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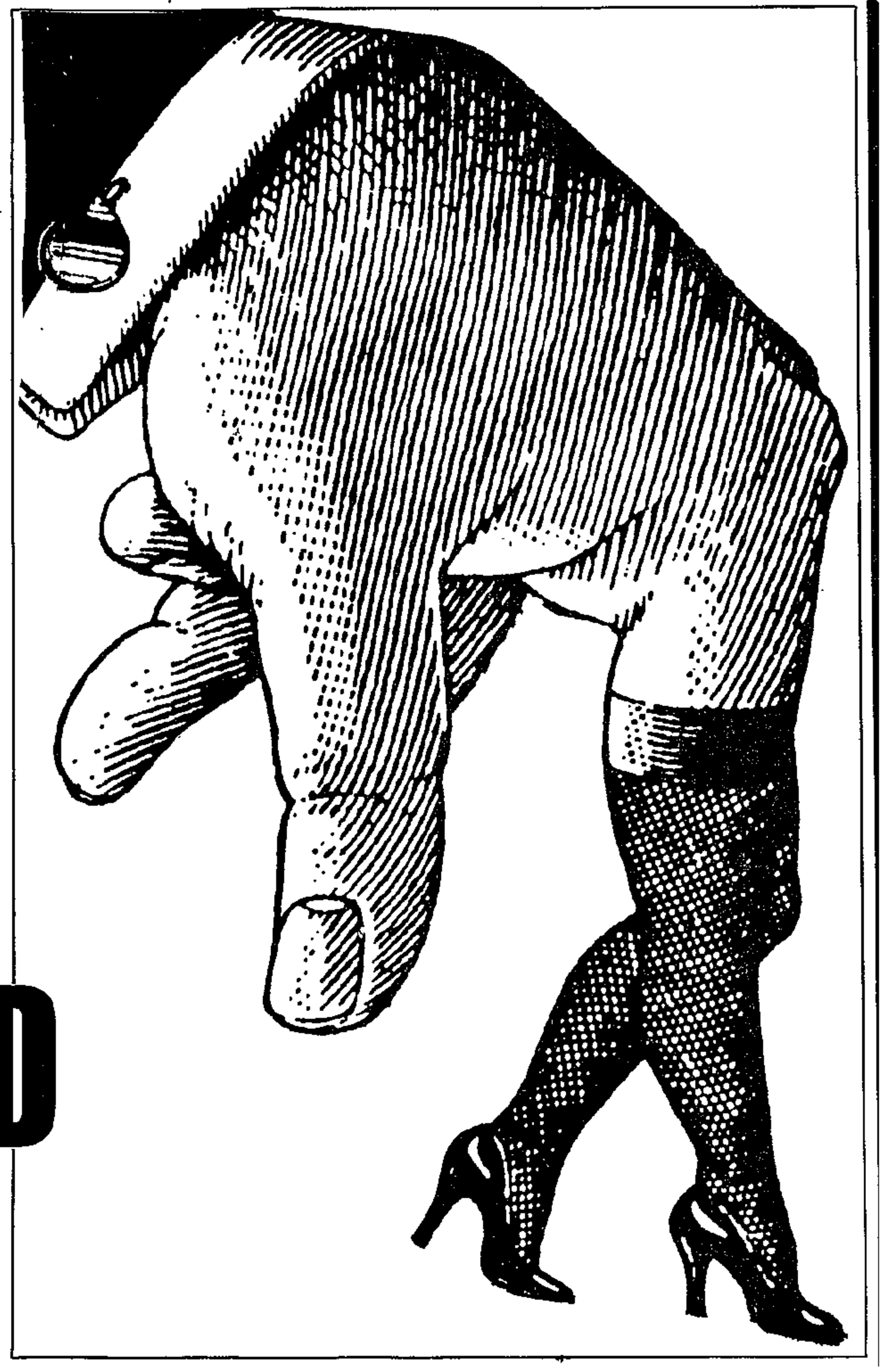
SEPT.
~~JUNE~~ ——— DEC.

THE FEDERAL OPTION

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE TWO-LEGGED STATE



Our country's hopes lie not with our flawed new constitution, but with federalism, argues MURRAY FORSYTH, an international authority on the federal state. Mr Forsyth studied the constitution as a Bradlow Fellow at the SA Institute of International Affairs



SOUTH Africa could profitably regard itself as an evolving federal state.

A state of this kind stands on two legs. The one leg is provided by the equal rights accorded to corporate entities or groups: the right of existence, the right to share in the government of the whole, and the right to an area of autonomy.

The other leg is provided by the equal right accorded to all the individuals who make up the overall unity of the state, or the right they have to be equal members of the nation or people in the civil and political sense.

This latter right is indeed strikingly similar to that accorded to the corporate units, for it consists basically in an equal right of autonomy (summed up in the well-worn words liberty, security, and property) and an equal right to share in the formation of the political will of the whole.

South Africa, if I may extend my metaphor, should move forward on both legs, and not just one. If it moves forward solely on the basis of according ethnic group right, ethnic group autonomy, ethnic group participation in government, and so on, then one of two things seems likely to happen.

Either the groups will each be given so many safeguards and means of self-protection that the state will become a kind of deadlocked and disgruntled confederation, unable to move forward or backward without some drastic change, or, as seems more likely, the will to maintain a real state, capable of acting, will escape from the confederal toils and continue to assert itself in practice by one group holding the reins of power.

The policy of bringing the various groups into government will in this case remain an appendage of one-group rule, instead of changing it.

On the other hand, the alternative policy of ignoring or discounting group identities and calling for a state based solely on the rights of individuals seems to be equally unrealistic and unproductive.

The differences between the various ethnic groups are real and deep; they may have been used for a [illegible]e" but they

capital, and a guaranteed share in the central legislative power of the state.

The territorial 'base' of these corporate ethnic entities would, in other words, not be a single enclosed space or region, but an aggregate of many small scattered units or communities.

The second structure that would rise up on the basis of local government units would be concerned not with 'cultural' matters, but with matters which were by their very nature geographically interconnected and have to be treated in a more strictly 'territorial' or 'regional' manner.

Today one would include under this heading such areas as transport, town and country planning, regional economic development, housing, local judicial and police matters, water, sewage, and so on.

Such matters would be managed by a hierarchy of local government authorities built up from the small ethnic units at the base, and culminating at the provincial level.

The provinces — multi-ethnic, each with its own autonomous governments — would form the other component units of the federal system, alongside the 'cultural' entities that have already been mentioned.

Renner incidentally saw the guaranteed rights of the two types of federal units that he distinguished as being broadly the same as the 'state rights' that were mentioned earlier, that is, the right to exist, the right of participation, and the right of autonomy.

This idea of a double structure, arising from local government authorities, one side of which is concerned with 'cultural-transregional' matters and the other with 'administrative-regional' matters, would seem to have certain possibilities as a mode of building up a South African federal state, and at the same time it is not too far removed in principle from the structures that have been brought into existence by the recent constitutional reforms.

I will limit my observations on this issue to [illegible] First, [illegible] one is to have a

are not themselves the product of such a policy.

Deep ethnic differences, as the history of South Africa since 1910 as well as the history of other countries amply demonstrates, tend inexorably to assert themselves politically, whatever sweeping assurances are given to the contrary.

To replace the domination of one group by the domination of another seems to offer little advantage.

In addition, the huge economic differences that divide the population of South Africa tend to reinforce the ethnic differences, so that a policy simply of extending the suffrage would probably be accompanied by such radical demands that the survival of South Africa's economy, unique in Africa and offering the only real hope for the economic betterment of the southern part of the continent, might be totally dislocated.

This latter argument is essentially secondary to the first, for a policy of intensive and sustained economic aid and development to the poorest regions and people of South Africa could in time help to cure the imbalance and create a better basis for a democratic regime, whereas ethnic differences are rarely susceptible to this kind of cure.

Of course, the economic profile of ethnic groups may change very markedly over the years and different classes or combinations of classes may come to the fore within them at different times.

But the idea that the groups themselves disintegrate or disappear as a result of economic changes has been shown to be false so frequently that it cannot be maintained with any degree of confidence.

It is necessary to develop by various means — symbolic (for symbols are important here), economic, and political — a sense of one nation and one people underlying the different groups.

This will give a vitality and life and vigour to the state which a mere confederation of groups, joined at the top but separate at the base, will never be able to generate.

The most logical long-term objective should be to include in such a South African federal state all those homelands — non-independent and independent — which do not positively reject the idea, and hence *a fortiori* the black population working and residing outside the homelands, as well, of course, as the white, coloured and Asian groups. This should be the declared intention.

Economic factors provide one argument for such a policy. The South African economy is an interlocking web that binds together whites and blacks and it makes little economic sense to pursue a policy of remorselessly pushing the black population legally and constitutionally into their own quite separate states.

The more fundamental argument for saying that the homelands ought to be an integral part of a future South African federal state is that of historical right.

However much the government of South Africa may pursue the policy of creating independent black territorial states, the problem of black claims is unlikely to be satisfied.

There will always be more land and more political power that the black people will claim as being their 'birthright'.

It is for this reason above all that the inclusion of the homelands in a federal state of South Africa ought to be the clearly articulated ultimate goal of policy. The homelands should be seen as eventual provinces of one state.

This is not to decry or to denigrate the policies that are currently being pursued by the South African government, under the 'constellation' rubric, of helping the homelands to develop economically, through the establishment of a Southern African Development Bank and so on.

The suggestion is solely that these policies should have as their long-term end the eventual re-integration of the homelands.

A federal state is not likely to be stable if there is a vast disparity of wealth and welfare between its component units. The economic homogeneity required by such a state may be less than that required by a unitary democratic one, but it is needed none the less.

The vast discrepancy in wealth and welfare between the citizens of the homelands and those of the provinces of South Africa — between, say, the people of Venda and those of the Transvaal — is so blatant that no elaborate statistics are required to demonstrate it.

The homelands policy, as originally conceived, can be said to have formally divided the First World in South Africa from the Third World.

By proposing that the homelands policy should be explicitly geared to their reintegration into the Republic as provinces of a federal state, one is thus not in any way seeking to diminish a policy of aiding them economically and otherwise; rather one is adducing another reason for intensifying this aid yet further.

Seen as a means of raising the homelands to the level of viable provinces, rather than as an adjunct of political separation, plus economic co-operation' such a policy would take on a fresh urgency.

It will be clear from what has been said that one of the primary objects of such a state would be to give a firm guarantee to the various ethnic groups. Immediately a problem presents itself.

While in the homelands ethnic and territorial boundaries roughly follow one another, in the common area of South Africa it is obvious that they do not.

To try to create ethnically homogeneous territorially compact homelands in this area would be a massive undertaking involving huge shifts of population, and cannot be readily envisaged.

How, then, is this intermingling of ethnic groups to be accommodated within a federal state?

During the latter years of the Austro-Hungarian empire the whole subject was analysed with great sophistication, notably by Karl Renner, whose theory of what he called the "federal nationality state" was devoted entirely to it, and is indeed a remarkable contribution to federal thought that is too often neglected.

Renner's basic premise was that in this situation one had to begin with the smallest unit of local government and build upwards from there.

The small self-governing units of local administration had to be organised in such a way that they represented, or were formed by, particular ethnic groups, though their organisation had to be sufficiently flexible to allow for movements of population, and changes in the ethnic composition of areas.

Ethnic local government units were thus the basic building blocks. From them the structure of Renner's federal system rose up in two directions at once.

First, for all 'cultural' matters, that is to say for all those matters pertaining to the identity or 'way of life' of a particular ethnic group, most notably education, language, religion and so on, each particular ethnic group, however scattered it might be throughout the state, would be politically organised as a corporate entity, with its own government in the fully fledged federal system, going the lines suggested, then it seems more logical, as I mentioned earlier, not to graft a Westminster-style parliamentary system on to it, as is virtually bound to give the 'lower house', or the one that represents the nation as a unity of individuals the predominance.

An executive equidistant from both forms of representation at the centre would seem better able to maintain the federal structure.

Should the executive be presidential, like the American, or collegiate, like the Swiss? On balance I consider the presidential system to be the better adapted to South Africa's situation.

The passion for equal representation everywhere and at all levels can be taken to the point where it paralyses the life of the state and the capacity of individuals to identify with it. South Africa is more in need than Switzerland of a clearly identifiable, recognisable, personalised executive, and hence of a president.

Finally, there are many ways in which the president of a federal state might be elected, and it is not possible or necessary to insist in this context that one is absolutely the best.

A system whereby both branches of the federal legislature jointly performed the work of election together with provision to ensure that, if in choosing his Cabinet, he respected the need for ethnic balance, might be a practicable mode.

● **This article is an edited version of Mr Murray Forsyth's monograph FEDERALISM AND THE FUTURE OF AFRICA, published by the SA Institute of International Affairs**

Mercury 19/11/84 (304A) The I

Job 'reservation' by Rajbansi is apartheid, says NIC

Mercury Reporter

THE Natal Indian Congress has warned the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, against purging whites from State departments dealing with Indian affairs.

Senior NIC spokesman Dr Farouk Meer said Indians and other blacks had always objected to whites practising apartheid when employing people, and now Mr Rajbansi was doing the same thing by embarking on a policy of Indianisation, he said.

Mr Rajbansi, who is also the leader of the National People's Party, at present the ruling group in the House of Delegates, chairman of his Council of Ministers and the only Indian member of President Botha's national Cabinet, announced recently that more than 1 000 jobs were being created in the Indian 'own affairs' department.

Expansion

He had said preference would be given to Indian applicants.

But the NIC yesterday warned against a purging of the civil service of whites merely for the sake of 'Indianisation' of State departments dealing with Indian affairs.

Dr Meer said merit and not race must be the only criterion in employment selection.

He said respected economists had warned against further expansion of the civil service which, according to them, was overstaffed already and was considerably less productive than the private sector.

'It is no use further destroying the economy by enlarging the bureaucracy and pouring more money into it,' said Dr Meer.

Mr Rajbansi has denied this.

He said he was all for 'merit' selections, but one had to take into account the prevailing abnormal jobs situation in which the 'proverbial dice' were heavily loaded in favour of whites with an abundance of work opportunities.

'We will be failing in our duty to our community if we do not pave the way for our own educated youth to fill positions at least in those avenues presently open to them,' he said.

Mr Rajbansi said many Indians had telephoned to congratulate his party on its initiatives.

'Surely they can't all be wrong,' he said.

A democratic party — Suzman

Feuding factions add fire to Tvl PFP's congress

STAR 19/11/84

304A

Veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman remarked: "Isn't it marvellous that we have such a democratic party?"

Mrs Suzman was speaking during a refreshment break at the Progressive Federal Party's Transvaal congress in Sandton at the weekend.

She was commenting to journalists and an academic observer on a fiery debate which had just taken place on the issue of military conscription.

The debate was one of several during the two-day conference which highlighted the growing divisions among even moderate South Africans as to how best to tackle the country's snowballing problems.

OVERRULED

It was a debate in which the younger, more militant wing of the party had successfully overruled even the official spokesman on defence, Mr Philip Myburgh, by insisting that there should not be compulsory call-up for those whites who did not want to defend a system they did not believe in.

In part the proceedings at the Sandton Civic Centre, in a constituency which is controlled by the PFP at all three levels of government, were an exercise in nostalgia. They coincided with the 25th anniversary of the breakaway by the founders of the old Progressive Party from the then United Party.

Dr Zac de Beer, one of the breakaway MPs and now a prominent businessman, recounted the events which led to the birth of the Progs.

Mrs Kay Cokayne was presented with a special award for 25 years of unbroken service as full-time party secretary in Pretoria.

Several of those founding members are still active today, including Mrs Suzman and Mr Colin Eglin.

Their party is still based solidly on its opposition to apartheid and on the principle of a just and equal society for all South Africans.

At this year's Transvaal congress the delegates were united

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

in their rejection of separate development, their condemnation of what they called the Government's economic debacle and their concern at the policies and circumstances which sparked the recent widespread civil unrest.

But debating the solutions to these problems often threw into sharp relief the fundamental divisions between the two major factions which make up the PFP coalition.

There were robust and, at times, heated debates.

Leaders sniped at each other publicly. During refreshment breaks there were loud and angry arguments.

The approach of the purists, or Old Progs, differed sharply from that of the Reformists, or members who broke away from the United Party 15 years after the Progressive Party's founders did.

DEFIANCE

They clashed spectacularly over whether they should defy the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and admit blacks to the membership illegally.

The reformists won that round and, by popular vote, the Transvaal congress decided it would not accept non-white members until the law allowed it to do so.

On the matter of military conscription the purists triumphed and it was decided that under a Prog government there would be only a large professional army of volunteers.

In the course of these lively debates one side branded the other old, cold and weary, while the other retorted that it was time that somebody, unlike the radical element in the party, was prepared to speak out against all forms of violence, not only that by the Government.

Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert summed up the conscription debate, in which one side wanted to spread the defence burden to safeguard the borders for peaceful change and the other declared: "Let those who want apartheid die for apartheid". He warned that the issue threatened to tear society down the middle.

South Africa ignored the congress's decision on the matter at its peril, he said.

One issue all delegates agreed on was that a political solution to the country's problems was inextricably interwoven with an economic solution.

INSTABILITY

Mr Harry Schwarz, the chief spokesman on finance, said that the Government's policies in this regard would in other countries and under other circumstances have brought about not only the fall of the Minister of Finance but also the fall of the Government.

In the light of the deteriorating economic situation, Mr Schwarz pointed out that weakness in the economy at a time of rising expectations was a recipe for increasing instability.

One thing was certain, he said: in chaotic economic conditions no party committed to peaceful change had a fair chance of success and only violence and disaster could follow.

The conference pinpointed and analysed all the problems currently facing the country and concluded that the PFP was still the only party capable of dealing realistically with the forthcoming disaster.

Delegates agreed that in times of racial unrest and economic decline the PFP's challenge and role would be to refurbish its image, attract more young members and hammer home its message to the electorate.

The party could not stand by and refuse to help the poor and unemployed:

And, in the words of Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader, the PFP had to force the National Party in debate in Parliament to reconcile its desire to move away from domination with a constitution and system of government which was riddled with domination.

Expansion of membership base is urgent, says Gibson

Mr Douglas Gibson, newly elected Transvaal chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, believes the party has only a few years left to establish itself as a truly broadly based alternative in South African politics, writes David Braun.

"The fact that the Government has undemocratically postponed elections at all three levels of administration does not remove the need for urgency for us to greatly expand our membership and support over the next few years," Mr Gibson said shortly after his unanimous election at the party's Transvaal congress at Sandton on Saturday.

"I feel that our challenge in the next few years is to expand our own worker base so that we can in turn broaden our support base.

"The PFP has got to find ways and means to communicate more effectively with the public.

"In particular we must create more of a Transvaal identity as so much of our leadership is based in the Cape.

"We must bring home the message that we are an all-South African party."

Mr Gibson (42), who is also leader of the opposition in the Transvaal Provincial Council, intends using his new office in the party to step up the frequency of comments by himself and other provincial leaders to the Press.

He also plans to investigate ways and means of persuading the SABC that PFP views have a right to be heard.

"We will furthermore have to communicate more effectively with the man in the street by way of selective mailings to particular interest groups," he says.

REALITIES

Mr Gibson predicts that the economic realities of South Africa are going to force the National Party into an increasing acceptance of what the PFP stands for.

"That is why it is vital that we remain as a strong pole," he says.

"If all the pressure comes from the right wing (the Conservative Party) then the Government, like any other political party anywhere in the world, will move to the right."

Mr Gibson says he is proud to be a member of the PFP for four basic reasons:

● The party stands for decent things.

He has never had to apologise about being a member or about the things the PFP stood for.

● The PFP is honest. It does not indulge in nudge-nudge, wink-wink politics, saying one thing to the voters and meaning another.

● In the best sense the PFP is a patriotic party, because it is proud of everyone in South Africa, not only the people who belong to a particular language group or racial group.

It is dedicated to advancing the interests of everyone in the country.

It is proud of the very variety which makes South Africa such a wonderful country with such potential.

● The PFP is the party of hope for South Africa.

After the Anglo-Boer War there was a situation where there had to be a reconciliation of the white people of the country.

The PFP has exactly the same task, because it is imperative in politics today that there is also reconciliation between the people of colour, different race groups, different religions, different views and all the things that can potentially divide South Africa.

Disarray in PFP over race furore

STAR 19/11/84 304A

Serious policy differences between the Progressive Federal Party's liberal and conservative factions found its senior public representatives in disarray today.

The conservatives are furious that the party's Federal Council has reversed a Transvaal Congress resolution on the admission of members of race groups other than white.

Today Mr David Dalling, MP for Sandton and a Federal Council member, met party leader Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, but he was not prepared afterwards to make a statement immediately because he was still considering what to do.

He said: "I'm not prepared to rush into print on such a sensitive matter."

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert could not be reached for comment.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, who persuaded the congress on Friday not to defy the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, but to resolve to accept members of other race groups only after the law had been repealed, would also not comment until after studying the Federal Council decision.

But party spokesmen were adamant that the row did not presage a party split.

'Illegal act'

The Federal Council met yesterday and resolved that, in the light of the PFP's objection to compulsory racial classification and the consequences of the Race Classification Act, and the party's acceptance of voluntary association as necessary for political co-operation and stability in South Africa, it wanted to state unequivocally that when a person applied for membership, under no circumstances would it inquire into the person's colour, race or ethnic origin.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Mr Dalling argued vigorously that such a resolution was tantamount to inciting people to break the law.

Mr Schwarz said if the party decided to accept members of other race groups it would be committing an illegal act.

The Federal Council also endorsed a resolution which Mr Schwarz had opposed on the issue of compulsory military conscription.

Taking into account the party policy of maintaining a professional rather than a conscripted army, and the possibility of extension of conscription to Indian and coloured people, as well as the growing militarisation of South African society, the council resolved to press for an end to military conscription.

Mr Douglas Gibson, the new Transvaal chairman of the PFP, said today that it was absolute nonsense that the party was about to split over the differences.

"There has never been a Transvaal congress where we have not had robust debate. The PFP in the Transvaal is known for its vigour and liveliness.

"As far as the Federal Council is concerned, the decisions taken were taken after extensive debate and I am sure all members will abide by the democratic decision."

The PFP decision to open its doors to all races was described by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) today as a departure from grand apartheid, but a move that would not serve black interests.

Symbolic

"It will provide only a token symbolic presence," said a spokesman.

Approached for comment on the decision to defy the Political Interference Act and sign up members of other race groups, Azapo said the PFP represented English-language and business interests in South Africa.

"The decision won't give blacks who move into the PFP any real chance to shape the future direction of the party, and they will remain junior partners," said Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, chairman of Azapo's Soweto branch.

Mr Mkhabela added that formerly, when all white institutions opened their doors to all races, the relationship which developed was a one-way path with all the concessions coming from the black community.

● See Page 9, World section.

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The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said last night that it would be a bad day for the country if the PFP decided to co-operate with South Africa's enemies and participate in the United Democratic Front's End Conscription Campaign.

Commenting on the resignations from the PFP's defence group, General Malan said it was a serious loss to himself and to the Defence Force. — Sapa and Political Correspondent.

● From Page 1.

hibition of Political Interference Act.

"If that is the case, then the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi have also been incitists, which is something I don't accept."

Dr Slabbert said it was necessary to have a strong and sound defence force, but there were alternative means of achieving this. One being a strong professional army and the other recruitment of volunteers.

Mr Myburgh, in a statement to Sapa, said the decision to oppose conscription was a substantial change in policy.

"I believe that this change will have the effect of weakening the SADF and further politicising its role, as well as dividing the country on defence."

He said he believed the government was abusing its power by using the SADF in the townships, but did not see this as a reason for criticising the SADF and the system of conscription.

Dr Slabbert's reaction to this was: "I wish to make it categorically clear that the resolution adopted by the Federal Council must not be seen in vacuo, but in conjunction with the PFP's defence policy, which states very clearly the need for an effective, strong and enlarged professional army."

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Federal Executive of the PFP, denied any suggestion that the PFP decision would wittingly or unwittingly lead to a weakening of the Defence Force.

"Against the background of a very divided South Africa, and the use of national servicemen in the townships, there is serious concern among white parents and young men about forced conscription, that is conscription sanctioned by law," Dr Boraine added.

He also defended the PFP's decision to open the party's membership to all races.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, last night also expressed full confidence in the decisions of the party's Federal Council.

"Our decision to oppose conscription is definitely not intended to weaken the SADF," she said.

The party had been pressing for a larger voluntary army for years.

PFP's caucus to discuss defence differences

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is calling together the full caucus on Thursday to resolve differences within the party.

These centre on the weekend decision by the Federal Council to open membership to all races and to press for an end to military conscription.

Developments yesterday related to the conscription issue were:

- Mr Philip Myburgh, MP for Wynberg, resigned as parliamentary spokesman on defence. (Dr Slabbert has taken over this post.)
- Mr Alf Widman, MP for Hillbrow, resigned from the PFP's defence group.
- Major Reuben Sive, MP for Bezuidenhout, resigned from the defence group.
- Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, also resigned from the defence group and called on Dr Slabbert to hold a federal congress of the party. This is the highest decision-making body and can overrule the Federal Council.

Mr Brian Goodall, deputy spokesman on defence and MP for Edenvale, said today that although he disagreed with the PFP's decision he would like to remain a member of the party's defence group.

He said it was no secret he supported the views of Mr Myburgh, but expected the whole matter to be resolved at the meeting of the caucus.

Dr Slabbert, who last night was attending a fund-raising dinner in Port Elizabeth, denied that a rift had developed in the party.

Reacting to Mr Schwarz's call for a federal congress, Dr Slabbert said this would be decided on its merits.

At a Press conference after the dinner Dr Slabbert disagreed with Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton, who said that opening membership to people of all races was tantamount to inciting people to break the Pro-

● To Page 2, Col 1

d children

xico City.

"Sophisticated

Tutu gets standing ovations in St Paul's

By Dirk de Villiers, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dwarfed by the giant carved pulpit of St Paul's Cathdral, Bishop Tutu looked almost gnomish, suggesting a small boy who was wearing his father's overcoat.

His glassed blinked in the sepulchral light as his eyes might well have done, too, with columns and domes seemingly soaring to Heaven all round him.

At times his accented voice sounded almost eerie as echoes nudged words in the uncertain acoustics.

Applause started even before the Bishop mounted the pulpit. In a moment it had developed into a standing ovation.

Bolstered by his recent Nobel Peace Prize and his appointment as Bishop of Johannesburg, he was clearly a star.

And with a star's following. The enormous cathedral was filled to overflowing, with many hundreds of people forced to sit in the aisles on tiles that were, appropriately for the theme of the Bishop's lecture, black and white.

Even before he started the audience was reminded that Martin Luther King had once spoken on a similar occasion and that, in 1983, the Bishop had been prevented from giving the address. But it wasn't all serious stuff.

Bishop Tutu larded his speech — on Christian witness in South Africa — with jokes, even a Van der Merwe story.

More caustic was his suggestion that nose size should be substituted for skin colour to demonstrate how ridiculous apartheid was, with "large noses only" universities and so on.

And in the days of plural affairs in South Africa, blacks from the countryside were probably "rural plural".

That brought the cathedral down.

The Bishop struck a topical note with strictures that could now apply equally to the British and South African Governments when he talked of accusations that the Church should not meddle in politics.

God, these politicians would have you believe, said the Bishop scornfully, was divinely aloof and unconcerned about the plight of his creatures below.

"Such a God is utterly useless to us and such a God I would not worship," he declared ringingly.

Towards the end of his lecture of nearly 45 minutes he quoted extensively from the Bible, quiet after the previous passion, and ended almost in a whisper.

Again there was a deafening ova tion with everyone on his feet.

It continued for several minutes with the Bishop raising his hands in acknowledgement and blinking in the cathedral light.

● See Page 7, World section.

CP claims credit for removals

STAR 21/11/84

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party is taking full credit for the pending removal to their own areas of hundreds of coloured people and Indians living illegally in the white Johannesburg suburbs of Hillbrow and Mayfair.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Johannesburg regional chairman of the CP, who has been personally involved in a campaign to kick coloured people and Indians out of the white areas, today hailed the Government's announcement that the "illegals" would be provided with housing in their own group areas as a "signal victory by the CP for the people of Hillbrow and Mayfair".

He said his party has made what it called "Government laxity with regard to the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Hillbrow and Mayfair" an issue in the parliamentary and provincial by-elections next week.

NEW HOUSES

Mr Derby-Lewis said the coloured people and Indians involved also had the CP to thank for their new housing, while the legal residents of the two white suburbs had the CP to thank for the return to "legality" in their areas.

Because of the Government's decision, the CP was suspending the legal action it was planning against landlords who were allowing coloured people and Indians to live on their properties.

Mr Derby-Lewis added that the CP would monitor the situation closely to see that all coloured people and Indians left the areas, and that none was allowed to live there again.

● See Page 4, World section.

Mercury 22/11/84

Minister walks out of civic reception

304A

Mercury Reporter

THE Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Delegates, Dr M S Padayachy, together with a group of doctors and businessmen, walked out of a civic cocktail party held in his honour in Ladysmith, it was revealed yesterday.

Another MP, Mr Somaroo Pachai, also walked out after a white councillor had spoken to Dr Padayachy about their late arrival.

Mr Pachai, MP for Northern Natal, said the incident had taken place on Tuesday after the minister and his party had arrived 20 minutes late for the party given by the town's Mayor, Mr D A Reyneke.

Mr Pachai said he had written a letter to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in connection with the 'unfortunate incident'.

A visit with the minister to various hospitals in the area had caused the late arrival said Mr Pachai.

Sowetan 22/11/84 HRP BCP 3044

Unban ANC, Govt told

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE South African Institute of Race Relations yesterday called on the Government to revoke the bannings on the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and other black political organisations.

The call was made in a resolution passed unanimously at the SAIRR council's general meeting held on September 8. The contents of the resolution and the background paper — Towards a Climate for Negotiation — were conveyed directly to the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, according to a statement released yesterday.

The institute's call for the lifting of bannings on organisations refers to the ANC, PAC, which were banned in the 1960s, and the 17 "Black Consciousness" organisations banned on October 19, 1977. It also says that "political prisoners should be released and easily allowed to return to South Africa, if they renounce violence".

In its background paper, the SAIRR said "it is of the utmost importance to arrest the structural deterioration in race relations that has been taking place" and that this must be done by "a dramatic demonstration" of white good faith towards blacks. Revoking the bans would not on its own solve the country's problems, but such a move is an "unavoidable pre-requisite" for creating a climate in which negotiation can take place.

"The institute holds no brief for any particular organisation. The key point is that people be able to make democratic choices. It is therefore imperative that they be accorded the legal right to do this through lawful organisations using lawful strategies," the SAIRR said.

The background paper notes that the institute council's call is not merely a reaction to recent violence "but an attempt to point a way out of the political impasse in which the country finds itself as a result of increased polarisation and the absence of channels through which blacks can effectively and constructively participate in the political life of the country"

The SAIRR added that people denied democratic opportunities today cannot be expected to cherish and protect those opportunities tomorrow. In its view the bannings were not only incompatible with democratic norms, but have proved futile anyway. Far from putting a stop to public demonstrations against apartheid, they have helped make a proportion of anti-apartheid action violent.

PFP agonises over call-up and membership

Dissension still, but a show of unity

STAR 23/11/84

304A

By Tos Wentzel,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Most of the Progressive Federal Party's parliamentary caucus has endorsed the stand of leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert on the issues of conscription and nonracial party membership.

A small group of dissidents — Mr Harry Schwarz and three or four other MPs — voted against acceptance of the policy as interpreted by Dr Slabbert at the caucus meeting yesterday.

But they agreed to abide by a resolution that each caucus member was bound to honour the majority's endorsement of Dr Slabbert's policy statements.

The caucus meeting took place against the background of misgivings over the party's stand on conscription expressed by Mr Schwarz, Mr Philip Myburgh, Major Ruben Sive, Mr Alf Widman and Mr Brian Goodall.

All except Mr Goodall gave up their positions as members of the party's defence group.

Some of these MPs, with Mr Dave Dalling, also had misgivings about the party's stand on nonracial membership and the present political interference legislation.

PFP national chairman Mr Colin Eglin said at a Press conference that the caucus support had been "overwhelming" — more so on the issue of conscription than on nonracial membership.

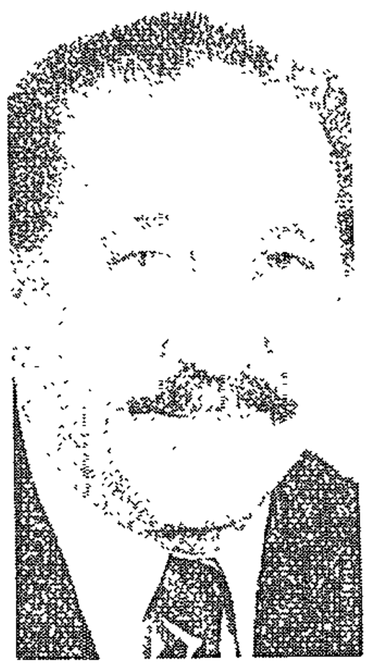
DIFFERENCES

While caucus members were now committed to the decision, the right remained for party members to seek a change in aspects of policies.

The executive of the Federal Council will meet next week to decide on whether a council should be held to reconsider decisions taken at recent provincial congresses. Mr Schwarz has written a letter to Dr Slabbert asking for this.

Dr Slabbert said he thought it was possible to resolve differences on these issues without having a federal congress, but it was the right of members to ask for one.

Three provincial PFP congresses called for an end to compulsory military conscription, and the Federal Council agreed with this.



Mr Alf Widman . . . he backs Schwarz on conscription.



Mr Dave Dalling . . . doubts on all-race membership.

The Cape and Natal congresses decided that political interference legislation should be scrapped and that in future race should not be an issue in membership — but the Transvaal congress had reservations about this.

The Federal Council passed a resolution agreeing with the Natal and Cape decisions.

In his statement of policy on conscription, Dr Slabbert said the PFP believed firmly in the need for a strong, efficient and capable Defence Force, based on racially non-discriminatory principles.

Apart from a defensive role against external aggression, the Defence Force also had to provide the kind of stability without which no evolutionary transition or effective reform could take place.

While the SADF should be seen to be non-partisan, impartial and above controversy, there were also cogent political, economic and military reasons why conscription should be brought to an end.

These were that compulsory military service applied only to white males, and it would be provocative and dangerous to extend it on a nonracial basis while other groups did not enjoy the same privileges as whites.

Conscription for whites introduced a racial element into sensitive domestic activities, and a dangerous threshold was crossed when the SADF was used in township disturbances.

Rather than let conscription become an issue of polarisation, effective alternatives should be considered.

Among the economic reasons was that compulsory military service had a disruptive effect on the manpower situation.

Militarily, it was widely accepted that a well-trained professional army was more efficient and cost-effective, and also more motivated and effective.

Dr Slabbert made it clear that he had in mind a phasing-out of conscription, not a sudden change, while a volunteer reserve arm of the SADF could be established.

For the PFP to press for an end to conscription was not to undermine the role of the SADF or to hamper it, but to allow it to become an effective and necessary agent of reform.

On the question of political interference legislation and nonracial membership, Dr Slabbert said a fundamental principle underlying all PFP policy was that of voluntary association of the individual.

ASSOCIATION

The party believed the individual should be free to belong to any legal political party of choice, and it had always called for the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

He pointed out that the United Democratic Front was operating constitutionally, outside parliamentary politics, with an all-race membership.

The Labour Party had fielded an Indian member as a candidate and had not been prosecuted. Instead, possible changes in the law had been promised.

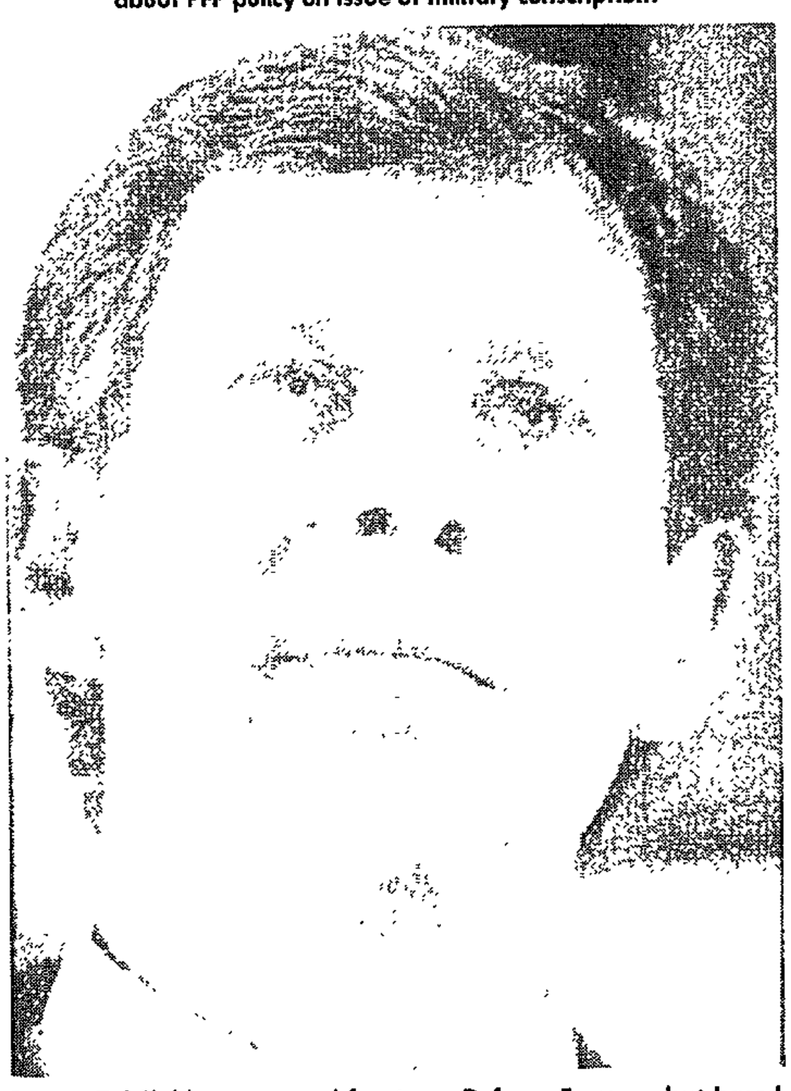
Dr Slabbert made it clear that the PFP had no intention to actively recruit people from other race groups or to incite anyone to deliberately break the law.

"We simply affirm our deep conviction in the principle of voluntary association, and that when someone applies for membership of our party we are not prepared to take the racial or ethnic membership of such a person into account as a condition for joining."

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Mr Harry Schwarz . . . leader of the dissidents who have misgivings about PFP policy on issue of military conscription.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert . . . need for strong Defence Force — but based on racially non-discriminatory principles.

Talking to the ANC 'would be consistent'

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Editor

PAST Government statements carry the implication that it is prepared to talk to the banned African National Congress, Professor David Welsh of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

Prof Welsh, co-author of a study on South Africa's constitutional options, was commenting on the call by the Institute of Race Relations for the lifting of the banning orders on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress and 18 black consciousness organisations.

Prof Welsh referred to two statements by the Schlebusch Commission in 1980 — and accepted by members of all political parties in Parliament at the time — and, more recently, to a statement in the 1983 annual report of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The Schlebusch Commission statements were that:

- The process of designing future constitutional structures should be accompanied by the "widest possible consultation and deliberation with ... all population groups" to raise the level of acceptability of the new constitution".
- The President's Council, as the body charged with creating a new constitution, should be composed of nationally acknowledged experts and "people regarded by their respective communities as leaders".

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning report said: "The realities and demands of the constitutional development of blacks should be considered with an open mind and with a new vision."

Prof Welsh commented: "If they believe what they have committed themselves to in the past, then talking to the ANC is a consistent step."

He added: "We are a society virtually at war with itself. The only way in which we can end the endemic violence is by talking to all segments of black opinion, no matter how unacceptable the views and strategies some of these segments may be to general white opinion."

Prof Welsh recalled that Mr Ton Vosloo had, as editor of Beeld, made a cautious and qualified plea for talks between the Government and the ANC when he predicted in 1981 that a day would come when it would have to negotiate with the ANC.

Mr Vosloo has since risen to become managing director of Nasionale Pers.

Copies of the institute's resolution and of the background paper were sent to President P W Botha and to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange.

The Office of the President referred the Rand Daily Mail to Mr Le Grange for comment. Mr Le Grange said yesterday he had taken note of the resolution but was not yet prepared to comment.

Slabbert interprets resolutions

THE resolution of the PFP's federal council to press for an end to compulsory military conscription necessitated a readjustment and restatement of some of the party's fundamental principles on defence, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told the special meeting of his parliamentary caucus here yesterday.

In a written statement of interpretation of party policy distributed at the meeting, Dr Slabbert said the PFP believed firmly in the need for a strong, efficient and capable defence force for South Africa, and that it was vital that the defence force be seen to be above controversy, nonpartisan and completely impartial.

However there were also cogent political, economic and military reasons why conscription such as existed in South Africa should be brought to an end.

A military organization was not something that could change overnight or in a sudden and unplanned fashion.

Non-racial

"Therefore an end to conscription will take time, but a start has to be made now by beginning to enlarge the defence force on a full-time, nonracial and professional basis," he said.

"We have no doubt that a non-discriminatory defence force providing equal opportunity for all its permanent members will become the spearhead for reform and conciliation, rather than run the risk of being seen as a partisan instrument of coercion.

"In addition to the enlargement of the defence force on a fulltime nonracial basis, the extension of a volunteer reserve arm of the defence force can be proceeded with.

"As the expansion of the full-time professional defence force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses, so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organization until it is no longer necessary.

Guardian

"We accept that reform is going to be fraught with difficulty, and the threat of instability and disruption will always be present. We also accept that there may be organizations and groups who wish to exploit this situation for revolutionary, violent or other disruptive ends.

"But equally, we accept that the vast majority of South Africans have legitimate grievances and experience extreme hardships which cry out for remedies

"Precisely because of these considerations, the PFP believes that the defence force should be above controversy and should be accepted by all groups as an impartial guardian of stability and order.

"It is precisely in this context that conscription such as is practised in South Africa today will become increasingly controversial.

"Therefore, for the PFP to press for the 'end of conscription' is not to undermine the role of the defence force or to hamper it, but to allow for the possibility that it can become an effective and necessary agent of reform."

Dr Slabbert issued a similar written interpretation of policy on party membership. Earlier this week the federal council called for the repeal of the Political Interference Act, and opened its doors to people of all races.

Dr Slabbert said in yesterday's statement that voluntary association of the individual was a fundamental principle underlying all PFP policy and philosophy, and the party believed that the individual should be free to belong to any legal political party of his or her choice.

Irrelevant

Since the implementation of the new constitution, the Political Interference Act had come under the searchlight and been shown to be redundant and irrelevant.

The UDF, he said, was a political movement with non-racial membership operating openly within South Africa, while the leader of the Labour Party had not been prosecuted for defying the law.

"We in the PFP do not accept that the above examples constitute incitement to break the law or openly defy all the laws of the country," said Dr Slabbert.

"Similarly by adopting the above resolution, it is not the PFP's intention to actively recruit membership from people who belong to different racial or ethnic groups than do the majority of present members of the PFP, nor incite anyone to deliberately break the law.

"We simply affirm our deep conviction in the principle of voluntary association and that when someone applies for membership of our party we are not prepared to take the racial or ethnic membership of such a person into account as a condition for joining the party."

Dr Slabbert said it was the duty of the PFP to point out clearly that "under certain conditions" and "technically speaking", a person was liable to prosecution if he or she became a member. — Sapa

(Report by Ben MacLennan, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town).

PFP gives way to rebels on call-up

Cape Times
23/11/82
30CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PEACE broke out in the Progressive Federal Party yesterday as the parliamentary caucus closed ranks behind leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and slapped a gag on the dissidents going public with their grievances.

After a five-hour special meeting in Cape Town yesterday, the caucus endorsed by "an overwhelming majority" Dr Slabbert's interpretation of the party's policy on conscription and open membership

It also declared that "each member of caucus is bound to honour this endorsement of the PFP caucus".

Compromise

A split was averted by compromising with the rebels on the contentious move for an "end" to conscription, but the caucus reaffirmed its federal council's decision to throw the party open to all races.

Although caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin would not disclose who the dissenting voters were, it is understood that only a handful of members were still actively opposed to the policy on open membership, while resistance to the newly spelt out defence policy has been all but eradicated.

Expulsion

Any member who now refuses to at least publicly toe the party line on either conscription or open membership as enunciated by Dr Slabbert yesterday, faces immediate expulsion

However, the depleted rebel ranks are clearly not prepared to given up their bid for a federal congress, which would provide them with a legitimate platform to call publicly for a reversal of the contentious policies that have severely tested party unity.

Dr Slabbert announced yesterday that he had authorized a meeting of the federal executive next week to consider the question of a federal congress.

The chances of the executive granting the rebel clique an opportunity to rehash publicly the divisive issues all over again seems remote at this stage.

Tense

MPs and members of the President's Council converged on Cape Town from all parts the country yesterday and filed into a tense caucus room about 11am.

Less than two hours later they emerged to pore over lengthy documents written by Dr Slabbert setting out his interpretation of the two controversial policy decisions by the Federal Council last weekend.

Dr Slabbert noted that the council's decision to press for an end to compulsory military conscription necessitated "readjustment and restatement of some of the fundamental principles and guidelines of the party on defence".

While spelling out in detail why the party still believed conscription as it existed should be brought to an end, the declaration in essence represents a shift to-



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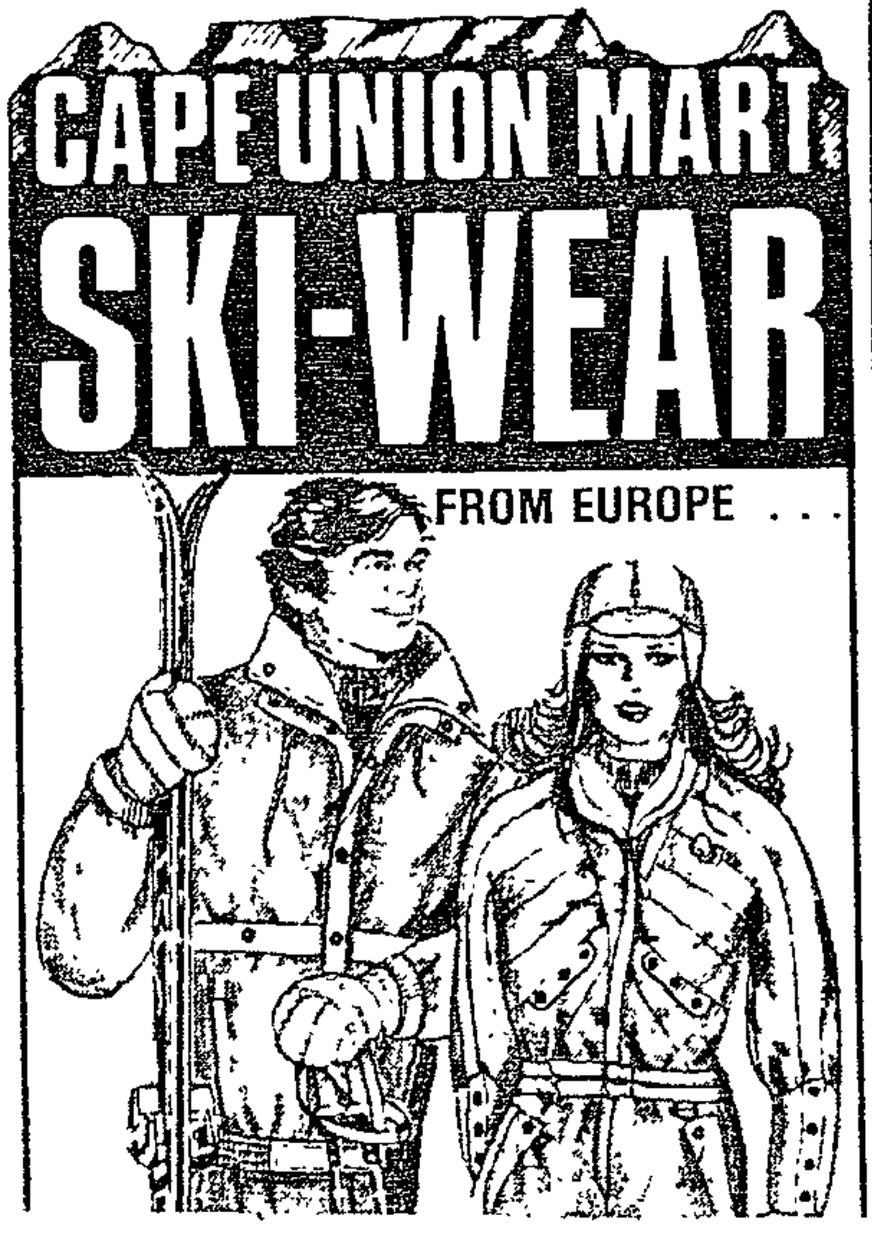
While spelling out in detail why the party still believed conscription as it existed should be brought to an end, the declaration in essence represents a shift towards the old party policy and an apparent softening on the original council decision that led to resignation of the bulk of the defence group.

In the document, Dr Slabbert explained the political, economic and military reasons for ending conscription, but al-

To page 4



From page 1

layed the fears of those concerned by the pace of this process by noting: "Military organization is not something that can change overnight or in a sudden or unplanned fashion.

"Therefore an end to conscription will take time, but a start has to be made now by beginning to enlarge the Defence Force on a full-time, non-racial and professsional basis."

Later in the declaration he noted: "As the expansion of the full-time professional Defence Force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses, so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organization until it no longer is necessary."

Political observers yesterday interpreted this as a virtual restatement of the party's old policy with a view to stemming concerns among more conservative members that, as one source put it, "conscription will by no means be wiped out irrespective of the consequences".

A large multi-racial professional army would have to be fully backed up by reserves before conscription could end.

Non-partisan

Dr Slabbert emphasized that he believed in a strong non-discriminatory defence force, which had to be seen to be non-partisan and above controversy in its role of providing stability and guarding the interests of all inhabitants.

In setting out his interpretation of the policy on open membership, Dr Slabbert pointed out how the government and the Labour Party were flouting the Improper Political Interference Act with impunity.

"Since the conception and implementation of the new Constitution, this act has come under the searchlight and has been shown to be redundant and irrelevant."

However, the PFP would not incite anyone to deliberately break this law, which was currently under investigation by a parliamentary select committee.

Conviction

"We simply affirm our deep conviction in the principle of voluntary association and that when someone applies for membership of our party we are not prepared to take the racial or ethnic membership of such a person into account as a condition for joining the party."

When a person wishing to sign up was technically liable for prosecution, it would be the party's duty to point this out.

"But is is not the responsibilty of the PFP to actively intervene with the voluntary association of the individual," said Dr Slabbert.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

POLITICS

The Prog divide

(304A) FM 23/11/85

There is not likely to be any clarity on the divisions shaking the unity of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) until after the party's caucus has met this week. National Party (NP) strategists, hoping to pick up urban English-speaking support to compensate for the loss of Afrikaner votes to the Conservative Party (CP), are watching developments with interest.

Their hopes for a major split are unlikely to materialise, though there may be some resignations.

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert points out that disagreement has more to do with methods than principles. Thus everyone concerned agrees that the party should be able to admit people of all colours — but there is disagreement over whether it should ignore, and take the legal risks of ignoring, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

Disagreement over military conscription is more serious and has led to four resignations from the party's parliamentary defence group — including that of its chairman, Phillip Myburgh, and its former chairman, Harry Schwarz. Schwarz points out that the party's new attitude to black

Continued on page 51



President Botha ... needs a *tour de force*

Financial Mail November 23 1984

(304A) FM 23/11/85

members and to conscription means that it no longer supports the policies on which it fought the last election. He wants a federal party congress to be called to thrash out the issues

Slabbert, however, points out that it is still party policy that there should be a strong, sound defence force. The argument is now over ways of achieving this — possibly through a professional army with volunteer back-up

Slabbert has personally taken over the party's defence portfolio — obviously to avoid association with either the Schwarz wing of the party or with the "old Progs," with whom Schwarz often clashes. He is therefore in the best position to effect a compromise and avoid facing the next defence debate at the head of a divided caucus

From the NP point of view, the major point of interest is the reaction of English-speaking voters. If they react negatively to either or both of the PFP party changes, most of them will have nowhere to go but to the NP.

pro deo counsel without the customary assistance of an attorney to do much of the necessary legwork. Often the *pro deo* advocate is young and inexperienced.

SOWETO

Tariff confusion

Fear of possible backlash from residents prompted Soweto Council chairman and his deputy to repudiate as "unfounded" an announcement by town clerk Nico Malan that water and electricity service charges in the area are to be increased — despite the fact that notices have already been sent to consumers.

The electricity tariff is intended to rise by 0,8c from 4,7c to 5,5c a unit for metered households from the beginning of December and water by R3.15 from R12,65 to R15.80 a month for unmetered households.

Hostel rents are also to go up by R6/month early in the new year. Residents in the three hostels in Johannesburg who now pay R23,50 a bed a month will be paying R29,50 when the new tariffs come into effect.

But the new monthly rental for hostels in Soweto will be only R18 — they pay R12 a bed a month compared to R23.50 in city hostels.

Malan has explained that the water and electricity tariffs were going up because both the Rand Water Board and Escom increased their charges earlier this year.

The proposed hikes for service charges, announced by town clerk Malan in circulars to consumers, have angered both council chairman Ephraim Tshabalala and his deputy Isaac Buthelezi.



Soweto's Tshabalala ... announcement 'unfounded'

The two men claim they know nothing whatsoever of the proposed hikes.

Tshabalala accuses Malan of working with the council's management committee without consulting him. He claims that he, as chairman of the council, will never raise rents until the West Rand Development Board gives him the council's financial accounts.

His deputy, Buthelezi, does not only express ignorance of the proposed increases for services but also rejects reports in newspapers of the proposed increases as "mischievous."

The attitude of both Tshabalala and Buthelezi is likely to cause confusion in the community, with residents wondering whether the increases are official or not.

POLITICS

Beyond verligtheid

There is a strong new movement among verligte Afrikaner intellectuals in the National Party (NP). Impatient with the pace of reform, they appear to be demanding nothing less than the toppling of the pillars of apartheid.

There are three kinds of verligtes, says one of the most prominent "neo-verligtes," Randburg MP Wynand Malan: "The pragmatist who wants to remain privileged but wants some plasterwork to be done; the verligte who does not talk or think further than methods in the transition stage; and the verligte who demands that changes be made *now* — not only in style but also in structure." It is this last brand of verligtes that is becoming very vocal.

The new verligtes made their first public appearance at the recent annual congress of the Reformatory Movement of SA (Remsa), a Calvinist organisation with a mostly Transvaal membership. Speaker after speaker criticised government for the slow pace of reform and used words seldom heard before from Afrikaners still inside the NP: unitary state, open society, resistance.

Remsa vice-chairman Elwil Beukes of Free State University summarises the spirit of the congress like this: "We cannot support a government or dispensation that is not breaking down structures of discrimination and injustice in a constructive but energetic way. We are warning that the voting public are beginning to reconsider its support for the governing party because of a lack of reform. For a change we must have structural change to keep pace with changing attitudes."

Remsa chairman Willem de Klerk, editor of *Rapport*, said in his closing speech at the congress. "Government must know that it will have to move with considerable speed, otherwise it will lose support. It will most definitely lose the support of verligtes if its proposals on black political rights amount to small potatoes *as hy met koue pampoen kom*."

The new movement is not confined to Remsa. Before the Treurnicht breakaway, old-style *verligtes* under the leadership of the likes of Stellenbosch's Willie Esterhuyse and Sample Terreblanche were labelled left of the party. Today they are reckoned to be centrists comprising the broad mass of the party, while the Left is made up of the "angry young men" of the new verligte movement. Interestingly enough, most of the new verligtes are from the northern provinces.

Free State University lecturer Albert Weideman calls it a "farewell to verligtheid." Political columnist Piet Muller of the cautiously verligte daily *Beeld* analysed the new movement and concluded that the future "indeed lies beyond verligtheid." *Rapport's* columnist Pollux called it a "brain shudder," while Unisa law professor Marinus Wiechers sees it as a "significant shift" in enlightenment.

Wiechers explains that old-style verligtes rejected the two political models available in SA — the integrationist model with its emphasis on a unitary state and an open society on the one hand, and the segregationist or apartheid model on the other hand. He says old-style verligtes believed the solution lies between the two: "structured association," power-sharing, consensus, group rights.

The new verligtes see this "structured association" as "dolled-up apartheid." They are asking for a new look at the implications of an open society and a unitary state.

Forced removals

The new verligtes also express themselves very strongly on influx control, forced removals, black citizenship, the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Political Interference Act and the Population Registration Act.

There is considerable pondering over the difference between the new verligtes and the group known as the "oorbeligtes" (literally translated it means over-illuminated) like Cape Town University's Herman Gilliomee and Stellenbosch's Johan Degenaar and Andre du Toit. The main difference seems to be that the new verligtes believe that the NP is still the best vehicle for change and that they can achieve more by staying inside.

But that can change. Says Potchefstroom political scientist Poen Coetzee: "I am not married to the party. They did not buy me. The time may come that I give up my membership." Potchefstroom law professor Lourens du Plessis adds: "We as Christians have not thought enough on what forms resistance to unjust laws can take. It does not only mean to take up arms or to wave placards. One way of resistance is to vote against government."

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BY-ELECTIONS

The perils of Primrose

If the National Party (NP) loses next week's parliamentary by-election in Primrose — and there seems a real chance that it will — up to 40 other NP seats must be considered vulnerable to the Conservative Party (CP). It could be the urban breakthrough the CP needs.

NP and CP organisers in the constituency agree that it is a very close race. Two weeks ago, NP sources in Primrose were fairly confident of winning by 500 votes or more. After the row over State President Botha's R303 000 gratuity, they are less confident.

Primrose fell vacant when former Minister of Co-operation and Development Piet Koornhof resigned to become chairman of the President's Council. He held the seat with a majority of 4 399 votes against the HNP in the 1981 general election. This time the CP and the HNP are in alliance.

Primrose, a Germiston constituency, is largely made up of middle-class and lower middle-class people, most of them Afrikaans-speaking. It is tailor-made for the exploitation of bread-and-butter issues. In fact, the Primrose contest may well be one of the first in recent parliamentary history to be decided on economic questions.

The CP has been swift to seize on tax inequities, high interest rates, white-collar unemployment, molly-coddled civil servants, and the whopping gratuities paid to former office-bearers of the Westminister system to stir resentment and envy in this sullen suburb with its unkind memories of Koornhof.

That the NP is extremely worried about its chances — and the effect of the President's golden handshake issue — is clearly demonstrated by the 11th-hour decision to bring in Botha to address the party's final campaign rally on Tuesday. If last week's Vredendal meeting is anything to go by, it is going to be a show of force. For the sake of the NP, it will need to be a *tour de force* as well. One organiser the *FM* spoke to sincerely believes that the president is going to swing the vote back to the NP.

The NP blames the English-language newspapers for indirectly boosting the CP in Primrose. They highlighted Botha's cash payout and wove sinister innuendo into it. It was also the English press that gave much publicity to a childhood experience of President Botha when he rode his horse through the house of his father's *bywoner*, the father of A C van Wyk, who later became a Nationalist MP.

Arguably, though, the same English newspapers boosted the NP's chances with sharp criticism of government's *kragdadige* security and diplomatic actions — thus demonstrating, from Primrose's viewpoint, that government is still strong despite its preparedness to share power.

The Johannesburg Afrikaans daily *Beeld* has been fighting a gallant battle for the NP and has been quite effective in showing how inconsistent CP leader Andries Treurnicht was in his statements on the Coventry Four and other policy issues. But somehow that does not seem to have had much impact on the Primrose voter.

Political observers with an eye for the absurd have unearthed a paradox in Primrose: that a CP victory could benefit the NP substantially. It could cause a major shift to the NP by PFP followers terrified of a CP government. It is argued that conservative-minded Progs may well be looking for an alternative political home as a result of fairly radical decisions by the party to open its doors to all races and to ask for an end to military conscription.

The latter decision has already led to the resignation of almost the entire PFP defence group. Many of the more conservative PFP members will probably be unhappy with the decisions, and since the NRP is not seen as an alternative political home any more, many could join, or at least vote for, the NP.

On the same day as Primrose, voters of George, P W Botha's old seat, will have to choose between the NP, PFP and HNP in parliamentary and provincial by-elections, while the Parow parliamentary and provincial by-elections will be contested by the NP and CP only. The two parties are also contesting a provincial by-election in Piketberg. The NP is confident of a victory in all these elections.

members and to conscription means that it no longer supports the policies on which it fought the last election He wants a federal party congress to be called to thrash out the issues.

Slabbert, however, points out that it is still party policy that there should be a strong, sound defence force. The argument is now over ways of achieving this — possibly through a professional army with volunteer back-up.

Slabbert has personally taken over the party's defence portfolio — obviously to avoid association with either the Schwarz wing of the party or with the "old Progs," with whom Schwarz often clashes. He is therefore in the best position to effect a compromise and avoid facing the next defence debate at the head of a divided caucus.

From the NP point of view, the major point of interest is the reaction of English-speaking voters. If they react negatively to either or both of the PFP party changes, most of them will have nowhere to go but to the NP.

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

Time to speak out

SA businessmen are increasingly adding their voices to the call for political reform (see *Leaders*). Increasing labour unrest could speed up this process as business finds itself caught between the anger of the black workforce and government obscurantism.

Most of the recent political statements by senior businessmen centre on influx control, because it's bad for business But there are those, like Premier Group's Tony Bloom and Anglo American's Gavin Relly, who go further, questioning the morality of apartheid and measures like forced removals and detention without trial. (Even the normally cautious councils of Assocom, FCI and the AHI have questioned the detention of trade unionists).

Says Bloom: "I have always totally rejected the notion that businessmen should stay out of the political field, in SA business and politics are inextricably interwoven and I believe it is not only the right, but indeed the duty of business to take part in the broader issues of society and contribute in its way to the problems we face as a country.

"For heaven's sake, let us not always wait for a crisis to evoke our conscience. Let us be prepared to question our policies rationally and without being accused of a lack of patriotism. For what is ultimately at stake is not merely the profitability of business or the survival of the system of free enterprise, but possibly the survival of the total SA community."

SA director of the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep) Mike Sinclair takes it further "It is the opinion of the middle-ground in black urban society that business can no longer exculpate itself from the state of civil violence, business cannot continue to defer all responsibility to government, the drought, the recession and communist agitators. The reluctance of the private sector to grasp the political nettle in addressing the "real" causes of black civil unrest (as perceived by blacks) is taken as confirmation of the widely propagated perception of complicity between capital and state.

"Indeed, there is a growing belief, limited not only to black opinion, that the private sector, ascribing the destabilisation of the business environment to reform, may more effectively inhibit the progress of reform than the right wing. It is alleged that the private sector has only lobbied for limited political change when it is in the interests of continued economic growth to do so; influx control being the current example."

This is what some leading businessmen have been saying:

LTA chairman Zac de Beer: "Influx control in SA is discriminatory and offensive to human dignity. It negates the basic principles of free enterprise and interferes with economic progress. It obscures the facts that are essential to proper planning. Moreover, it is a spectacular failure here, as it is elsewhere."

Anglovaal chairman Basil Hersov: "Urbanisation is an inevitable and irreversible process, requiring carefully considered initiatives rather than futile and expensive attempts to counter its progress. It cannot be emphasised too strongly that the current concentration on only one element, namely the control over the movements of people, remains a politically facile and dangerous response."

Toyota chairman Albert Wessels: "Urbanisation is not an evil, and it is not a problem either. The problem is that the cities are not equipped to accommodate black urbanisation. The solution is therefore, not influx control, but the quicker development of new cities."

Overwhelming case

Former Nasionale Pers MD Dawid de Villiers: "An overwhelming case seems to be building up for a fundamental rethink, with a view possibly to the phasing out of influx control and the substitution for it of better balanced policies for coping with the inevitable processes of urbanisation."

Tongaat-Hulett chairman Chris Saunders: "Business must not adhere to outdated and outmoded social and racial practices thereby impeding reform and slowing down the momentum of change which has been created by the PM and his government."

Johannesburg CBD Association chairman Nigel Mandy. "Influx control has not worked The pass laws do not penalise blacks only. Like other apartheid measures they debase the whites and diminish their economic freedom as well The policy of apartheid must be fallacious if it has not succeeded despite the application of so much legislation, ingenuity, expense and intimidation."

Concludes Mike Sinclair "An economic system which historically has denied the majority of participants a share of the opportunities which are assumed to be inherent in the system, cannot hope to survive unless that system itself is instrumental in effecting a redistribution of power, opportunity and wealth."

ANGOLA

Ministers to meet

SA and Angola have agreed to meet soon at ministerial level to finalise the withdrawal of the last SA troops from Angola and decide on a more permanent peace-keeping body to "ensure peace and stability" once the Joint Monitoring Commission (JMC) has withdrawn to the Angola/Namibia border.

Meanwhile, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker continued his tour of southern Africa to brief heads of state on the latest Angolan/Namibian developments. Crocker embarked on his odyssey after receiving SA's reply to Angola's proposals for a Cuban withdrawal. It is expected that he will formally relay the reply to the Angolans in the next fortnight.

At a JMC meeting at N'Giva in Angola this week, SA Army chief Jannie Geldenhuys and Angolan Chief of Staff Ngongo Monteiro agreed to advise their governments that a ministerial meeting was necessary to take the final decisions on the

SASOL'S COURT WIN

Any court case that lasts 96 court days, involves three silks and four junior counsel, concerns untold millions of rands, and in which the defendants are two major government-controlled operations and an honorary consul should be a major *cause célèbre*. Not in SA where the case of Maurice Sellier, Ezra Nonoo and Trade and Technology (Holdings) *versus* Sasol Operations Pty. the Strategic Fuel Fund and Helge Storch-Nielsen was decided this week.

Sasol and its co-defendants were being sued (in camera) for huge but undisclosed sums of money — so much money that there was light-hearted speculation that if Sasol had lost government would have had to increase gst by a couple of points in order to keep the corporation solvent.

Not to worry though. Judge Melamed found for the defendants (with costs; He is expected to give his reasons later — and to order that like the record of the entire case, they should be kept secret.

As yet, there is no evidence of a reduction in money supply growth. The money market shortage still stands at around R1.5 billion, which, in terms of the situation when prime was at its previous low, is extremely high and must be seen as a strong factor in the question of whether interest rates will, or will not, be pushed up yet again.

Also January and February are seasonally tight in the money market, with the shortage generally widening.

SA is still running a substantial deficit on the balance of payments and an inflation rate three times that of its leading trading partners. There has been a deterioration in the external and internal position of the SA economy through forces beyond the government's control.

"We have no choice but to adjust to these circumstances and there seems to be a reluctance on the part of everyone to do so," says Bethlehem.

This, he says, has been compounded by a further illusion perpetuated by a declining rand exchange rate which has cushioned many, especially exporters, from the real need to make adjustments.



Anglo's Dickman ... still a painful adjustment

Also, because insufficient adjustments have been made by the public sector, the private sector has been forced to carry a disproportionate load, which has only deepened the recession.

Another disturbing trend has been a cutback in capital expenditure in the public sector to finance an increase in current expenditure which has damaging implications for the long term. An inadequate infrastructure will either cut short a return to economic growth or rekindle inflation. The policy is short-sighted in the extreme.

Yet Pretoria refuses to face up to the pressing and real economic problems that are eroding the productive capacity of the economy. Instead, it prefers to tilt at minority extremists at the expense of a return to general prosperity. National priorities are being sacrificed to marginal party gains. What hope is there in these circumstances, and with this attitude of mind, for wider and pressing economic and political reforms?

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

A duty to speak out

The increased willingness of leading businessmen to speak out on matters of social and political import is welcome. While the immediate response from government has been aggrieved, the current administration is likely to prove far more responsive to such submissions than any of its predecessors.

Assocom is wise to have chosen a high-powered delegation for its meeting with Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange on Wednesday this week. The Minister has already reacted with intemperate anger to business criticism of trade union detentions and has accused organised business of abusing the names of their organisations.

One suspects that the decision to see Assocom, the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) separately (although they issued a joint statement) springs from a policy of divide and rule. If one body can be persuaded to soften its stance, the credibility of all will be weakened.

This must not happen. At the Carlton and Good Hope conferences, government itself invited business to take a wider hand in advising it on the administration of the country and on the likely effect of its policies.

Yet when business takes Pretoria at its word — in an area where its interests are vitally affected — it is greeted with expressions of "shock and sadness" and suggestions that it acted without the backing of members.

But on this issue business cannot remotely be accused of moving beyond its specific interests. It warned that the detention of trade union leaders put harmonious relations between employers and a large section of the workforce at risk.

The three organisations receive constant feedback from their members; and they are in the correct position to know that the detentions "are exacerbating a very delicate labour situation."

Business, of course, has a problem in maintaining relations with both government and its own workforce. It admitted as much to government when the organisations told Le Grange that their statement was at least partly made to maintain their credibility with certain trade unions.

To that degree, at least, trade union pressure — particularly on the factory floor, where it tends to be more militant than at union head offices — is having some effect on the public stance of organised business.

Yet the spat between Le Grange and organised business, confined as it is to a specific issue, does not tell the full story of the growing willingness of businessmen to involve themselves in political and social matters. Having been invited into the arena by government, they have no intention of quitting it quickly.

Indeed, they can argue that there is little in SA's political and social life that does not affect business performance — and is not a fitting subject for business comment and criticism. Removals, influx control, education and training, group areas, migrant labour, separate business areas, public transport, military call-ups, government budgets, fiscal and monetary policy, local authority finances, decentralisation, control boards, policing methods — all have an impact on economic performance. And it's generally a detrimental one.

What is more, businessmen now feel they have a government that is at last prepared to listen to them. Gone are the Verwoerdian days when Harry Oppenheimer's usually lonely voice of protest could bring a ministerial threat that requests for labour on Anglo American Corporation mines would be less than sympathetically considered. "We won't discriminate against them (Anglo)," said Blaar Coetzee. "We will just treat them differently." That attitude is a thing of the past.

Business voices are now being heard more loudly and with greater confidence. And there is ample reason to believe they are having some effect. Indeed, Cape Town University's Hermann Giliomee is on record as saying that he does not believe there will be any real softening in influx control until the corporate voice of management starts demanding it.

Giliomee's thesis could soon be put to the test. Although the AHI is still dubious about the advantages of relaxing control, other business sectors are calling strongly for in-



Cowley ... 'credibility' of free enterprise at stake

flux laws to be phased out. And they are quoting scientific studies to show that the results need not be sociologically disastrous (*FM* September 14).

The list of top businessmen who have made their voices heard in recent days is impressive. It includes Anglo American's Gavin Relly; Premier Group's Tony Bloom; Anglovaal's Basil Hersov; Barlow Rand's Mike Rosholt; ex-Nasionale Pers MD David de Villiers; Barclays Bank's Chris Ball; LTA's Zac de Beer; and the Central Business District Association's Nigel Mandy.

Most, although not all, are traditionally liberal businessmen. However, the Urban Foundation, which answers to an ideologically diverse governing body, has undertaken a three-year study and analysis of urbanisation which led to its recent call for the phasing out of influx control. The foundation will shortly brief editors and decision-makers on the results of its work thus far.

The recent (fairly successful) two-day stayaway by black workers in the Transvaal showed that businessmen are caught between the growing black challenge to apartheid and government resistance to this challenge. According to the SA Institute of Management's executive director, Morris Cowley: "Black spokesmen, encouraged by the success of the stayaway, predict that similar tactics will become a common characteristic of the strategy of black resistance to racial political inequality. The focus of this action is the perceived alliance between government and business and the lack of credibility of 'free enterprise' in facilitating a redistribution of power and wealth."

It is that perceived alliance with government that worries many businessmen. So the call has been for a complete rethink on black urbanisation and influx control. This, of course, is connected to economic growth and the stability of the workforce, and is both a rational and moral requirement of a developing country such as SA.

It is important that businessmen are not seen to speak out only on political matters that directly affect production and profitability. Not only is it in their long-term interest to fight for a just society; they are also being closely watched by black South Africans, both within the trade unions and out.

The private sector is in a strong position to act as a catalyst for real social change — and the present government has shown that it is more sensitive to the views of the private sector than its predecessors.

Honesty and integrity

Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom recently told the Wits Business School (*Current affairs* November 16): "Let us not always wait for a crisis to evoke our conscience. Let us be prepared to question our policies rationally and without being accused of a lack of patriotism, and disregard the semantics of whether our opinions should be characterised by confrontation or consultation, and let us settle for opinions that are characterised by involvement, by honesty and integrity.

