained.

He urged Afrikaans poets, writers and artists to continue with their work.

"Our Government is creating a new poor white class, and we must rise as a nation out of this. We will be ready physically and militarily just as we were at Blood River."

He condemned what he described as the "signing away" of the freedom and rights of 65 000 whites in SWA/Namibia.

reindeer and asked these children what they wanted for Christmas

17/12/88 (304A)

Luyt tells of his role in formation of new party

TOS WENTZEL

CAPE TOWN — Within days of the decision being taken to form a new left-wing party, rugby boss and big businessman Dr Louis Luyt, said to be the prime mover behind the initiative, has revealed for the first time why he became involved in it.

He said that for years he was given false hope of real reform by the "crumbs from the Government's table".

It finally dawned on him that no real reform was taking place and that the State President, Mr P W Botha, was more intent on looking over his shoulder at the rightwing.

He then he became disillusioned with the Government and the National Party.

This, he said, was what led him to throw in his weight behind efforts to form a new political party Left of the National Party.

He brought the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement to-

SATYR



"But, Baas Louis, why do you cry about crumbs when you've always had the whole loaf?"

gether and meetings to finalise plans for the new party were held at his home in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, this week.

He spoke during an interview about how his political thinking had changed through the years. At one stage he had had close ties with Government establishment, especially about 12 years ago, when he acted as the front for the start of the *Citizen*, which was exposed in the Information scandal in 1978.

In those days he was a frequent visitor to Dr Connie Mulder, the then Minister of Information.

In a way, Dr Luyt said, he was flattered by the attention some of the Na-

tionalist top brass were giving him. Mainly through their rugby ties, he was still acquainted with Dr Dawie de Villiers.

His latest contact with the National Party, the final straw for a man

● TO PAGE 2

Row was last straw for Luyt

who for years believed in vain that the Government could be on the way to dynamic reform, was a recent meeting with the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, after he had had talks with the ANC in an effort to have the sports boycott against South Africa lifted.

Shortly after Mr P W Botha had become Prime Minister in 1978, he (Mr Luyt) was impressed by a BBC television interview, in which Mr Botha had stated that he was not a racist, and by his opening speech at the 1979 session of Parliament, when he had given indications of reform.

Then came the shock of Mr Botha's Rubicon speech and the impression that reform was coming to a standstill.

His unfavourable impression of the National Party had been strengthened by Mr Botha's Afrikaner unity plea to Dr A P Treurnicht.

"This made a weak impression. It was off-putting to see how he was looking over his shoulder at the rightwing. He is not thinking about change any more: he now just wants to satisfy Dr Treurnicht."

About his clash with the Government on the talks with the

ANC, he said he had tried this initiative at the request of Dr Danie Craven, that the intention had been purely to point out that there was no longer any race discrimination in rugby and to try to have the sports boycott lifted.

He found the clash with the Government a humiliating one and this was the final straw in his break with the National Party.

He was accused of giving credibility to the ANC.

"I told Mr de Klerk that we had not gone to Harare to sell out the country. Some of us are ready to die for this country if necessary."

Dr Luyt is enthusiastic about the new leftwing party.

"I hope the new party is what many of us have stood for over the years. I believe it can become the government of this country. I have come across great enthusiasm for it, also among Nationalists.

"Now it will be a question of negotiating a timetable for change."

He said he was willing to stand for the proposed new party in an election.

304A ● FROM PAGE 1.



Great Trek was not for whites-only, says PW

C.M. 71415 17/12/88
30411

Political Staff

THE diversity of minority groups and communities in South Africa today was reflected in the Great Trek which was not just a trek of white Afrikaners, President P W Botha said yesterday.

South Africa was "a community of diversity, a nation of minority peoples and communities," he said at the official commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek at the Voortrekker monument in Pretoria.

"This diversity was also present in the Great Trek. It was not just a trek of white Afrikaners.

"There were a large number of trusted coloureds together on the Great Trek; together they were murdered with Piet Retief and at Bloukrans and Boesmansrivier; and they were together in the laager at Blood River with a number of English and about 60 Zu-

lus.

"On December 16, 1938, white, brown and black were together in the laager at Blood River, regardless of who tries to keep it secret today in an attempt to justify a contemporary standpoint," President Botha said.

This co-operation over borders did not harm anyone's identity or ideals.

"This is also the basis on which we today must strive for co-operation.

"We must strive for national unity and unity among our different communities.

"All our communities must build with determination towards a greater national unity which must form the foundation of our national will for survival.

"Without a determined national will, we will crumble before the fierce onslaught of our

sly and well-organised enemies.

"National unity is a unity which must be built on healthy group relations and on the principle of good neighbourliness between all our population groups, love for our fatherland and good order.

"There ought to be no conflict or contradiction between our membership of our own community, and the fact that we are all South Africans.

"The fullness of our South Africanship can come to a richer development through our pride and value of our own and each other."

The Afrikaner was sometimes made to be a problem for better relations in the country but the self-respecting Afrikaner was not a problem for good relations between groups, because self-respect was a precondition for respect for others.

Division in SA is God's message

PRETORIA. — The division of South Africans into different race groups with different boundaries derived from God's message in the Bible, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

In his address held at a Donkerhoek farm near here to celebrate the Afrikaner Volkswag's version of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek, he said Christ had divided people into different nations.

"It is the right of the Afrikaner nation to be ruled by its own people. If Europe's nationalities have the right to live in separate countries, what is wrong with the white South African nation living apart from the non-whites?"

The meeting addressed by the CP leader was held in opposition to a similar celebration held at the Voortrekker monument yesterday addressed by President P W Botha.

Referring to the president's meeting Dr Treurnicht said, "We will return to the Voortrekker monument with a growing unity and the idea that we can be a free nation." — Sapa

Supporters of a white Christmas are scarcer than snowballs in SA

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Boksburg residents, in spite of having voted the Conservative Party into power, seem unhappy about their impending white Christmas.

This has not only been evident in snap street surveys, where it was almost impossible to find a single person who said they supported the CP's controversial petty apartheid moves, but also in answers to a questionnaire published recently in the local newspaper.

The Boksburg Advertiser found an overwhelming majority of readers who answered the questionnaire rejected the CP moves.

A mere 102 of the 1 325 readers who replied said they were in favour of the CP moves, while 1 172 said they were totally opposed to them. Fifty-one people said they were in favour of some aspects of the petty apartheid decisions but not others.

The newspaper, which has a circulation of about 24 000, pointed out that the survey was not done on a scientific basis, in that the questionnaires were not submitted at random. It said the survey could be classed as a "straw poll".

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis rejected the survey. He said if seen in the light of the newspaper's circulation, it was "a non-survey ... pie-in-the-sky stuff".

Reserved

The questionnaire, entitled "Is this what you want?", was carried on the front page of the newspaper and was sponsored by the Boksburg Alliance, a group presenting a united front to the CP after a storm of protest which included Boksburg businessmen.

Readers were asked, among other things, whether Boksburg Lake, the municipal swimming pools and the town hall should be reserved for whites only. They were also asked what they thought of the publicity the CP council's decisions had drawn to the town and whether the CP had the mandate to "do as it wished".

The newspaper said it had received requests for the survey to be published in Afrikaans as well. The fact that it was only published in English may have effected the outcome.

Two weeks ago the Weekend Argus's sister paper, Sunday Star, attempted to find one person in Boksburg who represented a "typical" CP voter and who was prepared to support openly the council's apartheid measures.

Indication

After approaching more than 20 people in the town's main street, it was evident that very few indeed were prepared to come out openly in favour of the council. One woman, who said she was "proud" of what the council had done, and who was happy to say why she did not want to share "her town" with blacks, fled when asked for her name.

Meanwhile a marketing expert said that although the newspaper survey could be taken as an indication of a significant number of Boksburg people's feelings about the council's moves, it could not be seen as representative of the town as a whole.

The expert said it was unusual for such a large number of people to go to the trouble to respond to the questionnaire, but the response should be read "with a certain amount of caution".

30041

NEWS

Hushed mood at the monument PW speaks to a crowd with a little verve

By DAVID CAPEL
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President trekked to the Voortrekker Monument in a limousine on Friday to address a Volk whose divisions were most starkly captured in the swastika-like flag of a few khaki-clad far-rightwingers.

Mr P W Botha was probably spared the sight of the cheeky Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) members, who did not have the nerve to unfurl their flag under his nose, but he must have wondered what had happened to the spirit of the Volk, whose singing was hardly gutsy enough to drown out the chirping of the mosses which flew over-

The men from the AWB could not be blamed for smiling to themselves . . . only just down the road their own leader was addressing the 'real Volk' and their singing could almost be heard at the place where the Groot Trek started 150 years ago.

The monument looked splendid, draped in the colours of the South African flag on all four sides, the Voortrekkers were proud, proper and smart and the boerewors was better than some. But something, somewhere, was missing . . .

Even talk of how total the onslaught against them was not enough to lift the mood of the Volk, who gathered in the huge amphitheatre of the monument to hear the State President speak.

Right choice

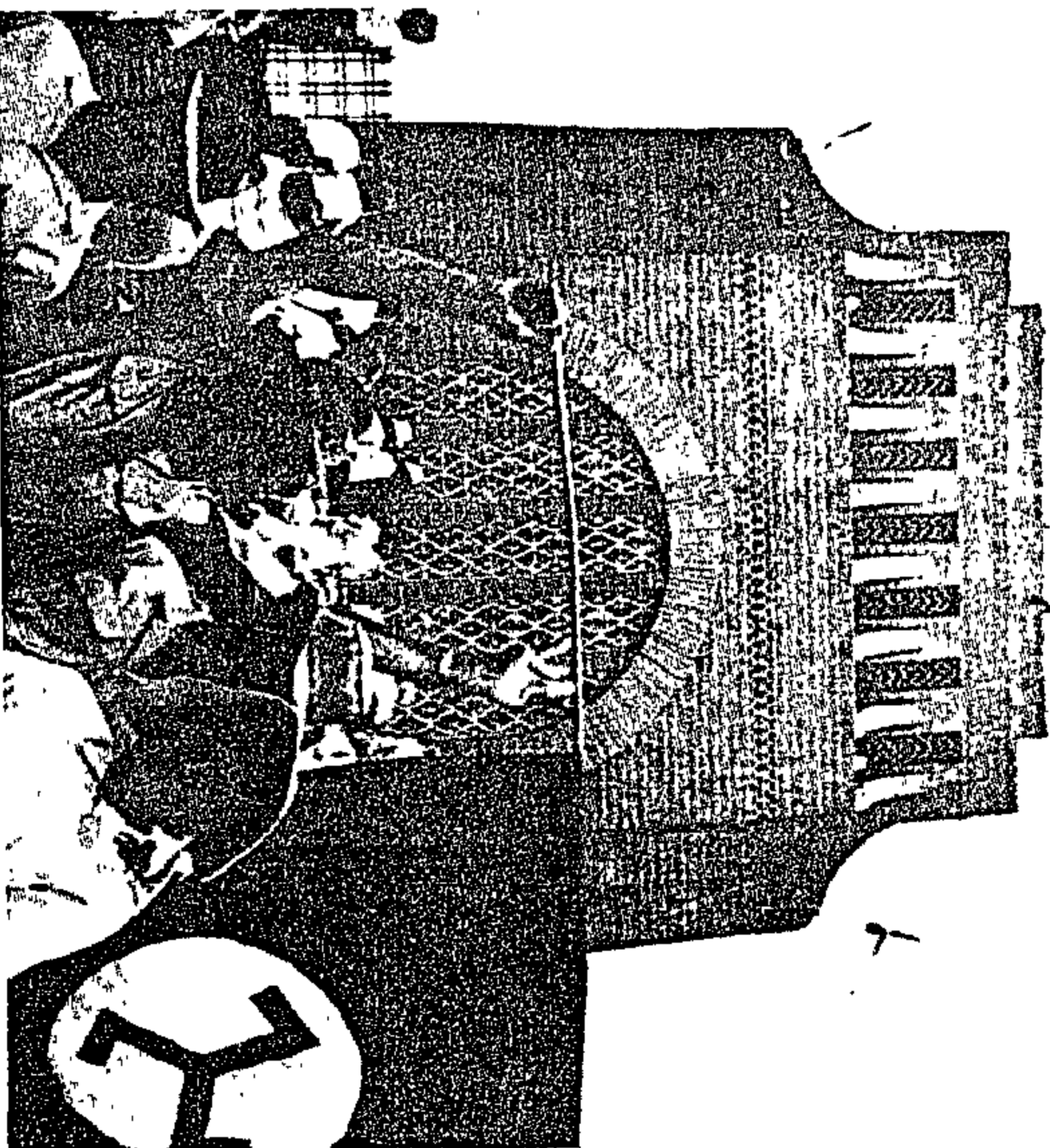
Perhaps some were thinking of another speaker, at another place, and wondering if they had made the right choice.

Estimates of the crowd varied greatly. Figures released by the organisers held that between 50 000 and 60 000 were present, but other observers put the figure at about 10 000.

Whatever the number, it was not an occasion to lift the spirit.

Die Stem van Suid Afrika never sounded so dull. Piet Fietel himself would not have recognised Land van ons Vaders, so muffled were its tones. And when it came to the turn of the dominee to address the Volk in a dreary, flat monologue, many had had enough and drifted away.

This was the day the only trace of English was in the accent of the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman. And the only excitement, if one could call it that, was provided by the fly-past of four air force jets and five helicopters, each carrying the orange, white and blue flag of the country which owed its existence to the blood, sweat and



AWB supporters display their insignia at the Voortrekker Monument.

tears shed by those hardy trekkers so many years ago.

Even the ox wagons, led proudly into the amphitheatre by a group of latter-day Voortrekkers, did not play the game. Proceedings had to be delayed while a wheel on one of the wagons was repaired. Thus, the master of ceremonies hastened to assure the faithful, also occurred in "the old days".

While the aroma of braising boerewors wafted across the grounds, and some Voortrekkers found the trek too much and slept peacefully under the trees, the State President told the Volk Blood River was "an hour of victory . . . the victory of faith

in the power of God over unbelief and violence".

Today, 150 years after the Great Trek, Afrikaners were more than ever before people of Africa. The monument under which they stood was a symbol of freedom and Christian justice.

"I believe that we have the courage and faith to meet the demands of the future with optimism, to work for and build a new South Africa of freedom and good hope," Mr Botha said.

"It is my prayer that each of you, each inhabitant of our country and our beloved South Africa will be mercifully accorded a future of peace and prosperity."

Mr Botha also addressed himself to the question of unity, saying: "There should be no conflict or contradiction between belonging to our own national community and the fact that we are all South Africans."

"The fullness of our South Africaness can be more richly developed through our pride and appreciation of what is our own and of one another."

The Afrikaner, he said, was sometimes depicted as an obstacle in the way of better relations in South Africa. "The self-respecting Afrikaner was not however, an obstacle to good intergroup relations because self-respect was a prerequisite for respect for others."

The small group of AWB members, brazenly holding their flag at the steps leading to the monument and out of sight of the State President, probably had their own thoughts on self-respect and intergroup relations.

But then they had their own leader too, and a gathering down the road that had more zip than this one. They, at least, knew how to give Land van ons Vaders stick, and boy, don't try tell them how to sing Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika.

Man dies in fall from car

Weekend Argus Reporters

A 18-year-old Transvaal holidaymaker died early today when he was struck by two cars after falling from a moving four-wheel-drive vehicle in Pieterberg Bay.

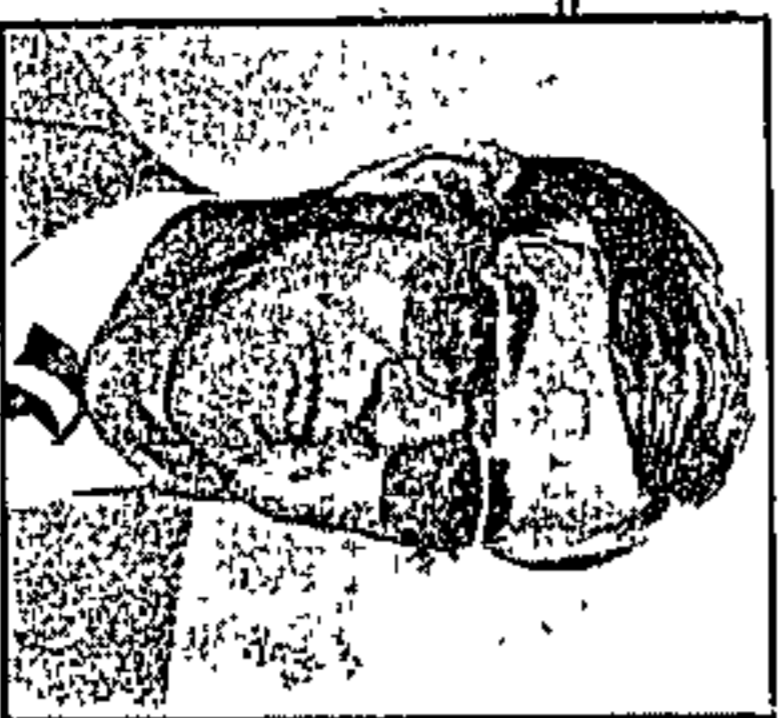
Police said Ronald Ian Slater, 18, of Lona Street, Randburg fell from the back of a Landrover about 2.30am.

He was struck by a following car and flung across the road into the path of a car travelling in the opposite direction.

Police spokesman Major Naudé Viljoen said the driver of the Landrover was apparently unaware that Mr Slater had fallen off and failed to stop. Police are trying to trace the vehicle and the driver.

● In the Boland a man drowned and a woman died after being knocked down by a car yesterday. Mr Andries Loerdien, 32, of Ceres drowned when he fell into a farm dam about 2pm yesterday.

Miss Marie Adams, 20, of Uityk Farm, Lutzuville died when a car struck her on the Lutzuville-Vredendal road about 3pm yesterday.



Jim Enslin

"Tax free or simply fully taxable?"

New party aims to rope in the non-aligned voters

w/c ARGUS 17/12/88 304A

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

FEBRUARY is the target month for the formation of a new party left of the National Party.

While its main components will be the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, determined efforts will be made to rope in non-aligned people.

Dr Willem de Klerk, former Nationalist newspaper editor and now an academic at the Rand Afrikaans University and two others of the non-aligned group will be on a steering committee which will prepare the ground for the new party. Stellenbosch academics have already pledged their support.

Dr de Klerk said there were many non-aligned Afrikaners who did not belong to any of the three parties and others who had long ago, in spirit, left the National Party.

He had calculated that at one stage about 22 percent of Afrikaners were not happy with the basic philosophies of the National Party or its approach to reform. They were ripe for a more dynamic reform policy.

Dissolution

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the PFP, has been chosen as co-ordinator of the steering committee which is due to meet again in mid-January.

There will also be provincial and regional steering committees which will help mould followers before the dissolution of their parties and the holding of a congress to form the new party.

The overwhelming feeling is that something has to be done to get like-minded liberals together and that personality differences must be set aside. This popular rank-and-file pressure will be an important element in the formation of a new party which is likely to face a general election in the second half of next year.

Dr de Beer said that many practical arrangements had to be completed, such as the drawing-up of a detailed policy statement and constitution, arrangements for a congress and joining the finances of the groups.

Fundamentals

There had, he said, been absolutely no problems on the fundamental principles for a party on a classic liberal, free-enterprise basis.

He also hoped that eventually a large number of people who used to be Nationalist-minded could be drawn to the new party.

The leadership issue remains to be resolved. Dr de Beer said there had never been a merger when the leadership was not an issue.

He would not commit him-

Rethink on Amenities Act ahead

w/c ARGUS 17/12/88

PRETORIA. — The Separate Amenities Act, which has come to the fore in the Boksburg fracas recently, is to be reviewed.

This assurance was given by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, to Mr Jac Rabie, MP for Reiger Park in the House of Representatives, and members of the Reiger Park Management Committee at a meeting here.

After the meeting Mr Rabie said Mr Heunis had indicated that the Act would come under scrutiny next year.

Mr Rabie said the minister did not indicate how this would be done. Mr Rabie and the management committee met Mr Heunis to discuss the introduction of petty apartheid in Boksburg by the CP-controlled town council.

"The minister told us there was nothing the government could do about the matter."

He added that there was no immediate prospect of the impasse being resolved.

A news release from Mr Heunis's office said the discussions were held at the request of the Boksburg business community.

The meeting's aim had been to bring the seriousness of the situation to Mr Heunis's attention for consideration by the government. — Weekend Argus Correspondent and Sapa.

■ See Page 5.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

Leopold and Jennifer: willing to hire themselves out as butler and hostess.

But tunnel takes its toll

Reporter

Huguenot toll lenced its busi- far yesterday d for the plea-

of Tuncor, Mr 4 402 vehicles e Town on the Thursday and

rists travelled the direction of

figure for De-

ember was just over 7 000.

Between 2pm and 3pm yesterday 586 vehicles used the tunnel, 429 of them heading for the sun, sea and south-easter of Cape Town.

The busiest day in the tunnel's short existence so far was Good Friday, when about 15 000 vehicles made use of it.

However, Mr Dreyer said figures were unlikely to reach that level again.

"It was a long weekend and the tunnel had just opened, so there were many people who came just to have a look at it," he said.

Butler, hostess for hire — but not to weirdos!

by MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

IT seems people are no longer interested in what the butler saw — they want to do the peeping.

Gone are the days when butlers were hired to to announce guests and make sure tables were served properly.

Now those who can afford a butler suggest lurid things butlers — and hostesses — can do for them.

breathing dudes, suggesting all manner of things Jennifer and I could do if they hired us. Definitely not your usual butlerish duties."

The couple had one "nice" caller — a woman who offering them a job as butler and hostess at a wedding.

"She said she'd phone again and book us," said Jennifer.

Leopold has taken a year's holiday from from swotting before starting his work for a Phd at

the ground for the new party. Stellenbosch academics have already pledged their support.

Dr de Klerk said there were many non-aligned Afrikaners who did not belong to any of the three parties and others who had long ago, in spirit, left the National Party.

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He also hoped that eventually a large number of people who used to be Nationalist-minded could be drawn to the new party.

The leadership issue remains to be resolved. Dr de Beer said there had never been a merger when the leadership was not an issue.

He would not commit himself on whom he thought should be leader but it is clear that a proposal of the Independent Party that its leader, Dr Denis Worrall, and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan should be co-leaders with Dr de Beer as chairman is unacceptable to the PFP.

At this early stage indications are that Dr de Beer is most likely to be the leader as the man who is most capable of keeping all the elements in a new party together.

An agreement on basic principles which will be formulated in greater detail include a commitment to a non-racial democracy with principles and values such as a government representative of all citizens, an independent judiciary and the rule of law, basic freedom of speech, voting, association, private ownership, elections, religion and culture, a system of private initiative, rejection of racism and rejection of violence as a political instrument.

THE 'PURE' VOLK GIRD THEIR LOINS FOR BATTLE

W/E ARGUS 17/12/88

304A

by JAAP BOEKKOOI
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The message from the "purified" Afrikaner Volkswag assembly, crowding three vast hillsides on the Donkerhoek Farm valley near Cullinan, was similar to that once used by an American cigarette advert: "We'd rather fight than switch!"

This lively crowd of about 25 000 roared with approval when speakers like opposition leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said they would fight rather than accept threats to Afrikaner identity.

Both men used the euphemism "military means" but the meaning of message was clear.

But the immediate fight on hand was to switch Afrikaner Volkswag and other rightwing festivals back on track to a reconquered Voortrekker Monument, speakers emphasised. "We will be back at the Voortrekker Monument where we belong," said Dr Treurnicht.

The Donkerhoek celebrations overshadowed the "establishment" rival ritual at the Voortrekker Monument and what one speaker called "their festival of liberalists".

It was thus a rare event that drew crowds reminiscent of other huge Afrikaner festivals, with much spontaneous singing,

flag waving, hymns, prayers and large wallops of pure Boer nostalgia.

Long before the Day of the Vow rituals began, the faithful had turned up with togetherness in their hearts, tents, caravans, and concertinas.

The Donkerhoek festival was a hankering back to orthodoxy. Those gathered there were the true fundamentalists of Africa's lone white tribe, who disassociate themselves from what one speaker called "alienated Afrikaners".

Ex-dominees Drs Treurnicht and Carel Boshoff dressed themselves as Voortrekker wagon preachers while Terre'Blanche cut an excellent figure as a populist Elmer Gantry of the '80s.

Angry God

The "purified" Boer movement on the march at Donkerpoort bears an uncanny resemblance to this decade's great Muslim revival. The most heard words which echoed between the crags of Donkerhoek's hills were "blood," "God" and "sacrifice" — all key words of Iran radio. And the battle so often promised carried the ring of Jihad.

It's therefore natural for such occasions to turn gloomy.

Terre'Blanche, surrounded by six AWB toughies, spun images of 'trekker mothers' tears

and child corpses, and found a neat explanation why Namibia's "Finger of God" rock had collapsed: God, incensed by the betrayal of Namibian whites by the Bothas had closed his hand and so his finger fell.

And then Volkswag leader Carel Boshoff sermonised that "this volks' assembly, like Sarel Cilliers' Vow, has been born from so much fear and distress ... so much uncertainty ... a future so threatened by so many enemies of the Afrikaner."

Political

If the morbidity of Afrikaner festivals, with their frank idolatry of the past, may sound somewhat unnerving, remember that it has always been a unity builder and attractive feature of ethnic assemblies.

The veneration that hung over Donkerhoek's mass gathering also breeds a zeal to conform. When during Dr Boshoff's main sermon some television cameramen were seen to smoke, a bearded Oom got up and snarled: "Put out your cigarettes. If you have no respect for yourself, at least have respect for God."

Photographers who ambled across lines-of-view during particularly pious moments were upbraided by bearded officials, and on one occasion the Festival Director, Daan van

der Merwe, threw a stone at a photographer.

A volksfees like this is always a display of political undercurrents, and it was obvious that the main speaker, Dr Andries Treurnicht, was acutely aware of this.

He danced his way through issues such as the Volkswag's whites-only "Volkstaat" and Afrikaner identity with fine balance.

Before this white-homeland conscious audience the Doctor never mentioned a volkstaat, but he came close when he spoke of the ideal of "our own territory governed by our own people". The Afrikaner volk would never be a great nation, but it could be great in character, tolerance and humility and so "become a blessing to other nations".

All that sounded most reasonable, but as proof that "purified" organisations have a natural habit to produce even "more purified" offspring, obscure splinter bodies handed out pamphlets to the leaving crowds at Donkerhoek's gates.

One called for the end of democracy, and a reconquered Transvaal under the vierkleur, another for women's actions to preserve Group Areas, and another advocated an extension of apartheid to the whole world as a result of filthy black sex and the Aids epidemic in Africa.

The political metamorphosis of Louis Luyt



Louis Luyt, centre, with Roger Burrows, PFP, and Dr Zac de Beer.

WEEKEND #PAGUS
17/11/1988

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

FOR years he was given false hope of real reform by the "crumbs from the Government's table". Finally it dawned on him that no real reform was taking place anymore and that President Botha was now more intent on looking over his shoulder at the rightwing.

This is how rugby boss and big businessman, Dr Louis Luyt, describes his disillusionment with the Government and the National Party.

At one stage he had close ties with the government establishment, especially at the time, some 12 years ago, when he acted as the front for the start of The Citizen newspaper which was exposed in the Information Scandal in 1978.

In those days he was a frequent visitor to Dr Connie Mulder, the then Minister of Information. In a way Dr Luyt appeared to be flattered by the attention some of the Nationalist top brass were giving him. Mainly through their rugby ties he is still acquainted with Dr Dawie de Villiers.

His latest contact with the National Party, the final straw for a man who had for years believed in vain that the government could be on the way to dynamic reform, was a recent meeting with the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, after he had had talks with the ANC in an effort to have the sports boycott against South Africa lifted.

NOW Dr Luyt has thrown in his weight behind the efforts to form a new political party left of the National Party.

He brought the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement together and meetings to finalise plans for the new party were held at his home on Saxonwold, Johannesburg.

In an interview this week he spoke about how his political thinking had changed through the years.

"One landed in what I can describe as an environment of self-satisfaction where one thought that the National Party and the government would bring about change and that they should be supported because they were politically strong enough to bring about this change."

In the seventies, Mr John Vorster had particularly impressed him with statements that petty apartheid must disappear and that the country must be given time and that, if this was done, the world would in the end not believe what it would be seeing.

Dr Luyt believes that he pioneered multiracial occasions. In 1971 the Huddle Park Golf Club in Linksfield, Johannesburg, was opened to all when the black American player Lee Elder was there. In 1970, he pleaded for the vote for coloured people and Indians because they were not going in any political direction, while at least some blacks had votes in the homelands.

Shortly after Mr Botha had become Prime Minister in 1978, Luyt was impressed by a BBC television interview in which the PM had stated that he was not a racist, and by his opening speech at the 1979 session of Parliament, when he had given indications of reform. He wrote letters of encouragement to Mr Botha in those days.

At the time of the 1983 referendum on proposals for a tricameral system he, along with other prominent businessmen, had given his support to a "Yes" vote.

THEN came the shock of Mr Botha's "Rubicon" speech and the impression that reform was coming to a standstill.



AND THE FINAL STRAW THAT MADE HIM SPLIT FROM THE NATS

"Mr Botha gave the impression, not that we had chosen him, but that he had chosen us as his followers. I found this tremendously off-putting."

By last year's general election, Mr Luyt was telling people not to vote for the National Party.

In the meantime his unfavourable impressions of the National Party has been strengthened by Mr Botha's Afrikaner unity plea to Dr AP Treurnicht.

"This made a weak impression. It was off-putting to see how he was looking over his shoulder at the rightwing. He is not thinking about change anymore, he now just wants to satisfy Dr Treurnicht."

Mr Luyt talks these days with some shame about the way he had been caught out in the Information debacle and the way in which he had been misled into thinking that, apart from money he put up, the rest was coming from US and German interests. He maintains, however, that the original intention of having a newspaper which would not have party political ties was a good one.

About his clash with the government on the talks with the ANC, he said he had tried this initiative at the request of Dr Danie Craven, that the intention had been purely to point out that there was no longer any race discrimination in rugby, and to try to have the sports boycott lifted.

He found the clash with the government a humiliating one and the final straw in his break with the National Party.

He was accused of giving credibility to the ANC.

"I told Mr De Klerk that we had not gone to Harare to sell out the country. Some of us are ready to die for this country. People like the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, actually give credibility to the ANC by the way in which they constantly talk about it."

Dr Luyt is enthusiastic about the new party.

"I hope the new party is what many of us have stood for over the years. I believe it can become the government of this country. I have come across great enthusiasm for it, also among Nationalists.

"Now it will be a question of negotiating a timetable for change."

He said he was willing to stand for the proposed new party in an election and was in contact with other businessmen interested in supporting a new party. He had found tremendous interest in the new party in business circles.

A stalemate on chess chief's CP connection

Stew 17/12/88 (3049)
CHESS is often used as a metaphor in writing about politics.

DARRYL ACCONE

This week chess itself became a highly politicised issue when it was revealed at the First National Bank South African Schools Chess Championships in Cape Town that the president of the South African Chess Federation (SACF), Mr Martin Serfontein, was a Conservative Party councilman in Kempton Park.

Senior SACF members called for Mr Serfontein's resignation from the federation, which claims to be nonracial.

In a newspaper interview this week, Mr Serfontein claimed that only a "very small percentage" of people were unhappy with his links with the CP.

He said he would step down as president if it was felt his political leanings threatened to harm the federation.

When approached for official comment on Mr Serfontein's ties with the CP, a First National Bank spokesman said: "The bank has nothing to do with the internal politics of the chess federation."

A special meeting of the SACF was held in Cape Town last night, but no decisions were taken.

Mr Serfontein reportedly said the meeting was held to allow interested parties to air their views and he would not be speaking on his own position until a meeting of the federation's executive in April.

Some observers fear that if Mr Serfontein remains as president, there will be a split in South African chess, and that a non-committal meeting and delays in dealing with the issues are unlikely to head off any break-away moves.

Some federation watchers credited Mr Serfontein's victory in elections last April to a "saamstaan" among Afrikaans unions and said it represented "a tragic polarisation of South African chess".

An analysis of the election results revealed that Mr Serfontein received almost unanimous support from the mainly Afrikaans-speaking unions.

Observers believe that if Mr Serfontein's presidency is voted on, he may remain, thanks to continued support from these unions.

● In the chess column on Page 19 of WEEKEND, the diagrams have been transposed.

Brazzaville Accord — Boksburg discord

PEACE agreements are busting out all over, and as we all know, Mr. Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, has been dashing all over the world, attending talks in all sorts of exotic places in the Government's attempt to bring peace to the southern African region.

This is obviously a step to be encouraged by all, and, quite rightly, many of the world's major political players have welcomed the moves.

One can go so far as to say that the Winds of Change, which last blew through this region some 25 years ago, have made a welcome return. These winds are a cyclical affair, coming as they do in about 25-year cycles.

Experts have pointed out that there have been variations of the Winds, as witness the events in Mozambique which led to the Frelimo take-over in that country, and Zimbabwe. But everybody is now watching and monitoring the direction of the Winds of '88. The significance of this is that with the winds coming from a north-westerly direction, blowing furiously southwards, it could make a dramatic impact on South Africa if, for any reason — winds being very unpredictable — the Winds change to an easterly direction once over Namibia. Now Pik Botha is no fool, and it is

Write on!

Joe ZARA
Latakomo



for this reason that, when he noticed the direction of the winds, he decided that there must be some misunderstanding in Brazzaville so that he can come back and go through a process of consultation with the scientific gurus at Hartebeeshoek so that they can do a proper tracking job of the phenomenon.

I have been informed, not reliably, that they assured Mr Botha that the Winds would blow themselves out before reaching the borders of the Transvaal, or the Northern Cape, so there should be nothing to worry about.

Having been given this assurance, Mr Botha and his party headed back to Brazzaville, and announced they would sign the Brazzaville Protocol.

I gather, too, that having signed the Protocol, they did their usual quick trip across the river to share some wibblitz with their old friend, President Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, and the day was also marked with the introduction to Zaire of boere-

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sport and other such games as are played when the Afrikaners are in a celebratory mood.

Mr Botha, I gather, announced at some point during the celebrations that nothing can stop an idea whose time has come.

Asked to explain, he pointed out that peace accords are all part of the worldwide trend of broadening democracy, and that the Cubans were fighting against the tide if they thought that they would hold on to positions in Angola purely for the sake of the petro-dollars that they were earning for their country.

The celebrations went on, with the singing of "Happy Days Are Here Again", until the South African party realised that it was about time they went back to the Congo, and headed home to report to the State President and the people of Namibia about the detail of the deal they had struck.