"For what is ultimately at stake is not merely the profitability of business or the survival of the system of free enterprise, but possibly the survival of the total SA community."



Le Grange ... 'shock and sadness' that business should criticise

When Assocom's Michael Weir, Rocky Ridgeway, Bill Yeowart, Howard Russell, Bob Goodwin, Raymond Parsons and Vince Bratt sit down with Le Grange this week their agenda will include "stayaways, intimidation and the role of the trade unionists."

Possibly, Le Grange will be able to show them evidence justifying the tough action taken by government. It is to be hoped that they will demonstrate to him the newer face of a community that is concerned not merely with short-term profits and good relations with government, but with the long-term future of SA as a bastion of free enterprise.

That, after all, will be the first thing threatened by continued instability which some provocateurs of both the Left and Right would like to see escalate into civil war.



Bloom, Hersov, Mandy, De Beer, De Villiers, Rosholt, Relly ... all speaking out

HNP goes to court in poster battle

CAR Tints 23/11/84

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Supreme Court Reporter

ALLEGATIONS that the State President had ordered the town council of George to halt "at all costs" the HNP's election campaign in Mr P W Botha's old constituency were brought before the Supreme Court yesterday.

A court battle has erupted over the removal this week of HNP posters by the municipality because they had been deemed harmful to race relations.

In the urgent application, two George HNP candidates in next week's by-election sought an interdict restraining the George town council from removing any of their posters and ordering it to replace any posters that have already been removed by the municipality.

The two candidates, Mr Arend Simeon Treurnicht and Mr Hendrik Stefanus van Zyl, have also sought an order forbidding the town council from interfering in any way with the HNP's "election and propaganda campaign" in the area.

The candidates were granted provisional relief in terms of their demands by Mr Justice Vos, pending the outcome of the hearing which was postponed to this afternoon.

In papers before the court, the HNP's parliamentary candidate, Mr Treurnicht, said that they had been given permission to put up posters by the town clerk on September 28.

"On November 16, the town clerk, Mr C P du Plessis, wrote to the chairman of the party and pointed out that the George Municipality had a proud record of good race relations, but he was of the opinion that a particular poster that read: 'Whites HNP Multicoloured (*Bont*) NP, or something of that nature', was harmful and was not constructive to the spirit of co-operation that existed in the area," Mr Treurnicht said

The quotation mentioned by the town clerk was incorrect and an example of the poster would be produced before the court.

Pointing out that George was Mr Botha's old constituency and that he was clearly "very concerned" about the outcome of next Thursday's election, Mr Treurnicht said:

"What is apparent is that an order was issued by The Honourable State President, Mr P W Botha, to the George officialdom to put, at all costs, a spoke in the wheel of our election campaign"

Opposing the application for the provisional order, Mr Johan van der Berg, for the council, told the court that the council had only received notice of the court action yesterday morning and had not had time to reply to Mr Treurnicht's allegations.

He condemned Mr Treurnicht's attack on the State President.

Mr J S Rossouw, instructed by Couzyn, Hertzog and Horak, of Pretoria, appeared for Mr Treurnicht and Mr Van Zyl. Mr Van der Berg was instructed by Ernst Strauss and Haasbroek

...ility of 'tragic' murder

ON THE TURMOIL ON THE LABOUR FRONT

Constitution frustrates black unions

THE black political tumult following the introduction of the new constitution has led to a radical shake-up in traditional strategies within the trade union movement.

Caught most firmly in the vice of the new pressures — black frustration on the one side and white intransigence on the other — is the powerful Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu).

Earlier this month, the Federation took the unusual step of supporting a political work stay-away called by a number of community and other organisations under the umbrella of the Transvaal Regional Stay-Away Committee.

The police raid on Sebokeng, supported by the SADF, has been offered as the ostensible reason for the Federation's decision to ally itself with community organisations in this highly-political action.

But fierce pressure from the seething black membership was the main factor.

In the wake of the polarisation created by the constitution, the union has come under intense pressure to abandon its traditional policy of concentrating on shop-floor issues.

Now it has finally made the change and the crucial question being asked is whether this implies a growing Fosatu role in overt political resistance to the status quo — an ominous development for the state and employers.

Fosatu's basic philosophy was spelt out by the Federation's president, Mr Joe Foster, in 1982.

He argued against the affiliation of unions to community-based political organisations, as was practised by the black consciousness-aligned unions.

Instead, he argued for concentration on shop-floor issues so as to build a durable base while at the same time developing "working class politics".

Increasing pressure

Since then, however, there has been an explosion of community-based political organisations — enhanced by successes achieved by the Anti-Republic Day Committee of 1981, the Anti-Sak Committee and others.

Rents, services, squatter removals, bus tariff hikes and numerous other issues have served as sore points around which the community-based political organisations have been able to build their strengths.

Fosatu's attempts to remain sympathetic to these struggles, but not directly involved, came under increasing pressure from the rank-and-file membership who could not see how shop-floor issues could be separated from the political situation in which they were forced to live.

The formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983 exacerbated the problem.

While some of the general unions joined UDF or its black-consciousness equivalent, the National Forum, Fosatu, held rigidly to the view that organisational and other problems made it difficult to affiliate, although they were sympathetic to the aims of the organisations.

At root was concern that the trade unions — vanguard of the workers' struggle — would be submerged in a loosely-defined organisation which included middle-class and merchant elements.

Fosatu's refusal to affiliate led to increasing tensions within the organisation.

In July this year, one of the most prominent of the Fosatu unions, the Metal and Allied Workers Union, split over this issue.

A breakaway section established its own unions and attempted to hijack East Rand factories.

One of the reasons offered for the breakaway was that the Fosatu leadership was "not political enough".

But the events since the implementation of the constitution have resulted in a speeding up of the political dynamics within which the unions work.

Although Fosatu condemned the new constitution and the August tricameral elections, it did not embark on any overt political action.

But the black unrest in the townships, and in particular the deployment of the army in Sebokeng, appears to have been the final straw precipitating the union into support of a political action.

But whether it will continue taking part in such political demonstrations is not certain.

The union itself maintains that its basic strategies have not changed and that it re-

Strategies unchanged

mains sympathetic to the broader-than-workplace issues.

But the recent detentions of its leaders and the internationalising of the dispute could push it into an even tougher stance.

Professor Roux van der Merwe, head of the Volkswagen Chair of Industrial Relations at the University of Port Elizabeth, does not detect a dramatic radicalisation or politicisation of the Federation.

"It is reacting to the very unusual circumstances created by the constitutional reform process," he said.

Buti calls on leaders to snub Cabinet committee

By GRAHAM WATTS
Political Reporter

THE Reverend Sam Buti, mayor of Alexandra, has delivered a blow to the government's plans for a constitutional formula for urban blacks.

He this week called on black leaders not to participate in talks with the Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of urban blacks chaired by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Mr Buti said in a statement: "The participation by blacks in discussion concerning the constitutional plan for urban blacks will be a definite betrayal of established struggles by those men and women who have been banished, exiled or even imprisoned by the South African racist regime."

The government has made much of the Cabinet committee, frequently assuring its critics that a constitutional solution for blacks was in the pipeline. Talks have been held with the leaders of independent and self-governing homelands but these have been boycotted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu.

Mr Buti has the rare status of a black community leader who has participated in the government-created black local authorities structure (upgraded community councils) and still has considerable legitimacy in his community — a sort of small-town Chief Buthelezi.

During the height of unrest in Reef townships recently when black councillors died at the hands of residents, had their homes and businesses burnt down or went into hiding, Mr Buti's home stood unguarded.



● Rev Sam Buti ... mayor ofAlexander

He was just the sort of man Mr Heunis needed to lend credibility to his efforts for a constitutional formula for blacks.

Instead, Mr Buti has advised "our black brothers and sisters — those so-called black community leaders — not to pose as if they have been mandated by the black South African poeple to discuss the future national constitutional matters" with the government.

"Experience has taught us that such committees and discussions bear fruitless results," said Mr Buti.

"We wish to make an earnest plea to those so-called 'urban black' community leaders and 'homeland' leaders who have been invited to participate in the discussions not to fall into a trap of consciously or unconsciously propagating and promoting the policy of apartheid.

"We reiterate our plea for reconciliation and the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and black political movements," he said.



Why the men who make SA tick are losing faith in those who rule it . . .

THE private sector in South Africa has become increasingly sceptical about the professed determination of government that our society should be a shining example of free enterprise.

I believe that in the past few months this scepticism has turned into outright resentment and disillusionment, which may very well prove difficult to counter.

Sad as this may be, just as unfortunate, and perhaps lying at the very crux of the matter, Pretoria does not understand why the mood should be changing so drastically.

In this very fact lies one of the current tragedies of this country — the widening gap in thinking between the public and the private sectors.

Few of us in business have not heard, in the course of board meetings, casual contacts or in general business discussions, evidence that people engaged in commerce and industry are more worried about the state of affairs in this country at the moment than for many years.

This concern embraces the handling of the country's economy and the Government's handling of the socio-political situation.

In the past, we have experienced bouts of misgivings about both these important subjects, but not at the same time.

The fact that the two should now coincide accentuates immeasurably the unease among my fellow-businessmen.

Rightly or wrongly, we now increasingly hear the argument that the Government's accord with business, believed at the time to be sincere, was never more than a sham.

We hear it said that that accord was the Government's way of persuading the business sector to do what it had traditionally done, which is to keep its head down, get on with its own affairs and not meddle in the process of governing the country.

No government likes being criticised. To remove a potential source of embarrassing criticism would, therefore, be important.

While I sympathise with people who are trying to encourage businessmen to use their own



By DARRYL PHILLIPS

a leading South African businessman who speaks out on the growing rift between government and the business sector

uate what is, after all, the established, if unfortunate, behaviour pattern of business's role within the country.

The other is to prevent something of an evolutionary change in which not only does business come out of its shell on socio-political matters that affect the entire society of which it is part, but that process is actually led by Afrikaner business.

In historic terms, business in this country has, as we all know, been dominated by the English-language group.

The emergence of Afrikaners in the roles of entrepreneurs and managers has been both dramatic and successful.

Thus a new dimension has been added to the private sector.

This process of change could produce one of the most potent sources of objective criticism of government policy.

It could also lead to a much healthier relationship between the public and private sectors.

I use the word "objective" advisedly. In the past, English-language business has produced people unafraid to take a firm line on subjects which the politicians have felt is their preserve.

The problem has been that of language. Such criticism has been perceived in Pretoria to be less than objective because business has been perceived to be controlled by a language group basically opposed to the Government.

This argument must now fall away. Business is beginning to speak with one voice.

The language used has become of secondary importance. For this reason, if for no other, the message deserves to be heeded, or at least listened to without attracting the instant critical reaction from Pretoria which we have read about in recent weeks.

If the intention is to scare businessmen from both language groups from forging what could be a powerful alliance, the move would be short-sighted.

Most developed nations acknowledge the need for all available talent to be used in the effective governing of the country.

We are, if anything, more in need than most of this pooling of our available resources.

Assuming that all three employer bodies which have approached the Government remain in concert, we could see the first signs of a degree of co-operation between the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Federated Chambers of Industries and Assocom, that has never before been achieved.

If this were to happen, it could become an important product of an otherwise deeply-damaging recession.

It is worth pausing a moment to consider why what happened in the past couple of weeks took place at all.

For a number of years, the Government has made various attempts to convince business that it is genuinely keen to work for the common good.

First came the Carlton Conference, proclaimed a resounding success by both sides.

The most prominent and powerful men of commerce and industry responded positively to what they believed to be an important gesture by the Government.

This success was followed by the Good Hope Conference, where again the results were positive.

Perhaps because the Government failed to realise that the conferences were no more than the preliminaries, and that actual implementation of strategy was the next essential step, something then went awry.

The failure on the part of the Government to follow up its advantage led to doubts about its motives in the first place.

Since the two conferences, we have seen a steady return to the status quo — a return to the situation of "Them and Us", "Pretoria vs capitalism".

It is perfectly clear that the Government did not, and possibly even now does not, realise why its attempts to close the gap between itself and private enterprise failed.

One of the reasons for this failure is the lack of understanding of each other's needs and problems which such a gap induces.

The new Minister of Finance has made efforts to start rebuilding bridges. In his case, the need was greater than ever because businessmen are naturally uneasy about entrusting authority to inexperienced hands, particularly at a time when we are experiencing the worst recession in years.

Whether or not these two factors lay behind the decision to try again to move closer to the private sector is not central to my theme.

What is important is the fact that the gesture once again worked. It was appreciated and it must have assisted the new Minister to ease his way into a difficult portfolio.

It is a great pity that the Government now shows signs of repeating its previous mistakes.

It is again failing to follow up an advantage by building on the goodwill. What compounds the error is that this has happened at a time when the private sector is being called upon to carry an absurdly onerous burden, made all the more burdensome by a failure on the part of the Government to accept the need for making an equitable contribution towards economic recovery.

It is these considerations which have finally caused business to reconsider its role within our system.

Having done so, the importance of its response is made all the greater because it is obviously not politically-inspired.

In fact, it is true to say that even before so many Afrikaans voices from business were raised in protest, the bulk of criticism from business was non-political in its origins.

By and large, the businessmen of this country tend to consider themselves removed from politics.

This is partly inspired by a desire to get on with what they need to do in order to make a living, and partly by fear of embarrassing the Government and thereby bringing down the wrath of Pretoria upon themselves. Far safer, therefore, to keep one's profile as low as possible.

What the private sector is saying is sufficiently important to warrant the Government according it due recognition.

Expressed simply, it is a natural desire, as a significant force within any capitalistic system, to be consulted on matters concerning the economy and its management.

If the Government believes it has made a serious attempt to move closer to business, and if this belief is not shared by business, which is undoubtedly the case, something is obviously very wrong.

The answer would seem to lie in one word — "communication".

Capitalism actually represents a partnership between State and the private sector, even if, in the interests of good government, the former is acknowledged as the senior partner.

The success of any partnership rests in good communications. In the current situation there is no real proof of true partnership — and it is this fact that is deeply resented by the people who actually make the wheels of enterprise turn in South Africa.

Private enterprise appears to be losing confidence in the Government's ability to manage the economy and in its ability to bring about evolutionary change within our society.

It is easy enough to dismiss this sort of reaction as being a manifestation of the greedy capitalist's inherent selfishness. To do so would be folly, and would achieve nothing more than a further weakening of an already troubled economy.

Not since the days of Sharpeville has there been greater gloom within the private sector. It is deep-seated and will not simply go away.

Unless the Government takes immediate steps to counter this mood with positive proof that it is prepared to adopt a more responsive attitude to its partners, unless much more sensitivity is shown in the handling of social progress, the very people who are capable of making a major contribution to evolutionary change will have been stripped of the two essentials equipping them for such a role: business viability and a sense of involvement.

international contacts as a means to offset the increasing strength of the anti-South African lobby, I share the fears of many of my colleagues that the task may be beyond us.

We have plenty of evidence of efforts being made in this direction. Within the past six months, several prominent South African businessmen have delivered important addresses to American audiences on the question of disinvestment.

Without having canvassed opinions, it is easy to imagine their embarrassment at having their well-intentioned and intelligently-based arguments almost immediately negated by widespread television coverage of police action in African townships.

The potential effectiveness of ambassadorial businessmen is further weakened by the reactions of government to the three major private sector organisations when they jointly called on government to rethink its policy of arresting black labour leaders.

We understand that the Government's theory is that evolutionary change can only take place within a situation of social stability, and that stability must be achieved, even by using force.

What concerns many of us is that this attitude of the end justifying means may be a little simplistic.

What is more, the fact that it is being challenged by business on practical, and not political, grounds must surely suggest to the authorities that they should at least listen before reacting so violently.

It seems that the Government is trying to achieve two aims within this context.

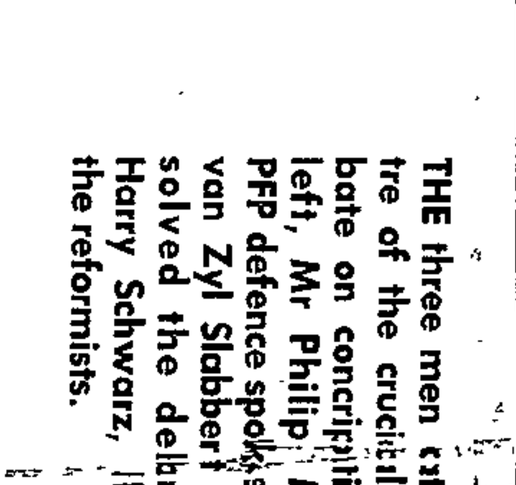
One is to attempt to perpet-

Unease in the private sector is growing

PFP split

Only 'brilliant leadership' kept party intact

THE three men at the centre of the crucial PFP debate on conscription: from left, Mr Philip Myburgh PFP defence spokesman; Dr van Zyl Slabbert who resolved the debate; Mr Harry Schwarz, leader of the reformists.





Sunday Star 25/11/84

David Brier

THE conscription row threatened the Progessive Federal Party with a Supreme Court action from within its own ranks.

After the row was patched up at a crucial caucus meeting, PFP sources divulged that the party had been on the verge of an upheaval which could have shattered its unity over the next few months.

Both hawks and doves agree that the situation was saved by the brilliant leadership of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

The reformists who followed Mr Harry Schwarz into an alliance with the Progressive Party in 1975, have been mobilizing forces against what they see as a move by the left wing of the PFP towards the United Democratic Front.

Reformists who would rather leave the PFP than move in the UDF direction, made their stand over the conscription issue after PFP provincial congresses and its Federal Council resolved to press for an end to military conscription.

The PFP opts for a stronger professional and volunteer army. But the reformists want to retain what they prefer to call "national service" as well.

The reformists used the PFP's constitution which permits the Federal Council to make policy on matters not yet laid down by party policy, but not to change existing policy. Only the party's Federal Congress can change existing policy.

They maintained the anti-conscription resolution by the Federal Council was unconstitutional as it changed existing policy. But the left wing maintained this was a new policy and therefore not unconstitutional.

Some reformists were prepared to go so far as to take the party to the Supreme Court to overturn the anti-conscription resolution.

It is understood they also considered walking out of the PFP unless the anti-conscription resolution was toned down.

Dr Slabbert defused the situation by including a crucial paragraph in his statement of policy.

Paragraph 8 had the magical effect of pleasing both reformists and the party's left, both of whom say it meets their requirements.

The paragraph reads: "As the expansion of the full-time professional Defence Force and the volunteer reserve arm progresses, so also progress can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organisation until it is no longer necessary."

"The party Left believes this is in keeping with the resolution to "press for an end to compulsory military conscription".

But the reformists, who include Mr Philip Myburgh, the party's defence spokesman, say it meets their requirements as the words "until it is no longer necessary" imply military conscription could remain for an indefinite period.

Report by David Brier, 122 Saint George's Street, Cape Town.

Listeners propose army of volunteers

Langa Skosana and Michael Tissong

MOST of the callers to SABC's "Microphone In" radio programme on Friday evening called for the establishment of a professional volunteer army and an end to military conscription.

Several callers noted that the army had become politicised by being used during unrest in the black townships. Some callers said the enforced call-up should not be abolished.

They were giving their views on the subject: "Should military conscription be abolished?"

Mr Edwin Harlich-Jones of Port Elizabeth said conscription should be abolished and a professional army should be established.

Cape Town caller Mrs Elaine Williams said she had four sons "who were proud to serve in the South African Defence Force" and that conscription should not be abolished.

One of the panelists in the SABC studio, Sir Richard Luyt, called for a professional volunteer army. He said he opposed military conscription and conscription should be regarded as a "last resort and a desperate resort".

The other panelist Mr Bill Sutton of the New Republic Party said conscription should continue as "there would be problems getting the number of people necessary for the army".

Mr Sutton said it was necessary to have the army playing the supportive role of maintaining law and order in the townships.

A Johannesburg caller who is facing conscription in mid-1985 said he faced a dilemma because he would not like to serve in an army that was used against the country's own citizens in invasions into townships like Sebokeng and Sharpeville.

Sir Richard Luyt said the Government should not put people like this into such a dilemma. They faced a real problem of conscience.

CAPE Times 27/11/84 BOKA.

HNP posters can stay up

Supreme Court Reporter

"OFFENSIVE" HNP posters are to remain displayed in the streets of George until after Thursday's by-election there, a Supreme Court judge ordered yesterday.

In terms of the order by Mr Justice Vos, the Town Council of George have been restrained from removing any of the HNP electoral posters and have been ordered to replace any posters that have been removed.

The town council was also ordered to refrain from interfering in any way with the HNP's election and "propaganda" campaign in George.

The order follows last week's urgent application for an interdict by the two HNP candidates — Mr Arend Simeon Treurnicht and Mr Hendrik Stefanus van Zyl — after council workers had removed 68 of the party's posters.

The posters — with the legend "Vote White HNP or Vote Mottled (*Bont*) NP" — had been deemed offensive by the town clerk and harmful to George's "proud record" of race relations.

A second application connected with the matter — by the town council of George and seeking the striking out of certain passages in affidavits by the HNP candidates referring to the State President, Mr P W Botha — was dismissed

In his judgment, Mr Justice Vos said the HNP candidates had obtained written permission from the town clerk to display posters, and were in possession of letters to this effect.

However, the town clerk claimed that he had never approved any HNP posters but that members of his department had spoken to HNP officials, who were informed of the municipality's "1981 policy" regarding the erection of posters and election bills in public. In terms of this policy, posters could contain factual information only, no slogans would be permitted and posters must not be offensive to any race or body. There had been no reference to this in the letters granting the HNP permission to erect posters, the judge said.

Rejecting claims that the HNP would not suffer prejudice by the removal of the posters as more than 50 percent of the posters still erected in George were HNP ones, the judge said it was an important and democratic right that a party be entitled to erect posters.

"They're there to influence potential voters and they would not have been put up otherwise."

Mr Johan van der Berg, for the town council, applied for leave to appeal against the decision, and judgment as to whether this should be granted will be handed down today.

Mr W J Pretorius, instructed by Couzyn, Hertzog and Hourak, of Pretoria, appeared for the HNP candidates. Mr Van der Berg was instructed by Ernst Strauss and Haasbroek.

Blacks may get regional role

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

IN WHAT could be a major change in Government thinking, the State President, Mr P W Botha, has indicated that black local authorities will be included in proposed Regional Services Councils to co-ordinate the supply of infra-structural services to municipal areas in South Africa.

Mr Botha hinted at this possible new development during a public meeting this week in the Primrose by-election campaign.

The Regional Services Councils Bill, one of a trilogy of local government reforms, was refered to a committee of Parliament earlier this year after strong opposition criticism centred on its exclusion on black local authorities.

In terms of the Bill, white, coloured and Indian local authorities would have been able to form regional services councils to co-ordinate the supply of services such as water, electricity and sewerage to municipalities in particular regions.

The Progressive Federal Party rejected the Bill because it excluded blacks and entrenched aspects of apartheid by excluding black local authorities.

At this week's meeting, Mr Botha referred specifically to co-operation in a joint body between the various groups, including blacks, in the provision of certain services and asked what was wrong with such a principle.

Proposals for revised draft legislation on the Bill from a committee of white, coloured and Indian MPs is expected during next year's parliamentary session.

There seems little doubt now that blacks will be included in any new scheme.

NP set to romp home in five polls

Cape Times 29/11/84

30 col

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party is expected to romp home with comfortable but reduced majorities in five Cape by-election contests today, but the outcome in the Primrose constituency in the Transvaal could prove a severe embarrassment to the government.

The dominant force in the House of Repesentatives, the Labour Party, looks set for a sweeping victory in one Cape seat but faces a possible upset in another.

Seven of the eight seats up for grabs in today's by-elections are in the Cape: Two for the House of Assembly (Parow and George); two for the House of Representatives (Steinkopf and Nuweveld), and three for the Provincial Council (Parow, Piketberg and George).

The clash between the NP and the Conservative Party in the Primrose seat in the Transvaal has seen one of the fiercest—and dirtiest — campaign battles in recent memory.

Primrose was once one of the safest Nationalist seats in the Transvaal and for years contributed more to the party coffers than any other seat in the province.

But the CP's feverish campaigning and its willingness to resort to what Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa has called "raw colour politics" has clearly struck a responsive chord among right-wing voters that has had the Nats on the verge of panic in recent weeks.

Some Nationalist organizers were conceding this week that their majority could be slashed from nearly 4 400 in the 1981 election to under 1 000.

In the Cape, the CP acknowledges that it has no chance of beating the NP but clearly hopes to show that the swing away from the NP in recent Transvaal by-elections is a national phenomenon.

Inroads

The Nationalists are confident of a whopping majority in Parow but the CP organizers hope to make significant inroads by at least doubling the 931 votes garnered by the Herstigte Nationale Party in the 1981 parliamentary elections. The NP candidate was unopposed in the last provincial election.

The three-cornered contest between the NP, the HNP and the Progressive Federal Party in George could see Mr P W Botha's 1981 majority of 5 064 being trimmed.

In the sprawling platteland seat of Piketberg, which boasts the highest percentage of signed-up NP members in the country, the Nationalists will sweep to a commanding victory over the CP. However, the CP has thrown everything into its campaign and hopes at least to retain its deposit by drawing more than one-fifth of the votes cast.

Essops

The Labour Party's superior organization and resources should see it through to a comfortable victory over the People's Congress Party in the North-Western Cape constituency of Steinkopf.

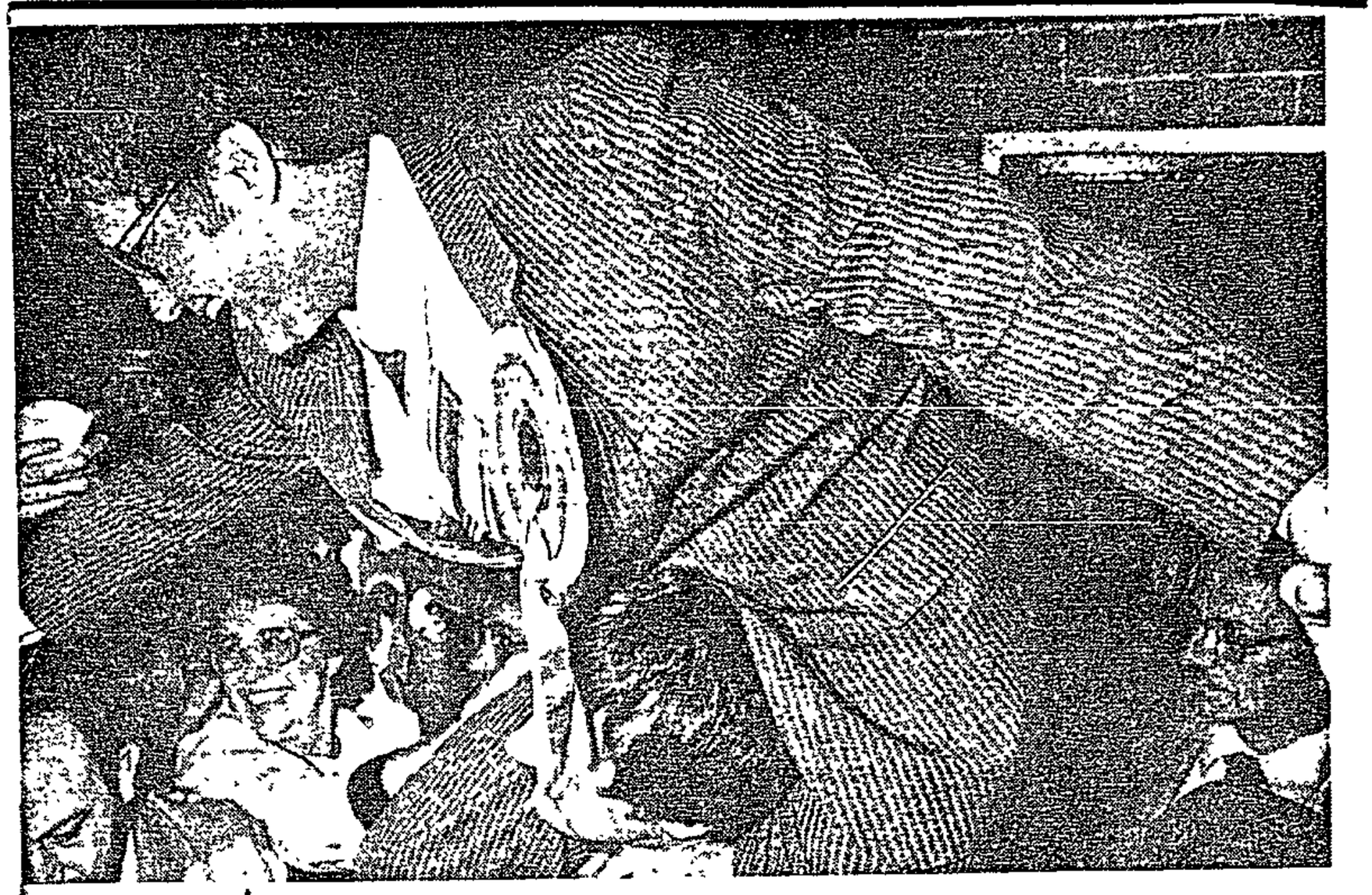
But the LP faces a much tougher struggle in Nuweveld (near Beaufort West) where Mr Anwar Essop, the son of the late Mr Solly Essop, will be standing for the PCP.

The LP, clearly worried by the popularity of the Essop family, has been bussing in reinforcements from the Eastern Cape to bolster the party's organizing machine in recent weeks.

Report by A Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	$329,00
Rand	$0,5390/54
FT index (close)	929,60
RDM 100	977,00
Dow Jones	1 205,39



from the President Primary School hall by jubilant National Party supporters after the result of the Primrose nounced last night. Dr Welgemoed retained the seat for the Government with a slim 748 majority.
● Picture by Gideon Mendel.

STAR 30/11/84 /3041

NP's majority is trimmed to mere 748 in Primrose

By Andrew Beattie

The National Party candidate, Dr Piet Welgemoed, emerged on top in the hotly-contested Primrose by-election last night — but his slim voting edge was denounced by Conservative Party leaders as a pyrrhic victory.

The polling station at President Primary School in Primrose buzzed with excitement until 10.45 pm when the results were announced and supporters of both parties burst into cheers.

Tthough the NP won by a majority of 748 votes, this indicated a substantial decline in support since the 1981 election, when Dr Piet Koornhof cruised in with a majority of 4 400 over his Herstigte Nasionale Party and Progressive Federal Party opponents.

"The fight is over. We won," Dr Welgemoed beamed as he was swept off on the shoulders of supporters.

At the same time, jubilant CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht congratulated his defeated candidate, Mr Schalk Pienaar, and cautioned: "The writing is on the wall for the National Party."

"In four years time the Conservative Party will be governing South Africa," warned Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, its Johannesburg Regional chairman.

He added that voters were dissatisfied with the Government's "integration policies", and for the first time since 1948 voters had "a real alternative to the NP".

"This signals the beginning of the end for the NP," said Mr Pienaar.

Dr Treurnicht kept a high profile at this by-election — held in traditional NP territory — and his party's campaign displayed all the flair and organisational skills of an American election machine.

Mr Pienaar and Dr Treurnicht claimed that the Primrose result indicated that the CP was gaining a support base in urban areas.

The party has always claimed to have widespread support in rural areas.

Asked if the Primrose outcome would spur the CP into calling for a general election in the near future, Dr Treurnicht said: "No, not at the moment. This was a remarkable achievement, and shows the growth in support for the CP."

PFP gave victory to Govt — CP

By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party rescued the Government from defeat in the crucial Primrose by-election yesterday, according to Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, Conservative Party regional chairman.

Mr Derby-Lewis, a key figure in the CP campaign to win the National Party stronghold of Primrose, said after the defeat of Mr Schalk Pienaar at the hands of Dr Piet Welgemoed that the PFP had rescued the Government.

"There is no doubt in my mind that the PFP factor swayed it. In 1981 the PFP gained 749 votes in this constituency and that is about the margin of the National Party victory," Mr Derby-Lewis added.

There were strong indications that the PFP supporters had voted — and probably against the CP.

The PFP gave no official guidance to its supporters in the Primrose constituency and the New Republic Party requested its members to abstain.

The CP believes NRP supporters did vote — for the NP.

"We took on everybody in this election, the Nats the Progs and the NRP, and still scored something of a victory," Mr Derby-Lewis said.

D. Dispatch 30/11/84 (304A) (387)

Williams: no help for non-voters

EAST LONDON — Indians who are not registered voters will not get any help in civic matters from the acting chairman of the Indian Management Committee, Mr Mike Williams.

Mr Williams confirmed his stand yesterday following claims that he had refused to help people with housing matters because they were not on the voters' roll. "As far as I am concerned, if a person shows such disinterest by not registering and participating in matters which affect his civic life, then he has no right to ask me to help him."

He explained that he was not asking anybody to vote and that his stand did not have anything to do with the August elections for the House of Delegates.

"Some people say they will not register and vote for sell outs but when they have a housing problem, they know where to run to.

"My stand is not victimisation. I just feel that if people want community services, they must be prepared to participate by merely registering as a municipal voter which they are entitled to."

He agreed that less than 10 per cent of the Indians in East London participated in elections and said those who were not registered through ignorance, should be helped to do so.

"They need merely go to the city hall and ask to be registered," Mr Williams said.

The chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, Mr Johannes Temmers, said he did not ask anybody whether they were voters or not if they approached him for help.

"Mr Williams may have a point but I have never questioned whether a person is a voter or not."

Mr Temmers said he helped people of all political persuasions.
— DDR

D. Dispatch 30/11/84

Mopp to raise housing issue in Parliament

EAST LONDON — The provision of housing for coloureds in Beacon Bay and Gonubie would be raised in Parliament next year, the Border member of the House of Representatives, Mr Peter Mopp, said yesterday.

Mr Mopp said at the weekend that land should be made available for coloured housing in the two independent municipalities.

The town clerk of Gonubie, Mr K. Levey, and the town clerk of Beacon Bay, Mr B. Aucamp, confirmed yesterday that only whites were allowed to live in the two municipalities.

Mr Aucamp and Mr Levey said the areas had been declared white areas under the Group Areas Act.

"How can independent municipalities make no provision for coloured and Indian housing?", Mr Mopp asked yesterday.

Mr Mopp said at the weekend that coloureds had completely run out of space in East London whereas there was plenty of open land in Gonubie and Beacon Bay.

"Gonubie is not fully developed but the land is privately owned," Mr Levey said.

"There is vacant land in Beacon Bay but it is incorporated in approved plans for white housing development," Mr Aucamp said.

"If people other than white people want to live in Beacon Bay, the area will have to be re-zoned under the Group Areas Act" Mr Levey said.

"I will raise the matter in Parliament next year and take it from there," Mr Mopp said. — DDR

Nat majority slashed in Primrose

Art Tinits
30/11/84
30 cm

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party's Dr Piet Welgemoed won the Primrose by-election last night after a nail-biting day which left the result in doubt until the minute it was announced.

The Conservative Party immediately claimed that its candidate, Mr Schalk Pienaar, was the real winner because he slashed a Nationalist majority of 4 399 in the 1981 general election to a bare 748.

But the NP's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night the result should be compared to the Germistion District by-election in 1982 where the combined vote for the CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party was more than the NP's.

He said the NP's trouncing of the right-wing grouping by 748 votes yesterday in a constituency similar to Germiston District indicated NP growth since 1982.

Mr De Klerk also said the CP had had "everything going for them". Apart from the major political changes since 1981, the economy was in its worst state since 1910.

The CP had put in one of its biggest efforts in a by-election and was still unable to win, Mr De Klerk said.

Nevertheless, some observers believe the result proved that in the new political climate since the 1982 NP split, dozens of formerly safe NP seats are within easy reach of right-wing parties.

After the polls closed at 9pm, the outcome was in the balance with both parties claiming victory by a few hundred votes.

It was clear that the NP's substantial lead on the nearly 3 000 postal and special votes cast before election day was the key to the party's win.

It is understood that the NP had a majority of 608 over the CP on postal votes which means that yesterday the NP received a majority of only 140 votes at the polls.

The percentage poll of 55,8 percent was lower than the 60 percent predicted before polling but higher than estimates earlier in the evening.

The result was greeted by ecstatic NP supporters in the crowd of about 1 000 who had gathered to await the outcome.

A jubilant Dr Welgemoed was lifted on to the shoulders of his supporters to make a short victory speech in which he pledged to be "the MP for everyone in the constituency". Mr Pienaar was carried away by cheering CP followers who saw his performance as a significant victory.

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who had earlier predicted a win for his party while waiting outside the counting hall, was nevertheless obviously pleased with the result.

He said Primrose had been transformed from a safe NP seat into a marginal one and indicated massive growth of support for the CP.

One reason for the CP's loss was believed to be particularly low turnouts in two key working-class areas in which the party hoped to do well enough to boost its chance.

Tensions between the workers of opposing parties throughout the day led to a number of heated arguments and reported scuffles.

In Parow the NP Parliamentary candidate, Mr H J Kriel, won the seat with a 5 113-vote majority. The CP candidate Mrs E Lombard, who stood against him, polled 1 419 votes.

The NP Provincial candidate in Parow, Mr S Pretorius, scored a 5 008-vote majority over the CP candidate Mr R Louw.

● **Results, page 8**

C. Herald 1/12/84 (304A)

When are they going to deliver the goods?

WHEN the Labour Party opted to become minority shareholders in PW's New Deal Company, they vowed: "We're going in to destroy apartheid."

ASL



By Dougie Oakes

see it

It was funny really — almost like Tickey the Clown challenging Larry Holmes for the world heavyweight boxing championship of the world.

Well, three months and a bit have passed since the formation of a new, and perfectly legal ANC grouping in South Africa (of Asians, Nationalists and Coloureds).

And I could be wrong — but I haven't noticed the pillars of apartheid crumbling all around me.

In fact, these junior partners in the new scheme of things appear to have strengthened the whole apartheid operation.

Oh, I know the Rev Chris April will protest. After all he's promised to do something about the plight of pensioners and the shortage of hospitals in coloured areas. And Carter Ebrahim has vowed to knock the teaching profession into shape.

But it's all been a case of working very much within the system — shine dem chains and keep dem happy.

Yes, National Party-style equality is not the same as equality in other parts of the world.

In South Africa it means having to be part of grand schemes to move hundreds of "illegal blacks out of white group areas.

This is what has happened in Johannesburg. In a Government statement released last week, it was announced that some 1 600 houses were to be built in coloured Newclare and Indian Burgersdorp for people living illegally in white Hillbrow. Coloured and Indian MPs were among the signatories.

EXPLOITED

Labour Party man David Curry explained that his party was still against apartheid but the fact was that these people were living in Hillbrow illegally and were being exploited by landlords.

If this is going to be the shape of things to come, a number of new political developments may well be in the pipeline. For instance:

● **When the authorities start enforcing beach apartheid during the Christmas holidays, will they use Labour Party men to explain to over-suntanned souls that "we're doing this for your own good"?** "We can't have friction, you know — it'll wreck the New Deal."

● When they extend the conscription to coloureds and Indians will the junior partners say: "I know we said we're against it, but the total onslaught ...?

● And when more people are detained will the signature of their Minister of Justice be appended to the detention orders?

In the old days they had a name for people like those in the Labour Party. They called them Uncle Toms. I don't agree — but unfortunately, like those people working the system, I'm in the minority.

SA third in world crime stakes

SOUTH Africa has scored a bronze in the international crime stakes.

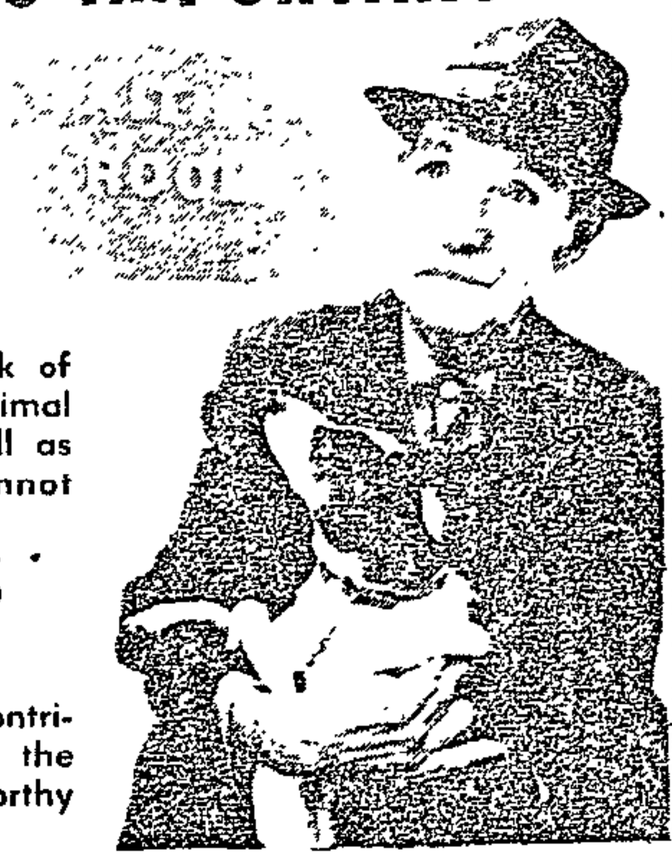
A Gallup poll conducted in 21 countries recently found the Republic has the third highest incidence of crime in the world, a Randburg market research company announced last week.

Almost one in every five South Africans has been a victim of theft, housebreaking or assault in the past year, says a report by Markinor, which is affiliated to Gallup International.

One thousand South African men and women in urban areas were interviewed by Gallup, which describes the Republic as almost as dangerous as the "turbulent South American countries of Columbia and Brazil".

OUR HEALTH IS IMPORTANT TOO!

That's what animals would say if they could talk. But they can't, so we have to talk for them.



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Work camps for rioters — HNP paper

Star 11/2/82

PRETORIA — The Herstigte Nasionale Party mouthpiece, *Die Afrikaner*, has proposed that black rioters be sent to labour camps as a solution to the current unrest.

Die Afrikaner says its own investigation indicated that many rioters were involved in the unrest because "they had too much free time on hand." Labour camps could end "this boredom of blacks."

The newspaper says the country can no longer afford the loss of property, life and labour caused by unrest and adds that rioters could, with great success, be sent to labour camps "for a number of years."

The newspaper's editor, Mr Z B du Toit, declined to comment when asked for more details on the proposed camps. He also declined to comment on a comparison between the proposed camps and Hitler's labour camps.

The newspaper also called for a paramilitary unit under the Commissioner of Police to deal with unrest. — Sapa.



Reddy calls for opening of CBDs

DURBAN — Dr J N Reddy, the leader of the Solidarity Party, has appealed to the government to "remove the impediments" for all businessmen of colour in order to allow them to participate in the free enterprise system.

The free enterprisé system meant that : "We need to encourage the third and underdeveloped world of South Africa to share the cake of prosperity. Free enterprise must be seen to be developing. It must be open to all, not only free to some," Dr Reddy said.

There was doubt in the minds of businessmen of colour as to whether any progress had been made besides seminars, documents and talks in this regard.

Referring to the desirability of opening of central business districts to people of all races he said: "The business sector must sound the clarion call to South Africa and the government that they must have the freedom to operate where they wish.

"A political and economic partnership between black and white is the recipe for future survival.

"This does not require a tremendous sacrifice on anyone's part! Why the delay?"

He called for a single and equal education system, which he said "will go a long way if we want to overcome our imbalances."

Although the attempt towards reform was late, he felt that it was not beyond the capacity of the people of South Africa to work towards peaceful reform. — DDC.

The Woods-Worrall debate at Cambridge

DONALD WOODS: I am not advocating that someone should drop a bomb — in fact I am related to half the white population of South Africa. So I don't want violence and I don't want bombs but let me tell you this, something more has to be done than is being done at present.

And the least thing that can be done effectively — the only non-violent thing — is economic sanctions. It is the least that a world of conscience can do.

Now, we've heard arguments that if there were this kind of non-violent pressure the South African Government would dig in its heels and say, if you push us too far we are going to get very much nastier.

Anyone who has children will know that governments sometimes act like children and they make their own threats. I want to know how much nastier they can get.

I know where Dr Worrall comes from, I come from there too. And I attended his seminar in Durban, I had lunch at his house — that's in the old days when I was respectable. And I knew him to be genuine and I knew most of the South African Government to be genuine — to do what they think is right.

Black skin

But the trouble with we South Africans is this, we have for the past 35 years been so cocooned in racial structures that the whites — and I include myself in this — are incapable of perceiving fully what it is like to be inside a black skin.

You have actually got to be inside that black skin to know. It is always the non-victim in any situation who says it cannot be done overnight and counsels gradual reform. But when you are at the bottom of the heap another minute of oppression is intolerable.

I was unfairly described earlier as someone who suffered under the South Africans. I never suffered under the South African Government. I owe them a great deal of gratitude. They taught me a lot. I am only ashamed that it took me so long to learn what I

You see, members of this house, I was never a radical. I was never one of those wild-eyed idealists. I always looked on myself as fairly conservative in an international context

So, one day I was arrested and served with a banning order . . .

Moral crisis

You see, I can understand Dr Worrall not liking the worst elements of apartheid and wanting to reform them from within the government, but I cannot imagine representing a government that does that sort of thing, because you are lending it respectability. There is a special place in hell for people who remain neutral in a moral crisis.

To me it was a game, too. I was a playboy like you. I used to live in a palatial house and I used to write editorials saying how bad apartheid was . . . but it was, I realize now, somewhat of a game.

But it wasn't intended as such. But when you are white in South Africa there are a lot of things you cannot perceive. And it was only after I was arrested with blacks that I started to perceive them.

And it isn't merely a government of misguided people that we are talking about. There is something far worse about it than that. There



cial minority you represent.

You imprison, ban and banish dissidents without trial and forbid blacks to organize significant political opposition to your racial laws.

Your prisons contain the world's largest prison population in proportion to general population (over 100 000, against Britain's 38 000 and France's 39 000) and you also have the world's highest rate of official executions.

You make blacks carry "passes", denying them free movement within their own country and forbidding them the right even to seek work in areas of their choice without State permission.

More than 50 untried, unprosecuted dissidents have died violently in political detention under your administration.

Violent blows

The most widely known case was that of Steve Biko, and regarding that case alone more than seven years have now passed since Biko died of brain damage medically established to have resulted from several violent blows to the head, yet although only a small group of security police officers had access to him in that time, your government, Dr Worrall, has covered up and continues to cover up what really happened.

areas have among the world's highest incidences of malnutrition, kwashiorkor, marasmus and tuberculosis, that nearly half South Africa's 25 million blacks live below the minimum subsistence level, that one-third of all black children under 14 are underweight and stunted in their growth, that 48 percent of black children receive no education, that only 14 percent go beyond primary school and that in percentage terms the infant mortality rate among black South Africans is higher than in much poorer countries such as Mexico, Mozambique and Cuba.

Free press

We are told by the South African Embassy that the country has the freest press in Africa Baloney. I was the eighth journalist on my newspaper to be punished without trial, and mine was a small newspaper Believe me, we leave many African countries far behind — including Nigeria — in clamping down on the press.

The survey by Laurie Schlemmer on black attitudes on disinvestment has been mentioned here tonight. As I said earlier, if you had a survey in the Soviet Union I don't think you would be too impressed.

I think there is a way of working out who the leaders of the oppressed people are. When no vote is allowed you look for the most imprisoned, harassed people.

All of the leaders — that's Mandela, Sisulu, Sobukwe, Steve Biko — all those whom most blacks regards as the authentic leaders have asked for economic sanctions or disengagement.

No matter what the niceties of the resolution are, believe me, tomorrow morning it will be reported in South Africa that this university, this union, voted for or against a boycott against South Africa.

Terrorists

It would be very appropriate if Cambridge was identified with the move towards disinvestment.

What is happening in South Africa is that in relation to the alternatives of the ANC and PAC, democracy is being equated with rule by terrorists.

So the ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement have become "terrorist organizations".

You find, however, when you leave South Africa that these are not the communist-dominated terrorist organizations, but in fact, other things which South Africans

DR DENIS WORRALL: I am very pleased to be on this platform with Mr Woods — he is very experienced indeed. He mentioned to you that he was yesterday in Cambridge, Massachusetts. I am sure that the week before that he was probably in Oslo. I am sure that the week before that he was probably in Canberra. And so it goes. And I suspect it's the same little speech. He's done it extremely well. Very personable. It's the way in which I remember Donald Woods.

But there are two remarks which you made which I think, with respect, are unworthy of you. The first was a reference to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when you, in fact, asked a question in an interjection. I don't think you really would have done that had you thought about it.

'Judas'

Because Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is, we know, a very great South African.
INTERJECTION: A Judus.
WORRALL: He happens to be a man . . . somebody says a Judas. What an astonishing statement. Why? Because he doesn't agree with you? He is in fact leader of a very powerful organization. He is a man whom people listen to. The recent two-day stayaway strike in South Africa did not occur at all in the province of Natal, despite pleas by the UDF and other organizations, because Chief Buthelezi said You will not strike.

The second reference you made which I thought was unworthy of you was the reference to Laurie Schlemmer. Professor Laurie Schlemmer is director of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Natal and is probably South Africa's leading social scientist. He is, in fact, a behaviourist and he is a very impressive man. There are very few people in the academic world who would question his integrity or his methods. And the recent study which he undertook on the question of black attitudes was, in the view of all experts in South Africa, a most valid study.

here are the things which he says in South Africa and are reported there.

But because of his association with disinvestment, Dr Alan Paton, author of "Cry the Beloved Country", can say in an article in the Sunday Times, writing on Tutu: "I wish you luck and wisdom but your political morality puzzles me."

Alan Paton is a very good friend of Donald Woods, and Alan Paton has played a major role politically in South Africa. In fact, there are very few people — and Donald Woods, I suspect, would concede it — who have played such an important role in keeping a particular liberal tradition alive. And what did he say about disinvestment? I want you to listen. This is Alan Paton, one of your heroes:

"However, you could put a man out of a job," he said.

"You and I both know well the parable of the sheep and the goats. We know well the importance Jesus attached to the feeding of the hungry and the giving of water to the thirsty Yet you could put a man out of a job and make his family go hungry so that some high moral principle could be upheld. It would go against my own deepest principles to advocate anything that would put a man, and especially a black man," says Alan Paton, "out of a job. Therefore, I cannot understand your position. I think your morality is confused. Just as was the morality of the church during the Inquisition or the morality of Dr Verwoerd, the former Prime Minister."

'Nightmare'

Alan Paton was challenged on this in the next issue of the Sunday Times by a theologian. And he replies, to make the point that this was not an aberration or a mistake on his part, but his considered position.

He said: "Look at this woman and understand my nightmare. I dreamed this. I dreamed that I was persuaded against my will to become world president of the disinvestment campaign in

ON Monday Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador to London, referred to the freedom of the South African press as an argument in his Cambridge debate with Mr Donald Woods, exiled former editor of the Daily Dispatch, East London.

Dr Worrall stated that the editors of the Cape Times and other English-language newspapers would all say they ran a free press. On the basis that this authoritative ambassadorial statement no doubt applies to Dr Worrall's own debate, the Cape Times today gives an edited version of the transcript of the Cambridge Union Debating Society confrontation on disinvestment. The question was: "This house would sever all links with South Africa." There were six speakers. Mr Woods and Dr Worrall spoke fifth and sixth respectively. The motion was carried by 540 votes to 134, with 252 abstentions.

Certain references by Mr Woods which could be held in South African courts to contravene the Defence Act have been omitted. - Editor, Cape Times.

Deep South if it weren't for economic development.

Before I get back to the motion. I must deal with the question of Steve Biko. And I can understand, having read Mr Woods's book about Biko, that he had a very special relationship to that man. And I can understand too, not only from what I have read in Donald Woods's book but from elsewhere, that that was a very exceptional man

And I believe that his death and the government's handling of his death at that time was deeply regrettable. As a candidate in an election

INTERJECTION: The argument on this side of the House is not black rule but majority rule.
WORRALL: I am delighted with that interjection I wonder whether Mr Stockley can name me one significant country in Africa where majority rule applies.
INTERJECTION: Botswana.
WORRALL: I said "significant country". That is quite right Botswana is a majority-rule country but I said "significant" and they come up with a little country of 800 000 people — a very homogeneous country — and they quite rightly say it has majority rule But there is



Daily Mail on November 9, "Row over Woods debate", he says he doesn't believe that all links with South Africa should be scrapped

Now this motion talks not simply about official links, it implies not only economic disengagement — which appears to be the thrust of the debate on that side of the House — it refers not only to travel, telecommunications; it refers to all links, every possible conceivable link It is an extreme action, a unique action which would require a unique justification

And what is the justification offered for this action?

I will now answer some questions that were put to me: Does the government of South Africa accept that all people in South Africa are entitled to human and democratic rights, irrespective of race, colour or creed?

I want to tell you, and I speak here conscious that there are South African pressmen present and that I will be reported in South Africa tomorrow. In fact, if the answer I give is the wrong one, my Prime Minister will have something to say to me I say absolutely categorically, "yes". It is my government's concern to ensure that all people in South Africa, regardless of race colour, creed etc enjoy political powers.

It is the South African Government's priority to find political answers to the aspirations of all people in South Africa. But there are no blueprint answers to a problem as intricate and complex as South Africa

'Not unique'

INTERJECTION: Release Mandela
WORRALL. The South African problem
INTERJECTION: My brother is in detention in South Africa and I want to know what he is going to do about it
WORRALL If the questioner has a personal matter which he wishes to be raised, he can come and discuss it with me. But for me to have to deal with somebody I don't know in this manner — obviously it is a personal matter and if he wishes to raise it with me afterwards he is perfectly welcome to do so

The problem with South Africa is not a unique or exceptional one. It is a general problem. It is the problem of most countries in Africa. It is the problem of Cyprus, Lebanon, Northern Ireland, India. It is the problem of how you achieve representative government, without a strong sense of nation which develops over a long period of time, and given great cultural, racial, linguistic diversities and national aspirations.

But equally legitimate are the claims of black people in South Africa to express their political aspirations. Finding the answer to that is the answer to the South African situation There is no blueprint for that. The answer must emerge in the turmoil, yes, sometimes in the violence, which is going on in South Africa.

'Free press'

When one compares South Africa with so many countries on the continent of Africa, you have a well-established tradition of parliamentary government. The task is to expand it. You have oppositions which ask embarrassing questions and put a government in difficult positions.

You have in South Africa a free press (laughter). Yes, Mr Woods may say it is not free. However, the editors of the Cape Times, the Argus, the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express, the Sunday Tribune, the Natal Mercury, the Daily News, the East London Dispatch, the Natal Witness and the Sowetan would all say they run a free press, as would the 130-odd accredited foreign correspondents in South Africa — television and print — who move around South Africa in a way they could not in the Soviet Union, the Eastern Bloc or most countries of Africa. Close to half the accredited correspondents in Africa are in Southern Africa
INTERJECTION: On a point of information, Dr Worrall, as a member of the committee of Lawyers for Human Rights in South Africa who investigated the Steyn Commission, we interviewed — with the exception of two — all editors of newspapers in South Africa. Other than the editor of the Sunday Times and one other, none were prepared to say that there was a free press in South Africa.
WORRALL Quite clearly, it would be a question of how one defines a free press. (sustained laughter). You have in South Africa independently-owned newspapers with their own politics You have newspapers which oppose the government on a continuum of policy far wider than in the United Kingdom. People like Bishop Tutu and Allister Sparks write weekly columns in the South African press.

'Impractical'

To return to the motion, the justification for it that has been offered here is that South Africa is the worst possible society from the human rights and libertarian point of view.

Secondly, they argue that this is what black South Africa wants and I have disproved that point. What they have not answered is whether the option of cutting off links can work.

learned.

You see, in South Africa most of us white kids are brought up — not because our parents are any more evil than people elsewhere — but because our situation places us in the bigoted straitjacket of a white minority that can only see one way to hold on. And it's the way of death. Many whites and blacks will die unless the world leans on this government.

Faint hope

The only faint hope that remains to bring these people to the conference table is to lean on them with every non-violent means that you've got. They are not going to respond to reasonable words.

We've had four years of constructive engagement from the Reagan government. They decided to talk South Africa into being friends with them. What actually happened is that they lifted the pressure. Now what's happened to black South Africans?

What has happened in the four years of constructive engagement is that more blacks have died violently in Southern Africa than in the 20 years that went before.

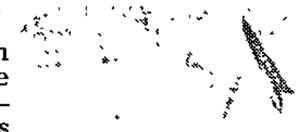
And since the accession to power of P W Botha, the reformist, more blacks have died violently in Southern Africa than in the 20 years previously.

I'm not just talking about deaths within South Africa. I mean in the destabilization of Mozambique, in the invasions of Angola, the war in Namibia, in incursions into Lesotho and in other countries like Zimbabwe and the Seychelles.

Ally

When the Americans announced their policy of constructive engagement it was taken as a signal that the Americans are not so angry with us and it was also taken as a licence to do their thing in Southern Africa because the government believed that your government, Dr Worrall, would be a sturdy ally against international communism.

But let me tell you international communism never had such a good recruit. Because when black South Africans looked to the West for aid and were refused it — only then have the Soviet bloc moved in to exploit the situation.



Mr Donald Woods

are some people in that government who are not evil people. But the sum total of what is coming out of there is something very bad indeed.

I will give you a personal example of this Three friends of mine are dead. They were never charged in a court of law They were never prosecuted They are: Steve Biko, Mapetla Mohapi and (inaudible).

A terrible thing happens when you are an editor in that incredible society.

Editorials

When somebody is banned or detained you write an editorial saying this is wrong, people should not be punished by the State without being given a chance to defend themselves.

But on your way home in the evening you think, I wonder what they were up to? Because in that society you start forming the opinion that to get into trouble someone must have been up to something. And it's only when it happens to you finally, that you realize that they don't grab just dangerous people. They grab people who significantly embarrass them.

But that's not all they do. Because after I was banned my wife and I came to the decision that we would leave One day in the mail arrived a parcel aimed at our five-year-old daughter. And in that parcel was a T-shirt impregnated with an acid-based powder.

Now, I am not blaming Dr Worrall or the members of his cabinet because my child was sent that thing. But, my God, I blame him for not objecting to it. I blame him for not objecting to the way Steve Biko was killed. And I blame him for talking as though apartheid was a rather unfortunate policy instead of something that is actually killing a lot of people.

It can be said in very blunt terms that the South African Government denies civil rights to 85 percent of the South African population. It withholds the vote from the black majority on ethnic grounds regardless of individual merit, reserving ownership rights in more than 80 percent of the country's territory to the small ra-

It has actually promoted Colonel Goosen, the officer under whose authority Steve Biko was literally beaten to death.

Therefore the guilt of your government continues in the Biko case, and you, Dr Worrall, share that guilt, along with every other senior member of your party and government who did not resign or publicly object to that outrage.

The Biko file is not closed, Mr Ambassador, and you are hereby challenged to address this matter.

Finally, you should explain here why you fear your own people so much — not only why you fear to allow them freedom of expression but even fear to allow them to know the truth that your government is not telling them about their situation.

(Mr Woods mentioned numbers of military clashes between guerillas of the African National Congress and units of the military and para-military forces on South African soil, and estimates of the cost of the war and the death toll in SWA/Namibia.)

Challenge

But there is a faint chance that the South African Government might do something unprecedented and allow these words to be quoted. I am going to challenge Dr Worrall to get me quotable in a debate.

South Africans are not told that in terms of per capita gross national product black South Africans, contrary to your usual propaganda, are materially worse off than in no fewer than 12 other African countries — Kenya, Nigeria, Gabon, Ghana, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Niger, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Zimbabwe, and Botswana — or that in terms of the modern Physical Quality of Life Index which measures infant mortality, literacy and nutrition, South Africa scores worse than 20 other African countries, including long-suffering Uganda.

Explain to this audience why, with all your national wealth in minerals, a comprehensive two-year survey under the auspices of the Carnegie Foundation now reveals that blacks in South Africa's rural

Nelson Mandela very eloquently pleaded against violence He very eloquently spoke of welcoming whites in a non-racial South Africa.

Fear

Those words may not by law be published in South Africa. That is what I object to. I object to the fear of allowing these things to be known by all the people — because what happens is that you perpetuate that fear of a black majority.

And it's the same with these so-called terrorist organizations. The ANC — I am not a member of it — signed the Geneva Convention. They do not want to attack individuals They want to attack institutions.

Vice-President George Bush of the United States once said that the American Government did not see violence as the answer to the South African problem. We would all like to think that but then I wonder what George Washington was up to if violence is not the answer to oppression.

You see, what's happened in South Africa is that the ANC tried for 60 years the non-violent path. You know Gandhi tried it and it wouldn't work in South Africa — that's why he went to India.

Minerals

We have also heard a great deal tonight about these strategic minerals. A US Senate committee has found that for more than 80 percent of them there are alternative sources in Australia, Brazil, Borneo and various parts of the world. What they do not have — these countries — is the same budget to pressure and influence the right people.

The European Economic Community (EEC) allows the importation of South African oranges with an eight percent tariff although South Africa has no form of treaty or relations with the EEC.

But the Caribbean and Pacific and African countries which have, through the Lome Convention, a formal treaty with the EEC, have a tariff of 14 percent And let me tell you I know my countrymen very well . . .

'Warned'

But — as others have so often been "warned" by members of the South African Government — I want to "warn" Dr Worrall that the picnic is nearly over.

You see, the last couple of years of so-called reform have seen a great increase in penalties under the pass laws. Also the forced removal of black communities has been stepped up in South Africa A figure of three million has been mentioned but it is probably closer to four million

And a lot of those have happened under the "reform, enlightened leadership of P W Botha".

Never mind about anything else. Remember, black South Africans and white South Africans will know tomorrow how you voted here.

It found that 75 percent of black workers in South Africa oppose disinvestment.

This is the Sunday Times (holding it up) — South Africa's biggest circulating newspaper and an opposition newspaper. It carried it in this way: "Blacks snub anti-South Africa Lobby, Survey shows massive support for continued foreign investment".

A paragraph of that report, which appeared on August 23, was: "South Africa's black workers have dealt a massive blow to the growing demand for disinvestment. Despite a growing sense of political anger, they overwhelmingly rejected withdrawal of foreign capital and trade boycotts as a strategy for their liberation.

"In a major survey, black production workers have registered their views on the vital issues. 75 percent of them were firmly against it."

I can understand why people say here that this was cooked, that it's not possible to do a survey in South Africa. Because this was so substantive, because this was so telling, because this was so damaging to the disinvestment cause, to those who call for disinvestment or disengagement.

Bishop Tutu

The black people, who the proposers of this motion wish to help, say they do not want disinvestment. But this had a very interesting consequence, because it coincided with the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu.

And Bishop Desmond Tutu, as you know, is a protagonist of disinvestment. In fact, that was his message to the United Nations Security Council when the award was announced while he was in New York.

This is a society, by the way, which is totally repressive. This is a society, by the way, in which there is no freedom of expression. This a society, by the way, which is afraid of opinion.

Where is Bishop Tutu when he hears of the award? He is lecturing in America. Where does he celebrate the award? Back with his congregation in Johannesburg for two days. Then he returns to New York. Last weekend he preached in London. He will be back in South Africa. The things which he says



Dr Denis Worrall

at that time I made public a statement to that effect.

But again I want to point out that not even Mr Woods, not even the brilliant counsel who appeared at the inquest, suggested that Biko was deliberately killed.

The story about Steve Biko, the fact that Mr Woods could write such a spectacularly interesting book, was because there was an inquest, a judicial inquiry before a judicial magistrate in which the most eminent lawyers in South Africa appeared for the Biko family — three of them, led by no less than advocate Sydney Kentridge, most eminent counsel in South Africa, in which the world press was present.

Eminent international observers from judicial authorities and bar associations in the United Kingdom and the United States were all present.

Now, if South Africa is such a repressive country, if, in fact, South Africa must be measured in this respect with other countries in human rights terms, then does it come off that badly?

Dr Crocker

The attempted correlation between constructive engagement and deaths which have taken place in Southern Africa I reject as absolute rubbish For the first time any Western government has come to understand a point which is being made by several people on this side That you will not get progress and change in the South African situation if you lose sight of the very natural anxiety, apprehension and security interests of the white African — of the Afrikaner people of South Africa.

That is the strength of the perception of Dr Chester Crocker, the American Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Africa. That he understood that and injected that perception into American policies towards South Africa

There has been more progress in Southern Africa in terms of peace, more progress in relation to the Namibian issue in the past four years than there has been for the rest of that long period of that much-disputed territory.

QUESTION: Dr Worrall, is your government committed to changing the system of apartheid?

Majority rule

WORRALL You know I am going to tell you why a "yes" or a "no" answer to that question is not possible — for the simple reason that what you and many critics understand by changing apartheid has come to mean nothing short of black rule over the whole of South Africa and the introduction of a Marxist-socialist system.

not a single significant country in the continent of Africa which is majority-ruled.

Let me now deal with that question of apartheid. Mr Harry Oppenheimer made a rather significant speech in New York on October 11, addressing the Foreign Policy Association, in which he said that the South African Government was trying to get rid of the concept of apartheid. He said it was always a mistake to dismiss such change as a mere matter of words.

It is the rhetoric of today which determines the political programme of tomorrow. It is not the government which is trying to get rid of this concept but their opponents, who refuse to let the words die It has become a slogan in reverse.

In common usage it no longer designates any specific political programme but is just shorthand for the oppression of blacks by whites. It has particularly come to be associated in the minds of radical left-wing enemies of the South African Government with the economic system of capitalism or free enterprise. The belief that apartheid should be replaced by some form of state socialism is, I would judge, one of the reasons for the emphasis on bringing about change through economic disengagement. This policy is particularly set by political emigres from South Africa But political emigres, however much sympathy they may deserve for their sufferings, are the worst possible guides in such matters. They soon lose touch with what is going on in their own country They learn nothing, and they forget nothing and rapidly develop a vested interest in promoting violent solutions.

'Extreme'

INTERJECTION. Would you not agree that Mr Oppenheimer has a vested interest in maintaining your government?

WORRALL: I would say that his opposition to the South African Government and his identification with opposition in South Africa is well-known. In fact, he is regarded as the godfather, if you like, of the Progressive Federal Party and he has spoken up against the government in South Africa Mr Oppenheimer is a man, I would think, who has a vested interest in stability and progress in the South African situation

Let me deal now with this motion. The motion before this House, that it should sever all links with South Africa, is an extreme one. I didn't suggest it as it was put to me here. In fact, I greatly admire Mr Donald Woods for moving this motion because, according to newspaper reports in South Africa, he doesn't believe in the motion. In a report in the Rand

ing out with moral charges against South Africa, but there is a very practical problem Two positions which I have seen represented in editorials in British newspapers since I took office in mid-August are both unrealistic The one speaks of white supremacy, which is not my government's policy It cannot be a realistic policy in Africa. It cannot be a realistic policy for the long term in South Africa, and I say that on behalf of my government It may be the point of view of political parties to the right of my government.

But, on the other hand, it is equally unrealistic to expect white Africans to surrender political power like that

INTERJECTION Why?

WORRALL For the simple reason that they are human beings responding in an emotional way Nowhere have you had a well-defined minority with a clear perception of interests different from the rest, sharing political power on that basis. The answer lies in finding an accommodation. That is the great possibility for constructive contributions from the side of Western academics who understand what representative government is about

As a political scientist, I find the academic discussion on Northern Ireland absolutely fascinating because there are constructive proposals of a constitutional nature which break from the traditional concept of majoritarian principles of government. It is also simplistic in the South African context to think that there is only one moral issue. There are conflicting moral claims. The white African minority has a legitimate claim for his language and culture to survive. He fought the British in a war which commanded the respect of the entire world

harm to yourself and to international action by attempting something which is impractical.

Cutting all links with South Africa is utterly impractical Mrs Thatcher has admitted that 150 000 British jobs would be on the line were links to be cut with South Africa. UKSATA, the United Kingdom/South Africa Trade Association, suggested it would be more than 250 000 jobs. Ten percent of British investment worldwide is in South Africa. 130 000 German jobs would be at risk, should trade between South Africa and that country be stopped.

Revenue

Then there are the other consequences which we have not heard about. Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland get between 40 and 55 percent of their revenue from a customs union agreement which they have with South Africa. That would go out of the window immediately if sanctions were to be employed

South Africa is a massive trading partner to the whole of Southern Africa. The main commodity is food and consumer goods.

South Africa is Zambia's biggest trading partner, it is Malawi's biggest trading partner. Those countries have paid lip-service to the idea of sanctions in the hope that they would not be implemented.

From the transportation point of view, there are some 50 scheduled flights a day to Jan Smuts Airport from 25 international airlines, 10 of which have their headquarters in Africa

There are some 310 000 workers from Southern African countries who work in South Africa. These are the people whose livelihood would be affected by economic sanctions



CAPE Times 1/12/84

Ultra-right gaining support

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party emerged victorious in all six by-elections it contested this week but ultra-right parties gained significant momentum by muscling into NP majorities in all seats.

And in House of Representatives contests, the powerful Labour Party swept to a convincing victory in Steinkopf but suffered an upset defeat to the tiny People's Congress Party in Nuweveld.

The Primrose result — where the Conservative Party with the active support of its Herstigte Nationale Party allies shrank the NP majority from 4 399 in 1981 to a mere 748 — suggests that a number of formerly safe NP seats in the Transvaal are no longer impregnable.

However, certain political analysts yesterday cautioned that the far-right threat should not be overstated since the outcome in Primrose probably represented the "best possible performance" for the CP given the extremely favourable conditions that existed for beating the NP in this by-election.

In the three Cape consituencies, the NP fared a lot better in staving off the ultra-right onslaught but nevertheless had their majorities reduced significantly.

Stayaway

The shrinking majorites country-wide were due on one hand to a protest stayaway by NP supporters and on the other to increased support for a CP/HNP alliance.

The parlous state of the economy and the widespread unrest that has accompanied the "reformist" initiatives of the government were seen by political observers yesterday as factors that helped fuel the far-right backlash.

The "stayaway vote" was particularly noticeable in the hotly contested Primrose seat, where a percentage poll of only 55,8 was registered in spite of saturation media coverage and months of feverish campaigning.

In Parow, the CP cut the 1981 NP majority of 6 488 down to 5 113 in the parliamentary contest that saw a number of NP supporters boycotting the polls.

Despite months of determined campaigning on both sides, the poll fell from the 1981 level of 60 percent to 47,7 percent.

A similar pattern emerged in George, where the NP saw its majority shrink from 5 064 in 1981 to 4 665 and the percentage poll drop from 73,8 to 56,7.

The George result must come as something of a disappointment to the Progressive Federal Party, particularly with the Newton Park by-election in Port Elizabeth taking place early next year.

Although the PFP provincial candidate improved on his counterpart's 1981 showing, the party's parliamentary candidate, while not losing much ground, ran a disappointing third in the three-cornered race.

Shock defeat

As expected, the Labour Party scored a convincing win in Steinkopf in North-West Cape, but in Nuweveld Mr Anwar Essop of the People's Congress Party dealt the LP candidate, Mr J A Booysen, a shock defeat.

He was elected to the House of Representatives seat left vacant by the death of his father, Mr Solly Essop, who saw the LP home with a convincing 3 890 majority in the August elections.

304A Star 4/12/04

Rosholt wants clarity on black participation

By Michael Chester

Big business today urged the Government to issue a "general statement of intent" to clarify its policy on giving the black population a bigger voice in national affairs.

Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of the vast Barlow Rand industrial empire, said a basic problem remained the lack of structures to permit some form of participation by blacks in decision-making at local, regional and national government levels.

One major problem was how to ensure financial viability for the new black local authorities.

"It is unlikely that viability will ever be achieved solely from township revenues and the Government will have no option but to support the local authorities," he writes in an annual review.

The introduction of the new constitution marked a political watershed.

But the process of evolving a system for black participation in decision-making at national level — now under investigation by a senior Cabinet committee — was taking place against a background of distrust..

It was encouraging, however, that the Government appeared to acknowledge the need to consult blacks in the negotiation process across the political spectrum.

"The complexity of our problems will not allow for an immediate overall solution and timetable. But an announcement of a general statement of intent would serve to clarify many of the issues presently causing instability," Mr Rosholt wrote.

Another very serious situation had been revealed by studies showing that the majority of blacks had not yet fully accepted the capitalist or free enterprise system and associated it with discrimination.

The legal tool that perpetuates discrimination

By Christina Murray

The second article compiled by Lawyers for Human Rights to mark International Human Rights Day (December 10) in which attention is drawn to specific breaches of human rights in South Africa.