As we all know, there are about 50 000 Cuban soldiers in Angola, and the easiest way, Mr Botha decided, to tell the people about the process of withdrawal, was to use the "and then there were..." story, which ends with "and then there were none".

On the way back, informants tell me, Mr Botha broke down and cried. Asked why this was so, he said that

he was concerned that agreements have the negative aspect of bringing an end to a problem. Now anybody knows that if there were no problems, life would become pretty boring for everybody, and the politicians would have nothing to accuse each other of.

Imagine what the United Nations would do if the problem of Namibia is settled, he pointed out. The General Assembly would become pretty boring, as a condemnation of South Africa was part of the proceedings every year. What reason, Mr Botha asked, would the South African representative have for telling the world to do its damndest?

At that, he broke down and cried once more — until he suddenly remembered that he could be heading for more exciting times as the UN could still condemn South Africa for the situation within the country. He smiled, and sat back to dream of the days and years that he would be travelling to more exotic places to work out agreement for a settlement of the South African problem. And then, as the South African Airways plane made its approach to Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Botha looked out the window — and there was Boksburg. Damn it, he said, if the understatement of the decade, there are still problems.

Star 17/12/88 (20) 304A

Soviets will seek more contact with SA liberals

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union favours more contacts with liberal white South Africans to achieve a better understanding of the country, Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin said yesterday.

Mr Adamishin told a news conference that Moscow felt there was much to gain from meetings with white liberal opponents of the SA Government, such as that held in West Germany in October.

"We feel these contacts should continue to find out what is happening in this important industrialised country," he said.

October's meeting was hailed by all sides as a success in breaking down stereotypes. Participants, including Soviet Africa specialists, white liberal politicians and members of the banned African National Congress, agreed to hold further talks but set no date.

Mr Adamishin, who attended this week's signing in Brazzaville of an agreement to secure independence for Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, said he had seen a transformation in Pretoria's policy.

"They painfully reviewed their values and saw that many years of confrontation had brought them no good," he said. "They know they must have contact with their neighbours."

Mr Adamishin acknowledged that Angola's leftist government faced severe problems, primarily the occupation of one-third of the territory by Unita.

He said Angolans had to work out a solution for themselves, but suggested that any reconciliation between the Luanda government and Unita's pro-Western leader Dr Jonas Savimbi was unlikely.

"I think Dr Savimbi is too notorious a figure and has caused too much pain to his people to be able to have any dialogue," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

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PERSPECTIVES 3

WALKING A GREAT

WALKING TO REFORM

S/Times 18/12/88

304R

THE visitor to China is often reminded of Mao Tse-tung's famous reply to Henry Kissinger. Asked what in his opinion the consequences of the French Revolution of 1789 were, Mao mused for a while and then said: "It is still too early to tell."

Perhaps it was the same sense of the slow, almost glacial, pace of historic time that made my guide refer to Xian as the previous capital of China almost as if it lost that status a decade or two ago. Instead of the actual 10 centuries back.

As Fox Butterfield remarks in his vivid portrayal of China: Alive in a bitter sea, China is the only survivor of the world's great early civilisations: Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome. It has a language, culture and state structure that date back more than 2,000 years.

Hony

Mao knew only too well that customs which took root over these two millennia have not easily given way to the advent of communism, which is, after all, an import from the West. Towards the end of his life Mao admitted the limits of the changes he had wrought. "I changed but a few things outside Beijing," he concluded.

But the great man's reluctance to pass judgment on recent historic events may also reveal a

Hermann Gilimée
writes of some interesting comparisons between China and South Africa



sense of the irony of history. Revolutions often have consequences quite different from what its makers intended. Present needs and demands force historians and politicians to re-interpret the revolutions of the past in ways which differ radically from yesterday's assessments.

Mao himself was at the centre of each of the convulsions which have hit China in the past four decades. First, he brought the communists to power in 1949. Impatient with the slow rate of economic development, he launched China on the Great Leap Forward.

sponsive to democratic demands, and in particular to the welfare of the local peasant masses.

Hundreds of thousands of Red Guards went on a rampage throughout the country, routing out suspected reactionaries, intellectuals and "capitalist roaders". The economy and the educational system ground to a halt. China lost its head, figuratively and almost literally as well.

Even today intellectuals (this term in China includes lecturers, teachers and civil servants) are snarling under the taunt that they are the lowest of the "nine stinking classes".

China's current leaders, with Deng Xiaoping at the helm and Zhao Ziyang as his understudy, have also set ambitious goals for the country. The state aims at quadrupling the gross domestic product in the 20 years from 1980 to 2000.

Through rigorous controls and propaganda it wants to limit the

growth of the population, now at 1,080-million, to a figure of 1,200-million by 2000.

Considerable success has already been achieved. Over the past decade the gross national product, state revenues and the average income of both urban and rural residents have doubled. The reforms, which include the introduction of free markets, have greatly stimulated the economy.

Trouna

One of my most vivid memories is of peasants on bicycles streaming in great numbers to the cities to sell cabbages and other vegetables which they have produced over and above their fixed quotas. In Shanghai, where a third of all shops are in private hands, business is obviously flourishing.

What lessons that China's leaders learnt from the country's convulsions and its recent reform efforts have relevance to South Africa?

First, reform must take the form of small, gradual, but sure steps. Any attempt to transform the economy reactively leads only to trauma and disaster.

Secondly, beware of ideological zealotry. Today China's leaders almost visibly shudder when they recount slogans of the Red Guards such as "Stop production and all classes for the revolution," or "We shall rather sow socialist grass than reap capitalist grain".

Thirdly, reform must strive to emancipate the minds of people. A government that claims to be reformist cannot constantly stifle opinion. Compared with Mao, Deng has been much more lenient to his opponents.

Fourthly, beware of centralist conformity. Allow deviations in some regions, experiment with alternative systems, blaze new trails and stress practical results.

Once when Deng Xiaoping was confronted with the accusation that some of his reforms smacked of capitalism he replied: "It hardly matters whether a cat is black or white as long as it catches mice. It is a good cat."

Today certain provinces of China are allowed greater economic liberties if it works there it will be extended to other provinces.

Beijing has promised Hong Kong that it can keep its enormously successful capitalist system after 1997 when it is incorporated into China.



Deng Xiaoping ... at the helm

At the momentous 1987 congress of the Communist Party of China, Prime Minister Zhao said: "History will prove that to apply the principle of 'one country, two systems' to national reunification is a great innovation showing the political wisdom of the Chinese nation."

Here, surely, are words of wisdom also for our rulers in Pretoria who are so reluctant to allow the regional experiment which the Kwazulu Natal proposes.

What does Beijing think of Pretoria? At a (farwell) banquet for the small South African group of which I was part, a high party official carefully conveyed a message. Apart from the fact that it must be dismantled, he said How-

ever, he added, the Chinese realise that it may take considerable time. What they ask is a clear statement of intent that Pretoria is not merely intending to mend the apartheid system.

Secondly, Pretoria's diplomatic relationship with Taiwan is intolerable.

Thirdly, the main task of the people of South Africa, like that of the people of China, is to increase the productive capacity of the economy and to raise living standards throughout the country.

Warned

In general, China's leaders are extremely cautious not to be swept along again by some pre-meditated political or economic solution. They accept sanctions against South Africa as a form of pressure but have warned ANC visitors and delegations from the Frontline states that the possible destruction of an economy may one day be seen as a great folly.

Chinese leaders should know. They have had first-hand experience. In 1949 the income per head of the populations of China and Taiwan was approximately the same. Now the Chinese population is 10 times poorer, and for this Mao's basic ignorance of the economy and misplaced ideological zeal are much to blame. No wonder Mao favoured postponding historical judgments.

LIKE most English-speaking South Africans, I grew up in a conservative-liberal middle-class home.

My education at a good boys' boarding school served to entrench this line of political thought and when I was first able to vote, in the 1960 Referendum, I voted against a Republic.

Thereafter my vote went to the United Party and by 1970 I supported the Progressives, although I was never a member of either party.

In the 1987 general election I voted for Mike Ellis (PFP-Durban North).

However, in the past 18 months my flirtation with liberalism has undergone a metamorphosis and I am now an active member of the Conservative Party.

Disillusioned

The foundation for this change was laid as I witnessed the disastrous effects of take-over by Marxist regimes in South Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; and, conversely, the success of rightist capitalist politics in places such as Singapore and Malawi.

With the exception of South Vietnam and Cambodia I have made frequent visits to these countries over the past 15 years.

I have seen tragic deterioration in the former group and dramatic growth in the latter.

Despite these disappointments, I had always hoped that we would be able to achieve a multiracial capitalist state in South Africa based on power-sharing; a state in which people behaved responsibly and respected the tradition-

Carl Werth

304A

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former executive in an international company, tells why he became a member of the Conservative Party



CP is the best of a bad bunch

al, social, religious and tribal differences that exist between us. Sadly, this hope no longer exists for me.

The events of the last two to three years that have caused this disillusionment are:

● The ongoing faction war between some Inkatha and UDF supporters. It is clear that the attitude of "all or nothing" displayed by both parties will escalate and continue to bedevil any internal settlement, making a mockery of power-sharing — to say nothing of the savagery with which scores are settled — and creating a situation ripe for the communists to exploit.

● The continued ANC terrorist attacks and reprisals against moderate blacks indicate the organisation's sworn objective of preventing any internal settlement other than an ANC-communist takeover. What kind of government can we expect from people who condone necklacing? ● The contempt with which black leaders and clergy have treated the concessions on apart-

heid legislation and the incessant clamour (again) for "all or nothing — and NOW".

● The behaviour of the Rev Allan Hendrickse in flouting the laws of the country which he, as a Cabinet Minister, had sworn to uphold, instead of using his position and influence in Parliament to motivate for the repeal of a law with which he disagreed.

● The revelation in the James Commission hearings of the she-nanigans in the House of Delegates.

Myth

● Events in Transkei and Ciskei.

All these facts make it clear to me that power-sharing and the protection of minority rights in a multiracial South Africa are a myth. They can never be guaranteed; on the contrary, they will not survive the first year.

I had, therefore, to ask myself the question: "What will the PFP do to secure my future and that of my children?"

I didn't like the answer. I asked myself the same question of the NP and became even more alarmed.

The policies of the PFP and the NP may appear to differ widely but they lead to the same conclusion.

The PFP shows a total disregard for the future of the white population in South Africa — hence the loss of 30 percent of its support in Johannesburg in the municipal elections.

The Progressives are soft on security, soft on defence and live in a dream world where everything will be fine if we just release Nelson Mandela and welcome home the ANC.

The PFP says: "Follow us and there will be no bloodshed!" I don't disagree. Why should there be bloodshed if you capitulate to the enemy?

The NP on the other hand is punch drunk — but, like most punch drunks, retains a frightening arrogance. It has been buffeted from all sides. It has no idea where it is going but trusts all will be well as long as it continues to make "progress".

In this regard, my case rests with President Botha and Chris Heunis.

Mr Botha's dictatorial oratory is always full of half-promises, but he seldom makes a decision which can be seen as a clear indication of purpose and direction.

Mr Heunis, as the architect of "reform", has created a new catchword — Heunis-speak — simply because nobody has any idea what he is about.

These two men are setting the course of the NP for the future — a "Bootjie na Kammaland". In

the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes: "If you don't know where you are going, any destination will do."

The sad truth is that the PFP and the NP are heading towards the same disaster. The PFP willfully and the NP because it is rudderless and will therefore drift in the direction of least resistance — appeasement and eventual capitulation to the left.

One-man-one-vote black majority rule and, ultimately, a black Marxist dictatorship will be the result.

As Pk Botha has said, this is the only solution that will satisfy the world.

By contrast, the CP has a clarity of purpose and policy rarely seen in Western politics.

Partition

Its policy is more fair than any other as it allows each nation to govern itself and it has unashamedly as its first priority the welfare of the white group.

It is not racist, but it admits to being race-conscious to the extent of preserving white minority rights. This will be achieved by partition, which may not be without cost but seems highly desirable as an alternative to black domination.

Finally, it has a leader who is cool and logical in his arguments and reactions. He can be easily understood whether speaking English or Afrikaans — no double-talk or half-promises.

Nothing on earth is perfect — certainly no political party. But to me the CP is by far the best alternative available to South Africans at this point in our history.

SANTAS OF THE BIRTH?

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304A

THE concept of a united, liberal and left-wing opposition has always been viewed by many reform-minded South Africans rather as they would Father Christmas — a good institution, but quite implausible.

Perhaps things are changing. This week the leaders of the three major exponents of left-of-centre parliamentary politics made enough progress to propose, in principle, the establishment of a single party.

The first reaction among many white South Africans will be... so what, we have been there before.

There is, of course, need for caution. Since 1948 the view to the left of the National Party has been one of tumult — eight fissions, four fusions, 12 new parties formed or reformed, and in the process the opposition left of the Government dwindled from 57 MPs in 1953 to 21 today.

It is not a record to inspire confidence. Yet before cynicism completely dominates, it is worth remembering that in the same way the NP has changed its constituency, so has the left-of-centre opposition.

Where it once comprised mainly English-speaking liberals, it now boasts a broader, if more incoherent, corps ranging from neo-radicals and diehard liberals through to a disillusioned Afrikaner intelligentsia.

All told, if we take voter support in the last election, this group represents 17.4 percent of all voters — 44.1 percent of English-speakers and 4.7 percent of all Afrikaners, according to Market and Opinion Surveys Ltd.

Aspects

Later surveys suggest the support for left-of-centre could be as high as a quarter of the white electorate — which is not to be sneezed at.

Will this fusion effort succeed where so many others have failed?

There are two aspects. The ability of the party leaders to reach common ground and, the next step, the way this unified party will be able to appeal to white voters who have in recent years — amid economic decline, domestic violence and wholesale state assaults against civil rights — become more cynical, disillusioned and, in some cases, reactionary.

Significant, perhaps even remarkable, progress has been made at leadership level in ironing over the difficulties which inevitably emerge when fusing three different strains of left-of-centre opposition — the PFP's stand constitutionalism, the Independent Party's itinerant charisma and the National Democratic



Brian Pottinger looks at the prospects for united liberals — and the three leaders write of their hopes



Movement's somewhat mystical faith in "process" politics.

There appears to be agreement on basic philosophy about a non-racial and democratic South African future. A respect for civil rights stands at the core of the new movement and, on economic policy, there appears to be consensus that free enterprise should be the motive force for the national economy, although it would have to be tempered, because South Africa is a developed country, with a dose of social democracy. The PFP's policy of "economic democracy" seems to have been largely accepted. What about leadership?

Image

That, of course, is the rock on which the initiative could founder. The PFP, as the largest and structurally most-established party, has elements pushing for Dr Zach de Beer to become leader of the new party — Old Guard members have already publicly sounded warnings that they do not want the PFP and its traditions to be simply swamped.

Perhaps they remember Sir De Villiers Graaff's words when he disbanded the old United Party: "Outworn sentiments, defective systems and inadequate institutions must be critically examined. Party political structures that aim vision rather than liberate our

thinking must be ruthlessly discarded. Perhaps they also remember what happened to the party which emerged subsequently.

The rub, of course, is that the IP and NDM want a completely new and unpragmatic image for the movement. They fear that it is the very image of the PFP — fairly or unfairly seen by many voters as limp-wristed, carping, fickle — that has caused such set-backs to reformist opposition politics.

A compromise appears on the cards. An outside leader, enjoying reasonable support in all quarters, could conceivably contain the conflicting strains within the party.

Dr Wimpie de Klerk is the de facto chairman of the steering committee and is being pointed as the new party leader. This is unlikely to go down well with PFP stalwarts who have bitter memories of the 1987 election when they stood back for independents with precious little return in political capital.

Others point out that alliance politics on the left has not enjoyed great success — Inkatha went on public platforms to oppose the new constitution in the 1983 referendum, but it did not stop even liberal whites deserting the PFP's stand in droves.

Again, the PFP and NRP came to an election a "reerite"

— it did not help them there either.

Yet, despite all this, there is much riding on the latest initiative.

In recent months the impatience among liberal voters and business community over the fractiousness on the left has mounted. There is a compelling, if somewhat unformed, momentum out there carrying the parties towards unity.

Query

Second, the time may indeed be propitious. The NP benefited in the 1987 election from English-speaking fears about security; yet, this support has historically been fickle. With a return to relative normality the appeal of the NP's scare tactic is reduced — attention switches to other things, such as economic mismanagement, corruption in Government and the arrogance of power.

Third, as opposition whites slowly emerge from the mesmeric effect of the civil violence of 1984 until 1986, there will no doubt be growing support for the idea of multiracial and moderate alliances against the Government. The Labour Party, Inkatha and

might just have the means to pull this off.

But the bottom line is not so much what a new party believes. It is how those beliefs are projected. All members may, for example, support the broad principle that the African National Congress should at some time be drawn into negotiations over the future.

It is quite another to expect Harry Schwarz to defend Wynand Malan's recent meeting with the SA Communist Party's Joe Slovo before a Yeoville audience in next year's elections.

Good leadership and tough party discipline is needed to deal with these inconsistencies. It is at this point that the query mark looms largest.

IN business I was a marketing man. I knew therefore that all business begins with a need. Once a demand exists for a product, one can design it to meet that demand and then arrange for its convenient and efficient manufacture and distribution.

It is not different in politics. So let us ask ourselves: What is the political need in our country today?

Surely we need a plan for post-apartheid South Africa. Remember, apartheid was a scheme for offering to each South African the opportunity to develop his talents and exercise his rights, on the basis of equality in separation.

Dr Verwoerd said: "I grant to the Bantu everything I ask for myself — but then only in his own area."

Events have proved the dream of territorial separation to be just that. It cannot be — the integration of all the groups in South Africa is an accomplished economic and geographical fact. Urbanisation is the overwhelming social force of our time.

Government in South Africa is now possible only by coercion, through a state of emergency. We are all getting poorer as a result. We must turn from this to a democratic system based on the consent of all South Africans, so that peace, harmony and prosperity become achievable.

The manifesto issued by the new party's leadership on December 14 aims at "representative government for all the country's inhabitants as one South African nation".

Non-racial

That is what South Africa needs, that is what we want to provide.

What are the benefits offered by a new party, as distinct from those which the existing groups could offer anyway? The chief one must be the capacity to fire the imagination of the people and attract their support.

The great advertising man David Ogilvy once observed that the most exciting word in the English language is "free" and the next is "new".



ZACH DE BEER
LEADER OF THE PFP

Just what the doctor ordered for ailing SA

I have always believed that my party, the PFP, was attracting less support than it deserved. I guess that Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan have felt the same.

Already with us in the new movement are prominent leaders who have not belonged to any of us before. They will be the harbinger of many, many more.

But let nobody misunderstand this. The political movement that can save South Africa is going to be a non-racial one. The new party must be able to form coalitions and alliances across the colour line. It has already begun to do so, and it has the potential to achieve much more.

Preliminary reactions from important black leaders are positive — but they want to see the single new party born and operating. For those who want to live in a democratic, free-enterprise, harmonious, post-apartheid South Africa, the new party is certainly the best hope. It may even be the last.

Khotso House to be rebuilt by SACC

e/press
18/12/88
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Temporary move to Braamfontein offices

By LULAMA LUTI

THE SA Council of Churches has announced that it intended rebuilding its bomb-shattered Khotso House headquarters in central Johannesburg.

Secretary-general of the SACC, Rev Frank Chikane, announced at a thanksgiving service held at the organisation's temporary base at the Central Methodist Church, that after considering various options, the SACC had decided to reconstruct the building that was devastated by a blast in August this year.

The service, attended by diplomats and representatives of various organisations, was conducted by SACC president Bishop Manas Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said there was a sense in which Khotso (which means peace) House symbolised



Frank Chikane

an alternative idea to the concept of power — that of peace.

"There are things that need to happen before peace becomes a reality. One of those things is the equal sharing of power among all South Afri-



Manas Buthelezi

cans," he said.

He added that Christians had the duty to empower the powerless.

After the service, the director of general administration for the SACC, Rev Francois Bill, presented certifi-

cates of appreciation to nine organisations that had provided temporary accommodation to the SACC, expressing gratitude to all the people who supported the SACC, "especially those who availed their resources."

Chikane said the organisation would be moving to a building at the foot of the Queen Elizabeth Bridge at 60 Juta Street in Braamfontein and to the Computer Science Building in the same area until the re-building of Khotso House was completed — which was expected some time next year.

A day after the blast, the ultra-rightwing organisation, the "Witwolve" claimed responsibility for the attack. To date police investigations have drawn a blank and it is not yet known what device was used in the attack.

Triumvirate must decide on the leader of new party

THE leadership of the new liberal opposition party and a catchy name for it are two of the most important issues that will have to be resolved before the new group is formally launched.

On the surface it seems the naming of the party could be the easier nut to crack. Two names, Democratic Party and Democratic Alliance Party, top the list of possibilities.

But the problem with "Democratic Party" is that it was the name of the short-lived party formed by Mr Theo Gerdener in the early '70s.

The leadership question is much more difficult, however, because it involves vested party interests and personal ambitions.

Support

At the moment the interim steering committee is headed jointly by the three party leaders: Dr Zach de Beer, of the Progressive Federal Party, as chairman; Mr Wynand Malan, of the National Democratic Movement; and Dr Denis Worrall, of the Independent Party.

But all three parties agree that a triumvirate of leaders — similar to the SDP's in Britain — is not a feasible idea and that the leadership issue must be resolved soon.

As the leader of the strongest of the parties, Dr De Beer seems the logical choice. But there is also strong support for a "new face" outside the present political setup.

Dr Wimpie de Klerk, former editor of Rapport and brother of Transvaal National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk, is increasingly being mentioned as a compromise candidate.

Dr De Klerk has also been appointed to the steering committee charged with drawing up a constitution and policy for the party.

The prospect of Mr De

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Klerk — touted as one of the more likely successors to President P W Botha — and his older brother heading opposing parties is an enticing one for political pundits.

Joining Dr De Beer on the steering committee are PFP Members of Parliament Roger Burrows and Roger Hulle, and Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson. The IP representatives are Mr Dave Gant, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Keith Gurney, while the NDM is represented by Mr Peter Gastrow, Dr Ester Lategan and Mr Jannie Hofmeyer.

The task of the committee is:

- To draw up a constitution for the proposed party;
- To appoint working groups to work out details of party policies;
- To find a name for the party;
- To try to resolve the leadership issue before the new party's founding congress.

Dissolve

It is expected that the committee will first meet in Cape Town on January 12.

It does not seem possible that the new party can be formed before Parliament convenes early in February.

All three parties will have to convene special congresses and adopt formal resolutions to dissolve.

□ See Page 15

THAT Foreign Minister Pik Botha had to fly for six hours to Brazzaville to find black men to address as brothers, has raised sarcastic smiles, in South Africa and overseas.

When he travelled to the African socialist capital to sign the Namibia Peace Accord, Pik Botha seized the opportunity to appeal to a new solidarity, between South Africa and the rest of the continent.

"We need each other," he said. "The time has come for all of us in Africa to stand together economically."

Pik Botha heavily emphasised the word "brother", reports say, and though this might provoke sarcasm and irony the fact is that, quite apart from Namibia, his timing for delivering his message could hardly have been better.

Summit

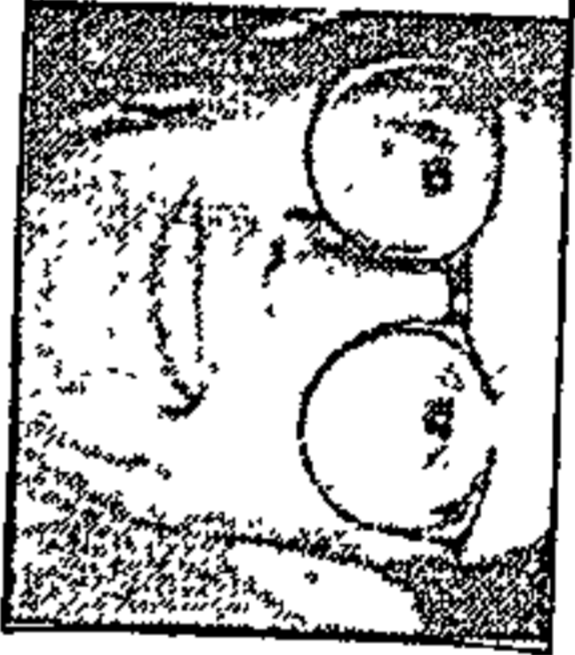
As Mr Botha left Brazzaville, further north, in Casablanca, about 20 African heads of state were meeting to attend this year's most important meeting in Africa, the Franco-African summit.

The host at the Casablanca summit was King Hassan of Morocco. The star guest, apart from President Mitterrand of France,

Prepare to be the last Whites left in Africa

Desmond Colborne

Paris director of the South Africa Foundation, looks at Pik Botha's appeal for Africans to become brothers



was the Ivory Coast's President Houphouet-Boigny — a boulevard in Casablanca was named after him.

King Hassan of Morocco set the summit theme, "east-west detente and its consequences for north-south relations."

Morocco, which is not a member of the OAU, has of course, always favoured an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary approach to development problems. And so has President Houphouet-Boigny.

The economic message of Houphouet-Boigny in Casablanca was very similar to that of Botha in Brazzaville. This was that

Africa was in such a bad way partly because it was penalised by the terms of trade.

Its raw materials are becoming cheaper while imported goods from the developed world become more expensive. President Houphouet-Boigny, like Pik Botha, appealed for better terms and more partnership between Africa and Europe.

This kind of partnership is, however, in question. Take, for instance, the countries meeting in Casablanca. They are all close allies of France, militarily, economically and culturally.

For its part, France has always been proud to be the non-African

country most involved in Africa. But this involvement is now weakening.

In the last four years, Franco-African trade has dropped by half — from 10 percent to five percent of the total. And, of the 1 500 French firms in Africa, about a quarter are reported to be thinking of pulling out — a process which would hurt weak African countries more than the similar disinvestment in the Republic.

"France is dropping Africa," hinted Gabon's President, while a recent article in a Senegalese paper said "France is leaving". This talk is exaggerated and France is certainly not dropping Africa. But Paris does seem to be "denoting" Africa in its list of priorities.

It sees much greater opportunities elsewhere. "Euro-fever", the excitement about the single European economic market by 1992, is as strong in Paris as in other capitals.

There are also increasing economic openings in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. So Africa is fading from view. This "denotion" of Africa applies, beyond France, to other Western countries, too. So who will step into the breach? The Russians and Chinese have burnt their fingers.

Realism

The Japanese, capital-rich and increasingly aid-orientated, are becoming more active. Who else? The talk within Africa is about the Republic. Provided expectations are not pitched too high, there are increasing opportunities for reciprocal realism.

That is if the diplomatic realism shown by Pretoria in the Namibia negotiations could be matched by economic realism in Africa.

The Parisian daily, Liberation, discussing French disengagement from Africa and the stronger South African card there, this week said: "The South Africans are now seeing themselves playing a more important long-term role — they are preparing to be the last whites of Africa." And, for once, this was not meant as criticism.



PERSPECTIVES 3

WALKING A GREAT

WALL TO REFORM

S/Times 18/12/88

3047

THE visitor to China is often reminded of Mao Tse-tung's famous reply to Henry Kissinger: Asked what in his opinion the consequences of the French Revolution of 1789 were, Mao mused for a while and then said: "It is still too early to tell."

Perhaps it was the same sense of the slow, almost glacial pace of history that made my guide refer to Xian as the previous capital of China almost as if it lost that status a decade or two ago instead of the actual 10 centuries back.

As Fox Butterfield remarks in his vivid portrayal of China: Alive in a bitter sea, China is the only survivor of the world's great early civilisations. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece and Rome. It has a language, culture and state structure that date back more than 2,000 years.

Irony

Mao knew only too well that customs which took root over these two millennia have not easily given way to the advent of communism, which, after all, an import from the West. Towards the end of his life Mao admitted the limits of the changes he had wrought. "I changed but a few things outside Beijing," he concluded.

But the great man's reluctance to pass judgment on recent historic events may also reveal a

Hermann Gilhomet

writes of some interesting comparisons between China and South Africa



sense of the irony of history. Revolutions often have consequences quite different from what its makers intended. Present needs and demands force historians and politicians to re-interpret the revolutions of the past in ways which differ radically from yesterday's assessments.

Mao himself was at the centre of each of the convulsions which have hit China in the past four decades. First, he brought the communists to power in 1949. Then, with the slow rate of economic development, he launched China on the Great Leap Forward.

His basic assumption was that through a clever mobilisation of labour and ideological zealotry he could transform China overnight from a poor agricultural country to a modern industrial power. It was an utter economic disaster which produced great suffering.

Then there was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in which 100-million people were active participants and which is calculated to have significantly affected at least 500-million.

Maot's intention was to free the government from the smothering embrace of bureaucratic centralism and make it much more responsive to democratic demands, and in particular to the welfare of the local peasant masses.

Hundreds of thousands of Red Guards went on a rampage throughout the country, routing out suspected reactionaries, intellectuals and "capitalist roaders". The economy and the educational system ground to a halt. China lost its head, figuratively and almost literally as well.

Even today intellectuals (this term in China includes lecturers, teachers and civil servants) are smarting under the taunt that they are the lowest of the "nine stinking classes".

China's current leaders, with Deng Xiaoping at the helm and Zhao Ziyang as his understudy, have also set ambitious goals for the country. The state aims at quadrupling the gross domestic product in the 20 years from 1980 to 2000.

Through rigorous controls and propaganda it wants to limit the

Trauma

One of my most vivid memories is of peasants on bicycles streaming in great numbers to the cities to sell cabbages and other vegetables which they have produced over and above their fixed quotas. In Shanghai, where a third of all shops are in private hands, business is obviously flourishing.

What lessons that China's leaders learnt from the country's convulsions and its recent reform efforts have relevance to South Africa?

First, reform must take the form of small, gradual, but sure steps. Any attempt to transform the economy recklessly leads only to trauma and disaster.

Secondly, beware of ideological zealotry. Today China's leaders almost visibly shudder when they recount slogans of the Red Guards such as "Stop production and all classes for the revolution" or "We shall rather sow socialist grass than reap capitalist grain".

Thirdly, reform must strive to emancipate the minds of people. A government that claims to be reformist cannot constantly stifle opinion. Compared with Mao, Deng has been much more lenient to his opponents.

Fourthly, beware of centralist conformity. Allow deviations in some regions, experiment with alternative systems, blaze new trails and stress practical results.

Once when Deng Xiaoping was confronted with the accusation that some of his reforms smacked of capitalism he replied: "If hardly matters whether a cat is black or white. As long as it catches mice, it is a good cat."

Today certain provinces of China are allowed greater economic liberties. If it works there it will be extended to other provinces.

Beijing has promised Hong Kong that it can keep its enormously successful capitalist system after 1997 when it is incorporated into China.

At the momentous 1987 congress of the Communist Party of China, Prime Minister Zhao said: "History will prove that to apply the principle of 'one country, two systems' to national reunification is a great innovation showing the political wisdom of the Chinese nation."

Here, surely, are words of wisdom also for our rulers in Pretoria who are so reluctant to allow the regional experiment which the Kwazulu Natal province poses.

What does Beijing think of Pretoria? At a farewell banquet for the small South African group of which I was part, a high party official carefully conveyed a message. Apart from is abhorrent and must be dismantled, he said. However, he added, the Chinese realise that it may take considerable time.

What they ask is a clear statement of intent that Pretoria is not merely intending to mend the apartheid system.

Secondly, Pretoria's diplomatic relationship with Taiwan is intolerable.

Thirdly, the main task of the people of South Africa, like that of the people of China, is to increase the productive capacity of the economy and to raise living standards throughout the country.

Warned

In general, China's leaders are extremely cautious not to be swept along again by some pre-meditated political or economic solution. They accept sanctions against South Africa as a form of pressure but have warned ANC visitors and delegations from the Frontline states that the possible destruction of an economy may one day be seen as a great folly.

Chinese leaders should know. They have had first-hand experience.

In 1949 the income per head of the populations of China and Taiwan was approximately the same. Now the Chinese population is 10 times poorer, and for this Mao's basic ignorance of the economy and misplaced ideological zeal are much to blame. No wonder Mao favoured postponing historical judgments.



Deng Xiaoping ... at the helm

At the momentous 1987 congress of the Communist Party of China, Prime Minister Zhao said: "History will prove that to apply the principle of 'one country, two systems' to national reunification is a great innovation showing the political wisdom of the Chinese nation."

Here, surely, are words of wisdom also for our rulers in Pretoria who are so reluctant to allow the regional experiment which the Kwazulu Natal province poses.

A RECENT voter survey gives the PFP 10 percent nationwide, the IP 9,1 percent and the NDM 3,4 percent — a total of less than 23 percent. This is clearly not enough to shake the NP government.

But add to this Dr Wimpie de Klerk's estimated 22 percent of traditional NP supporters, who know the NP is on the skids and who are looking for a new home, and it is a different ball game.

A "hung" Assembly after the next election, in which no party dominates, is possible. In this way, the new party would have a say in who is President, ensure that we have sensible economic policies, get the process of negotiation going, and generally change the chemistry of our politics.

The new party can achieve these things. The IP has shown it can draw NP support.

Wynand Malan has credibility with extra-parliamentary groups — who must also be engaged with, for example, Buthelezi's Inkatha and Alan Hendrickse's Labour Party, if white South Africans are to feel they have a future.

Combine the IP and NDM's particular strength with PFP organisation and access to money,



**DENIS
WORRALL**
LEADER OF THE
INDEPENDENT PARTY

and Zach de Beer's sensitivity and natural diplomacy in a completely new party with a fresh image, and voters will have the real alternative they yearn for.

That voters are ready for the new party is clear from the reaction this week. They know they are getting poorer by the month. They are sick of being taxed to death. They are aware of corruption and scams all around them. They resent being treated as idiots by the Nat Government.

A NEW political party able to do more than is expected of it is emerging.

Opposition expects the new party to unite opposition forces: It will do that and more.

Unaligned voters expect the party to be able to grow: It will do that and more.

Luke-warm Nationalists are asking for a political force that can take control and steer us out of deadlock: This, too, the new party can and will do.

All South Africans are asking for a new party that can secure interaction among all groups and individuals, whether or not they have the same values, with a view to achieving national accord.

The new party will do just this.

The world is asking for a force that can develop a truly South African democracy.

This is what the new party is about.

Opposition voters will find it difficult to wrest themselves out of the opposition mindset, unbelieving of their potential to assert power.

This adaptation is a simple, yet probably the biggest, problem.

The parties to the formation of the new party are agreed that



**WYNAND
MALAN**
LEADER OF THE NATIONAL
DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

we don't talk merger.

We talk about dissolving existing formations and establishing a whole new party, which is to be more than its constituent parts.

The new party must be a new party or it might as well not be at all.

Two crucial issues remain to be dealt with.

The first is that hitherto unaligned, former government supporters and those still in the

Laying foundations for prosperous new multi-party state

They worry about the future in this land of their children and their grandchildren.

The moral, economic and political circumstances are in place for the new party. The only obstacle is psychological.

The new party must overcome the "opposition mentality" created by more than 40 years of one-party rule.

Winners

Herein lies the value of the Jannie Mombergs, Teuns Schlabusches and Henry Klotzes who join the new party. With new faces from business, such as David Gant and Louis Luyt, they come from a winning tradition. They know that things can be

turned around. (304A)

They know that we are into a new era in our politics. The old era was dominated by white interests, and the NP was the winner. Precisely because of this it can't take us into the South Africa of Tomorrow. It is the party of apartheid and the past.

The South Africa of Tomorrow will be apartheid-free. And depending on how white South Africans react over the next few years, it will be a multi-party democracy and a prosperous country, self-respecting and respected in the world.

To achieve this is the task and mission of the new party. Its leaders can provide the insight and inspiration. But we can only achieve our goals with your support!

Planning to satisfy both local and world demands for action

National Party need to be mobilised in the next two months.

They will have to have an opportunity to co-determine the platform of the new party and to visibly be founding members.

Image

Professor Wimpie de Klerk, of the RAU and former editor of Rapport, assisted by Dr Louis Luyt and Professor Sampie Terreblanche, of Stellenbosch, and others, have assumed responsibility to mobilise this force.

The second issue concerns structures and leadership.

The leaders of all these parties entered negotiations with limited mandates on the issue of leadership, all parties thinking

of their own interests and of their power bases.

This can be understood, but not accepted. They have now agreed to seek broader mandates.

Leadership and structures will have to reflect the image of the new party. This is of overriding importance to a successful launch.

The time calls for statesmanship.

If leadership fails to display statesmanship, grassroots will have to take over.

They demand statesmanship. They are entitled to it.

We are on the brink of the future. It is now the time for us to start shaping the future.

If not now, then when?

If not us, then who?

CP's apartheid plan documented for municipalities

CP mem 18/12/88

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Don't act too hastily 'master plan' advises

Special Correspondent

ALL municipal councils under the control of the Conservative Party since the municipal elections have been instructed to "close" all public amenities, council chambers and public halls to people who are not white.

The document was drawn up by Pikkie Coetzee, the CP's MP for Middelburg and the CP's official spokesman on local government and housing. It asks municipal councils under the control of the CP to rescind all council resolutions in towns where public amenities have been opened to all races.

Coetzee has confirmed to *Beeld* that he compiled the recommendations.

He said the intention was that the guidelines had to be applied responsibly and with well-planned action and that he was satisfied councils that had already taken certain steps had acted responsibly.

Some of the most important recommendations are:

- Councils must in no circumstances act with haste and try to turn a town around overnight.
- All municipal council chambers and public halls must be reserved for whites only.
- In instances where public amenities are open to all races, such council resolutions must be rescinded.
- Councils must remove photographs of the State President from council chambers.
- It is very important to check on the political sentiments of applicants when new council appointments are made.
- CP-controlled councils must publish advertisements of, for example, vacancies and amendments to ordinances in *Die Patriot* (official mouthpiece of the Conservative Party) and not in government multi-racial regional development associ-

ations.

- CP-controlled councils previously affiliated with the Urban Foundation must terminate their affiliation with this "integrationist instrument" and should rather support Sabra.

- CP-councillors must not support racially mixed committees like relationship committees, co-ordinating committees and coloured management committees; because support thereof would render legitimacy and status to such committees.

- CP-councillors must, however, nominate a representative to negotiate with other population groups at the request of such groups.

- All previous council resolutions in respect of delegated authority must be investigated and the authority of the CP-controlled councils must be restored.

- Supporting newspapers. Should councils prefer to advertise on a wider scale, this should rather be done in an English-language newspaper. *Beeld* and *Rapport* must specifically be avoided.

- Donations CP-controlled councils previously made to bodies like the SA Foundation and the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations (FAK) should rather be allocated to the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra) or the Afrikaner Volkswag.

- CP-controlled councils must ask the SA Police to act in instances where the Group Areas Act is being transgressed and such requests must be publicised for general information by means of Press statements.

- CP-controlled councils must insist that the SA Police act by means of raids against "vagrants" or "footloose" people of colour in white areas.

- CP-members must get representation in bodies like the Transvaal Municipal Association and various regional bodies.

- CP-councillors must withdraw from

Colgate threatens re-zoning to Benoni

(304A) By SOPHIE TEMA

SEVERAL manufacturing companies, including the multinational giant, Colgate-Palmolive, situated in Boksburg, have reacted strongly to the town council's determination to keep the area white.

Colgate has also applied for re-zoning and has approached central government to intervene and stop the action by the Conservative Party controlled municipality.

A strong letter of protest has been sent to the town council and companies that do business with Colgate have been urged to send similar letters.

A spokesman for Unilever in Durban said: "All means and ways to encourage rethinking by the Boksburg Council would be considered. If re-zoning proves possible this may also be considered."

Managing director of Colgate, Gerry Nocker, has given the assurance that his company would give strong moral and financial support to any Boksburg group that wished to protest through legal means.

"Our position on disinvestment has not changed and we are committed to stay in South Africa as long as we believe that we can continue to influence political change and protect the human rights of firstly our employees and secondly the community.

"We, however, cannot justify the payment of rates and taxes to a town council that has such backward views - and views that are totally opposite to ours," Nocker added.

Nocker said: "I believe the actions of the Boksburg Town Council are particularly irresponsible at this time as so much positive response and goodwill has been created overseas by the State President's peace initiatives in Angola, Mozambique, and Malawi together with his efforts in trying to create an environment for negotiation with responsible black leaders."



Zeph Mothopeng . . . "honoured to help my people in need."

Zeph donates chief's money to old folks

300
C/pren
18/12/88

By SIBUSISO MABASO

RECENTLY released PAC President Zephania Mothopeng this week donated a R2 000 cheque he received from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to the Soweto Home for the Aged.

A rare air of jubilation prevailed when the aged Mothopeng gave the money to other old folks at the home in White City Jabavu.

The cheque was presented to him last week by Buthelezi.

Mothopeng, 76, of Orlando West, Soweto, made his first public appearance at the home for the aged after he was last seen on a public platform in the early 1970s when he addressed a congress of the now-banned Black People's Convention in Maritzburg.

Addressing an audience of about 30 at the presentation, Mothopeng said: "I think it is time that we learn to help each other as a black family. I feel very

proud to be with you and to give to those who deserve more than myself.

"It has been my wish and ambition all along to help where I could, and today I feel honoured to help my people who happen to be in need of material assistance more than anybody else," Mothopeng said.

He was released after spending almost 15 years in prison, most of it on Robben Island.

He helped launch the PAC's non-violent campaign against the pass laws in 1960 that led to the shooting of black civilians by police in Sharpeville.

He was jailed for two years for his role in the 1960 campaign.

In 1964 he was jailed for three years for furthering the aims of the PAC. And in 1979 he was imprisoned for 15 years after being convicted under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the outlawed PAC.

EX-Net to lead Unity party?

304A

CNT Tris 1/12/88

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The leaders of all three political parties engaged in unity talks are backing Dr Willem de Klerk as leader of the projected new liberal opposition party, it was disclosed at the weekend.

The former Rapport editor and academic emerged last week as a leading figure behind the negotiations to create a united party — likely to be called the Democratic Party — from the P.F.P., I.P. and NDM.

Dr De Klerk and the three party leaders, Dr Zach de Beer (P.F.P.), Dr Denis Worrall (I.P.) and Mr Wynand Malan (NDM) have declined to comment on intense speculation that Dr De Klerk will head the new party, expected to become a reality by February or March next year.

However top sources at the talks disclosed at the weekend that all three leaders have approved Dr De Klerk as leader of the new party.

The leadership issue still remains the most important obstacle to the formation of the party.

The talks almost floundered after the NDM and I.P. proposed that Dr Worrall and Mr Malan become joint leaders with Dr De Beer as party chairman.

All three agree

Sources indicated that all three leaders had agreed to Dr De Klerk becoming leader. His independent image and close links with the NP (his brother is Transvaal NP leader Mr F.W. de Klerk) are expected to significantly boost the left's chances of drawing support from the NP.

A former editor of the Transvaler and Rapport, it was Dr De Klerk who first coined the phrases "verlig" and "verkramp".

He has estimated that a unified opposition to the left of the government could draw up to a quarter of the NP's voters.

Sapa reports that nine members have been appointed to the new party's steering committee.

Dr Willem de Klerk, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer were elected as members of the steering committee, and each was asked to appoint three other members.

Mr Malan appointed Mrs Esther Lategan, Dr Peter Gastrow and Dr Jan Hofmeyr.

Dr Worrall appointed Mr David Gaunt, Dr Jan Momborg and Mr Keith Gurney.

Dr De Beer appointed Mr Roger Burrows, Mr Douglas Gibson and Mr Roger Hulley.



BEACH RUGBY ... Northern Transvaal's Rudolf Straeuli, chased by Western Province's Russel Roux (right) and Francois Bonthuys, powers his way through the Province defence during yesterday's M-Net beach challenge touch rugby match at Clifton. In the first round Province were beaten by the Blue Bulls, but the Clifton Surf Lifesaving Saving Club invitation team beachwacked the Bulls in the final.

Picture: JIM FREDMAN

Talks to thrash out CP's move

Sowetan 19/12/88 304A

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE Boksburg Alliance will be meeting Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town tomorrow to discuss the re-introduction of petty apartheid in the town by the Conservative Party.

The alliance was formed last week to unite members of all races against the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council.

The delegation will be led by Mr Issy Kramer, a Boksburg councillor and chairman of the alliance. Mr Kramer is a member of the National Party.

Apartheid

Mr Sydwell Mofokeng, chairman of the Vosloorus Town Council management committee and an executive member of the alliance, said part of the delegation would be made up of business-



MR CHRIS Heunis

men from Boksburg who are against the CP introducing petty apartheid in the town.

"We are going to ask Mr Heunis and his Government to scrap the Separate Amenities Act, Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act. But our priority is to have the Separate Amenities Act scrapped first. This will stop all CP-controlled town councils in the country

from re-introducing petty apartheid," said Mr Mofokeng.

Since the CP took over the control of Boksburg after the October 26 municipal elections, blacks have been barred from using the town's swimming pool, sports field and town hall.

Toilets at the Boksburg Lake have been segregated — and padlocks placed on those for non-whites.

Sales

In retaliation, and to help the CP keep Boksburg "white," residents from Vosloorus and Reiger Park, have stopped buying from the town.

Sales in the town have been affected by about 80 percent and some business owners may be forced to close shop and others have threatened to pull out of Boksburg if the CP does not scrap the re-introduction of the apartheid laws.

Boksburg voters are 'changing their tune'

If another municipal election were to be held in Boksburg, the Conservative Party — which has alienated many white voters with its reintroduction of petty apartheid in the town — would be roundly defeated by the National Party and independents, according to an opinion poll.

Commissioned by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, and conducted among 400 registered white municipal voters, the poll found the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council's decision to bar blacks from using public facilities in the town did not go down well with the overwhelming majority of residents. *SA 19/12/88*

Most of them, questioned during the past two weeks, said they were dissatisfied with the council's move and wanted it changed, according to the poll by Mark- en Meningsopnames.

The poll also found the CP would get fewer

votes in Boksburg in a general election than in a municipal election. Only 27 percent of the town would vote CP, and a significant 17 percent of those who voted CP in October said they would switch to the NP in a general election.

According to the poll, if general elections were to be held soon, the votes in Boksburg would be split as follows: NP — 43 percent; CP — 27 percent; Independent Party — 4 percent; Progressive Federal Party — 4 percent. The NDM and HNP polled less than one percent each.

When asked how they felt about the town council's move back to old-style apartheid, the residents responded as follows: *(304A)*

● Over half, 53 percent were "very or fairly dissatisfied," while 27 percent were "very or reasonably satisfied" and 18 percent said they felt "so-so."

copy from IS ~~STA~~ (306A)
December 19, 1988

Boksburg residents reject CP apartheid survey

JOHANNESBURG. — Boksburg residents, despite having voted the Conservative Party into power in the town, seem suddenly not to relish the prospect of their impending "white Christmas", the Sunday Star reports.

This has not only been evident in snap street-surveys, where it was almost impossible to find a single person who supported the CP's controversial petty apartheid moves, but also in answers to a questionnaire published recently in the local newspaper.

The Boksburg Advertiser found that an overwhelming majority of readers who answered the questionnaire rejected the CP's decisions.

The newspaper was inundated with replies and said the response was the biggest it had received to a survey in its 51-year history.

Of 1325 readers who replied only 102 said they were in favour of the CP moves, while 1172 said they were totally opposed to them.

Fifty-one people said they were in favour of some aspects.

The questionnaire entitled "Is this what you want?" was carried on the front page of the newspaper and was sponsored by the Boksburg Alliance, a group formed in a bid to present a united front to the CP after a storm of protest by, among others, Boksburg businessmen.

— Sapa

It was expected that all 700 ATMs would be linked by mid-1989.

of immediately off-lining the system should a withdrawal of more than R100 be requested.

Wimpie de Klerk 'not available' as new leader

CAPE TOWN — Former newspaper editor Willem de Klerk is not available as leader of the new liberal opposition political party, according to his wife Elsabe.

De Klerk is overseas and could not be reached for comment, but his wife told the Johannesburg newspaper Beeld her husband had not expressed any interest in the leadership and as far as she was aware, he had not changed his view.

"My husband definitely does not have any interest," she was quoted as saying.

But, while the leadership issue is not resolved, it is believed De Klerk would be willing to stand if all three parties agreed and if there was strong support for a leader from outside the PFP, IP and NDM.

Yesterday Independent Party leader Denis Worrall said: "For the time being Wynand Malan and I have taken ourselves out of the leadership position, but

Blouy 20/12/86
20/12/86
Political Staff

we believe Wimpie de Klerk will greatly contribute to the image of the new party if it is to be the new party we want it to be."

At last week's meeting in Johannesburg, De Klerk gave several reasons why he would not be in a position to become the new leader, including his own lack of party political experience.

A report yesterday said the leaders of all three parties were backing De Klerk as the leader of the new party, but the PFP has not taken a decision to back him and it is clear that the issue is far from resolved.

NDM leader Wynand Malan said the leadership question had been taken back to the leadership committees for a broader mandate.

(304A) Star 20/12/88

Speculation that SA, Soviets may swop diplomats

Political Staff

Reports that South Africa's relations with the Soviet union are improving and could lead to official representation over the next few years have been described as "premature" and "sweeping" but have not been denied outright by Government sources.

The reaction of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday was that whatever diplomatic road was followed, South Africa's interests would always be the decisive factor.

He declined to comment on the press reports which emanated from America over the weekend.

Other diplomatic sources said the reports were "premature" and some of the conclusions "sweeping" but did not deny them outright. They also confirmed that several official contacts had been made between the two countries.

The Washington Post has quoted American officials as saying that the contacts between South Africa and Russia over the negotiations for Namibian independence and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola could lead to permanent relations.

WARNING

And the Heritage Foundation, the influential conservative Republican think tank in America, has warned President-elect Mr George Bush in a briefing paper that the growing rapprochement between the Soviet Union and South Africa could threaten US interests in southern Africa.

The foundation said: "A Pretoria-Moscow deal is possible in which Pretoria could promise Moscow to exclude the West from SA, a region of vital strategic importance which the West has always seen as its own sphere of influence."

South Africa's quid pro quo would be a reduction in Soviet support for the ANC and Swapo — as well as pressure on the Cubans to pull out of Angola — the deal already struck and due to be ratified formally in New York this week.

The speculation about thawing South African/Soviet relations has been fuelled by a number of events including at least one meeting between Mr Pik Botha and Mr Anatoly Adamishin, the Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Brazzaville.

1988 — year crowned by the signing of peace pact

87 Jan 20/12/88

304A

20/12/88

BY DAVID BRAUN,
Political Correspondent

Violence and peace, freedom and oppression, splits and mergers — all of these contributed to the swirling currents of South African politics in 1988.

This year will be remembered for the Namibian peace talks, the abortive Bophuthatswana coup, the Lesotho bus hijacking, the Pope's dropping out of the sky, the Great Trek feud and the Delmas trial.

It was also the year when apartheid ebbed and flowed: SA Transport Services made a bonfire of the last of its racial discrimination signs, Boksburg and other Conservative Party-controlled town councils decided to hang segregation boards in parks and other amenities which only a few years previously had been opened to all races.

In 1988 South Africa was rocked by its worst incidence of bomb blasts and urban terrorism to date. It was also the year in which the State President, Mr P W Botha, reached out to African states to the north to plead for greater peace and stability on the continent.

Brazzaville

Namibia's independence remained elusive, but eight months of negotiations between South Africa and Angola-Cuba under the chairmanship of the United States makes it likely this will finally happen in the new year.

The talks, on three continents and in six cities, culminated in the signing of the Brazzaville Protocol this week, which provided for the total withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and the setting of a date for the start of Namibia's independence process.

These negotiations and South Africa's new positive thrust into Africa won the country praise and encouragement from abroad, and almost certainly contributed to the failure of the pro-sanctions lobby in the US Congress.

South Africa's diplomacy took two senior Cabinet Ministers to Egypt (for the peace talks but also to meet the Egyptian Government informally) and the Congo. President Botha met his counterparts in Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire and Côte d'Ivoire.

Back at home, Mr Botha made equally celebrated excursions to two of South Africa's most troubled black townships, Lekoa and Crossroads, where he was rapturously received by thousands of cheering residents.

Banned

These successes belied the continuing difficulties the Government was experiencing at home.

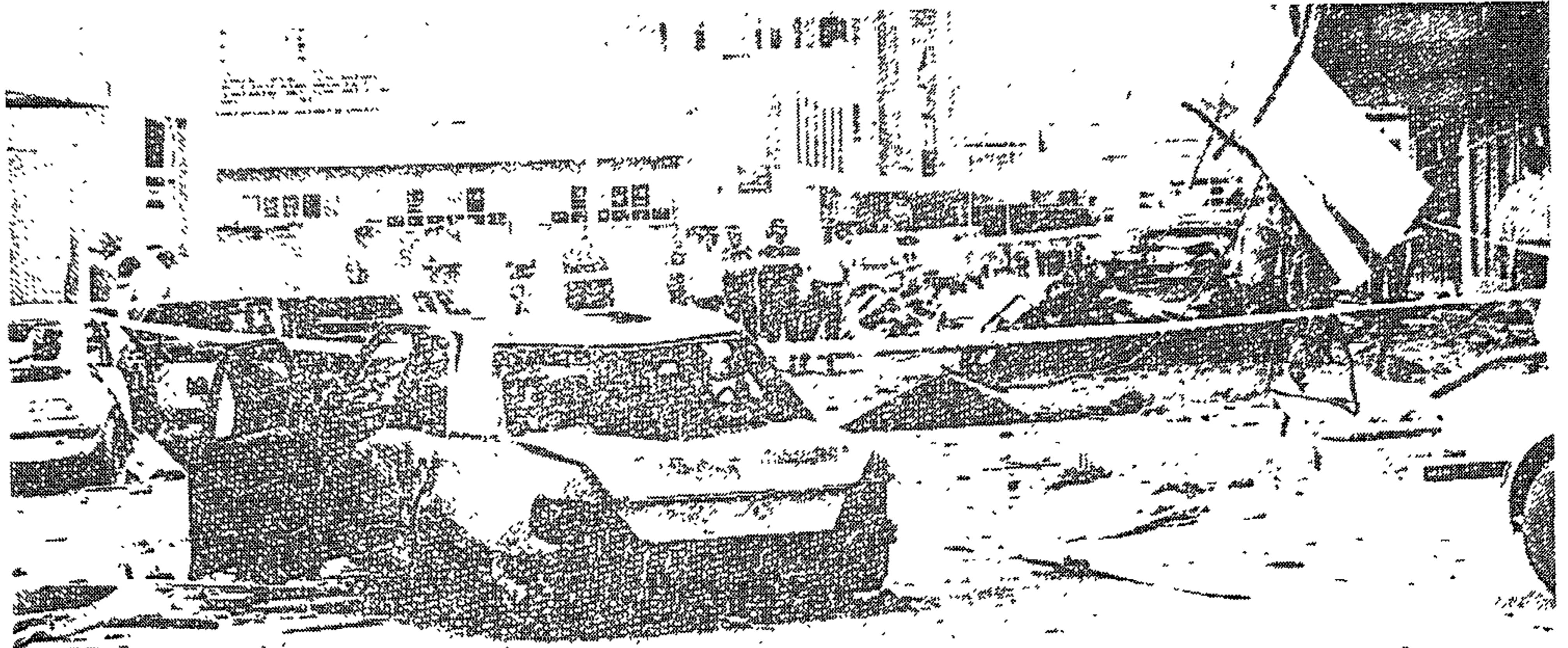
Harsh evidence of this was the Government's clamp on two dozen organisations, including the United Democratic Front, Cosatu and the End Conscription Campaign, and the extension for a further 12 months of the state of emergency.

Oppression of the media also tightened, and both the *New Nation* and *The Weekly Mail* were banned for short periods.

The State was also in confrontation with universities, threatening to cut Government subsidies unless the institutions imposed discipline on their campuses.

Much political energy was expended on the October municipal elections, which for the first time in the country's history enabled each population group to vote for its own local authorities on the same day.

The National Party was heartened by its better-than-expected showing in the polls, which tended to discount projections that the Conservative Party had made spectacular gains in the electorate after three earlier parliamentary by-elections.



Scene of the massive car bomb blast that caused death and destruction in Witbank in October.

The Government was also pleased with the levels of participation in the black elections, which varied from 10 percent to as much as 75 percent or more, and which averaged 25 percent.

Government opponents, however, said the results were disastrous, given that all opposition to the elections was banned.

Parliamentary politics in 1988 were characterised chiefly by the continued bitter feud between the National Party and the Labour Party over the Group Areas Act, and by allegations of corruption in the administration of the House of Delegates.

Acrimony

Parliamentary procedures were described as a farce when the Government tried first one way and then another to enforce its will against massive opposition to its Group Areas plans.

The session was marked with acrimony and late-night negotiations and finally the President's Council was used to ram through contentious legislation.

The most controversial Bill, that providing for stricter enforcement of Group Areas, has been held over until next year, while Government planners consider recommendations of the President's Council to amend it.

The year started with a major policy speech on the economy by President Botha. There would be no increases in salaries for public servants and tighter discipline on Government spending, he said.

By year's end, the public servants had been awarded their increase and Government spending was so high that it was obliged to increase the tax on petrol to make ends meet.

White opposition politics remained fragmented, although there were attempts in the closing weeks of the year to unite the Progressive Federal Party with the Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement of Mr Wynand Malan.

Actions which won the Government praise in 1988 included the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six (in a package which included the reprieve of white policemen on death row), the handling of the Kine Three (activists who escaped from custody and sought asylum in the US consulate-general in Johannesburg's Kine Centre) and the decision not to send Nelson Mandela back to jail.

For the rest, it was virtually business as usual, with South Africa still the international whipping boy and the Government still earning massive criticism at home.

Tomorrow: People who made the news in 1988.



Boksburg — the year saw it become known worldwide as the Bastion of Bigotry, with "welcome" very much dependent on colour.



South African policemen stand guard over rebels during the abortive coup attempt in Bophuthatswana.



Historic moment — as the Pope was forced by bad weather to land at Jan Smuts to be greeted by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

Carletonville ^{CP MP} open to all-race ^{20/12/88} trade despite CP

CARLETONVILLE. — Despite the Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville Town Council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid, all race groups will in future be able to rent commercial premises at the town.

A proclamation in the Government Gazette of December 15 established a free trading area at Carletonville.

A spokesman for the Department of Development Planning said yesterday this meant that all race groups would be able to rent premises at Carletonville for trading purposes.

There was a lot of unhappiness in CP circles over the decision.

Mr Arrie Paulus, CP MP for Carletonville, said in a strong attack on the government that the decision was an insult to municipal government.

"It makes a farce of third-tier government," he said.

He rejected the proclamation because the new town council had revoked a decision by the previous council about free trade areas.

● The Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry has condemned the actions of the Boksburg Town Council as "shortsighted and racist".

In its latest bulletin, the Chamber said the reintroduction of petty apartheid would have "a most harmful effect on the economy, bedevil harmonious race relations and further damage the country's overseas image at a time when there are positive signs of improvement and progress in this regard".

— Sapa

Leadership of new party 'far from settled'

4th Term
20/12/88

304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

DR Wimpie de Klerk has indicated that he is not available as leader of the new moderate political party and the leadership question of the new grouping is far from settled.

It is believed, however, that Dr De Klerk, the former editor of Rapport, would be willing to stand if all three parties agreed.

Yesterday Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said: "For the time being Wynand Malan (the NDM leader) and I have taken ourselves out of the leadership position, but we believe Wimpie de Klerk will greatly contribute to the image of the new party if it is to be the party we want it to be."

At last week's meeting in Johannesburg between the three parties, Dr De Klerk gave a number of reasons of why he would not be in a position to become the new leader, including his own lack of party political experience.

But, it is believed, he would change his refusal to stand if there was widespread support for him and the three parties are serious about their intentions to create a new party.

A report on Sunday that the leaders of all three parties were backing Dr De Klerk as the leader of the new party was dismissed because the PFP has not taken a decision to back him.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said

there were two ways a leader could be elected — either the parties agreed beforehand and the new leader would be elected unanimously at the founding congress, or, if that did not occur, the leader would be elected by all the parties at the founding congress.

All Mr Malan would say was: "We have undertaken to take back the leadership question to our leadership committees for a broader mandate."

Sources from all three parties confirmed that the leadership issue was still open and subject to further negotiation.

It seems that all the participants in the negotiations now accept that the party had to have a single leader and that proposals for joint leadership — the NDM's Mr Malan and the IP's Dr Worrall were suggested in an earlier IP document — have now been dropped.

Dr De Klerk, who has played a key role in the decision in principle to form a new party, is a member of the joint steering committee, which is negotiating the establishment of the new party. He has indicated that he is willing to continue being directly involved in the negotiations, but he has so far rejected suggestions of becoming the leader.

Dr De Beer has been appointed convener of the steering committee and this may make him the frontrunner for the leadership position, but, it is understood, the IP and NDM are not keen on this in case it makes the new party look like the "PFP in drag".

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304A

De Klerk the frontrunner

New party's search for a leader goes on

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Staff

The leadership issue continues to be a thorny problem in efforts to merge the three parliamentary parties to the left of the Government, with conflicting reports about whether or not former newspaper editor Dr Wimpie de Klerk is acceptable to the Progressive Federal Party.

Weekend reports that the PFP leadership had agreed on Dr de Klerk as leader were firmly scotched this week by Transvaal PFP leader Mr Douglas Gibson, who said the PFP was still adamant its leader Dr Zach de Beer should lead the new party.

The two other parties involved in the merger, which has been decided



Dr Wimpie de Klerk ... tipped to lead new party.

on in principle, are Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

Both the IP and the NDM favour Dr de Klerk as a compromise candidate as it is clear the PFP will not accept either Mr Malan or Dr Worrall.

They are against Dr de Beer getting the job as they feel this would

brand the new party as being merely a revamped PFP — which would fail to attract support from the left wing of the National Party.

According to Mr Gibson though, Dr de Klerk has made it clear he is not available for the job. Dr de Klerk has not been available to confirm this.

However it seems that many of the PFP rank and file back Dr de Klerk.

The next step in the merger process will be for a steering committee of all three parties to meet on January 12 to lay the foundations for the new party and to arrange a congress.

Sources on the committee, which will be convened by Dr de Beer, say it is unlikely the party will be launched before Parliament reconvenes on February 3.

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Defections threat to CP control of Boksburg council

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2/12/88

By Clare Harper

The Conservative Party whip in the Boksburg Town Council and two other CP councillors may cross the floor and vote with the NP and independents to have the CP-controlled council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid declared null and void.

This claim was made last night by the leader of the National Party caucus in the council, Mr Chris Smith, who said he could only name one of the CP

members, Mr T J Ferreira. Mr Smith was addressing a 300-strong protest meeting to discuss a plan of action following the CP's vote to reintroduce petty apartheid last week.

Mr Ferreira could not be reached for comment.

Should the three new independents side with the NP, which has seven members and the support of independent Mr Izzy Cramer on the 20-member council, the CP will lose control of the town.

It is expected that councillors opposed to the reintroduction of petty apartheid in Boksburg, including three independent councillors and five NP councillors, will propose a motion overturning last week's decision at the next council meeting.

The assembly indicated their approval of Mr Smith's announcement, but nevertheless decided to continue with plans to present a petition opposing the CP move and to set up a committee, the Boksburg Alliance, to draw up a declaration in favour of an open CBD and ending discrimination.

The NP MP for Boksburg, Mr Sakkie Blanche, who chaired the meeting, told the assembly "the decision taken by the CP was perfectly legal, and there is very little we can do about it".

Several hecklers said it was the NP and the Separate Amenities Act which empowered the CP to reintroduce the measures.

Earlier, Assocom chief executive Mr Raymond Parsons said he had held a meeting on Wednesday with three senior members of the CP to point out the economic consequences of their decision in Boksburg.

● See Pages 3 and 15.

AM

... blast

Boksburg to dig heels in

BOKSBURG'S management committee is expected to reaffirm its commitment to petty apartheid at a news conference today.

Chairman Gideon Fourie said the conference had been called in response to the challenges now facing Boksburg in implementing its policies.

He would not comment further on the conference, however.

Meanwhile Colgate-Palmolive MD Gerry Nocker has responded to criticism by CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis of Colgate's request to have its Boksburg factory rezoned to Benoni in an attempt to dissociate itself from CP policies.

Nocker said the company, in opposing CP policies in Boksburg, was representing most responsible businessmen in accordance with their duty to challenge

BRONWYN ADAMS

those whose actions would have a negative effect on business or the community.

Nocker said Colgate was concerned about the drop in business in Boksburg's CBD, boycott threats, industrial relations problems, interference in the human rights of employees and sanctions and disinvestment.

He said business contributed more than 50% of all rates and taxes paid to the Boksburg council and therefore had a right to speak out.

Nocker urged the Boksburg Town Council to reconsider its actions in the interests of democracy and the community, and warned that its policies could threaten the livelihood of those very people it claimed to represent.

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'PW berated us for hour and 45 minutes'

US senators leave SA 'disappointed and encouraged'

Sowetan 21/12/88

30CA

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Two senior Democratic Party Senators have returned to Washington from South Africa with mixed feelings about what they learnt on their trip.

Senator David Boren of Oklahoma and Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia were encouraged by the release of some political prisoners and by progress on Namibian independence, but discouraged by the Delmas trial, which they saw as the prosecution of a younger generation of non-violent leaders who, in their view, had committed no crime.

One of their biggest disappointments was their meeting with President Botha.

Recriminations

Senator Boren said: "That was perhaps the most disappointing meeting of our trip."

"We had gone hoping to discuss the future, trying to see if we couldn't talk about progress in our relationship, getting them on a more positive path.

"He only wanted to talk about the past. He berated us for an hour and 45 minutes. He really was full of recriminations about the past and we were disappointed.

"We especially wanted to talk about about more economic opportunity, because we wanted to see a free enterprise solution. When everything works out in the long run, we do not want to see a socialist government here.

"Right now, by denying most



Senator Boren ... encouraged by progress on Namibia.



Senator Nunn ... SA needs a Bill of Rights.

blacks the opportunity to own their own businesses and to own property, they are denying them a stake in free enterprise."

Senator Boren said the South African Government was making a big mistake and lessening the prospects of a free enterprise system in South Africa, ultimately ... "but he (President Botha) just did not want to talk to us about the positive steps we could take together".

Senator Nunn said he believed

Mr Botha realised further sanctions would be a political issue in the US in coming years.

"... but I don't think he understands the depth of feeling in America about what's going on in South Africa.

"And I don't believe he understands that if he does not deal with people of moderation, people who are non-violent ... he's going to be dealing with violent people later on."

Senator Nunn said another major mistake in South Africa was the absence of a Bill of Rights.

A white minority that failed to institutionalise a system of rights, protecting people against abuses, would have difficulty looking for protection from the law when the black majority inevitably shared power.

Non-racial

Senator Nunn said: "Apartheid has stifled communication between the white and black communities, and that has to end."

Senator Boren said that President Botha had turned them down when they requested a meeting with Nelson Mandela, saying: "Leave the man alone."

One of the most impressive discoveries he had made, Senator Boren said, was that young black leaders remained committed to non-violence even though many had been in jail for two or three years without being charged.

"They still talk about wanting to have a non-racial, non-violent solution that will include everyone of all races, and that's very encouraging," he said.

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Carletonville ^{Star 21/12/88} 'dismay' over free trade rule

By Gien Elsas, West Rand Bureau

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Carletonville's Conservative Party council-
lors have noted "with dismay" a proclama-
tion in the Government Gazette last week de-
claring a free trading area in the town.

The CP-controlled council recently decided
to re-impose petty apartheid.

Mr Arrie Paulus, CP MP for Carletonville,
said the newly elected council had asked the
Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr
Chris Heunis, to withdraw the proclamation.

He said the Government's announcement
made a mockery of third-tier government and
he rejected the Government's decision.

Mr Paulus said it appeared the National
Party approved only of decisions that con-
formed with NP policy.

He wanted to know why black and coloured
areas were not proclaimed as free trading
areas.

'BURNT DOWN'

"This would be much more convenient for
the black consumer and would automatically
erase discrimination as they would have large
stores right on their doorstep."

He said large stores would not open town-
ship branches.

"If they were to open in the black areas,
their shops would probably be burnt to the
ground during times of unrest."

Mr Dawid de Ridder, acting chairman of
the town's management committee, said the
council was obtaining legal advice concerning
possible overturning of the proclamation.

family

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Coleman (40), is still in
...annesburg Hospital's in-

Dennis (13), is recover-
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who sustained slight in-
from Sasolburg Hospital

f the family, the Cole-
for the coast for their

had not been finalised

Boksburg to meet press

Boksburg's CP council
plans a press conference
today to answer ques-
tions from firms who
want to pull out of the
town after petty apart-
heid was reimposed.

Management commit-
tee chairman Mr Gideon
Fourie has indicated poli-
cy will "definitely not be
altered", but council will
try to meet the needs of
non-whites in their areas.
— East Rand Bureau.

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5"

The stars of 1988 who rose, fell or faded away

3047

Star 21/12/88

The political stars of 1988 included both those rising and those falling, and in some cases those who simply disappeared.

Among the most prominent figures on the South African political scene continued to be the State President, Mr P W Botha, who celebrated 10 years in power and the 40th anniversary of the National Party Government.