Since the first homeland was granted independence in 1976, 8 million of South Africa's 20 million blacks have been deprived of their South African nationality. This is in line with well-established Government policy. In 1978 Dr Connie Mulder stated in Parliament:

"If our policy is taken to its full logical conclusion as far as the black people are concerned, there will be not one black man with South African citizenship... Every black man in South Africa will be eventually accommodated in some independent new state in this honourable way and there will no longer be a moral obligation on this Parliament to accommodate these people politically."

Dr Mulder has since fallen from political power, but his formulation of National Party policy remains unchanged.

What are the consequences of denationalisation? Overnight, blacks became foreigners in the land of their birth. The national of an independent homeland-state qualifies for a passport only of the homeland in question.

Since no homeland is internationally recognised as a state, such passport is not accepted abroad. Consequently, a homeland national must generally forgo travel outside South Africa.

The national of an independent homeland is an alien in South Africa. He may be deported in the same way as a German or Italian residing in South Africa may be deported to his state of nationality. Since 1981, more than 4 000 blacks with Transkeian roots have been deported from the Western Cape to Transkei on the ground that they are undocumented aliens.

An alien can be refused admission to South Africa. Denationalised black South Africans living in the poverty-ridden homelands are refused admission to the industrial centres of South Africa.

Blacks living permanently in the urban areas of South Africa have never enjoyed the right to participate in the central body politic. However, they have long cherished the ideal that, as South African nationals, they would ultimately qualify for the full rights of citizenship, particularly the franchise that normally accompanies nationality. Now denationalised blacks have been compelled to exchange this expectation for a vote in some distant homeland which they may never have visited.

International law provides some protection to aliens. A state is required to accord a certain minimum standard of treatment to aliens admitted to its territory. This principle is scrupulously observed by the South African Government in the case of aliens from most states.

Aliens from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda snd the Ciskei are treated differently.

These denationalised South Africans are still subject to all the discriminatory laws that dominated their lives while they were South African nationals. They get the worst of both worlds — the loss of their "birthright" to take part in the government and power processes of South Africa at some future date *and* the denial of the standards of fair treatment that normally accrue to aliens.

The argument presented so far may be illustrated by looking at a single case history.

Certain areas of South Africa are "prescribed" by law. This means that a black South African may not live in the area without the required stamp in his pass (section 10 rights). Mr M is qualified to live in Welkom in terms of section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 because he was born there. In 1981 Mr M married Ms Z, a citizen and resident of Transkei. Mrs M then lawfully entered South Africa through a border post and went to Welkom where she and Mr M wished to live.

Section 10 makes special provision for wives to live with their husbands if the husband has the rights that Mr M has. However, when Mrs M applied for these rights they were not granted to her. Instead she was told that she was refused admission to South Africa — even though she had entered the country legally.

She was told that the only way she could be admitted to South Africa was through diplomatic channels, in other words through the Departments of Foreign Affairs of Transkei and South Africa. This was attempted in February 1983 but up until now no response has been received.

Before Transkei's independence and Mrs M's denationalisation in 1976, her right to live with her husband was assured.

The development of the principle that race should not form the basis for denationalisation was initiated by the widespread opposition to the 1941 Nazi decree which denationalised German Jews. It has since been reasserted by the international community.

Denationalisation is the legal tool by which discrimination against the black people in South Africa is being perpetuated. In this process basic human rights are ignored and the prospect that other rights will be respected grows dimmer.

● *Christina Murray is senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand.*

POLITICS

Beyond Primrose

The National Party (NP) is divided on what the party's narrow (748 votes) victory in the Primrose by-election implies. It seems equally at sea on what its strategy for the immediate future should be. The conventional fear is that it will slow the pace of reform.

Verligtes in the NP maintain Primrose was not such a bad performance given that the constituency is ideally suited to Conservative Party (CP) exploitation of issues like black domination and the recession.

They also point out that voters use by-elections to voice their frustration with government even if they have not deserted the party. Another argument is that the CP was able to use all its resources in one campaign and, indeed, worked through the constituency four times — something it would not have the resources to do in a general election.

The verligte argument is that slowing the pace of reform, or even reversing some decisions, will not buy back any votes. Most voters expect further steps towards black constitutional participation and the scrapping of certain race laws. And, say the verligtes, voters respect a strong and determined government which knows where it is going, even if they don't agree with everything it does.

Some verligtes believe the NP could make further significant inroads into Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and New Republic Party (NRP) support if government steps up its reform programme. The final argument is that the next general election need not be called before 1989, which gives the party a lot of time to implement its programme of reform and recover lost support.

But the bulk of the party believes that State President P W Botha will have to proceed cautiously on his "reform" road if massive further gains by the CP are to be forestalled. It is known that the Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk shares this fear. Understandably, he has the support of many MPs in Transvaal and the Free State whose constituencies are considered to be within CP reach.

Veteran political analyst H de G Laurie drew up a list of 40 constituencies in Transvaal, eight in OFS, two in Natal and one in the Cape that could fall to the CP if the Primrose swing is maintained. He has little doubt that the CP would become the official opposition if a general election were held now.

Other political scientists like Pretoria University's Mike Hough and RAU's Hennie Kotze do not believe the CP can attract more than about 30% of the vote. They base their views on the outcome of the referendum last year. They don't believe the Primrose swing is nationwide. Rather there were specific influences at work, such as black unrest and the recession.

The NP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Lucas Nel, believes the CP reached its highest possible point in Primrose. The NP can only do better in times ahead, he says. He believes the only valid comparison that can be made is with the 1982 by-election in neighbouring Germiston District, which has a similar socio-economic structure. There the combined votes of the CP and HNP surpassed that of the NP by some 1 000 votes.

Harsh words came from the NP's most influential ally in Transvaal, the daily *Beeld*. The paper said in an editorial after the election that it is remarkable that most commentators, Afrikaans and English-speaking, believed it was a good result for the NP under the circumstances.

"We believe that the Transvaal NP will do itself and government a disservice if it takes this kind of comment seriously," *Beeld* wrote, and pointed out that 51 constituencies could go to the CP if the Primrose pattern persists.

"One must remember that a voter who has deserted you once, will find it even easier to do so a second time. And it never looked as if the voters boiled over with enthusiasm for the NP during this election campaign."

THE BROEDERBOND

Secrecy to go?

Pressure is mounting on the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) to shed its cloak of secrecy. Broeder sources now believe the movement's Hoofraad may soon reconsider the secrecy clauses in its constitution.

The latest attack on the AB comes from one of the most senior and respected men in the Dutch Reformed Church, the retiring dean of the Stellenbosch Theological Seminary, Dawid de Villiers. He says that he would prefer that no dominees belong to the AB. The church will have to look at the fact that membership of the AB runs like a dividing line between dominees.

De Villiers says the fact that some dominees who are AB members may not discuss certain matters with their colleagues, church councils or members of their congregations, undermines the mutual trust that Christians must have in each other.

"A man of God may not be asked to be silent on certain matters. How will he seek the truth if he is told not to talk about some things?" An AB dominee "needs a lot of mercy to give all his loyalty first to God. And his colleague who is not a member needs a lot of mercy not to distrust his Broederbond-brother," says De Villiers.

De Villiers is supported by prominent churchmen like Pretoria theology professor Ben Marais and dominee Willem Nicol, son of a former AB chairman and administrator of Transvaal.

The influential Transvaal daily *Beeld* also recently spoke out against the AB's continued secrecy. Commenting on a Supreme Court case between leading members of the Ruiterwag (the junior AB) where its confidentiality was allegedly breached, the paper wrote in an editorial: "Will it not be better if the two organisations start throwing open their doors, cut out suspicion and, by eliminating the tension between them and the community, lay the foundation for a new, positive role?"



Broeder chief Jan de Lange . . . secrecy under pressure

Financial Mail December 7 1984

TONY BLOOM

Reply to Buthelezi



The Premier Group's Tony Bloom has replied to strong criticism levelled against him in the FM (November 30) by KwaZulu Chief Minister, and President of Inkatha, Mangasutho Gatsha Buthelezi. Bloom's open letter to Buthelezi reads:

Dear Chief Minister

I was surprised to read your strong reaction to the speech made by me at the Wits Business School dinner. Surprised, because you and I share the same hopes for the future of SA:

- ☐ The emergence of a stable multi-racial state;
- ☐ An abhorrence of racial discrimination;
- ☐ A commitment to democracy; and
- ☐ A rejection of violence as an instrument of political power.

These are ideals I have held for over 20 years and for you to suggest that I have suddenly discovered a "new found excitement" about "the prospect of change," or that the "political penny is beginning to drop," is in total contradiction to my statements over the years which are a matter of public record.

To cite merely one of many examples, you are personally aware of my public opposition to the new Constitution on the grounds that any alleged "step in the right direction" would be more than offset by the anger and frustration which the exclusion from the constitutional process would engender among blacks.

Given the convergence of our views on so many matters of principle, I asked myself why your reaction to my speech was so vehement. I believe that your response stems largely from an incorrect reaction to a paragraph in my speech. At no time did I mean to imply that your presence at a negotiating table on constitutional issues would be at the behest of your desire for homeland recognition. For me to have done so would simply have demonstrated total political naivety — as the undisputed leader of the Zulu nation every politically aware South African knows your views on the subject of homeland recognition only too well. They have been clearly stated on literally hundreds of occasions. As a leader of millions of black South Africans, there is no doubt that you will be a prominent participant in any negotiations on the inclusion of blacks into the constitutional process in SA.

What I did imply (and still believe) is that the presence of yourself and others at that negotiating table must not be at the behest of the SA government's desire for homeland recognition. This desire has equally been clearly stated on literally hundreds of occasions

The distinction is fundamental and vital to my whole thesis. I believe my remarks have been misinterpreted and am grateful for the opportunity to set the record straight.

Finally, whether the ANC "is virtually non-existent" inside the country (your view) or whether it has "considerably more support than we believe" (mine), is impossible to determine objectively. The ANC is, of course, a banned organisation and for anyone to profess support for it is a crime — not many people would openly do so under present circumstances. Only the course of history will prove whether your conjectures or mine are correct.

I believe that there is an historical inevitability about white SA taking to the ANC and that it is only a question of when, and not if. I am certainly no ally of the "forces of destruction" and believe that the talks can only commence when the ANC abandons violence as an instrument of policy.

As we agree with each other on the broad end objectives, let us tolerate and respect each other's differing approaches on a rational basis in the hope that our common objectives will become political realities.

Yours respectfully,
Tony Bloom

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PCP in talks with NRP

CAPE TOWN — The People's Congress Party hopes its meeting with the New Republic Party in Durban today could start laying the groundwork for a new non-racial, multi-party alliance in South Africa.

The leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said he hoped the meeting between the PCP's national executive and the Natal leadership of the NRP would lead to closer co-operation between the two parties in future.

He added: "I hope this meeting and similar talks the PCP plans to hold with other political parties could prepare the ground for the possible amalgamation of different parties once the Political Interference Act has been scrapped."

Mr De la Cruz emphasised the PCP's strong opposition to the law enforcing apartheid in politics and said the meeting with the NRP would "display to the nation that politicians of all races can get together and find points of agreement."

He said the PCP executive, which will also meet the mayors of Durban and Maritzburg while in Natal, were also anxious to hold talks with the leader of KwaZulu and Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The party also hopes to meet Dr J. N. Reddy of Solidarity and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the Progressive Federal Party to discuss possible inter-party co-operation and the prospects of broad-based political alliances before Parliament convenes in January.

The leader of the NRP in Natal, Mr Derrick Watterson, said it was important that parties in the racially separate houses work together when areas of agreement had been identified.

"We are talking to all political parties to get to know one another better and to see if we can build on points of accord or possibly resolve points of difference that might exist."

He said the NRP felt the Political Interference Act was "absolutely unnecessary" and noted that the NRP had already held informative talks with the Labour Party, Solidarity and Inkatha "in a bid to stimulate inter-racial understanding."

Mr Watterson said it was difficult to say at this stage whether good prospects existed for a multi-party alliance.

"We first have to clarify what we all stand for," he said. — DDC.

'Big business should have a say in government'

by Harvey Thomas.

olarisation of big business cohesive force demanding ger share in shaping the ıy of South Africa is slow- t surely evolving.

latest, and possibly one of ost articulately intelligent ients, is the chief executive eckers, Mr Gordon Utian.

n of this calibre are not to emotional outbursts but s an obviously frustrated in many ways, embittered I interviewed this week.

ne of his points:

the numerous Government ol boards: "They are all bureaucracy and hypocri- apped up in a whole lot of ense. They are distin- ed by the non-quality of personnel who appear to ulate their own policies nst a background of a r mentality."

● On the role of the Press: "Newspapers in this country are far too susceptible to various pressure groups, especially advertisers. In America they seem to have found the formula for honest in-depth reporting without endangering advertising revenue. There is a pitiable lack of investigative hard-hitting consumer-related journalism in South Africa and on those rare occasions when it does happen it is seldom followed-up."

● On his call for a more effective consumer lobby: "Here at Checkers we obviously do take organisations like the Housewives' League seriously but what I am really trying to get across is that the infrastructure of South African Government is such that any of the present consumer bodies have little real impact."

● On the Government as a whole: "Can you look up to the calibre of the man who is advanced through our heavily overstaffed Civil Service? So many of them are ex-teachers and I mean no disrespect for the teaching profession when I ask what on earth qualifies them to run a country such as this. Businessmen should ... No, they HAVE to play a more important role in SA Government.

"We have the expertise available. We should sit on committees, we should be consulted, we should provide advice. It is our duty to do so but it is typical of the antipathy of the average South African that he regards himself as a fat cat and sits on his behind without worrying about anything."

● On the recent township unrest: "Nobody seems to have realised that the devastating drought left thousands of blacks unemployed in the platteland and they gravitated to either the homelands or to the cities. In our townships, houses that sheltered say eight people are now accommodating up to 13. And much of the unrest was simply because these people were hungry. They have no work and they have no means with which to feed themselves."

● On the "isolationist" mentality of Government: "They have been in power for some 37 years and don't need to be on their toes. Instead of facing problems as we do, they appear to be constantly looking for justification of what they have already done. There just doesn't seem to be any cohesive plan — it's government by crisis."

● On the sociology of the present South African climate: "Most thinking people have effectively abbrogated their voting power since they realise, whatever they do, there is little chance of dislodging the regime.

"But the tragedy is that we passively accept the fact that we are not allowed true freedom of expression and an even bigger tragedy is that we, and the education system, instil this into our children.

"There seems to be a national paranoia against expressing your point of view if it is in conflict with those in power. This is an extremely unhealthy situation. We seem to be able to get our acts together as individuals but we are singularly unsuccessful as a society."

● On a need for social welfare in South Africa: "Of course there is a pressing need. I am not advocating a situation such as we have in Britain where a man can be out of work and draw as much from the State as he would have earned from the private sector. But we should have a rudimentary policy which ensures that those out of work can at least afford to feed and clothe themselves."

● On the desirability of American-style political lobbying: "It would be the best thing that could happen.



Mr Gordon Utian . . . "We should be consulted."

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hman and the diplomat state their views on prime time Am

American TV.

FOURIE: Marxism and misery are not for SA

Star 10/12/84

WASHINGTON — South Africa's Ambassador in Washington, Mr Brand Fourie, told a prime time audience on nationwide TV yesterday that there was no argument about the need for change in South Africa.

In the programme, screened on SABC last night, Mr Fourie said: "We realise it ourselves. We are changing. We have changed a great deal.

"So what are we arguing about?

"We should rather see how we can bring change about peacefully and without making the position more difficult."

But, Mr Fourie emphasised, the final decision on South Africa's future would be taken by South Africans themselves even though they would listen to friendly advice.

"One man one vote is not the answer in South Africa.

"We have got to work out a different system."

The ambassador's appearance on "This Week with David Brinkley," one of America's top-rated current affairs TV shows, comes at a time of unprecedented public interest in South Africa, highlighted by street demonstrations against apartheid and by President Ronald Reagan's meeting with Bishop Desmond Tutu.

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Also on the show, in segments taped separately, were Bishop Tutu, liberal and conservative congressmen, and Dr Chester Crocker, chief architect of America's constructive engagement with South Africa.

Mr Fourie said what had happened in the rest of Africa was not for South Africa.

First there was independence followed by one free election, perhaps the last.

This was followed by a one-party state and a move towards socialism that eventually became Marxism.

"Then," he added, "you get to a stage where you move into misery. That is not for South Africa."

The ambassador said South Africa wanted to give everyone a reasonable part in governing their own affairs without taking away the rights of others.

He reacted sharply when a questioner suggested there was no Press freedom in South Africa.

"Perhaps here in America there is greater freedom. But if you look anywhere in the world, you must put South Africa very, very high up on the list of freedom of the Press."

Mr Fourie said Bishop Tutu faced a severe test.

He would have to return to South Africa and, in the spirit of a Nobel Peace Prize winner, would have to persuade his followers, some of them on the radical side, that black versus black confrontation must be stopped.

"Black radicals have got to stop killing moderate black leaders," said Mr Fourie.

Dr Crocker told viewers that while America could indicate a sense of direction for South Africa, it was for South Africans to shape their own future.

He was not aware of any call by Bishop Tutu for American disinvestment in South Africa.

What Bishop Tutu wanted, he said, was a clear signal of what America was standing for.

Asked what America would regard as success in South Africa, Dr Crocker said:

"Success has to be measured in several ways.

"We use the phrase 'constructive change away from apartheid' because we don't believe that we are just talking about change towards anything unspecified.

"We do want to see change towards a democratic form of government in South Africa and a just society based on the consent of the governed."

TUTU: A white skin could prove to be a disadvantage

A white skin could be a horrible disadvantage should severe violence erupt in South Africa over racial policies, says Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Speaking on the United States "This Week with David Brinkley" television programme, which was screened by SABC-TV last night, he said he feared that a bloodbath was imminent unless the international community exerted pressure on South Africa to come to the conference table.

Asked if whites would be massacred in such a bloodbath, Bishop Tutu replied: "I am not saying whites would be massacred. What I am saying is that if apartheid is not dismantled peacefully then America's constructive engagement would be an abomination for whites."

Who would be the victims of the predicted bloodbath?

Bishop Tutu said everybody would be involved. "And it may be that a white skin would be a horrible disadvantage."

Asked for his views on the killing of blacks by their own people, he said this was an indication of the level of frustration among his people. "We have been warning about this sort of thing. This is just the start.

"I am fearful that unless the international community, and especially America, intervenes on the side of the oppressed to exert pressure that is perceptible to everybody to get the South African Government to the conference table, there will be a bloodbath."

Asked about US policy of constructive engagement to bring about slow but steady change in South Africa, he said: "I am not persuaded that the quiet diplomacy of President Ronald Reagan's Administration is working.

"It is four years on. From the perspective of blacks, things have got worse."

There had been more detentions without trial, more forced removals and denationalisation of blacks since the constructive engagement policy began, he said.

Asked what he believed the US should do to encourage change in South Africa, Bishop Tutu said he believed the Reagan Administration should make it clear that it would no longer be protective of South Africa.

The US should not abstain from voting in United Nations Security Council resolutions against South Africa.

Answering a question on whether disinvestment by US firms in South Africa would harm blacks, Bishop Tutu said US firms had for years enjoyed the benefits of black misery and suffering in the form of cheap labour, but until recently few corporations had expressed concern about the plight of black workers.

"Why have you suddenly become so altruistic?" he asked.

The fact that he could be charged in South Africa for encouraging disinvestment was evidence of how crucial foreign investment was to the Government, he said.

Asked whether sanctions could really be effective when history showed they seldom were, he said they had not been applied effectively.

A good example of international pressure achieving its goal, he said, was that of the sport boycott. Apartheid had been stood on its head and the country now had multiracial sport.

He was asked whether sanctions against South Africa would not hurt blacks the most.

"No one would say, let there be more suffering," he said. "But it is interesting to see who opposes international pressure. It is the white people who benefit from the repressive system, and black homeland leaders." — Sapa.

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The bishop . . . Desmond Tutu.



The ambassador . . . Brand Fourie.

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'No US support if violence begins'

WASHINGTON — A spokesman for rightwingers in the American Congress said yesterday that America would not support the South African Government if the absence of change led to bloody violence.

The spokesman, Congressman Newt Gringrich of Georgia, said on America's "This Week with David Brinkley" TV programme that South Africa was facing two futures: a difficult transition to change or violence on an unimaginable scale.

Congressman Gringrich, a former history professor, is one of 35 Republican conservatives who last week threatened to support economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa unless there were human rights improvements.

Some analysts here see the move by the 35 as one of the most significant episodes in the surge of anti-apartheid feeling

The Star Bureau

that has spread throughout America in the past fortnight.

Yesterday on the TV programme Congressman Gringrich spelled out the views of the group.

"One of the things that we wanted to communicate," he said, "is that no one in South Africa should see in the current demonstrations that it is only the black caucus and the left in America that are concerned.

"I don't think there is any base in America for any policies which in the long run condone or make easy the maintenance of apartheid.

"There is a strong feeling here for real change."

Mr Gringrich said that in historical terms human freedom might be the great battle cry of the late 20th century.

He was asked how he could realistically expect the dismantling of apartheid when in his own state, Georgia, voting rights for blacks had come from federal pressure as late as 100 years after a four-year civil war against race discrimination.

The reality in South Africa, he replied, was that the people now in charge faced two futures.

One was to try systematically to find a way to make a very difficult transition that all agreed was not easy.

"The only other alternative," he added, "is absolute bloody violence on an unimaginable scale in which America in the end is not going to be on the side of the current governing force in South Africa."

Congressman Gringrich said America's President Ronald Reagan had to be a lot more effective in putting friendly pressure on South Africa, to make it clear that America wanted a quid pro quo.

The South African Government had to be explicitly committed to an integrated future.

This commitment should come at some point in the next year, said Congressman Gringrich.

The dynamics of the relationship between America and South Africa would also change significantly if America moved from its position of relative passivity in the United Nations on the question of South Africa.

Appearing with Congressman Gringrich on the show was Congressman John Conyers of Michigan, a member of the Congressional black caucus, who said America was backing the losing side in South Africa.

Mr Conyers called for tougher action at the United Nations and urged relatively forceful and biting sanctions such as a halt to new US investments in South Africa.

Africa is the most tragic of continents. It contains at present most of those nations of the world which are starving, and, in the Republic of South Africa, that nation which of all others is most condemned by the world at large. It is a nation which, if it accepted the plentiful advice of world opinion, would as it sees things commit suicide. There is no precedent for national suicide. This article and those that follow will attempt to understand why South Africa is as it is, and why the Afrikaner believes so strongly that it will in any case survive

These articles will constitute an attempt, in a sense, to understand the mind of the Afrikaner It is a presumptuous attempt, but necessary to make because it is South Africa — with its military strength, and its depth of resources, and above all its strength of will — which determines and will probably continue for some time to determine the course of events in southern Africa. This is the realpolitik. And within South Africa, which has a population of 31 million of whom about 4 8 million are white, the political power is held by the Afrikaners, that is those whites largely of Dutch and German descent whose first language is Afrikaans That is the reality which, however disasteful it may be to some, it would be pointless not to accept That is where you have to start from

It would also be pointless, in any such attempt, to cart along an intact burden of western liberal prejudice. The detentions without trial, the rhino whips, the razing of whole shanty townships, have been copiously reported, and very properly so. But it has been my experience of two visits, one ten years ago and the second only recently, that most Afrikaners do not possess two horns and a tail.

I have travelled over much of the Republic. I have twice visited Soweto, which I have been told is twice more than some members of the South African cabinet. I have briefly visited one of the black homelands. And, since my business was to discover what I could about the Afrikaner mind and spirit, I have talked to many Afrikaners, among them the leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party, the leader of the fundamental Conservative Party, and the National Party minister responsible for black affairs. This article is an interview with that minister.

Terry Coleman

IN THE minister's austere office in Pretoria we talked about the poet Pindar, the chief of the Zulu's, mixed marriages, black Africa, and the Afrikaner's firm resolve that his nation, and more particularly his civilisation, shall survive.

Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen is Minister of Co-operation, Development, and Education, which means, roughly translated, that he is responsible for black affairs. He is often talked of as a possible successor to the present State President and Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha. He was educated at Pretoria; King's College, Cambridge; Leiden; and the Sorbonne. He is a former chairman of the Broederbond, which is variously describable as a secret society, a club, a think-tank and a gathering of the Afrikaner elite.

Dr Viljoen spoke with some pleasure of a thesis he once wrote on Pindar's Olympian odes, a thesis he had the good fortune to write about the time that the findings were being published of the pre-war German excavations at Olympia, findings which corroborated some of the poet's descriptions. I then reminded him that he had later published a monograph on Cicero, in which he had happened to remark that Cicero lived in chaotic times. Would he say that he was now living in such times particularly in South Africa?

He demurred at this, so, sticking to Rome, I remarked that the English jurist Sir Henry Maine had once observed that Roman law had over the centuries been a progression from status to contract. "From imposed order, to freely reached agreement?" he asked.

Yes, from times when legal relationships were those between father and son, master and slave, to those times when relationships were entered into freely and this was by way of getting to my point, which was that many would see the blacks in South Africa as semi-slaves, in the sense that they had no citizenship. "Oh," he said "they have citizenship. I think this is one of the most unfair representations of the South African situation to state that the blacks have no political rights. They have political rights, not according, shall I say, to the accepted western pattern of an



Day One: Dr Gerrit van Niekerk Viljoen

pressed support for the repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

I pointed out a paragraph in which Mr Botha was reported as saying, "There has been mixing since Jan van Riebeeck arrived here (in 1652). These laws were introduced in 1927, so what happened between 1652 and 1927?" That, I suggested, was an admission by the President that many Afrikaners were of mixed blood, wasn't it? "Oh yes," said Dr Viljoen, there had been many calculations: some said five per cent, some 11 to 12 per cent. No Afrikaner who knew the facts would deny that.

Then, suppose the laws were repealed: and suppose a white man married a coloured woman, what would the status of the white man be? "That is one of the problems we have to solve. To repeal the law, you must have an answer to that."

Did the man become coloured, or the woman white? "Yes, or do they have a free choice.... We will have to decide on this in the next six or seven months."

Six or seven months? Just like that? "Yes, sure. This is my feeling. But there is going to be a very strong popular backlash against this."

But here, surely, was the president making a point of this at a byelection? "He faces the music. I think the leadership of the president is such that if he is convinced of a point, as he is of this point, he will go for it" (In fact the byelection was, as expected, very close, the Conservative opposition was strong, and the National Party held the seat by a much reduced majority of only 748 votes in a Johannesburg blue-collar constituency.)

Now it is a common belief that the Afrikaner vote is solid, but you only have to speak to a few politicians to see clearly that this is not so. Indeed, the Afrikaner is to my mind in a state of political and intellectual ferment. So I put it to Dr Viljoen that the Afrikaner vote for the National Party had fallen from about 83 per cent in the early seventies to 63 per cent at the 1981 general election, and asked if this wasn't pretty catastrophic.

"Yes. And if you want to play the political game, you must play it in such a way

mocracy, but they have political rights on a differentiated basis."

Dr Viljoen was here referring to the rights of Africans in the homelands of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, and others, but these are homelands whose independence is recognised by no one other than the Republic of South Africa.

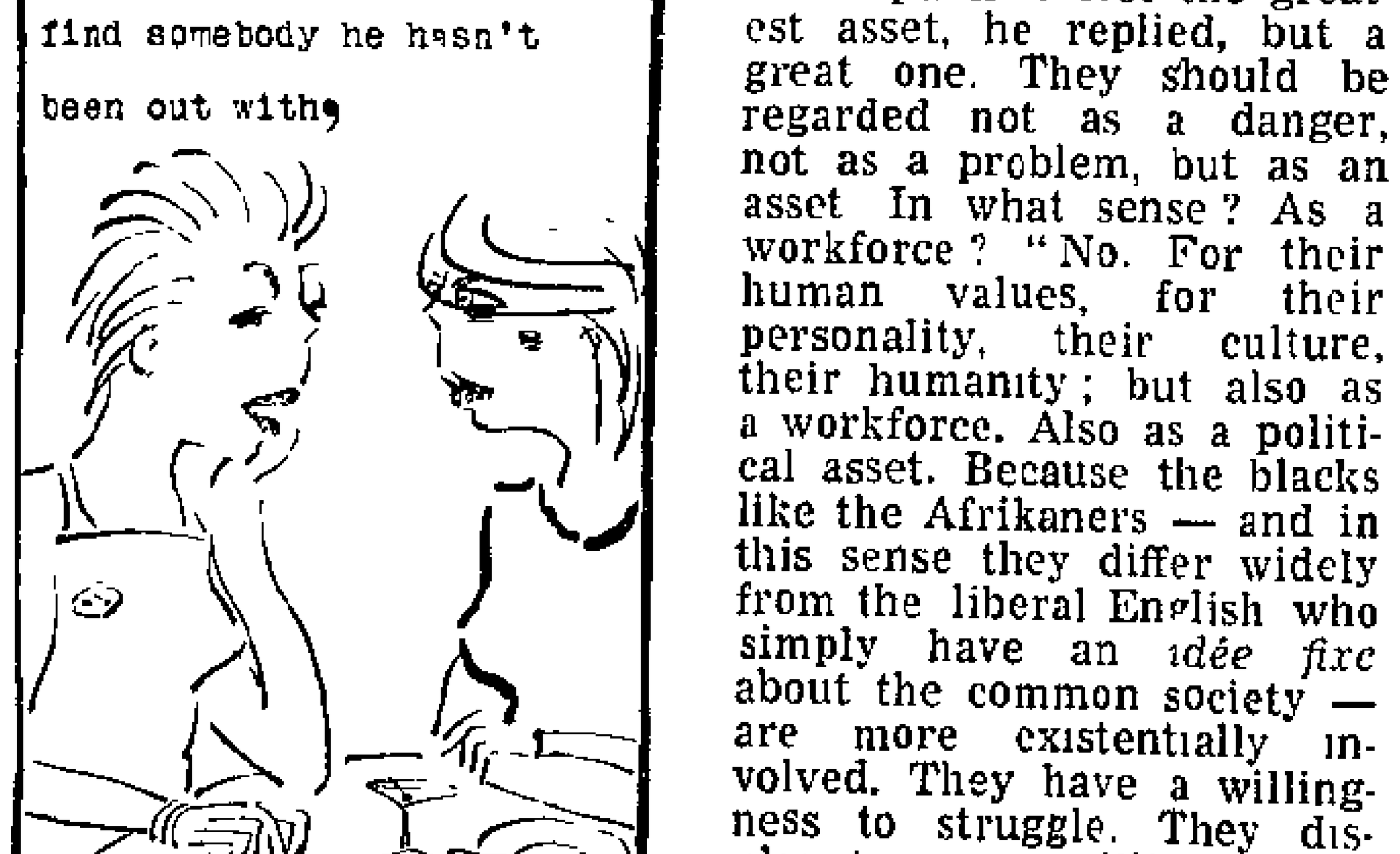
But surely most critics' condemnation of South Africa would start from the assumption that there should not be any sort of confederation of States, as is generally proposed, but one single State, with one man one vote? "Yes. While that point of departure is made, I don't think there is any possibility of rapprochement between opposite views."

One State, and one person one vote, would then be an impossibility for him? "Well no, it's not an impossibility, but it would be sheer chaos. It just wouldn't work."

He was saying it would amount to suicide on the whites' part, then? "Yes, certainly. Not only on our part. I think on the part of everyone in South Africa." But he thought it was encouraging that some black leaders now seemed willing to compromise, to agree that blacks must have citizenship, but that this could not be in a unitary system: and the best example was Chief Buthelezi.

Yes, but hadn't the two of them once met, Buthelezi as chief of the Zulus and Viljoen, then chairman of the Broederbond, as chief of the Afrikaners? And hadn't Buthelezi said that, very well, the Afrikaners had had to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and had done so, but the trouble was that his people, who went barefoot, hadn't even got bootstraps to start with? "I think he had a strong case."

To what extent were the minister's policies, and those



How clever of them to find somebody he hasn't been out with



TERRY COLEMAN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Why the laager stays closed to blacks

of his government, affected by the view of black Africa to the north, where in 25 years there had been 12 wars, 70 coups, and 13 assassinations?

"Our own views have in a sense been that this was likely to happen, and therefore the attitude is rather one of 'We told you so.' It has strengthened our views that a unitary state in which there was a black majority government, a black domination as it were, will not work in Africa, will not make the continued existence of a white people a reasonable proposition at all" But Dr Viljoen also thought that the effect on black South African leaders had been even greater. They too had seen what had happened to the north, and were the more willing to modify their original demands for a unitary state.

Perhaps; but hadn't Bishop Tutu just said that the blacks (on the grounds that the enemy of their enemy was their friend) would welcome the Russians? "Oh yes .. I think there are those who would accept chaos, to break the system."

But Tutu was a Christian, and a bishop. "Yes, well I find it difficult to understand. To me his credibility is low."

Hadn't the minister told a recent congress of the National Party that the blacks were the greatest asset of the Republic? Not the greatest asset, he replied, but a great one. They should be regarded not as a danger, not as a problem, but as an asset In what sense? As a workforce? "No. For their human values, for their personality, their culture, their humanity; but also as a workforce. Also as a political asset. Because the blacks like the Afrikaners — and in this sense they differ widely from the liberal English who simply have an *idée fixe* about the common society — are more existentially involved. They have a willingness to struggle. They display to me a willingness to struggle to find solutions, and not just to say, 'This is the only alternative.' They have a tremendous power for good, not only as a workforce but as part of . . ."

Part of a civilisation? "Yes. Of civilisation".

But just now, when I had asked about a unitary state, he had said it would be chaos? "Yes, but that's not because of inherent defects in the blacks, but because of the tremendous heterogeneity of society in South Africa. If we rejected the inherent capacity of the blacks it would be dishonest to propound a concept of separate development, because it would mean you would leave them to themselves, being without the capacity to develop. And that I do not accept."

I said I had earlier cited an example of what I thought was fatuity on the part of Bishop Tutu: could I now put to Dr Viljoen another example, this time on the part of the South Africa government? In a debate at the Cambridge Union, on the matter of ending investment in South Africa, Mr Donald Woods, the former editor of a South African newspaper, now living in England, had spoken for the motion, and the South African ambassador in London Dr Denis Worrall, against The motion had been predictably carried, but the fatuity had been that, in the South African newspapers, the proposer's argument could be discerned only through the ambassador's reply to it, because the ex-editor, being a banned person, was not permitted to be reported. Wasn't that fatuous?

"Yes, well I think it's a pity really . . . I have not been personally responsible for weighing the evidence to take this decision, but, judging superficially, I would say that the nuisance value of Mr Woods did not merit giving him the honour of banning him."

I then turned to Soweto. I said I had seen people infinitely worse off in other parts of Africa. In Soweto no one was starving. But nevertheless there people were degraded, and it did seem to me, to use an archaic English phrase, that South Africa, having virtually created a subject people, had not looked after them, had not as it were picked up the White Man's Burden.

When I played the tape of this conversation back I found myself at this point speaking with some heat, which isn't good: further more, the phrase *is* archaic, and I shouldn't be surprised to learn that it has lain dormant since I last wrote it, in exactly the same circumstances, in 1974: so, all in all, this was a point which Dr Viljoen, or anyone, could have smiled at and dismissed that way, but he did not. He just turned the phrase.

Take black education, he said, which was part of his responsibility. Well, they had not been spending enough, but, over the last five years, they had spent dramatically more. "So," he said, "in this case the Afrikaner is picking up *the black* man's burden. Which has in fact, and this I admit, been neglected in the past."

I went to a point that Dr Viljoen made in a book he published in 1979, when he had said, "If we should lose control over our own political destiny, for example through an unrealistic striving for fairness, then fairness to others could become injustice towards oneself." He appeared to mean over-fairness to blacks? Was that so?

"What I meant is what is unfair in the sense of what is insisted upon by the outside world, which looks upon South Africa as comparable to western homogenous societies. Unfair in the sense of introducing a complete, head-counting democracy. That would lead in our conviction to chaos"

He was once again referring to those who wanted to apply classical Nineteenth Century European democratic standards to Africa? "*Western* European. In the Balkan states with diverse populations they never really came to democracy at all there, did they?"

When I remarked that the only pure democracy I knew was the United States, he replied, yes, that remained a remarkable democracy, and not homogenous, but with the advantage of having a dominant element. If there had been a similarly dominant white element in South Africa things would have developed quite differently, because the whites could have shared power without the complete loss of power.

And of civilisation? "I think in my time (as chairman) the Broederbond tried to shift the emphasis from the survival of the Afrikaner to survival of the quality which makes life worthwhile. And if those qualities can survive without separateness—and I think it is conceivable they could in 20, 30, 50 years' time—I think the need for separateness and even differentiation might completely change."

It was the survival of these values which was important. The physical survival of the white man itself was not a thing that was at issue.

Here I mentioned Carel Boshoff, also a former chairman of the Broederbond, and a man who certainly wants to maintain separation. "He has an obsession. He wants a haven, a pure haven, a homeland for whites."

Well, I said, and it might come to that one day, mightn't it? A white homeland, a laager? Well, said Dr Viljoen, he vividly remembered a Nigerian editor coming to him in the mid seventies and putting to him the hypothesis of partition, and that the whites were handed the western part of the country up to the Orange River, which isn't very good country, and the Cape itself. What, asked the Nigerian, would happen then?

To which Dr Viljoen had replied: "I said it would be traumatic, but if we were forced to accept it we would, like Israel, respond to the challenge, and it would be a Toynbeen historical example of a nation that would suffer very very seriously, but we would have it in us to survive."

Now in 1977, I assumed because of the Soweto riots of 1976, Dr Viljoen had said time was short: was it still? "Few politicians with any sense have not insisted on the urgency of finding solutions in South Africa. People often say we are at ten minutes to midnight, and this has been said so often that it is like crying 'Wolf, wolf.' But all along we have underestimated the urgency . . ."

Did he then agree with the leader of the Progressive Party that the country was on the verge of a siege? "Yes. In a sense we've been on that verge for quite a long time. And you cannot, you know, hold the tension of this sort of situation indefinitely. There must come some relief, some detente as it were." He then suggested that, with the new constitution of this year, there had already been some detente with the Coloureds and Indians.

But, the problem wasn't, surely, the Coloureds . . . ? "It's the blacks. I fully agree. The urgency of finding new political alternatives for the blacks."

We then turned to the attitude of the West — Europe and the United States — towards South Africa. Dr Viljoen did see some hypocrisy here. There were some double standards, but, mostly, he thought that it was simply very difficult for anyone conditioned by the standards of a western homogeneous society to understand South Africa at all. He has in the past spoken out against sports boycotts, so I put the obvious question to him: how did he feel when he saw England playing football against Russia, but declining to play South Africa at cricket?

"That thinking," he said, "is not sport motivated, but political. It's so inconsistent that I can't think people hold that view on sporting grounds. Whatever we change in sport will not affect (the attitude of) the rest of the world, because our critics in sport are not interested in sport."

Recently, in speaking about sport, he had talked about South Africa's "enemies." What did he mean by enemies? "Enemies are people who want to break down completely the present dispensation in South Africa, and have no sympathy for anyone but the blacks. And the enemy could be further defined, as in Rhodesia, where it proved to be not so much sympathy for the blacks as for a specific, socialist or Marxist, group among the blacks."

I then took out a newspaper cutting which reported a speech made two days before at a byelection meeting by the Prime Minister Mr P. W. Botha, in which he ex... in other words you must gain support from the constituents who elect you." Politics were about power? "Yes, sure. You cannot follow a policy which is theoretically very attractive but which has no chance of ever gaining support."

I went back to my cutting, in which Mr Botha was reported as saying that if a nation needed laws to maintain itself, then it was not worth maintaining. He was probably referring only to mixed marriages, but, if one took his words more generally, surely there were hundreds of laws to maintain the identity of the white State. What about section 29 of the Internal Security Act under which a man could be held indefinitely without trial? "Well, that's basically not to maintain the whites; that's to maintain law and order in the country."

But what about the laws which laid down where a black man could live and where he couldn't? "There are two points which the National Party has made quite clear. That is, that in the interests of orderly development among the components of the heterogeneous population, separate residential areas, and separate schools, are essential." But surely such laws were to maintain society as it was? "Not to maintain society, but an orderly society."

We got to rhino whips and the appearance South Africa presented to the rest of the world. There had been elections earlier this year, and riots, and television pictures round the world of police chasing blacks with rhino whips. I said it looked awful. "The fact is that if there hadn't been strong and determined policing these elections could have been broken up. The crowds were taking the law of the jungle into their own hands . . . As (they were) at schools, where pupils went to take final examinations. This type of crowd broke into schools and, with knives or whips, forced the children to leave. Or they overpowered the teachers and tore the examination papers to pieces."

The interview was ending. I began to get up, and Dr Viljoen said, "We cannot please the outside world by allowing people to use violent means of subversion of order."

I said what I thought, that the whole situation was impossibly complex. As we walked to the door, he said, "But it's very challenging to work in. It's exciting in many ways. It's daunting. Sometimes you feel you want to run away from it, but on the whole it's, well, a privilege to be able to share in this challenge".

TOMORROW: Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

Star 11/12/84 304A

Doors are closing on this committee

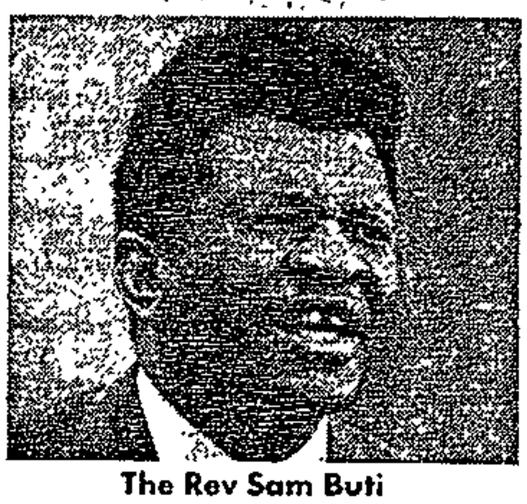
By Gary van Staden,
Political Reporter

Recently the Rev Sam Buti, a moderate leader with a rare degree of credibility in the Alexandra community he serves as mayor, called on black leaders to snub the Cabinet committee investigating the constitutional future of urban blacks. This could be the kiss of death for any proposals which may emerge.

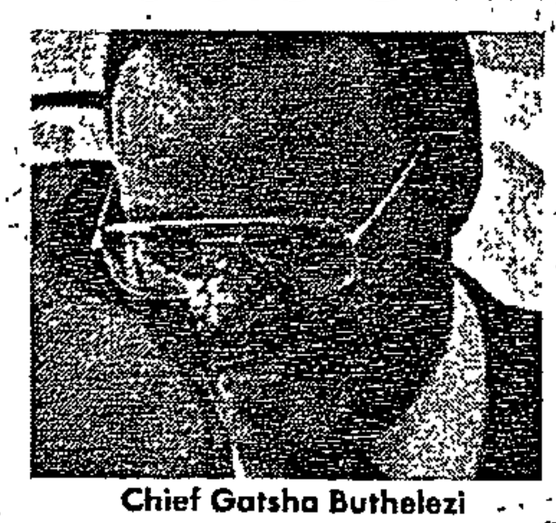
The committee, chaired by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, has been rejected out of hand by organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation and the United Democratic Front. Their plans for black constitutional rights demand a full democratic vote in a unitary state.

Although some "independent" and self-governing homeland leaders held talks with the committee, it was boycotted by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Inkatha.

That left leaders in the black political centre — men such as Mr Buti — to give the committee, and any proposals it might make, some credibility. Now the only people likely to talk to Mr Heunis's committee are black local authority councillors whose credibility is at an all-time low.



The Rev Sam Buti



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

To make the situation worse about 20 of these councillors have resigned in the past few months.

It all adds up to a Cabinet committee with no one to talk to and leaves a vital aspect of the Government's "reform" plans floundering.

"The participation by blacks in discussion concerning the constitutional plan for urban blacks will be a definite betrayal of established struggles by those men and women who have been banished, exiled or even imprisoned by the South African racist regime," Mr Buti said in his statement.

He added that history had proved that very little ever came out of such committees and reiterated that the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and various banned Black Consciousness organisations be unbanned.

The Cabinet committee was born of a Government realisation that the non-homeland urban black was here to stay and that somehow, without giving him a full vote, a method had to be found whereby he could have some representation.

The Government has been touting the committee as evidence that it is taking the urban black question seriously as a part of a "reform" package that included the extension of a limited franchise to the coloured and Indian population groups.

The urban blacks are excluded from both the first (Parliament) and second (Regional Councils) tiers of Government. Their only slender link to the decision-making process is the third-tier local authorities, which are in serious trouble.

During unrest in the Vaal Triangle the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, told a Press conference at Vereeniging that the black local authorities were the voice of the urban black and the Government would listen to them — despite the fact that some were elected on a five percent poll.

The Cabinet committee is likely to find a willing ear only among local authority councils, whose credibility is almost nil.

But, according to Mr de Klerk, they are the voice of the urban black and their suggestions and proposals will be heeded by the Government.

The end result of that will be committee recommendations on the constitutional future of urban blacks that will solve little and be acceptable to very few.

Coloured teacher queries new promotions criteria

Post 11/12/84

304A

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY

A MAJOR political row appears to be brewing about the basis on which teachers at coloured schools have been appointed to promotional posts hastily created in the wake of the new dispensation.

The first salvos have been fired by a science teacher in Port Elizabeth, Mr H M Cairncross, of Booysen Park, who feels that he has been overlooked for promotion at his school because of his political affiliations.

Mr Cairncross is a Labour Party supporter and chairman of the Booysens Park branch of the Labour Party.

The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim, said yesterday that no finality had been reached yet on the way in which teachers would be promoted.

He promised that any complaints from teachers that they had been overlooked for promotion because of their political affiliations would be fully investigated and urged teachers to complain to their local Members of Parliament if they felt they had grievances.

He said additional promotional posts had been created at schools. These new posts were welcomed because it improved the chances of promotion for teachers.

Mr Ebrahim was asked to comment on an allegation by Mr Cairncross that he had been overlooked for promotion at Paterson High School because of his political affiliations.

Mr Cairncross said he was the only Labour Party supporter at his school and most of the teachers supported either the United Democratic Front (UDF) or the South African Council on Sport (Sacos).

Mr Cairncross, who has been teaching since 1945, said he was not considered for any of the 10 promotions at his school recently.

The promotions are effective from the new school term next year and it is believed that principals were asked to recommend teachers they considered suitable for promotion because the posts had to be filled by the new year.

In the past posts were advertised in the Educational Bulletin.

Mr Cairncross telephoned the office of the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives in Cape Town, and was told to put his complaint in writing.

A spokesman for the office confirmed that he had spoken to Mr Cairncross and that the letter would be referred to the Ministery of Education and Culture for comment and investigation.

Mr Ebrahim said he could not comment further until he had more information and had received the letter from Mr Cairncross.

But he said the whole question of promotions would be fully investigated and further information would be made available once it had been resolved.

He said posts were normally advertised and he was in favour this.

If Govt and ANC talk . . .

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THERE appeared to be considerable common ground between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Government, but the prospect of talks between the two seemed remote, a Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, reported yesterday.

A senior Beeld journalist, Piet Muller, spent five hours talking to ANC officials in Lusaka recently.

In the first of a series of articles published yesterday, he explored the possibility of dialogue between the ANC and the Government.

The report came in the wake of recent calls by a leading businessman, Mr Tony Bloom of the Premier Group, and an Afrikaans academic, Professor Willie Esterhuyse, for talks between the ANC and the Government.

In yesterday's article Mr Muller said:

- There were pro-dialogue members in the ANC.
- If talks ever took place, it was clear there was enough common ground for "fruitful" discussions on a broad front.
- A major point of disagreement appeared to be on economic policy with the ANC wanting far greater State control of big business.

Beeld calls for govt-ANC talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, called yesterday for talks between the government and extra-parliamentary opposition groups such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and Inkatha.

The call, made in an editorial comment, could signify an important new strategy by Nationalist "verligtes" to press for political reform.

Although hope of talks between the government and the ANC is not new in some Nationalist Party circles, the idea has never before been widely expressed in public.

Yesterday's call came with the publication in Beeld of a second report of a recent five-hour interview with ANC leaders in Lusaka by a senior Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Beeld's editorial said the question of talks with extra-parliamentary groups struck a raw nerve in South African politics.

The first reaction of any government worth its salt would be to reject such a suggestion because it would undermine its authority.

But when significant numbers of citizens had no direct political representation, the situation changed somewhat.

In such a case a government had a duty to listen to what might be regarded as unorthodox voices. If it did not, it might not hear important messages in time.

One of the biggest problems was to decide when the time was ripe to talk. Unfortunately people usually realized too late that they let opportunities slip through their fingers. Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) was a good example, Beeld said.

It required courage and conviction for a government to talk to extra-parliamentary groups, even if the talks took place in secret.

Even the possibility of such talks could give new hope for the future to millions of people.

A future that was acceptable to all could only be planned by everyone together, Beeld said.

A former editor of Beeld, Mr T Vosloo, who is now managing director of the newspaper's parent company, Nasionale Pers, once caused a minor storm by writing that discussions between the Nationalist government and the ANC to plan South Africa's future were inevitable.

After his interview, Dr Muller concluded that there was a group within the ANC that was prepared to talk to the government and that there was common ground between the organization and the Nationalists.

SA's problems 'interdependent'

Education Reporter

SOUTH Africa's economic problems would be solved only when the government removed certain basic socio-political obstacles that were adversely affecting the national economy as well as the operation of the free enterprise system, Mr Mike Rosholt said in Cape Town yesterday.

Addressing a graduation ceremony of the University of Cape Town, Mr Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand and chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the country's economic and socio-political problems were totally interdependant and neither could be solved on its own.

It was a matter for serious concern that the government did not appear to have a national economic plan or strategy, but was taking a series of ad hoc economic decisions, he said.

Calling for the formulation of such a strategy, Mr Rosholt said all future economic decisions should be related to a plan which included a cutback in the government share of the national economy, a plan and timetable for an attack on inflation, job creation and the elimination of recurrent periods of financial instability.

Warning

Mr Rosholt warned that the present cycle of unrest would continue into next year because it was unlikely that crucial factors would change immediately.

If the economy improved markedly and unexpectedly, the job situation would improve and this would have a significant effect on unrest.

● Rosholt calls for end to removals, page 13

RDM 15/12/84 304A

Political reform is t answer to disinvesti



PROTEST . . . Randall Robinson, head of Transafrica, joins other demonstrators outside South Africa's Embassy in Washington this Wednesday

The growing disinvestment campaign against companies operating in South Africa has probably become the most serious foreign threat facing the Government. In the United States in recent weeks the campaign reached unprecedented heights, with even some of the country's conservative politicians supporting the call

CHRIS FREIMOND, Political Correspondent

TO OPENLY support disinvestment is a crime in South Africa. It carries heavy penalties.

This alone is a clear indication of the alarm with which the Government views the growing campaign to withdraw foreign capital from South Africa.

It is a campaign that seems set to grow in the months and years ahead and will undoubtedly continue to cause divisions not only among South Africans, but also in those countries where the battles against investment are being fought.

The argument of those in favour of disinvestment is that the withdrawal of foreign capital will force the Government to speed up political reform.

The additional hardship that the consequent loss of jobs might cause blacks would be short-term and relieve their perceived oppression far quicker than is happening at present.

Those against disinvestment claim either that the Government is more likely to proceed with political reform in good economic times and when it is not under severe international pressure, or that it is grossly unfair to advocate a strategy that will lead to even greater suffering for blacks.

While there have been no large scale disinvestments to daté, the pressures on foreign companies — particularly those in the United States — to pull out of South Africa are mounting.

From a relatively innocuous start 10 years ago by anti-apartheid lobbyists, the campaign in the United States today enjoys widespread support.

In a recent position paper for SA Forum, Professor Carl Nöffke, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University, wrote that more than 350 American companies had more than R5 500-million invested in South Africa and more than 6 000 other United States companies did business with South Africa.

Other estimates, which included loans and gold shares, placed total United States investment in South Africa as high as R25 900-million while US bank loans to the private and public sectors in South Africa were estimated at R11 000-million.

He wrote that so far five United States legislatures had approved laws restricting investment in South Africa and at least 40 others were expected to deal with more than 60 disinvestment bills next year.

Some large American cities, including New York, Washington DC and Boston, have disinvestment ordinances and the Mayor of Boston, Mr Raymond Flynn, has urged the country's 100 largest cities to withdraw investments in companies doing business with South Africa.

Moves supporting investment restrictions to a greater or lesser degree have also been made by 41 United States universities, Prof Nöffke said.

At Federal level, the campaign to restrict financial dealings with South Africa has been fought bitterly in Congress and is expected to continue next year.

Although the disinvestment campaign in Britain and South Africa's other major European trading partners is not as strong or well organised as in America, it is being extended in those countries and observers believe it will gain momentum.

A leading South African businessman, Mr Tony Bloom, head of the Premier Group, said in an interview that he was "extremely concerned" by the disinvestment lobby and believed its strength was being under-estimated.

He believed it was stronger now than it had ever been and said it might be only a matter of time before the inconvenience factor of pressures on companies with investments in South Africa outweighed their desire to remain in the country.

In South Africa itself disinvestment is an emotional issue. The extent of its support is unclear.

A recent survey by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal, indicated that 75% of black industrial workers polled were opposed to disinvestment.

But a number of black leaders and anti-apartheid organisations support investment restrictions of some sort and believe the majority of their followers agree with them. Due to legal restrictions it is not possible to quote many of their views.

However, it is widely accepted that the Bishop-designate of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, favours foreign economic pressure to force political change in South Africa.

Economic pressures are also supported by United Democratic Front leaders and its hundreds of affiliate organisations.

An international policy statement earli-

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RDM 15/12/84 (304A) (68)

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Economic pressures are also supported by United Democratic Front leaders and its hundreds of affiliate organisations.

An international policy statement earlier this year by the Federation of South African Trade Unions, said that Fosatu, as a trade union organisation concerned with the jobs and livelihood of its members, had to give careful consideration to the question of disinvestment.

It was its considered view that the pressure for disinvestment had had a positive effect and should therefore not be lessened.

Fosatu's statement said: "Fosatu is definately opposed to foreign investment that accepts the conditions of oppression maintained by this regime".

The trend among many South African leaders and organisations seems to be towards conditional foreign investment, possibly along the lines of a "carrot and stick" policy with foreign companies.

Governments would put increased pressure on the South African authorities to introduce political change, and threatening to withdraw investments or approve disinvestment laws if it does not.

Whether the disinvestment campaign is capable of widespread success remains largely unknown.

Apart from their defence for remaining in South Africa on the moral grounds that they are assisting in the social and financial upliftment of blacks, most foreign businessmen have too much to lose by pulling out.

South Africa is also a valuable trading partner to many countries. Disinvestment and trade sanctions could cause economic hardships and unemployment in those countries.

Prof Nöffke wrote that a recent survey by the Institute for European Economic Studies in London, in conjunction with two research groups in France and West Germany, concluded that most Western nations would be economically and strategically weakened by concerted disinvestment in South Africa.

In an interview published in the latest edition of Leadership SA, the new chairman of Dunlop in London, South African born Sir Michael Edwardes, said he believed any "disengagement" from South Africa by freindly nations "has got to be a bad thing" for all the parties involved.

"Disengagement isolates and the last thing you want in the world today is isolation — you want communication.

"The only way to communicate is to have a vehicle and to have a cause to communicate.

"So, I believe disengagement by British and American companies from the scene plays into the hands of extremists and is unconstructive and unhelpful."

The problems are complex, but the solution is probably not nearly as difficult as many would believe.

Mr Bloom summed it up in two words when asked how he thought the disinvestment campaign could be countered.

"Political reform," he said.

Cape Times 15/12/84

Call for 'reform alliance' in SA

30KA

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA'S future was being created by determined South Africans working together, Mr Jan Steyn, the chief executive of the Urban Foundation, said yesterday.

He also called for the creation of a "reform alliance" comprising groups with an interest in both the conserving and changing components of reform.

Mr Steyn, who spoke at a graduation ceremony at the University of Cape Town, said there were many different people working for reform in South Africa, with different strategies and different ways of translating their beliefs into action.

"Practical responses range from critical academic analyses to sustained and articulate protest at injustice, to those who are participating in meaningful action promotive of the identified values in the community or the workplace.

'Multi-dimensional'

"I would argue that valuable contributions to change can and are being made by a wide spectrum of individuals and groups.

"As a result of my belief that social change is a multi-dimensional process, I would recognize the validity of many of these different approaches to influencing change.

"Major change is not brought about by a single thrust. It is achieved by the cumulative efforts of many individuals and agencies pursuing their own goals for change," he said.

Protest should never be viewed as an end in itself. While it was a legitimate strategy, "it is but one such strategy".

The abuse of protest could make it counter-productive if over-extended.

'Sterility'

It could create a preoccupation as well as a predisposition which could inhibit and even ultimately prevent participation in the desirable processes of real reform.

"Protest can promote sterility rather than progress, retrogression, rather than reform."

Mr Steyn said it was now opportune to forge a reform alliance because of a number of factors. These included:

- The changing attitudes of white people concerning race relations.
- The changing structure and needs of the economy.
- Greater black involvement at higher levels in the economy, thus increasing labour and purchasing power".
- The visible inability of past policies to cope with the realities of a rapidly-changing South Africa.
- The instability caused by this policy failure in the face of massive social and economic development.

Realistic theory

An important element of the thrust for reform was the forging of pro-change alliances.

"These alliances each need a coherent strategy and a realistic theory of change.

"In the absence of such alliances, we run the risk of missing critical opportunities.

"In a situation where the state's predominate sway is being challenged by other actors, it is important that there are powerful groupings brought together on an issue-by-issue basis with some access to decision-makers, investigating and where feasible proposing alternative approaches that can be used at the appropriate time and in an appropriate manner."

The process of coalition obviously involved joint decision-making and the involvement of groups who had been excluded in the past.

"Joint decision-making in turn is not only a desirable process — it is for most South Africans a desirable goal."

Three categories of "social actor" could be defined in South Africa today — those on the far right and the far left who resorted to violence; those who wished to maintain the status quo; and those who "seek real and fundamental change in South Africa".

Bill of Rights

Those seeking real change had a commitment to certain fundamental values, a pragmatic position concerning the feasibility of the various alternative strategies for change, and some common beliefs concerning the nature of the transition process.

The core of firmly-held principles common to this group included a commitment to:

- Equal social, political and economic opportunity for all citizens.
- The promulgation of a Bill of Rights enforced by an independent judiciary.
- Protection of freedom of speech, including a free press, freedom of association and freedom of movement.
- A belief in the process of democracy structured in such a manner as to ensure participation by all South Africans, or to put it differently, a belief in the need to secure the consent of the governed.

PORT ELIZABETH, DECEMBER 15, 1984 PRICE 27c + 3c Tax

ANC: shock Nat Press move

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

IN a dramatic development, a major Afrikaans Nationalist Press group this week published a series of interviews with the banned African National Congress, vanguard of African nationalist movements in South Africa.

It was the first time in decades that there has been such in-depth contact between an Afrikaans newspaper group and the ANC.

Observers were struck by the sympathetic tone of some of the comments about the ANC and point out that the Nationalist Press has often in the past played a trail-blazing role for the Government.

One political observer today cautioned, however, that "one should not read too much into it until the Government actually talks to the ANC".

In a five-hour interview with leading ANC figures in Lusaka, a senior journalist from Beeld — biggest daily in the Nasionale Pers stable — found "there are enough things about which a fruitful discussion could be conducted between the National Party and the ANC — were such a meeting ever to take place".

The meeting between Beeld's representative and the ANC leaders was arranged by the University of Cape Town's Centre for Inter-Group Studies.

In the interviews published in Beeld and its sister newspapers around the country, the following were highlighted as points for "fruitful discussion" at any future meeting between the ANC and the National Party Government:

● Both are convinced that South Africa will have to find its own type of solution if the claims of all peoples and groups are to be satisfied.

● On group rights, the National Party and the ANC apparently also do not differ much.

"History has thrown us together.

" Whether we like it or not, we must all live together," one of the ANC leaders told Beeld.

● Just as is the case among thinking Nationalists, there is interest within the ANC in federalism as a possible key to a solution to South Africa's problems.

● During the interview, President P W Botha's proposed division of South Africa into eight regions for the promotion of economic development was often favourably referred to.

● Although the homelands policy was rejected by the ANC, "a fruitful discussion about this is nevertheless possible".

Beeld said, however, that a dialogue between the NP and ANC lay "far in the future unless something dramatic and unexpected happens which can bring the two parties to the negotiating table".

The newspaper pointed out that South Africa's northern neighbours were holding thumbs that such a discussion could take place.

"They say straight out that peace is only possible if the Afrikaners and the ANC come to terms."

The biggest point of difference between the two sides, Beeld said, would be on economic policy.

Beeld found that the ANC's economic policies showed a "remarkable similarity" to those of the right-wing HNP and AWB.

Afrikaner volk in jeopardy, warns Marais

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

Afrikaners must not develop a guilt complex about their treatment of blacks or their desire to retain control in South Africa, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais told a Day of the Vow meeting yesterday.

Addressing a hot but enthusiastic crowd of about 500 at the F R Tomlinson grounds near Pretoria, an angry Mr Marais said there was currently a campaign — supported by the media — to make Afrikaners feel guilty about being South Africa's ruling minority.

"Look, for example, at the positive publicity given to Bishop Tutu, a man who predicts we will have a bloodbath here.

"We are also expected to believe that the senseless destruction of buildings by blacks is justified because they have certain grievances.

"But we do not owe the black man anything. It is he who owes us."

BLOOD RIVER

Mr Marais said the existence of the Afrikaner volk was once again in jeopardy, as it had been at Blood River.

Recent riots in black schools and increasing activity in the field of black labour was part of "a Communist attempt to create total chaos" and the Government had every right to use violence to maintain order.

However, the Government's increasing leniency (toegeeflikheid) towards blacks had raised black expectations, Mr Marais said.

The crowd applauded loudly when Mr Marais added that the Afrikaners' morals were being eroded by a Publications Appeal Board that was "merely an excuse for allowing pornography".

Mr Marais said true Afrikaners were those who belonged to the fighting monority — an apparent reference to the HNP and other rightwing parties.

Like their ancestors at Blood River they should fight to keep the Afrikaner dominant, he said.

Nation still threatened — Du Plessis

By Anna de Jager, East Rand Bureau

Only about 50 people arrived for the Day of the Vow celebrations held in Kempton Park at the weekend in what must be one of the quietest covenant days in the country's history.

"The Day of the Covenant is a responsibility undertaken by a group of Voortrekkers who fought and won the Battle of Blood River on December 16 1838," said Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower, at a remembrance ceremony on Saturday.

"As a group of Voortrekkers were threatened by an enemy at the Battle of Blood River, so this nation is still being threatened in the form of terrorism," said Mr du Plessis.

He said the Day of the Vow was a victory of civilised standards over uncivilised standards, practised by the Zulu King Dingaan, who broke an agreement with the Voortrekkers.

"The Battle of Blood River was a victory of justice," said Mr du Plessis.

He pointed out that recent events revealed pressures exerted by the outside world on South Africa, which was another indication that South Africa was a threatyened nation.

"We should act as negotiators and not as conquerors," he said.

STAR 17/12/84 304A

Tricameral Parliament gets ready for first working session

Acid test soon for plan to rule by consensus

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The new tricameral Parliament will convene a month from now for its first working session.

The occasion will be historic, not only because people of colour will take part for the first time in the deliberations of the highest forum in the land, but because a new concept of governent — by consensus — is to be attempted.

In terms of the constitution which white voters accepted overwhelmingly in the referendum of 1983, white, coloured and Indian MPs will from now on hammer out mutually-acceptable laws governing a comprehensive range of what has been termed general affairs.

These include such vitally important areas as the national finances, foreign affairs, defence, law and order, manpower, commerce and industry, and matters affecting blacks.

The theory is that representatives of each of the governing and opposition parties in the three Houses of Parliament will take their seats in 16 standing portfolio committees.

Proposed legislation will be referred to these committees after it has been introduced to Parliament and, in the words of the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, this is where all the issues will be thrashed out.

The committees are to meet behind closed doors in an attempt to remove the temptation to posture before the media.

The Government's insistence that this is a system of consensus has been challenged in several quarters, notably by academics.

There has been criticism that there can be no genuine consensus while the constitutional system allows the majority party in the white House of Assembly to impose its will.

It is able to do this despite the fact that it has a minority of the total MPs in the entire Parliament.

In terms of the order of procedure of the standing committees, the white majority party is able to outvote the combined opposition of all the other parties, including the majority parties in the coloured and Indian Houses, even though it will have only about seven of each committee's 23-odd seats.

A typical standing committee, for example, will have 11 seats representative of the (white) House of Assembly, seven seats of the (coloured) House of Representatives, and five seats of the (Indian) House of Delegates.

ARBITRATION

Of the Assembly's 11 seats, seven will be allocated to the National Party, two to the Progressive Federal Party, and one each to the Conservative Party and the New Republic Party.

Six of the seats for members of the House of Representatives will be for the Labour Party and one for the People's Congress Party.

Seats for members of the House of Delegates will be three for the National People's Party and two for Solidarity.

In the event of a committee deciding on legislation not acceptable to one or more of the Houses of Parliament, the disputed matter is referred to the President's Council for arbitration.

The President's Council, although made up of representatives of all the parties in Parliament, is none the less dominated numerically by the Assembly's majority party, which can therefore decide on any dispute in a straight vote of President's Councillors.

In his book *"South Africa and the Consociational Option"*, Professor L J Boulle of the department of public law of the University of Natal, describes these features of the constitution as counter-consociational.

"The prevalence of counter-consociational features assumes the continual breakdown of the normative procedures, and the constitution conveniently permits the unilateral regulation of conflict.

"Despite the credibility needs of the system, there will be temptations for the Government to follow this line of lesser resistance in all matters which it identifies as politically or strategically important.

CONTRAVENTION

"To the extent that there is consensual and autonomous rule, it is likely to be a concessionary and not a negotiational outcome, as was the new constitution itself."

The point is made clearly that although the dominant group may enter the process of consensus it can, and probably will, fall back on the counter-consociational institutions to get its own way.

In this process, says Professor Boulle, the will of one or two of the legislative houses and a significant proportion of the total electorate could be contravened.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, of the department of politics at the University of South Africa, says the so-called consensus of the new Parliament is nothing but "boereverneukery".

He adds that a disturbing effect of the consensus committees will be a drastic step away from democracy in that the political party congresses will no longer be the sovereign policy-makers.

"Rather than the congresses formulating party policy," says Professor Kleynhans, "it will now be in the hands of the representaives of the various parties on the committees, who will formulate, adjust and even dismantle policies as they bargain with the others.

"That may result in consensus in the committees, but it will be at the expense of consensus in each of the parties and of the parties' congresses."

He believes the devaluation of the role of the congresses will signal the collapse of broad political movements.

LOBBYISTS

He predicts that in their place there will be a flourishing of professional lobbyists, who will work on party committee representatives to protect their own sectional interests.

He also does not believe that the new system will produce genuine consensus, but rather token concessions to disguise the continued domination of the majority white group.

It will be interesting to see to what extent the National Party resists the temptation to use the potential to dominate.

The system, however, also has the potential for the dominant group to create genuine consensus by accommodating the needs and aspirations of the other parties and the wider electorate which they represent.

Local government plan outlined

Business levy tax deductible

RDM 19/12/84

304A

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. THE LEVIES TO be imposed on businesses to finance the new system of local government will be tax deductible and will not be passed on directly to the consumer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, told a Press conference yesterday.

Mr Heunis also revealed that black local authorities will benefit greatly from the proposed new sources of revenue, and will have representation on the regional services council proposed for metropolitan areas.

Yesterday's Cape Town Press conference followed Monday's meeting of the action committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government at which various recommendations of the Croeser working group were accepted.

Mr Heunis announced that autonomous black authorities would be members of regional councils — bodies for "general" affairs in metropolitan areas — just as elected white, coloured and Indian local authorities would be.

In previous proposals black local authorities were excluded from representation in regional services councils.

The additional sources of revenue will comprise:

- A "regional service levy" based on total salary and wage bills of all employers, including the public sector; and
- A "regional establishment levy" based on the sale of goods subject to GST in the case of traders, and on the basis of floor space occupied by businesses, professions and industries which do not collect GST.

According to the recommendations, taxes payable to the new regional councils will qualify as "a business cost" and will therefore be deductible from taxable profits.

Existing trading licences and all embracing levies (including transport levies) on blacks will be scrapped in the areas affected by the new levies.

According to Mr Heunis, the State will make a "significant" financial contribution to the new system by way of employees' salaries and wages and by forfeiting income tax.

The money the new levies bring in will be used for infrastructure, metropolitan transport projects — including the subsidising of transport, bus and commuter services — and the training of personnel.

It will also provide an additional source of income for all local authorities within the area of a regional services council to ease the burden on property tax and house rentals in the case of black local authorities.

A Bill incorporating the proposals will be introduced to Parliament early in the next session.

RDM 19/12/84 (304A)

The world not just the US — hits out at apartheid

HARDLY a week goes by without governments, sporting bodies, commercial organisations and cultural and academic organisations announcing steps to increase the international isolation of South Africa in pursuance of the eradication of apartheid.

Far from halting or reversing this process, the diplomatic breakthrough at Nkomati and President P W Botha's seven-nation visit to Western Europe has intensified that process by raising the level of awareness of South Africa's internal problems.

Take the second week of December as an example:

- President Ronald Reagan meets South Africa's Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu in the White House and two days later denounces human rights violations in South Africa in the strongest terms and warns that "quiet diplomacy" with Pretoria is not always enough ... the first public hint that his administration's policy of constructive engagement will have to be given more teeth.
- Norway, after awarding Bishop Tutu the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to "awaken consciences" to apartheid, signals a tougher oil and trade boycott of South Africa and initiates an international campaign for economic sanctions.
- A major Danish company announces the phasing out of coal imports from South Africa.
- Both Britain and the United States join other members of the United Nations Security Council to vote for a motion banning the import of arms and military equipment from South Africa's expanding arms export industry.
- In the United States, 120 signatories to the Sullivan Code of Conduct for businesses operating in South Africa agree informally to subscribe to a new code involving inteference in South Africa's internal policies by linking further investment to changes in Government policy.

In the United States alone there are about 40 national and regional organisations, 17 religious organisations and more than 60 campus organisations working — directly or indirectly — towards the common goal of eradicating apartheid.

In addition there are seven agencies of the United Nations involved in the fight against apartheid and South Africa's occupation of Namibia.

In the case of the United States, the most effective lobby organisations over the past decade have been Mr Randall Robinson's Washington-based Transafrica, the New York-based American Committee on Africa and the Washington Office on Africa.

At the international level the 48-nation Commonwealth — through its London-based secretariat, its Southern Africa Committee and the Southern Africa Coordinating Conference (SADCC) — and the World Council of Churches' programme to combat racism both play a major role.

Other important international organisations in the anti-apartheid network are:

- The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (which gets substantial financial aid from the Swedish government);
- The Oslo-based World Campaign against Nuclear and Military Collaboration with South Africa;
- The London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM);
- The Committee on Southern African War Resistance (Coswar), which assists refugees from conscription;
- The International Labour Organisation (ILO);
- The International Congress of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU);
- The Geneva-based United Nations High Commission on Refugees (UNHCR);
- Amnesty International (which monitors and reports on the state of human rights and political prisoners);
- Index, a London-based organisation monitoring censorship and repression;
- International Pen, the authors' association; and
- The Lincoln Trust, a counter propaganda organisation run by former South African editor Donald Woods.

Another important organisation co-ordinating action against apartheid and liaising with radical African states is Socialist International, an association of ruling and opposition socialist governments in the West.

JOHN BATTERSBY in London

On the regional front, there are groupings, such as the European Economic Community (EEC), which have working groups on South Africa and issue statements and demarches on aspects of its internal policies.

The EEC also formulated — and now monitors — the EEC Code of Conduct on businesses operating in South Africa.

There is the newly-formed 15-nation Western European Parliamentarians against Apartheid (WEPAA), which is likely to become the co-ordinating vehicle for stepping up economic pressure against South Africa and testing key areas of internal policy — such as the de-nationalisation of blacks — at the International Court of Justice.

These organisations interact and overlap with a plethora of national and local organisations in nearly 100 countries.

The undisputed leader of these national bodies — which has attained the status of an international organisation in its own right — is the London-based AAM under its president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, one of the oldest and most respected critics of apartheid.

The AAM dovetails with a mind-boggling array of British and London-based organisations actively involved in the anti-apartheid struggle.

There are groups to the Left of the AAM — and, ideologically, at odds with it — such as the British Communist Party, the Socialist Workers' Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Trotskyite Militant Tendency, which also campaign actively against South Africa but tend to have less impact on British public opinion.