Mr Botha made major headlines, not only for his safaris into Africa and his European tour, but also for his pronouncements on Nelson Mandela and the Sharpeville Six, as well as his mean attacks on the media.

Mr Mandela's star glowed ever brighter as speculation of his release intensified, and when the Government recognised that he was perhaps the major factor in national reconciliation by granting his freedom in stages.

Among the Ministers who dominated the news were the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan. Both played a major role in the Angola/Cuban peace talks. They were also photographed holding hands while astride camels in front of the great pyramids of Giza.

Heated exchange

Mr Botha made news of a different kind when he became embroiled in a heated exchange of words at the Foreign Correspondents Association annual dinner.

General Malan temporarily cut off the Argus Group of newspapers from his ministry when he took exception to an article published from a French journal which quoted Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi as criticising South Africa.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Stoffel Botha also blotted his relations with most of the media when he closed down *New Nation* and the *Weekly Mail*, and made a bitter attack on *The Star*.

Politicians who wound up in trouble this year included Leon de Beer, MP for Hillbrow convicted of electoral fraud, and Mr Peet de Pontes, Nationalist MP for East London City, who was allegedly connected with an Italian drug dealer.

The chairman of the Minister's



Mr Neil van Heerden, head of the South African negotiating team in the southern African peace talks, found at least a little time in August to browse at a Brazzaville market stall.

Political Correspondent DAVID BRAUN looks back over 1988 at some of the names making news on the South African political scene.

Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, was suspended from Parliament after losing his majority in the House of Delegates. He is now at the centre of an official investigation into allegations of corruption.

Another Minister embroiled in controversy was the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, who was accused of misusing his staff and his position to the benefit of his own business. This has been strongly denied.

Controversial figures who made political news included the Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who defied the Government by urging a boycott of the municipal elections (illegal in terms of emergency regulations).

Transvaal MEC Mr John Mavuso stood in for the State President at a European dinner and surprised the guests by first stating he was a Nationalist with a capital N, and then singing Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika.

Top businessman Dr Zach de Beer took over the reins of leadership of the Progressive Federal Party, while Mr Colin Eglin moved to the position of party chairman.

Dr de Beer was subsequently invited to form a united political party with the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, and the National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan.

Sports isolation

The unlikely convener of the unity talks was industrialist and rugby administrator Dr Louis Luyt, who pronounced he was tired of the Nationalist Government after the way he was criticised for trying to break South Africa's sport isolation (following talks with ANC members at a conference on rugby in Harare).

A public servant whose star glittered was Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general for foreign affairs, who was named Pretoria Press Club newsmaker of the year for playing an important role in the regional peace talks.

Public servants whose stars faded included two senior members of the

Department of Constitutional Development, who lost their security clearance status after having some allegedly "suspect" links with undesirable organisations.

Their boss, Mr Chris Heunis, featured prominently in the news when he was the subject of intense speculation that President Botha was about to strip him of his portfolio, allegedly because he had failed to produce the goods with regard to negotiations with acceptable black organisations and groups.

Politicians who died included Chief Patrick Mpephu, Chief Minister of Venda, and Mr Pieter Jacobs, MP for Alra Park, who was gunned down in what was later believed to be part of a local political feud.

Prominent foreign politicians who visited South Africa's shores included the usual clutch of American senators, the Prime Minister of Bavaria Dr Franz Josef Strauss (who died later this year) and the United Nations Secretary-General himself, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar.

World religious figures whose visits here made some political waves were Pope John Paul and Mother Teresa of Calcutta.



of South Africa's most welcome visitors in 1988 was Mother Teresa of Calcutta.



Meeting the people. The President, Mr P W Botha, and Mrs Elize Botha playing the marimba during a visit to Crossroads in the Cape.

CAF Treips 21/12/88

30617

Boksburg becomes Rand's ghosttown

JOHANNESBURG. — Only five days before Christmas, business owners in Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg are already counting their losses which run to thousands of rands, with some owners contemplating closing down next year.

A tour of Boksburg yesterday showed that almost all shops were empty, some tills in major supermarkets were unattended and the streets deserted.

Some store owners said they would be forced to close their businesses in the new year if the residents of Reiger Park and Vosloosrus townships continued to do their shopping at nearby Benoni and Germiston. They said their financial losses were massive and their turnover had dropped by up to 80%.

In an attempt to attract black customers, some businessmen had displayed on their stores signs reading: "We welcome all

Traders expect severe losses

in other cities "where they will be bought", she said.

Miss Roleen Browne of Cuthberts said their daily turnover had dropped from R2 000 "during normal time" to a mere R400. By the same time last December they had made about R50 000 compared to this year's R8 294, she said.

"It has been bad, real bad. If this continues happening many shops in Boksburg will close."

To survive, some businessmen were taking their goods to shops

in other cities "where they will be bought", she said.

All store owners said they received no additional support from whites to compensate for the loss of their black customers.

The manager of Boksburg Pharmacy, Mr Harold Zets, said some whites did their Christmas shopping in Benoni, Germiston or Johannesburg out of sympathy with blacks.

"This action of protest against the town council's petty apartheid has been very effective," said Mr Zets.

Mr O A Storm, the manager of Milday's, a women's clothing store, said that while his store was affected by the boycott they have been doing "okay, but not as expected".

The chairman of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johan Viljoen, said the hardest-hit businesses were clothing and furniture shops. He said the decrease in turnovers ranged from 15% to 80%. — Sapa

IP wants fresh face for new party

CMT Treas 21/12/88 (3041)

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

A REMARKABLE conciliation had taken place between Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan who were determined the new party had to have a fresh face, the Independent Party's co-chairman, Mr Jannie Momberg, said last night.

"The last thing anybody wants is a recycled opposition or a PFP in drag," he said at an IP meeting in Grahamstown.

He believed the best transitional leadership would have been provided by Mr Malan, the National Democratic Movement leader, and IP leader Dr Worrall, with Progressive Federal Party

leader Dr Zach de Beer as senior chairman.

"This would have reflected the conciliation between Denis and Wynand; it is a blend of Afrikaans and English; it would reflect a balance of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary emphasis, and reassure supporters of the IP and the NDM that despite the PFP's bigger organisation the other two parties are not swamped."

He accepted that this was not to be the case.

Dr Worrall and Mr Malan had come to the conclusion that none of the present leaders should lead the new party.

"Hence the IP and NDM's support for Dr Wimpie de Klerk.

"And it is my wish that such support will also be forthcoming from the PFP — because it is only

on the invitation of the three parties that it seems Dr De Klerk will accept a leadership role."

He was a former member of the National Party and he knew there were thousands of individual Nationalists who realised the NP had served its purpose.

The NP lacked the credibility to serve a new era of nation-building involving all South Africans and it was the party of the past and the party of apartheid, he said.

Many Afrikaners and supporters of the NP knew this and they were looking for an alternative.

"That is why we in the IP and the NDM in particular believe the organisation and leadership are so important in reflecting the true character, personality and image of the new party."

Few tills jingle in CP's Boksburg

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31/12/88
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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Only five days before Christmas business owners in the Conservative Party-controlled town of Boksburg on the East Rand are already counting their losses which run up to thousands of rands, with some even contemplating closing down next year.

A tour of Boksburg by The Argus's sister paper, the Star, showed that almost all shops were empty, some tills in major supermarkets were unattended and the streets deserted.

Store owners — some of whom said they would be forced to close their businesses in the new year if the residents of Reiger Park and Vosloorus townships continued to do their shopping at nearby Benoni and Germiston — said their financial losses were massive and their turnover had dropped as much as 80 percent.

'Welcome'

In an attempt to attract black customers, some businessmen had displayed on their stores signs reading: "We welcome all races".

Miss Roleen Browne of Cuthberts said their daily turnover had dropped from R2 000 "during normal time" to a mere R400. By the same time last December they had made about R50 000 compared to this year's R8 294, she said.

"It has been bad — real bad. If this continues happening many businesses in Boksburg will close," she said.

All store-owners said they received no additional support from whites to compensate for the loss of their black customers.

The manager of Boksburg Pharmacy, Mr Harold Zets, said some whites did their Christmas shopping in Benoni, Germiston or Johannesburg out of sympathy with blacks. Many others stayed away from Boksburg out of fear, he said.

Effective

"This action of protest against the town council's petty apartheid has been very effective," said Mr Zets.

Select-a-Shoe Store normally served nearly 200 blacks and coloured in the store daily, said the manager of the store, Miss Jane Mngomezulu. Now they see fewer than 10 a day.

"We are now afraid we are going to lose our jobs if people do not buy here," said Miss Mngomezulu.

The chairman of the Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johan Viljoen, said some businessmen had already indicated to him that they were planning to close down their businesses if the boycott did not ease up. The hardest hit businesses were clothing and furniture shops, he said.

Spell out our rights, Colgate MD asks CP

304A

STV 21/12/85
By Kaizer Nyatumba

The Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council, which put the East Rand town on the international map by enforcing strict apartheid, should not be surprised at getting "equally strong opposition and criticism", Colgate-Palmolive managing director Mr G W Nocker said yesterday.

In his letter to the CP's spokesman on economic affairs, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, dated December 19, Mr Nocker said no country in the Western world, including South Africa, could ignore the views of the business community.

He was replying to Mr Derby-Lewis's letter where in the CP MP accused him of "intruding in the democratic process in South Africa" after Mr Nocker had made an attempt to have his factory rezoned from Boksburg to Benoni to dissociate itself from the CP's racist policies.

NEGATIVE EFFECT

"If Mr Derby-Lewis questions Colgate-Palmolive's right to express opposition to the Boksburg Town Council's policies and actions, then he should remember that business contributed more than 50 percent of all rates and taxes paid to the Boksburg council," said Mr Nocker.

It was his belief, he said, that responsible businessmen and members of the public had not only a right but also a duty to challenge any policies or actions, by anyone, that would have a negative effect on business and the community.

"If we have no right to comment on their actions, I believe it would be important then to tell us what our rights are. This is particularly important to companies that might have multimillion-rand expansion plans which will create more jobs and bring more prosperity to Boksburg — and also to those new businesses that might be planning to open in Boksburg," Mr Nocker said in his letter.

He urged Mr Derby-Lewis, "in the interest of the community and of democracy in its wider sense", to reconsider the Boksburg Town Council's actions, which would affect the livelihood of many people, including those the CP claimed to represent.

Boksburg council still defiant

Drop Amenities Act or shut up, CP tells govt

22/12/88
THE CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council has once again challenged government to repeal the Separate Amenities Act, or continue to apply it and stop criticising the CP's application of the Act in Boksburg.

At an international Press conference conducted in Afrikaans yesterday, Boksburg's CP management committee chairman Gideon Fourie said the council found it strange that Boksburg had been subjected to "unprecedented censure" for merely applying legislation already on the statute book.

"As representatives of the people of Boksburg, we shall not stand to see this town reviled in the eyes of the world. If we were singled out for censure on a point of policy unique to our party, then we would accept such a response without qualms.

"But the fact that our community has to be punished for legislation that is applied countrywide is totally unacceptable."

Fourie said the council "failed to understand" why recent decisions taken

by the council were condemned while the exact legislation enacted by the NP escaped the wrath of the world at large.

"This situation cannot be allowed to continue," Fourie said.

He said amenities at numerous NP-run centres were still segregated and the CP was only "emulating" the situation enacted by the NP.

Forego

"We, the CP of Boksburg, have therefore decided to issue our co-applicants of the Separate Amenities Act, the NP, with a challenge.

"Either they immediately repeal Act 10 so that a further distinction in our policies can emerge or, they continue to apply it and forego the right to criticise our application of the Act in Boksburg."

Until such time as the NP repealed the Act, the CP would continue to apply its measures.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning was unable to comment on the CP challenge.



Boksburg's city fathers complain that it's all really the NP doing. A. J. J. van der Merwe. Picture: ROBERT BOHAR.



MORE than 2 500 pensioners from Soweto and Eldorado Park were taken for a treat at Nasrec last week. The elders were served with lunch and given groceries to take home.

300

Sowetan 22/12/88

Pic: VUSI MANYONI

Hulley: Party should elect its leader

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE members of the new opposition party should decide democratically who its leader should be if the three negotiating parties could not reach consensus on the leadership issue, the Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Roger Hulley, said yesterday.

He also expressed his support for a "four man-four element" top leadership with the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, as the leader. The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, and the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, should be deputy leaders and the former editor of Rapport, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, should be national chairman, Mr Hulley said.

"I believe this combination will best unify and represent the broad base of the new party and combine all the talents needed for the full political spectrum," he added.

The full division between the PFP leadership and two groups who would like Dr De Klerk to be the leader have been brought out into the open.

The IP and NDM argue that the larger PFP membership will overwhelm the new party's foundation congress, even though this contradicts claims that much of the PFP membership supports Dr De Klerk, and that as a result the new party will in effect be the PFP "in disguise".

'Offensive remarks'

In his statement yesterday, Mr Hulley said all three parties had agreed that the leadership issue should be discussed in the steering committee they had established, but if Mr Jannie Momborg, the IP's co-chairman, felt free to discuss the matter in public, he also felt free to do so.

"Mr Momborg in his somewhat offensive remarks about the PFP has not given enough consideration to the personal qualities required of the man for the job of leader of the new party."

Previous party connections were only one criterion and many other criteria were required, such as personal charisma, the ability to inspire people and project publicly, acceptability to both English and Afrikaans cultural groups and across the racial divide.

"There is a question of track record inside and outside the political arena — and all the qualities of conciliator the leader needs to unify the new party and draw together the various opposition political threads which have become so unravelled in recent years," Mr Hulley said.

Dr De Beer told our Johannesburg correspondent yesterday that with regard to his earlier comments that he did not think Dr De Klerk fitted the requirements for leading the new party, he had not intended to create any impression of personal criticism of Dr De Klerk, for whom he had the highest respect.

Mr Malan said he did not believe any PFP statements to be appropriate before their January 14 meeting.

Assocom wants a top-level mediator

for SA

22/12/88 3048
The Argus
Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa should be inspired by the success of the Namibia-Angola negotiations to appoint its own mediation supreme to seek solutions to its internal political problems, says the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in a review of 1988.

Such an appointment could make next year one of the most momentous in South African history, adds Assocom.

The special mediator should ideally be a respected member of the judiciary, a skilful negotiator in the mould of Dr Chester Crocker, the US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, who played a crucial role in the Namibia/Angola settlement talks.

Terrorism

The first aim should be a cessation of internal terrorism by political extremists and the relaxation of the state of emergency to swing international attitudes and encourage overseas investors.

The mediator should follow the Chester Crocker example as an honest broker "throwing bridges over the chasms of dispute, opening lines of communications between antagonists, smoothing away the obstacles to uninhibited dialogue".

"If peace can be achieved after the years-long international dispute about Namibia, is there any reason why a similar peace cannot be achieved after the long years of political disputes which are impoverishing this country?", asks Assocom.

In peace

"Perhaps we need a Chester Crocker to induce the government and the various political factions to sit around a table and realise that there is more ground for co-operation than there are corrugations of dispute.

"The majority of our people ask little more than to live at peace with their neighbours, to have reasonable shelter, the right to earn a living so that they can bring up and educate their children and thus equip them to enjoy a future of their own making.

Freedom

"Those who are already active in an expanding economy want the freedom of self-expression and mobility and the right to make a meaningful contribution to society.

"These instincts and ambitious motivations are common to every group, regardless of colour. If we can successfully harness these basic wants, we can release a tremendous energy force which can provide what most people want out of life."

The barriers to dialogue up to now had been pre-conditions.

The job of the mediator would be to convince antagonists that the urgent priority was internal peace — and that all other issues would then fall into place given time and patience.

The mediator to be selected could not be a foreigner, because the government would strongly resist external interference in what it considered to be primarily a domestic matter.

Nor could he or she be a party politician, likely to be unacceptable to one side or another at the negotiating table.

Even a member of South Africa's diplomatic corps was likely to be suspect.

Ideally, the mediator would be a respected member or ex-member of the judiciary, someone cast in the mould of a skilful negotiator.

Once dialogue was under way, he would persist until a formula was finally found for a safe South Africa of the future.

Leadership: De Klerk 'has reservations'

PROPOSED leader for the new left party, former Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk, says he has 'definite reservations' about assuming leadership.

De Klerk returned from England yesterday. Reacting to PFP leader, Zach de Beer's suggestion that a PFP leadership would be more appropriate, De Klerk said he would discuss the issue with representatives of the NDM and IP.

"The movement must be allowed to gather momentum without overrating the leadership issue," he said.

However, he agreed with IP co-chairman Jannie Momberg, saying that the

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BRENT MELVILLE
and ROGER SMITH 22/12/88

new party should not be a "disguised" PFP, and "leadership must come from outside".

IP leader Denis Worrall expressed surprise at De Beer's comments on the leadership issue but refused further comment "at this stage".

Leader of the NDM, Wynand Malan, said all parties concerned had decided to go back to their leadership committees for broader mandates, and that he did

not believe any PFP statements to be appropriate prior to their January 14th meeting.

De Beer yesterday said that in view of the steering committee meeting next month, he did not think the issue should be discussed in the meantime.

About earlier comments that he did not think De Klerk fitted the requirements for leading the new party, De Beer said he had not intended to create any impression of personal criticism of De Klerk, for whom he had the highest respect.

● Comment Page 4.

Key Market Movements — DEC 20 to DEC 21



The chairman of the Boksburg management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie.

'We won't bow to pressure'

Apartheid to stay, says Boksburg

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council will never rescind its recently reintroduced petty apartheid even if that meant many businesses would be forced to close, the chairman of the Boksburg management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, said yesterday.

Mr Fourie told an international press conference in Boksburg that Africans and coloureds, not his council, were responsible for the problems faced by businessmen in the town.

His council, he said, would not allow firms doing business in Boksburg to pull out and move to other towns.

"We have nothing to do with the closing of businesses," he said. "It is the black and coloured people's own choice whether or not to buy in Boksburg."

Mr Fourie said his council would never bow to the enormous pressure exerted on it and open its central business district and public facilities to all races. People would simply have to get used to their way of doing things because "within the next five years the CP will rule not only Boksburg but the whole of South Africa."

The Boksburg Town Council found it strange that it was singled out for unprecedented censure for merely applying legislation that is in the Statute Book and being turned into a national scapegoat.

'Merely emulating Government'

All the CP-dominated council had done was to emulate the National Party Government and other NP-controlled councils throughout the country — such as Pretoria, Vereeniging, Randfontein, Benoni, Roodepoort and Germiston — where public facilities were open to whites only and not to other population groups, he said.

Mr Fourie challenged the NP, the Boksburg Town Council's "co-applicants of the Separate Amenities Act", either to repeal the Act immediately "so that one further distinction in our policies can emerge" or continue to apply and enforce the Act "and forgo the right to criticise our application of the Act in Boksburg".

He said his council was prepared to improve public facilities in Reiger Park and Vosloorus townships and bring them to the same level as those of Boksburg.

When an American television crew asked him to speak in English, Mr Fourie refused and reminded them they were in South Africa and it was their business to learn to speak Afrikaans.

Food before franchise is Govt plan, says author

Star 22/12/88

204A

By JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The Government is counting the pace of reform, not in the granting of additional votes, but in hard cash ploughed into disfranchised communities, according to a University of Natal researcher.

"As it now stands there are powerful forces within both the business sector and the State arguing against necessarily equating reform with rapid democratisation," writes University of Natal researcher Mike Morris in "Political Conflict in South Africa" published by the Indicator Project.

"Attempting to significantly widen the base of political representation, it is said, will only lead to increasing and uncontrolled demands for the available resources that the State has to distribute.

"In simple terms, the argument goes that there is no point in allowing politics to cut up the cake unless it can be significantly enlarged.

"Democratisation and increased representativity are therefore being seen as potentially in contradiction to the newly dominant element of the reform process — redistribution."

Mr Morris takes account of the argument that the State simply does not have enough resources to upgrade every township.

"The point is not to immediately upgrade all areas on a massive scale and ensure the consent of all blacks. The Government strategy is intentionally selective and long-term," he counters.

"Unlike Verwoerdian apartheid, the State is not concerned with implementing a uniform policy for all blacks. It is rather, by being intentionally selective and favouring certain areas and classes at the expense of others, aiming at facilitating class and regional differentiation within black society."

The aim of this? "To make the creation of a broad alliance of black communities against the State so much more difficult."

There are two main agencies for redistribution, grouped behind the Minister of Defence, General

Magnus Malan, and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Hennis, says Mr Morris.

Mr Hennis operates through black local authorities and Regional Services Councils.

Mr Morris argues that his key objective is to create a situation where the State is seen to be negotiating with the community not over political power, but over development.

General Malan, using the National Security Management System and the Joint Management Centres, has a simpler task. Not primarily concerned with negotiation, his aim is the efficient dispensing of social services, says Mr Morris.

"The provision of the social services will, it is deemed, result in the legitimacy required, as long as all

other forces can be controlled."

In Mr Morris's opinion the Malan strategy presently enjoys the support of the State President.

It also enjoys wider support — notably among those who view economic growth as necessary to the success of redistributive reform and who look to the newly industrialised countries of South-East Asia as their model.

Mr Morris quotes a senior executive of the Barlow Rand group as telling him: "We desperately need to do something about the economy, otherwise you will never solve your political problems.

You can only grow and give slices as the economy grows, otherwise you get too many distortions ... you destroy the capital base.

Something to study

"Study the economies of Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong ... what is the government form in these countries? It is a dictatorship or colonial form."

This vision of the compatibility of a strong executive State, economic growth and reform via redistribution takes place against a background of increasing business confidence since 1985.

It also speaks of a marked shift of attitudes since business leaders headed to Lusaka to meet the African National Congress.

With hindsight it was judged that what might have been seen at the time as a situation of dual power — divided between the State and the popular organisations — was nothing of the kind, argues Mr Morris.

"It was true in many African townships local government did appear to have collapsed and to have left a power vacuum ... (but) the State, with a centralised power structure, still had its military forces firmly behind it and was able to repress township resistance with brute force.

"The Government may have been unable to successfully proceed with its policy of localised 'co-optive domination' but it was by no means shaking on its very foundations."

Alliance stays silent over leadership issue

304A

Star 23/12/88

By Shirley Woodgate

Important personalities in the proposed new left-wing party have retreated behind closed doors over the sensitive leadership issue, insisting that no further public comment will be made until the next meeting on January 12.

This is their reaction to Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer's remarks that PFP leadership was more appropriate, after reports that Dr Wimpie de Klerk — Afrikaner academic and former editor of *Rapport* — was being tipped to head the alliance.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said the new party should not be a disguised PFP, and an issue of such sensitivity should not be resolved in public discussion.

Dr de Klerk said on his return from England on Wednesday that the leadership issue had been blown out of all proportion by the press.

The matter was on the agenda for the new year, he said.

Dr de Beer said from La Lucia that he did not wish to fuel any further discussion.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan was not available for comment.

CP statements 'inflammatory'

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

2011/12/18
The Save Boksburg Committee (SBC) has taken legal advice on statements by certain Conservative Party members that are considered to be racially inflammatory.

In a press release issued yesterday, the SBC said remarks by CP member of Parliament Mr Clive Derby-Lewis about a coloured boycott of Boksburg, and suggestions that Colgate-Palmolive's attempted pullout from Boksburg was an attempt to interfere with the democratic process in South Africa, were "reckless, provocative and without foundation".

The committee questioned whether Mr Derby-Lewis had calculated the tax contribution made to the Treasury by

blacks when he made his statements.

"Does he have figures on how much of our tax burden is ploughed back into the community, the extent of our contribution to commerce and industry, or how much revenue we generate by way of general sales tax?"

"He ignores the fact that black buying power is fast outpacing that of the whites. Has he considered the contribution we have made in human terms to Boksburg and the community as a whole?"

"The CP cannot have it both ways. We are united as a community and have acted within the law. We refuse to meet with the CP. We will not be party to pie-in-the-sky politics, nor will we be an instrument of our own oppression," the statement said.

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W. Nail

NEWS IN REVIEW / 88

28 Dec 88 - Jan 12 89

If the word didn't carry the connotations of failure bequeathed to it by the late BJ Vorster, 1988 would surely become known as South Africa's year of continental *defente*.

It was a year in which the Department of Foreign Affairs took up where the 19th Century trekkers left off: white South Africans once again forded the Limpopo River.

Most dramatically — and, in an earlier time unthinkable — Pretoria's negotiators saw through an eight-month peace process which seems set to grant independence to Namibia, and respite to Angola. It was, said Foreign Minister Pik Botha with undisguised satisfaction, "primarily an African agreement".

But the pioneering spirit was not re-awakened by a sudden onrush of African brotherhood in Brazzaville. Rather, factors in regional politics and beyond have changed profoundly.

South Africa's regional outreach took in Mozambique, Malawi, Egypt, Congo, Zaïre and — the immediate objects of the exercise — Angola and Namibia.

In the process, Pik Botha, and sometimes State President PW Botha, had face-to-face meetings with heads of state Joaquim Chissano, Kamuzu Banda, Denis Sassou Nguesso and Mobutu Sese Seko.

The geopolitics of the sub-continent altered markedly, presenting the intriguing prospect of South African "intervention" in the neighbouring stakes taking on an economic rather than military form.

The "normalisation" of trade relations with South Africa's neighbours is now a distinct possibility — and one which would result, according to Beira Corridor Group Managing Director Eddie Cross, in "regional hegemony" for Pretoria.

"Why has the South African strategy changed — and why has it enjoyed diplomatic success as never before? There are a range of explanatory



Smiles that hide months of hard bargaining ... Chester Crocker and Pik Botha in Brazzaville

Pressures that propelled Pretoria to peace at last

factors, but some are more important than others. There is, for example, the fact that next year Pretoria is due to repay about USS2-billion in foreign debts — and much more in years to come. The government's bankers could dearly do with some favourable publicity and international "understanding". The same applies to the sanctions drive.

Still on the economic front, it has been discovered that wars, whether relatively nearby or not, are a serious drain on funds more urgently needed for reformist "upgrading" initiatives at home. Thus the time was right to swap belligerency for benevolence.

Peace in Angola, withdrawal from Namibia. The notion was unthinkable just a few months ago. But Pretoria was under intense superpower pressure.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

But the core impetus for redrawing the regional landscape, embodied in momentous events like the Angola/Namibia settlement, as well as less-publicised but equally important developments involving South Africa and Mozambique, came from across

the oceans.

This week, in his most in-depth interview to date about southern Africa, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker left no doubt about this fact, which had previously been hinted at but never confirmed.

Speaking on the United States Information Agency's Worldnet broadcasting network — with a telephone link-up to questioners in five African capitals — Crocker pointed to "the US-Soviet dialogue which has intensified over the course of the past-year on this subject (conflict in southern Africa).

"We have found ... that the Soviets and we have been able to work in a more concrete and operational manner on this negotiation in order to both support it in our different ways."

The "different ways", he might have added, consisted chiefly of applying unabashed pressure on the parties in the conflict who would listen. Hence even the renowned intransigence of Pretoria and Havana has not been enough to scuttle the peace process.

"Perhaps," concluded Crocker, "it is a matter of the Soviet Union deciding that it is prepared to put its full weight behind such a settlement at the same time that we are that may have something to do with the timing (of the breakthrough)."

It is a simple truth that the superpowers want the debilitating, bickering mess that is southern Africa to pull itself together, and start working. Pretoria has correctly identified this shift and is, as far as possible, riding along in the slipstream as a regional superpower. Hence magnanimous gestures such as the arrival of a South African navy ship in Beira, loaded with supplies.

Certainly Crocker believes that the Brazzaville breakthrough was achieved because of pressure, and the fact that the "deal" offers something to everyone involved. The political "continental drift" has been sufficiently cleverly constructed to include incentives for those who are, in the final analysis, being manipulated.

But just in case one of the actors decides to forego these rewards, there should be no mistaking the bottom line. "We are not expecting (the recently-achieved agreements) to be violated," says Crocker, "but ... I think it is fair to say, without getting specific, that we will use our influence to try and get the parties to live up to their commitments."

"If they do not, we will bring appropriate pressure to bear to try and get them to change their policies so they will live up to their commitments."

P.T.O

This is as close as an American politician — indeed any politician — can get to a bald statement.

The superpowers' attitude towards southern Africa changed in 1988, and this has changed southern Africa's attitude towards itself. All that remains to be seen is which of the local protagonists is best able to play the game under the new rules.

On present form, Pretoria doesn't seem to be doing too badly in the economic strategy stakes.

It is believed annual trade between South Africa and the Frontline States will total close to USS300-million by the end of this month. This constitutes a significant increase over previous years, and by no means represents a ceiling.

Pretoria's planners may come to like these sorts of figures — particularly if they are set against rapidly dwindling defence expenditure.

NEWS IN REVIEW / 88

ON a monument wall in Stellenbosch, *alma mater* of many of this country's lawyers, judges and lawmakers, the following message is chiselled in the stone: "God verdedig die Reg".

Presumably it was intended to mean that God defends what is right. It has another meaning, that God defends the law. As 1988 ends many lawyers are hoping that God is indeed defending the law in South Africa — because few others seem to be.

This December brings to a close one of the strangest periods in South African legal history — a two-year period dominated by the Appeal Court of Mr Justice P Rabie.

His appointment as acting chief justice drew strong criticism from a number of academic lawyers who said it was unprecedented and controversial. They speculated the appointment could be challenged as unconstitutional in that there appeared to be no provision for such a post.

The authors of these criticisms were in turn attacked — sometimes at a surprisingly personal level rather than the academic arguments raised — by Justice Rabie's powerful supporters in government circles.

Undeterred by the controversy he remained in his position for the two years of his appointment.

At the time the first in the present series of States of Emergency was declared in June 1986, Justice Rabie was the country's chief justice.

Some years before he had drafted new security legislation, now the Internal Security Act, a law criticised for removing the rights of detainees and the rights of the courts to assist them.

However, in the last two years, the rights of the court have been eroded further still, putting the many thousands of political detainees held since the start of the Emergency largely beyond the protection of the courts.

Lawyers concerned with civil liberties believe the situation has become so bad that, as one leading lawyer puts it, "the courts have become virtually redundant" through the removal of their power to adjudicate in key individual rights issues.

The judgements of the Appellate Division (AD) during the last two years under Acting Chief Justice Rabie — referred to by two prominent academic lawyers in the latest issue of the *South African Journal of Human Rights* as "the Rabie court" — have sanctioned this loss of power by the courts to the executive.

Examining the "security" judgements of this period, Nicholas Haysom and Clive Plasket write that this has not happened by default but by design.

"The Rabie court has not so much been guilty of timidity in applying jurisprudential principles which protect civil rights, but has actively and determinedly reshaped our jurispru-



The law shifts into the political arena ... attorney Prakash Diar speaks at an anti-hanging rally on behalf of his clients, the Sharpeville Six
Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

Has the Appellate Division ruled itself out of court?

dence so as to grant the greatest possible latitude to the executive to act outside conventional legal controls."

Commenting on one of the most recent of the "security judgements" by the court, the authors say the implications are so far-reaching that "it is difficult to imagine how even a re-constituted AD could rescue our system of administrative law from the treatment it has received at the hands of the Rabie court — unless such a court were to be as creative in the face of recent precedent as the Rabie court has been in the face of older precedent".

Haysom and Plasket say the most significant feature of the Emergency regulations has been not so much the new powers they give to the executive, but rather the way in which they take away from the courts and the media the right to supervise the exercise of these powers.

During the period of the Rabie court there have been 12 AD judgements dealing with the security of the state and the authors examine "the principal judicial players" involved.

Of these 12 decisions, the majority judgement, or a separate concurring judgement, has been given by the acting chief justice "in no less than nine cases", and by Mr Justice

As two academic lawyers put it: 'It is difficult to imagine how even a re-constituted Appellate Division could rescue our system of administrative law from the treatment it has received at the hands of the Rabie court ...'
CARMEL RICKARD
reports on the most controversial period in legal history

Hefer of the Appeal Court "in no less than three". Two judgements have been given by Mr Justice Vivier.

Of the 12, the acting chief justice has sat in all but one of the cases, "and Hefer JA, a relatively junior judge of appeal, has sat in nine cases. No other judge can compare with this record".

Although the thinking of the acting chief justice on security matters can be deduced from security legislation, the authors write that the contribution of Justice Hefer to recent AD decisions "has not received adequate attention".

They write that while he was chief

justice of Transkei he "attempted to construe the power to detain in such extreme and generous terms that they were held to be out of line even with South African decisions", and they argue that his recent judgements in the South African AD show he has been "an activist judge".

The authors analyse in detail one of the latest and possibly most far-reaching judgements, the case of the United Democratic Front challenge to certain Emergency regulations. They point out it raises questions about how the courts are going to enforce regulations which are acknowledged to be vague but are now judged — by the AD — to be legal.

They say it also raises questions "about the stature of the Appellate Division.

"It is impossible to avoid the unfavourable comparison of standards of legal rigour between, on the one hand, the judgments of the acting chief justice and Hefer JA and, on the other, the judgement of the court a quo (the Natal Provincial Division, against which the state was appealing) and the dissenting judgement of Van Heerden JA.

"Equally remarkable is the selective use of authorities by Hefer JA and his

omission of any reference to the leading text on administrative law and the leading Appellate Division decision on the point in issue ... In short the judgements seem oblivious to the diminishing stature of the Appellate Division."

They believe this judgement and its predecessors will have serious long term effects on society as a whole, and on the provincial judges "who consider it the duty of the courts to protect individuals", as well as on the entire legal profession.

They write that these judgements were "wrong in law, poorly reasoned, disastrous for the rights of South African citizens and do irreparable damage to South African administrative law principles. It has caused despair among the best and most capable of South Africa's lawyers and at least one supreme court judge, unable to conceal his astonishment at the reasoning of the (latest) judgement, has stated in open court that he believed the judgement not to be in accordance with his understanding of our law.

"For whatever reason, he has sadly subsequently indicated an intention to resign. Yet another judge in the course of a public lecture, was unable to conceal his scorn for ... (such) judgements of the Appellate Division".

But what has caused this trend by the AD?

Two other leading academic lawyers, Dennis Davis and Hugh Corder, in the same journal, ask why the Emergency began with "rave reviews of the judicial performance and ended with obituary notices".

Among the answers they suggest is the members of the AD "along with all South Africans", must have been affected by the extraordinary level of social upheaval and polarisation which occurred from September 1984 onwards.

"Their reaction to these events must inevitably have been influenced by their relative geographic isolation in and within Bloemfontein, the official versions of news propagated by the government-supporting broadcast media and the commercial press, and their informal networks of gathering information.

"These factors as well as the judiciary's constitutional position as the third branch of government, would have been largely instrumental in convincing the judges that circumstances dictated that, at least for a time, the interests of the individual would have to bow before the continued viability of the state as they perceived it.

"While explicable in this manner, we would maintain that such attitudes have caused incalculable harm to the reputation of the judiciary as a body which is able to exercise control over the other departments of government, as has occurred in the past, and is a matter for great regret."

OK's R26-m



Mr Gordon Hood

shock for Boksburg

ARGUS 23/12/88

(Handwritten scribbles)

3

The Argus Correspondent,
JOHANNESBURG. — OK Bazaars is to pull out of a R26-million shopping centre development in Boksburg because of the reinstatement of petty apartheid by the town's Conservative Party council.

Managing director Mr Gordon Hood said today: "We have reluctantly decided that, at this stage, we can no longer continue our involvement in the new centre planned for the Boksburg central business district.

"There has been a decline in trading in the area during the past month and our existing store has been affected.

Main tenant

"This gives a clear indication of the effect of recent developments in the area. A reassessment of expansion activity has become necessary."

The OK was to have been the main tenant in the centre, which it would have shared with other national chains and smaller shops.

Construction was due to start early next year.

It is understood economic justification for the development now seems doubtful, with other tenants reported to be about to withdraw support.

Open to review

A spokesman for the developers, RMS Syfrets, said without the commitment of the tenants the project could not go ahead.

The OK and RMS Syfrets both said decisions about the centre were based purely on business and were taken in the interests of consumers and shareholders.

They were open to review at any future stage.

BOKSBURG

Body blow for developers

The business casualty toll is rising steadily as the Boksburg CP-controlled council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid continues to ricochet around the business community.

Shopkeepers were the first victims, hit by a sharp drop in turnover. Now down-the-line decisions are being taken to curtail commercial and industrial property development.

On the commercial side, Retail International says it'll at least delay construction of a R100m, 42 000 m² shopping centre.

Perhaps less dramatic, but just as significant in employment terms in an industrial town, is the impact on development in the 85 ha Jet Park industrial area.

While about 30% of the park, ideally located on the fringes of Jan Smuts Airport, has been taken up by factories and warehousing, development could come to a standstill. As one industrial property developer, Albert van Heerden, MD of Merinda Enterprises, explains to the *FM*: "I used to have between eight and 12 serious inquiries a week. They have suddenly dried up."

Van Heerden has plans passed and finance arranged for the development of 11 factories, comprising about 15 000 m² warehousing and 2 500 m² offices. "My portfolio involves investments of R15m. I won't delay the start of the first few units in the new year, but I won't proceed with the whole development until political problems are resolved. I'm sure other developers will do the same."

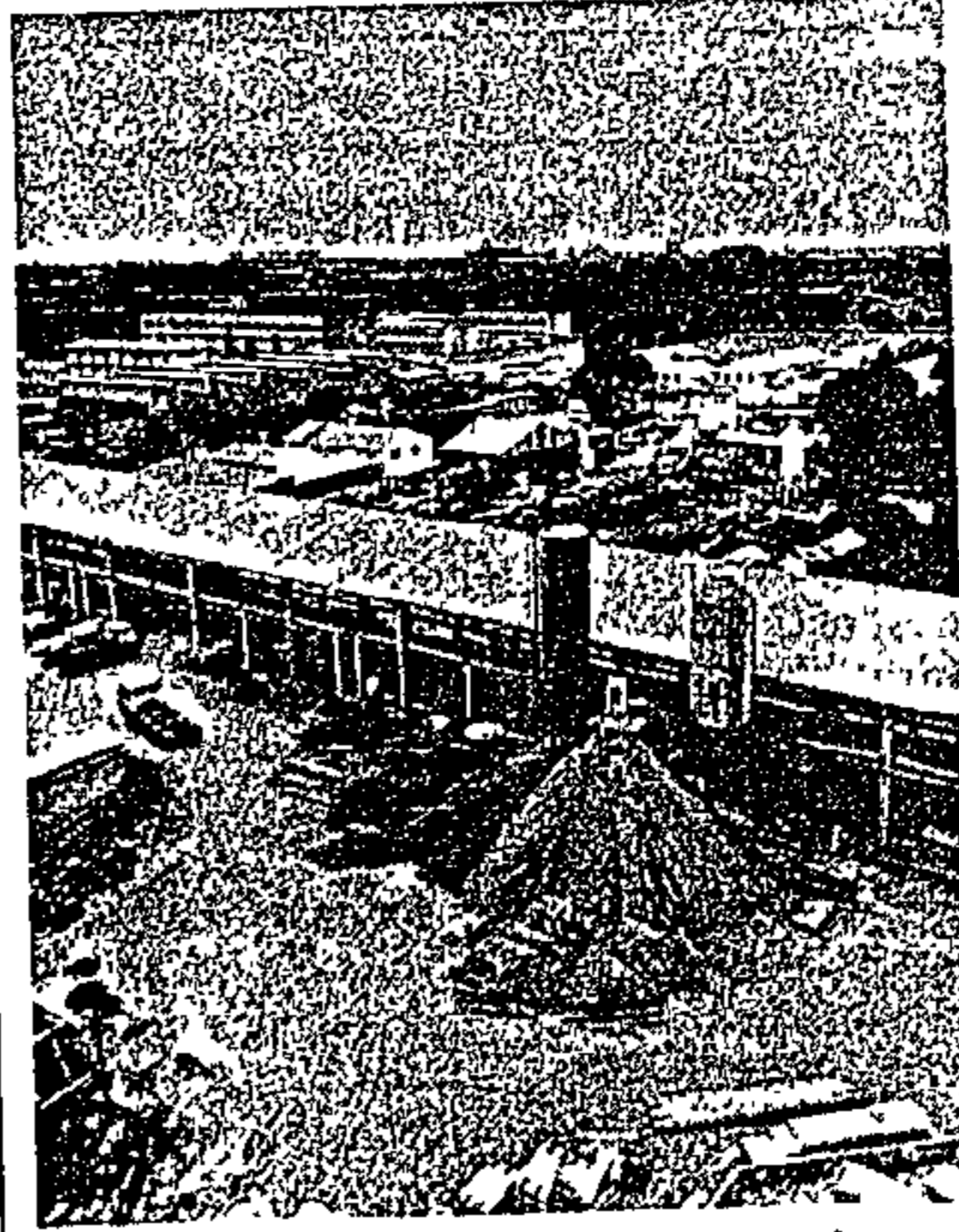
He says the factories should fetch rents of R6/m² and offices R14/m², but this could change if businessmen choose other sites.

"Developers will then have to cut rentals to attract business. That means lost income and thus reduced property values. Institutions aren't interested in whether a property is made of diamonds or gold, they just want to know the yield. That drops when rental income falls and so reduces the value of a property. The point must come when property development ceases to be worthwhile.

"Rental income on my proposed developments should be in the region of R140 000 a month. It is too early to say that all or part of this will be in jeopardy, but it could be if I can't get tenants."

Van Heerden's position is worsened by the fact that he has ploughed capital into an industrialised housing manufacturing venture. Dwellings are aimed primarily at blacks. Van Heerden believes this market, whose potential buyers include the homelands, could be seriously at risk because the units are being made in Boksburg.

"I was just completing 3 000 m² of factory and 850 m² of offices (separate from the speculative developments) earmarked for the Amper Mahala homes.



Jet Park ... development could be curtailed

"We have invested a great deal of money and had a lot of inquiries about this housing system. The intention was to go full steam into production in the new year, starting at 100 houses a month and building up to 300.

"Those projections may have to be curtailed, which could put at risk not only the capital invested, but also jobs for between 150 and 200 blacks. A further 200 would be involved in on-site erection of the dwellings."

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Star 23/12/88

Apartheid the cause of conscription dilemma

Expressing one's view on conscription as a business person in South African society is a hazardous, and therefore potentially dangerous, assignment, conscription being one of the "holy cows" of one of the most military-conscious governments in Africa.

Discretion must therefore be seen to be the better part of valour in what is said. But the level of discretion must not in any way confuse or camouflage the conviction with which the view is expressed.

It is not my intention to undermine or discredit the services rendered by law-abiding conscripts.

Distorted

The issues, tensions, traditions and values that existed when I was in the army have now been drastically distorted, making military service thoroughly divisive and contentious.

The vision, trust and credibility that were usually and traditionally associated with the SA Defence Force have gone through a painful metamorphosis.

Recognising all of this, I must make it clear I defend the need, at the same time, for a competent, professional defence force assisted by a volunteer reserve.

Racially selective military recruitment must go. We must have a non-racial defence force with equality in policy with respect to remuneration, conditions of service and promotion.

This will ensure that the SADF will be structured to reflect the ideals of the society it seeks to defend.

The moral, ethical and practical dilemmas of conscription are all rooted in the existence of the structural injustice of our land — apartheid. Apartheid is the cause of many sores.

Conscription is a significant part of the apartheid debate. Business must participate in that debate since many of the conscripts are employed in business.

BY ALEX ANDERSON
of the Five Freedoms Forum



These selfsame conscripts are working in military uniforms among business's customers in their customers' townships without the approval or invitation of these customers.

The market of tomorrow, and even of today, is "a black market" — a term used by business to describe a commercial entity rather than to promote racialism.

Business must thus urgently address the Government and itself on the present violent mismanagement of the country's human loyalties and human resources.

Opposed

Business must consider the debate about the army in the townships. A survey in Soweto, Daveyton and Alexandra showed that 90 percent of the inhabitants of the areas were opposed to the army being in their midst.

The defence budget for 1988 was more than R10 billion. Taken with the security police, the cost is in excess of R15 billion, which is 30 per-

cent of the national budget. The other consequences of the impact of conscription are almost immeasurable in their vastness.

These include:

- Cost, and it is immense, of interrupted service on the shop floor and in offices.

- Cost of emigration and loss of young manpower due in most cases to the unacceptable impact of conscription — 11 172 people emigrated from South Africa last year, an average of 931 a month.

A recent survey at Rhodes University revealed that 52 percent of its students would leave South Africa after graduation because of the unacceptable policy of conscription.

Business has shown that it has within its ranks a few influential, competent and articulate protagonists in support of a non-racial democracy. This is evidence to expect that business can eventually come to understand that it must work for a just society.

Bath water

Should it not do so, it will run the serious risk of being "thrown out with the National Party's bath water" when the day of a new South Africa dawns.

It must be further argued that by not examining the full repercussions of conscription and its dovetailing with the support of apartheid, business is effectively working against and alienating its position with mass-based democratic organisations.

Business must therefore take a serious look at whether or not it approves this most undemocratic activity.

Managers of business must use their credibility with the Government and business colleagues to challenge the Government and shareholders in their sphere of influence in respect of the following.

- The need to establish projects and campaigns dedicated to changing the hearts and minds of a people burdened by secular group interests

which are to the detriment of our survival as a country

- Government must provide clear-cut plans on the removal of apartheid and the total-onslaught approach. The Government must provide a clear, unqualified, democratic vision for black representation through all tiers of government

- Ministers and Deputy Ministers must be lobbied and challenged on the increasing intransigence of the State President, Mr P W Botha, in not continuing with the reform initiative.

- Business must commit itself to exploring the implications and understanding the issues of a non-racial democracy.

- Free enterprise prospers and survives only in a truly democratic environment. Business must work for the survival of free enterprise and democracy as opposed to the alternatives of continued apartheid and white survival on the one hand, or a communistically patterned nationalised economy on the other.

Emergency

- Business must work for removal of the emergency regulations.

- Business must introduce at the same time within its own ranks the concept of participative, caring management which will involve equal opportunity and a greater empathy and deeper understanding of the lot and quality of life of the politically and socially disadvantaged in our community

- Business must severely reconsider the consequences and ramifications of profiling from an arms industry that is largely the product of the consequences of the world's hostility to apartheid.

- Business must seek new allies in its concern for survival. Surely the need to work more adequately, ably and competently with labour is more beneficial to the future of business than seeking to consolidate and further its current alliance with the Government?

50 years of Moral Rearmament

BREMER HOFMEYER, the first of three brothers to win a Rhodes Scholarship, has been associated with Moral Rearmament since its inception. He looks at some of the effects of this "movement for change" over half a century.

of this article, on a death list.

In South Africa it pioneered inter-racial assemblies. In the 1950s there were no desegregated public facilities, so conferences for hundreds at a time were held in large marquees on a private property in Witkoppen.

Several great Africans were part of the movement, including former Soweto editor Seloape Thema, Dr William Nkomo, first president of the ANC youth league who was to become the first black president of the Race Relations Institute, and Mr P Q Vundla, a militant leader from Soweto.

MRA is not a human pressure group. Its appeal is to the heart and conscience. It encourages each individual to explore for himself the truth that "when man listens, God speaks" and to seek his unique task and destiny under God. On the world scene this has led to initiatives like Alcoholics Anonymous.

Far reaching

In South Africa it touched off some far-reaching moves:

● At a time when black housing was vastly worse than today, the town engineer of Springs, seeing a new direction for his life, wrote down a thought quite new to him. "You are not town engineer for 30 000 Europeans but for 100 000 people of all races".

He accepted responsibility for the shocking state of black housing. He got the town council to sponsor a housing project called kwaThema. He got government finance. He tackled the white trade unions and got their agreement that they would not interfere with blacks building their own homes.

He won the trust of a radical black leader and together they enlisted men for training in building skills. He invited members of the Johannesburg City Council to see the first sod turned, and a month later to see the first families moving in.

They invited him to become the director of black housing for the Johannesburg City Council. It was a

notable breach in the industrial colour bar.

● Alec, son of former Rhodesian prime minister Mr Ian Smith, studied in South Africa and became a drug addict and a drop-out. He found a Christian experience that changed his life. Then he wrestled with the question "What is the relation between my personal faith and the crisis in Rhodesia?"

This led him to link up with some black nationalist leaders for whom Mr Smith was public enemy number one. The Rev Arthur Kanoderaka, who had been in detention, and Alec became a centre for unity. They toured Rhodesia and South Africa. Alec's story in paperback, "Now I Call Him Brother", has sold widely in this country.

● A Karoo farmer embarked on this search. It led him to take initiatives which have had a wide influence, even on legislation, in four vital areas — protecting the environment, race relations, black farm education, unemployment.

The story is told in a video, "Promise of the Veld", which is currently being widely used in schools, churches, community groups, farmers' organisations, management training courses. In Europe it has been issued in French and German and it is included in the Finnish educational curriculum.

● October this year saw the national convention of a black women's organisation, "Ikageng". Its founder, a black housewife from the East Rand, and her husband found the secret of unity at a Caux conference. She felt called to carry this inspiration to women across the land and founded Ikageng as a movement dedicated to sound homes, self-help and community service. Today it has 5 800 active members.

These actions rest in the belief that beneath our political, social and economic injustices there lies pride, selfishness, arrogance, fear, hatred and bitterness in human hearts.

These are the root of the problem and any radical answer must deal with the root



he founded the MRA movement, with a multiracial group of delegates. The author of this article is fourth from left.

Fifty years ago, as Europe feverishly rearmned to resist Hitler's onslaught, Dr Frank Buchman was convinced that while material rearmament could win a war, it would take moral and spiritual rearmament to win the peace.

He initiated the world-wide movement known as Moral Rearmament.

In 1946 one hundred Swiss families invested their savings in purchasing a derelict hotel in Caux-sur-Montreux and restoring it as a world conference centre to heal the hurts and hates of individuals, families and nations.

In this 500-bed complex hundreds of South Africans of all races have forged bonds of friendship and understanding with Nigermans, Kenyans, Tanzanians, Ugandans as well as our neighbour countries, and become comrades in building the new Africa.

This 50th year of MRA sees the publication of the first definitive biography of the initiator of the movement, "Frank Buchman a Life".

It documents events at Caux that have affected the history of our times — reconciliation between France and Germany, peace between America and Japan, Tunisia and France, France and Morocco.

It details the part of moral and spiritual forces in the resistance movements against Hitler, causing the Gestapo to put leaders of MRA, including the author

'New political thinking' is key to foreign investment

By Michael Chester

Dr Jan Visser, executive director of the National Productivity Institute, says foreign capital will only flow into South Africa again when we are able to demonstrate new thinking in the political arena.

In a review of economic prospects for 1989, Dr Visser writes: "Rigid political schools of thought, which have been proved wrong in recent history, have no place in our future."

"What we need is imaginative renewal that is given momentum by daring and conviction."

"A healthy economy is a prerequisite for healthy human relations."

"The processes of the recent past were not imaginative enough to revitalise the economy."

"We can go on with them and trap ourselves in a vicious circle of poverty, or we can move away from stagnation by adopting new attitudes and ideas."

"Every aspect of our national life must undergo a process of renewal. This involves politics, but also the economy; it applies to management, but also to attitudes of the workers."

Also to be overcome, he says, was a valid perception among a large section of the population that there was not a fair distribution of the wealth created.

Trends for the rich to become richer and the poor poorer provided a fertile breeding ground for both socialist and communist ideas.

Unhappily, at the moment a fair distribution of wealth was being pursued by simply negotiating higher wages that bore little relevance to any proper yardsticks — least of all productivity.

The result was that inflation was being fuelled — and wealth distribution became even more askew.

The winning recipe was obviously to pay people more for a better productive performance, rather than pay more to the ones who were most aggressive in their demands.

The faults in current trends were seen in evidence that the standard of living in South Africa had fallen 1,7 percent on average every single year since 1981, with the number of job opportunities growing by no more than 2,7 percent in the past decade while the population had soared by 23,6 percent.

Dr Visser also said it has become crucial to control State expenditure and find innovative new ways of curbing the spiral of budget deficits.

The urgent need now was the elimination of outdated procedures inside the civil service and paving the way for new administrative systems.

1989 a year of action for P W — Buthelezi

Star 23/12/88
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ULUNDI — Next year should be a year in which the State President, Mr P W Botha, puts "deed to word" and gets the stalled reform programme off the ground, and a time in which meaningful reform gathers the "substantial support" that is waiting for it, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said in a New Year message today.

"South Africa cannot afford to continue losing friends in the Western industrial world ... we certainly cannot afford the cost of apartheid — in terms of rands, or in terms of goodwill," Chief Buthelezi said.

"Let the moral indignation of those who are opposed to apartheid be expressed in non-violent democratic opposition to it.

"I make a particular appeal to all South Africans, whatever their race, colour or creed may be, to do everything in their power to minimise violence and the confrontation that leads to violence.

"I have always called for non-violent solutions and (have called) on members of Inkatha to refrain from expressing their anger in political violence.

"I particularly appeal for the cessation of all hostilities in the Pietermaritzburg area and I make an earnest appeal to every section of the media to be honest and responsible in their reporting of events associated with political violence," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

WILLEM DE KLERK

Apotheosis of a renegade Nat

As far back as the early Sixties, Willem (familiarily known as Wimpie) de Klerk, then a minister of the Reformed Church in Pretoria, showed the first signs of the rebellious nature that later caused him to be excommunicated from the National Party (NP).

The occasion was a major confrontation with his father, then Minister Jan de Klerk, who was responsible for the NP insistence on the exclusion of Maoris from the visiting All Black rugby touring team.

A subsequent ever-deepening disenchantment with the hidebound rigidities of mainstream Afrikaner nationalism logically culminates in his emergence at the forefront of the establishment of a new left-of-centre party, and also as one of the frontrunners as possible leader. This will put De Klerk (60) directly on a collision course with younger brother F W, who as Transvaal NP leader is a political heir apparent, but in his case to P W Botha's crown.

Though De Klerk is more a philosopher than a hardened practising politician, his life has been marked by political controversy. In 1966 he coined the famous terms *verlig* and *verkrampt*. His own *verligte* viewpoints in the Calvinist mouthpiece *Woord en Daad* made him a newspaperman's dream, but a perfect target for *verkrampes*.

His viewpoint that the musical *Godspell* could not be considered blasphemous was the beginning of the end for an academic career at the theology department of the University of Potchefstroom. "The Doppers (members of the Reformed Church) and church councils pounded on me," he exclaims.

Soon colleagues at the theological seminary complained about De Klerk's new line of thinking. It was time to go. "It woke up a feeling of discomfort in me and I was ready to bid the academic world farewell."

So De Klerk ventured into journalism. Perskor's then dictator, the late (and little lamented) Marius Jooste, outbid Nasionale Pers for his services, and he became editor-in-chief of *Die Transvaler*.

De Klerk's tenure there was marked by controversy too. In the battle to withstand the southern onslaught on *Die Transvaler* by Naspers's fledgling *Beeld*, Jooste adopted a creative approach to Audit Bureau of Circulation figures. The world of Afrikaner journalism was shocked. For the sensitive De Klerk, who had meanwhile been appointed co-group MD, the association became a painful experience.

On the political front De Klerk faced the wrath of then PM John Vorster. His criticism of Cabinet ministers like Andries Treurnicht and editorials in which he advo-

cated the independence of the press were attacked. De Klerk became an outcast in Nat circles.

"The road became very difficult. I was often reproached for not being a fully subservient mouthpiece of the NP. Opposition came from the highest party level."

Disillusion with journalism at that stage is manifest in his handwriting on a cover of a book about his career up to that point. To his daughter Corlien, De Klerk writes: "This is a summary of two books on my role (and my hell) in the press world."

De Klerk's relationship with Jooste — at best difficult and arrogant, with the classic inability of a self-made man to delegate or



De Klerk ... occasionally meets F W for lunch

develop any line of management succession — deteriorated. In May 1982 De Klerk resigned, but withdrew his resignation after being steamrolled by Jooste, only to be fired three months later. To prove his point, Jooste showed De Klerk a red file of "sins" that he'd kept on his most senior editor.

At that stage De Klerk's friendship with Transvaal rugby chief Louis Luyt (still at Triomf Fertilizer, but with his own reasons, arising out of his costly involvement with *The Citizen*, to be no admirer of Jooste) blossomed. Luyt provided his friend with an office and secretary.

A few months later De Klerk was appoint-

ed editor of the Afrikaans Sunday *Rapport* (jointly owned by Perskor and Naspers) — the start of a short career in which he had to endure pressure from Tuynhuys right down to his own board of directors — the same people who appointed him. Surprisingly Naspers, whose turn it was to nominate an editor, opted for De Klerk.

At one stage P W Botha, unable to control his anger at the outspoken former Broederbond executive member — from which De Klerk resigned when he became editor — instructed *Rapport* chairman Willem van Heerden to get rid of De Klerk. He was now a renegade in the eyes of the Nats.

The board resisted Tuynhuys' pressure, but De Klerk later had no option but to resign. It was mainly his criticism of the NP's group idea (as propagated by brother F W) that irritated P W Botha immensely, but *Rapport's* coverage of the breakaway by Stellenbosch academics from the party became the breaking point. At a shock editorial meeting on a Saturday morning, De Klerk told stunned senior staff of his decision.

To add injury to insult, brother F W was ordered by P W Botha to explain government's views about the resignation on TV. Wimpie later compounded his ostracism by, like another Afrikaans editor fired by Jooste, *Vaderland's* Harald Pakendorf, writing a regular column for the "*verdomde Engelse pers*."

The brotherly relationship, understandably, is sensitive. As Jan's only children, there has always been a close tie between F W, eight years younger, and Wimpie. While their families have less contact, mainly because of tension between Willem and F W's conservative wife, Marike, the brothers occasionally meet for lunch. Politics probably features on the menu.

As an intellectually respectable (and respected) magnet for disaffected *verligte* Afrikaners, De Klerk was an obvious choice to act as facilitator during the Luyt-inspired initial talks of the three moderate parties' quest for unification. While denying that he has any political aspirations, his calm manner and sophisticated style make him a favourite in the leadership stakes. About a possible confrontation with his brother in parliament, all De Klerk will say is: "It may be an interesting dimension."

De Klerk and his wife, Elsabe, live in Greenside. Since his departure from the editor's office, De Klerk has been appointed professor in communications at RAU.

He may need all the stature of his background to keep the Denis Worralls, Wynand Malans and Zach de Beers together under one blanket.

Company to keep up effort to be rezoned



star 23/12/88
By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Efforts by Colgate-Palmolive to be "removed" from Boksburg and placed under the jurisdiction of Benoni would not be abandoned, managing director Mr Gerry Nocker said yesterday.

He was commenting on allegations by Boksburg CP management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie on Wednesday that he would not allow firms doing business there to pull out.

Mr Fourie said firms wanting to be rezoned elsewhere would have to apply to the town council, which would reject the applications.

But according to the Local Government Ordinance, the council's stance may be legally overruled by the Administrator of the Transvaal, who has the sole power to excise land from one municipality and incorporate it into a neighbouring town.

Mr Jan van der Walt, Director of Local Government in the Transvaal, said rezoning applications merely concerned land use, which was controlled by individual councils. But provincial authorities established municipalities or changed the geographical boundaries of the towns.

Mr Nocker said he awaited replies from both towns to his requests for "relocation" and would apply to the Administrator if necessary.

"We are not prepared to sit back and watch business in the town go under," he said.

NEW MODERATE PARTY

High stakes and big names

304A
FMML
23/12/88

Willem de Klerk, a frontrunner in the leadership stakes for the new left-of-Nat political party (see *People*), returns from abroad this week with an intriguing list of names. These are the people he hopes to co-opt as members of a steering committee which will work out the nuts and bolts of the exercise. And, interestingly, it is expected that De Klerk will earnestly try to secure the support of Gencor's Naas Steenkamp.

De Klerk, interviewed exclusively by the *FM* before leaving for overseas, would not elaborate on the three people he will nominate to the list of those who will make up the committee — most of whose names are known. But the *FM* understands that Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt, who initiated the merger talks, and Nat breakaway and Stellenbosch economist Sampie Terreblanche, are certainties. It is also known that De Klerk wants a non-academic on the committee — and preferably one who is a leading businessman. This is where Steenkamp comes in.

A man of his stature — a former president of the Chamber of Mines, recently named Communicator of the Year — would fit the bill perfectly.

Steenkamp was not available for comment.

Other names which have been mentioned are the young Johann Rupert of Rembrandt, who has been outspoken on political issues and was reported to be one of the main financial backers of the Independent movement before the fall-out of Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Ester Lategan; the Urban Foundation's Jan Steyn; and Trust Bank's Chris van Wyk. An announcement by De Klerk was expected as the *FM* went to press. So far the steering committee list looks like this:

- The PFP will be represented by party leader Zach de Beer, MPs Roger Hulley and Roger Burrows, and Transvaal chairman Douglas Gibson;
- The National Democratic Movement's (NDM) Wynand Malan has nominated Ester Lategan, Jannie Hofmeyr and MP Peter Gastrow to assist him; and
- Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP) will be represented by himself, co-chairmen Jannie Momberg and David Gant, and organiser Keith Gurney.

Sources at last week's meeting at Luyt's

Saxonwold house tell the *FM* that De Klerk was under tremendous pressure from De Beer, Worrall and Malan to accept the leadership. While he would not comment or be drawn into a discussion on this issue, it is known that De Klerk feels — at this stage

political contacts and discussions I have with various groups within the party, I am still convinced that there are a significant number of Nats who realise that the NP does not have a negotiating model which will work."

The new party — unlike the PFP which "justly or unjustly" has the image of being representative of the English upper class establishment among ordinary Afrikaners — will lure those Afrikaners to its bosom, says De Klerk. "Already the participation of the NDM and IP has broadened the image of the PFP. The involvement of



Van Wyk



Steyn



Rupert



Steenkamp

anyway — that he should concentrate on recruiting members of the so-called "fourth constituency."

He explains: "They are the disenchanted within the National Party (NP) and the many who have left the party — among them Afrikaner businessmen, academics and professional people and the ordinary voter. I will soon start openly canvassing their support for the new party's statement of intent."

The *FM*'s sources say De Klerk feels a *pro tem* leader should be appointed during a founding congress which could take place as early as January or February. At a later congress in June, the party would then select a leader democratically.

It is also expected that the steering committee will propose that the party be called the Democratic Alliance Party, members of which would most probably be called the Dappers.

As a former executive member of the Broederbond, and the older brother of Transvaal NP leader FW de Klerk, De Klerk is actually in a difficult position. He says: "I have received many supportive letters and calls from people in the 'fourth constituency,' but there are also those in Afrikaner circles who have made their surprise at my involvement known to me. I have also experienced from some of them a degree of rejection."

Since the announcement of the new party he has had no contact with his brother: "But that is mainly due to technical circumstances. My brother is away at present."

As former editor of *Rapport* — he resigned because of government pressure — De Klerk, in his valedictory editorial for the newspaper, suggested that 22% of the NP's members were disenchanted with the party leadership and pace of reform. "Through

the 'fourth constituency' in the new party will result in a middle group of South Africans in which Afrikaners will feel at home.

"The new party will be targeted towards the involvement of all groupings — parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary — within the party's programme of principles and policy. Already, in the earlier phase, we've had wide-ranging contact with black and coloured leaders across a broad spectrum and the expectation is that we will receive support from these groups for our policies.

"Herein lies the accent of the alliance idea — that alliances be formed with organised groups as soon as the party has been established. It is also planned that the new party will embark on a visible negotiating process with all possible factions in SA."

Sources tell the *FM* that such a meeting between the United Democratic Front and members of Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, under the auspices of the new party, could be high on the agenda. While still in its fledgling stage, De Klerk's vision for a new SA is at least a fresh breath of air in an otherwise stale political climate. ■

PFP asks Administrator to intervene

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

304A
The Progressive Federal Party in the Transvaal has called on the province's Administrator to dissolve the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council, using the authority granted to him by the Local Government Ordinance of 1939.

PFP regional chairman Mr Brian Goodall

said his appeal was made on the grounds that the Administrator was legally empowered to act if it were alleged that a local authority had acted unlawfully or "was responsible for any act or omission which may result in maladministration".

He called for a commission of inquiry to be established.

Mr Goodall said such a commission could be ex-

tended to include not only the possible sacking of the Boksburg council's CP councillors, but also the implications of the implementation of the Separate Amenities Act by local authorities.

"What Boksburg is doing is legal under the Separate Amenities Act of 1953, but the State President should now stand up and say that what has happened there can never again occur in South Africa.

"He can give the people of this country a categorical assurance that the Government will abolish the Separate Amenities Act in the next sitting of Parliament.

ELECTION

"Then the Boksburg council will be in a dilemma: whether to do away with its racism, or resign and say it refuses to implement non-racial laws in South Africa.

He said the Boksburg council still had the option of voluntary resignation and fighting a new election before any possible action was taken against it.

"If they have confidence in what they are doing they should go back to the electorate immediately to dispel claims that they have lost the confidence of the electorate less than two months after being voted in to power," Mr Goodall said.

Unity: an elusive goal for rival groups

UNITY between the various black political groupings campaigning for self-determination is regarded as crucial. In the past few weeks, the OAU, the SACC, and a host of other organisations

and individuals, have spoken out for unity. **MATHATHA TSEDU**, a reporter on the **Sowetan**, recently spent two weeks in Harare and spoke to representatives of the **PAC**, **BCMA** and the **ANC**...

The position of the ANC

THE African National Congress believes that the best recipe for unity with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is for the PAC to cease making claims at international forums.

A senior ANC spokesman said the organisation regarded the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as a "fringe element" deserving of no notice.

The interview was conducted following reported moves by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) liberation committee to reactivate an ad hoc committee on unity between the ANC and PAC.

Nigeria was said to be behind the move which is to be raised at the liberation committee's meeting in Libya in February.

The spokesman said the ANC was not aware of the OAU intentions and did not think it would, if true, bear any fruit.

The ANC believed there was need to work consistently, every day, for the greatest possible unity and to seek greater areas of co-operation with all organisations opposed to apartheid.

This was why the organisation met with rugby chief Dr Danie Craven, Kaizer Motaung, delegations from the National Council of Trade Unions, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa and church leaders.

But on unity with the PAC, the spokesman said the OAU had been informed that the "principal importance is to op-

pose the apartheid system. The PAC must do something to make their own contribution in action against the present regime.

"In the process of struggle it is inevitable that the forces will be drawn together. Activity is basic and we don't feel that there is anything substantial that the PAC is doing to oppose the apartheid system," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said BC formations inside the country, such as Azapo, Azacco, Azayo and Azasm, had to be consulted for unity.

The spokesman made it clear that the ANC's perception of unity was between itself externally and the internal organisations of SA. The PAC and the BCMA were non entities in this regard.

Stance taken by the PAC

UNITY of the people in this country was of paramount importance is the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as expressed by the organisation's director for foreign affairs, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim.

A meeting to discuss unity with liberal organisations such as the Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) could be held "anytime if those organisations agreed with the principles", he said.

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Mr Ebrahim said the absence of unity shown by the killings in the Natal and Eastern Cape townships, was of great concern to the PAC and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

But, said Mr Ebrahim, the PAC believed that unity should be based on certain minimum requirements which the parties to the unity should accept.

Among these are:

- Apartheid cannot be reformed but should be totally eradicated.
- There should be agreement that the vehicle for change is the people and not the regime.
- They must agree and work towards keeping the East/West conflict out of the South African situation.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was putting the points "not as pre-conditions but as a working paper".

He said the PAC had a positive attitude towards unity and the ANC had always been reluctant.

A meeting to discuss unity with liberal organisations such as the Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) could be held "anytime if those organisations agreed with the principles", he said.

He said the PAC would not deal with individuals liberals who denounced apartheid, such as Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, because "the conflict is not a conflict of individuals but a conflict of social forces".

Mr Ebrahim said people and organisations such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) who profess to work towards unity should avoid sectarian treatment of nationalist forces.

"If they go about as if there is only one organisation in South Africa, then they lose their intermediary role."

Recent amendments to the Freedom Charter which were proposed by the ANC had moved the ideological positions of the two organisations closer. However the ANC had painted itself in a corner of insisting that no other organisation existed in South Africa.

"It might be very impossible for them to swallow their pride and meet with the PAC and others," he said.

The BCMA's viewpoint

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), probably the youngest of the three externally based liberation organisations, welcomes all genuine moves to achieve unity.

BCMA chairman, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, said that attempts by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to bring unity between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been "useful" but not conclusive.

The BCMA, formed in 1979 as an umbrella organisation for the Black Consciousness activists who had belonged to formations that were banned in 1977, is not recognised by the OAU as liberation movement.

This means that all OAU sponsored efforts

regarding South Africa excludes the BCMA.

Mr Mangena said the reported intention of the OAU Liberation Committee to reactivate an ad hoc committee on unity between the ANC and PAC, was constructive.

But the BCMA believed that the greatest effort at unity should be made by the people of South Africa themselves who understand the dynamics of the situation on the ground much more profoundly than outsiders.

The OAU has a part to play, but the much more fundamental thrust should come from the people within SA.

The BCMA favoured creation of a broad front in which autonomy of each organisation would be initially respected.

Mr Mangena said the BCMA met the ANC in

1979 but "nothing was achieved". No other meeting had been held.