Outside of Britain the strongest anti-apartheid movements are to be found in Ireland, which suffered a setback recently through too close an association with Sinn Fein, Australia (through the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation: CARE) and New Zealand, through Halt All Racist Tours (HART), an amalgamation of the New Zealand Anti-Apartheid Movement and Stop the Springbok tour of 1981.

In Western Europe the countries most actively involved in the anti-apartheid fight are Sweden, Norway and Holland, whose Governments all contribute directly to the anti-apartheid effort in their countries and, in the case of Sweden, the government contributes directly to the liberation movements.

In Belgium, the Committee against Colonialism and Apartheid and the Flemish Action Committee on Southern Africa (Akza) lead the anti-apartheid effort.

In West Germany, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been involved in a five-year court battle with the government.

There are small, anti-apartheid movements in Portugal, France and Italy, although the socialist governments in those countries tend to take a fairly strong anti-apartheid line ... in rhetoric, if not in action.

In Italy, the Committee for Solidarity Work collects substantial quantities of clothing and humanitarian aid for the ANC school in Tanzania.

There is a small, anti-apartheid movement in Switzerland.

Outside the first world, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the 100-nation Non-Aligned Conference lead the Third World fight against South Africa.

On the national level, India, the Bahamas and Guyana play a particularly active struggle in the campaign against apartheid.

The grouping of the six Frontline States — Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Botswana — have played an increasingly important role in recent years in initiating moves against South Africa at the United Nations, OAU, Commonwealth, Non-Aligned Conference (NAM) and other international forums.

In African countries, where there is no formal diplomatic relationship, governments tend to take their lead on South Africa largely from the United Nations, Commonwealth and other international organisations which have long since adopted firm and entrenched positions on South Africa.

Everyone will pay more for privilege of living in a town

Introduction of new levies will set local authorities plan into motion

STAR 19/12/84 3014A

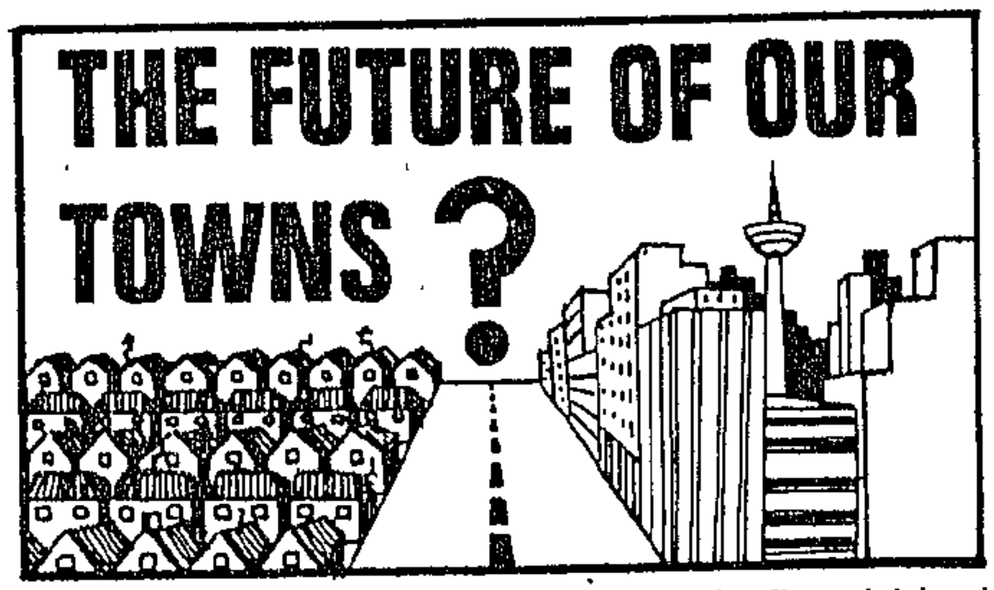
By Colleen Ryan,
Municipal Reporter

e new business taxes an-
nced yesterday by the Gov-
ment will set in motion the
nplex and controversial new
n for local authorities which
been on the drawing board
more than two years.

The Minister of Constitution-
Development and Planning,
Chris Heunis, announced
o new levies which are ex-
cted to raise at least
,3 billion a year.

The new consitution for local
vernment will affect people
different ways, but there is
e common factor — every
sident will have to pay more
the privilege of living in a
wn

In terms of the new system
be implemented gradually
om 1985, each ethnic area
ll be given autonomy and
ll be expected to function as
viable entity.



The Government has said it will not force independence where it is not economically feasible, but its long-term policy of separate towns for separate races remains.

There are enormous costs involved in creating new authorities, and a special Government committee recently completed its investigation into raising more money for local authorities.

The two new taxes will help to relieve the financial burden of local authorities, but several analysts believe this will not be enough and have predicted an increase in GST next year.

The Croeser Committee which investigated new sources of revenue for local and regional government originally proposed three company taxes — an employment levy, a trading levy and an investment levy.

The Government decided to drop the investment tax because of the difficulties involved in administering this levy, said Mr Len Dekker, director of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

The employment levy will be based on total salaries and wages paid by all employers, including the Government. The trading levy will be based on the turnover of all businesses that pay GST and on the floor space of professional firms not subject to GST.

Although politicians and local government experts sometimes violently disagree on the new constitution, they are all united on one point — vast sums of money will be needed to upgrade neglected black, coloured and Indian living areas.

"Everybody agrees the non-white population must have more services and somebody must pay for them," said Mr Dekker.

The second step in the new dispensation is the establishment of regional councils. Legislation in the form of the Regional Services Council Bill is likely to be finalised during the next session of Parliament.

In terms of the Bill the regional councils will be made up of coloured, Indian and white authorities and they will take over functions such as overall planning, road building, traffic matters and the supply of water and electricity.

The advantage of this system is that supplying a service on a bulk scale should lead to reduced costs. The system could lead to greater efficiency, particularly in areas such as fire-fighting and ambulance services.

Initially the Government planned to exclude blacks from the regional councils, but it has now agreed to give autonomous black authorities a say on the decision-making bodies.

Provincial Administrators, with the consent of central Government, will determine the make-up of regional councils. No authority will be allowed more than 50 percent of the vote and a two-thirds majority will be required for any council recommendation to be approved.

In the new system Administrators will act as the link between local authorities and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis. They will follow his directions with regard to establishing or dissolving local authorities.

Although there is still a great deal of uncertainty regarding the regional councils, it is likely the first regional council in South Africa will be established on the Witwatersrand by the end of 1985.

One aspect of the new system which could be a cause for concern to residents is the issue of secrecy. Ratepayer groups complain bitterly about secret planning in municipal councils, but under the new system they are likely to have access to even less information.

In terms of the Regional Services Council Bill, the meetings of the councils "may be closed to the public". The Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group — which is the biggest ratepayer group in the city — is worried about this aspect of the new system.

It has recommended to the Government that final approval of regional plans should remain with the full councils of local authorities.

Blundering Botha Govt leads the way downhill

STAR 19/12/84 (304A)

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

It used to be said of South Africa that it advanced by a process of political disaster and economic windfall. Not any longer. Over the past three months the Botha Government has dragged the country down with an extraordinary series of political *and* economic blunders, with no windfalls to save the day.

At mid-year the Government stood triumphant, like no other before it. Mr P W Botha had won the greatest electoral triumph in the country's history at the white referendum. He had persuaded key coloured and Indian party leaders to participate in his new constitution; radical black nationalism looked like being cut off and left to wither on the vine by the triumph of the Nkomati Accord; and the business community was eating out of the Government's hand.

Abroad, an unprecedented array of conservative governments in the most important Western countries offered us the prospect of greater international friendship and understanding than white South Africa had known at any other time since World War 2, and Mr Botha had just completed the most successful foreign tour of any Nationalist Prime Minister, with personal visits to Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Germany's Mr Helmut Kohl, and the Pope.

Since then everything has gone downhill.

We now have a constitution that has been stripped of legitimacy by its manifest lack of support in the 75 percent majority population, and the black townships in turmoil with perhaps the most serious racial unrest in our history.

The Government has managed to offend our two most important international friends, the Reagan and Thatcher governments, to give impetus to the disinvestment campaign abroad, to revive black nationalism as an internal force, to politicise the black trade unions by detaining their leaders, to erode unity of support for the Defence Force by using it for repressive police work in the black townships, and to estrange the business community by landing the country in an economic mess.

While other Western countries have brought inflation down to 5 or 6 percent — Switzerland's is 1 percent — South Africa's rate is still above 12 percent. And it is going to get worse, with the money supply allowed to increase by a disgraceful 23,1 percent over the past year and an anticipated 20 percent rise in the petrol price about to send a tidal wave of increases flooding through the economy.

Apartheid masks the true unemployment picture, but unofficial estimates put the figure at close to 3 million and rising daily.

The prime interest rate is a spectacular 24 percent and the rand has dropped to less than half its dollar value in just a couple of years.

The declining rand might have offered the opportunity of an export-led recovery, except that, as Mr Mike Rosholt pointed out this week, our inflation rate is such that we are in danger of being priced out of our export markets.

Such a record suggests a government that has lost its way. It is difficult to find a starting point in such a spiral of decline, because when things start to go wrong in an administration, one error compounds another. But if I were to pick a starting point, I would say it lay in the decision not to hold referendums on the constitution for the coloured and Indian communities. This meant, firstly, that the Government went ahead with the constitution with no measure of the strength of black opposition to it; and that the blacks themselves had no way of expressing their opposition except by way of protest and boycott.

That set the vicious cyle of demonstration and repression going and there has been no stopping it since it began in August.

The Government took the advance view, based on theory, that when it started its reforms they would lead to increased radicalism on the left and on the right and that it would have to clamp down on this to secure the reform process against increased insecurity.

This meant that when the anti-constitutionalists conducted their election boycott campaign in August, the Government did not see it as a legitimate democratic expression in the only form left available to these people, but as part of the anticipated radical onslaught against which they were resolved to take tough action.

So they hit back with the riot police and detention orders, starting the vicious cycle of action and outraged reaction that quickly spiralled to the point where the army was sent into the townships, some of the country's most respected trade union leaders were detained and now we are preparing for another treason trial spectacular.

● *Allister Sparks, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.*

100 Years Ago

From The Eastern Star

The following is an extract from a private letter received from Pretoria under date 15th December: "A number of Boers have been leaving from around here, all armed, for the border, and President Kruger is, they say, frantic, and talks about giving all their names to the Imperial Government, and calling out a Commando to stop them, but I do not believe he could raise a Commando for that purpose if he tried, as the whole country is dissatisfied and grumbling at him; in fact, we are generally in a fearful state."

New local government system to cost billions of rands

Business levies will hit man in street

STAK 19/12/84.

By Colleen Ryan,
Municipal Reporter

The Government's planned levies on businesses will help to finance the new local government system, but it will cost billions of rands to implement — and, indirectly, the money will come from the man in the street.

The most important aspects of the announcement yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, were:

- All employers and businesses, including the Government, will pay a service levy based on their total salaries and wages bill.
- Traders whose goods are subject to general sales tax will pay a levy based on a percentage of the tax they collect. Professions and industries which do not collect GST will pay a levy based on floor space.
- Autonomous black local authorities will be granted representation on the proposed new regional councils. This is a major breakthrough because the original plan catered only for white, coloured and Indian representation.

Personnel training

"Consumers will not pay directly, but businessmen will have to recover this money somehow," said Mr Nigel Mandy, chairman of the Central Business District Association.

He welcomed the concession to allow black local authorities representation on regional councils. He also said the two levies were "a vast improvement" on the original tax proposals.

The money will be used to pay for services such as transport, improving the infrastructure in black, coloured and Indian urban areas, and for training personnel.

The announcement by Mr Heunis followed a meeting of the action committee of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Bodies.

Legislation is being drafted for presentation to Parliament next year to give effect to the levies.

Sapa reports that the existing commercial licence monies and general levies on black employees, including transport levies, will expire.

It has also been recommended that none of the levies be conveyed to the consumer. However, the taxes payable to regional councils will qualify as a business cost and thus will be deductible for income tax purposes.

The new levies could bring in as much as R1 300 million a year, said Mr Heunis.

The proposals were received favourably by the chairman of the Johannesburg City Council's management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer.

He said developing black areas had had to rely on rentals as the sole source of income till now, and this was a very unreliable source.

Payroll tax

The general manager of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, Mr Ken Hobson, said the chamber was totally opposed to the new taxes.

He said the payroll tax would aggravate unemployment and the regional establishment levy would increase costs — and therefore prices.

The taxes would be costly to administer, he added.

The deputy president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr Rocky Ridgeway, said it was most important that any new taxation that took money from the consumer should ensure that the money was replaced.

While the devolution of power to the third tier of government was a good thing, care should be taken not to impose a heavy burden on companies struggling to survive the recession.

● See Page 7, World section.

New levies 'may hit SA hard'

Growing fears on economy

RDM 20/12/84

304A

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

CONCERN mounted yesterday in opposition and business circles that the Government's latest proposals for financing local authorities could cause further setbacks to South Africa's ailing economy.

Two of the Progressive Federal Party's most senior finance spokesman slammed some of the moves, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce expressed concern that the overall tax burden would be unfairly increased.

Additional sources of revenue for local authorities were announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town on Tuesday.

They included a levy on salaries and wages, a levy on GST collected, and a levy on floor space occupied by professions and industries not collecting GST.

The PFP's Transvaal leader and finance spokesman in the Transvaal Provincial Council, Mr Douglas Gibson, said in a statement yesterday that the proposals indicated that the Nationalists were unable to think rationally about the economic situation in South Africa.

The proposed "payroll tax" could lead to increased unemployment at a time when the country could least afford it, he said.

The party's parliamentary finance spokesman and MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, expressed "serious doubts" about levies based on salaries.

The proposed measures acted as a disincentive in the areas in which it was easiest to create jobs.

"The payment by the public sector of a tax on its own employees merely means the taxpayer must finance this payment, and is really a State subsidy which increases Government expenditure," he said.

The levy on goods subject to GST and a tax on floor space by those not paying GST amounted to an increase in GST at a time

when inflation was a major problem.

Mr Gibosn said the payroll tax penalised employers and discouraged them from offering employment at a time when unemployment was running high, and the indications were that it would increase in the next year or so.

"In a country like South Africa, the Government should be doing everything possible to assist in the creation of job opportunities. The last thing it should be doing is making it more difficult for employers to keep people in jobs," he said.

Although employers had been told that the payroll tax would be tax-deductible, it was probable that they would pass it on to consumers, which would have the same effect as an increase in GST, he said.

The proposals had not been referred to or debated by Provincial Councils which had a special interest in local government. This neglect was reflected in the "half-baked" proposals put foward on Tuesday, Mr Gibson said.

The president of Assocom, Mr Michael Weir, said the proposed additional burdens on the private sector were "inopportune and ill-timed".

"Although Assocom fully

☐ To Page 2

RDM 20/12/84

'More may lose jobs'

☐ From Page 1

supports the principle of optimal devolution of power and decision-making authority to the appropriate organs of local and regional government and recognises that funds are required to finance urgently-needed improvements to infrastructure, local services and urban transportation, the association nevertheless considers the imposition of additional tax burdens on the private sector to be inopportune and ill-timed in the light of the current economic recession," he said.

Both Mr Weir and Mr Schwarz believed the additional tax proposals should have been referred to the Margo Commission on tax structures.

"Assocom is further of the view that any additional forms of taxation should be offset by corresponding reductions in other sources of public sector revenue so as to obviate an overall increase in the tax burden on the community.

"The new taxes will inevitably lead to increased costs and higher prices as the business community cannot be expected to fully absorb the levies against already hard-pressed profit margins," Mr Weir said.

However, Mr Heunis' announcement that blacks would be included on the proposed regional services councils was welcomed by most political spokesmen and observers yesterday.

Union body to step up anti-SA protest action

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Correspondent

THE premier union federation in the West is to seek an emergency meeting of Western unions to plan stepped up action in protest against South African police action against unionists and Government labour policies generally.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), which brings together national union federations in many Western countries, is also planning to step up its own anti-apartheid action and to seek tougher action by Western governments against apartheid.

This emerges from a resolution adopted by the ICFTU's executive board.

Among the measures it suggests is a toughening and expansion of the European Economic Community's labour code for foreign companies operating here.

It also demands that the Government begin "an immediate and unconditional conference" with black leaders.

The resolution authorises the ICFTU's general secretary to organise "an emergency international free trade union conference" to plan "further action to obtain the release of all detained trade unionists and compliance with internationally recognised standards".

Pupils, parents to

D Dispatch 20/12/84

MP, guests refused service

BLOEMFONTEIN — A member of the House of Representatives and two lunch guests, a coloured and a white reporter, were asked to leave a Bloemfontein restaurant yesterday because it lacked permission to serve people other than whites.

Mr Ben Grobbler (MP for Heidedal) and two Volksblad reporters, Mr Clarence Henney and Mr Thinus Dempsey, were shown to a table by a steak house manager, who asked them to leave shortly afterwards because he did not have the necessary licence. He did not want problems, he explained.

The men were allowed to eat their meal in another restaurant.

Mr Grobbler said there could be no worse insult than to be asked to leave a restaurant on account of one's skin colour.

"Coloureds try to make a positive contribution towards the country's future but are often exposed to such discriminatory practice," he said.

Mr Dempsey, the white reporter, said the incident was very embarrassing and had made him understand how people of colour felt when turned away at public places. — SAPA.

CAPE TIMES 20/12/84

Levy plan opposition mounting

CONCERN mounted yesterday in opposition and business circles that the government's latest proposals for financing local authorities could cause further setbacks to South Africa's ailing economy.

Two of the Progressive Federal Party's most senior finance spokesman criticized some of the moves, and the Associated Chambers of Commerce and the Federated Chamber of Industry expressed concern that the overall tax burden would be unfairly increased.

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Rationally

They included a levy on salaries and wages, a levy on GST collected and a levy on floor space occupied by professions and industries not collecting GST.

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The proposed measures acted as a disincentive in the areas in which it was easiest to create jobs.

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Mr Gibson said the payroll tax penalized employers and discouraged them from offering employment at a time when unemployment was running high and the indications were that it would increase in the next year or so.

Although employers had been told that the payroll tax would be tax-deductable, it was probable that they would pass it on to consumers, which would have the same affect as an increase in GST, Mr Gibson said.

Offset

The president of Assocom, Mr Michael Weir, said the proposed additional burdens on the private sector were "inopportune and ill-timed in the light of the current economic recession".

Mr Weir, Mr Schwarz and the FCI's president, Mr John Wilson, believed the additional tax proposals should have

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CAPE TIMES 20/12/84

From page 1

been referred to the Margo Commission on tax structures.

"Assocom is further of the view that any additional forms of taxation should be offset by corresponding reductions in other sources of public sector revefiue so as to obviate an overall increase in the tax burden on the community."

Mr Wilson said the FCI acknowldeged the need to find a formula to put black community councils especially on a sound financial basis.

"However, the further imposition of taxes on employers comes as another body blow to the economy," he added.

"It is regrettable that the authorities have again moved ahead of the Margo Commission presently investigating the country's tax structure and the overall burden of taxation."

Mr Heunis's announcement that blacks would be included on the proposed regional services councils was welcomed by most political spokesmen and observers yesterday. — Municipal Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

THE ANC

Dialogue talk grows

Is the way being prepared for talks between government — or at least senior National Party (NP) members — and the banned African National Congress (ANC)? Unlikely as the idea may seem, the stance of the most influential Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*, suggests something is in the wind.

In an unprecedented move, *Beeld* sent its assistant editor and head of its Pretoria office, Piet Muller, to Lusaka for a five-hour meeting with senior leaders of the ANC. The result was two long articles concluding that if a meeting between the ANC and the SA government took place "there will be enough things on which a fruitful discussion over a wide front can be held."

NP sources tell the *FM* that direct talks between government and the ANC are "out of the question" for the foreseeable future. According to one source: "Government has nothing concrete to give the ANC. There is no indication that government is about to go further than semi-autonomous black local and regional authorities — or to abandon homeland leaders and its new friendship with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. And then there is the rightwing to think of."

However, it is not impossible that secret meetings could be held at least between some leaders of the ANC and prominent NP supporters, especially academics, who would then report to the NP leadership. Similar meetings with Inkatha preceded President P W Botha's recent rapprochement with Buthelezi. However, meaningful dialogue between government and the ANC would probably only be possible if the ANC was unbanned and its leaders released from prison.

Why should government talk to the ANC at all? There are some signs that 1985 could one of the most traumatic years in recent SA history — with a sharp increase in labour unrest and growing external pressures. And that could speed up any movement towards dialogue. A mediatory role by Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who is believed to have been involved in Muller's meeting, could also help.



ANC's Oliver Tambo . . . should Pretoria talk to him?

Beeld commented on the issue in an editorial headed "Talk it out." It said that the question of talks between government and extra-parliamentary groups (like Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF) touch a raw nerve in SA politics. Talking to groups who want to change the country outside existing political channels could undermine the position of the present authorities, it argued.

Not represented

"But when significant numbers of citizens are not represented directly in the political bodies of a country, the picture changes somewhat. Then a sensible government also has a duty to listen to voices that sometimes sound from unorthodox places; otherwise it runs the risk of not receiving important messages in time.

"One of the biggest problems is to decide when the time is 'ripe' for such talks. Unfortunately, people only understand afterwards what opportunities they have missed. History is full of examples of tragedies as a result of missed opportunities . . .

"It takes courage and conviction for a government to start talks with extra-parliamentary groups, even if such talks are held in secret. Still, the mere possibility of such talks will give millions of people new hope for the future. A future that is acceptable to all can only be planned by all together."

In his reports, Muller said SA's northern neighbours are holding thumbs that such talks will be possible, since peace can only come about if the Afrikaners and the ANC reach agreement. There are leaders in the ANC who want dialogue with government, he found.

Muller also found support for federalism among ANC leaders and for President Botha's proposed division of the country into eight regions for economic development. Although they reject the homeland policy, Muller believes a "fruitful dialogue" on the issue is not impossible.

He writes that one issue on which harsh words would be exchanged is the economy: "As the NP believed two decades ago, the ANC believes that the State should control the economy and crack down on monopolies. In fact, the ANC's economic policies show remarkable similarities to those of the HNP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging."

By calling for talks between government and the ANC, *Beeld* has added its voice to those of Peter Storey of the Methodist Church; Stellenbosch University philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse; Premier Milling chairman Tony Bloom; the SA Institute of Race Relations; and the Reformed Association, a Calvinist Afrikaner body.

ber 30 ended with employees either being dismissed or returning to work without achieving gains. Last year, nearly three-quarters of strikes achieved at least partial gains.

Both organisations acknowledge their statistics are incomplete as many strikes are never publicised. They have, however, continued using the same sources and methodologies so that comparisons between 1984 and previous years are valid.

While their figures differ slightly it is clear from information provided by both organisations that strikes triggered by wage disputes increased markedly. According to ALA, 49% of strikes in the first 11 months of 1984 were due to wage disputes compared to 34,4% in the period 1979-1983. IIR data identify wages as the trigger for 40,6% of strikes in the current period compared to 28,6% in 1983. The proportion of strikes triggered by dismissals and other grievances fell substantially.

The far higher incidence of strikes combined with the greater number of union defeats illustrates increasing polarisation between employers and workers on the shopfloor. This hardline approach by both sides was probably reinforced by the economic recession.

There has been upward pressure on wages from employees who are being hard hit by inflation and retrenchments — which have meant that employed workers have had to support unemployed family members. At the same time, falling profits in many sectors caused wage offers from employers to fall short of worker expectations.

If there is any silver lining to the strike cloud it is the relative decrease in strikes caused by dismissals and other grievances. Procedures negotiated between employers and unions for dealing with these issues appear to be working.

According to ALA, the sectors most affected by strikes so far in 1984 in terms of man-days lost were retail and commerce, metals, food, mining and the automobile industry. The five most strike-prone unions in 1984 were the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union; Metal and Allied Workers' Union; the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM); National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union; and the SA Allied Workers' Union.

Federation of SA Trade Unions (Fosatu) members account for 37,6% of man-days lost in 1984 (compared to 65,1% in the five years 1979-1983). This decline is probably a function of Fosatu's greater use of the Industrial Court and other Labour Relations Act channels in resolving disputes.

The Council of Unions of SA (Cusa) contributed 20,9% (7,7%) of the lost days. The increase is almost entirely due to the activities of the NUM. Of the remainder, 41,5% (27,1%) of man-days lost involved non-affiliated unions.

There is no change in the long-term trend whereby nearly half of the strikes (47,5%) which occurred during 1984 were over in less than a day. However, ALA's statistics show that if strikes were not resolved on the first day they were likely to last three to five days. Few lasted longer than this. In most cases the lengthier strikes involved Fosatu unions.

According to the IIR, 48,7% of 1984's strikes occurred in the PWV area (75,5 in 1983) and 27,7% (11,7%) in Natal. There was a substantial increase in strikes in parts of the Transvaal away from the main centres — 11,4% in 1984 compared to 2,6% in 1983. The Cape and the OFS remain relatively free of industrial action, with about 12% of strikes occurring in these areas in both years.

□ The *FM* was unable to obtain statistics from the Department of Manpower.

THE CONSTITUTION

Who does what

It should be known soon precisely how effective coloured and Indian politicians in the tricameral parliament will be at dismantling apartheid.

None has yet revealed a legislative programme for "own affairs," let alone a strategy to scrap discrimination. At this stage, the remark by coloured House of Representatives' leader, Allen Hendrickse, seems to apply: "A good general never reveals his strategy."

From a legislative point of view, says Indian House of Delegates leader and Minister-without-Portfolio, Amichand Rajbansi, "Own affairs makes up about 1% of parliamentary business. So what is there we can do?

"There is education and housing and so on," he adds, "but these are subject to general (affairs) norms under the white Ministers." In any event, "we don't know if we'll be ready" to tackle all "own" affairs issues when Parliament assembles in January The reason is that much remains to be done to disentangle specifically Indian and coloured components from control by existing government departments.

Rajbansi rejects criticism of his and Hendrickse's silence on key issues when, as Cabinet ministers, they have an excellent platform. He says he is engaged in "silent negotiation with government. What do you expect us to do, make confrontational statements to grab newspaper headlines?"

Rajbansi says his undertaking to end apartheid remains. "We will oppose everything that's discriminatory," he says, adding that he does not feel hampered by his role in the Cabinet. He and Hendrickse have a special dispensation not to take joint responsibility for contentious legislation.

"There is a commitment on the part of the government to change," he emphasises. In addition, trail-blazing legislation need not necessarily come from him as a Cabinet minister, but may be initiated in joint standing committees.

Asked whether he had been consulted on the release of detainees, specifically the Durban consulate three, Rajbansi had "no comment."

At least the Indian House promises some fireworks — of a strictly ethnic variety. This will centre on the growing acrimony between Rajbansi's National People's Party and the opposition Solidarity Party's most outspoken leader, Pat Poovalingam. Rajbansi plans to give Poovalingam a very rough ride in the House of Delegates



Rajabansi ... opposing apartheid from within

TRADE UNIONS

Garment unity move

The first steps have been taken towards consolidating SA's garment workers into a single national trade union. The separate Garment Workers Unions in the western Cape, Transvaal, the eastern Cape, and in Kimberley and Kroonstad, have agreed to form a single body which will be based in Cape Town, the centre of the clothing industry.

Excluded from the new deal for the moment are the Johannesburg-based National Union of Clothing Workers, with some 20 000 members, and the 50 000-strong Natal region of the Garment Workers' Union.

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THE CONSTITUTION (304A)

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FM 21/12/84

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Rajabansi ... opposing apartheid from within

Equal political rights for blacks will not end unrest in townships —

Forty-three percent of respondents in a Human Sciences Research Council survey on whites' attitudes were in favour of the Government negotiating with the banned African National Congress; 44 percent were against. Other results of the survey, released in Pretoria today, show nearly 75 percent of respondents did not agree that only equal political rights for blacks would end unrest in black townships ... which 71 percent agreed would happen again. Nearly 42 percent agre unrest would result in increasingly refusing t more rights; 43 percent

STAR 21/12/84 304 7

Survey shows split on whether there should be talks with ANC

By Andrew Beattie, Pretoria Bureau

The result of a survey of white opinion on whether the Government ought to negotiate with the African National Congress is most interesting and a great surprise, says survey head researcher Dr Nic Rhoodie.

The survey, by the Human Sciences Research Council, involved white perceptions of the coloured and Indian elections and recent unrest.

Dr Rhoodie said the finding on negotiations between the Government and the ANC was by far the most significant.

It is to be the subject of a further survey in February.

"We expected the vast majority to come out against negotiations with the ANC," added Dr Rhoodie.

"We intend to conduct extensive research into this question, which is naturally of immense significance, as it is often possible to come to conclusions based on statistics through sheer coincidence."

The survey was conducted on four evenings in September among a random sample of 815 whites aged 18 and over throughout the country.

Dr Rhoodie said open-ended questions were put, so as to obtain the most accurate expression of views.

He added that this was a more accurate way of establishing opinions than giving a list of possible answers to enable respondents to tick off choices.

"Of course it is not for us to say how the government should react to this finding," said Dr Rhoodie.

"That is up to the decision-makers."

The significance of surveys of this nature was debatable however, said Mr Rob Lambert, a senior lecturer in Industrial Sociology at the University of Natal.

"It is difficult to attach weight to attitudes that hang in a vacuum and surveys like this have their main value in that they stimulate questions," he went on.

"A great deal of further research is needed to place these findings in their true prespective.

"For example it would be of greater relevance if the finding stated exactly which socio-economic group most of the 42,9 percent in favour of negotiations fell into.

"If they were businessmen who were now starting to debate these questions the finding would be of immense significance."

★ ★ ★

Almost 70 percent of respondents in the survey believed the Defence Force's massive Thunder Chariot military exercise in September was necessary at the time despite sharp criticism on economic grounds by the media.

Project leader Dr Nic Rhoodie said 15,5 percent of the total sample had rejected the operation on economic grounds.

"South Africa's current economic difficulties can basically be regarded as the only reason why some respondents did not approve of the operation," he added.

"Because of the sharp criticism of the exercise on economic grounds by the media it was expected that the percentage of whites who believed it was unnecessary would be considerably higher."

The data confirmed several earlier research findings that the majority of whites were prepared to pay a high price for their safety ... and therefore for an alert Defence Force, Dr Rhoodie went on.

Operation Thunder Chariot was carried out at the Lohatla military grounds in the Northern Cape at a cost of millions of rands. — Sapa.

★ ★ ★

The survey has brought caustic comments from opposition leaders.

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d unrest in townships — HSRC report

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The survey has brought caustic comments from opposition leaders.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said the finding that white public opinion was roughly split down the middle over whether the government should negotiate with the African National Congress was a sign of promise for the New Year.

She added that this finding was not surprising as most whites were probably ahead of the Government in their thinking and realised that to solve South Africa's problems it was necessary to get to the negotiating table.

Violence would get South Africa nowhere.

Slamming the findings, the United Democratic Front stated that the Human Sciences Research Council had mastered the art of using so-called scientific methods to prove their starting point, namely that the actions of the State were in line with public opinion.

"However," the United Democratic Front continued, "the opinion which they rely on is purely white, and probably conservative white opinion.

"The conclusions drawn from the survey clearly show that those interviewed lead lives of absolute isolation and complete ignorance of the views, aspirations and demands of the majority of South Africans.



The survey leader . . . Dr Nic Rhoodie.

Whites split over talks, but favour ANC

43 pc favour talks, but 44 pc say NO

By Andrew Beattie,
Pretoria Bureau

White public opinion is split down the middle over the question of whether the time is ripe for negotiations between the Government and the outlawed African National Congress.

Of whites over 18 years of age polled recently, 43 percent favoured negotiations but 44 percent were against.

This was one of the major findings of a national survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) of whites' perceptions of the coloured and Indian elections and the recent unrest in black urban areas.

Other results of the survey, released in Pretoria today, showed that nearly 75 percent of the respondents did not believe that nothing short of equal political rights for blacks would end the unrest in black townships — which 71 percent agreed would happen again.

Nearly 42 percent agreed that unrest would result in whites refusing increasingly to give blacks more rights. Forty-three percent disagreed with this view.

The survey, headed by Dr Nic Rhoodie, revealed that 42,9 percent of people contacted in a telephone poll in September were in favour of negotiations with the ANC and 43,9 percent against. A minority 13,3 percent were uncertain.

Of those in favour of negotiations, the largest percentage believed they were "important to ensure peace". Of those against, almost a third linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

Black majority rule

On reactions to the recent unrest, 41,7 percent agreed that black unrest would result in whites refusing increasingly to give blacks more rights. Roughly the same proportion (43,4 percent) disagreed.

Only 3,3 percent of the survey sample said they would be prepared to accept a black majority government, and roughly three-quarters disagreed that only equal political rights for blacks would end unrest.

Questioned on the role of the police in riot control, only 5,2 percent evaluated their action as "too hard", 43,3 percent said it was "too soft", and 41,5 percent said it was "just strong enough".

A third of the respondents expected terrorism to increase despite the recent peace initiatives in Southern Africa, while a third expected it to decrease. The others expected it to remain constant.

On the low percentage polls in the recent coloured and Indian elections, 14,4 percent attributed the result to the voters' rejection of the new constitution, 35 percent attributed it to "apathy and ignorance", and 30,7 percent regarded "intimidation and propaganda by radical anti-Government groups" as the cause.

Half the respondents disagreed with the proposition that the respective 70 and 80 percent of the coloured people and Indians who did not vote rejected the new constitution, while 36,4 percent believed that they did.

The report noted that the percentage who did not agree the constitution had failed, and that the low polls did not mean coloured people and Indians did not want to co-operate with whites, corresponded with the two-thirds "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

● Government sources today denied a *City Press* report that four top National Party MPs are to hold talks with the ANC in January. The report claimed to be based on a tip-off from a Netherlands diplomat.

● See Page 9.

Will Mandela be freed?

SA-ANC talks on the horizon

RDM 22/12/84 304A

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THE prospect of talks between the Government and the African National Congress in the new year to seek a solution to South Africa's political dilemma was strengthened yesterday by three important developments:

- It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives;
- A Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that 43% of whites interviewed favoured Government contact with the ANC, although 43% were against such a move; and
- An academic survey showed that the majority of students at homeland universities supported the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

In Johannesburg, City Press reported that four Nationalist MPs were planning to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka early in January. The four MPs were not named.

The report was sourced to an unnamed Dutch diplomat who visited South Africa recently.

The State Presient and leader of the NP, Mr P W Botha, was unavailable for comment yesterday, but a number of other senior Cabinet Ministers denied the report.

However, some observers believed the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country's problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the Government is seriously considering releasing Nelson Mandela early in the new year.

It was also realiably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organisation in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the Government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the Government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa's problems.

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly Cabinet Ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organisation.

It was speculated yesterday that if the report of the January meeting between Nat MPs and ANC representatives was correct, it would probably involve some of the so-called verligte backbenchers in the party and certainly not anyone with party rank.

The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 815 whites over

☐ To Page 2

Vote goes to Mandela

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☐ From Page 1

the age of 18.

Some observers believed the relatively favourable attitude towards the ANC was significant because there has been no conditioning of whites to the acceptance of talks with the ANC, other than the Beeld articles and subtle hints by other Nationalist media.

According to the survey, of those in favour of negotiations with the ANC, 24% said their reason was to ensure peace, 17% said communication with the ANC was important, 14% said they wanted a solution to the problem, 11% said it was "at least worth an effort" and 10% said their reason was "to come to an agreement" with the organisation.

Of those opposed to the idea of negotiations, 31,4% linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

The Mail Correspondent reports from Cape Town that high levels of support for the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela had been found among students at five homeland universities.

It was conducted among 896 students between 1980 and 1983 by Professor Gerhard Totemeyer, a visiting professor at the University of Cape Town.

Prof Totemeyer also found more support for the PFP than for the Pan Africanist Congress and Inkatha.

Mandela easily topped the list as the most popular politician, followed by Bishop Desmond Tutu.

D. Unposted 12/12/84

Rajbansi speaks against detentions

CAPE TOWN — The sole Indian member of the cabinet, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has spoken out against the government's policy of detention without trial.

The leader of the National People's Party, who is a member of the cabinet by virtue of his chairmanship of the Indian minister's council, said that all remaining detainees in South African prisons should either be charged or released.

Mr Rajbansi was reacting to the government's decision this week to release detainees under section 28 of the Internal Security Act.

The minister welcomed the latest move as "very encouraging", but emphasized that he stood by the policy of his party rather than that of the government when it came to the issue of detention without trial.

"The policy of my party opposes detention without trial and even though I am a member of the cabinet, I cannot deviate from this policy."

In taking this stand, Mr Rajbansi becomes the first person of colour in the cabinet to openly differ with government policy on a significant issue.

The leader of the Labour Party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, who is also a cabinet minister, has not been available for comment on the issue. However, as has been the case with most other contentious political issues since joining the cabinet, he has not issued a statement on the subject.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi have been subjected to growing criticism in recent months for their "deafening silence" on controversial issues like forced removals and detentions which significantly affect the communities they represent.

Although their parties strongly criticised several of the government's apartheid policies in the run-up to the August elections, both men are now effectively part of the government as well as being leaders of parties professing opposition to National Party ideology.

Both are also bound by the principle of joint cabinet responsibility and are obliged to get the consent of the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, before publicly differing with government policy.

This has routinely produced some awkward silences in the face of controversial government actions that extra-parliamentary political groups have been at pains to highlight. — DDC

TOP NAT MPs TO MEET ANC

304A

C.Pres 23/12/84

FOUR National Party Members of Parliament will travel to Lusaka in January to hold talks with the African National Congress.

From THE PRESS TRUST OF SA

The names of the MPs have not been released — but the trip follows recent reports that the South African Government is preparing the white community — especially Afrikaners — for a possible meeting of the outlawed liberation movement.

A Dutch diplomat visiting SA this week confirmed that four MPs will be sent by the National Party to talk to the ANC early in January.

The diplomat said it seemed the Government was now serious about opening dialogue with the ANC, which was banned in 1961.

"Pretoria realises there can never be peace and development in South Africa while organisations such as the ANC are ignored.

"The Government realises the ANC commands a great deal of support among the black people and among some whites.

"It therefore wants to create the right climate for talks with the organisation's leadership," he said.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Terror Lekota agreed, saying it was a "sensible thing" for the Government to do.

"We have always maintained that the Government must start talking to the black leaders and organisations who really matter.

"In South African politics there is no way organisations such as the ANC can be ignored.

"We sincerely hope the Government starts negotiating with the ANC so that a climate of goodwill can be created."

This week's development follows a recent visit to Lusaka by senior Afrikaans journalist Piet Muller, to interview the ANC.

Rapport editor Wimpie de Klerk has called for the Government to talk to imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and Potchefstroom University Professor Ben van der Walt urged the Government to talk to "extra-parliamentary organisations" such as the UDF and the ANC.

POLITICS

to govt talks with ANC

Cape Times 22/12/84

3044

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The prospect of talks between the government and the African National Congress in the new year to seek a solution to South Africa's political dilemma was strengthened yesterday by three important developments.

● It was reported that a group of Nationalist MPs would travel to Lusaka next month to meet ANC representatives.

● A Human Sciences Research Council survey showed that 43 percent of whites interviewed favoured government contact with the ANC, although 44 percent were against such a move.

● An academic survey showed that the majority of students at homeland universities supported the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

In Johannesburg, City Press reported that four Nationalist MPs were planning to have talks with the ANC in Lusaka early in January The four MPs were not named.

The report was sourced to an unnamed Dutch diplomat who visited South Africa recently.

NP lobby

The State President and leader of the NP, Mr P W Botha, was not available for comment yesterday, but a number of other senior cabinet ministers denied the report.

However, some observers believe the report was in line with clear indications in recent weeks that there is a growing lobby within the NP which favours talks with the ANC as a solution to the country's problems.

At the same time, there are growing rumours that the government is seriously considering releasing the imprisoned ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, early in the new year.

It was also reliably learnt recently that a significant number of a group of NP youth leaders who met in Pretoria earlier this year favoured direct contacts with the ANC.

Interview

Earlier this month a leading Nationalist newspaper, Beeld, published articles about the ANC after a five-hour interview with representatives of the organization in Lusaka. Beeld also called for talks between the ANC and the government.

There is a growing feeling in some Nationalist circles that the government must negotiate with the ANC to solve South Africa's problems.

Subtle hints

It is widely suspected that some Nationalist MPs — and possibly cabinet ministers — have already had informal secret contacts with representatives of the organization.

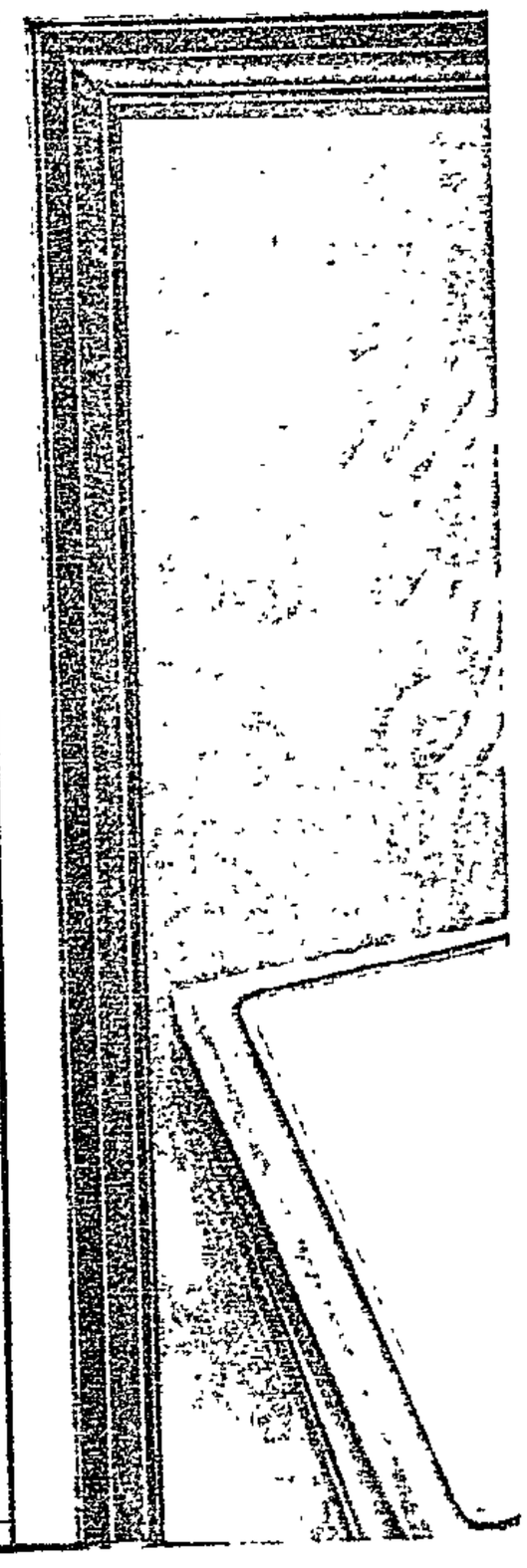
The HSRC report released in Pretoria yesterday was a survey of the attitudes of 815 whites over the age of 18.

Some observers believed the relatively favourable attitude towards the ANC was significant, because there has been no conditioning of whites to the acceptance of talks with the ANC other than the Beeld articles and subtle hints by other Nationalist media.

According to the survey, of those in favour of negotiations with the ANC, 24 percent said their reason was to ensure peace, 17 percent that communication with the ANC was important, 14 percent to find a solution to the problem, 11 percent said it was "at least worth an effort" and 10 percent said their reason was "to come to an agreement" with the organization.

Of those opposed to the idea of negotiations, 31.4 percent linked the ANC to communism, violence and terrorism.

● Students back Mandela, page 2



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CHIF TIMES 22/12/84

Municipal staff get reprieve

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government has granted a temporary reprieve to thousands of municipal staff in country towns threatened with substantial pay and perks cuts.

The cuts — which would reduce the take-home pay of some senior municipal officials by more than one-third in terms of the new Remuneration of Town Clerks Act — set the stage for a major confrontation between government and municipal councils.

Some councils have been so outraged by the Act, which came into force on November 1, that they reportedly refused point-blank to obey a directive on the cuts issued by the Department of Consititutional Development and Planning.

An advisory committee set up by Mr Chris Heunis to look into the issue met in Cape Town this week and the minister announced that section 12 of the new Act would be postponed to the end of this month to allow new recommendations to be formulated.

The municipal staff in country towns have been particularly badly hit by the provisions of the new legislation because it directly undercut other incentive schemes aimed at attracting qualified staff to country districts.

Apparently the advisory committee which assisted the government in drafting the Act was ignorant of the various extra allowance schemes, and the committee will now be submitting new recommendations to Mr Heunis.

Mr Heunis said he would then be in a position to make a full statement on the issue.

The original departmental directive, which reached many local authorities two weeks after it was meant to take effect, led some employees to consider suing for damages.

Others inundated the department with calls of protest and asked for a postponement of the provisions of the Remuneration of Town Clerks Act until the implications of the contentious legislation had been thoroughly evaluated.

The Act transfers from the provinces to the government the power to set the maximum remuneration, in terms of pay and service, of town clerks.

It also effectively gives the government the power to set the salaries of other senior officials who by-and-large cannot be paid more than a set percentage of the remuneration received by the town clerk.

CAPE TIMES 304A

Monday, December 24, 1984

NP, ANC deny contact rumour

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — With both the African National Congress and the National Party this weekend quashing rumours of any planned contact in the new year, a Cape Town academic is pressing on with moves to bring about dialogue with the ANC.

He is Professor Harvey van der Merwe, director of the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, who arranged the recent trip to Lusaka of a Beeld journalist, Dr Piet Muller.

Professor Van der Merwe — who sees himself as a "peace-maker" — is paving the way for meetings between the ANC and various academics, business leaders and church leaders in the new year.

Professor Van der Merwe has been a central mover behind the recent calls for dialogue with the banned and exiled ANC from within the establishment — which has included Beeld.

These calls have fuelled widespread speculation that the government is preparing to meet with the ANC.

The feeling in some political and academic circles is that the idea of a meeting with the ANC is being "floated" to gauge white public opinion and at the same time prepare whites for future, as yet unplanned, talks with the ANC.

On Friday, the black weekly City Press reported that four NP MPs would travel to Lusaka to meet ANC representatives. The report was sourced to an anonymous Dutch diplomat.

At the weekend, Mr P W Botha, the State President, said no NP MPs would be allowed to hold talks with the ANC, while the ANC said from Lusaka that no such talks were planned.

The ANC categorically denied the City Press story and said the reports were "pure speculation" resulting from hopes built up following Dr Muller's visit.

Mr Botha said no National Party MPs would be allowed to hold talks with organizations engaged in promoting violence in South Africa and "no parliamentarians or the government will be allowed to do so".

Professor Van der Merwe said that while he understood Mr Botha's position, this did not mean discussions could be ruled out, as the government was not a unitarian structure.

"There is a lot of scope for meetings between the ANC and establishment-oriented business leaders, church leaders and academics."

Professor Van der Merwe — who is aiming to act merely as a "mediator" in such meetings — said he had had nothing to do with the rumour of a trip by Nat MPs.

Machel's SA attack over Nkomati 'stalemate'

LISBON—Mozambique has publicly accused South Africa of breaking the Nkomati Accord, and of keeping up support for rebels seeking to topple the Government of President Samora Machel.

An article in yesterday's edition of the State-run Mozambican newspaper Noticias said South Africa had violated the crucial third article in the accord initialled by Mr Machel and South African President P W Botha on March 16 at the town of Nkomati on the two nations' common border.

The Nkomati Accord pledged Mozambique and South Africa to halt all support for rebel movements fighting each other's governments.

The article was signed by Noticias editor Mario Ferro in a clear indication of the Mozambican Government's anger over continuing attacks and sabotage actions by the rebel Mozambican National Resistance (M N R), since the accord and last month's breakdown of South African-brokered peace talks with the guerillas.

In a dispatch from Maputo, the Mozambican capital, the Portuguese news agency Anop said Mr Ferro's article also documented foreign Press reports of alleged continuing South African aid to the M N R.

Opinion expressed in Noticias normally follows that of Mr Machel's Frelimo Government.

Survival

The article appeared two days after Mr Machel lashed out at Portuguese tolerance of rebel diplomatic activity in Lisbon and laid blame for the M N R's survival on South Africa.

Speaking at a rally in the town of Manhica, 80 km north-east of Maputo, he said the rebels had a 'great advertising office is in Lisbon' and rebuffed official Portuguese arguments the Lisbon Government is unaware of M N R activities as 'naive'.

'What sort of government is this that cannot control its citizens?' Mr Machel asked at the rally, according to a dispatch carried by Aim, Mozambique's national news agency.

'But we are not fooled,' Mr Machel said. 'The key to the problem of terrorism in Mozambique lies with South Africa. That is why we signed the Nkomati Accord with them.'

The South African Government, he said, continues to 'sustain, develop, equip, infiltrate (into Mozambican territory) and supply' the rebels.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that South Africa is expected to launch a strong initiative early next week to save the Nkomati Accord following President Machel's speech.

It was the strongest attack on the South African Government by President Machel since Nkomati was signed in March.

South African-sponsored peace talks between the rebels and the Mozambique Government collapsed last month.

Collapse

Although talks between the three parties have been continuing since the collapse of the latest peace initiative, they appear to have achieved very little.

President Machel's accusations seemed to indicate a loss of patience with Pretoria and its efforts to secure peace.

In a further development affecting regional peace, it was reported from Maputo on Tuesday that the Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos also expressed concern about the success of the Lusaka agreement aimed at ending the conflict on the South West African front.

President dos Santos has just completed a visit to Mozambique.

The South Africa Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Mr Botha warned in Parliament earlier this year that the collapse of Nkomati could seriously threaten peace in southern Africa.

SD Dispatch 21/12/84 (3048)

Claim against Solidarity Party refused

DURBAN — An application for summary judgment against the Indian political party, Solidarity, by a Pretoria computer company that claims it is owed R17 664 for canvassing cards, was refused in the Durban Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Acting Justice Galgut gave Solidarity leave to defend. Costs were reserved.

Infomann (Pty) claim they are owed the money for canvassing cards they printed at the request of Solidarity in June.

The national secretary of Solidarity, Mr M. Rajab, said in an affidavit the cards were ordered for the various electoral divisions for the House of Delegates.

They were received in due course and distributed to the various branches of Solidarity.

Mr Rajab said that only after they had been distributed was it noticed that the cards were printed with incorrect voters' numbers.

He said he had telephoned Mr Hugo Meyer of Infomann and told him the cards were useless in that form.

Mr Rajab said it was agreed between them that a fresh batch of cards would be delivered.

He said the cards were received and a cheque for R8 822 was paid to Infomann.

In terms of the initial agreement between them, two sets of cards were to have been delivered in respect of each electoral division, Mr Rajab said.

However, because of the delays and difficulties, it was ultimately agreed that only one set of cards would be delivered at a cost of R8 822, which was paid to Infomann.

Mr Rajab denied his party was indebted to Infomann. — SAPA

'Kei President denies offer

Govt is silent on Mandela

RDM 28/12/84 (304A)

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Department of Prisons refused to comment yesterday on reports that African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela has refused a renewed offer of release from prison to reside in Transkei.

And President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei has denied that the offer — reportedly made to Mandela through his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela — was ever made.

President Matanzima told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday that he was visited by Mrs Mandela last week but this, he said, was to discuss family matters. The imprisoned ANC leader is his cousin.

The offer and its refusal were reported in the Afrikaans newspapers Beeld and Die Burger yesterday morning.

It is believed to be the third offer of its kind to be made to Mandela in recent years — except this latest one was extended to two other prisoners serving with him, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

Informed sources confirmed the report, but the Mail was unable to establish under what conditions the three men would be released.

The Beeld report said the offer for the three men to each be freed into one of the independent homelands was made by President Matanzima on behalf of the other leaders.

President Matanzima said that if Mandela was to be released he would always have a home in Transkei, where he was born and brought up.

"I have made representations on Nelson's behalf to the South African Government in the past," he said."Whatever I have to say on the subject is a matter between myself and the State President of South Africa."

Yesterday a Department of Law and Order spokesmen declined any comment on the reports and said the matter was the responsbility of the Departments of Justice and Prisons, reports the Mail's **Cape Town Correspondent.**

A Department of Justice spokesman, in turn, referred inquiries to the Department of Prisons.

A Department of Prisons spokesman said a statement would be issued late last night.

Yesterday, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Sisulu's wife, said she was unaware of any release offer to her husband, but her son, Anthony, was in Cape Town this week to visit his father. Anthony Sisulu left Cape Town yesterday and Mrs Sisulu said: "He may may return with some news."

However, in March Mrs Sisulu said: "They will have nothing to do with a release of this kind. They feel everyone, and not just the so-called Xhosa prisoners, should be released.

"They will also not agree to be restricted anywhere because they believe they belong in South Africa as a whole."

● **Editorial comment — Page 6**

D. Dispatch 28/12/84

304A

Hendrickse urges economic changes

KIMBERLEY — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, last night called for a restructuring of South Africa's economy to accommodate the aspirations of people who had been denied economic benefits in the past.

Speaking at the LP's congress here, Mr Hendrickse also reassessed his party's previous opposition to foreign investment in South Africa.

He said disinvestment was no longer the correct strategy for forcing change.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also a member of the cabinet, said in the light of high unemployment, hardships, hunger and poverty it was now wrong to call for disinvestment as the LP had done in 1971 and again in 1977.

However, the LP could not give "unqualified and indiscriminate" support to a free market economy because many South Africans had been effectively barred from the benefits of such an economy for so long.

"The gap that must be filled, the unreasonable backlog that must be wiped out, is just too great," he said.

"Some or other form of affirmative action must be taken, particularly by the private sector."

He indicated that if this did not happen, legislation or other indirect methods would have to be considered.

While the Labour Party had sympathy for the free market ideology advanced by businessmen and government leaders as a basis for the ordering of socio-economic life, it was convinced that this concept was too narrow as a basis for the restructuring of South African society which would be necessary in the coming decades.

Such a process has to take into account: the demands of social justice for all people; the particular development issues facing South Africa; the need for the efficient organisation of the economy; and the inherent potential and available resources of the country.

The LP wanted a "social market economy" under which government as well as the private sector would respect the principles of a "market economy", but temper them with a "properly balanced sense of social responsibility."

The Labour Party's attitude to economic developments was influenced by the party's goals and principles and its socio-economic programme which included: the non-negotiable right of effective participation in all decision-making processes; the striving for non-discrimination and the eradication of existing discriminatory measures; the overcoming of the socio-economic consequences of past discrimination by selective programmes of affirmative action; the striving for a broad-based strategy of "income redistribution with growth" coupled to the need for a general and specific policy of fiscal discipline.

Mr Hendrickse also reaffirmed his party's commitments to a free democratic society in a unitary state, but qualified these commitments by listing a number of possible constitutional developments under which, he believed, such a goal could still be attained.

These included examining the question of a federal structure in a non-racial geographic state where there would be a basis of citizenship which would be guaranteed for all.

Earlier Mr Hendrickse criticised some of his extra-parliamentary opponents including the United Democratic Front and the Rev Allen Boesak. — PS.

Earlier report P9.

Talks with the ANC crucial, says UCT man

CAPE TOWN — Discussions between Government politicians and the African National Congress (ANC) were of crucial importance, Professor H W van der Merwe, of the University of Cape Town, said yesterday.

But it was also important that many other sections of the population should be involved in meaningful discussions with the ANC, he said in a statement.

Prof van der Merwe, director of UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies, has been playing a key role in promoting dialogue with the ANC.

In the statement, he disclosed that he had arranged the recent interview between the assistant editor of Beeld, Mr Piet Muller, and the ANC executive in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, as part of the Centre's Conflict and Peace Studies programme.

However, he did not comment on reports that he had arranged another meeting next month with the ANC, involving four Afrikaans-speaking academics

Prof van der Merwe did say that the rumour about an imminent meeting of National Party MPs and the ANC had been correctly denied by both parties.

He said the programme was based on "a long and well-established tradition of bridge-building, which was especially manifested in our series of national and international workshops where we brought together parties of contrasting and conflicting backgrounds and views".

The historic meeting of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB), the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the SA Students' Organisation (Saso) in 1971 had been the first of these workshops.

The latest, in August this year, had involved representatives of the National Party, the United Democratic Front, the Soweto Civic Association and Inkatha.

At the August workshop, Mr Wynand Malan, the National Party MP for Randburg, had indicated that while official talks between the Government and the ANC would not be possible at this stage, "private talks might take place".

The promotion of both private and public talks formed part of the on-going programme of the centre, Prof Van der Merwe said.

Talks were important to promote the idea of consensus politics, which presupposed that groups were able to settle matters through negotiation.

They were especially important in the current political debate "to counter the negative attitudes and despair among many people resulting from the belief that dialogue and a negotiated settlement are impossible due to irreconcilable interests of the conflicting parties which inevitably lead to violence". — Sapa

UCT prof urges talks between ANC, govt

Cape Times 28/12/8C 30(4)

Political Staff

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They were especially important in the current political debate, "to counter the negative attitudes and despair among many people resulting from the belief that dialogue and a negotiated settlement are impossible due to irreconcilable interests of the conflicting parties which inevitably lead to violence".

They were also important "to promote the idea of consensus politics which presupposes that conflicting political groups do in fact have certain things in common and are able to settle the matter through negotiation rather than violence".

Professor Van der Merwe said "a democratic society requires political participation and activity from a wide spectrum of the population".

"I therefore believe that while discussions between politicians from the government and the ANC are of crucial importance, many other sections of our population should be involved in meaningful discussion," he said.

● Leading article, page 10

RDM 29/12/84

Lawyers spell out refusal

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

NELSON MANDELA, the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, had made it clear in April that he would not accept offers of freedom in the independent homelands, a spokesman for his lawyers said yesterday.

The spokesman was commenting on reports that Mandela had refused an offer by President Kaiser Matanzima that he reside in Transkei as a condition for his release.

President Matanzima has denied the offer and the South African Department of Prison Services have refused to comment.

The spokesman said Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, was overseas but had come to know about the offer before he left. Mr Ayob had asked to be allowed to see Mandela before he left, but was turned down.

"However, the situation hasn't changed. Nelson made his position clear as early as April this year when he received a similar offer and turned it down," the spokesman said.

Hendrickse to resign from church

CITY

By BRIAN STUART
Political Staff

MINISTERS in the Congregational Church serving in the House of Representatives will not resign, as demanded by the church's general assembly, the Rev Allan Hendrickse said today.

Mr Hendrickse, Cabinet Minister and leader of the Labour Party, said he regarded this week's decision by the church's assembly in East London as immoral and not binding on the three ministers involved — himself, the Rev Andrew Julies and the Rev Alwyn Goosen.

"I therefore refer back to the assembly the statement of Thomas Jefferson, that that which is morally wrong can never be politically right. The assembly's decision being an immoral one is therefore politically wrong.

"Prayerful commitment"

"The assembly has made 1984 a 'Year of Commitment' with the slogan: 'It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness.'

"My participation must be seen in this light and as a prayerful commitment in faith to the living hope of non-violent, peaceful change in SA.

"I ask the question: 'How does the decision to participate in structures in order to bring about change now suddenly alter one's standing, character and personality'?"

Mr Hendrickse said other Congregational ministers had served in political positions in the past and were now serving in such positions in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

"I find it strange and principally immoral that a decision has now been made calling for our resignation."

Mr Hendrickse said that he, the Rev Andrew Julies (Minister of Budget in the House of Representatives) and the Rev Sam Ahrens, chairman of the coloured management committee in Port Elizabeth, had all been elected to the high office of chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa in past years.

Judgment

"So the judgment and the question of my integrity is certainly also then a judgment on the church, which elected us."

In his view the general assembly had no jurisdiction over the three Congregational ministers serving in the House of Representatives in that the church was congregational in structure — ministers fell under the sole jurisdiction of their congregations.

At Dale Street Congregational Church in Uitenhage, where Mr Hendrickse is the minister, a new minister is to be called. Mr Hendrickse said the congregation had asked him to retain his ties with the church as minister emeritus.

Congregation

"Clearly my duties as Cabinet Minister and MP will occupy my time and it is necessary to have a full-time minister for the congregation. But I shall continue to minister to my people."

Mr Julies, who is national chairman of the Labour Party, has also described the decision as "morally unacceptable."

The third member of the House of Representatives involved in the decision, Mr Goosen, is a nominated member of the House and lives at Hankey.

Is SSC the real power behind the throne?

IS THE SECURITY arm of government — the military, police and national intelligence — consolidating its grip on power as President Botha's new tricameral order gets under way?

And, if so, is the influence of the police under the shrewd General Johan Coetzee and severe Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange superseding — or at least matching — that of the military in the political decision-making process?

These are questions that are being asked here by political analysts and diplomats since the wave of repression unleashed by the coloured and Indian elections.

But, more particularly, they are being asked as a result of the Government's handling of the Durban sit-in crisis and the extraordinary decision to renege on a solemn pledge to return four South Africans facing arms-smuggling charges in Britain.

Coup in prospect?

Ever since the goal-oriented Defence Minister — now President Botha — became Prime Minister in 1978, in what some observers described as a silent military coup, political analysts have periodically posed the question: has the national security system of the Botha administration militarised the political decision-making process and brought closer the prospect of a formal military coup?

When the perception of military dominance reached its peak in Western capitals following the series of cross-border raids and regional reprisals dubbed destabilisation — towards the end of last year — Pretoria acted to refute such perceptions.

Claims by respected academics that the military — chiefly through the State Security Council (SSC) and a web of inter-departmental committees — had established itself as the dominant force in government decision-making were vigorously denied at a much-publicised Press conference by the head of the SSC secretariat, Lieut-Gen A J van Deventer — a Botha confidant and the man widely regarded as the key co-ordinator of the national security system.

The event that immediately precipitated the denials was publication of a study by Prof Deon Geldenhuys, the political scientist from the Rand Afrikaanse University, and United States political scientist Ken Grundy who gave academic respectability to the widely held perception that the SSC had established itself as a super-Cabinet and real power behind the throne.

Ironically both Geldenhuys and Grundy are co-authors with American political scientist Dr John Seiler of a new study which challenges the militarisation theory and tentatively concludes that the national security system is primarily a process of rationalisation rather than one of militarisation.

In a paper delivered last week to the study group on armed forces and society of the International Political Science Association in West Berlin Dr Seiler concluded that the SSC system was part of a civil government and that most of its participants were directly answerable to political constituencies or indirectly via their obligations to government departments.

Central role

Add to that the loyalty of the SADF to civilian government and the traditional Afrikaner distrust of a large permanent force and the prospect of the military dominating the SSC system would seem remote.

'When deciding what to do after the ANC bombing in down-town Pretoria in 1983 the SSC rejected the SADF plea for a short delay to get better intelligence about ANC targets in Maputo and instead accepted the SAP plea for an instant reactive raid to convey South African fury and overwhelming power.

'Should we conclude that the SAP dominates SSC processes?

'A much more plausible hypothesis is that no single department does.

'Further, given the common background and values of participants, it would be misleading to suggest even a general sort of military dominance as the explanation for pre-emptive raids and support of anti-régime movements in southern Africa during the past few years.

'It is more likly that most SSC members thought this approach would be effective policy, and that the SADF had little persuasion to do otherwise,' Dr Seiler said.

These are challenging thoughts and they confront the widely held perception that the military dominates government decision-making.

When the South African Government takes a decision that appears to the outside world to be totally counter-productive to its own cause analysts start looking for some deeper explanation.

John Battersby
LONDON BUREAU

System would stop it

They look for a rift between vested interests in the internal decision-making process as occurred in the closing years of the Vorster administration when BOSS chief General Hendrik van den Bergh was not only the power behind the throne but sometimes did not even refer to the throne.

Dr Seiler insists that not only has this not happened under the SSC system but that the system would prevent it from happening.

But analysts are trying to assess whether the executive with a shaky reputation for adhering to the rule of law.

In continuing to give sanctuary to the six Britain is risking a technical breach of international law and the Vienna convention but clearly political considerations have outweighed the likely repercussions of such a move.

South Africa has defied the British judicial process by breaking a pledge to return four men facing trial in an open court on criminal charges.

Surely the deliberators on the SSC — and particularly Mr Pik Botha — must have realised the disastrous consequences of reneging on such a pledge and showing contempt for the British judicial process?

Surely they must have realised that the good will painstakingly won by President Botha's diplomatic moves in southern Africa and his subsequent meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher would go down the drain in one fell swoop?

If Mr Pik Botha did not realise this he is in the wrong job. And if he did, which is more likely, and made his views known to the SSC, who is running the government?

Recognising that security considerations must always have a high profile in government decision-making, could the national security system and the SSC have tipped the scales towards an obsession with security that is seriously damaging South Africa's interests abroad?

It is widely suspected here that the sit-in impasse was merely used as a pretext to prevent four alleged arms-smugglers from disclosing potentially embarrassing details in a British court. But those details are likely to come out anyway with the expected trial of four British businessmen facing related charges and alleged to have had links with the four South Africans.

There are indications

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isation of government in South Africa becomes unlikely, Dr Seiler argued.

Dr Seiler does not dispute the central and powerful role played by the SSC in government decision-making and suggests that its role will inevitably strengthen the hand of President Botha who will (almost certainly) continue to be its chairman.

But he argues that while the SSC weakens the hand of ideological and policy critics in the Cabinet it encourages long-range planning and inter-departmental co-ordination while acting as a check against *ad hoc* policy-making and the hoarding of intelligence.

To illustrate his point that the military does not always have the final word he cites the case of the abortive reprisal SADF raid on Maputo after the Pretoria bomb blast.

Dr Seiler's research provides a startling glimpse into SSC decision-making during the course of his research.

travagant language used by Foreign Minister Pik Botha about broken windows and throwing stones and the prospect of armed terrorists queueing up for asylum outside British embassies is his language or that of Law and Order Minister Le Grange and the constituency he represents.

Major breach of trust

In the early stages of the sit-in Mr Pik Botha expressed 'understanding' for Britain's position and gave no public indication that he was unhappy with it.

The retaliatory step he then announced has been interpreted here as a major breach of trust that will inevitably have an adverse effect on future bilateral relations.

What are the facts?

Britain has offered temporary asylum to political fugitives, with the backing of a Supreme Court judge, who have not been charged with any crime and are fleeing arbitrary detention without trial by

from Mr Botha's re... public statements that South Africa is 'happy with its pound of flesh' and is prepared to let the matter rest and allow the six to continue sitting in the Durban consulate indefinitely.

The impression remains, however, that foreign-affairs considerations did not play much of a role in the decision-making that led to the unexpected retaliation.

However, the release of five UDF and Azapo detainees, the lifting of the remaining restrictions on the Rev Beyers Naude and President Botha's strong hint of a relaxation in applying influx control and forced removals challenges the theory that the security arm of government has a monopoly on power.

It would seem that in the new order repression and concessions go hand in hand and that reform is dependent on security.

SA busy deceiving itself

By ALLISTER SPARKS

H G WELLS might have invented such a place: a country where people occupy the same space but live in separate time-frames so that they do not see each other and perceive different realities.

The gulf between white and black in South Africa has always been there of course, but it has acquired a new dimension of late and the whites take what they regard as a bold step towards reform. While the blacks react to it with anger and a deepened sense of alienation.

Ten months ago the whites voted by an unprecedented two-thirds majority to endorse a new constitution that gives limited parliamentary representation to the coloured and Indian minorities.

One month ago the coloured and Indian communities showed by an unprecedented 83 percent boycott of their elections that they spurned the reform because of its exclusion of the African majority. In the weeks since then the African townships have erupted with the angriest outbreak of violence since the 1976 Soweto riots.

Yet even such palpable evidence of black rejection of the new deal seems not to penetrate the white time-frame. It is not as though the whites are bewildered or hurt or even surprised by the reaction to what they thought was a generous gesture. They have simply not taken it in.

The whites hear the new parliamentarians being interviewed and quoted. It does not hear the mocking remarks of the communities they supposedly represent. Memories are short and perceptions selective. With incredible speed the derisory voting figures are forgotten.

As for the black ghettos, they are out of town and out of sight. Little of what happens there penetrates to the affluent tranquility of white suburbia. Except when an occasional police vehicle drives through a white area, or an employee fails to turn up for work, the trouble might be in another country.

Probably no more than five white



ANGER: A building goes up in flames as black anger flares up in Sebokeng.

white Johannesburg has ever been to Soweto. Most could not even tell you how to get there, although it is one of Africa's most populous cities in its own right.

Newspaper coverage of the unrest has been low key. After a week in which 38 people were killed and more than 300 injured, the story did not make the front page of any of South Africa's national Sunday papers. News bulletins of the semi-official radio and television services have been blatantly censored, with none of the footage of police action that viewers have seen abroad.

Yet for all the efforts of white administration over 36 years, the idea of apartheid remains an ideological illusion, a gigantic act of self-deception.

Although 20 percent of all South African whites live in metropolitan Johannesburg, they account for only one-third of the city's population of 2,8 million. The coloured and Indian minorities account for another seven percent. The rest are Africans.

Africans provide the work force that keeps the city running. As consumers, they account for more than 60 percent of its purchasing power. Johannesburg could not survive one day without them. The same is true in varying degrees of every other town and city in the country.

Much of white South Africa's energy, as a political and social entity, is devoted to trying to obscure this fact.

This special kind of apartheid colour-blindness manifests itself in many strange ways. According to the law, no black person may own a business in a "white" city, not even a shoeshine stand. Yet a whole population of small-time entrepreneurs exists in "white" Johannesburg as a kind of visible underworld that goes unnoticed.

It is Sundays that the separate existence of the two populations of the same city is most apparent.

There are some 120 000 black domestic servants living in rooms in the backyards of white suburban homes and on top of apartment blocks in Johannesburg. It is the population of a sizeable city within a city.

On Sunday, this other city has a day off. But they have nowhere to go. There are no public facilities in the suburbs for blacks. They gather on pavements, building sites, parking lots and in the smart shopping centres which are closed on Sundays.

The whites, meanwhile, are gathered around swimming pools and tennis courts in spacious suburban gardens. It is pleasantly langorous there in those secluded surroundings, sipping chilled white wine in the summer sun. Soweto and Sharpeville might be a thousand miles away.

This presents a visual paradox that highlights South Africa's separate time-frames.

Is it possible I heard RIGHT?

BRIAN POTTINGER REPORTS ON THE CAPE NAT CONGRESS

IT was the confession congress.

Everybody at the Cape National congress from the State President down seemed to concede that the ruling party had boobed in handling some crucial rural development and urbanisation problems.

The admissions were neither abject nor entirely new — but they had that ring of sincerity that dire economic circumstances succeed so well in bringing to the voices of politicians.

It was in this atmosphere that some incomprehensible NP shibboleths were quietly, if not enthusiastically, despatched by the Cape wing of the party. Black urban permanency was accepted in the Western Cape and the coloured labour preference policy given the boot.

The Cape Congress and its decisions on urban blacks in the Western Cape was a vignette; an almost symbolic recanting of past sins in trying to force molten demographic factors into plastic ideological moulds.

State President P W Botha provided the keynote. Overriding some obvious congress misgivings he made clear it was time to extend the 99-year-leasehold scheme to "legal" blacks living at the new township of Khayelitsha and some other areas. And he announced the dropping of the coloured labour preference policy.

Benefits

For the black communities of the Western Cape the move will not mean much in concrete terms. Only a small group is likely to benefit in the short term from the 99-year-leasehold. The real scrap between the "illegals" and the authorities remains unremedied; government spokesmen in fact made it clear that influx control would be just as tightly implemented.

The same goes for the scrapping of the preference policy. Any employer can testify that its application has been observed more in the breach than in the commission for some time and in a period of high unemployment the immediate benefits are likely to be slight.

But the political and psychological importance of the moves in NP terms should not be underestimated.

The coloured labour preference policy and the denial of permanency to blacks has been a core belief of the Cape National Party for many years.

Against all opposition the Cape NP have quixotically held their ground: against organised commerce and industry, against the Urban Foundation, against Afrikaner academics (some of them originally protagonists of the policy), the churches, the administration boards, even the declared wishes of the coloured community and, most importantly, against reality.

It also had a lot to do with a deep-rooted psychological need by the NP to carve at least a part of the country as indisputably white.

This week, at the Cape congress, President Botha burnt the security blanket.

By NP standards it was a remarkably frank speech in which he conceded that had the Government accepted more of the Tomlinson Commission report of the mid-1950s "we would have fewer problems today".

Reference to the report was significant. The Government — in creating independent homelands while pursuing the political possibilities raised by the report — has consistently refused to accept the massive parallel economic implications.

Milestone

Mr Botha admitted by implication this week that economic realities had yet again overwhelmed ideological considerations.