The organisation met the PAC in Tanzania in 1983 in a formal meeting to discuss unity.

"We discovered when we sat together ... that essentially there are no basic differences to speak about. As far as the BCMA is concerned, unity to form a front between the two should have happened a long time ago.

"The BCMA ratified all agreements reached in Tanzania," he said.

Mr Mangena added that the prevailing division among the oppressed people hampered progress.

"Feuds, mudslinging and killings are a dissipation of energy spent struggling against each other," he warned.

star 28/12/88 304A

Rural councils for whites: new start-up regulations gazetted

THE Government yesterday gazetted regulations for the establishment of rural councils for whites.

Mr A A Venter, Minister of Local Government and Housing, said that after the abolition of Provincial Councils it was found representation of rural councils was inadequate.

"The Regional Services Councils Act of 1985 is therefore amended to make it possible for the own affairs ministers to establish rural councils," he said in a statement.

The regulations — in Gazette number 11 639. — did not say how the councils would be funded and did not define their powers and duties. These would be assigned in due course.

Voters and council members should be (presumably white) adults who reside within a council's jurisdiction, and outside the area of jurisdiction of a local authority or management body. Terms of office would be a maximum of five years. — Sapa.

Boksburg stunned as OK pulls out of new complex

CPK 7/10/88 24/12/88
3004
Staff Reporter

BOKSBURG Chamber of Commerce chairman Mr Johan Viljoen said last night that the business community was "obviously very displeased" at OK Bazaars' decision to withdraw from a multi-million-rand shopping centre development.

OK Bazaars' managing director Mr Gordon Hood announced yesterday that OK had decided against involvement in a R26 million shopping centre planned for the Boksburg CBD.

"During the past months the company has sustained a loss in the Boksburg CBD with turnover down over the same period last year," he said. This meant the OK would have to reassess expansion plans in the town.

Mr Viljoen noted that though the move was "economically founded", it was closely related to recent consumer developments in the town.

"As businessmen we are always sorry to lose investments," he added.

The Chamber of Commerce was actively bringing pressure on the CP-dominated management committee and was waiting for the government's reply to representations made last Thursday, said Mr Viljoen.

The centre developers, RMS Syfrets, confirmed that the project could not go ahead without the commitment of the OK as the anchor tenant.

Independent MP for Boksburg Mr Issy Kramer said the scuppering of the centre came as a major blow to long-awaited and much-needed CBD development.

'Wimpie' de Klerk — The leadership is not for me

↳/K M&S 24/12/88

by JOHN MACLENNAN
Political Staff 304N

Dr Willem de Klerk, the man brought in as a super Mr Fixit in talks leading to a new moderate opposition and who is now being punted as compromise leader, is really not all that interested in the job.

And the person who probably knows him best — his wife Elzabe — says: "I don't see him as a politician, I don't think he is a politician and he doesn't want to be a politician."

Dr De Klerk, and leaders of the three parties involved in unity talks, are now saying little or nothing about the burgeoning leadership issue because they believe continued public debate over who gets what will only deflate voter enthusiasm.

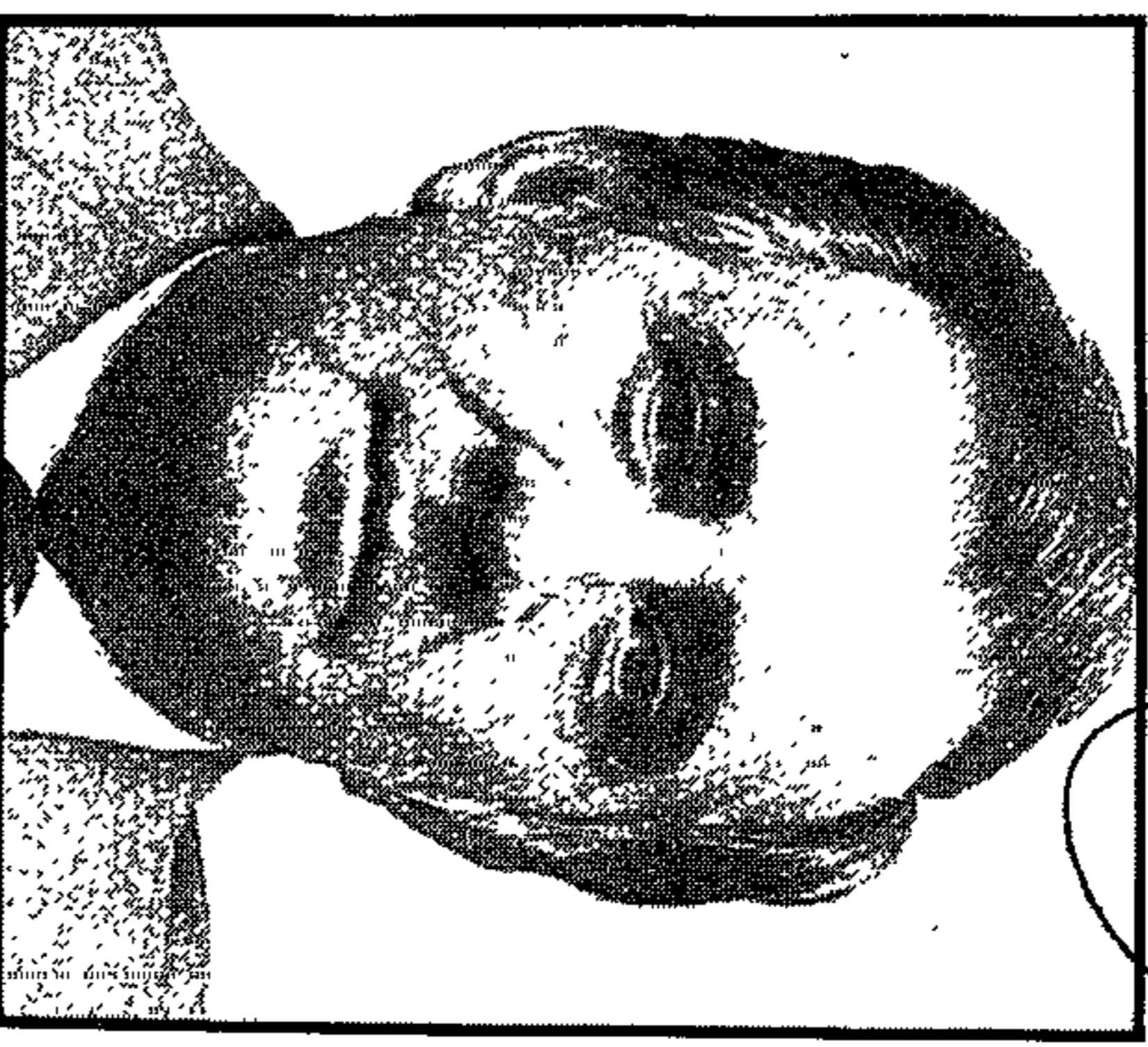
But it seems he will still play a very senior and active role, even if he does manage to avoid taking his place on the green benches of Parliament. The NDM and the IP want him as leader, the PFP wants a four man team with him as chairman over leader Dr Zach de Beer and deputy co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

The PFP suggestion is likely to succeed because it comes closest to the contending blue-prints. Most important, it falls in directly with Dr De Klerk's stated view that "the leadership corps would have to create an executive council or something of that kind that must be representative of the new support basis which the new party seeks to obtain."

In such a set-up he would emerge as a sort of benign elder statesman of the moderate opposition, helping to set broad policy goals, calming tempers among the new and still fractious partners. In other words, a neutral and wise uncle in times of trouble... even though is only just older than Dr De Beer at the age of 60.

This would suit Dr Klerk admirably because his closest involvement with what can be one of life's dirtiest jobs has been in steering the Broederbond and writing political articles as the editor of Rapport.

He can't say much at the moment because he



Dr Willem De Klerk

still might be forced to accept the leadership of the new party. But candidly, "I am not waiting for this leadership. I am not a conspirator. I am very individualistic. I am not a group or a clique type of person."

His wife Elzabe holds that he will not be interested in dealing with the daily grist of a hands-on executive political leader "the bickering, the backstabbing, the arguments and the strife."

"He doesn't like the manipulation, he doesn't like to play games. He would like to be straight in what he says and this is not always possible for a politician. After all, they have to say what is politic."

"He could have got into politics years ago if he wanted to. Why do it now?"

EVEN so, his upbringing would seem to have made him a natural for a political career. His mother was the sister of the so-called Lion of the North, Hans Strijdom, who became the second NP Prime Minister.

He is son of Jan, who became a member of Dr Verwoerd's Cabinet and later President of the Senate.

Brother FW is also an NP Cabinet Minister and candidate to succeed PW Botha as State President.

But Willem became a Doppeer dominee, moved on to run the largest Afrikaans newspaper, Rapport, before he was forced out under Government pressure, and now teaches communications at Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg.

Now he has become the man most likely to run a new party which will not only take on the monolith of Government, but plans to take over.

His recent writings provide some guide to the thinking of a man who is going to have great impact on politics now, whether he likes it or not.

HE believes there is no turning back, that a new party can capture a significant power base, that those involved in setting up a new party will have to forget the acrimony of the past and that compromise will not succeed if it is a spineless accommodation. The party must have clearly understood policy goals.

The need for such a party is essential because its component members are helpless in their dispersion. And: "A new opposition on the left of the NP is extremely important... in a healthy democracy someone *must* spell out the alternatives, particularly if the risks attached to existing policy spell failure."

In other words, the new party will succeed because it has to.

When he is not trying to help in the formation of a new party, says Mrs De Klerk, her husband plays bad golf, reads Afrikaans poets ranging from Breyten Breytenbach to NP Van Wyk Louw and listens to music. Favourites include traditional jazz and Beethoven.

A little tinsel amid the gloom

THE past year has been free of neither violence nor fear but it has at least been characterised by a little sober reflection, a refreshing change from the sometimes mindless political passion of recent years.

For this we should be grateful. Progress thrives best amid stability and some form of order. It is only society's wreckers who welcome turmoil.

In a year which ended on a note of relative domestic quiescence has come important truths to all the big players. The revolutionary opposition has learnt that the overthrow of the Government, once proclaimed to be imminent, has now been indefinitely postponed.

The Soviet Union, once so mischievously active in the region, accepts that peace, non-racialism or non-alignment on this part of the continent cannot be bought without the support of the majority of white Africans.

Pretoria, it appears, has also conceded its fiscal and manpower limits as a regional superpower — the tripartite agreement signed in New York this week was partly an acknowledgement of that fact. And in Boksburg the white far-right stumbled ignorantly, blindly into the harsh light of economic reality when it sought, Canute-like, to turn back the tide. The battles of Lomba River,

Cuito Cuanavale and Boksburg may, in retrospect, prove to be the most decisive, illuminative events of recent years.

Indeed, 1988 proved to be a year in which South Africans, away from the roar of madding street mobs, were forced to grapple with the more profound problems affecting our divided society.

The costs of economic mismanagement and isolation were brought forcefully home to ordinary citizens: corruption, an endemic problem in the Third World, came to prominence; the price of failing to practise plausible politics became apparent in the confrontations with the Labour Party and the continuing failure to draw Chhet Mangosuthu Buthelezi into negotiations.

It is perhaps too early to count the results of this new and precocious mood of introspection. President Botha's tentative moves at releasing political prisoners and commuting the sentences on the Sharpeville Six were welcome. The Namibian peace accords open new possibilities for our international relations. The October municipal elections showed a celling (albeit still a shifting one) on the rightwing.

All of these factors give some cause for hope during this festive season. It is the new year that will have to prove whether they are justified.

People Say

THAT the already mounting death toll over the festive season is good enough reason why people should stay sober, vigilant and safe behind the wheel.

THAT the official response to the tragic shoot-out between the police and army in Soweto last week is a classic example of botched public relations.

THAT the irrepressible Mr Arinichand Rabansi may just have lost the last of his nine political lives.

country's most favoured political prisoner.

THAT the unwarranted attacks on South Africa and the United States by the Cuban Foreign Minister, Mr Isodoro Malmeria-Peoli, at the signing of the peace treaty on Thursday proves one can bring some diplomats to water — and they will waste it in the drinking.

THAT if terrorists are indeed responsible for downing the Pan Am flight, Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev might consider as his next step in détente joining forces with the West in helping wipe out

THEIR WAS THEIR YEAR



ALAN PATON



BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN



ZOLA BUDD



RIAN EKSTEEN

WHEN your grandchildren ask you what 1988 was all about, what will you remember?

Will it be the stories that really poked at your heart strings — the thrilling separation of the Bara Samese twins Mpho and Mphonyana Makhabela, the three California greys who phoned the world urged on to the open sea through the ice of Alaska or the mother who fed her baby her own blood to keep her alive for eight days under the rubble of the Armenian earthquake?

Or will you recall it as the year your money devalued so quickly and prices rose so high that you knew you would never be able to afford an overseas holiday or a new car again?

Could be you'll look back on '88 as the time Nelson Mandela's name was on everyone's lips as he contracted TB, turned 70 which everyone on earth but us celebrated and the "will-he-won't-he?" speculation about his release.

Or maybe it will be the two latter-day Great Treks, the tenth year of PW in office, the 60th birthday of Mickey Mouse or the return of some Transvaal towns to old-style apartheid after countrywide municipal elections that will stick in your mind?

Or a cheerful note, it was a year when, in the last few months, the country was singing without much conviction, a little song called "Don't Worry, Be Happy."

Earlier in the year, the kids were all rocking to the protest song, Beds are Burning, by Australian group Midnight Oil who, it turned out, were giving their royalties to the ANC.

Fatal attraction lived up to its name at the movies. It also put one night stands out of fashion while doing a lot for the condom trade, though not in Stellenbosch where the municipally-banded condom vendors



DISGRACED: Record-breaking Canadian athlete Ben Johnson was disqualified and sent home from the Olympics for taking steroids

BANNED
Sir Richard Attenborough's *Crucible* Freedom Show's *A World Apart*. The last remembrance of Christ Saliman Mubinda's *Silence* for four weeks. 17 organisations in February, many more follow.

north in October South Africa's Johnny Clegg meanwhile, took France by storm. The stay-at-homees voted local low-life series *Agter Elke Man* the bubbliest soap on telly and South African women all rushed home from work to watch burgid and torpid *Loving on M-Nel's* open time.

Rozanne Botha presided over the year's great cinematic flop, *Back To Freedom* helped along by sources close to Government. The film was not about Nelson Mandela.

Showbiz — if that's what you call the SABC — also gave a R800 000 golden kick in the pants to director-general Ruan Eksteen, which everyone presumed was an order direct from Turpinus after Network gave too much screen time to Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse. Gliggle of the year came



DIED: Christina Onassis found dead after heart failure

Ginslov and backed by the immortal words of the State President was banned because of "bad taste".

Money was tight with the value of the rand dropping from 100 to 42 American cents and gold plunging from \$478 to \$418 between January and December. By midyear, we learned that sanctions had, worldwide, cut our exports by \$624-million. Import surcharges of up to 60 percent, 5.5 percent increases in the bond rate, a 15 percent petrol price increase (with 10c more to come in January) and an official inflation rate of 12.3 percent left everyone wondering how they'll get through next year, though it didn't seem to affect spending in this one

every corner from the January sinking of a Filipino ferry with nearly 4 000 aboard, to the North Sea Piper Alpha oil rig, the Paris underground and German air show horrors, the Pan Am crash with nearly 280 deaths, the death of 280 when the US shot down an Iranian aircraft, the mind-boggling December Armenian earthquake in which 55 000 died, the continuing violence in Northern Ireland after the SAS shot dead three IRA members in Gibraltar — and deaths from AIDS.

Loss to home we were stunned by the the Cornair air-

Amricland Raipansi may just have lost the last of his nine political lives.

THAT Pretoria is going through an acute bout of schizophrenia — accusing the BBC of encouraging revolutionary violence by screening the Mandela Birthday Concert on Christmas Day while at the same time elevating Mr Mandela to the status of the

Am flight, Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev might consider as his next step in detente joining forces with the West in helping wipe out the scourge

THAT the real peace of Christmas will be seen not around tables groaning with festive goodies but in the love and service of a Mother Teresa tending today, as always, the poorest of the poor, the broken, and the dying.

Thank You!



ST JOHN AMBULANCE

With to thank the public for the generous support we have received during 1988. Wishing you all a merry Christmas and a peaceful New Year

FUNDRAISING NO 1001420001



WATCH THE PRESS FOR OUR NEW COMPETITIONS IN A FORTNIGHT'S TIME

SOLUTION OF No 618

ATAOCHB

1	S	L	I	N	E	R	E	T	E	R
2	I	N	N	E	R	E	T	E	R	
3	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
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5	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
6	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
7	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
8	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
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11	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	
12	P	O	R	T	E	D	A	R	T	

SOLUTION OF No 618: **NO OUTRIGHT WINNER - 3 ERRORS**

PRIZE OFFERED R122 000

SOLUTION OF No 618: MERCEDES-BENZ COMPETITION MB3 CAR COMPETITION No. 6

R1 000 CONSOLATION PRIZE SHARED BETWEEN:

WINNER OF THE FREE ASPO PRIZE: Mrs S. J. Khampepe, Koppies, M. T. Khampepe, Koppies, The Winner of the BMW Motorcar is Mrs M. F. Tibbels of Vaalrivier, Cape Town.

IN THE SERVICE OF MANKIND



EARTHQUAKE: 55 000 died in the Armenian disaster

put one night stands out of business while doing a lot for the condom trade, though not in Stellenbosch where the municipally banned condom vending machines, Rambo III was the box office turn-off of 1988.

Musicals brought crowds flocking to theatres to see Nussense, District Six, Sophiatown and Saratoga, while Bruce Springsteen, Tracy Chapman and Sting performing at the Human Rights Concert in Harare got a new Great Trek going

from Tynhuys after Network gave too much screen time to Labour Party leader Allan Hendricks.

Giggle of the year came when a topless dance to be performed at RAL by Jeanette

an official inflation rate of 12.3 percent left everyone wondering how they'll get through next year, though it didn't seem to affect spending in this one.

It was a year when disasters or acts of God were around

Dias, Delmas and

THE YEAR 1988 has been one of anniversaries, each rich in symbolism.

For Afrikaners particularly it should have been a bumper year, with the Great Trek, Dias and Huguenot commemorations, as well as the 40th anniversary of the NP victory.

It was also the 150th anniversary of the freeing of slaves in the Cape, and the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The year has underlined South Africa's lack of national symbols which, in turn, is a reflection of the state's enduring crisis of legitimacy. Our festivals divide, rather than unite.

Division

The rival Great Trek commemorations have symbolised also the unbridgeable division of Afrikaner nationalism. The celebrations of 1938 were a powerful demonstration of the burgeoning of the second phase of nationalism. People were whipped up into an emotional frenzy.

By contrast the festivals of 1988 have been muted and restrained, with many people (I sense) participating out of a sense of ritual obligation rather than enthusiasm.

One episode in particular dramatised the crisis. In Delmas the FAK section of the Trek celebrants was invited to join what was described as 'the CP-ABW' section in a joint festival.

The CP-ABW section, however, refused to allow the black staff accompanying the FAK wagon to enter the venue, when upon, to his credit, the leader of the FAK team de-

David Welsh

Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town, looks back on a year of some gloom, a dash of excitement and a little promise



clined to have anything to do with the proceedings.

It should never be forgotten that there were as many, if not more, people of colour accompanying the original Great Trek than Voortrekkers. This, too, has a symbolic message for contemporary South Africa.

'Delmas', of course, conjures up another even more powerful symbol of our divisions. Perhaps the most significant event of 1988 was the conviction of 11 of the 22 accused in the Delmas trial, in which, effectively, non-violent extra-parliamentary opposition went on trial.

Earlier in the year, in February, the State cracked down massively on 17 organisations by effectively banning them. The implication of these events and the continuation of the state of emergency with its provisions for detaining people and closing down newspapers is to criminalise a large part of the extra-parliamentary opposition.

The State's strategy has been made clear: participate in official...

MARRIAGES

Professor Chris Bernard, 65, to Karin Strikorn, 24.

King Goodwill Zwelithini to his fourth wife, nurse Thandiso Mkhomo.

Tennis star Chris Evert, 33, to former Olympic star Andy Mill, 25.

Satirical man Susan Rosenkowitz to sales rep Terry Wilson.

P W BOTHA

A wise move



chance only when they cease to demonise the ANC and recognise it for what it is, a nationalist movement that in an open election would probably receive 50 percent of the black vote. Herein lies the fundamental source of our conflict. It will not be overcome by attempting to build up anti-ANC alliances that seek to isolate and marginalise the ANC.

In mid-year the ANC released its own constitutional guidelines, which amplify the Freedom Charter. It is a significant document that envisages a non-racial, unitary and democratic state, with a Bill of Rights based upon the Freedom Charter. It envisages a multi-party system, subject to the outlawing of racism, fascism, Nazism and ethnic or regional exclusiveness.

It proposes a mixed economy, subject to the proviso that the state is to regulate the general context in which economic life is to take place. Nationalisation of industry and the redistribution of land are not mentioned, and constitutional protection of property for per-

An enduring crisis of legitimacy and unity

1988 saw disasters, tragedies, the crash of the rand, AIDS, terror . . . and a few laughs

THEAT WVAS

GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

Farud, writer Alan Paton, 85
 Collier Henry Bolton, 80
 Actor Trevor Howard, 71
 Politician Connie Maude, 82
 Racehorse trainer Syd Land
 Dramatist Keryn John, 81
 Olympic principal Isaac Kirel, 81
 Goldfinger William Gert Frenck, 75
 Boxer Brian Kavanagh, 71
 Novelist Siegfried Stander, 53
 Surfer Kim Philby, 76
 Singer Alvin Aali, 30
 City press editor Percy Goboza, 50
 Deaf trainer Barbara Woodhouse, 78
 Multi-talented Gordon Hovsten, 64
 Radio man Bill France, 70
 Clown Eric "Tigger" Holland, 72
 Star rick girl Christina Gussis, 37
 Anthropologist Raymond Dart, 93
 Rugby legend Roy Law, 72

Race meeting

Man-made tragedies included the horrendous Pretoria massacre of seven bystanders allegedly by Wit Wolf Barand Strydom, the ongoing Maritzburg strike, the bomb blast at Ellis Park after the Transvaal-/Free State rugby game, a series of explosions at Witlippy Bars, the Oshkati bank attack in which 27 died and the "stray" bombing that killed 12 Defence Force members at Cahuge in Angola.

One development that hinted at peace in our time was Russian leader Mikhail Gorbachev's announcement of troop cuts at the UN early this month. On the country's sports fields John Bland pipped Tony Johnstone to win the golf order of merit, Aquanaut and Royal

Chalice took the Gold Bowl and Durban July respectively. Naas was dropped for a match and then dropped South Africa for Italy. Free State improved their cricket (by making the final of the Currie Cup) but flopped in rugby.

Nice guy Brian Mitchell successfully defended his world junior lightweight crown for the sixth time, the great Gonda Beatrix was the first to win the world showjumping championships for two years in a row, Bruce Forde won his eighth successive Comrades and veteran five-times-winner Wally Hayward made a creditable comeback.

Further afield Steffi Graf took over the Golden Girl of Tennis title with a super-Grand Slam (including the Olympic gold). Ayrton Senna became the world motor racing champ, our very own Nuis Roberts was voted Flat Race Jockey of the year in Britain and came third in the jockey stakes, Lester Piggott was released from jail, glamorous Pio Griffiths Joyner turned the Olympic flame into a blaze of glory, but steroid-taking sprinter Ben Johnson turned his medal to ashes.

Off the field Dame Caven and Louis Luyt sportingly sat across the table from the ANC as did the National Soccer League, all much to the annoyance of more conservative folk. Meanwhile, three rugby players, Naas, Cheese van Tonder and Eric Herbert seemed to spend as much time between the sheets as in the scrum as they all had paternally suits slapped on them.

After various bannings, Zola Budd came home to Bloem and a runaway romance left her engaged to local businessman Mike Pieterse.

Scandals abounded. Jo burg stockbroker was ordered to pay his discarded and sacked mistress a six-figure sum.

A Parow undertaker was allegedly found to have hidden 11 bodies he'd been paid to bury. Venture capitalist company and big sports sponsor Swiftsure was exposed and liquidated, the high interest investment



HEAD START: Siamese twins Mpho and Mphonyana Mathebela after their separation

Squad cons Jack le Grange and Robert van der Merwe were each given a double death sentence for killing a drug dealer (but later reviewed, some say to balance the lightened Sharpville Six sentences).

The British royals got their usual share of attention with the birth of little Beatrice to Fergie and Andy, followed by their lengthy trip to Australia while nanny gave the newcoroner her bottle, coping much media criticism.

Charles and Diana fended off tales that love had flown out the palace window when they spent week after week apart. Conservation-conscious Charles banned aerosols from his homes and everyone wondered how Di would keep her locks in place without hair spray. He also slugged off a lot of modern architecture.

MILESTONES

Margaret Thatcher becomes longest serving British Prime Minister for this century.
 Bob Hawke becomes longest serving Aussie Prime Minister for this century.
 Francois "Obe" Du Randt, Mr. Mandela's lawyer for 15 years, dies.
 Dennis Worrall becomes leader of the first black cabinet.
 New Nation editor, Mphahlele, is killed.
 Siphiso Mkhondo, a young man, is killed.
 Kwandadele woman is killed.

Gwen Gill



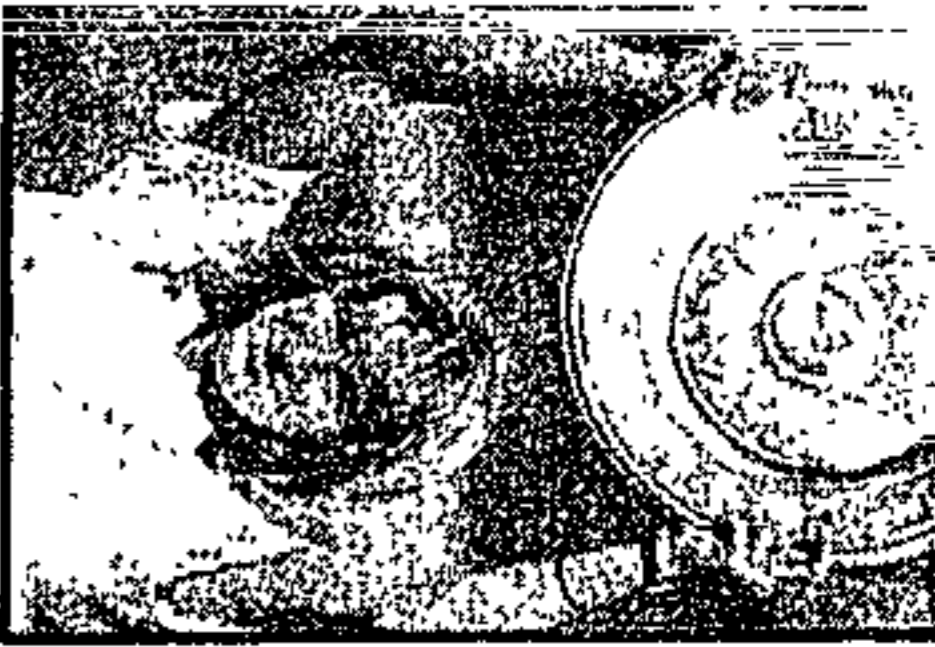
highlights some of the funny — and not so funny — happenings of 1988

millions on the southern African pilgrims who didn't turn up in Lesotho, the saintly Nobel Peace Prize winner Mother Theresa and, north of the Zambesi, British Opposition Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock who was held at gunpoint for an hour on his arrival at Mutare. Second-rate American actors flocked to the subcontinent to make third-rate films.

Another kid in the news was brave young Christopher Ferguson, 11, of Johannesburg, South Africa's youngest heart transplant. Sadler tales were told of the sexual abuse of children in this country when the recently formed police Child Protection Unit flushed out scores of child molesters, including well known show business personalities. Welcome visitors included the Pope (by mistake, but Piki turned it into a personal PR victory) while businessman Jos

not very friendly welcome was given to Mrs Leah Tulu, wife of the archbishop, who was handcuffed to a door at the Johannesburg traffic department because she didn't appear in court on a minor motoring charge. Surprisingly, traffic staff were cleared of misconduct. Former Miss South Africa Andrea Stelzer became Miss West Germany, but had the Miss World door shut in her face because, officially, at 25, she was too old. But womankind triumphed in Pakistan when Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan became the first Muslim head of state following elections after President Zia's aircraft crashed following a mid-air explosion. Of course, you may, in years to come only remember that





GOLDEN GIRL: Steffi Graf wins the Grand Slam

Scandals abound. Johannesburg stockbroker was ordered to pay his disgraced and sacked mistress a six-figure sum.

● A Parrot undertaker was allegedly found to have hidden 11 bodies he'd been paid to bury.

● Venture capital company and big sports sponsor Swiftsure was exposed and liquidated, the high interest investment scheme of Pretoria attorney Albert Vermaas came under the spotlight at the Harms Commission — originally appointed to look into the cross-border affairs of ex-Mafia boss Vito Palazzolo and NP friend Peet de Potes.

● And Britton Murder and

locks in place without hair spray. He also slugged off a lot of modern architecture.

MILESTONES

Herbert Thatcher becomes longest serving British Prime Minister this century

Bob Hawke becomes longest serving Aussie Prime Minister ever at 13 3/4 days

Francis "Duke" Oberholzer, Mr Johannesburg for 16 years, retires

Dennis Worrall becomes leader of the Independent Party

New Nation editor Zephania Shabalane released from detention after two years

South Africans on all-night tour are allowed into Russia

The Holy Shroud of Turin is declared a fake

The seven single record and the 11 number-one disappear

A Bermuda-based company buys the Mount Nelson Hotel

Reverend Forman awarded R3m damages against Style magazine (appeal pending)

PI announces we can make an atomic bomb

George Bush elected President of the United States

Elton John receives record damages of R4,2 million from The Sun newspaper

AIDS sufferers number 300 000 (174 here), according to WHO estimates

the Pope (by mistake, but Pik turned it into a personal PR victory) while businessmen lost

Miss World door shut in her face because, officially, at 25, she was too old.

But worshipping triumphed in Pakistan when Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan became the first Muslim head of state following elections after President Zia's aircraft crashed following a mid-air explosion.

Of course, you may, in years to come, only remember that '88 was the year your matric pupil got six distinctions (or just passed, much to your relief), granny won the Pick 6, the twins got mumps, little Johnnie learned to ride a bike or you had the best Christmas ever. It takes all sorts to make a year!

the Great Divide

sonal use and consumption is offered.

In view of the demonstration of the ANC this programme comes across as surprisingly moderate. Nevertheless it will attract the support of only about two percent of whites. The ANC will have to recognise that if there is to be any hope of whites budging from their position they will have to accept a constitutional dispensation that accords whites and other minorities a reasonable degree of security and does not relegate them to permanent political impotence.

Even in his relatively plush new environment Nelson Mandela remains a political prisoner. All-year rumours about his impending release have been abandoned. My view is that he should have been released unconditionally a long time ago and brought into the negotiating process.

Violence

I have a hunch that the Government's tardiness in releasing him completely is not attributable to the conventional reasons.

They may fear a worst-case scenario, worse even than his dying in prison, that is his assassination by someone on the lunatic fringe of the far right, which is a sad commentary on the level of violence in our society.

It was a wise move by the State President to retrieve the Sharpeville Six. Their execution would almost certainly have precipitated massive economic sanctions. Capital punishment is a barbaric institution that is grossly over-used in South Africa. Executing people convicted of "political" offences — however heinous —



PIK BOTHA
Peace in Angola?

widens divisions and heightens enmity.

No one had a clearer insight into this than Dr D F Malan, when in 1943, he pleaded for the lives of two Stormtroopers, who had blown up a post office, killing a passerby. "Here in South Africa we must look to the future if we want to show statesmanship. If blood is spilt, then we make the future difficult." To this one can only say Amen.

For the National Party it has been a year of mixed fortunes in which it sustained morale-shattering defeats by the Conservatives in the three by-elections earlier in the year, but seemed, at least, to hold its ground in the municipal elections.

It is just possible that the Conservatives may have peaked. They have been on a

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304A

winning streak, exemplifying the principle that nothing succeeds like excess. The Great Boksburg Disaster may have the salutary effect of bringing home to conservative whites that they no longer call all the shots.

Another salutary effect of Boksburg has been to hold up a mirror in which Nationalists can examine themselves and answer the charges of hypocrisy which assail them from left and right.

The tricameral Parliament's cumbersome machinery created omnibus machinery this year's sessions. Thoroughly objectionable legislation dealing with Group Areas, Free Settlement Areas and Illegal Squatters has dominated the latter half of the year. It becomes exceedingly difficult to describe a government that proposes such measures as "reformist".

While some genuinely reformist measures (such as abolishing influx control) have been adopted, the Rubicon of reform has yet to be crossed. The crucial issue that has to be addressed is the racial classification or "compulsory grouping" in principle enshrined in the Population Registration Act.

This principle is the statutory linchpin of the whole apartheid edifice and while it remains in force it will limit the scope of whatever reforms might be contemplated. Designing a society is not possible if people are required to be



VUSI KHAMVILLE
Gentle and decent

racially demarcated. No constitutional progress will be made until this is recognised and the principle of voluntary association is affirmed.

A disquieting trend is how many people are coming to accept gross invasions of civil liberty and violations of the Rule of Law as "normal". Every indication in 1988 suggests that the state of emergency will be upon us for a long time yet.

Personalising some manifestations of the State's authority or "compulsory grouping" as happening into perspective: when you realise that a gentle and decent person like Vusi Khamville has been made to spend nearly two years in detention then you realise also that something is terribly wrong with our society. Internationally, South Africa remains perilously isolated.

Dissent criminalised by state of emergency

The Delmas Bill lapsed, but for sure it will be back when the United States Congress reassembles in January. As an opponent of sanctions I find it difficult to understand how some Americans can simultaneously support "black empowerment" and comprehensive sanctions that will undermine it.

I have long maintained that Namibia represents a major test of the Government's rationality. The progress in the Angola-Namibia talks has been encouraging. I am inclined to believe that South Africa is now too deeply implicated to back out of, or derail, the negotiations.

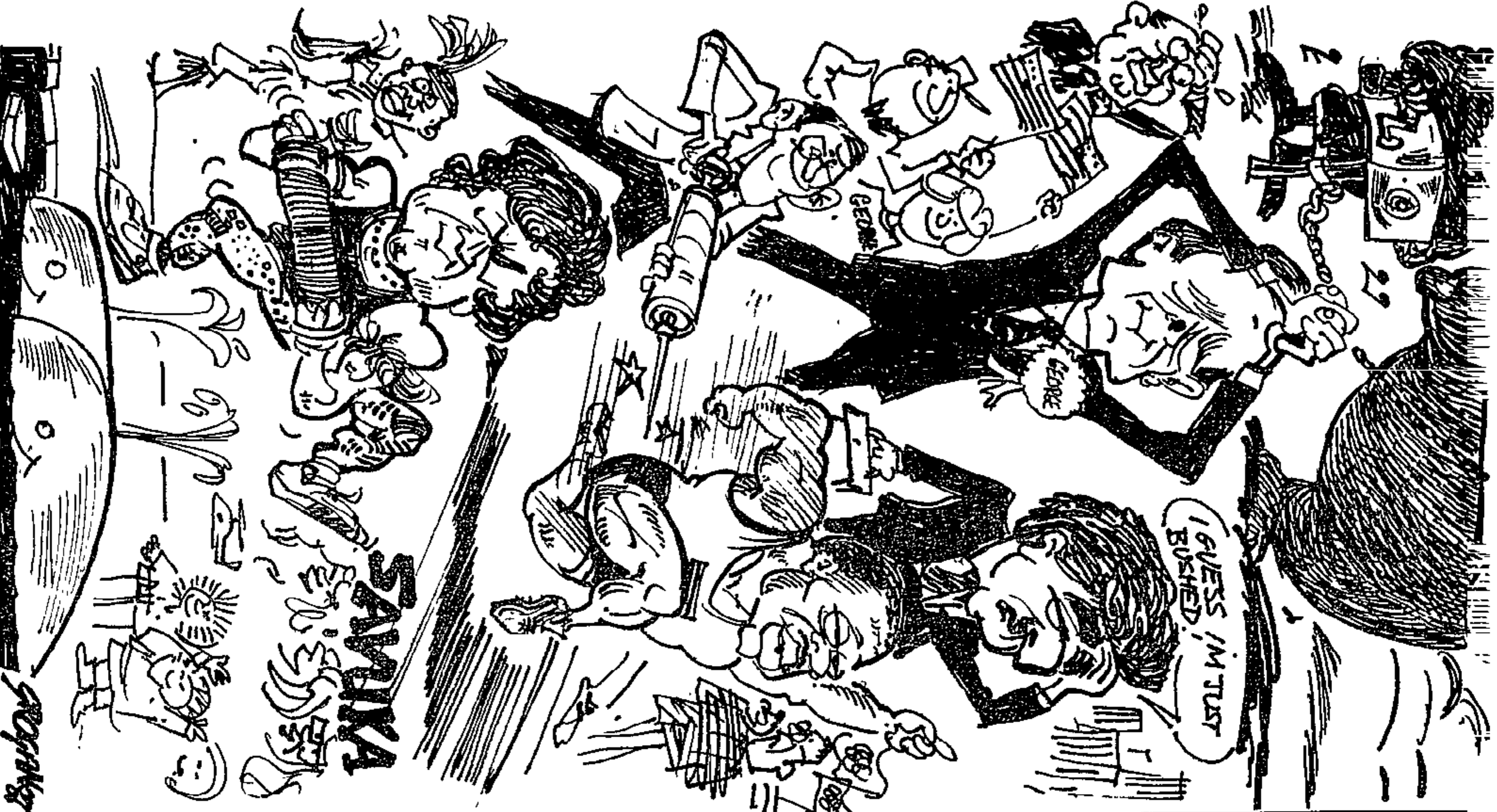
Shield

A fascinating aspect of these negotiations has been the emergence of substantial co-operation between the Americans and the Soviets, which, of course, has been crystallising on a variety of other issues of even greater moment.

American-Soviet co-operation on other southern African issues might make some South African policy-makers blanch, but if it could serve as a diplomatic shield around a genuinely transforming South Africa and thereby reduce the internationalisation of our crisis it could be very helpful to the prospects of peace.

More and more South Africans have had a glimpse into the abyss of violence. Few, I believe, want to put off negotiation until they have to climb out of their bunkers over mountains of corpses to get to the conference table.

Peace is catching. Let us hope that the Angola-Namibian talks succeed in injecting millions of South Africans with the same benign virus.



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A gift of learning for the squatter children

CHILDREN in a strife-torn squatter community have received an incomparable gift for Christmas — their first school.

The seven-classroom school — perched on one of the highest hills in the shackland of Lindelani north of Durban — is the result of a combined effort.

The Urban Foundation, the KwaZulu Department of Health, the British Embassy, the Durban Chamber of Commerce and the community itself rallied together to fund and build the school.

People from the 150 000-strong informal settlement — traumatised by violence this year — collected nearly R15 000 in coins towards the R100 000 project.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

The school will cater for about 400 children in an area where about 6 000 need schools. Most of them have been walking up to 10km to schools in nearby KwaMashu or attending informal classes in burnt-out buses or abandoned homes.

The daily influx of Lindelani schoolchildren into crowded KwaMashu has caused friction between the two communities.

Urban Foundation senior project co-ordinator David Oldfield said five other sites in the settlement had been earmarked for schools.

"This school is designed eventually to accommodate about 20 classrooms, labora-

tories and a library. People in the area worked under builder Petrus Ngqulunga and a hardcore team of skilled workers.

"The community's construction skills were upgraded. Even schoolchildren worked on site. This will all help with the next schools.

"This whole thing was initiated when two nurses from the KwaZulu Health Department doing vaccinations in the area saw the desperate need for schools," he said.

Lindelani has been a high-priority area for new schools for two years. The Sicelulwazi Lower Primary is the first school to be built in a squatter settlement in the Durban area.

Indaba's leader moves to Pretoria

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The director of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, will in future be permanently based in Pretoria to extend the organisation's promotion of the Indaba process and proposals.

A statement from the Indaba said the move was in line with the organisation's efforts to step up communication with Government and other important sectors and followed the establishment of a Cape Town office earlier this year.

Professor Van Wyk will be based in Pretoria from January 1. In addition to continuing his rôle for the Indaba, he will also lecture in constitutional law at the University of South Africa.

Mr Peter Mansfield, associate director of the Indaba, has been appointed executive director from January 1.

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SQUATTERS HELPED

A GROUP of doctors and paramedics conducted a free health clinic at the squatter community of Tsakane yesterday.

According to the coordinator of Health 2000, Dr Abu Asvat, about 80 squatters were examined. The most astonishing finding was the high number of children who had suspicions of rheumatic heart diseases. Such diseases are normally found in poor, overcrowded and inadequate housed populations.

He went on to say that one case of Kwashiorkor was diagnosed and two children were found to be underweight. There were two cases of high blood pressure with complications, Dr Asvat said.

"Most people complained that they could

BY MOKGADI
PELA

not afford the R5 demanded by the clinic," he added.

"The people seem to be making an effort to build their own homes but because of inflation and unemployment, the process has been slow. The fact that they have been given a permanent site comes as a relief," Dr Asvat said.

The squatters occupied the place after being removed from Silverton about three years ago. They have since established their new home called Mazakhele.

The research into the air quality in the eastern Transvaal highveld, and its effects on the environment, was initiated by the... ted. on (011) 839-3322 (office) of...

Shaken NPP to hold talks

DURBAN — The National People's Party, rocked by the sacking of its leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, from his seat of political power in the House of Delegates, is to hold a series of emergency meetings to decide its future in the Indian chamber.

Party spokesman, Mr Manilall Naranjee, MP for Mariannhill, said today that caucus chairman, Mr S V Naiker, had cut short his trip to Mauritius and returned to Durban to chair the meetings which are due to begin later this week.

"I spoke to Minister Naiker on the telephone and he appeared to be very concerned at the action taken by President Botha against the party leader.

"We are now to decide our future in the House of Delegates," he said.

With the planned merger of two opposition parties — Solidarity and the People's Party of South Africa taking

shape — the NPP, which ruled the House of Delegates from its inception, is set to become the new official opposition.

However, Mr Naranjee, said there was a distinct possibility that the NPP would join hands with certain MPs from the People's Party and Solidarity to gain an overall majority needed to control the House. *(304A)* *Star 27/12/88*

Solidarity's national chairman, Mr Ismail Omar, today urged Mr Rajbansi to bow out of public life, saying that in the past four years "we in the system ended up fighting corruption and deceit instead of fighting apartheid".

Mr Omar, a member of the President's Council, said jobs and posts in the House of Delegates administration occupied by Mr Rajbansi's "pals" would be reviewed by a new administration. — Sapa.



Protest at 'open' area

ARGUS 27/12/88
304A
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Carletonville town councillors have noted "with dismay" the proclamation in last week's Government Gazette declaring a free trading area in the town.

The Conservative Party-controlled council, which recently took a decision to remove the State President's portrait from the council chamber and to reimpose petty apartheid in the town, expressed concern at the proclamation.

Mr Arrie Paulus, CP member for Carletonville, said the newly elected council had asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning to withdraw the proclamation.

A spokesman for Minister Chris Heunis said today he had no comment to make on the council move.

The department was awaiting a formal application for deproclamation, a senior official said today.

He said the department was proceeding with some 52 outstanding applications for free trading areas nationwide, including the remaining 11 CP-controlled Transvaal towns whose new councils seek to reverse the process begun by their predecessors.

The official explained that the Carletonville application — launched in late 1986 or early last year — was too far gone to halt when the department was informed of the CP council's objections.

It made an exception by informing the Minister of Carletonville's objections after the deadline for representations had passed. The free trading area application was processed nonetheless.

Mr Paulus said the government's announcement made a mockery of third-tier government and he rejected the government's decision as the CP dominated council had recalled a decision concerning free trading areas made by the previous council in October this year.

Mr Paulus said it looked as if the National Party only approved of council decisions that conformed to NP policy.

Not proclaimed

"The NP is autonomous only then. Otherwise, when existing laws are enforced as was the case in Boksburg and now is the case in Carletonville, the NP acts autocratically."

He said he wanted to know why other areas such as the black and coloured areas were not proclaimed as free trading areas.

"Why don't the large business concerns open stores in these areas?"

"This would be much more convenient, time wise and money wise, for the black consumer and would automatically erase discrimination."

He said he knew why these stores would not open branches in the townships. "Their only concern is to make money. If they were to open in the black areas their shops would probably be burnt to the ground during times of unrest. Now, situated where they are, they get the cream as well as the rest of the milk."

PW and Mandela biggest political stars of '88

THE political stars of 1988 included both those rising and those falling, and in some cases those that simply disappeared.

Among the biggest stars in the South African political firmament continued to be President Botha, who celebrated 10 years in power and the 40th anniversary of the National Party government.

Mr Botha made major headlines, not only with his safaris into Africa and his European tour, but also for his pronouncements on Nelson Mandela and the Sharpeville Six, as well as his attacks on the media.

Mr Mandela's star shone ever brighter as speculation about his release intensified and when the government recognised that he was perhaps the major factor in national reconciliation by granting his freedom in stages.

Among the ministers who dominated the news were the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan.

MECS
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by DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

JOEA

Both played a major role in the Angola/Cuba peace talks. They were also photographed holding hands while astride camels in front of the great Pyramids of Giza.

Mr Botha made news of a different kind when he became embroiled in a heated exchange of words at the Foreign Correspondents' Association annual dinner.

General Malan temporarily cut off the Argus newspaper group from his ministry when he took exception to an article published from a French journal which quoted the Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, as criticising South Africa.

The Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stoffel Botha, also fouled his relations with the media when he closed down New Nation and the Weekly Mail and made bitter attacks on the Star.

Politicians who wound up in trou-

ble this year included Leon de Beer, MP for Hillbrow, who was convicted of electoral fraud, and Mr Peet de Pones, Nationalist MP for East London City, who was allegedly connected with an Italian drug dealer.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, was suspended from Parliament after losing his majority. He is now at the centre of an official investigation into allegations of corruption.

Another minister embroiled in controversy was the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, who was accused of misusing his staff and his position to favour his own business. This has been strongly denied.

Controversial figures who made political news included Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who defied the government by urging a boycott of the municipal elections (il-

gal in terms of the emergency regulations).

A Transvaal MEC, Mr John Mavuso, stood in for the President at a European dinner and surprised the guests by first stating he was a Nationalist with a capital N and then singing *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*.

The unlikely convener of opposition unity talks was the industrialist and rugby administrator, Louis Luyt, who said he was tired of the Nationalist government after the way he was criticised for trying to break South Africa's sports isolation (he was allegedly involved in talking to the African National Congress at a conference on rugby in Harare).

A public servant whose star glittered was Mr Neil van Heerden, director-general of foreign affairs, who was named Pretoria Press Club Newsmaker of the Year for his role in the regional peace talks.

Politicians who died included Chief Patrick Mpephu, Chief Minister of Venda.



President Botha

Mr Chris Heunis

Dr Zac de Beer

Mr Rajbansi

Dr Treurnicht

1988 — a year of tighter security and confrontation

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE security lid was screwed on tighter in 1988 and, with a renewal of the state of emergency, many extra-parliamentary organisations were restricted.

It was also the year the tricameral parliamentary system came unstuck in a confrontation between the government and the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates increased.

While blacks voted for local government bodies, legislation was passed to provide for a consultative National Council to give attention to black political rights at central government level. At the end of the year there was still no indication when the Council would get off the ground.

In February, 17 extra-parliamentary organisations including the United Democratic Front were placed under more restrictions.

Emergency renewed

Later a few more were restricted, including the End Conscription Campaign and, for the first time, a right-wing organisation, the Blanke Bevringsbeweging.

In June, the nation-wide state of emergency was renewed for the second time since 1986. This involved more restrictions — including a ban on calls to boycott the October local government elections.

In those elections there was a low turnout among blacks but the gov-

ernment expressed its satisfaction that South Africa should be given time with the participation.

In the white local elections the Conservative Party did not do as well as had been expected and there were indications that its progress had at least been contained.

Group Areas controversy

The CP did, however, win control of municipalities in many parts of the Transvaal platteland and in some city areas. Soon after the elections a political storm started over the party's intention to turn back the clock to petty apartheid.

In Parliament there was controversy about the group areas legislation which provided on the one hand for open residential areas and on the other for a Group Areas Amendment Bill to maintain segregated areas by means of vastly increased penalties.

In the end this led to three sessions of Parliament with the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates refusing to vote on these measures. As a result they had to be sent to the President's Council.

The council decided to send the Group Areas Amendment Bill back to President Botha with recommendations for changes, including a revision of the harsh penalties.

President Botha reached out to Africa on trips to Mozambique, Malawi, the Ivory Coast and Zaire and on a visit to Switzerland his message was

that South Africa should be given time.

In 1988 South Africa was rocked by its worst incidence of bomb blasts and urban terrorism while the security authorities claimed unrest incidents in general had abated.

Suppression of the media was stepped up and the Weekly Mail, New Nation and South were banned.

Mr Colin Eglin stepped down as leader of the Progressive Federal Party and was succeeded by Dr Zac de Beer.

Plans to form a new political party to the left of the National Party were considered in negotiations among the PFP, the Independent Party, which was formed during the year, and the National Democratic Party.

Celebration split

Squabbles in Afrikaner circles continued. The CP leader, Dr A P Treurnicht, spurned a call from Mr Botha for greater Afrikaner unity.

The celebrations of the Great Trek were split in two, with the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (FAK) staging one trek and the Afrikaner Volkswag another.

There were also signs of in-fighting in the Cabinet with rumours about a Cabinet reshuffle and suggestions that Mr Chris Heunis was being replaced as Minister of Constitutional Development. These rumours were quashed by Mr Botha.

There were endless wrangles in the House of Delegates. In the end the chairman of its Ministers Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, was suspended after losing his majority in the House and a commission of inquiry was appointed into alleged corruption.

In the House of Representatives a group of Labour Party MPs broke away under the leadership of Mr Carter Ebrahim and formed the Democratic Reform Party, which is set to become the official opposition in the House.

There were protracted negotiations between South Africa, Angola and Cuba, with the United States acting as mediator, leading to a peace plan for south-western Africa which will lead to independence for SWA/Namibia.

The phased release of the African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela went a step further when he was taken from Pollsmoor Prison, first to be treated for tuberculosis in a clinic in Cape Town, and then when he was placed in detention in a house adjacent to the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Other actions which won the government praise in 1988 included the reprieve of the Sharpeville Six (in a package which included the reprieve of three policemen on death row) and the handling of the "Kine Three", the detainees who escaped from custody and sought asylum in the the American consulate in Johannesburg's Kine Centre.

Shop-owners blame council for huge losses

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Boksburg businessmen, who have experienced their "worst Christmas ever" this year as a result of blacks' boycott of the town, have laid the blame for their massive losses squarely at the door of the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council.

The businessmen yesterday told The Star that this has been the worst Christmas for them, and their individual losses amounted to thousands of rands.

Employees at some of the shops visited by The Star expressed concern at the lack of business, and feared they might lose their jobs if the three-week-old consumer boycott continues.

The people of Reiger Park and Boksburg townships decided on a boycott of the town when the CP-dominated Boksburg Town Council reintroduced petty apartheid, barring blacks from using public facilities in the town.

Mrs R Bhyat of Bhyat's Outfitters said Christmas sales were "very bad" and they had lost almost R20 000, or 60 percent of their business. If the boycott continued, many businesses would close down.

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Miss T Dopperreira of Ocean Fishery criticised the town council for bringing upon them all the anger of the black community, thus harming their businesses.

"They (the councillors) don't know what they are doing. They are destroying other people's lives. If things continue this way, I am afraid we will have to close down," she said.

She said turnover was about 60 to 65 percent down, and they had lost "a lot of money".

"It's terrible. December is supposed to bring in enough money to cover for January, but we are struggling even to raise enough money to pay our rent," Miss Dopperreira said.

Chesler's Shoe Store manager Mr Gert Bezuidenhout said his family business's income was down only 20 percent down because it had more white than black customers. But he was quick to point out that he was not a racist and that he abhorred apartheid, which he found unchristian.

An evangelist at the coloured township of Ge-luksdal outside Brakpan, Mr Bezuidenhout said he prayed constantly for reconciliation between races and asked God to change people's hearts.

"Some people have started changing already, and many still will. There are people here in Boksburg who now concede that they made a mistake by voting for the CP. At the moment we can only pray that God will see us through these times."

Mr Bezuidenhout said Chesler's Shoe Store, which has been in Boksburg for the past 80 years, was started by a Mr Chesler, a Russian Jew who had emigrated to South Africa "and knew well how it was to be discriminated against and persecuted". When his family took over the business, it adopted Mr Chesler's non-racial stand, he said.

Select-a-Shoe manager Miss Jane Mngomezulu said she and her colleagues were worried that they might lose their jobs if the boycott went on indefinitely.

An employee of Waners Store — who did not want to be named — said the store had had a very bad Christmas and their jobs were in jeopardy.

"If things continue this way a little longer, we don't know what will happen. That's what we are all scared of because we are sitting here with nothing to do but dusting the shoes. We don't know what to do, and it's very frustrating," she said.

Early election and conflict unless Group Areas goes

Star 28/12/88

304A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — White voters will be going back to the polls in the new year and the next Parliament will be marked by conflict and confrontation unless the Labour Party gets its way on the Group Areas Act.

This was the thrust of the message to the State President, Mr P W Botha, from the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, at the opening of the 23rd annual congress of the LP in Bloemfontein last night.

He said the congress would have to consider seriously the direction the LP should encourage South Africa to pursue on four issues:

- Was the party prepared to continue participating in the present three-chamber Parliament? If not, which direction should the party pursue?
- Following the Government's desertion of the negotiation initiative, would the Labour Party have to take over this initiative?
- Did the LP continue to uphold its resolution that the Group Areas Act was standing in the way of reform, and was it essential that this Act should disappear from the statutes?
- Did the LP uphold the view that the whole Parliament should go back to the voting public when its five-year term had expired?

Mr Hendrickse gave his own view on

these issues as follows:

- On continued participation in Parliament, he indicated that Labour had used the system effectively to dismantle apartheid and to uplift the coloured community.
- On taking over the negotiation initiative from the Government, Mr Hendrickse said the Government had deserted negotiation and that its inability to broaden discussions was its own fault. He said his party would take the initiative to draw people and organisations into talks, including Nelson Mandela and the ANC and UDF.

SCRAPPED

- On the Group Areas Act, Mr Hendrickse reiterated the Labour view that the law would have to be scrapped. Unless it was, the proceedings of Parliament would be marked by confrontation and conflict.
 - On an early election, Mr Hendrickse said if the Government wanted co-operation to postpone white elections by extending the life of the House of Assembly it would first have to give clear indications as to the direction in which it wanted to send the country.
- "If the Group Areas fiasco of the past year is anything to go by, then I am afraid that the National Party will have to contend face to face with the Conservative Party at the polls next year," Mr Hendrickse said.

Hendrickse warns white community:

'Scrap these Acts or face extinction'

Star 28/12/88

304A

Bloemfontein

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night appealed directly to the white community to get rid of the Group Areas Act in case it rebounded and eventually threatened white survival.

If the white community persisted with laws such as the Group Areas Act and Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, eventual vengeance could be worse and the survival of whites in a future South Africa could be in jeopardy, he warned.

Mr Hendrickse, who has been fighting the Government for five years over the Group Areas Act, made his appeal to the white electorate at the opening of his party's annual congress in Bloemfontein.

The Labour Party leader arrived at the City Hall with an escort of municipal traffic policemen.

Among the approximately 1300 people present were guests of honour Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the PFP; Mr Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa; and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Ministers and diplomats.

No conception

Mr Hendrickse said this year's unpleasantness around the Group Areas Act demonstrated clearly once again that many whites, be they National Party or Conservative Party supporters, did not show the vaguest conception of how much damage the Act had done.

He said: "The National Party and the white voters will in years to come have to pay a high price for this unholy and unchristian act. I wish to emphasise that the contempt and revenge in respect of this very Act on those who implement and administer it will only increase in the years ahead."

He said the LP was convinced that the great majority of Nationalists felt the Act was the greatest obstacle to reform.

He said: "To those who are of this opinion, the Labour Party wishes to re-confirm its view quite unequivocally: while the Group Areas Act remains on the statutes, the co-operation on the part of the Labour Party in the current dispensation will be marked by confrontation and conflict."

"It is clear the National Party and the whites are clinging determinedly to the Group Areas Act and regard it as a sort of second Calvinist Bible."

Mr Hendrickse challenged the State President's contention that there was majority white and coloured support for the Act.

He said Mr P W Botha would never dare to call a referendum on the Act. The basis of his Government would be shocked by the results of such a referendum.

Mr Hendrickse said the tragedy was that most whites had a mental block about open areas and the implications these would have for their own lives.

He said: "As far as I am concerned, this has to do with my dignity as a citizen of South Africa, to enjoy that which my

Take a tip, this point



An indoor bowling club badge given in lieu of a tip that has probably made Ordwell Makaimure the most Makaimure, who patrols the front desk of Zimbabwian Canadian tourist to heart and has not stopped collecting over the world — many more than his scarlet livery as he hasn't considered tak

Rejection by De Klerk re wrangle over leader of ne

Star 28/12/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

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He said. "As far as I am concerned, this has to do with my dignity as a citizen of South Africa, to enjoy that which my country offers me."

"Sometimes I wonder to what extent we, the blacks of South Africa, will go to accommodate our white compatriots before that benevolence begins to evaporate like the morning mist."

"The time has come in South Africa when we must make it unambivalently clear to the whites that our dignity will never again be assailed."

Mr Hendrickse dealt at length with the Boksburg issue, saying the reintroduction of petty apartheid by the CP-controlled council was the Government's fault.

"It is exactly these kinds of incidents which add fuel to the fires of hatred and revolution and which will consume South Africa in a conflict that will bring about not only the loss of human life but also the impoverishment of our country."

Mr Hendrickse also warned the Government to guard against following the same course as Zimbabwe.

● The MP for Diaz, Mr Elias Buis, died at his hotel shortly before the start of last night's meeting. It is believed he suffered a heart attack.

● See Page 2.

Rejection

By Esmaré v
Political

The leadership of the new left-of-political party yesterday with Klerk's rejection

Dr de Klerk to lead the pro of the Progress Party, the Indian and the National Movement, said

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Tragedy

A love affair between Gerdorp Galy — both struck by lightning — The loss of serve — the and there were "little" feet Krugersdichts said been found Day.

He said the bull last

Rejection by De Klerk renews wrangle over leader of new party

Star 28/12/88 304*

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The leadership vacuum in a new left-of-government political party was emphasised yesterday with Dr Willem de Klerk's rejection of the post.

Dr de Klerk, widely tipped to lead the proposed merger of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, said in a statement he had never been available for the job.

He also raised some reservations about the formation of a new liberal party, saying his continued involvement and those of many enlightened Afrikaners would depend on the choice of strategy to promote enlightened principles among Afrikaners.

If his "proposals and reser-



Dr Willem de Klerk

vations" were suitably addressed, he would continue his involvement. He declined to elaborate.

Dr de Klerk, former editor of *Rapport*, said he also would not nominate — as had been agreed earlier this month — three representatives to the joint negotiations.

NDM spokesman Mr Pierre Cronje said his party still favoured an outsider to lead the new party because it was not interested in an amalgamation of the three involved parties only, but wanted a new element to be introduced.

However, it would be satisfied if the three present leaders — the PFP's Dr Zach de Beer, the NDM's Mr Wynand Malan and the IP's Dr Denis Worrall — could jointly lead the party.

Dr de Beer said he had been under the impression all along that Dr de Klerk was not available to lead the party.

Dr Worrall said he had always understood that Dr de Klerk would accept the position if it was offered to him.

Inquiry into intimidation is dropped

Star 28/12/88

Pretoria Bureau

Police in kwaNdebele have halted a probe into allegations of intimidation involving policemen during the recent three-day general election.

The liaison officer of the kwaNdebele police, Captain J A Joubert, today told The Star that the homeland police had closed the case into the allegations involving two police officers and two constables because "they were found to be false".

Captain Joubert said two police constables had complained about two police officers who allegedly made other policemen vote for Chief Minister Majozi Mahlangu.

Tragic end to heavy love affair

Martha (9) is

youngest m...

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SA needs an independent broker, says Assocom

Ser 28/12/88

304A

South Africa should be inspired by the success of the Namibia/Angola negotiations to appoint its own mediation suprema to seek solutions to its internal political problems, says the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a review of the 1988 outlook.

Such an appointment could make next year one of the most momentous in South African history, adds Assocom.

The special mediator should ideally be a respected member of the judiciary, a skilful negotiator in the mould of Dr Crocker, the US Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, who played a crucial role in the Namibia/Angola settlement talks.

The first aim should be a cessation of internal terrorism by political extremists and the relaxation of the state of emergency to swing over international attitudes and encourage overseas investors to abandon their pariah rating of South Africa.

The mediator should follow the Crocker example as an honest broker and throw bridges over the chasms of dispute, open lines of

South Africa should look to appointing a special mediator in the mould of Dr Chester Crocker (right), to seek solutions to its internal political problems, the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry suggests in its review of 1988. **MICHAEL CHESTER** reports.



communication between antagonists, and smooth away the obstacles to uninhibited dialogue.

"If peace can be achieved after the years-long international dispute about Namibia, is there any reason why a similar peace cannot be achieved after the long years of political disputes which are impoverishing this country?" asks Assocom.

"Perhaps we need a Chester Crocker to induce the Government and the various political factions to sit around a table and realise that there is more ground for co-operation than there are corrugations of dispute.

"The majority of our people ask little more than to live at peace with their neighbours, to have reasonable shelter, the right to earn a

living so that they can bring up and educate their children and thus equip them to enjoy a future of their own making.

"Those who are already participating in an expanding economy want the freedom of self-expression and mobility and the right to make a meaningful contribution to society.

"These instincts and ambitious motivations are common to every group, regardless of colour differences. If we can successfully harness these basic wants we can release a tremendous energy force which can provide what most people want out of life."

The barriers to dialogue up to now had been pre-conditions — "a mindset which has induced obdura-

cy as unyielding as Table Mountain."

The job of the mediator would be to convince antagonists that the urgent priority was internal peace — and that all other issues would then fall into place given time and patience.

The mediator to be selected could not be a foreigner, because the Government would strongly resist external interference in what it considers to be primarily a domestic matter. Nor could he or she be a party politician, who was likely to be unacceptable to one side or another at the negotiating table.

Even a member of South Africa's diplomatic corps was likely to be suspect.

Ideally, the mediator would be a respected member or ex-member of the judiciary, someone cast in the mould of skilful negotiator.

Once dialogue was under way, he should ensure there was no quibbling over pre-conditions and once discussions started he would persist with them until a formula was finally found for a safe South Africa of the future.

De Klerk turns down leadership

Setback for opposition unity plans

309A

28/12/88

B/day

WILLEM de Klerk, tipped as the most likely leader of a new liberal opposition party, yesterday dropped a bombshell on the unity talks by saying he did not want the job.

Denis Worrall's IP and Wynand Malan's NDM have publicly backed former newspaper editor and academic De Klerk as the new leader.

He is also believed to enjoy considerable support within the PFP.

CHARLOTTE MATHEWS reports that Worrall said last night he knew De Klerk had "considerable" reservations, but should be persuaded his services were required.

In his statement De Klerk said he wanted to state "finally and clearly that I am not and was not available for the post".

He also announced he would not nominate — as had been agreed earlier this month — three representatives to the joint all-party negotiations.

Transvaal rugby boss Louis Luyt would still attend the meeting on Janu-



● DE KLERK

PETER DELMAR

ary 12 in his capacity as initiator of the first joint discussions.

De Klerk said he did not plan at present to enter politics full time.

"My participation and contribution so far rest on my agreement with the broad formulated principles and intentions of the new party.

"The choice by myself and many *verligte* Afrikaners to continue to be involved will depend on the further formation of the new party and the most fruitful choice of strategies to promote enlightened principles among Afrikaners."

Explaining

De Klerk said he had several reservations and suggestions in this regard concerning the formation of the new party and would discuss these at the January meeting.

Explaining why he was not nominating representatives, he said a representative committee could be considered only after the meeting's decisions.

De Klerk, brother of Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk, was previously seen as the best choice to resolve the leadership dispute between the parties.

Opposition leaders were also bank-

● To Page 2



Setback for opposition unity plans

309A

28/12/88

ing on him drawing a large section of NP support.

While PFP and NDM leaders engaged in the unity discussions were not immediately available for comment last night, Worrall said: "I have not discussed it with him and I do not know what the circumstances are behind his decision.

"I have always understood that he would accept the leadership if it were offered to him by the three parties.

"Clearly he has to be persuaded that his services are required and I do not think that the general impression has

● From Page 1



been created publicly that there was unanimity over the leadership.

"The leadership has not been offered to anybody. It has been speculated on," he said.

"All the party representatives were to take the issue of leadership back to their parties before the steering committee meeting on January 12.

"I know he had several reservations and they were very considerable. You would have to get them from him personally," Worrall said.

Warning given against isolation

SA 'must stay in technology game'

It was becoming increasingly important that South Africa should become a competitive player "in the world game" in terms of technological development, says Dr Clark.

"The international technology scene is an aggressive, highly competitive, fast-moving race in which even advanced nations are struggling to keep up.

"For countries like South Africa, the race is an especially tough one — because for the losers, the prospects are bleak. Clearly we cannot win the race, but we dare not allow other competitors to leave us behind," says Dr Clark.

Impact on development

He was discussing technology and its impact on South Africa's development in an article in a recent issue of *RSA 2000*, a Human Sciences Research Council publication.

There should, according to Dr Clark, "be no confusion" on the issue of the impact of political developments on future technological progress in South Africa.

"If these were to lead to South Africa's effective isolation from world technological developments, it would undermine the development of South Africa itself.

"In addition, current spending on research and development in South Africa cannot possibly sustain our demand for the new knowledge and technology we need to continue developing in pace with our major world competitors," says Dr Clark.

South Africa faces numerous challenges in the world of technology. Some of these were discussed in a recent article by the CSIR's Group Executive: Research, Development and Implementation, Dr Brian Clark.

When it was considered that the US, Western Europe and Japan found it necessary to "collaborate vigorously" on pre-competitive research, it was obvious that South Africa could not possibly afford to allow itself to become isolated.

"Technological development in South Africa demands that we remain part of the world community. Even Japan, the world's most innovative, effective user technology, remains a net importer (in 1986, 260,6 billion yen as against 224,1 billion yen).

"How much more important it is for South Africa to remain an effective trader in the world marketplace," Dr Clark says.

"The problem is further complicated by a lack of skilled technologists.

"South Africa has abundant mineral resources which are being threatened by political and technological initiatives and which, if not protected, will in future cease to be the huge asset they have been in the past.

"Capital and technology from world sources are increasingly being denied to South Africa, thereby threatening our very ability to make the progress needed to generate the wealth required to rectify social problems," Dr Clark says.

CP 7 in 10
28/12/88
**'60% CP
favour
selected
mixed
areas'** *30/1/89*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

About 60% of Conservative Party voters favour an "intermediate" approach to group areas, while only slightly more than a third of right-wing supporters believe in the rigid retention of residential segregation, a recent survey of 1 450 voters in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand region shows.

Wits University academic Professor Lawrence Schlemmer writing in Optima magazine says 64% of NP supporters, 60% of CP voters and 17% of liberal opposition voters prefer an "intermediate option" including some selected open areas and residential quotas.

Only 37% of CP supporters want strict segregation, while this option is favoured by just 16% of NP voters. Curiously 3% of CP supporters favour the complete abolition of group areas.

According to the survey, the CP would have fractionally more support than the NP if some 28% of NP supporters who consider the CP a second choice, in fact, move to the right.

A shift to the right along these lines would give the CP 47% of white voter support, compared to 45% for the NP.

At the same time, support for liberal opposition parties would fall from 15% to 8%.

White voters, he says, are overwhelmingly concerned with the issue of blacks in their immediate environment. The state of the economy seems "curiously disconnected from popular white politics".



Boksburg fears for the future

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Boksburg businessmen have had their worst Christmas because of a black consumer boycott and have laid the blame for their losses at the door of the Conservative Party-controlled Town Council.

And employees at some shops fear for their jobs if the three-week boycott continues.

The people of Reiger Park and Boksburg townships decided on a boycott when the CP-dominated council reintroduced petty apartheid, barring blacks from public facilities in the town.

Mrs R Bhyat of Bhyat's Outfitters said Christmas sales were "very bad" and they lost close to R20 000 — 60 percent of their business. If the boycott continued many businesses would close.

Miss T Doperreira of Ocean Fishery decried the council for bringing on them all the anger of the blacks.

"The councillors don't know what they are doing. They are destroying other people's lives. If things continue this way I am afraid we will have to close," she said.

Miss Doperreira said her turnover was 60 to 65 percent down and they had lost "a lot of money".

"It's terrible. This month of December is supposed to bring in enough money to cover January, but we are struggling even to raise enough money to pay our rent," she said.