Blacks *would* continue coming to the Western Cape, housing *would* have to be built to deal with the influx, the Government *could not* pay for it without private sector help and the businessmen were insisting on urban black permanency and 99-year-leaseholds, as the price for their participation.

The whole Western Cape package was presented with the rationale of the technocrat. Humanitarian or moral considerations rated scarcely a mention.

Yet it was undoubtedly another milestone on the slow retreat by the Government from the implications of a political philosophy that the country has thus far survived but increasingly cannot afford.

It was only the latest acceptance of the long-denied realities of urbanisation and followed the mould of other milestones such as the acceptance of the permanency of urban blacks in other parts of the country in 1979, the extension of leasehold rights, the encouragement of small businesses and the informal sector and the ungracious acceptance of squatter improvement and self-help schemes.

The *mea culpa* mood set by the State President in trying to

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BRIAN POTTINGER REPORTS ON THE CAPE NAT CONGRESS

The Nats saying: We were WRONG?

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The *mea culpa* mood set by the State President in trying to convince the Cape congress of the need to dump old policies unleashed similiar responses in other speakers.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, delivered an impassioned warning against the morass of legislation which governs virtually every move of the individual.

"This land is totally over-regulated. The sooner we get rid of these rules the better," he said.

Chided

And Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Industries, Commerce and Tourism, was not far behind. He chided congress delegates for their numerous calls for Government intervention in a range of economic activities.

It was rather ironic coming from a Government that has been enlarging or amending the body of statutes in this country at an average rate of 70 Bills a year for 36 years. And still stands by the vast majority of them.

11/10/84 Boy A 2. Dispatch

Worrall: SA may talk to ANC

LONDON — The South African ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, said here last night the South African Government might consider talks with the African National Congress.

Dr Worrall said, in his first TV interview since taking up his appointment here that the ANC would first have to drop "its commitment to violence".

The ambassador was speaking during a hard-hitting interview in the programme Face the Press. Conducting the interview were the editor of The Observer, Mr Donald Trelford, and the political editor of The Economist, Mr Simon Jenkins.

Dr Worrall, who has made himself more available for interviews with the media generally here than is customary with South African diplomats, faced a barrage of tough questions regarding the "Coventry four", as well as South Africa's policy of apartheid.

Discussing the "Coventry four", Dr Worrall said the South African Government's refusal to send back the four men on arms charges relied on the doctrine of reprisals.

This doctrine said that an illegal act by one state might be responded to with an illegal action by the other state.

"While it is a regrettable thing to resort to in international relations it is recognised as a fairly general response," he said.

Asked if he was happy with this and if it did not make his job as ambassador in London more difficult, Dr Worrall said it had to be seen in context.

The six men had been in the consulate in Durban since September 13 and the South African Government faced tremendous domestic political pressure on the issue. In addition, the British Government had said it was not prepared to remove them forcibly.

"The South African Government has presumably considered the possibility of going in and arresting them but has decided not to take that course because that would be contrary to the Vienna Convention on consular relations."

Asked for his reaction to a statement from the six that they would come out if they were to be charged in a court of law, Dr Worrall said they had also said they would emerge if all detainees were released.

That was a case of blackmailing the South African and British Governments, Dr Worrall said.

He added that the six were being held in an "over-heated" situation in much the same way as people could be held under the 1984 Prevention of Terrorism Act in the United Kingdom.

It was put to Dr Worrall that the Coventry four, had "jumped bail". The British court had agreed to grant bail only because it trusted the South African Government.

"I don't think that anyone should conclude that the South African Government is never again going to honour its undertakings," he said.

In the South African Government's view the continuance of the six in the British consulate in Durban was contrary to international customary law.

"It is contrary to the convention on consular relations in that this is an obstruction to law enforcement in South Africa."

With referrence again to the case of the Coventry four, it was put to Dr Worrall that not only did it involve the intention to "jump bail", but the South African Government then had "the cheek" to propose to go into court and demand the bail money back.



DR WORRALL

Dr Worrall said the technical legal aspects would have to be discussed. What the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had made plain was that the South African representatives would be in court on October 22.

"As a matter of fact the first secretary (who stood bail) returned to London this weekend," he said.

When Dr Worrall said the decision to estreat bail had been taken at the highest level, it was suggested to the ambassador that it had been taken at the highest "security" level.

Since the arrests, the South African Government had acted in a most "unusually agitated" manner which led to the suspicion that South Africa had merely dragged the Durban six into the affair because the government was afraid of what was to come out of it in court, it was suggested.

Dr Worrall said it was obviously a decision which was not taken lightly because it would have an impact on South Africa's bilateral relations with Britain.

"I think you must appreciate the domestic pressures which the South African Government is under. The issue of the six is being played out in South Africa where every day newspapers carry front-page stories of the statements of the six or their representatives in the UK, in Europe or New York, and the South African Government appears to be completely helpless in this situation.

"It is an extraordinarily embarrassing situation and the action (regarding the Coventry four) was the South African Government's way of expressing its displeasure."

The interviewers said that when displeasure was expressed in this way, there was almost united condemnation from the English language press.

Dr Worrall said the English language press did not govern South Africa.

It was put to Dr Worrall that the Soviet Government had seemed able to "take" the Pentacostalists going into the American embassy in Moscow.

He replied that the Soviet Union was not a democracy, it did not have a free press or independent newspapers and generally was not faced with the situation that South Africa was.

It was put to Dr Worrall that an Afrikaans editor had said the time had come for the South African Government to talk to the ANC.

Dr Worrall said the position of the government took was that when the ANC dropped "its commitment to violence" and to the formation of a socialist state in South Africa, that would be another matter. — DDC.

Congress in shock move on SA loans

Room 3/10/84 (622) 304A (360) (5)

By SIMON BARBER
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON. — In a dramatic last-minute compromise, Congress yesterday agreed to ban new US bank loans to the South African Government and its parastatals, and to require all American firms in the Republic to report on their employment practices annually.

The agreement came after hours of negotiation between House and Senate conferees on the controversial Export Administration Act stretching late into Monday night.

The Reagan Administration flatly opposed the outcome and officials said they would urge the President to veto the legislation.

The compromise represents a considerably watered-down version of the so-called Solarz Amendments contained in Title III of the EAA. Their author, Mr Stephen Solarz, said he was deeply dissatisfied.

State Department officials called it "an ugly precedent", even though stiffer measures — including a ban on all new investment in the Republic and on further Krugerrand imports into the US — were dropped.

The details of the agreement were still open to interpretation yesterday but, according to Congressional and State Department sources, the package was as follows:

- US banks and their subsidiaries may provide no further loans to the SA Government or its entities (Iscor, Escom and SA Airways for example) under threat of legal and civil penalty. Existing contracts may still be honoured;
- Participation in the Sullivan-like Employment Code proposed by Mr Solarz remains voluntary;
- However, all US firms and their subsidiaries in South Africa with more than 20 employees must prepare annual reports of the employment practices for submission to the Secretary of State;
- While there is no penalty for not reporting, the Secretary of State shall in turn deliver an annual report to Congress in which non-compliers will be named;
- The Secretary of State shall also appoint a 12-man advisory panel made up of Americans and South Africans to consult on US employment practices. The panel will be chaired *ex officio* by the US Ambassador and is to include representatives of the US Chamber of Commerice in South Africa, trade unions that operate on a non-discriminatory basis, church groups and the academic community; and
- The US Embassy is to monitor US firms on a day-to-day basis.

The deal was struck between Mr Solarz and Senator John Heinz, the Pennsylvania Republican targeted by anti-apartheid lobbyists as the weak link in the Senate's opposition to Title III.

Reagan Administration officials were angry at Mr Heinz's concession. Said one: "He knows damned well we didn't approve."

Mr Solarz and the chairman of the House Africa Subcommittee Mr Howard Wolpe, described the deal as "crumbs" and promised they would be "back for more" next year.

There was still doubt yesterday whether the agreement would become law because the House and Senate still remained deadlocked on other issues in the Export Administration Act which must be resolved before Congress recesses tomorrow.

US loans to the SA Government represent about 10% of total American lending to the Republic, or between R400-million and R1 000-million.

● US cities urged to boycott SA — Page 6

'War continues' statement rocks ceasefire

MNR shock as Army prepares

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN soldiers and support units are expected to start moving into Mozambique in the next few weeks to monitor peace between government forces and rebel guerrillas, and to activate an emergency social and economic redevelopment programme.

However the leader of the rebel delegation, Mr Evo Fernandes, rocked the hours-old ceasefire when he told UPI: "The war continues and we may have to escalate our actions".

The Mozambique National Resistance had not relinquished demands for a government of [illegible] secretary-general of the MNR said.

"There is only speculation about peace or a ceasefire but there is still no reality to it," Mr Fernandes said.

The use of South African soldiers in the peace plan was revealed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday.

Mr Botha briefed journalists at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after the historic announcement of a peace pact between the Maputo government and the MNR.

The size and exact role of the South African force will be determined by the joint commission established yesterday to discuss the practical implementation of the peace plan.

Mr Botha indicated that apart from monitoring the ceasefire, South African forces might be used in an emergency role to tackle socio-economic problems.

This might include civic action programmes to help with agriculture, medical care, schooling and technical training.

Yesterday's declaration came after three months of negotiations in which Mr Botha acted as the intermediary between Maputo and the MNR at the request of both sides.

Apart from assisting to end the civil war, the declaration would inspire renewed confidence in Mozambique among foreign investors.

Yesterday's declaration was based on four principles:

- The acknowledgement of Samora Machel as President of Mozambique;
- An end to armed conflict in Mozambique;
- A request to South Africa to play a role in the implementation of the declaration;
- The establishment of a commission to work towards the implementation of the declaration.

The MNR's agreement to acknowledge President Machel was seen as a major breakthrough.

In terms of the peace agreement, representatives of the Mozambique Government and the MNR will sit on the commission. It met at the Union Buildings for the first time yesterday

White 'power monopoly' formalized

304A
C-Times
4/10/84

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government's "new deal" is more concerned with continuing white/Nationalist domination than with genuine power-sharing or reform, according to Professor Willem van Vuuren, head of the Political Science Department at the University of the Western Cape.

In a paper written for the Conference on Race and Economic Development, which begins at the UWC on Monday, Professor Van Vuuren writes:

"Both the constitutional and ideological reform appear to provide contributing rather than counteracting conditions for the maintenance of existing relations of domination in South Africa."

Citing the first report of the constitutional committee of the old President's Council, he notes that it was not disputed officially that the "pre-reform situation" constituted one of white domination.

'Discard winner-takes-all process'

"Thus the question of domination and reform in present-day South Africa could be put as a question of whether the government's 1983 package for constitutional reform practically implies a movement away from the state of affairs that has been officially identified as one of white domination."

Although the government had premised the need for reform in a "plural society" on the necessity to discard the winner-takes-all political process, this had not happened.

In fact, effective monopolization of power had not only been retained but had been formalized by the the 4:2:1 ratio in Parliament.

"This formalization of numerical dominance of whites is hardly mitigated by the new opportunities that have been opened for non-white participation at cabinet level and the joint parliamentary committees, since their participation will essentially be on terms of the white ruling party.

'Participation as subordinates'

"Consequently, power-sharing of this kind will be perfectly compatible with continued white/Nationalist domination, since it involves the participation of Indians and coloured people as subordinates."

What the government had sought to do was to extend political rights more widely "without jeopardizing its structural dominance" because all decisions would have to be made with the consent of the white majority party.

Professor Van Vuuren notes that subjecting both the House of Delegates and that of Representatives as well as the white parliamentary opposition to the government's consensus requirements "practically boils down to a white veto in the one case and a Nationalist veto in the other".

He also sees a shift from both the racist rationale used to support the old apartheid ideology and the militaristic arguments of the total onslaught era, to a greater reliance on technocratic and bureaucratic propaganda to support the government's "new deal".

The Reagan imperatives

An urgent need for meaningful change

THIS article concludes the summary of the statement made by Dr Chester Crocker before the U S Senate Africa subcommittee on the Reagan Administration's policy towards South Africa.

THE STARTING point in this administration's approach to South Africa and southern Africa was to recognise the nature of U S influence in a regional context and to identify those constructive things we can do to advance our goals.

We are one element in a complex regional equation. Our approach is to engage ourselves positively, to add our weight in support of American value, to back ideas, institutions and groups that can add to a dynamic for change, to propose alternatives, to open doors and build bridges — not the reverse.

In the South African context much of our influence derives, we believe, from the self-image of the South African leadership and the white minority generally as part of the West as well as of Africa struggling to preserve its identity, to maintain its security and to avoid international isolation.

Siege mentality grew

Such attitudes for much of the post-World War II period were accompanied by complacency interrupted by sudden shocks as occurred with the Portuguese revolution, the spread of decolonisation to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Soweto riots of 1976.

Gradually in the past decade complacency gave way to a siege mentality, heightened by internal outbursts of black anger and alienation, by an increase in cross-border guerilla violence, by the projection of Soviet-Cuban military power into the region and by increasingly strident Western criticism of the South African system.

Digging in its heels, the Afrikaner establishment ... developed an elaborate vision of itself as a regional superpower prepared to go it alone if necessary, to hang on to Namibia, and bring maximum pressure to bear on neighbours which are the host for guerilla movements. The siege mentality included, at the time President Reagan took office, a determination above all to maintain Afrikaner ethnic unity in ty was hostile to serious reform we moderated our public rhetoric in an effort to persuade the Government there to respond to the realities of the South African situation itself.

This is not the place to recount in detail sustained diplomatic efforts to reverse the escalating cycle of violence that risked engulfing the region in the early 1980s.

But that effort — to obtain an internationally accepted settlement in Namibia on the basis of UNSCR Resolution 435, to reduce cross-border violence in both directions between South Africa and its neighbours, and to encourage a regional climate of detente and the withdrawal of foreign forces from the area — has been part and parcel of our South African policy.

Our message to the South Africans has been to stress the benefits of co-operation and negotiation within an agenda we have put forward to all governments in the region.

We have spelled out the costs and risks of failure, in terms of South African interests and our bilateral relationship.

We believe the effort to define and build on areas of common interest and mutual benefit throughout southern African is far preferable to simply accepting the drift toward polarisation and violence.

We strongly doubt that serious internal reform in South Africa is likley in a climate of constant fighting with adversaries along its borders.

We know that U S regional interests and those of our allies are best served by a regional climate of greater stability, enhanced economic growth, and reduced openings for external intervention.

Today, three years lat- limited extent, offers opportunities for wider political participation.

Even this slight expansion of political rights to coloureds and Asians has been seen by some whites as a threat and the 'thin edge of the wedge'.

The fact that the new constitution made no provision for the inclusion of the 73 percent of the South African population who are black was bound to reinforce black bitterness.

This administration has been consistent in pointing out this fundamental flaw in the new constitution and our opposition to the attempt to 'denationalise' blacks by declaring them citizens of the so-called homelands

Nevertheless, it would be premature to dismiss the new willingness of the whites to support the concept of reform or to dismiss the potential of the new constitution for stimulating future change.

The very exclusion of blacks ironically has forced the future political role of blacks on top of the public agenda. President Botha indicated as much in his inaugural address.

Will add impetus

The departure from 'whites only' politics may well prove to have a substantial effect on those who govern South Africa. The very fact that participation in the coloured and Asian elections was so low will add further impetus to existing pressure on newly elected members of their chambers to fight for change.

We do not believe the debate over whether this new constitution represents a step forward can be resolved only by future historians.

For our part we believe has stressed that the new system requires dialogue not only among whites, coloureds and Asians but also with blacks.

The burden now is on the Government to recognise and invite valid black interlocutors to the table. This is a process we encourage, even if we have no direct role in it, and do not presume to come up with prescriptive formulas.

A second feature of our efforts to back change is our quiet diplomacy on behalf of specific improvements and concrete problems of human rights and civil rights.

By definition, one cannot discuss publicly the content of specific efforts. Nonetheless, while we recognise that the major impetus for change must come from within we have actively concerned ourselves on several fronts to seek concrete improvements: our interest in such issues as detentions and bannings — until recently, dramatically reduced — urban residency rights for blacks, forced removals of settled black communities, and the issuance of travel documents and visas have been widely recognised in South Africa's human-rights community — in sharp contrast to the distant critics who may afford the luxury of dismissing such matters as 'mere amelioration' of the current system. We will remain engaged in such endeavours.

A third element of our approach has been to provide concrete, tangible support of those groups, institutions and processes which are essential to change in South Africa.

Through deepened con- proud.

FINALLY, I would be remiss in not saying a brief word about our regional efforts and accomplishments in southern Africa. Today, after three years of active diplomacy with all regional states concerned and our allies, we are closer to the threshold of Namibian independence than ever before.

The underbrush has been cleared away.

Though negotiations are at a sensitive stage we have reason to believe we may be close to the fundamental political decisions on implementing resolution 435 and an agreement on the Cuban-troop issue in Angola.

We have identified the basis for a settlement and are committed to succeed.

On a broader regional basis, the level of cross-border violence in southern Africa is sharply reduced. In spite of fundamental political differences neighbours are increasingly sensitive to the responsibilities of co-existence.

Contact and communication are on the increase.

The U S role is one of a catalyst. Where that role is welcomed by both sides we will play it.

Let me make clear, however, that we are not party to any effort to impose a standard formula on relations between South Africa and its neighbours. Each relationship is distinct and stands on its own merits.

The dramatic example of Mozambique and South Africa concluding a formal political agreement met the needs of those two catalysts.

Where that role is welcomed by both sides we will play it.

Coexistence can take many forms.

What we do support, however, is a regional climate of dialogue that gives negotiation and peaceful change a chance.

Mercury 4/10/84

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side the National Party ... and a highly abstract commitment to domestic reform ...

More favourable climate

A central element of US policy for the past three years has been to address both the complacency and the siege mentality I have described, and to encourage the emergence of a more favourable climate for change.

Repeatedly, we have emphasised the imperative of basic change while making clear that we recognise that such change entails a process, not a single decision.

In our dialogue with South Africans of all races we have made clear our view that meaningful change is an urgent matter. At the same time we have stressed that such change can only flow from consultation and negotiation within South Africa and among all South Africans.

We do not seek to impose an American blueprint. Recognising that the cult of Afrikaner uniqueness is a key element in the National Party ... we believe there is clear evidence of progress toward a more favourable climate for change.

Today the state of relations between the United States and South Africa matters very much to the South African leadership; the closeness or distance in that relationship depends heavily on internal change, evidence of momentum, and progress toward regional security.

Our conscious effort to relax the siege mentality no doubt played a part in enabling then Prime Minister — now President — Botha, to take the bold decision to put forward constitutional proposals which cost the National Party one-third of its core Afrikaner constituency and gained it new white voters beyond Afrikaner ranks.

It is an irony that the turmoil of the past days and weeks and the repression used to suppress it should have coincided with the introduction of a constitution which, to a that, whatever the intentions of its authors, it is an irreversible step

Its effect — precisely because of widespread boycotts — will be to accelerate the reappraisal of future options among whites and to further erode complacency.

We remain confident that there is a new dynamic at work in South Africa, driven by socio-economic and political requirements.

This is by no means contradicted by the unrest and rioting of the past weeks.

We are urging the South African Government to recognise that repression provides no lasting answer to this problem.

We hope it will recognise that it is in its own interest to release those recently detained quickly, or, at the very least to charge those it has decided to put on trial without delay, so that they have a chance to defend themselves in a court of law.

We have taken note that President Botha himself, in his inaugural address, tact with those who are on apartheid's receiving end and who seek the tools to promote peaceful black advancement we have defined a series of assistance programmes of which Americans can be

We can be proud the doctrines of guerilla violence and the garrison state have been set aside — at least for now — as the parties explore other roads.

We wish them all well.

october 5 1984

Financial Mail

NATIONAL POLITICS

Who will oppose?

304A

The major issue facing the non-government MPs currently polishing their boots after the first tricameral conclave is deceptively simple. Who will provide the real opposition in the crucial years that lie ahead?

It's a truism that one of the cornerstones of the Westminster parliamentary system is opposition — to check the excesses of the rulers and expose in open debate the dangers and shortcomings of the *status quo*. Now that we no longer have such a system, the National Party quite evidently wants not an opposition but "consensus" So there is considerable pressure on the various parties to either slide into the NP camp, or face an increasingly risky isolation from actual decision-making.

A clear symptom of this is the split in the New Republic Party. The NP parliamentary caucus will soon number 128, and that of the NRP a mere five — and how long can that remnant of the once-proud United Party stay intact?

Even the provincial dominance of the NRP in Natal will be subject to NP-Progressive Federal Party polarisation as constitutional restructuring works its way down the tiers of authority. If there is any "middle ground" left in white politics, the NP will rapidly seize it.

Meanwhile, of course, the Labour Party and the two Indian parties — once they find their feet — are expected to assume at least some of the traditional opposition role: that is, speak out for the disenfranchised majority at central levels.

It is evident that some sectors of the press already believe that Labour, with 83 seats, is in a far stronger position to do so than the PFP, with 27 parliamentarians. In fact, however, this is open to serious question.

There is a sense in which only one numerical advantage counts in the tricameral system — that of the NP. Whether the LP is bigger than the PFP is irrelevant. As the majority party in the House of Representatives, Labour is essentially an axis of government — its leader is in the Cabinet. While it may influence the direction of legislation, it cannot provide a vocal opposition of the kind which the *FM* believes is still necessary.

Partly, this is a structural reality; but it also has to do with a lack of political experience There were two issues on which the LP sought to establish its *bona fides* for participation. They were the Improper Political Interference Act, and the western Cape coloured labour preference policy. What actually happened?

The LP was allowed to field proxies in the election for the House of Delegates — but they were Indians, ethnically defined. That is as far as government allowed a weakening of the Act, which remains on the books. Until such time as there is a single non-racial House the government's game-plan has not been seriously affected.

As for the preference policy, it is now a dead letter. In the weeks following the elections, Allan Hendrickse, for one, was adamant that he would be pressing government hard on the issue; that repeal was a victory he was both seeking and expecting. But can Labour claim the credit?

In announcing the alteration of western Cape apartheid policy at the NP congress in the province, President P W Botha made no reference to the LP. The policy was being abandoned because that was what the white congress had agreed. Not Labour — not anyone but the Nationalists

This slight was comparable with his comment that when a coloured or Indian MP could be found with the necessary ability, he would be appointed to the Cabinet. Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi are Ministers without portfolios; and neither rose to the occasion by putting in an anti-preference plea which was certain to be met and for which some credit could then be claimed They were too busy with petty political side-shows.

There are two issues of burning national concern which were scarcely addressed in the short sitting They are the state of the economy, and the unrest which appears to have become endemic. Perhaps they are really one issue — for grim economic conditions in the black townships are very likely a major contributory factor in the emotional climate that leads to riots.

It was the PFP which spoke out strongly on these matters. The party, of course, is vulnerable to the charge that it has in the past arrogated to itself the paternalistic brief of "speaking for blacks" in Parliament. When it became apparent that coloureds and Indians were to be given representation in central government, it was believed (or hoped) that they would do the tough talking — and the PFP be eclipsed.

It hasn't happened that way. The low polls and the dismal initial performance of the new MPs cast a shadow that will take some time to disperse — if it ever really does. In the meanwhile, the PFP is duty-bound to continue to nail the NP on Budget overruns, encroaching secrecy of government, influx control. and the overall position of blacks inside or out of the homelands.

On a national level blacks opposed to the constitution obviously speak for themselves. But that does not mean that a vacuum should be allowed to develop in Parliament; and it is to the PFP's credit that it has given no evidence of wishing to abdicate its (admittedly residual) Westminster function of opposition.

Why Labour — which must be presumed to share at least some of the PFP's concern about the developing crisis — should have spent so much time in petty power games, while sniping at the Progressives, is a mystery. Those voters who supported them in the belief that they would be the new, real and vital opposition must be bitterly disappointed. It must be hoped that Hendrickse and his followers will speak out more strongly — and soon.

What will remain of their credibility otherwise?

SA heading towards a clientist style of politics

6/10/84 Boya C. Times



The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

THE most important development in the recent introduction of the new constitution was the announcement by the State President that dissenting coloured or Indian cabinet ministers need not resign if they were unable to go along with a cabinet decision but could merely announce their dissenting view.

Rather than taking the consociational route South Africa seems to be heading towards something not quite unlike a Latin American brand of clientelism.

In most Latin American countries politics is dominated by a powerful president, who is supported by an important group (or groups) in society and who makes the final decisions and arbitrates in serious group conflicts.

Conflicts

These conflicts are between elites at the apex of the diffuse vertical hierarchies (the military, students and urban groups) rather than between contending classes and ideologies. There is an increasing emphasis on initiatives flowing from the top of the various vertical structures — which of course reinforces these structures.

The Latin American system manages to resolve most potential conflicts and to keep direct confrontations within manageable proportions, short of instability.

In a recent study, Douglas Chalmers singles out some crucial factors which underline the system. First there is the extraordinary complex network of face-to-face relationships among members of the various elites which not only facilitates inter-elite communication, but also blurs the edges among the various elites.

Strategy

A second factor involves co-optive techniques. Many Latin American presidents avoid excessive conflicts through co-optation of elite members into various sorts of advisory councils, up to and including the cabinet.

This strategy is characterized by a proliferation of ad hoc and permanent commissions, new agencies (useful for changing representation without disturbing constitutional arrangements) and independent regulatory bodies.

A third factor is the cultivation of an overarching consensus which gives increasing legitimacy to the government as it pursues developmental goals.

Lastly, conflict is kept manageable by weakening certain elites, when they threaten to destroy the system.

There is a temptation to dismiss out of hand the possibility that South Africa may evolve along the lines of Latin American-style clientelism.

Clearly the coloured, Indian and black vertical structures are stunted. At the lower end there is a developing working class solidarity while at the upper end the coloured and Indian businessmen, teachers and higher level civil servants are as yet alienated from the system.

Rejection

Taking those in white-collar occupations as a rough yardstick of the size of the middle class, we find that people in this category range from eight percent among blacks, 20 to 25 percent among the coloured people and about 50 percent among the Indians.

It is generally accepted that the urban middle class of the black groups rejects the new constitution or, in the case of the blacks, the local authorities introduced in 1983.

But these are early days to judge a developing strategy. The state realizes well that it cannot base the new system only on the Labour Party and the National People's Party. It can be fully expected that the State President, using his considerable freedom to work the system, will make every effort to appeal to the middle classes of the various black groups.

He will attempt to build the same network of face-to-face relationships among the top-level white, brown and Indian civil servants and teachers, he will even be prepared to introduce a gradual relaxation of the Group Areas Act to facilitate it. White organized business and the church leadership will do their best to supplement the state-engineered elite interaction.

There will, secondly, also be a concerted attempt to co-opt elites, in spite of their rejection of the constitutional arrangements, into state commissions of inquiry, advisory councils and other statutory bodies.

Ideology

Particularly teachers, university staff and higher level civil servants will find it extremely difficult to resist becoming drawn into the state's over-arching structures.

There will thirdly be more sophisticated attempts than the crude total onslaught ideology to develop a consensus transcending the ethnic cleavages. The new ideology will continually stress the development needs of South Africa and the obligation of every responsible citizen to play his part in the upliftment of the lower classes.

As overt colour discrimination in the social and the economic field is replaced by civilized or technocratic standards these standards will be projected as safeguards for all middle-class people.

And, of course, the dire consequences of conflicts getting out of hand will be continuously emphasized. We have already seen how non-violence, negotiation and consensus have become key phrases in new ideology.

Lastly the state will be prepared, as a last resort, to weaken those elites that threaten to destabilize the system. Here the main targets are obviously over-arching organizations like the UDF or trade unions which show the capacity to mobilize communities.

Strategy

The state has learnt not to have exaggerated fears of the potential political power of trade unions. Recent surveys showed black people in South Africa do not see the black union movement as a political vehicle but rather look to the ANC, Inkatha or the UDF to play that role.

The chances of this strategy working fairly well over the short to medium term should not be under-estimated. Apart from students and high school pupils there does not seem to be a class or stratum that would seriously challenge either the state or overthrow the vertical (ethnic) structures.

It is only over the medium term that one expects serious challenges to build up to the ethnic structures, particularly if the state continues to apply the constitution and the group areas legislation rigidly.

The challenge seems less likely to develop at the first or national level, in which there would be declining public interest as the actors go through their motions, but at the level of the Labour Party and NPP administration of their respective communities.

The administration of coloured and Indian "own affairs" will be squarely based on a definite global sum being allocated to the respective communities. This sum will be fixed partly according to the established general norms for education, housing and other welfare services.

Housing stock

The system rests on the principle that the white, coloured and Indian communities on the macro level, and each town or township on the micro level, should financially keep within the bounds of its budgetary allocations and whatever additional levies that may be imposed by community representatives.

In addition, the state housing stock will over the next two or three years be transferred to the various coloured and Indian authorities. It is they, and the central government, which will have to deal with the explosive issue of rents.

In essence this means that in times of low economic growth the Labour Party or National People's Party heading the coloured and Indian self-administration respectively will definitely not be able to bestow across the line benefits in the form of better housing, affordable rents and improved schools and universities and more satisfactory township facilities and services.

Growth

They may sincerely wish to do so but their first duty will be to balance the books and to engage in a painful trade-off between various social goals, e.g. between better education or higher rents.

The caveat must be added that should South Africa somehow manage to achieve high economic growth, a larger cake would provide for bigger portions all round. Given current economic conditions, the stronger likelihood is that of serious conflicts over the way in which the same or only slightly bigger "ethnic" portions should be cut up.

This is where the question of legitimacy becomes a live political issue and not merely a matter of speculation for commentators. The raising of rents and service levies in Cape Town by the Labour Party (or in Durban by the National People's Party) could become a trigger for major confrontation.

The Department of Community Development recently contemplated the raising of rents in Cape Town which in some cases entailed increases of 50 percent. Think what would happen if under the new dispensation such increases are announced by the Labour Party — a party which received the active support of about five percent of the eligible voters in the August 1984 elections.

Riots

For fear of strong protests the Labour Party may decide to keep rent and service levies at the same level; however this would consume resources that could have been used to improve education which may in turn politicize the schoolchildren and students.

The recent Vaal Triangle riots have shown how explosive the issue of rents and schooling have become and how savage the wrath of the community towards politicians and other people who are seen as benefiting from the system.

Apart from the four who had been killed, a number of others had their houses burnt while several had to take refuge for days in the Administration Board building of Sebokeng.

This is where the analogy with Latin America patron-client relations breaks down. The relationship hinges on favours and protection being bestowed by the patron in return for loyalty, political allegiance and other services from the clients. In South Africa's group areas, brown, Indian or black politicians, civil servants and businessmen are confined to the same township as the seriously disaffected elements.



New cabinet ministers Mr Amichand Rajbansi (above) and Mr Allan Hendrickse . . . no need for them to resign if they don't agree with cabinet decisions



History

Secondly Latin American clientelism has a safety valve in that it has the flexibility to allow new groups capable of demonstrating their power to enter the game. In South Africa, however, the constitution freezes the vertical structures and rigidly lays down rules, admitting only those who agree to play according to these rules.

Lastly, and most obviously, Latin America elites have a long history of successfully casting conflict in class, and not racial, terms and of manipulating consensual values.

There is of course no reason why a State President could not anticipate serious crises and persuade the ruling party to adjust the constitution to provide for greater flexibility. For this to happen it is necessary to spell out the dangers of the current strategy in the clearest terms.

[This column is adapted from a paper to be presented at an evening session on Tuesday at the conference of the University of Western Cape on "Economic Development and Racial Discrimination". The other speakers in the same session are Heribert Adam and Stanley Greenberg.]

C. Herald 6/10/84 (304A) (SEAL)

Bomb at MP's home: 2 jailed

By Tyrone Seale

"IF they were prepared to be used, they should be prepared to accept the consequences."

This is what a Cape Town Regional Court magistrate told a Ravensmead man and a 17-year-old youth, when he sentenced them to five years and three years in jail respectively, for a petrol bomb attack on the home of Ravensmead MP, Mr John "Oom Hansie" Christians.

The attack took place in the early hours of August 22, the day of the House of Representatives elections, in which Mr Christians was elected as the Labour Party's candidate for Ravensmead.

ARSON

Peter May, 20, of Marion Crescent, Ravensmead, and the youth — who may not be identified — were charged under Section 54(1) of the Internal Security Act, alternatively arson.

Section 54(1) of the Act deals with terrorism.

The main charge was withdrawn when Mr May and the youth pleaded guilty to arson at a hearing on September 18.

In a statement handed in to the court at this hearing, the accused each admitted throwing a petrol bomb at the Christians' home in North Way, Ravensmead.

Damage estimated at R2 000 was caused to window panes, walls, the roof, flooring, curtains, documents and a built-in cupboard. Most of these items were part of Mr Christians' office at the front of the house.

Sentencing them last Thursday morning, the magistrate, Mr JSC van Graan, said that the two had acted in a cowardly manner, without regard for the occupants of the house.

INFLUENCED

"The court is aware that to a certain degree the two were influenced by other people who used them. However, if they were prepared to be used, they should be prepared to accept the consequences," Mr van Graan said.

(Mr S Shrock appeared for the State and Mr P Sonn represented Mr May and the youth.)

● "Oom Hansie" Christians said shortly after their conviction that he felt "sorry" for them, despite the fact that he and his family had suffered "great inconvenience and shock" after the attack.

"The attack on my house was the first trouble I've had with people around here since I moved in 60 years ago.

"I tried my best to get them off. I know them and I know their parents. I spoke to the authorities about their trial and sentences, but this is what happened. I believe that they were being used by other people with bad intentions," he said.

One more arrested

MR Trevor Wentzel, 24, chairman of the Ravensmead Youth and Student Organisation (Rayso), was arrested just before dawn last Thursday in connection with the petrol bomb attack on the home of the Labour Party MP for Ravensmead, Mr John "Oom Hansie" Christians, on August 22.

Mr Wentzel's arrest — at 6 am last Thursday — came just a few hours before a Ravensmead man, Peter May, 20, and a 17-year-old youth were sentenced to five years and three years in jail respectively for the attack on Mr Christians' home.

The Rayso chairman and former trade unionist appeared briefly in the Bellville Magistrate's Court last Friday morning in connection with the petrol bomb attack.

CRUMPLED

No charges were put to him and he was not asked to plead.

Mr Wentzel caused a stir in the packed courtroom when he crumpled and threw to the ground a copy of a document from the Attorney-General which dealt with the non-admission of bail in the case.

The document had been passed on to Mr Wentzel after the investigating officer had handed it to Mr Wentzel's defence attorney, Mr R Vassen.

The hearing was postponed to October 5 for plea and trial in the Bellville Regional Court.

Mr R van Rooyen appeared for the State.



● ***FLASHBACK — Labour MP for Ravensmead, "Oom Hansie" Chri tians in the ruins of the room damaged by the petrol bomb.***

S. Express 9/10/84. #1(a) 30(A)

Two masters for each local authority

By JEAN LE MAY
Political Correspondent

EVERY local authority will have two masters when the new constitutional arrangements get off the ground.

Their 'own affairs' will be controlled by the Ministers' Councils — Parliament's three ethnic Cabinets — and their 'general affairs' will be controlled by the provinces.

The division of functions between the provinces and Ministers of 'own affairs' in the Ministers' Councils were spelt out at a meeting in Pretoria this week by Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, who is also the Cabinet Minister responsible for 'general affairs' in local government.

The three 'own affairs' Ministers — Mr Ami Venter, Mr David Curry and Mr Baldeo Dookie — the four provincial Administrators, and the MECs in charge of local government were at the meeting.

It was held primarily to discuss how local government affairs would be handled under the new constitution, Mr Len Dekker, director of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the Sunday Express.

Local government affairs would remain the responsibility of the four provinces until certain investigations had been completed, said Mr Dekker.

There would be close consultation between the three Ministers and the investigating committees, he said.

Among other issues discussed was the postponement of local government elections in order to co-ordinate the terms of office of town councils and management committees.

It was decided in theory to postpone all local government elections until 1985 and to introduce a uniform five-year term of office, said Mr Dekker.

Opinion polls: what the Govt can get away with

304A Sunday Post 10/10/84

By GRAHAM WATTS

POLITICAL opinion polls have the peculiar function of finding out what people feel they can safely say about a subject — not what they are likely to do about it.

Properly understood, therefore, polls tell governments what they can get away with rather than what their electorate would like them to do.

A survey released in South Africa recently is a classic case of just such a poll.

In one sense it reveals that white opinions on domestic and foreign issues are still deeply conservative: a majority of whites don't want blacks to sit with them in the same cinema, three out of four of them don't think blacks have any reason to take up arms and 81% agree that they sould be bombed in neighbouring states if they do.

In another sense it indicates — when read with a near-identical poll two years ago — that if the Government swaps its racist dogma for something more sensible, even on some emotive issues, white South Africans will go along with it.

For instance, slightly more than half of white South Africans think the Government should negotiate directly with Swapo, whereas two years ago just over a third thought so.

On the other hand, where the Government has not taken the lead, the survey reveals that opinions have remained static: for instance, a consistent 55% of whites in both 1982 and this year disagreed that cinemas should be open to all population groups.

Somewhere cinemas appear about in the spectrum that runs from five-star hotels at the one end to public swimming pools on the other. Varying degrees of opposition to desegration go with them.

Post Offices are also somewhere there in the middle. The difference is that the Government has been sensible enough to present desegregated Post Offices as necessary and quite normal. Not yet cinemas. But watch this space.

Economics provides the nudge, of course, as it clearly has done in the case of Post Offices and Namibia.

But the point remains that white South Africans now queue behind black ones to buy a stamp and this Government has held face-to-face talks with Sam Nujoma.

And white opinion — as illustrated in the survey — dutifully follows.

The survey — "What Do We Think: Number Two" was conducted by the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA). It was done in April this year by Market and Opinion Surveys and was analysed by Professor Deon Geldenhuys, associate professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University.

Prof Geldenhuys's analysis concludes that "white South African opinion is not static or insensitive to changes in the political environment" but instead reflects "the new dynamics of domestic and regional politics".

While the majority of white South Africans remain deeply conscious of and concerned about perceived threats to the security of the Republic, says Prof Geldenhuys, their opinions have mellowed significantly since the 1982 survey.

On the question of direct talks with Swapo, the survey found that nearly half of respondents who identified themselves as National Party supporters agreed that there should be such talks.

Nearly half of the men respondents and nearly 60% of those aged between 16 and 24 years agreed with direct talks with Swapo.

White opinions also appear to follow the Government's thump-and-talk attitude towards regional foreign policy. In both surveys, 81% agreed with the statement that "South Africa should militarily attack terrorist bases in its neighbouring states (like an ANC base near Maputo)".

What South Africa needs at the moment both at home and abroad, however, is more than just military might. It needs policy initiatives that can accommodate the political and economic demands of its domestic majority.

But as long as, at the level of words, it insists on linking those demands with external threats orchestrated from the Kremlin, it is going to be left in an ideological laager the only way out of which will be to shoot.

The survey reveals, for example, that nearly 80% of respondents in both surveys did not think that the "communist threat against South Africa was exaggerated by the Government."

A full 70% of English respondents agreed with the Government's assessment of this "threat".

If the Government doesn't grasp now that most of the leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Natal Indian Congress, for instance, are what they say — utterly middle class men who would turn white at orders from the Kremlin, then they will have to work doubly hard to persuade their electorate when they eventually have to.

While it is still depressing to note that 63% of whites agreed that "a terrorist war like that in South West Africa will in time also develop in South Africa", there is some cheer to be found in the fact that this is 12,5 percentage points down on the 1982 survey.

The lesson of this survey is that the Government can give that figure a further downward push if it packs in its verbal nonsense and comes up with policies that are likely to make the respondents' gloomy prediction less likely.

It can set the tone: white opinion will follow.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Le Grange's attack on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other "enemies" of the Republic really got the adrenalin flowing.

Such is the dilemma of dominant parties which seek to shed the image of autocracy without seeming to abdicate power. The establishment of the tri-cameral parliament, which allows a modicum of power-sharing with coloureds and Indians, clearly had to be offset by intimations of stern action against "radicals and activists." The loosely constituted UDF was an ideal target. Other seemingly contradictory acts followed: Beyers Naudé, Saths Cooper and others were unbanned while detention orders were served on UDF and NIC leaders; peace was initiated in Mozambique while army units were sent into Soweto to assist the police.

Three senior ministers — Interior Minister F W de Klerk, Co-operation, Development and Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis — talked on the constitutional future of black South Africans as "the biggest constitutional challenge ahead." None of them went much further than to say that government will have to give serious attention to this problem.

Small teaspoons

That prompted Willem de Klerk, brother of F W, prominent Afrikaner and opinion former and editor of *Rapport*, to write in his personal column last Sunday: "Beware not to feed whites with too small teaspoons of SA's realities. We, the whites, must also know that a tremendous amount of things still have to change in this country if we want consensus and peace and security.

"Survival asks that we let go of many things: discrimination, untenable laws refusal of joint black participation (*medeseggenskap*) in SA ... and much more. Nationalists must know now already that we will have to move dramatically on the issue of black political rights.

"This aspect must not be weakened or ignored. If some politicians do not want to put it too strongly now, then they must be glad that political commentators are going ahead to make the people ripe for the completion of the reform."



NP's F W de Klerk ... talking about urban blacks

Financial Mail October 12 1984

POLITICS

Ceiling of reform?

South Africans who thought the pace of reform was about to quicken need to think again after the National Party's Transvaal congress last week.

Party congresses, of course, are notoriously parochial and chauvinistic and seldom provide a reliable indication of government policy moves. If anything, proceedings at the Transvaal congress confirmed that apart from slow, careful moves towards some new deal for urban blacks, very little "reform" can be expected in the future.

A number of ministers did mention change and said the party is committed to the reformist road. But those sentiments were hastily qualified by an affirmation that the NP is still faithful to the principles of separate development. In the words of Transvaal leader F W de Klerk, it is "determined to effectively maintain white interests."

Some of the motions adopted were reminiscent of NP congresses in the days when Connie Mulder and Andries Treurnicht were party stalwarts. For instance, the party must ensure "that ethnicity is given its due consideration in the new dispensation and that the interaction between whites and other groups in SA does not disturb or dismantle the maintenance of whites and their interests."

For most of the delegates the highlight of an otherwise dull congress was the double act of bellicose *kragdadigheid* by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and

Financial Mail October 12 1984

Affiliations:

Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference;
The International Young Christian Workers.

Periodicals

1. 'Young Worker' Newspaper - 4 times a year
2. Pamphlets on specific things like - w
   information on what a trade union is etc.

SA turns to a policy of benign dominance

W/F Post 13/10/84 (304A

By KEN OWEN

SOUTH Africa has made Mozambique the centre-piece of a regional strategy which, on a small scale, invites comparison with the Monroe doctrine: to peg a sphere of influence in which South Africa would displace more distant nations as the dominant power.

That Mozambique of all places should become the key to the strategy is an irony but not an accident.

The text-book Marxist revolution which overthrew the Portuguese 10 years ago also laid the foundation for Mozambique's destitution. To the misfortune of colonial rule and the destruction of war was added the folly of socialist economics. The result was pitiful but inevitable.

Economic collapse has been so complete that if Mozambique were to find some miraculous way to maintain a growth rate of 10% a year it would not in a century escape from the company of the world's poorest nations. And, since the poor have few choices, President Samora Machel has had to run to the only country capable of delivering effective aid to him.

The Soviets only make mischief, the Europeans have withdrawn from the region, and the Americans — at least the Republicans — have long recognised that their best interests are served by putting the burden of regional security on South Africa.

The attitude was discernible in Washington more than a decade ago when a frustrated White House official burst out: "President Nixon has offered South Africa a chance to control its own region and to keep it secure for the West, and South Africa is too stupid to see its opportunity."

It may or may not be coincidence that the remark was made shortly before Mr Pik Botha was posted to the American capital as Ambassador.

In any event, the Foreign Minister has since grasped the point that the role of regional power suits South Africa far better than the alternate theory that we are a bulwark of the West.

Certainly it takes a more realistic view of South Africa's international standing than Mr John Vorster's "outward" policy. The latter policy, aimed not primarily to assist Africa or to exploit South Africa's dominance of its own region but to win the approval of the West by showing goodwill towards Africans outside the borders which it denied to Africans within those borders.

Essentially, it was an attempt to find a way into Europe's heart through Africa's empty stomach and retained a strong element of colonial dependence on the goodwill of the West.

THE key to South Africa's survival is not the might of its army but the might of its economy.



Mr B J VORSTER
. . . 'outward' look



General M MALAN
. . . total onslaught

The same emotional dependence operated in the repeated, ultimately abject, insistence on protecting the Cape sea route on behalf of the West even though the West cared so little that it denied us the weapons to do the job.

The day South Africa finally grew up can be pinpointed with unusual precision: on December 19, 1975, the American Senate voted to reject aid for the anti-communist forces in Angola, leaving South Africa stranded in the middle of a military campaign which, by nods and winks, it had been encouraged to pursue.

Trapped and alone, the South African army withdrew in good order but in conditions of perceived humiliation.

That lesson — that we cannot depend on the West for protection even against the Soviet Union and its surrogates — has caused a progressive shift in foreign policy from the Northern Hemisphere to Southern Africa.

Despite occasional recidivism (such as Mr Botha's recent tour of Europe) South African foreign policy concentrates increasingly on the region.

One expression of that policy is the switch from a blue water navy, capable of operating in cunjunction with Western fleets to defend the Cape route, to coastal defence.

The development of specialised equipment for bush warfare, like the Ratel, tells precisely how we see our future. We are not, anymore, an outpost of the Western empire.

Instead of trying to woo Europe and America by courting Africa, South Africa is now trying to supplant the European and American powers, even if that means competing head-on with the Soviet Union and its surrogates for regional influence.

Foreign policy, post-1975 and post-Vorster, has strong roots in the military establishment, and its early manifestation was an aggressiveness that suited the image of Mr P W Botha.

The rationalisation devised by General Magnus Malan in his "total onslaught" theory may be ignored as shallow and limited; the resultant military actions which were soon in progress against targets in Angola, Lesotho and Mozambique were terrifyingly real.

The Foreign Affairs establishment, thoroughly alarmed, warned of the international dangers of excessive aggression in Angola but when its advice was overridden and the military operations went ahead — nothing happened. Similarly the raids into Maseru and Maputo had no immediately profound consequences abroad.

Harassment of Lesotho at border posts demonstrated that essentially, the international community was powerless to protect South Africa's neighbours from the new aggression of its foreign policy.

As always, there are limits.

The key to further success was to convert aggression into a platform for negotiation, to curb the army and unleash the diplomats. A doctoral thesis awaits the student who can tell how this was achieved but the indications are that Mr Pik Botha, whose emphatic manner tends to conceal the visionary fervour and the creativity of his diplomacy, came into his own.

South African diplomatic activity throughout the region has been intense and effective but it has also been lucky. For one thing, it has enjoyed the goodwill and facilitative support of the Reagan Administration, which sees in the normalisation of regional relationships its own escape from responsibility in Southern Africa.

Then, too, Africa's misfortune had played a role. Mozambique is an extreme case of post-colonial disintegration but not an isolated one.

Across the middle of Southern Africa stretches a broad band of misery and economic failure which has been aggravated, but not caused, by drought.

Tanzania has turned into a basket case since the Arusha Declaration rejected Western capitalism.

The Congo has in some measure fulfilled the cynical prophecy made 20 years ago by author Stuart Cloete — who knew the country — that it would return to the jungle.

Angola and Mozambique are torn by war and Zimbabwe by civil strife.

Zambia, as the West Indian author Shiva Naipaul has noted, subsides gently into excesses of booze and rust. The mini-countries survive only as adjuncts of the South African economy.

Malawi, run by Dr Kumuzu Banda as a kind of private tea estate, is an exception, and Botswana has done quite well out of honest administration and mining house investment, but the overall picture is bleak

The colonial structures, in any event inappropriate, have collapsed, skilled population have been eliminated or reduced, and capitalism — which might give such backward countries a starting point — has been confined to the ventures of mining houses and little else.

Welfare agencies, as thick as tourists in the south of France, indulge in charitable work that changes no fundamentals, and the major powers have managed to shake off the lingering demands of the ex-colonies which they relinquished as soon as the cost became significantly greater than the return.

Nor can South Africa pretend to cure these ills It can offer some trade to Mozambique, perhaps enough to provide Maputo with the minimum of foreign currency required to keep a kind of order at key points; it can offer Lesotho an income from the sale of water, provided Lesotho makes up its mind quickly.

But in the end, the best to be done for neighbouring states is to draw them into one, integrated economic region which will spin off a measure of prosperity in all directions according to market forces

For the black states it is a reasonably benign prospect but it does have a price: recognition that South Africa's economic dominance is as formidable and as inescapable as its military strength.

The catch is that acceptance of South African economic dominance leads to acceptance of a political relationship with a state which the rest of the world is trying to isolate and, by sanctions and pressure, ultimately to destroy. But the alternative is worse — to languish indefinitely in the misery that has overtaken Mozambique

For South Africa, all this emphasises that the principal instrument of its security is not its army but its economy and that the proper management of the economy is a minimum requirement of survival.



President SAMORA MACHEL of Mozambique and Mr P W BOTHA at the signing of the Nkomati Accord, a reflection of South Africa's policy of trying to establish regional stability.

C. Herald 13/10/84 (304A)

Toilet bribe: new findings

By Anthony Doman

PEOPLE'S Congress Party leader Peter Marais has privately named the mystery man who offered him R3 000 in a toilet for a President's Council nomination ... but he won't expose the person in public.

And his party's two MPs, Dennis de la Cruz and Yusuf Rhoda, knew everything about the deal before they handed in their President's Council choices.

These revelations come in the wake of Marais's purge of party members who have called for him to quit over the President's Council row.

Now they are asking: what exactly went on behind closed doors?

Marais claims to have been offered the "toilet bribe" cash to drop Joe Pinetown of Kimberley from the list of President's Council nominees. As things turned out, Mr Pinetown's nomination was turned down anyway — on a technicality.

Accepted for seats on the President's Council were Marais, Anwar Ismail of Worcester and Abdul-Wahab Tiry of Uitenhage.

MYSTERY

Sources within the party say Marais named the mystery briber at a meeting in Athlone last week.

Curiously, Marais raised no objections to sitting in the meeting, which was chaired by a man he had sacked from the party for calling on him to quit.

Since the PCP's disastrous performance in the August elections it has been wracked by internal dissent. With the still simmering row over the President's Council nominations the party seems set to fall apart.

Even the party's lone voice in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, is reported as saying he wants to quit.

Yet a meeting of the party's National Directorate is believed to have expressed full support for Marais at a meeting on Sunday.

LEGALITY

But some party members question the legality of this meeting, saying that many senior officials, including the secretary and treasurer, were not at the meeting.

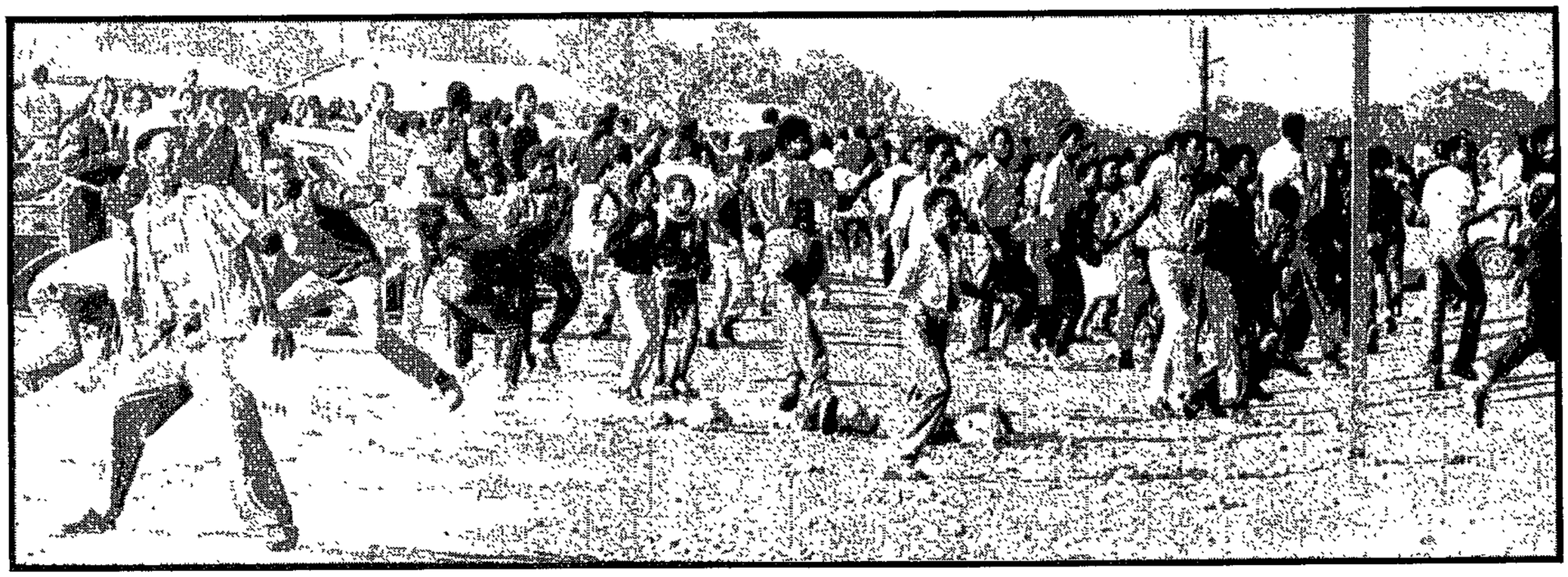
A spokesman for the party's Western Cape region, Mr Dawood Adams (himself under threat of expulsion for being part of the anti-Marais group), commented: "We treat Mr Marais's threats with contempt.

"He obviously does not know his constitution and the limits it imposes on his powers. He's got no power to expel people just like that.

"He's prostituting the constitution."

He went on to say that the group felt "a crime has been committed."

A RESPECTED ACADEMIC ANALYSES THE CRACKS IN THE NATIONALIST MONOLITH . . .



☐ **SOWETO UNREST . . . A growing white vulnerability in the face of black discontent**

HOW APARTHEID HAS WITHERED

Where once there was resolute certainty in Afrikanerdom, now there are nagging doubts. In the end, the state may have to yield

By STANLEY GREENBERG, associate director of Southern African research at Yale University

IN JUNE, 1979, Dr Piet Koornhof proclaimed before the National Press Club in Washington that "apartheid is dead".

He may have been grandstanding, of course, but at home doubts about ideological orthodoxy were being expressed both within and outside the state.

The Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis at the University of Pretoria, with well-developed contacts within the government and Afrikaner business community, reported in July, 1980 that the "failure of socio-economic growth in the territories of the black national states . . . is becoming embarrassing". The head of the bureau, Professor Jan Lombard, referred to "separate development" as a "sinking philosophy".

Little wonder, then, that outside observers have written about a "crisis of hegemony".

The observations are curious, however, as just a few years earlier, in the late 1960s, apartheid seemed an ascendant political ideology.

This state ideology, by the early 1960s, enjoyed broad acceptance at all levels within the state, from party functionaries and ideologues to department secretaries, to local control officials administering the affairs of blacks: they all now gave voice to state control and apartheid's national contrivances.

Applauded

The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, for example, applauded the essential firmness of the state in the face of employer and black efforts to circumvent government policy: the labour bureaucracy must deal with "the ruses, dodges and trickery of very determined people, comprising the illegal bantu entrants themselves, their agents or representatives and some of their employers, whether real or feigned".

This coherent state ideology rationalised the privilege and seemed to guarantee the future status of vital class elements party to the dominant political alignment. The ideology, however, had almost nothing to say to the growing black working class.

Blacks faced a state, an ideological edifice, that was racially exclusive, ever-present, monolithic and coherent.

By the mid-1970s, the lack of coherence and effective control were becoming inescapably evident. The two decades of escalating state repression — the suppression of African trade unions and political organisations on the one hand and the massive application of pass and influx control laws on the other — brought no respite, just growing contradictions.

Increasing labour control necessitated yet more control, as rising labour surpluses in the bantustans threatened to overrun the institutions of labour control.

The black working class, stuck in an ideological limbo, a full-fledged proletariat that had been given no normative basis for participation in this order, began to strike out: uncontrolled strikes spread across the major industrial centres and urban revolts swept the black townships, attacking whatever state institutions — police stations, schools and pass offices — that were in reach; blacks formed unions that confronted the entire social order but locally, at the work place, where worker power was concentrated and more secure.

In this context, some state officials, intellectuals and businessmen in particular began to question the ideological orthodoxy and to construct a new, more incorporative ideology.

During the late Seventies, a range of prominent intellectuals, many of them participants in state commissions or advisory boards, began to offer sceptical observations about what had passed for conventional ideology.

They questioned the economic viability of the bantustans; they wondered aloud about the future of urban blacks; they asked whether any system built centrally around racial discrimination could prove legitimate internally or externally.

Emotive

More broadly, and perhaps more importantly, Afrikaner intellectuals wondered whether emotive and symbolic notions, like 'separate development' or 'apartheid', could any longer offer some hope for an orderly future.

Afrikaner businessmen in the middle and late Seventies began questioning the framework that had sustained state policy over two decades, although Afrikaner business in particular had played a formative role in the framework's construction.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (AHI) — the principal Afrikaner business association, representing medium and large firms as well as some co-operatives and quasi-state enterprises — questioned the efficacy and plausibility of bantustan policies, state control measures and efforts to deny black proletarianisation.

"The black stream to the cities will thus become stronger and exert pressure, despite all our laudable efforts and incentives to decentralisation and homeland development . . . Economic integration of the blacks is inevitable and unstoppable if work and welfare is to be created and maintained."

In the next 20 years, the AHI predicted, there would be 20-million more urbanised blacks and, remarkably, seven more Sowetos.

Afrikaner business in the Seventies also expressed growing concern about the poverty and discontent of some blacks and the problems raised by an illegitimate social order. While the (then) Prime Minister at the first of two historic meetings with the business community spoke of a "constellation of states", business participants spoke repeatedly of poor living conditions or unemployment among urban blacks.

These concerns were reiterated at the second meeting in 1981 where businessmen concentrated, in particular, on the housing and training needs of the industrialised and stabilised portion of the black population. In the absence of a policy responsive to this new reality, the AHI wrote, whites would face a growing vulnerability in the face of black discontent.

Diminish

This new reality demanded a new ideological initiative that would end the evident partiality of the state, open up opportunities for "stable" and "middle-class" elements, and, most importantly, diminish the role of the state.

The first step in this ideological process was de-racialisation — a repudiation of the historic enshrinement of social privilege within the state and economy. Even this limited exercise in incorporation demanded at the ideological level a shift toward more universal principles.

For businessmen, de-racialisation has come to mean simply removing visibly discriminatory measures, particularly those that hamper the position of the emerging educated middle-class. For others, the notion involves black collaboration in the labour control bureaucracy, above all, in influx control, to remove the racial stigma from such state activity.

In 1976, the AHI thought that a black takeover of the labour control administration would end the "incitement of hate against the whites — since in present circumstances the Whites have to enforce their laws . . .".

The director of the Urban Foundation, while not wholly supportive of influx control, could envisage its retention, "if there was bigger black

● **Excerpts from a paper by Professor Greenberg entitled 'Ideological Struggles Within the South African State', delivered this week at the University of the Western Cape**

City voters get more clout

Nationalist delimitation plans to boost their representation in Parliament...

David Breier

THE National Party is working on a master plan to boost the political strength of white city voters over white voters on the platteland. The move will keep the growing rightwing threat at bay.

This has been disclosed by a senior Transvaal Nationalist source who said the party strategy was to change the delimitation system to make greater use of verligte city voters, especially English-speakers.

To exploit fully this new source of potential NP votes, party strategists say the imbalance between rural and urban seats has to be rectified.

Urban seats have traditionally had far more voters than those in rural constituencies. This used to work in favour of the NP, which drew overwhelming support from the farming community. In effect, this means a city vote is worth less than a rural vote.

Urban seats may be loaded by up to 15 percent above quota while rural seats may be deloaded by 15 percent. So rural seats can have 85 voters to every 115 voters in an urban seat.

But now this imbalance is harming the NP which is working on a plan to reduce the loading factor, limiting the difference between city and rural seats and giving full weight to the city vote.

This could also breathe new life into the Progressive Federal Party, which is struggling to keep its voters from the NP. PFP spokesmen want a better distribution of seats.

But Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, said there was good reason for rural seats to have fewer voters. He said platteland MPs worked far harder than their city counterparts.

By changing the system the NP might obtain some short-term advantage by winning over PFP voters, he said. "But in the long term it depends on who has the most supporters in the entire country. The CP is gaining votes in both city and platteland."

Another factor in the new NP plan is the grossly unfair imbalance between the number of seats in the Cape, which is the home ground of President Botha, and the Transvaal, where rightwing strength is concentrated.

Transvaal seats are far larger than those in the Cape and a Transvaal vote is therefor worth less than a Cape vote. The average Transvaal seat has 15 500 voters to 12 500 in the Cape.

A vital clause in the new Constitution permits the Government to change the provincial quota from next year — five years after the last delimitation in 1980.

At present in the "white" house the Cape has 56 seats, the Transvaal 76, Natal 20 and the Free State 14. This arrangement dates back to 1972.

Since then there has been a massive population shift to the north. In terms of the last census figures, the Transvaal should have 86 seats, the Cape 46, Natal 21 and the Free State 12.

Police probe claims of bribery in PCP

Political Staff

THE South African Police have received documents they are examining with a view to investigating allegations of bribery in connection with the People's Congress Party's (PCP) nominations for the President's Council.

Mr Dawood Adams, who was the PCP's regional press liaison officer for the Western Cape, said yesterday that he had handed four sets of minutes of the Cape regional committee's meetings to the police last week.

The minutes were dated September 24 and October 1, 4 and 8.

'Certain documents'

A police liaison officer, Captain D T Potgieter, confirmed last night that police had received "certain documents" which they were examining "with a view to investigations".

In a statement explaining the action of the Cape regional executive, Mr Adams said it appeared that "members of the party may have contravened certain laws".

He added that it had been decided that these questions "can best be answered by the proper law-enforcement authorities."

Five members of the executive, including Mr Adams, were expelled from the party by the PCP's leader, Mr Peter Marais, earlier this month.

"It is not for us to presume the criminal guilt of any of the people involved in what can at best be described as a very unsavoury situation," Mr Adams said.

He added that the Cape regional committee had felt it could not tolerate "any actions on the part of any member of our party which if not criminal, borders on being unsavoury".

The action by the "rebel" Cape regional executive follows allegations that:

- A demand for R43 000 was made in return for nominating one would-be candidate to the President's Council.
- An offer of R2 000 was made by one aspirant candidate if another would withdraw his nomination, and a further R500 a month for as long as he was unemployed was added to this.

In addition, it is understood that one would-be member of the President's Council stated that he was prepared to spend R500 000 in order to secure nomination.

As the Opposition in the 85-seat House of Representatives, in spite of holding only two seats, the PCP was entitled to nominate three members to the President's Council.

However, in terms of an alleged deal with the Labour Party, it was agreed that the PCP would nominate two of the men and Labour one.

The PCP, it emerges from the minutes, intended to renege on the deal and nominate three of its own members.

It was decided, however, not to nominate one member because of objections raised by the leader of the LP, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The minutes of the four meetings provide a clear picture of the events that allegedly preceeded the nomination of the three members of the President's Council on September 18.

One man who had been promised a seat on the 60-man council prior to the election became "hysterical" when told he would no longer get a nomination.

'Pleaded'

On nomination day, there were apparently six men still in the running.

According to the minutes of October 4, Mr Marais said that one aspirant councillor had approached him in the toilet and had "pleaded for the nomination going down on his knees and grabbing hold of me around the legs".

Mr Marais said he had been given an envelope containing R2 000 and asked to hand it to another aspirant candidate with the offer of a further R500 per month "for as long as...was unemployed".

Mr Marais told the regional committee that he had taken the envelope "only to calm down" the man. He said Mr Dennis de la Cruz, MP for Ottery, had subsequently undertaken to return the R2 000 to the man.

PFP congress breaks 16-year race ban

(304A Star 16/10/84

The appearance of a coloured delegate at the Progressive Federal Party Natal congress last week and the passing of a resolution to open membership to all races end a 16-year period of enforced racial purity for the party.

In terms of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968, no person who belongs to one population group (defined by the Act as either white, black, coloured or Indian/Chinese/Other Asiatic) may be a member of any political party of which any person who belongs to any other population group is a member.

The Progressive Party fought tooth and nail to prevent the controversial law being enacted.

But, on losing the battle against overwhelming National Party odds, it reluctantly divested itself of its non-white members and since 1968 has been an exclusively white party.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The Act also prohibits any members of a population group from addressing a gathering or assembly of persons of whom all or most belong to any other population group for the furthering of interests of a political party, or candidature of any person who has been nominated for election, and is still on the statute book.

Although the Government has promised to refer it to a parliamentary committee for reappraisal, any person who breaks the law risks a fine of up to R600 or six months in prison.

As it is the individual who faces punishment and not the party the PFP has pointed out that, while the party remains open to all members of all races, it will not recruit among the non-white population groups.

The PFP leader, Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, says that if any individuals know what the consequences are and still want to join the party, then they are welcome.

He says the Natal congress resolution was exactly the same as one passed at the recent Cape congress of the party and that the PFP position remains that were it not for the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, the party would automatically be open to all race groups.

One school of thought holds that as the coloured Labour Party appears to have blatantly ignored the Act with impunity, the Progs cannot afford to be seen as too timid to do likewise.

The other, more conservative, opinion is that the PFP is not a party that breaks laws. The matter should be dealt with through pressure on the Government and by raising it in Parliament.

In any event, the Government has already promised the Labour Party that the law will be reviewed by a parliamentary committee, and the PFP should use that opportunity to try to get the legislation scrapped, this school of thought contends.

REMINISCENT OF '60s

The current debate over tactics to circumvent the controversial measure is reminiscent of the divisions in the Progressive Party in the 1960s when it became clear that the Nationalist Government intended taking action to segregate party politics.

The Progressive Party of those days had members from all race groups and frequently invited people of colour to address its meetings.

Even meetings held by the Progs in Pretoria, notably under the chairmanship of Professor P V Pistorius of the University of Pretoria who was then a leading executive member of the PP, regularly invited Indian and coloured people to take part in deliberations.

But when the Government began making noises about introducing legislation to prohibit integrated parties, Progs became nervous that defiance of such a move could mean an outright banning of the party which would, in turn, lead to the expulsion from Parliament of the party's sole MP, Mrs Helen Suzman.

At the party's national congress in 1966 at Sea Point a minority proposal chiefly by delegates from the Free State that the party should ignore Government intimidation was defeated, and the Progs moved voluntarily towards becoming a uniracial party.

During last year's referendum the PFP invited kwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi to address political meetings in favour of a No vote.

The party argued that this was technically not in violation of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act because the Government had decreed that the referendum was not to be fought on a party political basis.

If the referendum was not a matter for party politics, then racially mixed meetings held during the campaign could not be in contravention of the law.

During this year's Indian parliamentary elections the coloured Labour Party bluntly announced that it intended ignoring the Act by signing up Indian members, appointing Indians to executive positions in the LP and fielding Labour candidates for the Indian House of Delegates.

Mindful of the relatively weak position of the Labour Party with regard to taking part in the new constitutional system, the Government chose not to make an issue of these flagrant violations of the law.

Instead there were intensive behind-the-scenes negotiations which ended in the compromise that if Labour did not field candidates in the Indian elections, the Government would refer the law for reappraisal.

Labour agreed, but although its candidates were officially registered as independents they contested the election under party colours.

It would seem that, since the Government continued to turn a blind eye to Labour's breaching of the law, PFP branches have been encouraged to tentatively try the same.

Most observers believe that, having failed to stop the LP breaking the law, there is precious little the Government can do to the Progressive Federal Party.

Black rule or conflict inevitable — Naude

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

White South Africans must accept the inevitability of black majority rule or face an escalation of conflict, Dr Beyers Naude warned yesterday.

In one of his first speeches since his banning order was lifted last month, he said that, while there was still time for "relatively peaceful change", the conflict could not now be resolved without some violence.

Dr Naude spoke frankly after seven years' enforced silence.

"One major impression that has grown within me during my banning is of the growing divide between white and black in our country.

"The vast majority of blacks, coloureds and Indians have totally rejected the very same constitution which has been strongly supported by 66 percent of whites.

"The majority of blacks regard the recent political developments as steps which force them into a low-scale form of civil warfare.

HATRED

"This is shown by the growing hatred among black youth for the police and army and the cynical disregard for laws made by the whites."

Dr Naude said that, while most whites believed the dominant white community could uphold the present political system for years to come, many blacks felt cracks had appeared in the apartheid structure which, if exploited properly, could bring about black liberation sooner than expected.

Dr Naude said it should be realised that the more the Government pushed its brand of "reform", the greater would be the resistance from the black, coloured and Indian communities.

Increased Government action against the United Democratic Front on the basis that it was an ANC front would merely enhance the image of the ANC in the eyes of UDF supporters.

Dr Naude said the Afrikaner should take the lead in bringing about fundamental change.

RDM 17/10/84 (BOFA)

Caught between stools of reform and repression

ANDRE DU TOIT

IN THEORY, reform and repression are polar opposites. In practice they are often linked much too close for liberal comfort.

The confusing picture of South African politics in recent weeks suggests that once again we are poised ambiguously somewhere between reform and repression.

On the one hand, we have the official celebrations of the inauguration of the new constitutional dispensation promising an end to exclusive white rule.

On the other there is the renewed spiral of protest and violence in the black townships with the Minister of Law and Order talking of a "revolutionary climate" and bringing in the army to back up the security forces.

At the same historic moment that coloured and Indian politicians were taking their places in Parliament for the first time there were ominous signs that the Government may be preparing to ban the United Democratic Front.

It is this latter threat of repression which could spell disaster for the possibility of reform.

There are those who sincerely believe that UDF agitators are at the bottom of the current black political unrest and that our constitutional processes must be secured against the dangers of such extra-parliamentary forces.

There are also cynics only too ready to say that a security clampdown on the UDF proves that the new constitution is a farce.

In fact, what reformist potential the new parliamentary system has may well depend on whether our political processes can accommodate extra-parliamentary movements such as the UDF.

The politics of reform is easily misunderstood, especially by those in power. The Government may be quite sincere in its wish to bring about necessary reforms.

A determined verligte leadership may be prepared to face up to the political costs of conservative reaction among the National Party's own traditional constituency but, politically, reform is no longer merely a policy debate *within* white politics and *about* blacks.

Reformists are mistaken in assuming that because even limited concessions have real costs in losing white support, such reforms will therefore be able to transform black resistance into compliance and co-operation.

The black response is not a function of white political intentions and has its own dynamic.

The unspoken assumption of reformists remains that the new, liberalised policy will be directed and imposed from above — and they cannot understand that for just this reason it will continue to be rejected and resisted despite its merits and good intentions.

For a telling illustration of this counter-productive reformist dynamic we need only look to the most recent developments in official policy towards blacks in the Western Cape on the critical issues of squatter settlements and influx control.

Traditionally, official policy has been to prevent a black influx in this part of the country by all means possible.

The region was declared a Coloured Labour Preference Area, blacks were supposed to work there strictly as temporary migrants, black housing was frozen for many years, the 99-year leasehold system was not extended to the Western Cape, illegal squatter settlements were regularly demolished. All to little avail.

At the beginning of 1983 the Government embarked on a bold reformist move. All blacks in the Western Cape would be accommodated and resettled in the vast new black townships of Khayelitsha on the False Bay coast.

However, as far as the black communities were concerned, whatever positive aspects the new scheme held were undone by the threat of resettlement.

By June, 1984 it seemed the Government's determination to clear up the squatter settlement of Crossroads as a first step in this ambitious plan would result in a major confrontation. Urgent action was needed to defuse the situation.

Since then the Government has indeed taken a number of major steps towards this. The administration board has called a moratorium on further raids and demolitions in Crossroads itself (though not in other areas such as KTC).

At the Cape congress of the National Party, President Botha announced that the controversial Coloured Labour Preference Policy for the Western Cape would be scrapped as well.

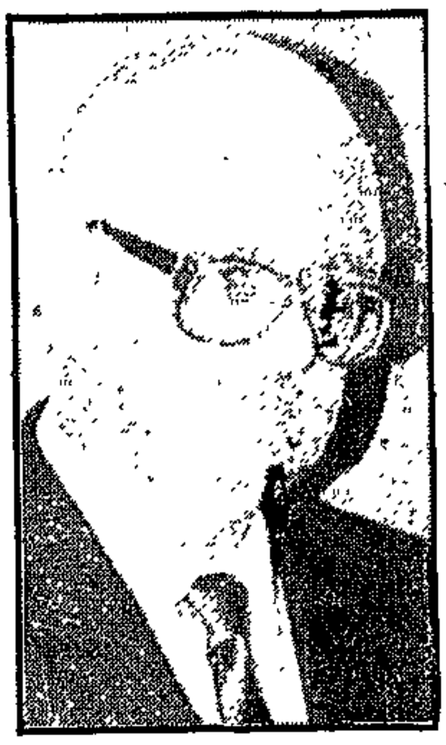
Earlier, following his European tour, Mr Botha had acknowledged that the involuntary resettlement of communities was a practice morally and politically unacceptable to our major Western allies and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the new Minister of Co-operation and Development, has indicated that it may be time to substitute a policy of orderly urbanisation for the rigidities of influx control.

Taken together, one might well feel that the Government had done more than enough to make its reformist intentions clear.

Surely in this context the looming confrontation over Crossroads might be avoided and the orderly progress of the Khayelitsha scheme ensured?

Yet this is by no means the case. Despite all these concessions the Government's plans have been met with outright rejection by the leaders of the black communities concerned for an essential part of the plan remains the threat of involuntary resettlement.

The Government is as determined as ever that



GERRIT VILJOEN
Urbanisation for influx control

Crossroads will be cleared in short order.

Dr Viljoen is reported not to see any particular difficulty in removing the now well over 50 000 "legal" and "illegal" inhabitants of Crossroads to Khayelitsha by next March but to seasoned observers of the Crossroads' struggle for survival it is not clear how this can happen without bringing in the full force of the security forces and the army.

Reform could end in a repressive confrontation.

The point is not that the Crossroads situation is insoluble or that the squatter community is wholly unreasonable.

From their own point of view they are responding quite rationally to the evident threats to the political survival of the community. And there are obvious ways in which the Government could accommodate them, if it chose to do so.

First, the Government should desist from its attempts to divide the "illegals" from the "legals" and so split the community. Second, the Government should couple the Khayelitsha project to a scheme allowing Crossroads to be upgraded for those determined to remain.

Essentially, this boils down to allowing the community itself some say in its fate.

On this basis it is possible to see how blacks will be able to appreciate the benefits and merits of the Khayelitsha scheme but without such measure it must be only too clear to them that the move to Khayelitsha is above all aimed at the removal of Crossroads.

All the undoubted reforms and concessions do not detract from the basic *political* struggle in which the inexorable might of state power and the Government's ideological will confronts the indomitable resistance of a community forged in a battle for basic survival.

The Government may be aiming at reform, but this community cannot accept being merely an object of policy. The result is confrontation.

On the national level much the same principle holds.

In a sense it is not just symbolic but real political reform for the Government to co-opt coloured and Indian or even black leaders into Government structures but the critical question is whether there is also room for communities to produce their own leaderships and to define and pursue their own priorities on their own terms.

From the Government's point of view such "extra-parliamentary" leaderships and organisations may be intransigent, obstructive and militant.

They may even have considerable success in mobilising (or "intimidating") people to boycott Government structures and to oppose official policies.

That is the price of any democratisation of the political system. The gain is that the struggle can take a political form, not that of coercive confrontation.

In the short run it may be a relatively easy option for the Government to ban the UDF but what will the long term consequences and significance be?

In retrospect it is clear that the major clampdown on black consciousness organisations in similar circumstances in October, 1977 indeed dealt a severe blow to that militant ideology in black politics but it also played a major role in the resurgence of internal support for the ANC in the following years — while the harsh security actions in Soweto and elsewhere resulted in a wave of recruits for the external ANC.

The prospects for constitutional and evolutionary reform will be much more viable if there is a place for extra-parliamentary forces as well, as long as they are committed to non-violence.

If they should develop into a kind of internal and legitimate wing of the ANC, this should be welcomed by all who believe in political negotiation rather than military confrontation.

The real danger of repression and bannings is that they can be only too successful in stifling genuine *political* processes until only the soldier and the terrorist are left in the arena.

Anderson was 'arrogant' — Hendrickse

Political Staff

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council for Coloured Affairs, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said today he was opposed to detention without trial but disapproved of British Labour MP Mr Donald Anderson's actions concerning the three fugitives in the British consulate in Durban.

Mr Hendrickse, a member of the Cabinet, described Mr Anderson's attitude as "arrogant".

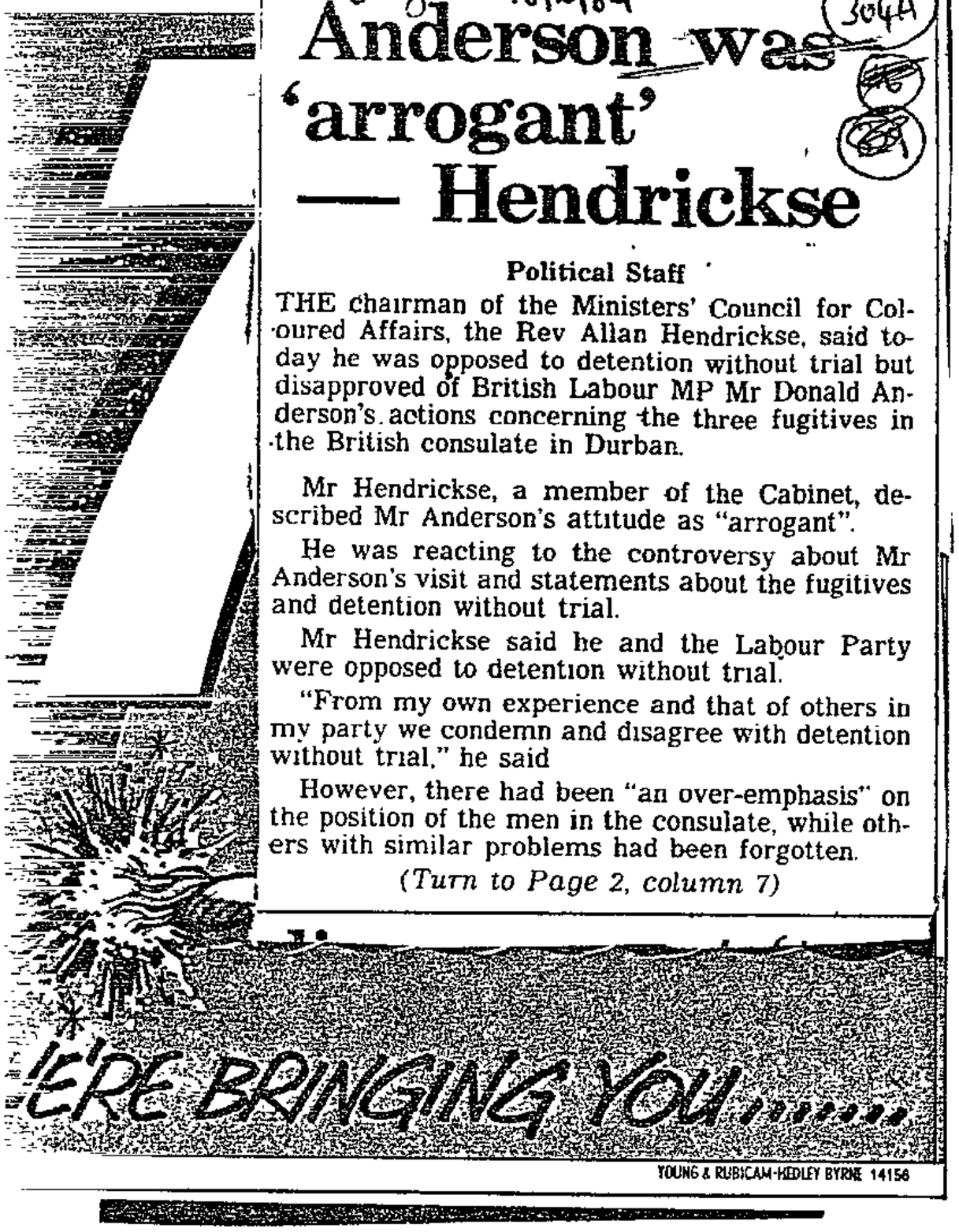
He was reacting to the controversy about Mr Anderson's visit and statements about the fugitives and detention without trial.

Mr Hendrickse said he and the Labour Party were opposed to detention without trial.

"From my own experience and that of others in my party we condemn and disagree with detention without trial," he said

However, there had been "an over-emphasis" on the position of the men in the consulate, while others with similar problems had been forgotten.

(Turn to Page 2, column 7)



Anderson arrogant — says Hendrickse

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr Hendrickse sharply criticised what he saw as "publicity seeking" by people who were appealing to other countries such as Britain and India about this issue.

Instead of becoming involved in South Africa's affairs those countries should rather attend to their own problems.

Mr Hendrickse said he had cut short an interview he had with Mr Anderson in Britain in March because he did not like Mr Anderson's attitude.

Mr Anderson's actions in South Africa were seen by Mr Hendrickse as proof that Mr Anderson was "not interested in peaceful solutions".

PEACE PRIZE

Asked to comment on the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, Mr Hendrickse said: "One would congratulate him on the award He certainly is dedicated to social change in South Africa."

Mr Hendrickse added, however, that he was not sure whether others, such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi or Mrs Helen Suzman, had not contributed more to peace than Bishop Tutu.

Bishop Tutu, in an address to the Natal Indian Congress in 1982, had threatened the coloured people that the blacks would "deal with them" if they entered the new constitutional dispensation

"I respect him for what he is, but I'm hesitant on whether his approach is not one which could be seen as counter-productive to real peace," Mr Hendrickse said.

Probe on death of

Election candidates pull out

By Yussuf Nazeer

Two people who were to take part in elections for a Government-created advisory body have withdrawn at the request of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Congress spokesman Mr Ismail Momoniat said: "We have persuaded the two candidates, Dr A H Jeena and Mr Cassim Peer, not to participate in the Azaadville management committee election."

Dr Jeena and Mr Peer issued a pre-election circular under the banner of the "Anti-Corruption Committee" in which they pleaded with the Azaadville Indian community in Krugersdorp-Roodepoort to vote for them "to stop the rot".

On Monday the two candidates called a public meeting of 300 people in the Indian township in Krugersdorp to announce they had decided not to stand because they had come to the conclusion that "one cannot fight corruption within a corrupt system".

What I said in my Wits lecture

(304A) C. Times 17/12/84

From JEREMY CRONIN (Rondebosch):

THE Cape Times report on October 4 of the 18th annual Richard Feetham memorial lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand has me saying that South Africa's current system is "enormously revolutionary".

I am not quite sure what that is meant to mean. Could it be that I am in agreement with Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange that a "revolutionary climate" is prevailing in SA at present? Now, I do not normally find myself in agreement with that particular minister. Much as I might wish to be able to agree with him on his specific evaluation of the present, I regret to say that what I was actually dealing with at that point of my lecture was something quite different.

I was simply arguing that the system of industrial capitalism, beginning with the mines at the end of the 19th century, had radically transformed Southern Africa, joining the diverse peoples of this part of the African continent into the semblance, at least, of one nation. It was in that context that I said: "Our current social, economic system *has been* (please note the past tense) enormously revolutionary."

DEON GELDENHUYS

The security question

in my opinion



Deon Geldenhuys is associate professor of political science at the Rand Afrikaans University

Observers of the SA political scene are repeatedly asking questions about top-level political decision-making. Who, for example, is responsible for decisions on the signing of peace agreements with neighbouring states, or on detaining political dissidents, or on a tit-for-tat exchange with Britain? And what role does the military play in all this?

The questions are plentiful and the speculation often fanciful, but the answers remain elusive. There is still precious little hard information on how crucial political decisions are made in this country.

There is little purpose in trying one's hand at the local political whodunnit. Instead, some consideration could be given to the implications of the new constitutional arrangements for political decision-making. But first one has to know the outline of the existing structures.

Most of the writing on SA decision-making focuses on the State Security Council (SSC). Established by law in 1972, the SSC is at the core of the "national security management system." The system has four other subordinate components, namely, the working committee of the SSC, the council secretariat, 14 inter-departmental committees, and nine joint management centres. The SSC is one of four permanent Cabinet committees, the others being the committees for economic affairs, social affairs and constitutional affairs.

The SSC is undoubtedly the principal Cabinet committee. It is the only one created by law and chaired by the head of government (previously the prime minister). In terms of the Act of 1972, the ministers of defence, foreign affairs, justice, law and order, and the senior Cabinet minister, as well as five top civil servants, are standing members of the council. Because SSC decisions or recommendations bear the head of government's seal of approval, they are bound to carry greater weight than those of the other Cabinet committees (chaired by ministers).

The SSC concerns itself with a far wider and often more crucial range of issues than the other committees. Its statutory responsibility is to advise the government on "national policy and strategy in relation to the security of the Republic" — an assignment broad enough to embrace virtually every area of government activity.

How the workings of SA's national security management system will be affected by the new constitutional arrangements is uncertain. For one thing, the future role of the SSC has not featured at all in the white political debate on the new constitution. Nor has P W Botha, either in his capacity as PM or as State President, said a word in public on the SSC's future.

The council does not feature in the political debate among coloureds and Indians either. Coloured political leaders have demanded a better deal for coloureds in the civil service under the new constitution and have made some radical demands on economic issues, but they have not raised the SSC's position in future decision-making. Clearly, the place of the SSC in the new dispensation is not a public issue at all.

Nonetheless, the new constitutional system is likely to have some effect on top-level decision-making.

Team effort

First, the new executive president will in all likelihood chair the SSC. This could mean that the SSC retains its key role in political decision-making. P W Botha's style of government calls for a team effort involving senior political office-holders and top bureaucratic experts. Under a successor (as president), the SSC's role might change.

Second, as regards the political office-holders on the SSC, the big question is whether coloured and Indian ministers would become members? Assuming that the legally prescribed composition is retained, no coloured or Indian will from the outset become a standing member of the SSC; neither a coloured nor an Indian has been appointed to any of the four Cabinet portfolios mentioned in the Act of 1972 (defence, foreign affairs, justice, and law and order).

This leaves only the possibility of co-opted coloured and Indian members, whether co-opted on an *ad hoc* basis or on a more permanent basis (as, for example, the Minister of Finance has previously been involved). Permanent co-option seems doubtful.

Third, the involvement of coloured and Indian ministers in the SSC will depend on the crucial question of trust. The serving (white) SSC members will have to be satisfied that potential coloured and Indian members represent no security risk. (It is worth recalling that the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party and a newly appointed Cabinet minister, was detained under security legislation in 1976). Political trust will also have to be established between white SSC members and potential coloured and Indian members; the three groups will have to accept one another's bona fides.

Fourth, assuming that the SSC will under the new constitutional dispensation continue to play its leading role in decision-making, it will mean that a centre of power will be located outside the constitutionally designated structures for top-level political decision-making. Assuming also that the SSC will at first retain its all-white character, it can be expected that coloured and Indian politicians will begin insisting on representation on the SSC.

Otherwise, their presence in the Cabinet will widely be regarded as mere tokenism, with real political power still monopolised by whites. The State President may then find it expedient, if not imperative, to appoint an Indian and a coloured minister to the SSC, that is, co-opt them on a standing basis. But that is only likely after the essential relationship of the trust has developed.

Fifth, the question of trust has another important implication. SSC decisions or recommendations are as a rule submitted to the full Cabinet for "final approval." Will the two "non-white" Cabinet members from the outset be trusted with all SSC submissions? Or will more sensitive submissions for the time being be withheld from the full Cabinet? If so, the SSC could increasingly play the role of an exclusive inner Cabinet, the locus of major political decision-making, thus reducing the Cabinet as a whole to a secondary role. Such a situation could obviously create serious tensions between the partners in the new deal.

Sixth, if coloured and Indian representation on the SSC creates a dilemma, their presence in the council bureaucracy is an even more acute problem.

Finally, the need for a national security management system in SA will exist for as long as the ruling elite (or elites) perceive a threat to SA's (or their) security. The new constitutional arrangements will certainly not remove such a threat.

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ANDREAS VAN WYK

Alchemist of reform

December promises to be a hot month for Andreas van Wyk in more ways than one. For the softly spoken Stellenbosch academic will be moving into the seat of government generally regarded as the cutting edge of reform when he becomes Director General of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

But if this worries the 43 year-old Van Wyk, it doesn't show. The atmosphere in his small office in *Die Ou Hoofgebou* at Stellenbosch University is as calm as the soft October breeze stirring the oak leaves outside the window.

From the time of his matriculation with seven distinctions to his appointment as Professor of Law at Stellenbosch University at the age of 29, Van Wyk has always been an achiever. In the months ahead, he'll need that talent more than ever before.

Van Wyk will be mantaining his family home in Stellenbosch but admits sadness at the thought of leaving his leafy ivory tower. Ivory tower, however, is actually a misnomer for the kind of academia in which Van Wyk has immersed himself.

Law is a practical discipline, and much of his work has found its way into the Statutes. In particular, the recently gazetted Matrimonial Property Act, entrenching the rights of women in marriage, bears his stamp. Parts of it are largely based on his doctoral thesis.

Nevertheless, he is acutely aware that he is swopping a reclusive life on campus for the heat and sweat of the political arena. "It was not an easy decision. It means joining the birds of passage, deserting Stellenbosch. But I don't see myself as going into politics. It's a government department that I'm going to run, though that department is very much at the centre of current political debate," he says.

Youthful technocrat

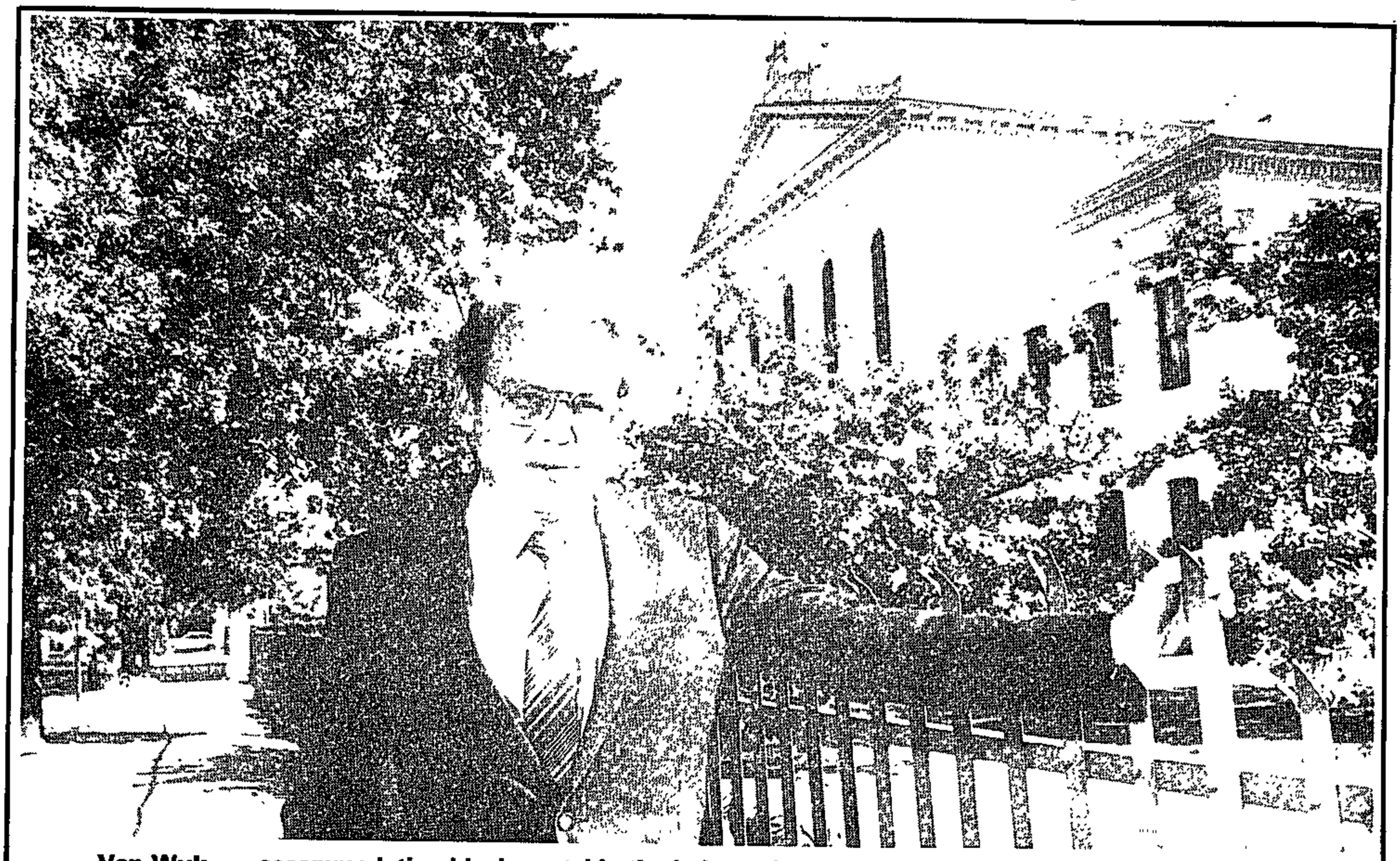
But he's not the sort of man who could become a mere implementer of policy, and acknowledges the comment with a quiet smile: "One does indeed implement policy. But at the same time one makes inputs on the policy level."

What made him decide to become the latest member of the youthful collection of technocrats co-opted by Chris Heunis to plot the way out of the constitutional maze? "It's a cliché to say it's a challenge, but at a certain stage, one starts feeling that one can't sit on the sidelines at a crucial time of reform in our country," Van Wyk says.

Though a member of the National Party, he has never been particularly politically active. But at the same time he does hold strong views on various subjects and isn't afraid to express them, as he did recently in a sharply critical chapter on the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act in Klinghorn and De Villiers' book *Op die Weegskaal*.

Does he regard the new constitution as the final word on SA's future development, or does he recognise its flaws? Van Wyk ponders before offering a cautious answer. "In saying that, you depart from a certain presupposition that a constitution is something immutable and fixed, such as the American constitution. We've never had that. It isn't part of our tradition.

"One has to see this constitution in the proper perspective. I have no doubt it is an advance, it is progress. It may be flawed in certain respects, but a constitution is not



Van Wyk . . . accommodating blacks outside the independent homelands is government's next priority

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What of the major weakness — that blacks do not feature? "I think the central issue in SA is that there is no consensus in the value system that has to underlie the way in which the country is run. It is very difficult to get that consensus with the disparate composition of our population, and it's going to be very difficult to bring all population groups into a uniform structure, so perhaps there will have to be several structures.

"But there can be no doubt that we are going to have to accommodate blacks outside the independent homelands. That, government has clearly indicated as its next priority."

Van Wyk's flexible approach is quickly apparent from the conversation. He isn't irretrievably committed to any fixed future path though he has certain non-negotiable "bottom lines."

"I don't believe in the virtue of never changing one's mind, so I'm careful about talking about bottom lines. But my own basic values are democratic; that government takes place by consent of the governed. At the same time, being an Afrikaner, I attach great value to Afrikaner history though I'm not parish pump in that respect. But certainly the acceptance of the white South African and the Afrikaner in particular as an African tribe is a bottom line."

Rules, he says, are there with purposes, but are not purposes in themselves. "Our aim in this country is fairly obvious — to create a stable, prosperous society with a place for all to co-exist and to be what they themselves want to be. What I'm saying is that there isn't only one road to that aim."

SAREL STEYN

Petrol bomb?

Trek might be SA's youngest petroleum company but it certainly isn't the smallest. With Sarel Steyn, ex-manager of the Springbok wrestling team, as new MD, the company is likely to be putting up an even more aggressive fight for increased market share.

Steyn (55) says Trek has a 6% market share. Sales increased more than 10% over the past year. "An artificial demand for cars was created by the expected sales tax increases. The recession is only starting to hurt the industry now, but with an anticipated turnover of R500m this year, Trek's earnings have increased substantially," he explains.

"This is because we negotiated a better processing agreement with our refinery, got a small increase in margin and we're fairly liquid. The exchange rate has obviously affected us dramatically, but government is assisting us."

Surely the demand for petrol is fairly inelastic? "Yes," he says, "but the effect of the economic situation and money supply being reduced by high interest rates will result in a situation that means growth will decrease in the coming year. But hopefully with good rains the agricultural sector will slowly improve and this will have a spin-off for us."

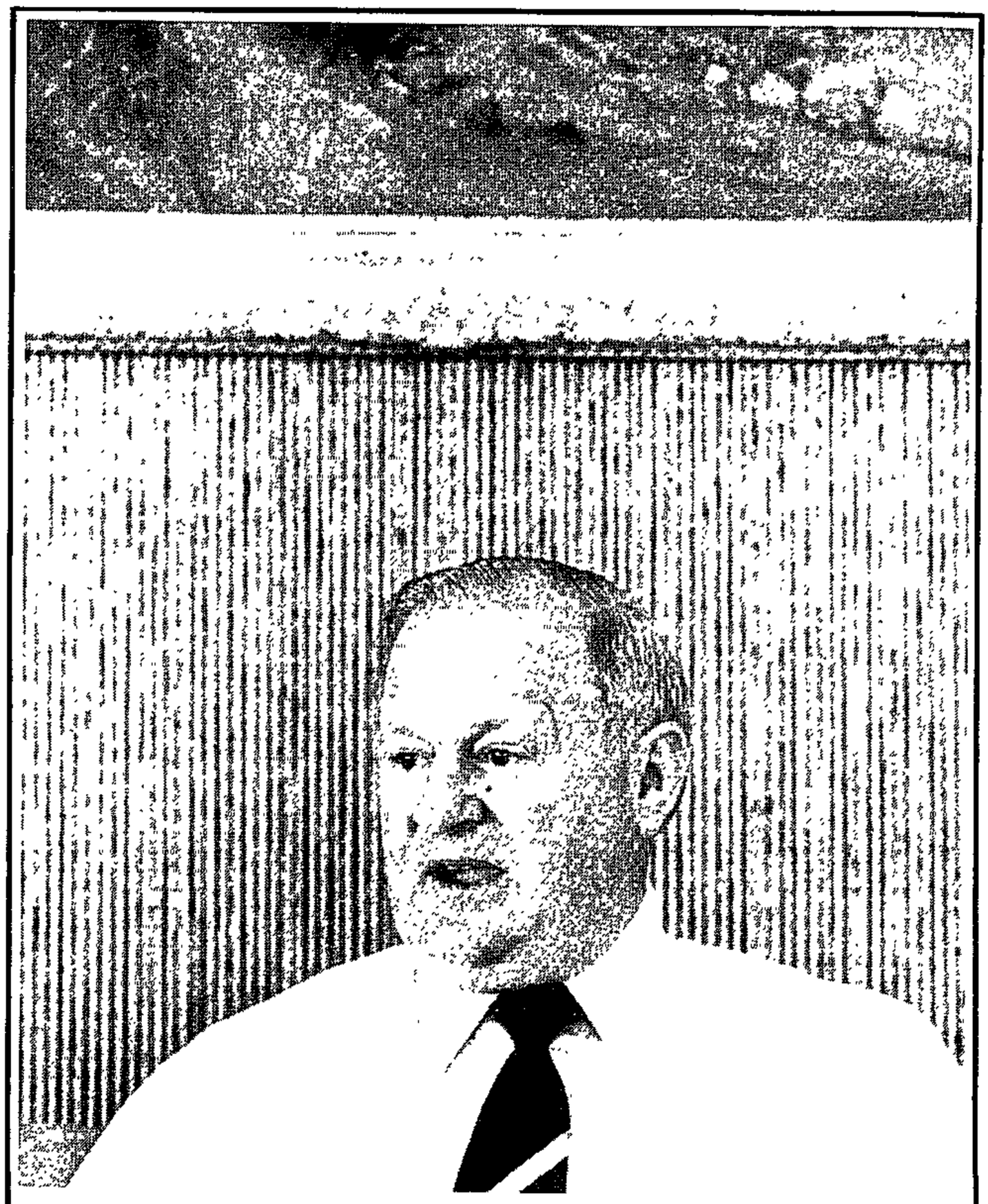
Ironically, the hearty Steyn, who grew up on a Western Transvaal maize farm, originally wanted to become a linotype operator. He started his working life as a copyholder on *Die Transvaler*, where he spent 10 years working his way through almost every department and even worked as a sports writer.

However, he took up accountancy in his spare time, did a Unisa B Comm, and then left the newspaper world to become an accountant with a company importing Borgward cars — a move which proved to be a turning point in his life and led him to join Total SA three years later. In 1962, his career again changed direction when he shifted to marketing.

Steyn is fiercely patriotic and in deference to the State President's wishes, the SA flag is the main decorative feature of his 46th floor Carlton Centre eyrie. So it's fitting that he says he felt "I had a better future with a local company than a foreign one.

"I worked my way through Total's marketing ranks and moved over to Trek just after the company was started," he says. After 16 years with Trek, Steyn says he was "the company's chief petrol *smous*" at the time he was appointed MD.

Plans for the future? "We're going to be looking seriously at the development of bitumen emulsion which is used for road making and is likely to be very profitable business," he volunteers. "Selling heavy furnace fuel as bunkering to ships is another option and there's also the possibility of entering the aviation fuel market. We'll carry on developing new service stations to



Steyn ... Trek's 'chief petrol smous'

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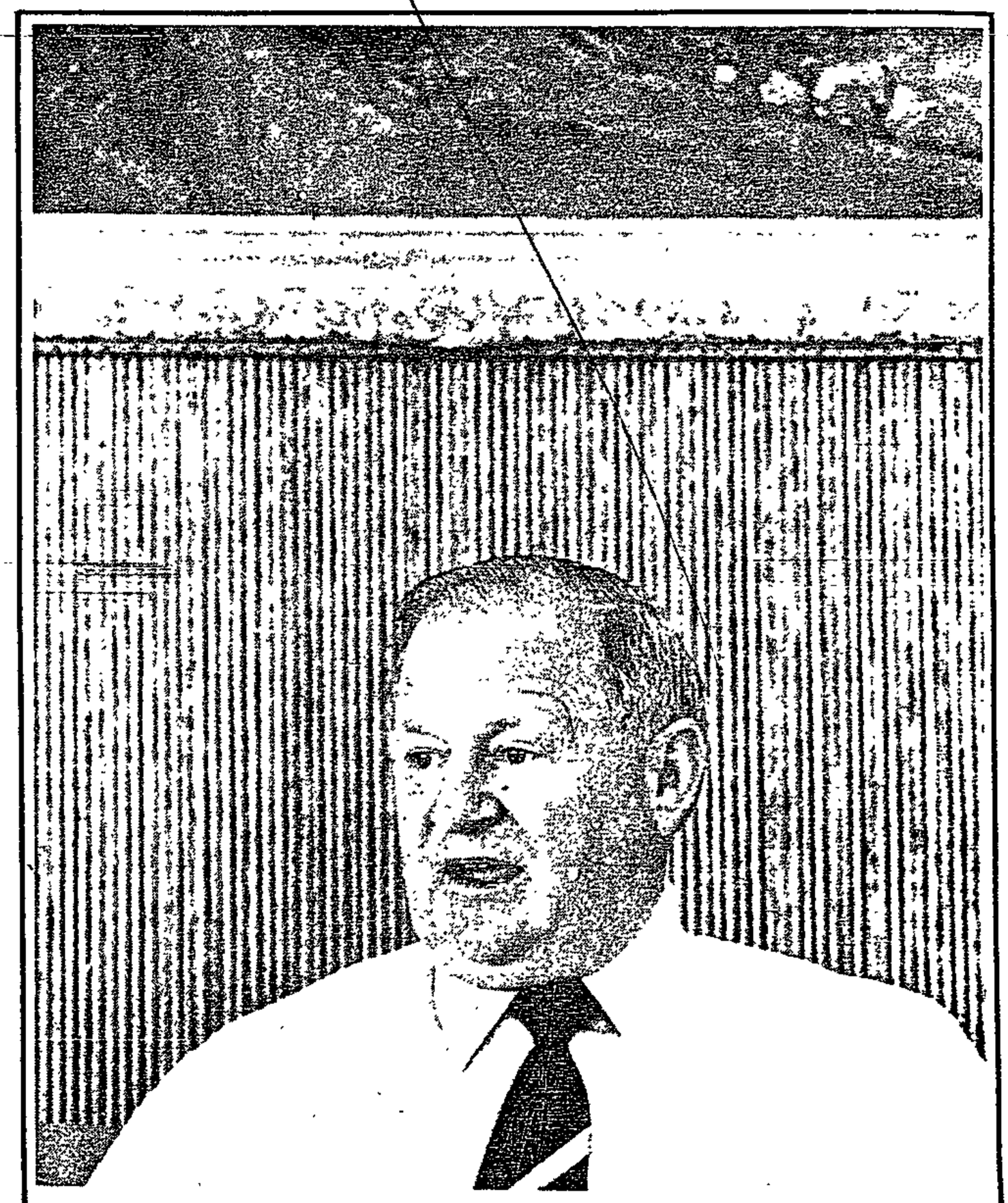

Steyn ... Trek's 'chief petrol smous'

CHRIS HEUNIS

Separate answers needed



Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis is chairman of the Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of urban blacks. He spoke to the *FM* about the committee's work and points of departure.

***FM*: What are the parameters of and main principles guiding the committee?**

Heunis: The constitutional development of the black peoples cannot be divorced from their social and economic development. Therefore, further action should be accompanied by constant and continuous consultation and negotiation with the responsible leaders of the people affected.

By leaders, I don't imply that we have only to consult with the leaders of the national or independent states, but also with identified urban leaders, especially those who seek solutions on a constitutional and peaceful basis.

There are certain points of departure involved. Firstly, one must accept as a point of departure the reality that the multinational character of the population also includes the people who live outside national and independent states.

Secondly, there is an absolute desirability for minority protection. Thirdly, the irreversibility of the fact that certain states are independent and certain states are self-governing. The other point of departure is the unacceptability of group domination — any group domination.

The fifth one is the very high priority of socio-economic development of the black nations wherever they live, whether it be self-governing states or urban areas. Here one must understand that it is only possible, as we see it, to solve the constitutional problem of all the peoples in this country in a group context.

To sum up, we believe that a democratic dispensation should be established in terms of which the person as an individual and in group context can participate in decision-making that would affect their lives.

Finally, effective government, which implies stability and law and order, must be maintained as a prerequisite for evolutionary development in the constitutional field.

Has the government now accepted that there are black South Africans who have been living outside the traditional areas for generations, who see themselves as South Africans only and/or cannot be classified under any one group?

Let me put it the other way. Constitutionally and legally, black South Africans who are not citizens of independent states are, of course, SA citizens. Nobody disputes that. What is true, and that is one of our problems that we have to deal with, is although black peoples living outside independent and self-governing states may still be culturally bound by the particular group that they belong to, there is very little political binding or connection with those states.

One of the major reasons for this is the fact that no decision, or very few decisions, that their governments can take can affect their lives here outside those states. The decisions that affect their lives are the decisions taken by the government of the RSA. It is within this context that investigations had been made in the past, and we are now again investigating all relating issues.

Will the committee consider a black constitutional dispensation that is not linked to the homelands?

Having accepted the fact that there are some 5m black people that have, in terms of our own existing laws, the right to permanent residence outside the national states, you will have to establish institutions with them and for them where they could govern themselves with some form of local autonomy.

The first steps have been taken with the promulgation of the Local Government Act of 1982 in terms of which 29 of these authorities have already been established. It has also been suggested that the powers and functions of these institutions can well exceed those, for instance, of city councils like Johannesburg and can deal with many more matters. There is, of course, no final blueprint.

What are your feelings on federation and confederation as possible solutions for SA, and will the committee consider suggestions on it?

I've learnt one thing, and that is to avoid terminology and models, for the simple reason that many people don't understand the same thing when they talk about federation or confederation. A confederation is, in fact, no state. It is an association of independent states who work together on a consensus basis on identified and defined fields of interest. We believe that there are many elements of confederal systems that can, in fact, be used and applied in an amended form to solve some of the problems that we encounter in this country.

We understand a federal system to mean that the participating states pass on to the federal government some of the powers of those states, in other words, those states are not sovereign. Then we must understand that within those states you only multiply the problems that we have nationally by the number of states that you are going to have. We are not trying to introduce to SA any particular system. We are looking for elements of systems that can be appropriately applied to attain the objectives that I have mentioned as points of departure.

Is meaningful consultation with black leaders possible without also talking to urban leaders like those of the United Democratic Front (UDF)?

We will talk to all leaders that are prepared to negotiate with us on the basis that change must come about peacefully. We will not talk to people that have opted for revolutionary or forcible changes in this country.

Will it be their decision to approach you for negotiations?

I have extended a general invitation to people that have anything to say, to come and say it to us. Naturally, we are also taking an initiative. We have had discussions with urban leaders and we shall have further discussions. We are also hoping to have discussions on a regional basis.

Will the report of your committee form the new constitutional plan for SA?

There is no single blueprint with which we are going to come forward. We will submit reports from time to time to government, and, if acceptable, these steps will be implemented. But there is no question of coming forward with one constitutional plan. Constitutional processes are cumbersome and time-consuming. As far as SA is concerned, independent states are part of the answer; autonomous, self-governing states are part of the answer; autonomous local authorites are a part of the answer, and we are still looking for solutions.

When will the committee bring out a report?

Well, the committee has already, from time to time, made suggestions to government. There is not going to be a single report to government. As we make progress, we will submit progress reports to government.

RDM 23/10/84 (304A) (2547) (204)

Is SA military on the road to taking over?

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

THE BRIEF use of troops to contain unrest in Soweto and Grahamstown's black townships provoked protest that the SA Defence Force was being thrust into a political role.

The objections rested on the assumption that the SADF is apolitical, that it has not yet lost its political virginity.

The SADF's role, however, in carrying out raids on African National Congress targets in neigbouring states is not consistent with its supposed political neutrality.

As Dr Philip Frankel, of the University of the Witwatersrand notes in a new book* on the Defence Force due to be published next month: "The deep sense of illegitimacy attached to the white state carries over to its agents."

The SADF, he adds, is no exception, in spite of its civic action programme to win the "hearts and minds" of blacks and the presence within its ranks of soldiers drawn from the black community.

Dr Frankel offers a different perspective on the use of troops to help police maintain order in the townships.

He says two traditions coexist in the military: an Afrikaner heritage in which the line between military and civil authority is blurred, in contrast to a British one in which the distinction is sharp.

Dr Frankel sees the use of troops in curbing internal dissent as a manifestation of the Afrikaner tradition, which found its clearest expression in Afrikaner history in the unification of the roles of the Commandant-General and President in the person of M W Pretorius in the old Transvaal Republic.

Associated with the Afrikaner tradition of fusion between military and civil power is the fulfilment of SADF functions by the South African Police and of SAP duties by the SADF.



GENERAL MALAN
Defence portfolio

In the first two decades after Union, the SADF helped to break strikes; more recently, in 1982, its aid to the SAP included "22 cordon operations, 10 sweep and search operations and 633 road blocks" (1982 White Paper on Defence).

In apparent tandem with that, the SAP served in Ian Smith's Rhodesia to check infilitration into Rhodesia of ANC "terrorists" bound for South Africa during the alliance between the ANC and Zimbabwe African People's Union.

Today, of course, the SAP's special border unit, "Koevoet", serves in the "operational area" against Swapo fighters.

But, even taking account of the "Afrikaner tradition" of indistinct lines between military and civil authority, and between soldiers and police, a pertinent development has occurred since the township rebellion of the 1976-77.

In 1976-77 the township revolt was thwarted by South Africa's "first line of defence", the SAP. The "second line of defence", the SADF, was merely held in reserve.

In 1978, however, the former Minister of Defence, Mr P W Botha, became Prime Minister, an event which most commentators saw as the beginning of the rise of the military (as distinct from the old Bureau of State Security, now renamed National Intelligence Service) to pre-eminence in South Africa's power hierarchy.

The use of the SADF in a policing role since 1978 reflects in part, as Dr Frankel observes, a shortage of manpower in the police.

But is the greater willingness of the Botha administration to utilise the military another sign of SADF's pre-eminence in the security field, a pointer to its position as first among equals?

There are, in Dr Frankel's view, a number of forces in contemporary South Africa working toward an increasing greater role for the military, the triumph of the Afrikaner over the British tradition.

They include the "promotion" in October 1980 of the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, to the portfolio of Minister of Defence, an appointment which Dr Frankel believes would not have occurred in the British tradition.

But there are more compelling forces pushing South Africa toward a situation where it will be difficult to say where military authority ends and civilian authority begins.

First, there is the continuing Afrikanerisation of the Defence Force. Once dominated by the "English", the top echelons of the SADF are today filled by Afrikaners, most of whom are highly-qualified technocrats.

The differences between the Afrikaner elite in the SADF and the ruling Afrikaner politicians is slight and insignificant.

As Dr Frankel says: "Their views blend perfectly." Their perceptions of South Africa's problems and the solution to them converge.

Second, the combat experience of most of today's military officers is in counter-insurgency rather than conventional war — and in counter-insurgency the boundary between war and politics is indiscernible.

As General Malan and his successor as Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, have repeatedly remarked, the struggle is 80% political and only 20% military.

A take-over by the military is, of course, not inevitable, although some observers contend that South Africa has already moved substantially along that road.

They cite the pivotal position in the hierarchy of power of the State Security Council (SSC) — sometimes described as an "inner Cabinet" and the real source of authority in South Africa — and the paramount role played by the Defence Force in it.

Key military men in the SSC include General Malan, General Viljoen and General A J Van Deventer, a confidant of President Botha's who was seconded from the Defence Force to serve as Secretary to the SSC.

The SSC is, of course, chaired by President Botha, who, like the Boer generals of old, has close links with the Defence Force, having served as Minister of Defence from 1966 to 1980 (he held the defence portfolio for two years after he became Prime Minister in September 1978).

In addition, Defence Force men comprise a substantial component of the personnel in the SSC secretariat.

Professor Kenneth Grundy, of Ohio, USA, has estimated that 70% of the secretariat's initial workforce came from the Defence Force, although General van Deventer insisted last year that military men comprised "less than 15%" of the secretariat.

Whatever the precise influence of the military, one assertion can be made with confidence: the power of military is on the rise but still stops short of direct rule.

Two factors could, however, tip the balance towards more complete, and less disguised, military control: a deteriorating security situation and failure of the new and complex triracial constitution (whose legitimacy was called into question by the low polls in the August elections for the coloured and Indian chambers.)

Fatalists may wish to know that General Malan is a graduate of Fort Leavenworth in the Arkansas, USA, and that some of his classmates were South Americans who were later involved in military coups after the failure of constitutional reform.

* *Pretoria's Praetorians by Dr Philip Frankel; to be published in SA next month by Macmillan.*

Argus 24/10/84

Anglo chief warns on corruption, inefficiency

MARITZBURG. — A warning that the new political dispensation in South Africa could lead to loss of control over corruption has been given by Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation.

Speaking at the opening of Assocom's annual congress in Maritzburg, Mr Relly said: "The new political arrangements may well have the effect of obscuring the traditional checks and balances which have fed the old parliamentary system.

ALL TO GOOD

"This may be all to the good in our society, but we will have to take care that the effect is not to bring about a process of ossification in our decision-making bodies and an obscuring of corruption and inefficiency.

"In this context Assocom has an enhanced role to play in providing special inputs.

"This has been their role in the past: In the future it may be necessary to do more hard research and provide a more effective winnowing process so that representations can carry a still more incisive authority over a wide range of vital commercial and industrial issues."

SELF-INTEREST

But it would be silly to think that people could be turned away suddenly from the self-interest which characterised capitalist society without this having an impact on the economy.

"All we can suggest is that we should examine our attitudes in the light of broader national interests. As an example, in industrial relations matters we should perhaps place less emphasis on seeking total victory for one side or the other and more on victory for the system. Conciliation can be a sign of strength, not weakness.

"I do not know whether a widespread modification of our attitudes and practices in decision-making will give to the idea of consensus the thrust it will need to function as an effective catalyst in helping peaceful change to take place in our society, but I do know that without such modification our chances are small." — Sapa.

Damaged cable

Argus 24/10/84 (3044)

Surprise as Essop turns to the PCP

Political Staff

IN a surprise move today Mr Anwar Essop, one of the leading figures in the Labour Party in Beaufort West, announced a switch of allegiance to fight the Nuweveld by-election for the People's Congress Party.

He is son of the late Mr Solly Essop, who won the House of Representatives seat for the Labour Party in the August elections. He helped to conduct his father's campaign when Mr Essop, sen, became ill before the election.

Mr Anwar Essop and his supporters were angry when the Labour Party nominated Mr Hans Booysen, a Beaufort West butcher, as its candidate for the by-election.

Initially Mr Essop said he would stand as an independent. But in the nomination court in Beaufort West today Mr Essop's nomination was registered on behalf of the PCP. The only other candidate is Mr Booysen.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the PCP, was not available for comment.

Mr Essop said: "I had to wait on the decision of the Labour Party. It was only at the weekend they said they would nominate Mr Booysen.

"On Monday I was told that any person who intended to stand as an independent had to submit his papers seven days in advance of the sitting of the nomination court.

Discussed

"So on Monday I learnt it was too late to stand as an independent. I had to switch or Mr Booysen would have won the constituency unopposed."

Mr Essop said he discussed his candidature with Mr Marais before today's nomination court sitting. With him at the court was Mr Anwar Ismail, Western Cape regional organiser of the PCP.

Three-way contests will be fought at George in both the parliamentary and provincial by-elections.

Candidates nominated today are:

Parliamentary: Progressive Federal Party — Mr Jan van Gend, 46, MPC for Constantia; National Party — Mr Hennie Smit, 35, MPC for George; and Herstigte Nasionale Party — Mr A S (Attie) Treurnicht, 53, a brother of Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Provincial: PFP — Mr Patrick Murray, 34, a George businessman; NP — Mr George Kellerman, 39, an attorney; HNP — Mr H S van Zyl, 60, a George businessman.

Gathered

In Piketberg two candidates were nominated for the Provincial Council by-election.

They are Mr J A Greyling, 50, a Klawer farmer (Conservative Party) and Mr G J van Wyk Stone, 50, a Citrusdal attorney (National Party).

Nearly 100 people gathered at the nomination court in Bellville, where candidates were nominated for the by-election in the Parow constituency.

The National Party candidates are Mr Hernus Kriel, Cape MEC for local government, for the parliamentary vacancy, and Mr Sakkie Pretorius for the Provincial Council seat.

The Conservative Party has nominated Mr Ryno Louw for the Provincial Council and Mrs Eleanor Lombard for Parliament.

The small courtroom was packed and many people stood in the passage. The candidates pledged to fight a clean election and to concentrate on political issues and not attack personalities.

Report by C du Plessis, B Stuart and F Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

No NP majority in committees

304A C-Times 23/10/84

Political Staff

THE National Party will not have an absolute majority in the 25 new Parliamentary committees whose membership was announced yesterday by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff.

This is in sharp contrast to the central general affairs cabinet and the President's Council which have absolute Nationalist majorities.

It means that the seven National Party MPs on the 16 portfolio and nine standing committees, who apart from the chairmen and deputy chairmen will have 23 members, could be outvoted by the other MPs, who represent the different parties in all three houses of Parliament.

The committee system is planned to be the engine room of the new constitutional system where, the Government hopes, consensus will be achieved.

Draft legislation on general affairs will be referred to the committees for consideration and recommendations before final consideration by the three Houses of Parliament.

All the chairmen of the new committees represent the ruling parties in the three Houses of Parliament, with one from the House of Representatives — Mr Louis Hollander, who is to chair the committee on Health and Welfare — and one from the House of Delegates — Mr S V Naicker, who is to chair the committee on Environment Affairs and Tourism.

In contrast to the committee structure in the old Parliament, three opposition MPs have been appointed deputy chairmen.

The chief opposition spokesman on finance in the House of Assembly, Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) is to be deputy chairman of the finance committee; the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, is to be deputy chairman of the defence committee; and the leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, is to be deputy chairman of the industries and commerce committee.

Deputy

Mr Greeff said that three Labour Party MPs would be deputy chairmen — Mr J G van den Heever (Home Affairs and National Education), Mr L T Landers (Communication and Public Works) and Mr D H Mateman (Manpower).

He also said one National People's Party MP would be a deputy chairman — Mr A Choonara (Constitutional Development and Planning).

Mr Greeff said the committees could sit anywhere in the country but most of their meetings would take place in Pretoria and Cape Town.

No decision had been taken yet when the committees would start sitting.

Nat MPs control committees

Political Staff

THE minority of Nationalist MPs in the new parliamentary standing select committees cannot be outvoted by the other members.

In terms of the procedure approved earlier this year by the old all-white Parliament, the MPs from the three different Houses of Parliament will vote separately in the 16 standing committees which have been appointed for each of the general affairs portfolios, as three separate select committees.

This means that when the white MPs in a standing committee vote on an issue, the National Party will have a seven to four majority over the combined opposition.

Yesterday, one of the Progressive Federal Party's constitutional experts, Mr Nic Olivier, MP, said his party was strongly opposed to this provision.

"It is a lack of faith by the government. They don't have enough faith in themselves to convince the coloured and Indian members.

"It prevents any possibility of white members co-operating with coloured and Indian members against the wishes of the National Party," Mr Olivier said.

Free association

The PFP also believed in free association and that it was far better for people to vote as individuals.

"Under this system, the majority parties can dictate to the standing committees. Where does negotiation and consensus come in?" Mr Olivier asked.

"It is a policy strategy by the government in order to prevent cross-house voting. That's what it is," he said.

In terms of the approved procedure, the standing select committees will consist of select committees from each of the three Houses of Parliament and they will vote as separate committees.

If all three of these select committees within a standing committee agree on a measure, it will be regarded as a consensual matter, but if one of the select committees of one of the Houses disagrees, it will be a non-consensual matter.

Dispute

If the lack of consensus in the standing committees continues into the three Houses and they are unable to resolve the conflict, the dispute will be resolved by the President's Council, which has an absolute majority of Nationalist members.

Recently the National Party's Chief Whip, Mr Alex van Breda, rejected Conservative Party claims that the PFP and NRP could vote with the coloured and Indian members of the standing committees to make the other white MPs a minority, and pointed out that joint voting in the committees would not take place.

So while the National Party will have only seven MPs on the 25-person standing committees it cannot in terms of current procedure be outvoted.

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HERMANN GILIOMEE

Forward with co-optation



Hermann Giliomee is professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town. He argues that the central feature of government's reform policy is to co-opt those opposed to the system. This article is adapted from a paper he delivered at the recent conference on Economic Development and Racial Domination at the University of the Western Cape.

About a year ago, a dinner party was held in Johannesburg. The scene was familiar: one of those interminable discussions about "change" in current SA politics.

Finally a prominent Afrikaner business leader ventured an opinion: "The Afrikaners," he said, "are trying to find the secret of sharing power without losing control." The business leader was quite serious. And not without reason. Almost unwittingly he had captured in a phrase the essential nature of the reforms that are, and will be, emanating from government.

The central feature of these reforms is to confront the future through the policy of co-optation, to broaden the white power base by co-opting from the coloured, Indian and black communities people who can serve as collaborators. (The word is not used in a pejorative sense but its classical historical sense.)

The main function of these collaborators is to administer their segregated communities and serve as a buffer between middle-class SA and the huge impoverished masses. The co-optation strategy comprises three parts:

☐ The co-optation of elites in the designated black homelands to administer these territories which can eventually be brought back into a form of political association, usually referred to as a confederation of southern (or South) Africa. However, citizens of independent homelands, whether they live there or not, are to lose any claims they have had upon the SA state, and, in any confederal arrangement, no black state will be entitled to interfere with the sovereignty of the RSA;

☐ The co-optation of a black urban bourgeoisie (small-scale businessmen, traders, teachers and civil servants) inside the RSA who could be entrusted with the administration of townships, the collection of revenue and, hopefully, even influx control. These black authorities would, however, as far as possible, remain outside the political structures of the RSA; and

☐ The co-optation, on a segregated basis, of coloured and Indian representatives as junior partners of whites into the political system of the RSA. In a formal sense, they would be able to make the same claims upon the state as whites as far as the expenditure on social services is concerned, and they would be expected to perform the same duties, eg military service. They would also have to accept that the government, over the short to medium term, considers the segregation of schools, residential areas and the political structures as non-negotiable.

There was a stage in the making of SA's new constitution when some academics in SA and abroad saw the process culminating in a form of consociationalism. This would mean a grand coalition of strong leaders representing the white, coloured and Indian communities. Rather than taking the consociational route, SA seems to be heading towards something not quite unlike a Latin American brand of clientelism.

In most Latin American countries, politics is dominated by a powerful president who is supported by an important group (or groups) in society and who makes the final decisions and arbitrates in serious group conflicts.

One factor of this system involves co-optive tactics. Many Latin American presidents avoid excessive conflicts through co-optation of elite members into various sorts of advisory councils, up to and including the cabinet. This strategy is characterised by a proliferation of *ad hoc* and permanent commissions, new agencies (useful for changing representation without disturbing constitutional arrangements) and independent regulatory bodies. Lastly, conflict is kept manageable by, in exceptional circumstances, weakening certain elites which threaten to destroy the system.

But these are early days to judge a developing strategy. The State realises that it cannot base the new system only on the Labour Party and the National People's Party. It can be fully expected that the State President, using his considerable freedom to work the system, will make every effort to appeal to the middle classes of the various black groups.

There will, secondly, also be a concerted attempt to co-opt elites, despite their rejection of the constitutional arrangements, into State commissions of enquiry, advisory councils and other statutory bodies. Particularly teachers, university staff and higher-level civil servants will find it extremely difficult to resist becoming drawn into the State's structures.

There will, thirdly, be more sophisticated attempts than the crude total-onslaught ideology to develop a consensus transcending the ethnic cleavages. The new ideology will continually stress the development needs of SA and the obligation of every responsible citizen to play his part in the upliftment of the lower classes. As overt colour discrimination in the social and economic field is replaced by civilised or technocratic standards, these standards will be projected as safeguards for all middle-class people. And, of course, the dire consequences of conflicts getting out of hand will be continuously emphasised.

Lastly, the State will be prepared, as a last resort, to weaken those elites that threaten to destablilise the system. Here the main targets are obviously overarching organisations like the United Democratic Front (UDF) or trade unions which show the capacity to mobilise communities. The State has learnt not to have exaggerated fears of the potential political power of trade unions. As recent surveys showed, black people in SA do not see the black union movement as a political vehicle, but rather look to the ANC, Inkatha or the UDF to play that role.

The chances of this strategy working fairly well over the short to medium term should not be underestimated. Apart from students and high school pupils, there does not seem to be a class or stratum that would seriously challenge either the State or overthrow the vertical (ethnic) structures. It is only over the medium term that one expects serious challenges to build up to the ethnic structures, particularly if the State continues to apply the constitution and the group areas legislation rigidly.

There is, of course, no reason why a State President could not anticipate serious crises and persuade the ruling party to adjust the constitution to provide for greater constitutional flexibility. For this to happen, it is necessary to spell out the dangers of the current strategy in the clearest terms. The policy for coloured and Indian self-administration is not yet irreversible.

British investors jittery over the use of the SA military

JOHN BATTERSBY in London

THE COMBINED military-police crackdown in three East Rand townships this week has caused more concern here than any other internal development since Soweto in 1976.

It is not the pre-revolutionary panic of 1960 or the apocalypse-now spectre of 1976.

It is a future-directed concern — tinged with confusion and uncertainty — as investors and political analysts make a cool assessment of whether resorting to troops is the crossing of a rubicon leading to civil war.

More strident critics of South Africa's internal system are asking: is the police state becoming a para-military state?

According to observers of the South African-British business scene, the first signs were apparent this week of investor anxiety due to the political events of the past two months.

The concern would appear to be based on the accumulative effect of the wave of violence and repression sparked off by the August elections for the new Constitution and the five-week old diplomatic impasse over the Durban sit-in and the non-return of the Coventry four.

There is no doubt that the Coventry reprisal — apart from the obvious diplomatic damage it has caused — has eroded the special relationship between Britain and South Africa and precipitated a re-evaluation of the basis on which that relationship was founded.

It is against this backdrop that concern caused by the sealing-off of Sebokeng should be seen.

Political factors have not played a major role in Anglo-South African trade — as they are beginning to in the United States — and any departure from that norm would signal a fundamental shift in the whole relationship between the two countries.

Investors tend to assess investment potential and future prospects in a cold and analytical way which has little to do with human rights.

They are not concerned with whether South Africa is becoming militarised or whether blacks are going to be granted political rights.

They are concerned with whether the society in which they are investing is going to remain stable enough in the future to offer reasonable protection for the returns on those investments.

So how have the goings on on the East Rand affected their perceptions?

There are two schools of thought on the subject.

The first says that the decision to use troops in a deteriorating internal security situation is a necessary evil in a volatile situation in which the present Government's policy of piecemeal change is unleashing enormous tensions, rising expectations and frustrations.

Protagonists of this school would argue that a judicious mixture of repression and concession is a rational response in this situation.

They are already resigned to a protracted period of civil and labour unrest as the society moves into a period of dynamic transition.

We could call this the "violent evolution" school.

The second school argues that the deployment of troops by the South African Government is an admission of defeat, that the African National Congress' declared intention of making the townships "ungovernable" is working and presents a challenge far more serious than Sharpeville in 1960 or Soweto in 1976.

This school argues that the use of troops is an irreversible step on the road to civil war.

They would argue that the appearance of troops in the townships represents such a serious polarisation between the governing minority and the increasingly "ungovernable" majority which it is trying to accommodate that any prospect of reconciliation across the black-white divide vanishes.

The despair which this analysis leads to was reflected in the conclusion of an editorial in the London Daily Telegraph this week: "One suspects that in the long-run it will not greatly profit the South African Government if it meets present grievances by doubling expenditure on black education and withdrawing rent increases.

"Will anything less than majority rule ever finally satisfy the country's blacks? Will even that suffice?"

We could call this the "no-win" school.

Behind the human rights rhetoric and strong words about a "breach of faith" at Coventry, cool heads at the British Foreign Office are assessing the long-term implications of the violence and repression on the East Rand.

While Britain has a diplomatic and moral obligation to judge events in South Africa by its own value framework, there is an understanding that the unmodified tools of Western democracy are limited in dealing with the extraordinary pressures at work in that society.

While painfully aware of the shortcomings of the new Constitution, Britain is using its diplomatic influence to urge President Botha to pursue his commitment to finding a modus vivendi for accommodating the political aspirations of blacks.

It sees that, in the internalised violence and threatening anarchy in Sebokeng and Sharpeville, the South African Government perceives a threat to its future plans for black advancement and the governability of the black townships.

It sees the fragile Government-imposed administrative infrastructures being destroyed before the Government's eyes.

It sees the calculated decision of the Government to use troops in response to this situation . . . a decision announced two weeks ago by Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

It can understand the South African Government's need to restore order in those townships so that it can reimpose some form of day-to-day administration while it proceeds with its political manoeuvres to draw black "leaders" into consultations over their future development.

But all this does not detract from the fact that the British Government regards the methods being used as — to use the diplomatic parlance — "totally unacceptable".

Ironically, it was British diplomatic concern over detention without trial, as articulated in an EEC protest over the detention of black leaders connected with the election boycott, that led indirectly to the Durban sit-in and the subsequent impasse over the Coventry four.

The seriousness of the diplomatic crisis was reflected in Britain's rare vote against South African in the United Nations Security Council this week.

But sharp diplomatic exchanges about human rights and "breaches of faith" should not be allowed to obscure the underlying causes of the violence and repression which have gripped South Africa for the past two months.

The stability that foreign investors — and, more importantly, South Africans themselves — seek will not come about until meaningful structures are created to accommodate the political aspirations of blacks and offer redress for their mounting political frustrations.

Durban and Coventry are essentially peripheral issues.

The future will be determined by the South African Government's ability to meet the genuine grievances of the people of Sebokeng and Sharpeville and the hundreds of other townships throughout South Africa.

Protesters fail to halt Lenasia poll

By Yussuf Nazeer

Tomorrow Lenasia will hold another election in the face of strong protests from the United Democratic Front-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress.

The voting is for the Lenasia Management Committee to which seven members must be elected. There has been no vigorous campaigning and, in six of the seven wards, candidates — including, for the first time, a woman — have been elected unopposed.

One member, the former chairman of the LMC, has resigned. Two others have withdrawn on the eve of the elections leaving only Ward 7 with a poll. The candidates are Mr Y Mia and Mr S M Chetty.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has urged residents not to vote.

Mr Mia said: "I am going through with this election because I believe I owe it to my voters, come what may. Let them reject me or accept me."

Earlier some candidates had called on the Administrator and the Minister of Home Affairs to postpone the elections as the political climate was not right and, last month, the LMC submitted a memorandum to this effect.

DECIDED TO GO AHEAD

An LMC member, Mr Ebrahim Minty, who has withdrawn from the elections, said: "The Administrator and the Minister agreed with us that the elections should not be held. But the city council and election officer have decided to go ahead with it against our wishes. So I have decided to pull out."

Mr Minty claimed that the city council's management committee, which has been pressing for Lenasia to become an autonomous municipality in the face of continuous opposition from the LMC, wanted new, agreeable recruits who would accept autonomy in the LMC.

A House of Delegates member in the LMC, Mr Faiz Khan, who was told the elections would not be held and failed to register his nomination, agreed with Mr Minty. He called the elections a farce.

"For a long time the council's management committee chairman, Mr Francois Oberholzer, has been pressing for an autonomous Lenasia cut off from the city council," said Mr Khan.

"We believe the council has gone for this election to get unopposed persons, inexperienced in civic matters, on to the new committee. They would accept autonomy without opposition," Mr Khan charged.

Neither Mr Oberholzer nor council spokesmen could be reached for comment.

Business Day

RDM 30/10/84 304A

Private sector seen to be endorsing apartheid

By MIKE JENSEN

PRIVATE sector support is largely responsible for the success of the Government's separate development policies, says a research report.

The Government has created a variety of development-orientated institutions such as homeland governments and the Small Business Development Corporation.

These are run by a large, relatively well-off black bureacracy. A black middle class dependent on state support and capitalism is emerging, says a research report just released by the University of Witwatersrand Centre for Business Studies.

"The Prime Minister's aim is to defuse the Opposition through the creation of a complex set of alliances between the State and sections of the black population, while at the same time keeping intact the essentials of grand apartheid, the homelands and influx control," says the report.

"In sum, a black middle class with vested interests in the continued existence of the homelands is being created. The middle class in turn will provide support for the rulers of these homelands and create a buffer between the poor and the exercise of authority."

However, the duplication of bureaucracies — Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KaNgwane and provincial administrations — and the retention of the black population in the rural areas creates a need for rapidly increasing amounts of aid, currently exceeding R2bn, says the report.

"The Government does not know the financial implications of SA's constitutional changes — a sort of budgetary wild card. Economic growth and controlling inflation are less of an imperative than implementing apartheid.

"As Verwoerd constantly warned the public, if you want apartheid you will have to pay for it."

The private sector is now cooperating with industrial decentralisation (ID) policy, believe the researchers. "Whereas in 1968 it resisted the ID legislation, now SA's largest corporations have promised officials that decentralised locations will always be considered when new investment opportunities are evaluated."

The more formal involvement of the private sector in the ID process was displayed at the Carlton and Cape of Good Hope conferences.

It is evident from the position of private sector representatives on the boards of the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the Small Business Development Corporation, the Planning Advisory Council and their role in the Regional Development Advisory committees.

"Needless to say, this participation has exacted its price. The decentralisation incentives have been described as the best in the world, which translates into the most expensive to the public fiscus. Greater participation in implementing the policy is expanding through, for example, the role of private sector banks.

"In sum, the more rewarding relationship between the Government and capital reflects a shift in constituencies, most obviously away from the Afrikaner right wing. But it also appears to represent private sector involvement in and commitment to the new forms of implementing apartheid.

"More concretely than hitherto, the private sector is no longer supporting a liberal facade, one distant from the policies of apartheid. It is immersed in it."

...ese dual costs.

304A

PARLIAMENT

Spreading the jobs

FM 2/11/84

In line with appointment of Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi to the Cabinet (without portfolios) the naming of a coloured MP and an Indian MP as chairmen of standing select committees of Parliament is a tentative step towards consensus.

The names of the chairman and vice-chairmen of the 25 new parliamentary committees, announced by the Speaker last week, contain few surprises and, in many cases, are seen as little more than rewards for loyal government supporters.

At least one opposition party — the Progressive Federal Party — is furious at being snubbed. Party leaders say there was a clear understanding in informal discussions with the NP that opposition members would be appointed chairmen of some of the committees. But the only PFP member who features is Harry Schwarz, as vice-chairman of the finance committee, chaired by one of the NP's finance spokesmen, Charlie Simpkin.

Analysts say Schwarz's appointment should not be underestimated. Government, and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in particular, have healthy respect for Schwarz's acumen and have obviously taken seriously his offer to help the authorities tackle SA's financial crisis. The fact that he is right of centre in PFP terms obviously helped.

As for other PFP members being ignored, there is truth in the observation that consensus in fact means consensus between



PFP's Schwarz ... to watch the national housekeeping

304A

the three ruling parties in the tricameral parliament, and not necessarily between government and opposition.

The only other opposition figure to be named is NRP leader Vause Raw as vice-chairman of the Defence committee. Raw is a professed hawk in profound agreement with NP defence policy. His appointment is hardly a concession to progressive reform.

Little is known about Louis Hollander, the House of Representatives MP who is chairman of the select committee on Health and Welfare, and Soobramoney Naicker of the House of Delegates, who is chairman of the committee on Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Their anonymity is a safeguard against controversy, although it might be tempting to persuade Naicker to ask questions about desegregating tourist facilities in the OFS and removing other hurtful barriers to Indians.

Chairmen of the remaining committees are all senior NP members. One appointment that has raised a few eyebrows is that of Tino Volker as chairman of the important Constitutional Development and Planning committee. While he was a member of Chris Heunis's House of Assembly committee on constitutional matters Opposition MPs say he hardly distinguished himself. Moreover, there are said to be nagging doubts about his NP track record and his loyalty to the P W Botha faction of the party. A major surprise is the omission of glowing verligte Wynand Malan (NP Randburg). Insiders suspect he overplayed his hand at *lojale verset*, a display of maverick defiance in which he attacked sacred cows of Nationalist Afrikanerdom. But his time may come.

The appointment of the rather more cautious verligte Pretoria MP Albert Nothnagel as chairman of the Home Affairs and National Education committee has been welcomed by the liberal English press. This comes as no surprise because Nothnagel, who represents a verkrampte Pretoria constituency, has worked hard for many years to sculpt an image of sweet reasonableness. His was always the acceptable face of the NP. He may not be far from a deputy ministership.

Surprise was also expressed by MPs at the appointment of Hendrik Tempel as chairman of the important committee on Co-operation and Development and Education. Although a senior MP, he has shown no special talents in this area. There are lingering doubts among Cape NP faithful about his unswerving loyalty to the P W Botha faction. This could well be his reward for trying to dispel such doubt.

Reservations have been expressed at the appointment of Kleppies Heyns as chairman of the Industry and Commerce committee. On the other hand, the appointment of businessman Dr Jayaram Reddy of the House of Representatives as his vice-chairman has been welcomed on the assumption that this chairman can only benefit from exposure to his deputy.

Cost of housing new MPs will run to millions

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

THE enormous costs of providing office and residential accommodation for members of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates is clear from a statement released last night by the Minister of Communication and Public Works, Dr Lappa Munnik.

Construction of 165 houses for the new members of Parliament, and additional parliamentary session staff, has already started.

The PFP spokesman on the Public Service, Major Ruben Sive, said last night that to provide housing compatible with the status of an MP, houses would cost at least R100 000 each, taking into account today's inflated building costs.

The total cost of the 165 houses then would add up to about R16 500 000.

Dr Munnik said office space had been provided in Marks Building in Parliament Street, Cape Town, for members of the councils.

The Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives will use this accommodation during parliamentary recesses.

In Durban, offices are being prepared for the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates in the Malgate building in Smith Street.

In Cape Town, 65 dwellings are being built at Belhar to house members of the House of Representatives during sessions of Parliament.

Another 100 dwellings are being built in Pelican Park for members of the House of Delegates and parliamentary session personnel.

The chairman and members of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives are now accommodated in flats in Rygersdal, Rondebosch. Permanent dwellings are being planned on a site in Walmer.

Dwellings are being built in Pelican Park for the chairman and members of the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates for occupation during sessions of parliament.

RDM 3/11/84 (304A)

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW with Minister of Law a

Why the ANC is being 'hit for six'

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

THE African National Congress is "on the downgrade," Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, declared in his 14th floor office in the heart of Pretoria.

"They've had a lot of problems. One of their problems is a question of morale. They've been hit for sixes all the time. They know it very well."

But, Mr Le Grange added, apart from the ANC's recent setbacks and its adverse impact on its morale, South Africa's blacks were turning away from the ANC because of contemporary political, social and economic developments.

"The blacks appreciate what is happening. They see there is earnestness and seriousness in the Government's willingness to talk to them, to consider the future with them in the interests of all."

Mr Le Grange's statements ring strangely in the ears of South Africans who do not share his political perspective.

They are difficult to reconcile with continuing attacks by the ANC in the wake of the March 16 Nkomati Accord with Mozambique and, even more, with the on-going unrest which has turned many townships into battlegrounds between police and black youths.

Mr Le Grange, however, did not have the same problems.

"We didn't expect a drop in ANC attacks after Nkomati," he told me in a wide-ranging interview.

"We expected an increase and there was a slight increase ... because the ANC wanted to emphasise its supposed strength to the world.

"We expected an increase and we were geared for it. But (the attacks) are levelling off now."

The township unrest was cited by Mr Le Grange as evidence of his view that blacks are appreciative of President P W Botha's "reformist" policies.

He had no doubt that the ANC had a hand in instigating the unrest, largely in a bid to thwart the implementation of the new Constitution and sabotage the process of political reform which was threatening to make it redundant.

"The more we succeed in talking about these matters (of reform), the more the ANC will become obsolete on the South African scene," he said.

"Its main purpose in the last three months in South Africa was to try and create a picture of discontented people ... to give the impression to the rest of the world that the constitutional developments are (totally) unacceptable to the people of South Africa.

"That is certainly one of the main reasons behind the present unrest in South Africa."

Mr Le Grange was sanguine about the unrest itself, which, according to figures culled from newspaper reports by the Institute of Race Relations, has claimed the lives of at least 134 people since the death of a schoolgirl in Atteridgeville in February.

"I am confident that it is calming down progressively," Mr Le Grange said.

"One really can't say, but with the (completion of) school examinations and the closing of the schools it may calm down completely."

Mr Le Grange, a member of the Cabinet committee investigating ways of politically accommodating blacks living outside their designated "homelands," recognised the need for a political solution in any long-term answer to the unrest.

"We are talking to leaders of these black communities, to leaders in the urban areas, to leaders from the national states ... to their own traditional leaders ... and to leaders from the independent states.

"We are not negotiating, but we are talking to them. We are asking their views. We will eventually consider all the views that we listened to.

"We will eventually consider all the information we have at our disposal to try and come to our final recommendations to the Government for its final decision."

Some observers believe that the Government has complicated its own task by detaining leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and, to a lesser extent, the National Forum.

They contend that these leaders should be included in any discussions, as they have a genuine following and an equivalent legitimacy.

Mr Le Grange did not agree.

"I don't think they are so important that there is nobody else left to talk with to find solutions to the future. They are not that important. Definitely not.

"I don't say that they are not regarded by some of their people as leaders. I am not saying that. All I am saying is that considerations for the future have definitely not come to a standstill because they have been detained."

Mr Le Grange has accused the UDF with creating a "revolutionary climate" and promoting the same aims as the ANC.

Asked why the UDF had not been charged in court with fomenting revolution and promoting the aims of a banned organisation, he replied:

"These matters are involved. It takes time to investigate. It may take a few years ... We are monitoring the UDF and some of its affiliates on a very close basis."

He did not exclude the possibility of charges being brought against the UDF in court eventually, and justified the detention of several of its leaders as the course of action demanded by "the information available to us".

On possible action against the UDF in the future, Mr Le Grange said:

"It all depends on the circumstances ... We will have to see what the UDF does, how they go about (their business) and what they intend doing."

Judging from unrest casualty figures given by Mr Le Grange in a speech to the Transvaal National Party congress on October 5, police action has caused more than three-quarters of the deaths.

Of the 80 people killed between August 1 and September 20, 65 were killed by police, Mr Le Grange disclosed in his speech.

Some observers have interpreted these figures as evidence of the inability of the police to control riot situations except by the crudest methods.

Mr Le Grange, however, was adamant in his defence of police methods and their concern to keep casualties to a minimum.

"Our view is that we must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life ... I can't emphasise that enough.