The manager of Chesler's Shoe Store, Mr Gert Bezuidenhout, said his family business's income was only 20 percent down because it had more white than black customers.

But Mr Bezuidenhout was quick to

point out that he was not a racist and that he abhorred apartheid, which he found un-Christian.

An evangelist at the coloured township of Gekhsdal outside Brakpan, Mr Bezuidenhout, said he prayed constantly for a reconciliation between races and asked God to change people's hearts.

"Some people have started changing already and many still will. There are people here in Boksburg who now concede that they made a mistake by voting for the CP. At the moment we can only pray that God will see us through these times," he said.

Mr Bezuidenhout said Chesler's Shoe Store, which has been in Boksburg for 80 years, was started by a Mr Chesler, a Russian Jew who emigrated to South Africa "and knew well how it was to be discriminated against and persecuted".

When his family took over the business it adopted Mr Chesler's non-racial stand, he said.

The manageress of Select-a-Shoe, Miss Jane Mngomezulu, said she and her colleagues were worried that they might lose their jobs if the boycott went on indefinitely.

An employee of Waners Store who did not want to be named said the store had a bad Christmas and jobs were in jeopardy.

"If things continue this way a little longer we don't know what will happen. That's what we are all scared of because we are sitting here with nothing to do but dusting the shoes. We don't know what to do and it's very frustrating," she said.

Mr J S Kruger of Ster Fish and Chips said business was almost the same this month as it was in November.

LP vows to have talks with ANC

THE Labour Party, the second largest party in Parliament, yesterday resolved to reach out to the banned and exiled African National Congress as soon as possible.

The party meanwhile yesterday received assurances of support for a more solid front against the Government from Dr Denis Worrall's Independent party, Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and two homeland leaders, Mr Nelson Ramodike, Governor of Lebowa, and Dr Kenneth Mopedi, Chief Minister of QwaQwa.

SOWETAN
Correspondent

The party's annual congress voted unanimously in the Bloemfontein City Hall to take over the negotiation initiative from the Government because the National Party had failed to bring black leaders to the conference table.

The party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, appealed to the congress on Tuesday night to decide on a new policy on seizing the negotiation initiative itself.

Labour election decision seen as challenge to PW

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — A formal decision by the Labour Party that all three Houses of Parliament should go into a general election next year has been seen by politicians as a challenge to the authority of the National Party, particularly the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Conservative Party has as a result questioned whether Mr Botha should not resign, saying the confrontation between the LP and the NP was largely of his own making because of the way he has treated Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Labour resolved at its congress in Bloemfontein yesterday that it would not accede to Government pressure to amend the Constitution to extend the life of the House of Assembly until 1992.

The Constitution stipulates that all three Houses must be dissolved when the life of the current Parliament expires in September next year.

DECISION IRREVOCABLE

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview this morning the congress decision was irrevocable, unless the Government came forward with a new initiative.

This would have to include the whole question of the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, he said.

There was no immediate reaction from the National Party early today.

CP spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said in an interview today his party was urgently and earnestly awaiting an election.

"If the State President had treated Mr Hendrickse and the Labour Party like human beings instead of the way he did, he may not have been saddled with the problems that he has today. Surely the time has come for Mr Botha to consider whether he is still an asset to public life?"

● See Page 6.

De Klerk decision 'expected'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Former *Rapport* editor Dr Willem de Klerk's public announcement that he was not interested in leading a proposed new left-of-Government political party did not come as a surprise and was no setback to the ongoing negotiations, the leaders of two of the involved parties said yesterday.

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said Dr de Klerk had turned down many opportunities in the past to enter politics.

"My understanding of his position is that he never was interested in the leadership. He was proposed as a compromise figure ... but his deci-

sion is no setback to the negotiations."

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said he had never been under the impression that Dr de Klerk was available.

Although widely tipped to lead the proposed merger of the PFP, the IP and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, Dr de Klerk said in a statement he had never been available for the job.

Spokesman Mr Pierre Cronje said the NDM favoured an outsider, but would be satisfied if the three present leaders could lead jointly.

Dr Worrall said the IP had never been in favour of an outsider.

New party to seek open Cape Town

CAPE TOWN — The proposed new left-of-Government opposition party would launch a broadly based initiative to repeal the "notorious" Group Areas Act and create an open city in Greater Cape Town, says western Cape chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Bill Sewell.

He also says negotiations for

a strong new democratic party are well advanced and the PFP in the western Cape has had rounds of informal talks with the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party.

These talks are laying the foundation for co-operation with the NDM and the IP, Mr Sewell says in a statement.

"All signs point to a new era in South Africa, with several building blocks coming into place in the year ahead."

Equally important to the negotiations are the ongoing talks with several groups that prefer to focus their activities outside current parliamentary and municipal structures, he says. — Sapa.

30/1/88

12/1/88

12/1/88

'Independents, LP should join forces'

Star 29/12/88 304A
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party yesterday proposed a working relationship with the Labour Party in the next general election.

In a message read to the Labour congress in Bloemfontein, Dr Worrall suggested the two parties work towards two things, while maintaining their separate political personalities.

- They should join forces in the coming general election.
- They should work together to break down barriers that divided parliamentary politics from extra-parliamentary politics.

Earlier in his message, Dr Worrall praised the LP and the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for their achievements in 1988.

Labour had demonstrated that it was possible to oppose and break down apartheid from within the political system.

The party and Mr Hendrickse had managed to convey to many whites the hurt of racial discrimination.

National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan apologised for not attending the congress.

Mr Hendrickse said invitations extended to local National Party politicians to attend had not been acknowledged.

Potgietersrus rumpus over backing for resegregation

Star 29/12/88

Own Correspondent (204A)

POTGIETERSRUS — The recent press release by the chairman of the Potgietersrus management committee, Dr George Morkel-Brink, in which he expressed the support of the Conservative Party-led town council over recent apartheid moves by the Boksburg Town Council has received mixed reactions in the town.

Councillor Piet Breytenbach, the only independent on the council, claimed that no motion in support of the Boksburg moves had been passed during the recent council meeting, and claimed that Dr Morkel-Brink was acting on his own.

In statements released this week, Mr Breytenbach said he and Dr Morkel-Brink had

reached agreement during a telephone conversation that the original press release by Dr Morkel-Brink had been issued on behalf of the CP caucus, and not by the town council.

Dr Morkel-Brink claims in his statement that he obtained permission for the motion from all his fellow councillors — except Mr Breytenbach — before the press release, and that a council decision was unnecessary.

He accuses Mr Breytenbach of having kept facts from the public, and for being biased.

Dr Morkel-Brink also claims that Mr Breytenbach had said in an election manifesto that he supported separate facilities.

Mr Breytenbach yesterday said he supported own residential areas, and there were "no dark motives in my actions."

Did Govt misread the years of black violence?

Star 29/11/88
3047

The Government responded to mass township mobilisation between 1984 and 1986 on the false assumption that this activity represented a move to "ungovernability", and therefore policy makers committed the error of moving in security forces instead of negotiating teams.

This is one of the conclusions reached by Mr Mark Swilling, researcher for the Wits University Centre for Policy Studies, in a recently published paper, "Beyond un-governability: township politics and local level negotiations".

So-called revolutionary organisations, with support well-founded on a web of street and area committees, were actually involved in complex negotiations with local white power groups in many areas, he says.

But the central Government — less sensitive than local officials to the need for and the possibilities of negotiation — employed a security policy which eliminated the organisations they could have been talking to

Another round

A precious moment was lost, argues Mr Swilling, and a policy of negotiation might not find a fertile climate in the immediate future.

"It may mean another round of mass protest and the violent consequences this necessarily entails. Maybe next time the outcome will be positive in the long term — not repressive action based on a policy perspective which rests on false assumptions."

Mr Swilling's argument for negotiation is based on his rejection of the thesis that mass-based organisations were bent on making the country ungovernable. It relies on an analysis of resistance as it occurred in 30 townships.

The turmoil and bloodshed of 1984 to 1986 might have looked like the surest road to ungovernability, Wits University researcher Mark Swilling concedes. But on closer inspection, he says, it proves to have been a path to little publicised negotiation between popular leaders and local officials. **JO-ANNE COLLINGE** reports on the research which argues this view.

He argues: "Township protest was a general response to structural oppression and specific local urban grievances triggered the development of social movements."

"These social movements emerged, initially, to mobilise community power against the State's refusal to deal with local grievances. When this met with a coercive response from the security forces, local movements united into organised national fronts that defined popular interests as lying in the total dismantling of apartheid."

"Despite this trend towards national action, local initiatives persisted, resulting not in anarchic breakdown as the ungovernability thesis asserts, but in local level negotiations between local power groups."

Mr Swilling cites examples from Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape to substantiate his position that the first response of local leaders was not to use township grievances to whip up mass resistance, but to use negotiation in order to avoid conflict.

The earliest case he mentions is the approach of the charismatic political leader of the Zwide Residents Association, Mr Thozamile Botha, to the East Cape Development Board in 1979 in an attempt to resolve housing grievances, about which residents' associations and councillors had failed to reach agreement.

"After the board refused to attend to the problems, the leadership was forced to find alternative methods

of pressure," Mr Swilling says.

He says this response was not uncommon. "In case after case the authorities either ignored, rebuked or repudiated the petitioners."

For instance, board officials stated that they were rendered powerless by decisions taken by the elected representatives of the people — the councillors.

Or they said the matter was being attended to and the community must wait and be patient.

Sometimes they said authorities higher than local authorities had to deal with the matter or they questioned the support of community representatives.

Only one option

"Faced with official rebuke, active elements in the community had only one strategic option: mass mobilisation."

"If activists had access to higher echelons of the State through the media, intermediaries, political parties or intellectuals, then recourse to mobilisation may have been delayed or even rejected," Mr Swilling reasons.

He outlines how the building of a complex web of cross-cutting organisations was built up from below.

A common combination of organisations in each community included a youth congress, student organisation (a branch of the Congress of South African Students until its banning in 1985), women's organisations

and, in the metropolitan areas, a trade union local committee that acted more independently.

Mr Swilling believes that this network was assisted in making a national political impact by the founding of the United Democratic Front which helped articulate common goals. In turn, the UDF's real power lay in its affiliates.

"The point is that local activists were able to build grassroots grievances into a coherent social movement that expressed the deepest interests, values and demands of the oppressed and exploited communities. Power was not built predominantly through the use of fear and intimidation, but through an ability to articulate, and give organised expression to, popular aspirations."

Various tactics to demonstrate power were used by organisations — marches, stayaways, strikes, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, school boycotts, election boycotts, mass rallies, press statements and petitions.

Mr Swilling maintains that despite ultra-radical insurrectionary rhetoric the reality was that boycotts merely facilitated the expression of community power and did not constitute a frontal assault on the State. They were never backed by a sustained armed presence.

He argues that repression, especially prior to the first state of emergency in 1985, served to fuel rather than quell organisation.

"Faced with violent resistance to their demands, all the communities could do was redouble their efforts to strengthen grassroots organisation. This in turn intensified the level of repression and so the cycle continued. A logic of escalating violence was therefore intrinsic in State response, rather than the intended outcome of a revolutionary strategy."

Things can be turned around — Worrall

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The priority for 1989 must be the application of the same creative diplomatic energy in negotiating the political future of South Africa as was shown in 1988 when resolving the Angola-Namibia conflict, Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said in a New Year message.

Although 1988 had not been a particularly happy political and economic year, the one bright spot had been the achievement of a diplomatic settlement with the Cubans and Angolans.



Dr Worrall . . . we need not go the course of polarisation and civil war.

Dr Worrall congratulated the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the career diplomats who had toiled to make it possible.

He said civil liberties had been under constant attack this year, with more organisations banned in the last 12 months than during the previous 40 years of National Party rule.

More people had been detained and more newspapers threatened.

On the positive side, the formation of a new enlightened political party was poised to make its debut. It must be a wholly new entity with a fresh enlightened image which attracted support across the spectrum.

"The country, and white South Africans in particular, are ready for such a movement. Things can be turned around. We need not go the course of polarisation and civil war.

"A hung Assembly in which no party dominates is possible in the next general election.

"In this way, in 1989, the new verligte party and its allies across the political colour line can determine the leadership of the country, its economic policies, and get the process of negotiation going."

Crusade for open society in 1989, urges De Beer

301/12/88
By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

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Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer today called for a great crusade in 1989 for a normal and open society in South Africa.

In his New Year's message to the nation, Dr de Beer said he sensed people who rejected apartheid and who wanted a unified nation of 35 million people were drawing closer to one another.

"Black and brown and white together, let us fight in 1989 for a just and free society which must be our goal," he said.

Dr de Beer added that 1989 would be a momentous year full of difficulties and challenges for South Africans.

"The prospect of high interest and inflation rates with continued large-scale unemployment and capital starvation, and with the vast incompetent Government machine still grabbing far

more than its fair share of our resources, is a daunting one.

"All those who understand what is happening to our economy have a duty to speak out and declare that it is the policy of apartheid that makes us grow poorer all the time.

"Now that the grotesque folly of Boksburg has once and for all demonstrated that we are an integrated nation, I hope all sensible people will attack and expose not only the Conservative Party, but also the Nationalists, where hurtful, damaging segregation is still imposed."

NEW PARTY

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said in his New Year's message that South Africans — and whites in particular — were ready for a new party to the left of the Government.

Things could be turned around, South Africa need not go the course of polarisation and civil war.

A spokesman for the Office of the State President said today the President Mr P W Botha would not be giving his customary message to the nation on television on New Year's Eve.

Mr Botha's end-of-year message was delivered at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria on December 16, the spokesman said, when the President wished all South Africans well over Christmas and the New Year.

The main theme of the President's message was an appeal for a broad national unity in the face of a total onslaught on South Africa.

LP throws down gauntlet to PW

Sowetan 30/12/88

304A

A FORMAL decision by the Labour Party congress that all three houses of Parliament should go into a general election next year has been seen by politicians as a challenge to the authority of the National Party and particularly the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Conservative Party has as a result questioned whether President Botha should not resign, saying the confrontation between the LP and the National

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

Party was largely of his own making because of the way he has treated Mr Allan Hendrickse, the Labour leader.

Labour resolved at its congress in Bloemfontein that the party would not accede to pressure from the Government to amend the constitution so as to enable the life of the House of Assembly to be extended until 1992.

The National Party had hoped to give the Assembly a five-year term from the date of the last white general elections, in May 1987.

At present the Constitution stipulates that all three houses must be dissolved when the life of the current Parliament expires in September next year.

All three houses must agree to any Constitutional amendments affecting the life of Parliament. The Presi-

dent's Council is specifically excluded from having any say on the matter.

Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said in an interview the congress decision was irrevocable, unless the Government came forward with a new initiative.

Such an initiative would have to include the whole question of the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the reservation of Separate Amenities Act, he said.

The Nantoespoort Dam. The vehicle tumbled down a bank near the Animal and Snake Park.

quoted — were present when the car was lifted from the water.

Govt clamped down on 4 bodies is condemned

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Yesterday's Government clamp-down on four more organisations opposed to apartheid has met with strong condemnation from opposition political parties, leading educationists and human rights organisations.

The organisations, restricted by Law and Order Minister Mr. Adriaan Vlok in terms of the emergency regulations, were the Democratic Teachers Union, the National Detainees Forum, the Western Cape Students Congress and the Western Cape Teachers Union.

They were prohibited from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever in terms of regulation 7 of the security emergency regulations.

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on national education, Mr Roger Burrows, today said the Government's re-

strictions constituted a continued misuse of its executive orders to prevent entirely legal organisations from acting.

"The court of law has never judged those bodies. Only the National Party sits in judgment.

"As far as the education bodies are concerned, this action will not stop the demands for an end to apartheid and the abhorrent racial education system in South Africa."

Mr Burrows added that the latest restrictions placed a major question mark against the Government's stated desire to negotiate with its own people.

Leading educationist Mr Frans Auerbach said restricting organisations would not remove the problems which had led to their formation.

In a statement, the Human Rights Commission said the latest banings were a result of

the organisations' "steadfast opposition to apartheid policies as they endeavoured to call for the implementation of basic political and human rights.

"It is particularly deplorable that, when detainees have so very few avenues of support and legal protection, the Government has once again displayed its insensitivity to their plight by banning the National Detainees Forum, a loose alliance of detainee support structures.

"Such heavy-handed actions on the part of the Government are clearly a contravention of the right of participation in the public life of a country."

The commission said while only 24 organisations were banned by the Nationalist Government from 1950 to 1987, the Government had effectively banned 32 organisations in 1988. Of those, 12 had been student and youth organisations.

Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said today that all who believed in freedom must protest strenuously at the restrictions.

"More and more, the question arises, just what forms of opposition to the National Party are to be tolerated?"

"How far have we already travelled down the road of fascism?" Dr de Beer asked.

Law and Order spokesman Lieutenant Peet Bothma yesterday said the National Detainees Forum had been founded in order to perpetuate the aims of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which had been among the 17 organisations first restricted on February 24 in terms of regulation 7.

The three education organisations played an active role in the people's education struggle, an ANC-inspired education system for South Africa, he added.

Handwritten notes and stamps on the left side of the page, including a date stamp "30/12/88" and various illegible markings.

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Labour slams door on 1992 election date

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Labour Party has slammed the door on any negotiations with the Government to extend the life of the House of Assembly and postpone a white general election until 1992.

The leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday told the Labour congress in Bloemfontein that if the Government attempted to make any concessions to get the party to change its mind, it was now too late.

He said: "Particularly as a result of the attitude of the Government and its inability and unwillingness to negotiate with the Labour Party, we will under no circumstances extend the life of this Parliament."

No jurisdiction

In terms of the Constitution, all three Houses of Parliament must agree to any amendment affecting the life of Parliament.

The President's Council has no jurisdiction over amendments of this nature.

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would be bound by the decision of the congress that all three Houses would have to go to the polls when they were constitutionally obliged to do so — within six months of the expiry of the life of the current Parliament in September next year.

His firm position means that President Botha will have to call an election for Parliament no later than March 1990.

Mr Botha had hoped to extend the life of the

House of Assembly until 1992, giving it five years from the May 1987 general election.

Conservative Party spokesman Mr Koos van der Merwe said the Labour Party was "dictating to the whites" as to when they should or should not have an election.

This in itself would be a handy tool to use against the Nationalists when it came to the election campaign, and the CP would certainly be exploiting it to the full, he added.

Wrapping up the Labour congress yesterday, Mr Hendrickse said his party's approach to the next session of Parliament would still have to be determined by its caucus.

On the issue of taking over the negotiation initiative from the Government, Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would start as soon as possible to make contact with South African leaders inside and outside the country.

The congress decision was broad enough to say Labour would be talking to and consulting with all people inside and outside the country who were opposed to apartheid and who were dedicated to the dismantling of apartheid.

"As soon as it is physically possible, the leadership will attempt to make contact with those groups. We will attempt to contact all extra-parliamentary groupings whether they recognise us or not," he said.

Mr Hendrickse told congress he could not understand Government's attitude in talking to people who were irrelevant to South African politics, people who could not influence change, such as those in Malawi and other countries.

"Charity starts at home. It is more important to talk to those inside than to outsiders."

Advantages for LP in being within the system

star 30/12/88
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BY DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent

Were Labour Party politicians acting, as some might allege, from self-interest in deciding to stay in the tricameral system or did they have no alternative?

The decision of the Labour Party congress to continue participating in the tricameral Parliament will no doubt attract much criticism from those who will see it in terms of politicians opting to stay on the gravy train.

However, the party may have had no alternative choice if it is to remain relevant in South African politics.

The arguments in favour of continued participation are manifold and obvious, and for this reason Labour leadership has been intimating for several months that the congress decision would be a foregone conclusion.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, set the tone when he opened the congress in Bloemfontein City Hall on Tuesday night.

Labour's participation in the parliamentary system had won it a real power base, he said.

The Government was obliged to negotiate with the Labour Party and the party totally dominated parliamentary politics, he said.

Mr Hendrickse clearly showed his thinking on the issue of continued participation when he said participation had opened doors for the Labour Party and the party would not be forced from those openings.

There is much evidence to show the Labour Party has not been entirely successful in its mission to dismantle apartheid from within the

system. Five years ago, at its congress in Eshowe, the party resolved to give the tricameral system a five-year chance.

It would use the system to dismantle apartheid from within and to upgrade the coloured community in the fields of education and social welfare, it said.

If it did not succeed, it would get out.

As those five years come to a close, Labour is governing largely, in the words of one delegate at the Bloemfontein congress, as an appendage to the National Party.

There is no real power sharing as the NP controls Parliament by way of the President's Council and the loaded electoral college which elects the State President.

The Group Areas Act and Reservation of Separate Amenities Act remain firmly embedded as pillars in the foundation of the Population Registration Act. The house of apartheid still stands.

Mr Hendrickse has been sacked from the Cabinet and the State President, Mr P W Botha, happily governs without a single person of colour in this supreme executive body.

Mr Hendrickse and his Ministers' Council are in a sense the co-opted administrators of what used to be the Department of Coloured Affairs. That is about as far as their share of political power goes.

The Labour Party argues in its defence it has achieved much success from using the system to its own ends.

It refers in this regard to the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the law which barred sexual relations across the colour line.

It also takes the credit for the scrapping of influx control and the hated pass laws, as well as the removal from the statute book of dozens of discriminatory measures.

It has greatly narrowed the gap in pensions paid not only to the coloured group but also to blacks.

Health centres, child care centres, homes for the aged, clinics and medical services have all proliferated since Labour took over the administration of health and welfare for the coloured community in 1984.

In that year, Labour inherited a budget for coloured education of R726 million for the year. This year

it spent R1 108 million.

Furthermore, in terms of its policy of affirmative action, the entire Education Department is now run by coloured people.

In the field of housing, Labour has doubled the annual budget from R215 million in 1984 to R429 million this year.

But it is in the field of general affairs that the Labour Party has played its most important role.

Using parliamentary privilege and its immunity as a parliamentary party, Labour has become the most effective opposition grouping inside South Africa.

It is highly unlikely that the Government will be able to act against the party or its members while it remains in Parliament and it opposes violence.

The party is not entirely toothless.

Through an oversight on the part of the Government's constitutional draughtsmen, the National Party cannot dispense entirely with the two minority Houses of Parliament.

Labour has certain trump cards in its hand, including the power to block the Government's plans to extend the life of the House of Assembly.

Labour also uses Parliament to obstruct and retard general affairs legislation, such as "improvements" to the Group Areas Act, forcing the Government to undermine the institution by resorting to the President's Council to get its way.

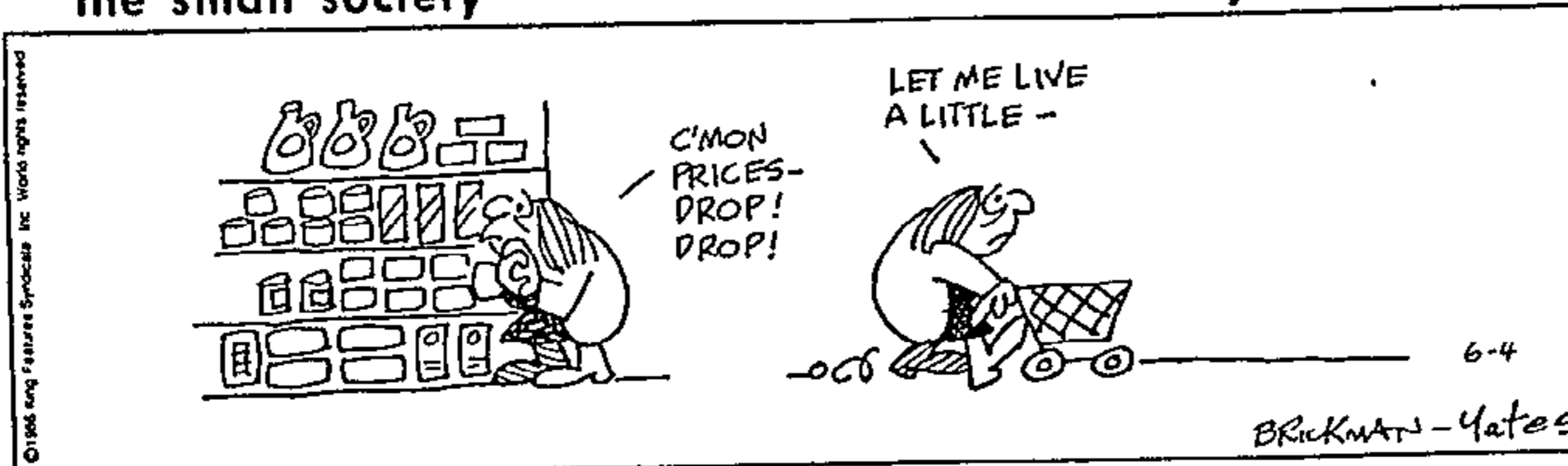
This year the National Party was led a merry dance by the Labour Party's obstructionist tactics on group areas legislation.

Another reason offered by members of the LP for staying in the system is that if the party pulls out, the Carterites, as the right-wing opposition in the House of Representatives are derisively termed, would simply take over and do the Government's dirty work.

Labour is therefore staying in the system, right where it can continue to be a thorn in the Government's flesh.

the small society

by Brickman



Pawns in power-hungry chess game

30/12/88

THE year has finally drawn to a close, and as an oppressed nation we need to take stock and balance our national account. We live in embattled times where violence has become the norm, injustice the rule and stresses and strains the praxis.

The sustenance of life for the indigenous depends on land which is priced beyond their reach. For their survival they have to migrate to towns. Crowding becomes the logical outcome of such migration with the result that Africans are relegated to a marginal existence. Closely allied to this is the Labour Relations Act which has been amended to reinforce the defence of capital against labour. It should be noted that the Wichahn Commission sought to ease tension between capital and labour. The viable recommendations have since been undone with the stroke of a pen.

The Botha government undertook an intense image building campaign. It released a few political prisoners and reprieved the Sharpeville Six but hastened to balance the account by reprieving La Grange and others.

The Government further curtailed its excursions to neighbouring countries and strengthened Unita and the MNR. In Namibia a pledge to uphold Resolution 435 was made though the Government stuck firmly to linking the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

On the homefront the National Party has fervently pursued the Verwoerdian grand-plan. Africans were once again called to vote for their oppression. October 26 has gone down the annals of history as the day when the African people disgraced the Government by their feet when they refused to vote.

Nowhere in the world has any government backed capital so overtly. But workers remain unhindered in the accomplishment of their historic mission. The current labour strife attests to this. Newspapers have been gagged and banned as a result of the renewed state of emergency, which has become a scourge. The *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail* and *South* have tasted the deadly sting from Stoffel Botha. The idea mooted to register journalists is a direct attack on press freedom.

The Government seeks to deny people information and thus the police are given a free hand in detaining people. Sianza Bopape, Amos Khoza and others attest to this assertion. Jeff Masemola, Brian Soku and others have been forgotten behind bars. Zwelakhe Sisulu, with his severe restrictions, is a symbol of such suppression. The system of detention without trial has been condemned the world over. It is about time this archaic system was repealed.

Racial tension is a direct by-product of the Verwoerdian ideal. Eric Sambo cannot go unmentioned. Two puppies were worth more than his life. Three more Africans were attacked by a motorist on the Reef. Violence is rife. We are on record as saying the only solution to the racial madness lies in the concept of non-racialism.

Action

Strife

Children

Struggle

Misery

The courageous action on the part of the masses counted on the credit side of the national account. It should be recalled that it takes living fish to swim against the tide. Squatting has become the order of the day. Why do African people squat? Squatting is the outgrowth of the capitalist system. Man is rendered landless in that land is by definition a factor of production and a marketable commodity.

Our children have had to contend with Bantu Education for 100 long years. Students should be able to structure themselves in a way that makes their interests a priority.

We have always identified ourselves with the struggle of the people of Palestine. Their struggle is almost like ours. America in the end has not shed its role as the policeman for so-called Western democracy. In our eyes democracy is the will of the African majority and not the dictates of the monetised sector. British imperialism and colonialism has caused our misery and suffering.

We extend our deepest sympathy to the people of Armenia after the dreadful earthquake, while we cannot forget the people of Natal who have had to suffer from more floods.

Finally we wish all the peace-loving people of the world a prosperous New year and call on the super powers to stop using small states as pawns in their power-hungry chess games.

South Africa pledges to assist supporting Unita. The question is how far with this promise. It has a prior track record in this regard hence the outcry from the Frontline States. We should remain sceptical. We cannot forget the farce of the Nkomati Accord.

The OAU has continued to make its mark in Africa. It has continued to call for unity between the ANC and the PAC.

We have always identified ourselves with the struggle of the people of Palestine. Their struggle is almost like ours. America in the end has not shed its role as the policeman for so-called Western democracy. In our eyes democracy is the will of the African majority and not the dictates of the monetised sector. British imperialism and colonialism has caused our misery and suffering.



Goal for New Year is a just society — De Beer

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

MCS 30418
30/12/88

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Dr Zac de Beer today called for a great crusade in 1989 for a normal and open society in South Africa.

In his New Year's message to the nation, Dr de Beer said he sensed people who rejected apartheid and who wanted a unified nation were drawing closer to one another.

"Black and brown and white together, let us fight in 1989 for a just and free society which must be our goal," he said.

Dr de Beer said 1989 would be a momentous year, full of difficulties and challenges.

He said: "The prospect of high interest and inflation rates, with continued large-scale unemployment and capital starvation, and with the vast incompetent government machine still grabbing far more than its fair share of our resources, is a daunting one."

Duty

"All those who understand what is happening to our economy have a duty to speak out and declare that it is the policy of apartheid that makes us grow poorer all the time."

Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall said South Africa was ready for a new party to the left of the government.

Things could be turned around, he said. "We need not go the course of polarisation and civil war," he said.

Dr Worrall said 1988 had not been a particularly memorable or happy year from a political and economic point of view.

Civil liberties had been under constant attack, with more organisations banned than during the previous 40 years of Nationalist rule. More people had been detained and more newspapers threatened.

● President P W Botha will not be giving his customary message to the nation on television this New Year. It was delivered at the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria on December 16, said a spokesman.

LP ready for a battle royal

DAVID BRAUN
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Labour Party is coming out swinging for a tough fight with the ruling National Party in 1989.

The LP set the scene for a massive showdown with the Government this week when its annual congress in Bloemfontein approved of its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse's four-point battle plan:

- Labour has slammed the door on any possibility that the State President, Mr P W Botha, may postpone white parliamentary elections until 1992. The white House of Assembly will now definitely have to go back to the polls along with the other two Houses when the life of Parliament expires in September 1989.
- The LP will not co-operate with Government to amend the Constitution because of Mr Botha's intransigence over the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act.
- Labour will continue to do

Star 3/12/88
Massive
struggle
with NP
in 1989
likely



HENDRICKSE

everything in its power to get the Group Areas Act repealed. Mr Hendrickse said this week that while the Act was on the Statute Book, Parliament would be marked by conflict and confrontation as the LP blocked and frustrated the Government at every turn.

● The LP will not be leaving Parliament after all, but will continue to take part in the system, controlling the House of Representatives for its own ends and using its constitutional role in general affairs decision-making to demolish apartheid measures wherever it can.

● The party has resolved to snatch the negotiation initiative from the Government. An immediate start is to be made with making contact with extra-parliamentary

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groups including the ANC, PAC and Inkatha.

Mr Hendrickse's plans were given an immediate boost at the congress with messages of support and offers of a working relationship from the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party.

Two homeland leaders this week also poured cold water on the Government's plans for a National Council.

Mr Nelson Ramodike, chief minister of Lebowa, and Dr Kenneth Mopedi, chief minister of Qwa Qwa, have instead thrown their support by the Labour Party's concept of a non-racial federation and one nation in one state.

A restoration of an alliance between Labour and Inkatha could draw kwazulu into a broad front which Mr Hendrickse is trying to build against the Government.

National Party leaders, who are still on vacation, have yet to respond to the LP resolutions.

A fiery exchange may be expected between the two parties when they face each other across the floor in Parliament during the joint debate on the State President's vote at the start of the 1989 session early in February.

Charge laid against Terre'Blanche

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday that he and journalists, including Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan, had gone to the Paardekraal monument so that he could pose for pictures.

West Rand police are investigating a charge of malicious damage to property against Mr Terre'Blanche after a gate was allegedly damaged by a car at the monument on Tuesday night.

Miss Allan was present during the incident about 8 that evening, police said. She is on leave and could not be reached for comment.

Mr Terre'Blanche, who said he was amused by the publicity that had been

given to the incident, said that "as leader of the AWB I am surely entitled to go to Paardekraal?"

He said he had earlier spoken publicly about a commemorative stone pile at Paardekraal, and foreign reporters had asked him to pose at the site for pictures.

He had made an appointment to be at the monument with the reporters — journalists from Portugal and Miss Allan — that evening.

"It was at 8pm, not 12pm," he said. Asked if Miss Allan was working on a biography of him, he said: "I am not prepared to discuss her." — Sapa



by JOHN MACLENNAN *30/11*
Political Correspondent

W/C 12/12/88
THE government enters the new political year in better shape than anybody would have thought possible just a month or two ago. But this is no champagne occasion for the Nationalists.

With the exception of only two advances, the NP has made scant progress in dealing with the country's root problems, and there is no promise of any startling breakthrough which will satisfy the demands of the broad mass of South Africans.

The government might be the successful instrument of white might, but because it does not enjoy support among other race groups, it continues to be helpless in dealing with the macro obstacles which bar the way to a peaceful future.

The coloured and Indian Houses have, and will, block any constitutional moves with which they do not agree. And so far the so-called real black leaders are not speaking to it about a new deal which will provide them with representation "up to the highest level".

The government is looking good mainly because its white Parliamentary opponents are making mistakes.

It remains a party for mainly middle-of-the-road and worried whites (in conversation they will describe themselves as "responsible") who will bear with a government even if does not appear to have answers demanded for today's problems, rather than cast their votes for the untried political futures offered by the extremes on the two fringes of the Parliamentary spectrum.

The NP has long been expert at frightening the people who make up the 50 percent core of support among all voters into staying within the fold. The reality — on present indicators — is that this time next year the government will be as strong, if not stronger ... even if it does nothing right.

It will be judged on whether it has done anything wrong. But "wrong", in the view of the average voter, would mainly be government failure to deal with events which threaten personal safety, group identity and — last and also least when compared with the other imperatives — the white voter's pocket.

It is only on the final issue where the government will find itself facing real criticism. But most whites — and also coloured people and Indians — will accept the high prices in return for a bomb-free supermarket.

IN this scenario of the politics of cynicism the government has nevertheless achieved two main plus points. They are the outcome of the black municipal elections, even though success was limited and statistics can be made to prove anything, and the surprising prospect of peace in the region during President Botha's time.

Watch how both of these will be used to maximum advantage during the months ahead.

The newly elected black local leaders provide