"That is the approach of the SAP. We must operate with the absolute minimum loss of life, but without losing effectiveness, of course, and without endangering the lives of the police force ...

"We have adopted new methods by using rubber bullets, by using those little sjamboks instead of the heavy riot truncheons that were used on kids and youngsters (in the past).

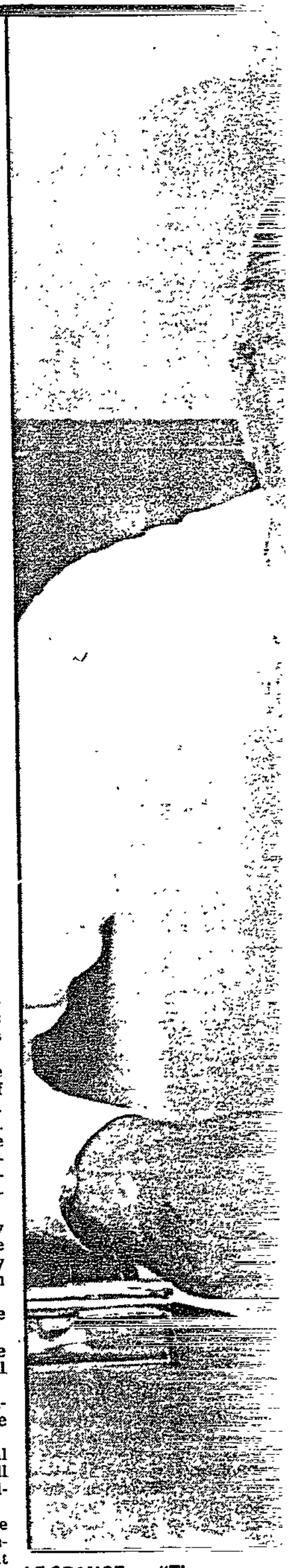
"We have our sneeze machines. We have tear-gas.

"All these kinds of methods are used to try to ensure that there will be a minimum loss of life.

"We don't use live ammunition unless we are in danger and unless the situation is very, very serious.

"And then it is only in the final instance that a senior officer will give an instruction for live ammunition to be used.

"I don't mind if it takes a little longer to get the situation under control if we can save lives by doing it that way."



LE GRANGE ... "The more we

RGM 6/11/84 (304A)

Verwoerd's apartheid dream, 25 years later

IN ITS search for ways to accommodate blacks in a new constitutional arrangement the Government has indicated specifically that it seeks solution for the 10-million blacks settled permanently in "white" SA.

It considers the constitutional position of blacks living in the dependent and self-governing homelands to be irreversible. But are the homelands viable political entities?

In popular and academic circles there is a strong tendency to dismiss the homelands as corrupt and inefficient failures. The time has come to take a close look at its political progress in the 25 years since 1959 when Dr H F Verwoerd gave new impetus to the homeland policy.



DR HENDRIK VERWOERD ... thought homelands would win international acceptance.

HERMAN GILIOMEE

Dr Verwoerd's policy had three objectives. The first and most important goal was safeguarding white rule over a "white" SA. He presented the development of black homelands as the only alternative to integration: the choice, in his words, was either "an assured white state in SA", geographically smaller than the one before, and an integrated state in which the black man would eventually dominate.

Today President Botha remains equally committed to the policy of maintaining separate homelands for the designated black ethnic groups and retaining white control over the remainder of the country.

The second goal of the Verwoerdian policy was to provide a political outlet for blacks. The development of the political and administrative structures of the homelands can undoubtedly be considered as a form of political decentralisation.

But two caveats should be added: All the homelands (with the possible exception of Bophuthatswana) are so greatly dependent on SA economic aid that they enjoy little more than the degree of political freedom the South African Government wants them to enjoy.

Moreover, political decentralisation has greatly strengthened the power of the conservative elements in the homelands — the chiefs. Nancy Charton, has made this apt comment: "The chief has emerged from the semi-obscurity of the colonial period to inherit the post-colonial kingdom."

Dr Verwoerd also had a third purpose in mind with the homeland policy. Having just removed the last vestiges of black representation in Parliament he needed a bold political alternative in order to deflect mounting world pressure against apartheid.

The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was premised heavily on the principle of the self-determination of nations, a principle enshrined in the Charter of the UN and revered at that time by the powerful decolonisation movement.

In introducing the act in 1959 Dr Verwoerd informed Parliament that "separate Bantu development was in line with the objects of the world at large".

Today it sounds incredible that Dr Verwoerd could have thought that the homelands would win international acceptance. Yet in its early days the policy did not meet with blanket rejection.

In a recent biography, Brian Urquhart reports on a conversation that Dag Hammerskjold, Secretary-General of the UN, had with Dr Verwoerd in 1961. Mr Hammerskjold declared that the homeland policy had to meet four requirements if it was to be considered by the world as a "competitive alternative" to integration.

Firstly, a sufficient and coherent territory had to be set aside for a black state. Secondly the South African Government would have to lay down a plan for radical economic development providing for industries and economic growth within a black state.

Thirdly the South African Government would have to produce a schedule for the establishment of such political institutions necessary for self-government and independence.

Lastly, blacks working outside the homelands should have their political and other human rights as normally recognised.

As Mr Hammerskjold phrased it in his memorandum: "Prolonged residence and integration in the society where they were working should entitle them to acquire citizenship with full civic rights."

Mr Hammerskjold noted afterwards that if these requirements were not met "it would put in question the homeland concept itself and the sincerity of the theory put forward in its defence". It is doubtful whether Dr Verwoerd and his successors even contemplated meeting Mr Hammerskjold's criteria.

There has been little progress towards carving out "sufficient and coherent territories" or of embarking on "radical economic development". It was really only with the Good Hope proposals of 1982 that the Government started to put muscle behind industrial decentralisation. But this effort is still far from sufficient to address the unemployment and suffering in the homelands.

It is significant that when SA in 1976 came to actually granting independence for the Transkei the consideration of Western acceptance of this procedure took the back seat. Professor John Dugard argues that if SA had any hope to gain international recognition for an independent Transkei and the other which followed her it was imperative that Xhosa-speaking blacks living in the urban areas of SA should not lose their South African citizenship.

However, by 1976 perhaps the main aim of the South African Government in granting independence was to eliminate as many blacks as possible from citizenship of SA. In the classic exposition of this policy goal — one which has not yet been repudiated — Dr Connie Mulder stated: "If your policy is taken to its logical conclusion as far as black people are concerned, there will not be one black man with South African citizenship ..."

This policy line, more than anything else, is responsible for the fact that no country, except the RSA, has recognised the independence of the homelands.

In spite of such pronouncements there has always been a tendency in National Party thinking not to regard homeland independence as a goal in itself. Dr Verwoerd, Mr John Vorster and Mr Botha all mooted the idea of a "commonwealth", "constellation" or "confederation" in which independent black states would enter into an association with the "white" state.

Behind this lay the idea that once ethnic and constitutional fragmentation of the black population had progressed far enough whites would feel sufficiently secure to address the problem of white-black power-sharing in a federal arrangement.

In this the special category of "qualified" urban blacks could somehow be treated as a separate entity.

How does the political balance sheet of the homelands read today? From the Government's point of view the homeland policy can hardly be regarded as an unmitigated failure. Through rigid influx controls and massive relocation programmes (occuring at huge human costs) the proportion of blacks living in homelands has risen from 40% in 1960 to 54% in 1980.

If one takes only the *de facto* population of the independent homelands about a fifth of South African blacks has been denationalised and put out of the political game. The economic development of the homelands has been by and large a failure.

Some would say that the R2,2 000-million (almost 9% of the South African budget) spent on homelands in 1983 is a complete waste of money. But this sum meets the Government's political objectives at not too prohibitive a cost, and it should be remembered that in the case of a homeland like Ciskei about 60% of the current annual budget is "normal" expenditure in that it goes into education, health, agriculture and industrial infrastructure.

From the black point of view the picture is complex. The pass laws and denationalisation policy, both tied to the homelands, are among the greatest grievances of urban blacks.

Another major grievance is the state's woeful neglect of urban infrastructure and housing for Africans' becaused of its preoccupation with the homelands.

As far as homeland blacks are concerned there is obviously a difference between the views of those living in political hallucinations like KwaNdebele or Quaqua and more meaningful entities like Transkei or Kwazulu. It is nevertheless interesting to note the findings of the Buthelezi Commission which indicated that nearly half of the Kwazulu population saw some positive value in the homelands provided they could seek work freely in "white" SA.

Whether the homelands are building blocks or stumbling blocks in the search for a new political accommodation between whites and blacks is difficult to say. One can only note that the homelands have become a fixture in the political landscape of SA that cannot be wished away.

300 at 'lively' CP meeting

Political Correspondent

NOBODY has given the United Democratic Front and the African National Congress more steam than the government's new constitutional dispensation, the chairman of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said last night.

Speaking to a lively audience of about 300 people at by-election meeting in the Parow Civic Centre, Dr Hartzenberg said the National Party's new deal had created widespread instability in South Africa.

He said the government had promised whites that if they voted "yes" in last November's referendum, they would be rewarded with peace and prosperity.

However, the CP had warned that the new deal was a recipe for division and conflict in South Africa and they had now been proved right.

Dr Hartzenberg reminded the audience that the Rev Allan Hendrickse had warned that if he did not get his way within five years he would opt out of the new deal, leaving it in chaos.

Dr Hartzenberg said that almost one third of coloured people gave unconditional or qualified support to the CP plan for a separate coloured homeland.

The CP's parliamentary candidate for the November 29 by-election, Mrs Eleanor Lombard, said it was an illusion to think that South Africa would gain the approval of the outside world with its new constitution.

"Only one thing will satisfy the outside world and that is one man, one vote," she said to loud cries of "nooit, nooit" from the audience.

The CP's candidate for the provincial council, Mr Reyno Louw, said that the government complained about a lack of a clear blueprint for the coloured homeland idea, but the NP had governed for 36 years and still could not specify the final boundaries for the black homelands.

(Report by A Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

...died later try-

304A

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Times 7/11/84

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CITY/INTERNATIONAL

Coloured civil servants have priority in 'new deal' posts

By BRIAN STUART
Political Staff

COLOURED civil servants will be given priority in appointments to "own affairs" posts controlled by the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, in cases where both white and coloured applicants are equal on merit.

This is the effect of a policy decision of the Ministers' Council.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, said in an interview that this decision had been submitted by the council to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Home Affairs.

Principles

"The three principles we have adopted in looking at senior appointments in our departments are:

- "An acceptance of merit as the basis for appointment;
- "Where the merit is equal in the case of both a white and a coloured person, preference will be given to the coloured person;
- "Affirmative action will be taken in giving a coloured person opportunity to gain the experience to place him in a position of being equal in terms of merit."

Mr Hendrickse said "affirmative action" meant placing coloured civil servants in a better position to make themselves available for merit promotions to top posts by giving them the opportunity to gain experience or qualifications.

"Only one"

"We are conscious of the fact that while white officials in departments of State have opportunities for promotion in four directions — white, coloured, Indian and black departments — our own coloured folk have only one, that is, in our own departments," he said.

"We have already appointed a number of white officials. And our policy decision must in no way be seen as depriving them in any way or as a rejection of what they have already achieved. There will be no witch-hunt.

"We do give this assurance to our white officials."

(Report by B Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

PARLIAMENT

Power to the party

Hermann Giliomee, professor of political studies at the University of Cape Town, was not joking when he described the new constitution as an attempt by the National Party to share power without losing control (*FM* October 26). A study of the standing rules and procedures of the tricameral Parliament reveals just how tight the NP's grip on power remains.

Like the new constitution itself, the rules are convoluted and complex. But what they mean, quite simply, is that the NP cannot be beaten or outvoted under any circumstances, whether it be in the (white) House of Assembly or in committee, the real instrument of consensus.

Even if the House of Representatives (coloured) and the House of Delegates (Indian) take a joint stand on draft legislation in opposition to the white house, their version cannot become law.

White law

The effect of the procedures and the loading of the structure in favour of the NP is that legislation proposed by the white house *can* become law, even if the coloured and Indian houses pass amended versions of the legislation. The President's Council (PC) is the final arbiter in such a dispute, and must consider the different versions of draft legislation from the different houses.

If instructed by the State President, it can give a binding ruling that one of the versions before it must become law (without amending or revising it in any way). Given the built-in NP majority in the PC, there can be little doubt about the version of any Bill it will select.

Constitutional apologists argue that the same procedure could result in either an Indian or a coloured version of legislation being approved. While that is true in theory, the 4:2:1 ratio on which the constitution is based makes for the continuance of white NP domination.

Nic Olivier, the PFP's constitutional expert, says there is another strategy built into the rules for the various parliamentary committees which further entrenches NP authority.

Financial Mail November 9 1984

Although it is in the joint and joint standing committees that the real horse-trading will take place, there is no way that government can be outvoted by a combined majority — say of PFP, NRP, coloured and Indian members.

The rules prohibit individual members of the committees from combining to produce a majority within the committee. Instead, the separate select committees of each of the three houses (whose combined membership makes up a joint committee) will vote separately, effectively preventing opposition groups from combining to outgun the NP.

Government, of course, has a significant majority on all the white committees, thus ensuring that the corporate vote from the white select committees will always reflect the NP line.

Even if both the coloured and Indian houses oppose the white house's decision, the rules lead inevitably to the NP-controlled PC. "It is a fascinating strategy for the continuing domination of power," Olivier says.

Minority reports

The rules make no provision for minority reports from committees. But, says Olivier, opposition parties are not precluded from acting when the reports of the various select committees making up joint committees are tabled in their separate houses. "Opposition parties can, for example, move that the report be rejected by the house. Obviously it would go through in the end, because the report would reflect the opinion of the majority party in each house. But in this way opposition parties could firstly delay and, more importantly, publicise decisions," says Olivier.

This is an important point. One of the major consequences of the tricameral structure will be the discontinuation of public debate on policy and legislation.

Instead, difficulties will be thrashed out behind the closed doors of the joint committees. Thus, any loophole which allows opposition parties to expose government thinking to the glare of publicity is to be welcomed.

STAR 10/11/84.

The answer to SA problems?

It's so simple!

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS
BY HARVEY TYSON



This week may provide a footnote in history; one that can be assessed accurately only after years of hindsight.

It was the week in which black labour deliberately tested its strength as a racial political force.

The test was limited, for it involved mainly semi-skilled, exclusively black (ie African) workers; mostly in organised unions, and was confined to the Witwatersrand, with emphasis on the East Rand.

The efficacy of the stayaway, in terms of organisation, control, political protest or pressure on production will be argued, but the result hardly matters. History will remember only that it happened.

And history will probably condense events to the point where it will be remembered (wrongly) that "troops were used by the white regime for the first time in an attempt to contain the pressure". (I paraphrase more than parody the style of historians).

What matters today is that political theory about the strength of the masses became, momentarily, a reality.

What matters is that the white population, instead of learning any lessons, shrugged them off. In general, whites suppressed their irritation and looked the other way. Or, as history changed gear before their eyes, they rationalised the situation to avoid reality, and so managed to ignore some significant omens.

Conversely, black organisers of the campaign lost touch with reality to the point where one was quoted as saying: "We now have power in our hands and we can use it any way we like... Our duty is to create an ungovernable situation and actually force the State to declare some of the area as liberated zones."

Good grief! The European revolutionaries of 1848 demonstrated by default that timing was the essence of success for revolution. If you lose your grip on reality, you may miss out — not just by a decade but, as in the case of Russia, by as much as 69 years. (And even then, in 1917, revolution came almost by accident to Petrograd — and certainly as a surprise to the Marxists and bolsheviks.)

No, the South African issue of the 1980s is not revolution, despite the impression given in news bulletins to the rest of the world. The issue, as I said in this column last week, is whether South Africans will sit down and talk to each other, or whether they will blindly follow the usual route through *decades* of destruction and bloody feuding, before they sit among the ruins to talk to each other.

★ ★ ★

The priorities lie as much in economics as in politics. The two are interdependent, though an eminent banker suggested to me this week that inflation — and the threat of its rampant growth — was the single most important priority facing all interests in the country.

Well, if you cannot solve the nation's other problems, how do you solve inflation?

Sadly, there is no simple answer to this single problem.

To beat inflation (and so bring benefits to everyone, particularly the poor) ALL people have to make willing sacrifices. A whole series of measures has to be applied by government, private enterprise, organised labour and individuals.

As a first step it is necessary to make the entire population understand that they have a common interest in the economy. It is necessary to educate all people, and provide them with jobs. It is necessary to ensure equal opportunity at every level.

Thus, even to combat inflation we have to get back onto the old political treadmill.

★ ★ ★

This week happened to be one in which I was present at discussions with military generals; politicians white and black; businessmen at various functions; some bankers and some economists. All seem to have the same yearning. "Why doesn't some-one spell out clearly the priorities?" they ask.

Yet all seem to come to the same conclusion: There *are* no simple answers.

Indeed there are no answers at all until the nation sits down together and agrees on what the problems are.

So the first priority is that South Africans must talk to each other (not at each other). That is blindingly obvious — yet everyone shies away from it.

Another obvious priority is to ensure that the black population is allowed to understand the capitalist system — let alone have a share in it — if the system is to survive. Yet nothing is done in this regard.

The Government itself never even talks to the black communities about its budget proposals. Official explanations are reserved exclusively for white voters.

It is no wonder so many black citizens believe that they can own a mansion in Houghton tomorrow if only they can take over the Government.

Another priority, then is for the Government to start treating black citizens as people — even if they are not voters.

The "reformists" have their priorities wrong. There is no need for them to give anything away. For whatever they dispense will be rejected by the unconsulted blacks. Instead of soft give-aways, there needs to be real, hard bargaining.

Thus there remains just one, basic, simple answer: sit down and talk.

Any concessions arising out of talks between representative groups of voters and of blacks will have reality.

11/11/84

304A

Black talks with Government hit tricky stage

SUNDAY TIMES, Novel

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

THE Government's cautious progress towards constitutional change for black South Africans is entering its trickiest stage — the debate with black leaders who have rejected Government institutions altogether.

And as part of the initiative to maintain momentum, the Government is prepared to engage prominent black figures in free-ranging and informal talks on constitutional issues outside the confines of the Cabinet committee on urban blacks.

Threaten

This move towards the "informal negotiating sector" has been prompted by the Government's acceptance that prominent and respected members of the black community will not give evidence to the Cabinet sub-committee.

The black leaders have rejected the sub-commitee as a forum for the debate, and threaten to thwart Government hopes to attract a wide range of black political opinion — including those from outside the Government-created platforms.

The broad strategy is to encourage individual ministers, or their representatives, to initiate informal talks with community leaders on specific issues.

Input from independently-established talk-shops will also be considered.

Conclusions from these talks will then be channelled to the sub-committee, which is already in possession of a mass of evidence from establishment black political leaders and other organisations concerned with constitutional and social change.

The willingness to explore alternative forums for the black political debate indicates the Government's acceptance that for many blacks the instruments used for the debate are at least as important as the content of the debate.

The Cabinet sub-committee has heard evidence from a range of establishment leaders — self-governing homelands, independent homelands and black local authorities.

Last week, for example, it solidified its standing with the leaders of the self-governing homelands by suggesting permanent joint Cabinet committees be established to liaise on common socio-political issues.

Rigid

The committee has also taken evidence from constitutional and political experts, community groups, the Urban Foundation, and other organisations involved with black issues.

But now comes the hardest part — the debate with anti-establishment figures who enjoy support in their communities, and whose contributions are critical to the work of the sub-committee.

At this sensitive stage in the work of the Cabinet sub-committee, there appears a tacit acceptance that much of the work will initially have to be done outside the rigid framework of the committee on a more person-to-person basis.

Problem

The question of the right forum for the black constitutional debate to take place has dogged the work of the Cabinet committee since its formation more than a year ago.

When it was initially formed, prominent members of the committee felt it was urgent for the black community itself to establish their own forums through which they could give evidence to the Cabinet committee.

(News by B C Pottinger, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg).

argus 12/11/84 (304A)

Election dispute going to court

Political Staff

NOTICE has been given of a Supreme Court action aimed at upsetting the result of the Tafelberg constituency House of Representatives election in August.

Mr M D Arendse, former leader of the Labour Party, was declared elected over Mrs Soheir Hoosen of the People's Congress Party by 118 votes to 115.

Mrs Hoosen has served papers on Mr Arendse and the returning officer, Mr P J Keyser, giving notice of her intention to petition the Supreme Court to declare her elected in Tafelberg.

Her claim is based on an allegation that slips of paper, signed by Mr Arendse, were handed to voters at Woodstock polling booth promising "all pensioners who support me, if I am successful, a Xmas gift parcel to the value of not less than R20 and as from January 1 1985 and every month thereafter a sum of not less than R10 to augment their pensions until it is increased".

Mrs Hoosen alleges that this was designed to influence voters and did so in at least eight specified cases. She will ask the court to deduct these eight from Mr Arendse's votes, leaving him with 110 against her 115 votes.

Mr Arendse has filed an opposing document.

Mr Arendse said today: "I will definitely oppose her application."

(Report by B Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

SA would accept non-violent ANC

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — If the African National Congress (ANC) was prepared to cease its "violent objectives" there was no reason why its members could not return and participate in the constitutional political process in South Africa, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said in Munich at the weekend.

Speaking at a press conference after his return from a meeting on Saturday with the West German Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Mr Botha said the South African Government had no objection in principle to the ANC becoming a legitimate organization in South Africa in participating in the constitutional process.

Mr Botha had been asked whether he had not set a precedent for the return of the ANC by mediating between the Frelimo government in Mozambique and the leadership of the armed guerilla movement, the MNR, to negotiate the safe return of MNR members.

Mr Botha said the difference in Mozambique was that there was a "lack of amnesty" for MNR members.

Government gobbling up one third of economy

By LOUIS BECKERLING
Business Editor

THE Government is now gobbling up almost one third of South Africa's economy — and about 40% of the money it borrows is used to keep its wheels turning, rather than to create new opportunities for growth.

This view of uncontrolled spending by a swollen bureaucracy emerges in a study recently released by the Mercabank Group on the crushing tax burden under which South Africans are now reeling.

And evidence that even formerly loyal suporters of the Government have lost their patience with a prime factor in the poor economic situation — excessive Government expenditure — was underlined today in a statement from the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

Mr Leon Bartel, president of the AHI, warned in Pretoria that the economy was on the verge of permanent damage, and cited excessive Government expenditure as one of the problems.

He appealed for relief from the savage austerity measures introduced by the State on August 2.

In addition, loyal National Party supporters have recently expressed misgivings that the current round of by-elections — and the potentially three-cornered fight in Port Elizabeth's Newton Park early next year — could prove sobering to the Government.

"The issue is one of bread and butter politics, and the Government's record is not good," confessed one senior NP spokesman in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The Mercabank study points to "serious structural deficiencies" which have emerged recently in the South African economy — "not least so in the nature and size of the burden placed upon personal incomes by rising Government expenditure".

Total Government expenditure, it observes, has risen from 20% of the Gross National Product (GNP) in the early 1970s to an estimated 30% this year.

Underlying this total spending pattern is a chilling change in both the method of financing the booming Government bill, and the manner in which its borrowings are employed.

Debt incurred by the country's public authorities amounted to a low figure of R285 million in 1980, but this has since rocketed to an estimated R6 100 million this year.

"And the alarming aspect of the recent rises in the borrowing requirements is the fact that large proportions of the borrowing (25% in 1983 and an estimated 39% in 1984) is required to cover deficits on current account," points out Mercabank.

Bearing the brunt of Government's runaway spending (which is yet to take into account financing the new constitution) are families battling to balance their budgets.

Combining the effect of increased direct taxation and domestic inflation, Mercabank calculates that a householder earning R10 000 a year in 1972 paid an effective ultimate tax (ignoring rebates and abatements) of 14,2%.

By 1984 such a householder (now earning R41 000 — or the real equivalent of his 1972 counterpart) was paying 30,9% of his income in tax to the Government.

Committee in T'kei for talks on constitutional position of blacks

Post 14/11/84 3a4A

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

THE Special Cabinet Committee looking into the constitutional position of blacks in South Africa and related matters is visiting Umtata today for talks with the Transkeian Cabinet.

Last Friday it held similar talks with the Bophuthatswanan Cabinet, and next on the agenda were Ciskei (November 24) and Venda (November 28), a senior spokesman for the office of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said today.

Mr Heunis chairs the committee.

Other members at today's Umtata talks are the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange; the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel.

Eight senior Government officials make up the rest of the 13-member South African delegation.

They are holding talks with the full Transkeian Cabinet and the State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, at the presidential palace today.

When it was instituted last year, the committee was widely billed as being mainly concerned with finding a solution to the vexed question of the constitutional position of blacks outside the homelands — particularly the urban blacks.

The committee has already received representations from urban black leaders, whose identity Mr Heunis has declined to disclose on the basis of confidentiality and the "safety".

But Mr Heunis has made it clear in past weeks that the constitutional position of homeland blacks is also included in his committee's brief, and the present talks are a manifestation of this.

Both he and the State President, Mr P W Botha, have stressed that they view the committee's work as "urgent".

Mr Heunis pointed out in an interview with the Evening Post last month that all options were being considered, although any final decision would be taken by the full Cabinet.

The spokesman at his office further pointed out today that socio-political factors affecting blacks were also being examined, in addition to constitutional questions.

"Attention is being given to the whole question of citizenship, particularly as far as urban blacks are concerned. There have been complaints that blacks lose their citizenships when homelands become independent," he added.

PM 16/11/84

30 A

TONY BLOOM

Time to talk to black leaders

Premier Group chairman Tony Bloom received the 1984 Award for Management Excellence from the Wits Business School. This is an extract from his acceptance speech.

On the political front, if I sense views of many of my colleagues in business correctly, there seems to be a feeling that the wheels have begun to fall off. Contrast the post-Nkomati euphoria with the present despondency and prognostications of gloom. I have to say that I am not entirely surprised at the manner that events have turned out, which I believe were in many way predictable — except for occasional surprises such as our grossly inept handling of the Durban consulate crisis, which not only defies prediction but indeed explanation.

There is no doubt that there was and still is unrestrained admiration for the external achievements of the Executive State President — they clearly represent a major foreign policy victory for SA which should hopefully form the basis for broader regional co-operation in the whole of the southern African region.

And, equally, internally the referendum endorsing the new Constitution gave an overwhelming mandate for change which will also hopefully be used to establish a trend towards a more just society.

But the black population has been excluded from the new constitutional dispensation and urgently needs to be reassured — they need a signal — that the process of reform is soundly based and intended for them as well. The best way to demonstrate this is to begin by dismantling statutory discrimination, perhaps starting with less controversial issues (such as opening up previously reserved "white only" trading areas to all races — surely an anachronism in post-referendum SA), but working inevitably over a reasonable period of time to the removal of discrimination as a feature of legislation in SA in its entirety.

Internal reform

The positive external developments will not be able to achieve their potential benefit unless simultaneously accompanied by internal reform.

Surely the time has come for meaningful discussions with black leaders, discussions which can only take place *outside* the new constitutional dispensation in its present form, firstly because it does not provide for them and, secondly, because black leaders have expressed unwillingness to participate in a constitution that they feel is discriminatory, divisive and selective.

To be effective, our new dispensation requires credibility in the minds of coloureds, Indians and blacks, and this has so far been abysmally lacking, as is evidenced by the low polls in the Indian, coloured and even black local community council elections.

Such credibility will be difficult to achieve if it is not accompanied by discussion with the legitimate black leadership in SA. In this context, leadership cannot mean those personalities who are promoted to positions of influence and authority by virtue of their tribal or ethnic affiliations — leadership must mean people who reflect the will and support of the majority.

This will need to embrace, at the very least, the Soweto Committee of Ten and, almost certainly, leaders with the black political credibility of people like Nelson

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Financial Mail

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OPPOSITION POLITICS

Silence at the top

SA's first two Cabinet ministers of colour, Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi, have long stood as opponents of apartheid. But, despite the troubled waters in which SA now finds itself, these two have been remarkably silent of late; so much so that the question is being asked whether their co-option into the establishment has led to their political emasculation.

In fairness, it is early days. They were made members of the Cabinet only some two months ago, and Parliament is in any case not due to reconvene until mid-January. But at the same time, those coloured and Indian political parties which participated in the new deal must not forget the credibility crisis of the disastrously low percentage poll. Their leaders need to maintain high profiles — and profiles critical of the apartheid structure — if they are to win back any significant measure of electoral support.

The *FM* has already posed the question of who will emerge as the real parliamentary opposition in the new tricameral structure (*Leaders* October 5). Hendrickse has stated in public that his Labour Party is now the real opposition, with greater parliamentary representation than any other, including the Progressive Federal Party. If this is in fact so, he has been very slow to take the opportunities for comment that have been offered to opposition spokesmen over the last troubled eight weeks.

As far as can be ascertained, Hendrickse has, since his appointment to the Cabinet, attacked PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, threatened the United Democratic Front (UDF) and criticised the SA Council on Sport (Sacos). He also announced that he was not party to government's decision not to return the Coventry four, and that he disagreed with it. He has not spoken out on the unrest or the miserable state of the economy. In all, his performance must be gratifying to his National Party Cabinet colleagues. And that's a great pity.

As for Rajbansi, he has been virtually invisible since he joined the Cabinet, although he, too, said (when sought out by the press) that he was not consulted on Coventry.

Early days or not, Rajbansi and Hendrickse cannot allow themselves to sink into this kind of obscurity. Both have said their participation in the new system stems from their determination to change society from within. To do this, they cannot let the pressure for change falter for a second.

Or has government in fact succeeded in effectively stilling their voices? Will they restrain themselves to commenting only on government's vision of what are "own affairs?" These questions highlight the danger the two face of being swallowed by the system they have sworn to oppose.

At the same time, government is not blameless. The fact that these two, as full Cabinet ministers, were *not* consulted on a decision as critical as Coventry does not augur well. Indeed, it smacks of the early days of the first President's Council (PC), when government rode roughshod over the PC's recommendations on Pageview and District Six. That council never fully regained its credibility. It will be a tragedy if the valuable input from community leaders like Hendrickse and Rajbansi is blandly ignored.

A comment made recently by Rajbansi himself is pertinent. When he announced he was in favour of giving the new deal a fair trial, he said the emphasis ought not to be placed on who created the platform or what materials were used in its construction; but rather on the quality of the people who would use it — and, more important, the quality of their performances.

The *FM* agrees. Both Hendrickse and Rajbansi should never forget that the quality of their performances, now and in the future, are under intense scrutiny from all SA.

Argus 5/9/84

PCP named official coloured opposition

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Political Correspondent

THE People's Congress Party has become the official opposition in the House of Representatives with the decision of an independent to join it.

Mr Y Rhoda, who won the Bokkeveld seat as an independent, will sit with Mr D T de la Cruz, who won Ottery for the PCP.

Party leader Mr Pieter Marais, who lost the election in Bishop Lavis, confirmed today he was going to go on to the new President's Council as one of the nominees of his party.

In terms of the new constitution the PCP could claim three seats on the new council.

CHAIRMAN

Meanwhile the Labour Party has chosen three nominated members of the House.

They are Mr J Douw, a journalist from Potchefstroom, the Rev Alwyn Goosen, of Hankey, and Mr Ismail Solomon, an insurance consultant from Port Elizabeth.

Mr P T Sanders, MP for Eastern Free State, will be chairman of the House.

The party's chief whip is Mr W Dietrich, MP for Bethelsdorp.

This historic picture shows today's full sitting of the electoral college of the three Houses of the new Parliament at the unanimous election of Mr P W Botha as the new executive State President. (Another picture, Page 3)

It's unanimous — PW gets the top job

Argus 5/9/84 304A

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's new State President-elect, Mr P W Botha, today called for teamwork and co-operation from "all who mean our country well" to fulfil the task that had to be faced in the new constitutional system.

He was reacting soon after the historic first meeting of an electoral college of white, coloured and Indian MPs who unanimously elected him as executive State President.

He said he deeply appreciated the trust put in him by the electoral college's unanimous decision.

He expressed his gratitude on behalf of his wife and himself.

"Show of confidence"

"This show of confidence places a great responsibility on me. Without co-operation and teamwork from all who mean our country well the task cannot be fulfilled.

"As the inauguration ceremony only takes place on September 14 the message I have for South Africa can only be delivered then," Mr Botha said.

The session of the electoral college in the House of Assembly's debating chamber, presided over by the Chief Justice, Mr P J Rabie, lasted only five minutes.

Fifty white MPs, 25 coloured and 13 Indian MPs were present. It was the first time MPs of the different groups had sat together.

Mingled amiably

Before the time they mingled amiably in the lobby of the Assembly.

Inside several white and coloured MPs shared benches and white and Indian MPs sat together.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, moved among coloured and Indian MPs, greeting them.

The secretary of Parliament, Mr J J H Victor, and three other parliamentary officials acted as electoral officers.

Mr Botha was proposed by Mr Alex van Breda, chief whip of the National Party, and was seconded by Mr N J Pretorius, another Governent whip.

Mr Botha's nomination today as the country's first executive State President is a high point in a public career that stretches over several decades.

Longest-serving

At 68 he is South Africa's longest-serving parliamentarian, having been elected MP for George in 1948 — a position from which he retired today in view of his election as President.

He will be Acting-State President until he is officially inaugurated in Cape Town on September 14.

The ceremony will take place in the Groote Kerk and afterwards Mr Botha will deliver an address on the Grand Parade.

Mr Botha has held various Cabinet positions.

He has been Deputy-Minister of the Interior, Minister of Community Development, Col-

(Turn to Page 3, col 3)



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus.

White, coloured and Indian MPs sat together in the Assembly today at the meeting of the electoral college, which elected the new State President. Among those in the front benches are Mr W J Hefer (NP Standerton), Mr Piet Clase (NP Virginia), Mr Sporie van Rensburg (NP Rosettenville), Mr Willem Delport (NP Newton Park), Mr Les Abrahams (Labour Party, Diamant), Mr Abe Williams (LP Mamre) and Mr Peter Jacobs (LP Alra Park). Report Page 1.

Historic election for Botha

(Continued from Page 1)

oured Affairs, Public Works and Defence.

He served as Minister of Defence from 1966 to 1978, when he became Prime Minister.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said: "I think Mr Botha's election is rewarding. In spite of circumstances and criticisms from his own people he had the courage to launch a new initiative in the interest of the country as a whole."

Mr A Rajbansi, of the majority National People's Party in the House of Delegates, said his party had seriously considered putting up a candidate but had in the end decided not to take part in a "token exercise".

He congratulated Mr Botha and wished him well.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, said: "The signficance of the constitutional change that took place today will only be felt and appreciated by the average South African when the new parliamentary Structure starts operating.

"Then we will discover how the new executive president is going to link up with, and be accountable to, parliamentary government."

Sonn turns down education portfolio

Education Reporter

LEADING coloured educationist Mr Franklin Sonn has turned down the education portfolio in the House of Representatives.

Mr Sonn, president of the 20 000 strong Cape Teachers Professional Association, confirmed today that he had turned down an offer "over the weekend" after consulting his wife and friends.

He said his reasons for turning it down were "personal" and he had not consulted his colleagues on the CTPA because this was not necessary.

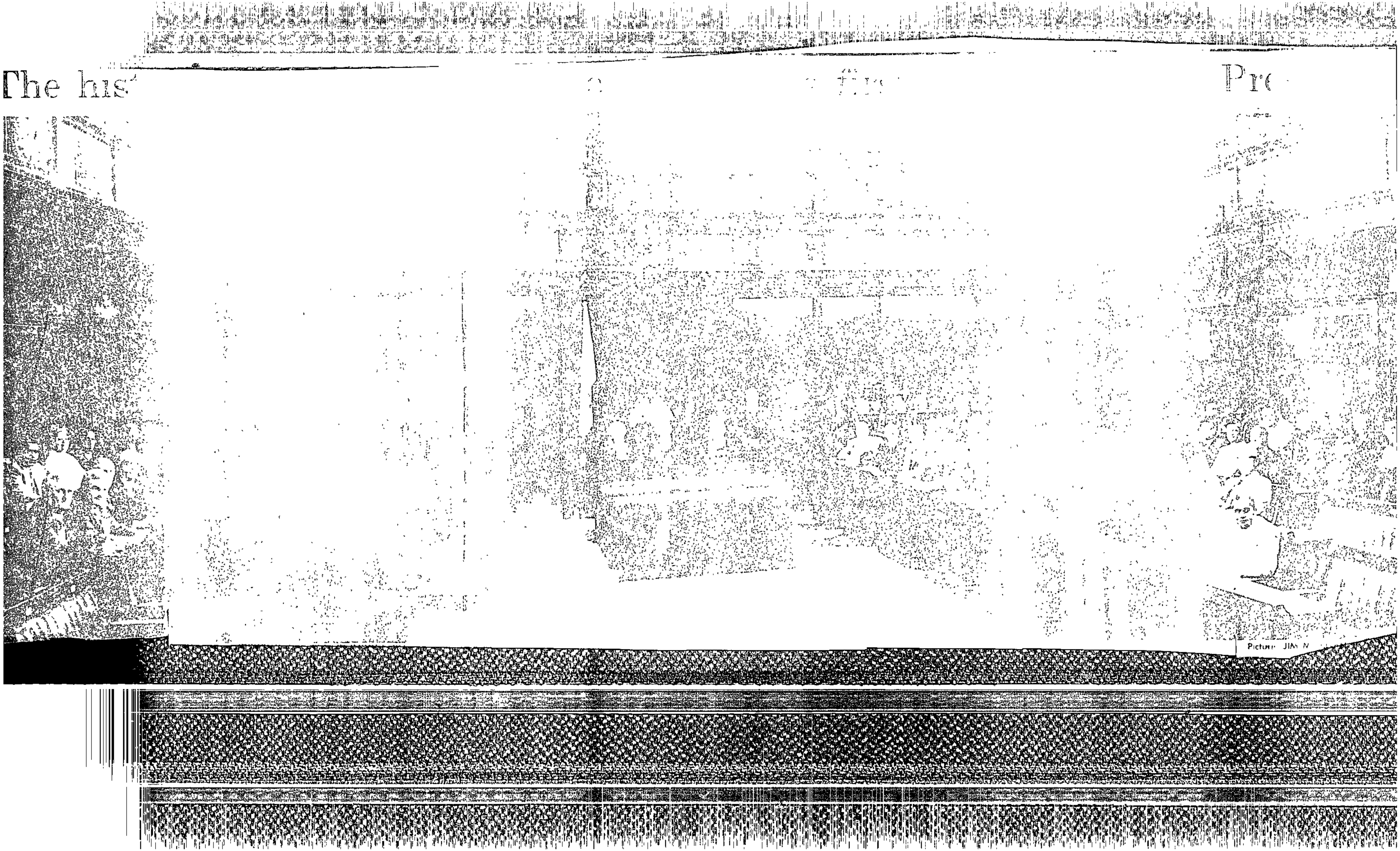
Mr Sonn declined to comment further.

The leader of the majority Labour Party in the House of Representatives was not available for comment.

Mr Sonn is also president of the Union of Teachers' Associations — the umbrella body for all coloured teachers' organisations — and is principal of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville South.

At the annual conference of the CTPA in George in June this year and on other occasions, Mr Sonn has said he has no political ambitions.

The his



Three ordered not to interfere with non-voter

By Fiona Macleod

Three Lenasia men were yesterday ordered by a Rand Supreme Court judge not to interfere with a 19-year-old motor mechanic who refused to participate in last week's elections.

Mr Arashad Kajee, of Brahamaputra Street, Lenasia, brought an urgent interdict against the three men, whom he said were threatening his life.

Mr Kajee said in papers that Mr Haas Salojee, Mr Georgie Salojee and Mr Uski Salojee, all of Geranium Avenue, had been engaged by a House of Delegates candidate, Mr D Pillay, to assist him on polling day.

"The three men appeared to be helping the police in subjecting certain people to physical control," Mr Kajee said.

When Mr Kajee asked Mr Georgie Salojee why he was using force Mr Salojee allegedly became angry and aimed a gun at him, but was restrained by the police.

LARGE GROUP

Mr Kajee said the three men and a large group of people arrived at his cousin's home when he was visiting her the following Sunday.

"They chased after me into the house, where they pointed guns at me and threatened in foul language to do me grave physical harm."

The Salojees were temporarily interdicted from using violence against or threatening Mr Kajee. They were given until October 16 to reply to the allegations.

Details of new deal structure

304A

C-Times 7/9/84

Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, yesterday made public details of how general and own affairs departments will be divided under the new dispensation.

The adjustments to the structure of various public service departments had originated from the need to implement the principle of self-determination over own affairs for whites, coloureds and Indians.

Whites will have five departments for the administration of their "own affairs" and coloureds and Indians will have four.

The groups will all have the following three "own affairs" departments: Education and Culture; Health Services and Welfare; and Budgetary and Auxiliary Services.

The fourth "own affairs" department for both coloureds and Indians will be Local Government, Housing and Agriculture.

The two additional "own affairs" departments for whites are Local Government, Housing and Works, and Agriculture and Water Supply.

These departments will fall under the ministers' councils of the three Houses of Parliament.

Mr De Klerk's statement indicated that there would be 25 departments of "general affairs" falling under the main or central cabinet.

He emphasized, however, that the number of departments would not necessarily be an indication of the number of ministers to be appointed.

The grouping or combining of departments within the ministries would be the prerogative of the new State President.

The following departments will fall under the main cabinet as "general affairs":

State President's Office, National Intelligence Service, Co-operation and Development, SA Transport Services, Transport, Consitutional Development and Planning, Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs (formerly Internal Affairs), SA Police, Posts and Telecommunications, Health and Welfare, National Education, SA Defence Force, Manpower, Industries and Commerce, Justice, Public Works and Land Affairs (formerly Community Development), Environmental Affairs, Agricultural Economics and Marketing (formerly Agriculture), Mineral and Energy Affairs, Education and Training, Finance, Office of the Auditor-General, Water Affairs, and Office of the Commission for Administration.

Discussion between Mr P W Botha and leaders of the majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates on the composition of the Ministers' Councils for their Houses has already begun.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party and Mr Amichand Rajbansi of the National People's Party have also consulted with Mr Botha on the State President's nominations for two additional MPs each in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

The service of opposition

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Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, was Leader of the Official Opposition in the outgoing white Parliament and will perform the same function in the white Chamber of the new Parliament. He writes on the role of his party in the new Constitution.

The one thing that must not be done is to predict with too much confidence what is going to happen to parties, Chambers or even the State President and his President's Council in the new Parliament. Obviously, the PFP, as the Official Opposition in the white Chamber, will carry on performing the traditional roles that remain in the new structure. It will move the traditional vote of no confidence, in this case, in the Executive President and his government; criticise the Budget; participate in standing committees and scrutinise legislation; and table questions.

As far as the latter is concerned, this is a very valuable service performed by the Official Opposition that goes largely unheralded and unappreciated. A massive amount of statistics is generated annually by these questions. For example, in the 1984 parliamentary session, 2 089 questions were placed on the Question Paper, and 1 690 of these were asked by the PFP alone. Many research departments and universities, both domestically and internationally, depend very much on replies to these questions for factual data concerning the SA situation. And it is definitely our intention to carry on with these questions to the best of our ability.

But it is not this traditional role of the Official Opposition and of the PFP that comes under the spotlight when the new Parliament is discussed and analysed.

Some dire and extraordinary predictions have been made from various quarters about the impact of the new Parliament on the PFP in particular and the Opposition in general. Many of these predictions are based on a gross misunderstanding of the structure of the new Constitution; or, in some cases, an overestimation and wishful thinking as to its potential for consensus and evolutionary reform.

I am not being immodest if I say that I and some of my colleagues have been intimately involved in the unfolding of this new Constitution, and, from the outset, our concern has been to assess the role and contribution of opposition within its structure. We have not disguised the fact that we believe the role to be the more demanding and more difficult in the new Constitution, but it is a challenge that cannot be avoided and that has to be taken up.

During the referendum, the government managed to sell the "sizzle" rather than the "steak" when it came to the new Constitution, whereas we, in the Official Opposition, tried to draw attention to the quality of the meal that was going to be served. Now, the course is on the table and we will have to make do with what we have got. I see the task of the PFP in the new Parliament, in addition to continuing its traditional role, as consisting of the following:

☐ Exploring and exploiting the contradictions of the new system for the sake of promoting reform and evolutionary change. Let me mention two examples already apparent. Why can't we have joint debates if we have joint sittings? It is ridiculous to sit together and listen to a second reading speech of a Minister and then go and debate that speech in separate Chambers.

Why can't people in the same Parliament, who believe in the same political philosophy, not belong to the same political party if they wish to?

☐ Highlighting the inadequacy of the new Parliament to cope with the real and central political issues in the country. In spite of all the time, effort and money that has gone into creating and implementing the new Parliament, its very structure and composition makes it unsuitable to cope with problems of white-black constitutional co-existence and black urbanisation. The creation and terms of reference of the Cabinet committee on black constitutional development is an admission of this failure;

☐ Seeking alliances and formulating joint strategies with other individuals and/or parties who share the same philosophy and goals as the PFP or simply adopt the same line or attitude to policy initiatives and legislation from government. It is still early days to be more precise about this very important task, and sufficient time should be allowed for members in the other Chambers to settle in and adjust to the new Parliament. But it is obvious that if there are members who have the same attitude on Bills, Private Members' Motions and general political strategy inside the three separate Chambers, they should get together and plan and co-ordinate their political input; and

☐ Even in spite of the very serious shortcomings of the new Parliament, it should be the task of the PFP to do everything possible to prevent the new Parliament from simply becoming an instrument of black-white polarisation.

Therefore, we will have to continue to seek interaction and co-operation with as many black organisations and movements who are constitutionally excluded from this Parliament in order to undercut black and white radicalisation. This is perhaps going to be the most difficult job to perform, precisely because of the underlying assumptions which went into the construction of the new Parliament.

The extent to which the PFP as the Official white Opposition can be successful in performing these roles, will be one of the most important barometers for the existence and viability of a moderate political centre cutting right across the various racial groups and on which will rest the awesome responsibility of keeping alive the possibility of evolutionary and constitutional reform. I say one of the barometers, not the only one. But to the extent that the PFP or any other similar party does not perform these tasks, we and the rest of the country will have become the victims of radical polarisation.

Boycott movement: Matter of moral or political victory?



POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE
By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



WHAT has been achieved by the boycotts mounted against the recent elections for the "coloured" and "Indian" houses of the new tricameral parliament? And what is the future now of this strong tradition of non-collaboration?

Most assessments of the results of these elections have focused on the extent of support for the government's new constitutional deal. The main question has been whether polls as low as 20 percent and 30 percent provide the minimal credibility needed by the government for its purposes, and whether such low polls will strengthen or weaken the pressures for further reform.

But this may also be an appropriate moment to put the boycott strategy in wider perspective, and to ask what it might hold for the future.

Concerning the recent elections, there can be little doubt the boycotts proved a considerable success. Obviously the UDF and its allies cannot lay claim to the support of *all* those who did not vote, or who did not even register as voters. Many failed to do so because of apathy or due to political ignorance and inexperience. Yet the dimensions of deliberate non-collaboration can be gathered quite clearly from the overall pattern of election results.

Political ignorance and inexperience are likely to have been serious factors, particularly in the rural areas. For a more informed, articulate and sophisticated electorate we must look to the urban constituencies, where one would have expected the highest rates of participation to be, with significantly lower voter turnouts in the *platteland*. Yet the actual pattern was just the reverse.

In the case of the "coloured" election the highest poll was recorded, of all places, in the Northern Transvaal, with rural Free State and Eastern Cape constituencies showing voting turnouts of 40 percent and more.

But in the Western Cape, the political heartland of this community, the average percentage poll amounted to less than 10 percent (which works out at less than five percent for the total number of potential voters in this region). The actual number of votes cast in the Peninsula even declined from the 44 270 cast for the CRC in 1975 to a mere 25 110 in the current elections.

In the "Indian" elections, too, key urban constituencies recorded exceptionally low percentage polls. Such results indicate a massive and deliberate boycott by the most articulate urban voters.

How deep are such views rooted and how widely are they shared? The charges against the UDF of "intimidating" would-be voters are quite misleading if they are intended to suggest that in spite of these polls there really is a much greater underlying support for the new constitutional deal.

In fact, the poll pattern simply confirms what more general attitude surveys have established. A case in point is one by Willem van Vuuren, head of the department of political science at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), published in the first issue of the new Afrikaans journal, *Die Suid-Afrikaan* *.

Van Vuuren's data show quite simply that the better educated and more politically informed coloured respondents are, the less they are prepared to express support for the new constitutional deal.

It is a superficial political diagnosis which wishes to make the UDF the scapegoat for the effective boycott. The UDF is largely an umbrella organization and the real strength of the boycott movement lies in the various community associations and sporting organisations. Indeed, without the UDF the results would probably not have been much different. After all, the tradition of non-collaboration goes back 40 years and more.

There may well have been a greater or lesser number of incidents involving UDF militants But no amount of "intimidation" can possibly account for a stayway of 90 percent and more of the potential urban electorate.

No one need bluff himself about the facts of political life: any process of political mobilization inevitably involves a variety of pressures. In practical politics there very seldom is such a thing as "spontaneous" support especially, by the silent majority. It is the business of political movements to use persuasion, propaganda and various kinds of social and public pressures to get large numbers of individuals to toe the general line. This the boycott movement did quite effectively.

If the boycott movement has demonstrated it is a political force to be reckoned with, the question remains what its thrust and achievement might be. It is sometimes suggested political boycotts are essentially undemocratic and anti-democratic.

On the contrary, the right to say no is a basic democratic principle. It is the hallmark of outright totalitarian rule that participation is enforced. Only to the extent that government seeks to be based on consent does the option arise to withhold democratic participation. In a wider perspective it may thus be argued that the boycotts actually provided a better testimony to the broadening of the democratic process in South Africa than the votes gathered by the participants!

Yet this can hardly be counted as a political achievement in any real sense. But then, what would count as a real success for a political boycott? To opt for a boycott strategy is to have the odds fearfully stacked against you. It is not enough to achieve a relative majority of support, as in ordinary political contests. It must demonstrate it is capable of withholding general participation across the board. Moreover it may not be sufficient to do this in one election, as happened in the 1981 elections for the Indian Council, but it must be sustained in subsequent elections as well.

In the end the effectiveness of a political boycott will depend on how badly and urgently the consent being withheld is required by the ruling party. In the present case it is clear that the government's requirements are quite low, which means that a boycott, to be politically effective, must be virtually total. Failing that, the boycott movement at best is left with a moral victory only.

At this point the question must be faced whether non-collaboration is primarily regarded as a matter of *moral principle* or of *political strategy*. If moral victories are the primary objective, then the boycotters may, at least for the moment, rest satisfied. But from the point of view of political strategy they may well have to reconsider their options. The best opportunity to block the implementation of the new constitutional deal by boycotting no doubt was at these first elections. The workings of the new tri-cameral parliament may still be obstructed in one way or another, but that will be up to the participating parties, if they so choose.

Are, or were, there any alternative strategies available? It is tempting to speculate about the possible impact had the UDF and its associates actually put up candidates in the elections — with the victorious members simply refusing to take up their seats, or using their parliamentary base to mount radical opposition

The advantage of such a strategy, if it works, is that it could show up the "sham" and "facade" of the new constitution in real political terms and not just at the level of rhetoric. It would also provide incontrovertible proof of the actual extent of political support commanded by the more militant opposition.

The risk, of course, is not merely that the actual support which the UDF or similar parties could muster may turn out to be rather less than had been claimed — after all, that is a risk which any serious political movement must be prepared to take — but that it could well prove a self-defeating exercise.

Especially in the Cape Peninsula, where the traditions of non-collaboration are so deeply rooted, new political strategies will not easily be forged.

The boycott movement may still win some moral victories, but when it comes to possible innovative political action it seems to be a prisoner of its own past.

□ ANDRÉ DU TOIT is professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

[*Willem van Vuuren: "Waar lê die Bruin steun?", Die Suid-Afrikaan (Lente 1984), R1,50.]

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Cape Herald, September 8 1984

New moves to nullify elections

THE Supreme Court is to be asked to declare the elections to the House of Delegates invalid because of alleged massive abuses of special votes.

If successful it could also lead to a bid to set aside the results of the coloured election

Affidavits collected after last week's Indian elections allege that:

● Dead people exercised special votes,

● Some people voted twice,

● Voters were offered housing aid and other inducements to vote and

● Voters were bribed, victimised and threatened.

Following accusations from the Government that they had intimidated voters, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses have collected scores of affidavits to support their counter-allegations.

EMBARRASSMENT

If successful the actions would prove a severe embarrassment to the Government who are determined to press on with implementation of the tricameral system, despite the dismal flops of the Indian and coloured elections.

Among the irregularities alleged by the TIC are:

● A vote cast in the name of a dead Actonville man, Krishna Murgan

● A case where a woman and her father cast two votes each.

● An incident in which a father applied for special votes on behalf of his three sons, who had refused to vote.

● Numerous cases of people who did not know they were requesting a special vote and that it was an offence to make a false declaration.

● Some voters were told their pensions would be withdrawn or they would be fined if they did not cast special votes.

● Other voters claimed they were told they would receive houses if they cast special votes.

AFFIDAVITS

The TIC has collected about 70 affidavits from the Benoni constituency of Actonville, where 59,34 percent of the votes cast were special votes.

And according to Yunus Mohammed, a spokesman for the NIC, his organisation had collected 37 affidavits, mainly from Chatsworth.

...Secondary...

...e. The Gov- cannot ask to tighten their ... setting an ex-

...ion was enacted year to deal with expenditure. Re- ...e committee to this excludes the ...

... the Govern- reconsider this make the deter- priorities a joint ... and private

constitution starts handicaps, but are committed to ... and partici- should take part ...tive manner. will be more diffi-

cult to deal with than the allocation of financial resources. Demands will be great; aspirations will need to be fulfilled in reasonable fashion.

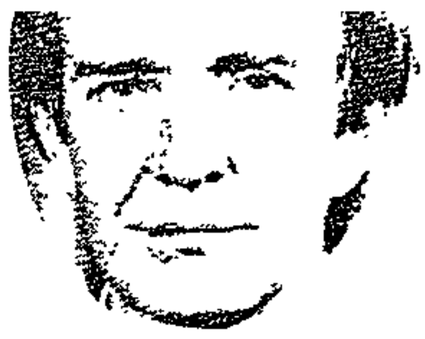
The new era is said to be one of consultation and co-operation, of consensus.

If the new Minister of Finance wants to operate on this basis, I think he will find me and my colleagues involved in finance willing and, we believe, able to help.

■■■

Our criticism where it is deserved will be constructive, and reference to past mistakes will be made only in seeking means of avoiding them in the future.

The ball is in his court. We believe the situation now is too serious to score debating points.



Mr BAREND DU PLESSIS
The ball is in his court

We need a real effort by private and public sectors, Government and Opposition, to get this economy right and then to set us on the correct road for the future.

This is a sincere offer to a new Minister in a new government under a new constitution. We await his reaction.

PFP in shock war of words

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

AN angry Dr F van Zyl Slabbert this week lashed out at the Rev Allan Hendrickse, warning that he would "not be the doormat of any politician, be he white, black coloured or Asian".

Dr Slabbert launched his attack in a letter to the Labour Party leader after remarks by Mr Hendrickse last week.

Yesterday Mr Hendrickse said he was "outraged" by what he called "a scurrilous" attack on him in the PFP leader's letter.

Last week Mr Hendrickse, replying to Dr Slabbert's remarks that the 30 percent poll in the coloured elections on August 22 did not give Labour a legitimate mandate, said he took exception to such remarks by the PFP leader.

He also said Dr Slabbert "and his ilk" were in no position to sit in moral judgment on the gains of the Labour Party, because of the PFP's poor showing during last year's referendum when, in spite of its call for a "no" vote, 66 percent of the white electorate voted "yes".

Offensive

Mr Hendrickse made the further claim that, because his party gained 76 out of the 80 contested seats in the House of Representatives elections, the Labour Party could rightfully call itself the main Opposition Party to the Government in the new tricameral Parliament, and not the PFP.

"We will from now on 'call the shots' and we will decide with whom we wish to form alliances, and not the otherway around," Mr Hendrickse said in reference to Dr Slabbert.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert wrote to Mr Hendrickse this week:

"... Let me make one thing perfectly clear, I have never claimed to be the only opposition to apartheid, nor have I claimed to be the only leader of such an opposition.

"But let there be no misunderstanding: I will not be the doormat of any politician, be he white, black, coloured or Asian, who seeks to wipe his feet on me in order to ingratiate himself with whatever constituency ..."

Mr Hendrickse said he took "strong exception" to the remarks contained in the letter "which were clearly aimed at my person"

"... The tone of Dr Slabbert's letter is amazingly offensive and neither conducive to good race relations nor effective and sensible cooperation between the PFP and the LP," he said.

LP pact gives Rajbansi victory in Indian House

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

A SECRET written pact between the Labour Party (LP) and National People's Party (NPP) lies behind this week's dramatic victory of the NPP in the House of Delegates.

An agreement — the Sunday Times has the full text — was signed between representatives of the two parties only hours before the majority party in the level-pegging House of Delegates had to choose its members for the electoral college.

But this weekend desperate bargaining and counter-bargaining was still continuing as factions in the two parties attempted to woo away senior figures in the rival camps.

At the centre of the horse-trading lies the scramble for key posts in the new system. And there are already indications that the NPP is considering pushing for more "own" Ministries to satisfy the clamour from party faithful.

High drama

The secret deal struck this week promised the NPP the support of Labour Party independent Mr Ahmet Lambat if it agreed to choose defeated LP candidate Mr Salam Abram-Mayet as an indirectly elected member.

In a week of high drama between the neck-and-neck competitors, the NPP and Solidarity, it was the lone LP independent who emerged the lynchpin and has ensured that the LP — totally dominant in the House of Representatives — now also holds a balance of power in the House of Delegates.

The state of play at the moment is that with the two



Mr AMICHAND RAJBANSI
Slender majority

which may affect the power balance.

The written deal struck between the two parties — only hours before the naming of the House of Delegates representatives to the electoral college — pledges Mr Lambat's support to the NPP as long as it does nothing contrary to LP principles.

In return "the NPP shall secure the nomination of Salam Abram-Mayet as a member of the LP as an indirectly elected member of the House of Delegates".

For a desperate Mr Amichand Rajbansi — with a slender one-vote majority — it was the breakthrough he needed to secure the House.

This weekend, meanwhile, the executive of Solidarity was to consider an offer by Mr Rajbansi for a reconciliation agreement between the two parties — part of it an-

Hendrickse's audacious move to scupper his opposition

LABOUR PLOT TO KEEP PCP AT BAY

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

IN an audacious move, the Labour Party is plotting the establishment of a "dummy" official Opposition in Parliament's House of Representatives.

It is a bold attempt to neutralise the two-man People's Congress Party Opposition and to seize all the privileged positions in the House and the President's Council.

The strategy — a sensational development in a week of political wheeler-dealing — is unprecedented in South African politics.

With "official Opposition" status in the House of Representatives, the Labour surrogates would be able to seize the three nominated places on the President's Council, dominate debate in the chamber, dramatically affect the workings of the joint standing committees and claim the higher salary of Leader of the Opposition.

Constitutional experts this week said that the creation of a false opposition to neutralise a genuine opposition would be unconstitutional, could amount to fraud and is open to a challenge in court.

Breakaway

The plan thrashed out by Labour strategists entails the breakaway of a handful of faithful Labourites and the creation of a phoney opposition that would eclipse the PCP.

The "dissidents" would claim their rebellion was grounded on opposition to the implementation of Labour Party policy but would leave themselves the option of returning to the Labour fold later.

After a few months in "opposition" — and having clinched the President's Council nominations at the end of this month — they would declare their rebellion at an end and rejoin the Labour Party.

With the tiny PCP representation in Parliament it would need no more than six "dissident" Labour Party men to establish a sufficiently large official Opposition to allow them to qualify for the appointment of all three President's Councillors allocated in terms of the constitution to the opposition in the House of Representatives.

The move would also deny PCP Leader Mr Peter Marais access to public office. Mr Marais was defeated in the Bishop Lavis constituency in the August elections and has made no secret of his intention of continuing his political life from within the President's Council.

The lengths the Labour Party strategists are prepared to go to neutralise the tiny PCP opposition is seen as an indication of the bitter antagonism between the LP and PCP.

Confronted

Top Labour Party sources — confronted by the Sunday Times — confirmed the plan but refused to talk further.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said it was difficult for him to comment on the matter until he got back to Cape Town.

"As far as I am concerned all forms of opposition are welcome as long as they have the same goals as the Labour Party although strategies might differ.

"But as far as the PCP is concerned, we believe they are too weak an opposition."

It is understood, meanwhile, that one of the Labour Party caucus leaked the plan to a member of the Government who has strongly warned against going ahead with the scheme — not only because it would be unconstitutional but also "immoral".

Mr Marais, whose political future hinges on his nomination to the PC, has already thrown down the gauntlet if the LP chooses to go ahead with the scheme.

"In my opinion it would be immoral and unethical and I would be loath to accept that the Government could allow this debacle to occur.

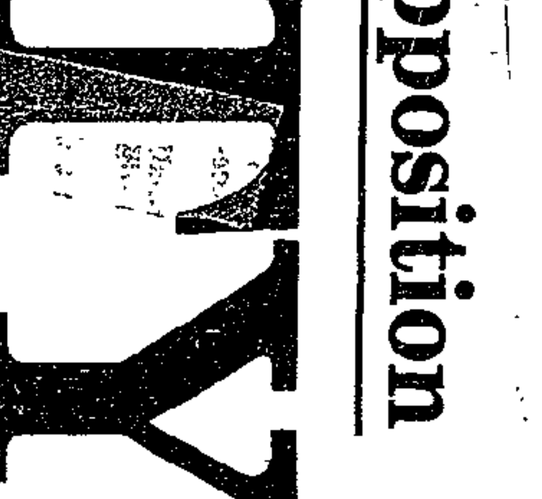
Betrayed

"If the Government does not stop the LP in its tracks, I would feel betrayed by the Government.

"As a politician I faced the reality of losing to a LP man, but I believe I deserve to become at least a member of the PC.

"If I am now robbed of this chance of serving South Africa in the PC because the Government allowed the LP to cunningly exploit a loophole in its constitutional armour, I am afraid I would feel totally betrayed by the Government.

"I cannot guarantee the reaction of my followers. We'd be the laughing stock of anti-election forces like the United Democratic Front (UDF) — as if we did not have to countenance enough derison from those quarters," said Mr Marais.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse ... "All forms of opposition are welcome"

New deal: Parties battle for influence

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE NEW constitutional dispensation enters its second week amid growing political uncertainty and turmoil as battles for political influence and patronage rage among participating parties.

The upsurge in inter- and intra-party squabbling and "trading" comes only days before Mr P W Botha, as executive State President, allocates power positions in the new government.

Major features of the stormy political scene include:

● Strong rumours of a Labour Party split, with claims that it is a ploy to enable the LP to become both the majority party and the official Opposition in the House of Representatives.

● A possibility that the tiny People's Congress Party, the only other party with seats in the coloured House, might continue the fight for its political life by forging alliances with extra-parliamentary forces.

● Continued squabbling between the LP and the white Progressive Federal Party opposition which might seriously jeopardize hopes for a multi-party alliance against apartheid.

● Reported differences between rival factions in the PFP caucus over the role of the party under the new deal.

● Behind-the-scenes bargaining by factions within the two major Indian parties in a bid to spark last-minute defections to opposing camps.

'Breakaway' party

If 10 LP members break away and form a Reformed Labour Party, this would prevent the PCP, with only two members, from becoming the official Opposition in the coloured House. It would also give the rebels, instead of the PCP, the chance to nominate



Mr Peter Marais

members to the President's Council.

This would deny the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, a seat on the President's Council after he failed to gain election to the House of Representatives.

The rebel Labour group is said to be led by Mr Peter Mopp of East London. However, political opponents claim it is a plan to set up a fake opposition, aimed at giving the LP virtually all the power and patronage accruing to parties in the House of Representatives.

Seven of the 10 Labour members named in the rebel group are from the Western Cape. They include Mr Fred Peters, who has been national secretary of the LP for 18 years and Mr Richard Lackay, a personal friend of the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

One source expected the group to return to the Labour Party some time after nominating the three opposition members to the Presidents Council.

Mr Marais yesterday described this as a plan to set up a "dummy opposition".

He said that if "this fraud" was allowed to take place it would be the "death knell of any respectability the tricameral system might have had".

Mr Hendrickse was unwilling to discuss the breakaway party or its implications till he had met party leaders.

Squabbling between the LP and another potential ally in the "battle against apartheid", the PFP, continues.

The verbal war was sparked by a suggestion by the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, that the PFP would consider alliances with other parties under the new dispensation — including the LP — who might share similar values. Mr Hendrickse interpreted this statement as a patronizing attempt by the PFP to prescribe to the LP what course it should follow.

Principles

Dr Slabbert said yesterday that he had made a statement of principle that his party was open to co-operation with parties that shared principles in common with the PFP.

"If Mr Hendrickse has considerations greater than shared principles when considering possible alliances, then there is nothing the PFP can do about this."

● Wiley tipped for cabinet post, page 2

Dissident group to meet Labour leadership on move to leave party

Walkout threat

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

A DISSIDENT group of Labour Party members of the House of Representatives will meet the party leadership tonight to discuss their threat to leave the party and form the official opposition.

The leader of the group, Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border, confirmed this today. He dismissed suggestions that the move was only a ploy by Labour Party supporters to keep the People's Congress Party, which has only two members in the House, from becoming the official opposition.

Mr Mopp said a group of "more than 10" Labour MPs had already started leaving the party.

"We already have one foot outside the door. Tonight's meeting will decide whether we return to the party."

Party ranks

He said dissatisfaction had been simmering in party ranks for some time. It was not so much a question of differences about basic policy but about the way in which policy was being implemented.

Although Mr Mopp would not give further details it is understood that part of the dissatisfaction is the party's nomination procedures and the choice of some of the nominated members to the House of Representatives.

There is also dissatisfaction about the way in which the top leadership seems to be concentrated in the Eastern Cape, where the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, comes from.

A spokesman for the leadership confirmed that the meeting would take place.

"Nonentity"

Mr Mopp said the PCP was a "political nonentity" and his group was not concerned about the party.

Scepticism has been expressed in political circles about the reasons for the move and it has been suggested that it is to keep the PCP from becoming th official opposition and thereby claiming the right to elect three members to the new President's Council.

Many Labour Party members, some who have been named as members of the dissident group, said they knew nothing about the moves.

One was Mr Fred Peters, national secretary of the party.

Mr Richard Lackay, MP for Grassy Park, another whose name has been mentioned, said he had not been approached.

"Too well-timed"

He did not exclude the possibility of a breakaway and said there was dissatisfaction in party ranks on some issues.

A lot would depend on the planned meeting of the group with the leadership.

Mr Peter Marais, leader of the PCP, who has announced that he will be seeking a seat on the President's Council, said the issues being given as the reason for dissatisfaction in the Labour Party were not sufficient for those supporters to leave the party.

The move was too well-timed to be genuine.

He had no doubt it was planned to keep the PCP from becoming the official opposition and to keep him from getting a seat on the President's Council.

The Labour Party wants to end his political career, he said.

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Dilemma facing Rajbansi is not over yet

Mercury Reporter

NATIONAL Peoples Party leader Amichand Rajbansi's battle to keep his party intact and hold on to his slender majority in the House of Delegates is by no means over.

This is the view of party members who say the acid test of his leadership will come later this week when he furnishes the State President with two names for possible appointment to the House of Delegates — and also gets around to appointing his first Council of Ministers.

According to party sources, more of his MPs are aspiring to become ministers than there are ministries — and this may well push Mr Rajbansi into a tight corner.

The only certainties so far are that he will have overall control over the four Indian ministerial departments in his capacity as Minister without Portfolio, and Mr Baldeo Dookie, MP for Red Hill, will become Minister of Housing.

There could be a tussle for the Minister of Education post between Dr M S Padayachee, MP for North Western Cape, an academic with a doctorate in education, and Mr Kassie Ramduth, MP for Clare Estate, a retired headmaster and BA graduate of the University of South Africa.

Mr Ramduth won his seat as an independent and crossed to the NPP. He had said earlier he would join whichever of the parties that would offer him the post.

Solidarity, it was understood yesterday, had offered to meet his precondition if it had majority control.

Mr Rajbansi's biggest headache is finding someone for thehealth and social welfare portfolio.

There is no doctor on the NPP benches, and he is said to be eyeing the only one in the House, Dr S D Cader, Solidarity MP for Montford (Chatsworth).

Dr Cader, who defeated an NPP candidate in the recent elections, is certain to get the post if he is willing to cross to the NPP. He was not available for comment yesterday.

An 'outsider', Dr R Soobiah of Tongaat, a close friend of an independent Mr R Mohangi, who switched from the NPP to Solidarity, was believed to have come close to a nominated seat — and the minister's post — but fell out of the race after Mr Rajbansi became disenchanted with him.

A Durban lawyer and historian, Mr Ranji Nowbath, and the NPP's national secretary, Mr Muthusamy 'George' Thaver, have been strongly tipped for the two vacant nominated posts in the House to be filled by the State President.

Party sources said seven other NPP members also had an eye on these two nominated seats — adding to Mr Rajbansi's dilemma.

Opposition is still possibility

Political Staff

THERE is still a possibility of an opposition group being formed from within the majority Labour Party in the coloured House of Representatives in spite of strong pressure for the plan to be abandoned.

Several sources, some within the Labour Party itself, have claimed that the move is designed to form an "artificial opposition" and oust the two-man People's Congress Party as the Official Opposition.

This would prevent the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, from being nominated to the President's Council as one of the three Opposition selections.

A source inside the party said last night that there was a distinct possibility that the nine breakaway members under the MP for Border, Mr Peter Mopp, would form the Reformed Labour Party and thus constitute the Official Opposition.

It is understood, however, that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has met the leadership of the Labour Party in an attempt to persuade them to prevent a Labour opposition party being formed.

Conference

With less than a week to go before the first sitting of South Africa's new tricameral Parliament, there are problems in both the House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates.

At a press conference yesterday, the leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, announced that attempts to form a coalition with the opposition Solidarity party had failed. This was later confirmed by Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy.

It is understood that Mr Heunis has specifically requested that the two parties form a coalition because of the small majority which the NPP had managed to achieve in the House.

NPP call for united front

Political Correspondent

THE leader of the National People's Party (NPP), Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday called on MPs in all three Houses, as well as extra-parliamentary groups, to strive for a broad united front to fight apartheid.

Speaking at a press conference, Mr Rajbansi said the view that the 4:2:1 system of representation in the new Parliament would simply give the National Party the power of veto was one-sided.

"The government cannot ignore a united stand by two-and-one-eighths chambers for ever," he said in a reference to an alliance among all coloured and Indian parties and the Progressive Federal Party.

"If 157 MPs can be on the same wavelength, this group could significantly influence changes."

'Two powerful forces'

Turning to possible co-operation with groups opposed to the recent elections, Mr Rajbansi said the efforts of forces inside and outside Parliament should complement each other to effect changes.

He said the elections for the House of Delegates had seen the emergence of two powerful forces — the Congress movement on the one hand and the NPP and Solidarity on the other.

"Both sides must accept each other as relevant forces for change in South Africa," he said.

He said the NPP would make "diplomatic efforts to open the lines of communication" with extra-parliamentary groups opposed to apartheid.

Argus 14/9/84 (3FF) (304A)

Police fire rubber bullets at UWC students

Education Reporter

RIOT police moved on to the University of the Western Cape campus today and fired rubber bullets and teargas at students who had earlier closed Modderdam Road to traffic and stoned passing vehicles.

About 800 students decided at a meeting to block Modderdam Road in protest at the inauguration of Mr P W Botha as executive State President, and resolved that students would not throw stones.

Carrying placards, the students gathered in the middle of Modderdam Road and prevented traffic from passing. Stones and bottles were thrown at traffic which broke through the roadblock.

Within 10 minutes traffic police had closed the road further away from the campus and turned vehicles away.

Students then set fire to tyres and garbage in the middle of the road outside the entrance to the university.

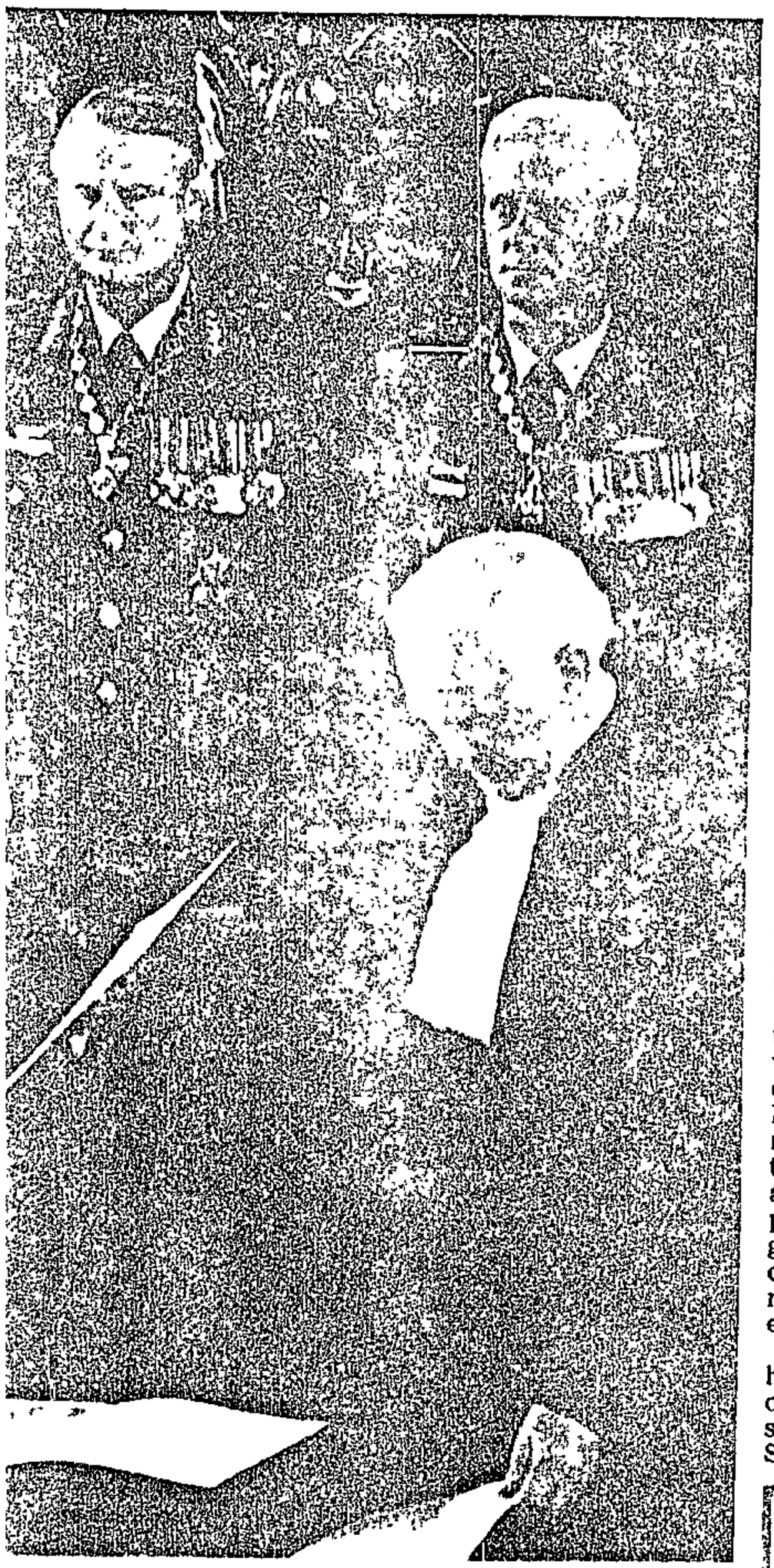
About five riot police vans arrived at the campus at about 12.40pm, half an hour after the students had blocked the road.

Pursued by police, the students ran back on to the campus. No warning was given before police opened fire with rubber bullets. A warning came after the first shots.

Teargas was also used to disperse students who had gathered between the buildings closest to Modderdam Road.

A visibly concerned Professor Jaap Durand, vice rector of the university, who had earlier appealed to students to return to the campus, declined to comment to the Press until he had spoken to the police.

New era, new role for Botha



y's presidential inaugural ceremonies — Mr P W
by the Chief Justice of South Africa, Mr Justice P J
vn. In the background (left to right) are: Lieutenant-
:e, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of
and Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force

MR P W BOTHA started his rule as President yesterday with an appeal to the nation to support his efforts for peaceful and orderly change.

Chief Reporter and Political Staff

In his inaugural speech on the Grand Parade, Mr Botha said there was "simply no alternative" to seeking co-operation between all South Africa's communities and race groups.

Mr Botha's inauguration took place yesterday with all possible pomp in central Cape Town. Flags fluttered, martial music blared in the troop-lined streets, guns and sirens saluted, bells pealed, convoys of gleaming VIP limousines contrasted with a show of military armour, and the elite assembled.

Spring sunshine heightened the splashes of colour in the crowded streets, as a new era in South Africa's constitutional history was ushered in.

About 10 000 people of all races and ages thronged the Parade, scene of many historic occasions in South Africa's past, for the climax of the day's ceremonies.

The national colours were in evidence everywhere — on huge drapes on the old City Hall, in street decorations, on the new presidential standard which flew in public for the first time, in the smoke-trails left by a fly-past of SAAF Impalas — and in thousands of balloons released from the Parade.

Up on the dais decked with flowers and flags, white, black, coloured, Indian and Chinese dignitaries heard Mr Botha appeal for the support of all South Africans in "the great challenges that lie ahead".

The invited guests at both the swearing-in ceremony in the Groote Kerk and the Grand Parade formalities that followed formed one of the most interesting and perhaps significant gatherings of VIPs in South Africa.

One of the more notable special guests was Dr Jonas Savimbi, leader of Unita, who was flown from Angola for the occasion in an aircraft put at his disposal.

Dr Ten-hui Lee, Vice-President of the Republic of China, sat among heads of South Africa's neighbouring states and members of the diplomatic corps.

Also discernible were many faces from South Africa's political past. Former cabinet ministers and prominent parliamentarians included Mr Ben Schoeman, Mr M C Botha, Mr Jimmy Kruger, Mr Frank Waring and Mr Theo Gerdener.

In a solemn service in the Groote Kerk, Mr Botha, dressed in a dark jacket and striped trousers, was formally sworn in as State President by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice P J Rabie.

The hour-long inauguration ceremony, conducted in both official languages, was preceded by performances by the Cape Welsh Choir and the Tygerberg Children's Choir. Mimi Coertse sang solo during the service.

● Many people expressed disappointment yesterday at the unchanged "theatrical" uniform of the State President's Guard.

Although changes have been made in keeping with the start of a new constitutional era in South Africa — such as dropping the anachronistic presidential sash and top-hat — the guard remains the same

Military purists have criticized the olive-and gold outfits of the guard as being "unmilitary" and unbefitting a corps given pride of place on ceremonial occasions at which the head of State appears.

● The Order of Good Hope in the Grand Cross class was conferred on Dr Teng-Hui Lee, Vice-President of the Republic of China (Taiwan), yesterday by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at a ceremony at Westbrook, Cape Town — the State President's residence.

● President Chiang Ching-Kuo of the Republic of China cabled his felicitations to Mr P W Botha on the occasion of his inauguration as executive State President.

● **Botha calls for nation's support, page 11**
● **Pictures, page 11**
● **Colour picture, page 3**
● **Savimbi's SA visit analysed, page 3**

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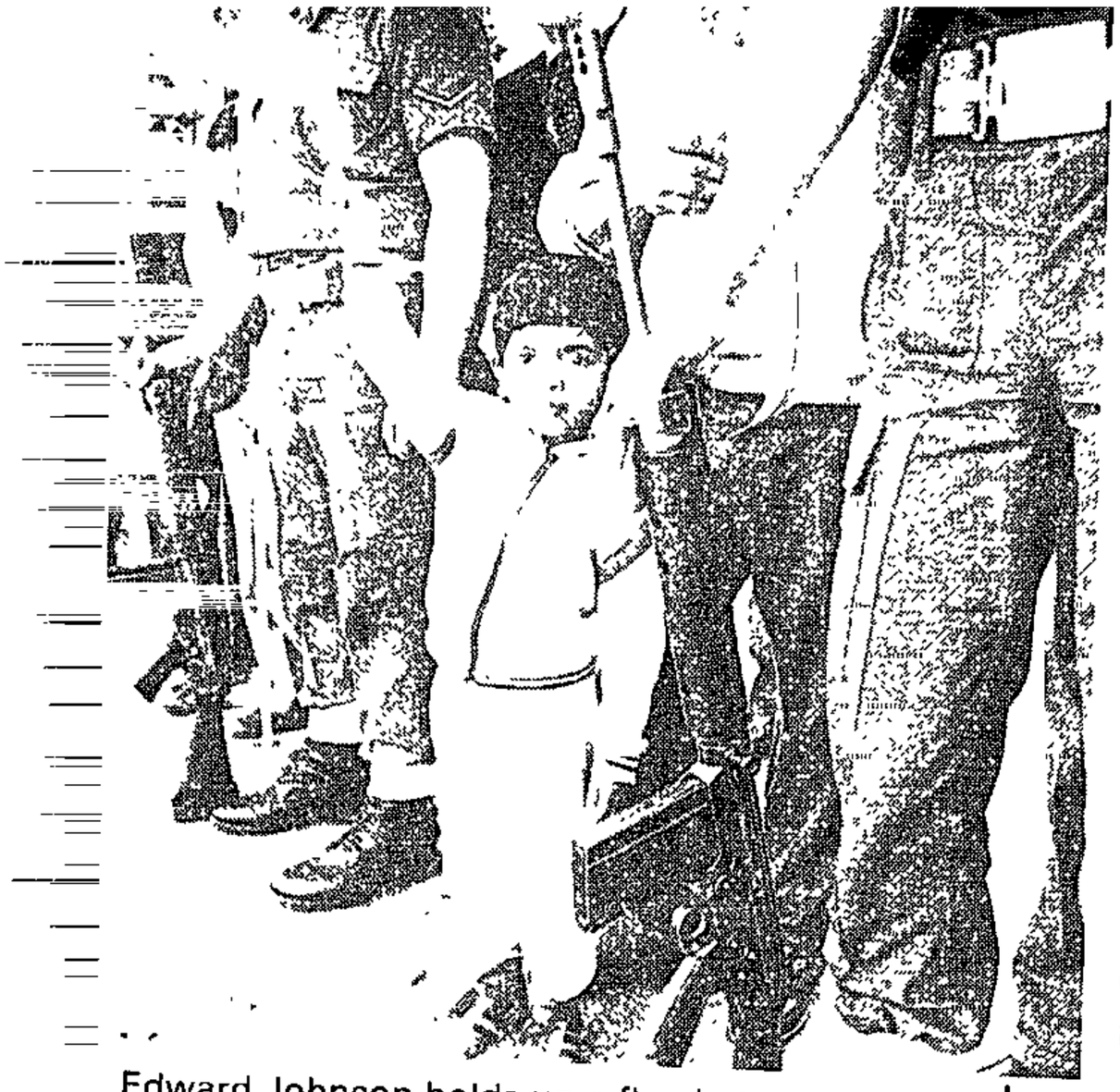
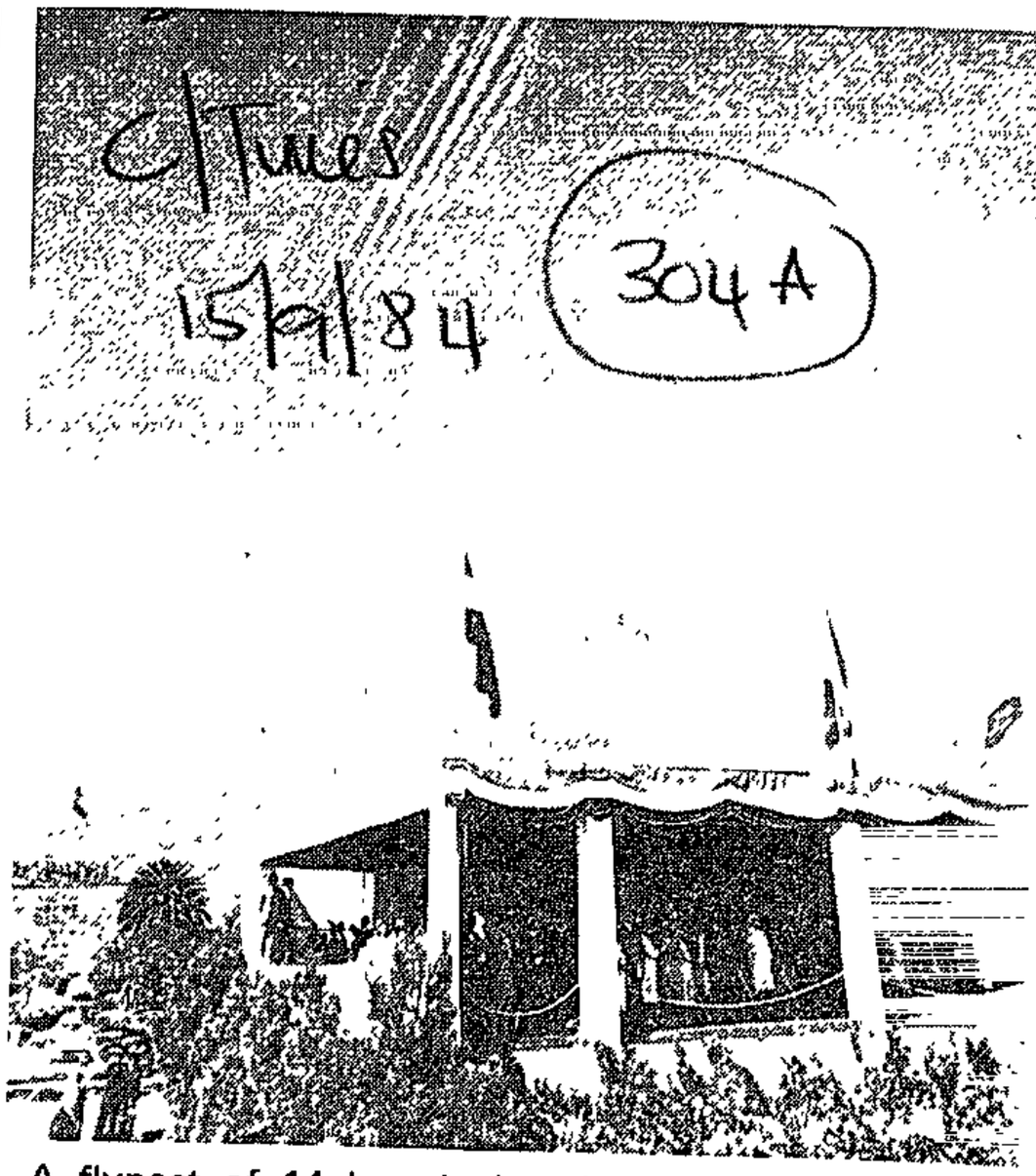


Edward Johnson holds up a flag between two soldiers on the Grand Parade during yesterday's inauguration of South Africa' first executive State President.



A flypast of 14 Impala jets leaves a smoke-trail of orange, white and blue in the sky above the presidential dais on the Grand Parade yesterday.



Mr P W Botha, South Africa's first executive State President, inspects the State President's Guard with General Constand Viljoen, Chief of the Defence Force (background, left), and General Johann Coetzee, Commissioner of Police, (right).

Botha calls for nation's support

By MICHAEL ACOTT

MR P W BOTHA started his rule as executive President yesterday with an appeal to the nation to support his efforts for peaceful and orderly change.

In his inaugural speech on the Parade, Mr Botha said there was "simply no alternative" to seeking co-operation between all South Africa's communities and race groups.

He saw the new constitution as the means to achieve this, but noted that the constitution would succeed only if the people as a whole believed in it.

"No constitution can succeed unless the people whom it serves wish it to succeed."



Mr P W Botha at his inauguration yesterday.

'Mosaic'

The constitution was intended to create structures enabling South Africa's unique "mosaic of nations and communities" to live in peace and harmony, free from want or the fear of hunger, disease and poverty.

Stating that the final test of the constitution would be attitudes towards it and not merely the structures it created, Mr Botha said tolerance and mutual respect should be the guidelines for all.

"It is no great art to destroy . . . This can only lead to inconsolable despair and misery.

"To build, and to build together each in his own right, is the challenge which faces us now."

Mr Botha committed the government to the search for peace, both within South Africa and in Southern Africa as a whole. But he warned that "peace and freedom are expensive" and said the security forces were important symbols of South African nationhood and unity.

Stability and security depended on a sound economy, and the government aimed at economic strength, prosperity and improved material welfare for all.

"We do not stand for a division of wealth, but for the creation of conditions for the proper distribution of wealth."

He referred to the principles in the preamble to the constitution, including the commitment to equality of all under the law, the protection of human dignity, liberty and property of all and the vow to uphold and defend Christian values and civilized norms.

"This morning I took an oath in your presence and in the name of God to uphold these principles enshrined in our constitution. I appeal to all South Africans to support me in this endeavour."

Mr Botha said change was inevitable in any country, but it had to be peaceful and orderly. Without stability there could be no progress.

"Never in the history of mankind was there a land or a people which could resist change in the belief or hope that the world around them would remain unchanged," he said.

"Life itself is a process of growth and renewal. But hate, and the wounds caused by hate, can only damage the course of growth and renewal.

'Challenges'

"In this historical development we are now experiencing, tremendous challenges and opportunities are presented. If we can grasp them in good time and with prudence, they may open the way to greater future growth."

The government believed that stability, peace and co-operation were prerequisites to meaningful social and economic advancement for all in South Africa.

"The ways of co-operation are not established overnight. Working together is a goal that should be pursued with patience, determination and insight.

"This can at times be painful and frustrating, but for South Africa much more than for countries with homogenous populations, there simply is no alternative," Mr Botha said.

"An immense opportunity, but also one of the most severe tests which South Africa has yet faced, now lies ahead of us.

"We shall have to show that we can listen to one another, that we can respect each other's interests, and that we can rule to the best interest of all. It is here that our future will be destroyed or be safeguarded by ourselves."

Mr Botha said South Africa's future could not be confined to "a couple of metropolitan areas" but included the full use of underdeveloped areas. He promised meaningful devolution of power to black communities, including urban black people.

'Citizenship'

Promising co-operation with independent and non-independent black homelands, he said the government was "aware of the necessity to co-operate in finding a solution to the vital issue of citizenship and nationality".

The position of black people outside the homelands was under urgent study by a special cabinet committee. The objective was to find "suitable political mechanisms" which would be both acceptable to these communities and in their interests.

Mr Botha extended "a hand of friendship" to other countries in Southern Africa, saying his quest was for peace in the region — a peace built not on capituation but on recognition of sovereignty, freedom and common interests.

He also promised to listen to comment and advice from other countries about the solution of South Africa's problems, provided there was no attempt to interfere in the country's internal affairs.

Check and checkmate

16/9/84

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Confusion as Indian members switch loyalties

CONFUSION reigned at the weekend as factions in the Indian House of Delegates switched and reswitched allegiances in the frantic countdown to tomorrow's formal swearing in of the new MPs.

Yesterday, only hours before the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced his Cabinet, the Solidarity Party made a desperate bid to seize power in the House of Delegates after three late-night defections from the National People's Party changed the power balance.

The defections appeared to give Solidarity a majority — enough to nudge the NPP from power.

But, even as they were counting heads, another move was under way to create a bloc of Independents, which would hold the balance of power.

In any event, Solidarity's apparently shortlived majority came too late for the State President to change his Cabinet plans.

President Botha had already appointed the previously designated NPP members to the Ministers' Council — although they have ostensibly lost the mandate from their chamber.

This means that the first likely action of the infant House of Delegates when it convenes in January is a vote of no confidence — and the collapse of the Ministers' Council.

The rapid turnround in the House apparently stems from squabbles in NPP ranks over the way top men were appointed to plum jobs in the Ministers' Council by the party leadership.

The remarkable events which have played themselves out in Cape Town over the past few days came after fierce political horse-trading accompanied by what NPP spokesmen have claimed

By BRIAN POTTINGER and NORMAN WEST.

were strong-arm tactics by their opponents.

The drama began late on Friday when one of the NPP defectors approached Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy in his Cape Town hotel and



Dr J N REDDY

said he wanted to join the party.

Mr A H Choonara of Lenasia Central announced his resignation from the NPP, and said he would become an Independent aligned to Solidarity.

He was rapidly followed by Mr N N E "Issy" Khan of Isipingo and Mr Denis Pillay of Lenasia East — both of whom were accepted into Solidarity.

Early yesterday all three submitted handwritten letters to the Solidarity leadership confirming their decisions.

Dr Reddy contacted Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Planning and Constitutional Development, and an emergency mid-morning meeting was set up with President Botha in the H F Verwoerd Building.

The Solidarity delegation was headed by Dr Reddy and included Mr Pat Poovalingam, Mr Yunus Moolla and Dr D Cadar.

NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi, accompanied by his sari-clad wife, arrived for a separate meeting soon afterwards.

It is understood that Mr Botha made it clear to the Solidarity delegation that in terms of the constitution he could not change the present appointments of the Ministers' Council — settled when the NPP still held the majority.

Mr Rajbansi — clasping the package with his suit for the ministerial installation — later told the Sunday Times that by January the NPP would again hold the majority.

Threats

But, even as the top-level talks were going on, Mr Choonara had embarked on a move to persuade a number of Transvaal MPs to quit their parties and become Independents.

"We will then be able to hold a balance of power of sorts and bring about the much-sought-after unity in the House of Delegates," he said.

He claimed he already had the backing of seven MPs.

Mr Rajbansi claimed to have evidence of strong-arm men arriving in Cape Town to pressurise NPP members, and spoke of anonymous threats against the families and businesses of NPP supporters if they did not withdraw their support for him.

He also referred to a secret meeting at 10pm in a Cape Town hotel last Sunday, when a plot was allegedly hatched to topple him.

Solidarity spokesmen have strongly denied there was any pressure on NPP people to join them.

'Volcano' threat to Labour Party

By NORMAN WEST

INTERNAL strife within the Labour Party (LP) over charges of "jobs for pals" in the Ministers' Council appointments threatens to rock the party and may precipitate a "genuine" split.

In anonymous documents circulating within party ranks and believed to emanate from top party echelons, there is talk of "a smouldering volcano" that might erupt and rip the party apart.

This threat of a split comes during moves to engineer a fake split designed to eclipse the tiny People's Congress Party (PCP) opposition. The party may thus now face a three-way split.

The new rumbles of real discontent surfaced because of dissatisfaction over alleged autocratic handling by the Rev Allan Hendrickse of important power appointments in the House of Representatives, which tend to favour people from his own region.

Mr Hendrickse's controversial appointments include:

● The Rev Andrew Julies to the Ministers' Council. Mr Julies, from Humansdorp, is a minister in the United Congregational Church — of which Mr Hendrickse is also a minister.

In a major upset at the LP congress in Port Elizabeth in January Mr Julies replaced the former LP strongman, Mr David Curry as national chairman.

Mr Curry resigned in a huff over differences within the party structure.

A group of dissatisfied Transvaal delegates staged a walkout in protest.

Involved in this upset was Mr Hendrickse's son, Peter (MP for Addo) and a Port Elizabeth school teacher, Mr Willie Dietrich (MP for Bethelsdorp).

Walkout

● Mr Dietrich, to the surprise (and over the heads) of seasoned Labourites, was appointed chief whip.

● Mr Chris April, former member of the old President's Council (PC), to the Ministers' Council. When it was against LP policy to serve on the PC, Mr April resigned from the party and joined, but he has subsequently rejoined the LP.

Dissatisfied members claim they were "surprised" that the veteran Mr Jac Rabie, leader of the LP in Transvaal, as well as Mr Charles Redcliffe, LP's national vice-chairman and MP for Schauderville, had not been offered any senior posts.

However, it is understood Mr Miley Richards, the deputy leader of the LP and MP for Toekomsrus (Tvl) has accepted the position of Leader of the House of Representatives.

S/Times 16/9/84

304 A

A busy week of homespun shuttle diplomacy for Heunis. . .

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

MR CHRIS HEUNIS, Minister of Constitutional Development, had a busy week of intense brokering in an attempt to bring order to the faction-riven wrangling in the new coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

In his desperate efforts to end the turmoil in Parliament, Mr Heunis's initiatives this week included:

● A suggestion that Mr Peter Marais's People's Congress Party should not strictly be entitled to three President's Council posts. If the PCP accepted only one PC post, it was possible a Labour Party "split" — known to be false — could be averted.

● Attempts to broker a coalition between the National People's Party and Solidarity by means of a division of the President's Council and Ministers' Council seats in the House of Delegates. The bid failed when Solidarity turned down the offer of a position on the Cabinet in exchange for agreement on coalition.

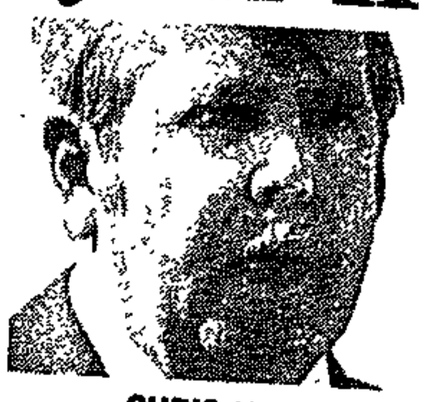
● Negotiations over the names of the top Representatives and Delegates who eventually figured in the Cabinet and Ministers' Council.

The deep involvement of Mr Heunis in the party political affairs of the other chambers — despite protestations of aloofness — indicated the Government's concern at the damage the in-fighting was doing to the image of the new system.

One of the most dramatic meetings of the week was on Monday between Mr Heunis and Mr Marais.

Last-ditch

During the meeting, Mr Marais apparently made it clear that he would hold the Government responsible if the Labour Party formed a false opposition to deprive his two-man Parliamentary representation of their right to nominate three President's Councillors.



CHRIS HEUNIS
Calming the waters

Mr Heunis apparently suggested Mr Marais meet the Labour Party for talks and that the PCP should content itself with one seat on the PC.

After consulting his legal adviser, Mr Marais rejected the suggestion out of hand.

A private meeting was later arranged by Mr Heunis between Mr Marais and the Rev Allan Hendrickse to "iron out" their differences.

Mr Hendrickse gave the PCP men an assurance he would speak to the breakaway faction after Mr Marais had made it clear he would only be satisfied with all three of the PC nominations or nothing.

On the same day Mr Heunis attempted to forge a consensus among the NPP and Solidarity in the House of Delegates.

Both parties apparently agreed on a declaration of intent to form a coalition but the talks rapidly broke down on specifics.

In a last-ditch move the next day Mr Heunis apparently offered Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy a post in the Cabinet if he would accept a post on the Ministers' Council — thereby implying coalition with the NPP.

The offer had apparently been sanctioned by the NPP. But Solidarity also turned this down — preferring to remain "in opposition".

Botha picks mixed team

from page 1

Chairman – although it looks as though his party, the majority, has already lost its majority for Rembulu for Bedeltes for Health. Mr Other Padayachy for Education, Mr S Padayachy for Housing and Local Government, Mr Hendrik Schoeman for Environment, Mr Alex van Breda Kotze for Water Affairs, Mr Botha Simmonds for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Mr Heunis for Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis for Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha for Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok for Defence, Mr Magnus Malan for Manpower, Mr Fanie Botha for Transport, Mr Wim de Villiers for Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Kobie Coetsee for Justice, Mr Barend du Plessis for Finance, Mr Gerrit Viljoen for Education and Culture, Mr Stoffel Botha for Co-operation and Development, Mr Sarel Hayward for Sport and Recreation, Mr Hernus Kriel for Law and Order, Mr Tertius Delport for Health, Mr Leon Wessels for Constitutional Development, Mr Dawie de Villiers for Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn for Manpower, Mr Kent Durr for Transport, Mr Willie Breytenbach for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Mr Piet Koornhof for Co-operation and Development, Mr Jan Marais for Foreign Affairs, Mr Jannie Haasbroek for Sport and Recreation, Mr Gert Kotzé for Water Affairs, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Environment, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Education and Culture, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Finance, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Justice, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Defence, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Manpower, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Transport, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Co-operation and Development, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Sport and Recreation, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Law and Order, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Constitutional Development, Mr Hennie Kotzé for Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr Hennie

And now the elderly are left all alone . . .

■ HE was respected once, the *kehla* who sits alone now in the sun.

He was consulted by his people who knew him to be wise. The children listened to his stories, for in his memory he carried the culture of his people.

His advice was paramount. Who knew better, after all, than an old man who had experienced all in the many winters that had come and gone? His wisdom had grown with the years.

It was good to grow old, then, and be revered by the generations who came after . . .

■ TWO homeless old squatters died a violent death on a rugby field in Nelspruit recently. Mr William Nkosi and Mr Solomon Kuna had no place to go. They came like shadows . . . and so departed.

At night they covered themselves with a sack and slept wherever they found themselves. Their lives had little point. They looked only for food and shelter, victims of a society which no longer had need of them . . .

■ THE two squatters were typical of many aged urban Africans who, having been estranged by an alien culture, had lost their traditional role in society.

They fitted perfectly the picture described in a recent report by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The breakdown of traditional values, the report showed, was forcing a growing number of aged black squatters to move to the towns in search of an improved livelihood.

The report was compiled after an exploratory survey among 510 old black people who live in white urban areas. It was done to obtain basic information on the plight of the elderly black, and aspects such as housing, health, social interaction and finance were investigated.

The information is intended to assist the Department of Community Development, the South African National Council for the Aged and other service organisations both in policy-making and in the planning and provision of services.

The plight of the black aged in white areas has been investigated by the Human Sciences Research Council, which reports "social problems more extensive and frequently more intensive than those experienced in the West"

By WINNIE GRAHAM

The survey found that elderly black men, having lost their patriarchal status through urbanisation and industrialisation, were no longer regarded as the repositories of wisdom.

Rootless

Exposure to the media, including television, radio and books, had created wider horizons, leaving the old rootless and unwanted.

Once the black aged played an important role in society. Before the breakdown of traditional customs, land was controlled by the elders.

Only when a parent became unfit to care for the needs of the family would a son take the land over in trust — but with it he assumed the obligation to support those who actually possessed it as well as the presumptive heirs who still had to take their portion.

The HSRC report quoted Mr C E Fuller's work 'Aging Among Southern African Bantu' which says: "To disregard this reponsibility one would have to violate the very principles of land tenure and use which undergird bantu culture — offending the ancestors, disrupting the customary economy and challenging the social structure."

Traditionally, said the report, aged blacks occupied key positions in the community. They were expected to make an important contribution.

In today's black communities the traditional rights to land, long-centred on seniority and ever adjustable to the needs of the people, were being modified.

The sudden eclipse of the traditional pattern of life had created social problems often more extensive and frequently more intensive than those experienced in the West.

The disappearance of the elders, no longer in full control of the agrarian economy, had undermined the authority of the aged.

Forced to abdicate their traditional role, and with nobody available to work the land and care for them, large numbers of old squatters were gravitating to the urban areas where they hoped to find an improved existence.

The survey found that old age pensions were the main source of income of elderly blacks in urban areas. The amount received was calculated at R30,30 monthly or R60,60 bi-monthly. Few received cash contributions from their children or other relatives.

There was dissatisfaction, the survey found, with the payment of pensions on a bi-monthly basis. The elderly preferred monthly payments.

Humane

The report said: "Earnest consideration must be given to increasing pensions to aged blacks so that they can enjoy a humane existence. Children, too, should be encouraged to assume greater responsibility for the care of their aged parents."

Population projections by the Institute for Sociological and Demographical Research, the report said, revealed there were about 600 000 elderly blacks in South Africa. This figure was expected to grow to more than 1,1-million by the year 2000.

The report said: "It is reported that the number of pensioners in South Africa will grow to more than 2,5-million in the next 20 years. However, a problem causing grave concern is the growth in the number of blacks who will qualify for pensions . . ."

It is estimated that by the year 2 000 urbanised elderly blacks will draw between R50-million and R150-million in pensions.

Most of the people interviewed lived in rented houses which were either in their names or in the names of their marriage partners. More than three-quarters were satisfied with their accommodation and were not in favour of old age homes — a concept foreign to their traditions.



● With society's values changing, the elderly are being pushed out into the cold Picture. WALTER DHLADHLA

fort to move aged blacks on a large scale from white urban areas to, for instance, the homelands would be resisted by them.

Many had spent years in white urban areas where a wide variety of services, such as transport and medical facilities, were available. They were not prepared to migrate to the "national states" where often there were "neither family nor formal support services to assist them".

It was commendable therefore, the report said, that various efforts were being made to accommodate elderly blacks in white urban areas and to provide certain services for them on a permanent basis.

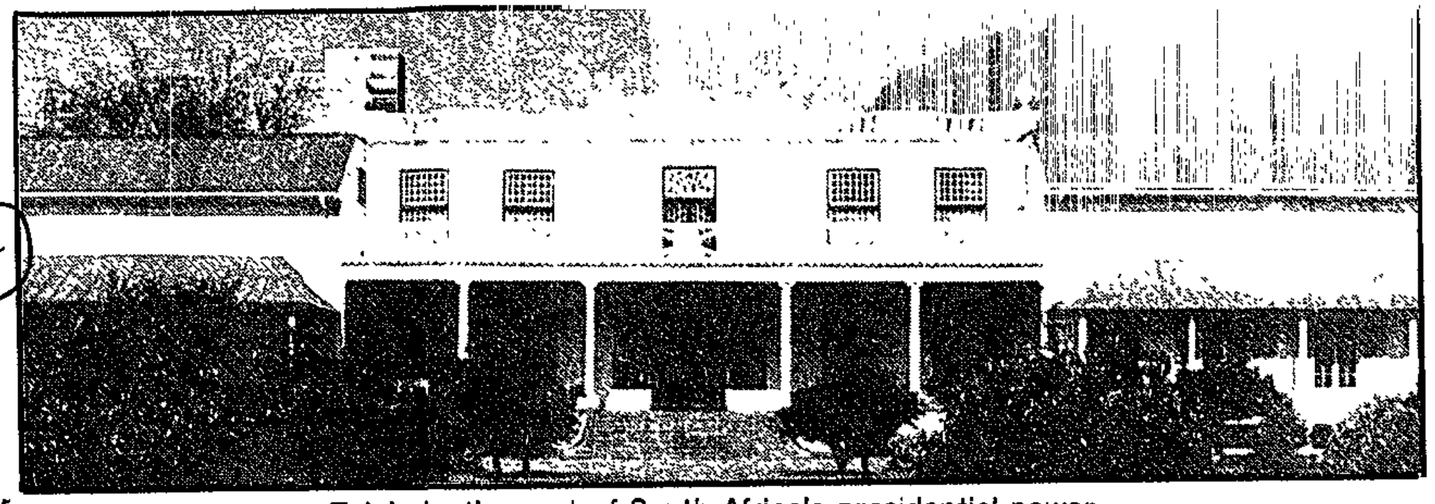
Greater efforts, however, would have to be made to provide even more facilities and accommodation for blacks in the urban areas.

The report suggested that opportunities be created to encourage the elderly to form 'garden clubs' where they could be taught to grow their own vegetables, either for their own use or to supplement their income.

Consideration should also be given to organising elderly blacks as child-minders in areas where creches were scarce.

America has the WHITE HOUSE.
Britain has 10 DOWNING STREET.
Now South Africa has ...

All the President's men in THE TUINHUIS



Tuinhuis, the seat of South Africa's presidential power

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

THE symbolism of South Africa's "White House" lies in its location.

The Tuinhuis, seat of presidential power in the new constitutional system, straddles the red-brick Parliament building and the old Cape Dutch-style President's Council chambers.

Just as, in a political sense, the President's office will straddle the tricameral legislature on the one hand and the advisory and deadlock-breaking President's Council on the other.

It is a symbolism liked by the President's men.

In the process of putting together the support structure for South Africa's first quasi-executive State President they have continually sought to project the uniqueness of the office while maintaining a sense of its historic continuity. The Tuinhuis fits the mood well.

The team that will actually serve the President is remarkably small and many of its key figures surprisingly young. No more than 100 public servants, including messengers, drivers and tea makers make up the department's strength.

"We are not going to be extravagant. This is not an American White House setup where the country is run from the State President's office," explains Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general of the Office of the State President.

The explanation is necessary, because in the rest of the bureaucracy there are occasional flashes of concern about the bureaucratic powers the newly created executive President's Office will assume.

And there are even wider fears about the constitutional and executive powers the President will wield under the controversial new system.

Dr Roux commands the President's men. He still carries — but never uses — the rank of major-general of the Prisons Service. He was transferred some four years ago to take over the running of the then Prime Minister's Office. He trails a string of



A flag-waving child joins soldiers on parade at the presidential inauguration

er departments. Buks Jor- the Prime Minister, turned

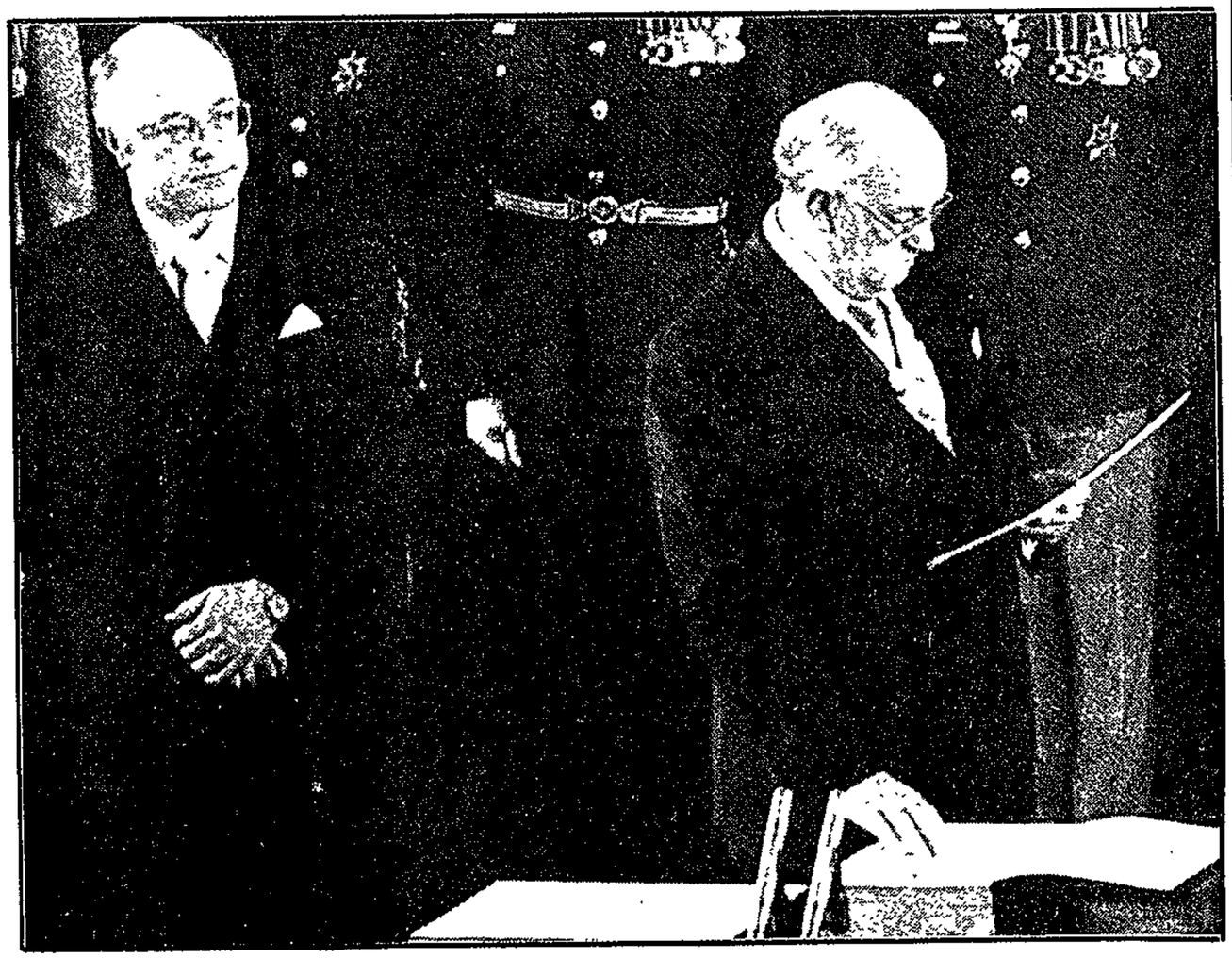
is to act in a deadlock-breaking function should the President refer an issue to it. But it can also be called upon to advise the State President on anything he refers to it — a sort of giant advisory commission.

But another advisory service, closer to the President, has also been created; the Policy Analysis and Advisory Services section. This section will give direct advice to the State President to help him in decision-making. The posts and roles are important.

Dr Daan Prinsloo, a state administration expert, is adviser on political and constitutional issues, while Dr Jannie Pieterse, former head of sociology and social work at the University of Pretoria, will advise on social issues. The office is still looking for an economist to make up the trio.

A vital function of the President's Office is to provide secretarial services to the Cabinet. Dr Roux, apart from being secretary-general, is also secretary to the Cabinet. Under him falls the Cabinet secretariat headed by Johan Weilbach.

The Cabinet organisation itself remains largely unchanged. Three standing



Under the watchful eye of Dr Jannie Roux, the new State President is sworn in

Here are SA's new leaders

By BRIAN POTTINGER: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha drastically reshuffled his Cabinet yesterday — and re-arranged many departmental functions to reflect South Africa's first mixed government.

These are South Africa's rulers — old and new — with their new responsibilities.

Cabinet for general affairs:

State President: Mr P W Botha. The position includes office of State President, NIS and the Commission for Administration.

Transport Services: Mr H Schoeman.

Constitutional Development and Planning: Mr J C Heunis, who also acquires the Group Areas Board from the Department of Community Development.

Foreign Affairs: Mr R F Botha.

Home Affairs and National Education: Mr F W de Klerk. This portfolio excludes certain functions which have been transferred to "own affairs".

Law and Order: Mr L le Grange.

Communication and Public Works: Dr LAPA Munnik. This portfolio includes Posts and Telecommunications and the rump of Community Development, after the transfer of certain functions to "own affairs" and after the transfer of the Group Areas Board to Constitutional Development.

Health and Welfare: Dr C V van der Merwe. Again, some functions have been transferred to Health and Welfare portfolios of "own" affairs.

Co-operation and Development and Education: Dr G Viljoen. This portfolio loses some functions to the Department of Justice and population registration and influx control to Home Affairs. It includes the former Department of Education and Training and is under the close control of the State President.

Defence: General M Malan.

Manpower: Mr P T du Plessis.

Industries and Commerce. Dr D J de Villiers.

Justice: Mr H J Coetsee.

Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr J J G Wentzel. This portfolio has lost some of its functions to "own affairs".

Mineral and Energy Affairs: Mr D W Steyn.

Finance: Mr B J du Plessis.

Environment and Tourism: Mr J W E Wiley.

The following Deputy Ministers have been appointed.

Constitutional Development: Mr P J Badenhorst.

Foreign Affairs: Mr D J Nel.

Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P Cronje.

Land Affairs: Mr B H Wilkens.

Health and Welfare: Dr G de Villiers Morrison.

Co-operation and Education: Mr S J de Beer.

Defence: Mr A J Vlok.

Industries and Commerce: Mr K Durr.

Agriculture Economics and Water Affairs: Mr G J Kotze.

Appointments to the Ministers' Council for the House of Assembly are:

Chairman and Minister of Health Services and Welfare. Dr C V van der Merwe (Dr Stoffel Botha, acting).

Agriculture and Water Supplies: Mr S A S Hayward.

Local Government, Housing and Works: Mr A Venter.

Budget: Mr E van der Merwe Louw.

Education and Culture: Mr J C G Botha.

Appointments to the Ministers' Council for House of Representatives are:

Chairman: The Rev A J Hendrickse.

Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr D M Curry.

Budget: Mr A A Julies.

Health Services and Welfare: Mr C J April.

Education and Culture: Mr C H Ebrahim.

The following have been appointed to the Ministers' Council for the House of Delegates:

Chairman: Mr A Rajbansi.

Education and Culture: Mr K Ramduth.

Health Services and Welfare: Dr M S Padayachy.

Budget: Mr E Abramjee.

Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: B Dookie.

Sunday Times MAGAZINE
THE LOO WITH A VIEW

daan, a seconded Prisons Service colonel, heads the Directorate of Liaison Services. He served the Prime Minister for two years and has the unenviable task of personally manning a 24-hour Press liaison service.

The legal department is headed by Johan Heunis. This section will have to bear the heavy burden of guiding the executive President through the legislative minefields that will inevitably accompany the constitution's setting down stage.

Clashes between the President's Office and constitutional development over "turf" will meanwhile have a familiar touch. Mr Heunis — formerly foreign affairs — is the son of Chris Heunis, Minister of the Department of Constitutional Development.

A new department has been created to deal with the increased protocol burden State President, will carry Len Louw has been appointed chief of ceremonies.

He is also ex-Prisons Service and thus one of the trinity of prisons "brass" which surrounds the State President. Together with PS, security advisers and others there is a strong military representation in the office — itself a reflection of the President's earlier martial experiences as Minister of Defence.

Security will be handled by Richard Bean, a seconded South African Police colonel; administration is under Martin Koekemoer and a separate section handles household — the running of the residencies.

The President's Council secretariat also comes under Dr Roux — in fact its staff is the biggest slice of the establishment. Koos Bauermeister, unruffled secretary of the old President's Council, continues as secretary to the new.

The primary role of the PC Cabinet committees on constitutional, economic and social issues remain with their subordinate working groups comprised of State officials.

The influential State Security Council — operating under specific statute — will continue to evaluate, interpret and formulate security policy for the State President's approval.

In broad terms — Dr Roux is the first to admit — the organisation of the Office of the State President does not entail significant changes to the system which served the Prime Minister.

Together with some officials of the Commission for Administration, Dr Roux last year travelled overseas to study presidential systems first hand. When they returned they sat down with P W Botha and thrashed out a scheme which they believe is lean, flexible and meets the main concern of the incumbent — streamlined co-ordination for policy implementation.

Roux is adamant that the Office of the President is different from other departments. That is why he likes the idea of it being in the Tuinhuis: "In future if one says Tuinhuis one will know it is the President's office.

"It will be the same as 10 Downing Street or the White House." He is hoping the Pretoria site — western wing of Union Buildings — will develop the same associations.

But he is equally insistent the office will not be as big nor embracing as the American model. Ministers will, after all, still be served by their own bureaucracies.

The line of execution still passes from the President, through the Minister with political responsibility, to the chief executive of the department responsible for implenting policy.

"We are not here to control other state departments — to watch over their shoulders to see they do their job. We are not doing the macro-planning and we are not going to run the country — state departments do that."

But the *political* functioning of the new quasi-executive State President is still cloudy and Dr Roux admits it will only become clear once the system is actually working.

Already state-administration experts are forecasting certain likely trends as the President battles to elevate "consensus" from merely a word to a reality.

Part of this trend is likely to be greater use of "task-force" Cabinet committees to deal with specific issues that could cause friction between the Government and legislature — particularly the Representatives and Delegates.

Another possible development is the establishment of an "inner" Cabinet — the existing State Security Council would be the basis for this — and an "outer" Cabinet with only peripheral involvement in highly sensitive security issues.

But ultimately this presidential office, so much the result of party political expediency, will be determined, shaped and matured by the incumbent and the man who had the greatest hand in creating it — P W Botha.

Botha picks a mixed cabinet team

304A

16/9/84

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA yesterday introduced South Africa's new-style government with a multiracial and dramatically reshuffled Cabinet.

For the first time people of colour — Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi — have been appointed to the Cabinet.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

They are both Ministers without Portfolio. The President also insisted that he would have a major hand in all ministries relating to South Africa's blacks

He would devote particular attention to the furthering of the interests of the black communities — particularly in their participation in decision-making concerning their own interests.

Other Ministers handling issues which affected blacks would be obliged to act in close consultation with him, as would the existing Cabinet committee on urban blacks, he said.

There has also been a drastic reassignment of government functions relating to blacks.

Key changes in this precedent-setting new Cabinet include:

● The appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen to head a revamped Ministry of Cooperation and Development and Education and Training.

● The appointment of English-speaking Mr John Wiley to a "Super Cabinet" portfolio as Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.

● The dropping of Mr Sarel Hayward, former Minister of the Environment, to the white Ministers' Council to become Minister of Agri-

becomes the innocuous Department of Communication and Public Works, headed by Dr Lapa Munnik, with Mr Ben Wilkens as deputy.

One of the major surprises is the shift of Dr Gerrit Viljoen to the revamped Cooperation and Development portfolio.

His former portfolio of National Education now joins the new Ministry of Home Affairs and National Education under Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the Transvaal NP.

High drama

Yesterday's Cabinet announcements by the newly inaugurated State President came amid a day of high drama which included a reversal of fortunes for the National People's Party in the House of Delegates.

The appointment of Ministers' Councils for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates have meanwhile already unleashed seething tensions in both the Labour and NPP.

Ministers' Council portfolios in the House of Assembly are:

● Agriculture and Water Supplies Mr Sarel Hayward



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- The appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen to head a revamped Ministry of Co-operation and Development and Education and Training.
- The appointment of English-speaking Mr John Wiley to a "Super Cabinet" portfolio as Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.
- The dropping of Mr Sarel Hayward, former Minister of the Environment, to the white Ministers' Council to become Minister of Agriculture and Water Affairs.
- The appointment of the Minister of Health, Dr Nak van der Merwe, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi as chairmen of the white, coloured and Indian Ministers' Councils.
- The elevation of three NP frontbenchers to deputy ministerships; the verligte Mr Sam de Beer to Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Education, the Cape English-speaking Mr Kent Durr to Deputy Minister of Industries and Commerce, and Mr Adriaan Vlok to Deputy Minister of Defence.
- The naming of Mr Stoffel Botha — former Administrator of Natal — as acting chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, until Dr van der Merwe who is recovering from a major heart operation is well enough to take up his new position.

A main objective of the reshuffle appears to be an attempt to "depoliticise" the previously most sensitive departments — Co-operation and Development and Community Development.

The once monolithic Department of Co-operation and Development has been stripped of many of its functions and combined with Education and Training.

Influx control

It has been given a new Minister and Deputy Minister and been brought under the personal auspices of the State President.

Influx control, the most controversial function of the former black affairs empire, has been moved to the Department of Internal Affairs.

The ever-controversial Department of Community Development has been stripped of its Group Areas Act functions and denuded of many others which have been given to the various Ministers' councils.

The Group Areas Board now comes in under the portfolio of Constitutional Development and the Department of Community Development

High drama

Yesterday's Cabinet announcements by the newly inaugurated State President came amid a day of high drama which included a reversal of fortunes for the National People's Party in the House of Delegates.

The appointment of Ministers' Councils for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates have meanwhile already unleashed seething tensions in both the Labour and NPP.

Ministers' Council portfolios in the House of Assembly are:

- Agriculture and Water Supplies, Mr Sarel Hayward,
- Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works, Mr Awie Venter,
- Minister of the Budget, Mr Eli Louw,
- Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The House of Representatives sees Allan Hendrickse as chairman of the Ministers' Council, with Mr David Curry handling local Government, Mr Andrew Julies, Budget, Health Services Mr Chris April, Education and Training Mr Carter Ebrahim.

In the House of Delegates Mr Rajbansi is appointed

□ To Page 2



Charles and Diana shortly after the birth of Prince

Tough code of conduc for SA's new Minister

By NORMAN WEST

PRESIDENT Botha spelt out a tough code of conduct for Ministers yesterday in South Africa's first multiracial Cabinet.

In a move that is clearly designed to give formal substance to his pledge of clean government, Ministers will now be required to observe strict rules. Among them are:

- Every Minister will be expected to perform his official duties and arrange his private affairs in such a manner that the integrity of the Government is above question.
- Their actions must serve the public interest and must not give the impression that office is being used mote personal gain.
- They must ensu public trust in the ment is not impaired their dependants do unjustly from their
- Gifts may be only if they are official occasions in else with the Ministers satisfy th and Mr Botha that not meant to influence in an improper

Assets

- Liaison with quasi-judicial bodies avoided.
- A Minister and his may not serve on the directors of any pany, nor may he own terest in a company business relates to his duties.
- Before being Ministers must provide ments of their assets abilities. Thereafter, statements must be ted annually.

NEW FACES IN SUPER CABINET



ALLAN HENDRICKSE



AMICHAND RAJBANSI



JOHN WILEY

Congo fever hits 3 nurse

By LINDA VERGNANI

THREE nurses were confirmed yesterday to have the deadly Congo fever.

They contracted the disease while caring for Mr Frans Theart, who died last week in Cape Town's Tygerberg Hospital

Their names were being kept a secret by the authorities yesterday. They have been in isolation since Monday.

But their symptoms are reported to be much milder than those of Mr Theart.

Tygerberg's medical superintendent, Dr R Truter, said: "They are improving. They are feeling comfortable.

"The virology tests have come through and all three have Congo fever."

He said the nurses were being treated symptomatically and had all been given anti-serum from people who had previously had the disease.

Dr Truter said the nurses' symptoms included headaches, sore throats, fever and skin haemorrhages.

No more cases were suspected.

The three nurses cared for Mr Theart before he was put into strict isolation.

It was not until tissue was examined at the National Institute of Virology (NIV) in Johannesburg that a positive diagnosis was made.

The doctor in charge of the isolation unit at Tygerberg said the nur among about 35 people who had contact with Mr Theart and thought to be at risk.

All the contacts had been watch out for the symptoms been told not to kiss or have relations and not even to cuddle children.

The doctor said the incubation of the disease was a week.

"Yesterday was the turning There are no other suspected

It is thought that Mr Theart, way employee, contracted the after being bitten by a tick ling.

PW hands out political power

CAPE TOWN — This week marks the handing out of political power under the new system.

The new Ministers in the Cabinet and various Ministers' Councils were sworn in at the Castle in Cape Town early today.

The Speaker of the House of Assembly, Mr Johan Greeff, was due to be elected as the Speaker for the whole of the new Parliament this afternoon.

Parliament opens officially tomorrow at 11 after each House gathers separately to elect its chairman. The President will open Parliament at the first joint sitting of all three chambers.

Political Staff

On Wednesday the majority parties in each of the Houses will select their members of the President's Council, and the Opposition parties will select theirs on Thursday.

The President appoints his members of the President's Council on Friday. Among the 15 appointees he is expected to include several English-speakers and women.

There were no surprises when President Botha announced his new Cabinet on Saturday.

He appointed the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, majority leaders in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, as full Ministers.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi have also been appointed as chairmen of the Ministers' Councils in their respective Houses. They will serve in the Cabinet in these capacities and will in effect be Ministers without portfolio as far as "general affairs" are concerned.

Deputy Minister Mr John Wiley was appointed Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism.

Three new Deputy Ministers are Mr Kent Durr, MP for Maitland; Mr Sam de Beer, MP for Geduld; and Mr A J Vlok, MP for Verwoerdburg.

Most of the Ministers in the old Cabinet have been retained, with some changes in names and functions of certain departments.

The controversial Department of Co-operation and Development has been dismantled to some extent, losing functions to the Department of Justice and the new Department of Home Affairs.

This department and the Department of Education and Training, which deals with black education, have been combined under Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

The old Department of National Education has been combined with Home Affairs under Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Sarel Hayward, the only Minister dropped from the old Cabinet — after the earlier retirements of Dr P G J Koornhof and Mr S F Kotze — becomes Minister of Agriculture and Water Supplies in the white Ministers' Council.

President Botha also named the MPs he would nominate to the three Houses.

For the House of Assembly they are Mr Stoffel Botha and Dr E H Venter of the Transvaal.

The House of Representative members are Mr C J April and Mr D Lockey.

The House of Deputies members are Mr M Thaver and Mr R S Nowbath.

These are the President's men

CENTRAL CABINET FOR GENERAL AFFAIRS

State President: Mr P W Botha. The office of the State President will also control the National Intelligence Service which includes the Secretariat of the State Security Council.
Transport Services: Mr Hendrik Schoeman
Constitutional Development and Planning: Mr J C Heunis. His department now includes the Scientific Advisory Council and the Group Areas Council
Foreign Affairs: Mr Pik Botha.
Home Affairs and National Education: Mr F W de Klerk. His department includes population registration of blacks and the Commission for Administration, but exludes functions designated "own" affairs.
Law and Order: Mr Louis le Grange
Communication and Public Works: Dr L A P A Munnik. This department incorporates Posts and Telecommunications and the remainder of the present Department of Community Development.
Health and Welfare: Dr C V van der Merwe.
Co-operation, Development and Education: Dr G N Viljoen. His department incorporates both Co-operation and Development and Education and Training.
Defence: General M A de M Malan.
Manpower: Mr P T C de Plessis.
Industries and Commerce: Dr D J de Villiers.
Justice: Mr J J Coetzee. Certain legal functions with regard to blacks have been transferred from Co-operation and Development
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr J J G Wentzel.
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Mr Danie Steyn
Finance: Mr Barend du Plessis
Environment Affairs and Tourism: Mr J W E Wiley.
Chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils: Dr C V van der Merwe, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

DEPUTY MINISTERS

Constitutional Development: Mr P J Badenhorst.
Foreign Affairs: Mr Louis Nel.
Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P Cronje
Land Affairs: Mr B H Wilkens.
Health and Welfare: Dr G de V Morrison.
Co-operation and Education: Mr S J de Beer.
Development: Mr B H Wilkens.
Defence: Mr A J Vlok.
Industries and Commerce: Mr Kant Durr.
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr G J Kotze.

MINISTERS' COUNCILS, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Chairman and Minister of Health: Dr C V van der Merwe
Agriculture and Water Supplies: Mr S A S Hayward
Local Government, Housing and Works: Mr A Venter.
Budget: Mr E van der M Louw
Education and Culture: Mr J C G (Stoffel) Botha

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Chairman: The Rev H J (Allan) Hendrickse.
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr D M Curry
Health Services and Welfare: Mr C J April.
Education and Culture: Mr Carter Ebrahim.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

Chairman: Mr A Rajbansi.
Education and Culture: Mr D Ramduth.
Health Services and Welfare: Dr M S Padayachy.
Budget: Mr E Abramjee
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr B Dookie.

Cabinet responsibility no longer collective

CAPE TOWN — South Africa's first multiracial Cabinet breaks sharply with the tradition of collective Cabinet responsibility.

President P W Botha announced at a Press conference on Saturday that, from now on, Ministers would no longer be obliged to fall in with Cabinet decisions.

"Under the new dispensation, a member of the General Affairs Cabinet will have joint responsibility (for any decision) unless he clears it up with the chairman of the meeting and jointly states the position he finds himself in.

"Because there might be difference on principles as to certain matters, I think we must provide for that position under the new dispensation."

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Under the Westminister system, Ministers who did not support Cabinet decisions had only one option — to resign.

The new system clearly allows for public dissension by a minority of Ministers, and is a device to allow such Ministers to dissociate themselves from policies which they do not support.

But President Botha warned that he would not tolerate Ministers who spoke out of the Cabinet, or attacked the Cabinet without first informing their colleagues and clearing it with the President.

"There are many other countries where there is coalition government," he added.

The general guidelines for Ministers include:

- **A Minister must ensure that the public trust in the Government is not impaired or that he, his wife or dependents do not procure unjust gain from his position.**
- **Gifts may be accepted by Ministers on official occasions in public. They may also be received from private persons, but Ministers must satisfy themselves and the President that they are not given to influence them in any improper manner.**
- **Liaison with judicial or quasi-judicial bodies must be avoided in order that no impression of involvement in the judicial process is given.**
- **A Minister and his family may not serve on the board of directors of a public company.**
- **A Minister and his family may not own an interest in any company whose business relates to matters falling within the sphere of his official duties.**
- **Ministers must cease active involvement in professional associations.**
- **Before Ministers are sworn in, a statement of their assets and liabilities must be submitted to the President.**

New-deal power struggle

(304A)
C. Times
17/9/84

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE swearing in of South Africa's first multiracial cabinet and Ministers' Councils will take place today against the backdrop of growing uncertainty and raging power struggles among parties in the coloured and Indian Houses.

The National People's Party (NPP) managed to stave off an eleventh-hour bid by Solidarity at the week-end to seize control of the the House of Delegates, but with the political horse-trading proceeding apace, there is no certainty that NPP will still hold the reins of power when Parliament sits in January.

Last-minute defections from the ranks of the NPP apparently gave Solidarity a slender temporary edge in balance of power, but another move to create a bloc of independents added to the confusion.

Meanwhile, another storm over political patronage was brewing at the week-end in the strife-torn Labour Party which threatened to precipitate a genuine split in party ranks.

Resentment among senior party members over recent controversial appointments is threatening to spill into the open and raises the prospect of the LP having to face three opposition parties.

The leaders of the LP, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the NPP, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, have been included in the first multiracial cabinet announced by the new State President, Mr P W Botha. However, neither leader has been given a specific portfolio.

Mr Botha emphasized that members of the "general affairs" cabinet and the "own affairs" Ministers' Councils would enjoy equal status, but members of the "super cabinet" — to deal with affairs affecting all population groups — will clearly wield greater political influence and power.

'Qualifications' yardstick

The decision not to give people of colour any portfolios in the main cabinet was based on merit and experience and not on colour, Mr Botha said.

He gave an assurance that he would use qualifications rather than race as the yardstick for allocation of separate portfolios in the general cabinet.

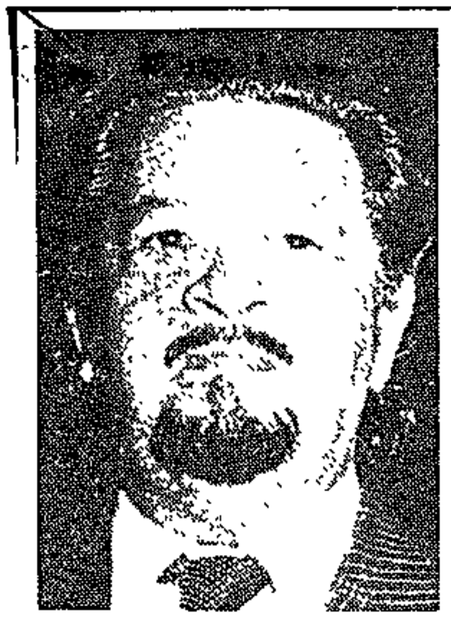
None of the nine deputy ministers announced at the weekend are from the coloured or Indian Houses.

Apart from Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi, there was only one new minister in the 19-member "look-alike" cabinet announced by Mr Botha. The MP for Simonstown, Mr John Wiley, has been promoted from Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs and Fisheries to Minister of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

Three NP frontbenchers were elevated to deputy ministers — the English-speaking Mr Kent Durr of Maitland to Deputy Minister of Industries and Commerce; the verligte Mr Sam de Beer to Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development; and Mr Adriaan Vlok to the new post of Deputy Minister of Defence.

The only significant demotion was that of Mr Sarel Hayward from Minister of the Environment to Minister of Agriculture and Water Affairs in the white Minister's Council.

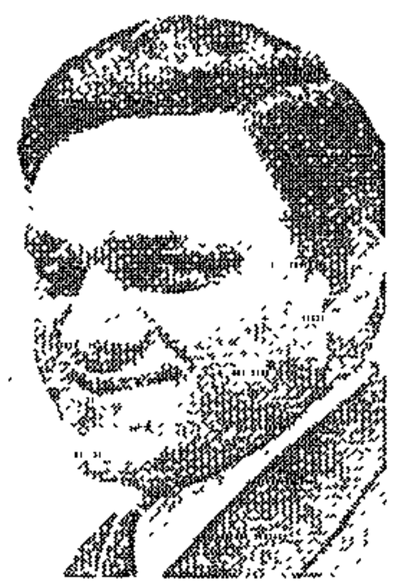
● More reports on the new Cabinet, page 2
● Reports on PFP conference, page 2
● Leading article, page 12



The Rev Allan Hendrickse, ministers' council chairman.



Mr John Wiley, Environment Affairs and Tourism.



Mr Amichand Rajbansi, ministers' council chairman.

Botha names new Cabinet line-up

304A

C. Tuin 17/9/84

Political Staff

THE STATE President announced a major reshuffle of his cabinet on Saturday, with several important realignments in the various departments.

The full cabinet is:

Central cabinet for General Affairs:

State President: Mr P W Botha. The office of the State President will also control the National Intelligence Service (NIS), which includes the Secretariat of the State Security Council.

Transport Services: Mr Hendrik Schoeman.

Constitutional Development and Planning: Mr J C Heunis. This will now also include the Scientific Advisory Council and the Group Areas Council.

Foreign Affairs: Mr R F (Pik) Botha.

Home Affairs and National Education: Mr F W de Klerk. This will exclude functions now designated "own" affairs — including Population Registration with regard to Africans and the Commission for Administration.

Law and Order: Mr Louis le Grange.

Communication and Public Works: Dr L A P A Munnik. This incorporates Posts and Telecommunications and the remainder of the present Department of Community Development.

Health and Welfare: Dr C V van der Merwe.

Co-operation, Development and Education: Dr G van N Viljeon. This incorporates both Co-operation and Development and Education and Training.

Defence: General M A de M Malan.

Manpower: Mr P T C du Plessis.

Industries and Commerce: Dr D J de Villiers.

Justice: Mr H J Coetsee. Certain legal functions with regard to Africans have been transferred from Co-operation and Development to this portfolio.

Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr J J G Wentzel.

Mineral and Energy Affairs: Mr Danie Steyn.

Finance: Mr Barend du Plessis.

Environment Affairs and Tourism: Mr J W E Wiley.

As chairman of the three ministers' councils: Dr C V van der Merwe, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Deputy Ministers:

Constituional Development: Mr P J Badenhorst.

Foreign Affairs: Mr Louis Nel.

Home Affairs and National Education: Mr P Cronje.

Land Affairs: Mr B H Wilkens.

Health and Welfare: Dr G de V Morrison.

Co-operation and Education: Mr S J de Beer.

Development: Mr B H Wilkens.

Defence Mr A J Vlok.

Industries and Commerce: Mr Kent Durr

Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Mr G J Kotze.

Ministers' Councils.

House of Assembly:

Chairman and Minister of Health: Dr C V van der Merwe.

Agriculture and Water supplies: Mr S A S Hayward.

Local Government, Housing and Works: Mr A Venter.

Budget: Mr E van der M Louw.

Education and Culture: Mr J C G (Stoffel) Botha.

House of Representatives:

Chairman: Rev H J (Allan) Hendrickse.

Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr D M Curry.

Budget: Mr A A Julies

Health Services and Welfare: Mr C J April,

Education and Culture: Mr Carter Ebrahim.

House of Delegates:

Chairman: Mr A Rajbansi.

Education and Culture: Mr K Ramduth.

Health Services and Welfare: Dr M S Padayachy.

Budget: Mr E Abramjee.

Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: Mr B Dookie.

President's interest in black affairs

Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha has disclosed that he will be taking a special hand in black affairs and that ministers dealing with them will have to report directly to him.

He stated this at the weekend when he announced his new cabinet, which for the first time includes an Indian and coloured member.

His announcement was seen as being of particular significance coming as it did the day after he had said in his inaugural speech that he committed himself to finding an "institutionalized" form of co-operation between the government and the independent and national states.

However, when pressed for more details at the weeekend, Mr Botha said: "If you are thinking about a 'fourth chamber' the answer is no."

He said he had spoken of an institutionalized form of co-operation but that this was not the occasion to go into details and that he would do so at the appropriate time.

The President said he thought it was of special significance that the control and administration of black affairs had been the responsibility of the Head of State under all constitutions since 1910.

"In this spirit, it is my intention as State President to devote particular attention to the furthering of the interests of our black communities, particularly their participation in decision-making concerning their own interests.

"It is therefore my intention to instruct the minister administering the departments of Co-operation and Development and Education and Training (Dr Gerrit Viljoen) to do so in the closest liaison with me.

"This is also the case regarding other ministers who have been tasked with functions that have in the past been the responsibility of the Minister of Co-operation and Development which are now transferred to other departments."

Botha releases 'code of conduct'

Political Staff

IN WHAT has been seen as a sign of his irritation at the bargaining for support now going on in the Indian and coloured chambers, the President, Mr P W Botha, has released the terms of a strong "code of conduct" for ministers in his government.

The President disclosed the code at the weekend along with his new cabinet amid rumours of unprecedented "offers" of cash and other incentives to members of various Indian parties to change their allegiance.

There have also been rumours of possible reprisals through business connections if members do — or don't — cross the floor in the behind-the-scenes power-play to take control of the delicately-balanced House of Delegates.

At stake are ministerial positions — which carry salaries of nearly R80 000 a year along with official residences and cars — and other senior positions. Ordinary MPs are believed to earn about R45 000 a year.

Many observers believe that what they describe as the unedifying scramble for position is not doing the dignity of Parliament or the credibility of politicians as a whole any good.

Mr Botha said every minister would be expected to perform his functions and arrange his personal affairs in such a way that the integrity of the government would be above question.

C/Times 17/9/84

304 A

PFP urges end to newspaper war

THE circulation war between South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus group would endanger the future of a free press in this country, Mr Jan van Eck, MPC for Groote Schuur, said at the weekend congress of the Progressive Federal Party.

A resolution adopted unanimously called on both groups to settle their differences in the interests of democracy, in view of developments which could undermine the ability and limit the extent of the free press to report and inform fully.

Mr Van Eck said failure to end the SAAN-Argus battle would weaken the opposition press in this country and open the way for the pro-government press.

He said the English-language press had a reputation for political independence, whereas the Afrikaans-language press produced government propaganda sheets.

The PFP was concerned because the circulation war might result in both English-language groups being forced economically to play down their political stances, since politics did not sell newspapers.

'Furious' Jac Rabie to defect?

Political Staff

THE Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, is likely to cross the floor with five other Transvaal MPs during the course of this week.

Mr Rabie, who is understood to be furious at not being assigned a portfolio in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, is unlikely to be able to attract more than five other Transvaal MPs to join him.

A document believed to have been circulated by Mr Rabie accused the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, of:

- Favouring members of the United Congregational Church.
- Giving preference to LP members from the Eastern Cape.
- Overlooking the claims of other top party leaders.

In particular, the document singled out the nomination of Mr Hendrickse's son Peter as the candidate for Addo, and the appointment of the MP for Bethelsdorp, Mr Willie Diedrichs, as the Party's Chief Whip.

Mr Hendrickse declined to comment last night on why Mr Rabie had not been appointed to the Ministers' Council.

A government source said last night, however, that there were reasons which he was unwillingly to disclose why Mr Rabie could not be appointed to the Ministers' Council at this stage.

President backs Le Grange

Political Staff

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has come out in full support of the controversial Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Addressing a press conference on Saturday at which he announced his new cabinet, Mr Botha said:

- Ministers who did their work were always under fire.
- There was still a total onslaught against South Africa.
- The United Democratic Front was an organization which was not prepared to take part in democratically-prescribed procedures.

Replying to a question on Mr Le Grange's handling of such matters as the "Durban siege", Mr Botha said the fact that he was reappointing him to the cabinet meant "I want law and order in South Africa".

"The country is an orderly country and it will stay that way."

The fact people were dying and that terrorism still took place on South Africa's borders meant that there was still a "total onslaught" on the Republic.

"I believe the onslaught is being organized by Moscow and certain sections of the United Nations." As long as these elements continued to do behave in this way "we will withstand it".

Ndamase applauds leasehold appeal

UMTATA — Although Transkei was opposed to the new South African constitution and tricameral parliament, the government appreciated calls by the coloured Labour Party to grant 99 year leasehold rights to blacks in the Western Cape.

This was stated here yesterday by Transkei's Minister of the Interior, Chief D. D. P. Ndamase, in reaction to a statement by the leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Her irickse, calling on South Africa to scrap the coloured labour preference policy and to accept blacks in the Western Cape and grant them 99-year leashold rights.

Chief Ndamase said Transkei was against the new dispensation and the tricameral parliament because it excluded blacks from participating in decision-making in South Africa.

"History has it that Xhosas have always looked upon the Western Cape as an area where they have a right to sell their labour," Chief Ndamase said.

"It is worth noting that the majority of Transkeians said to be 'squatting' at Crossroads in the Western Cape are employed but have accommodation problems.

"It is therefore incumbent upon the South African Government to accept Mr Hendrickse's suggestion". — DDR.

argus 19/9/84 307

75 held at Nyanga Bush

Staff Reporter

POLICE today arrested 75 squatters putting up shelters between Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension.

The nine women and 66 men are expected to be charged in Langa Commissioner's Court tomorrow with trespassing. They will remain in custody overnight.

Colonel M G Mans, district commandant of Athlone, denied the police had raided the area. He emphasised that no pregnant women and no women with children were arrested.

"It was very peaceful. There were no assaults from either side."

The arrests had taken place on private property belonging to Anglo Alpha after a complaint.

Mr Abel Pefile, a member of the Nyanga Extension committee, said no structures had been pulled down by the police.

The community had not been told the reasons for the arrests or where those arrested were being taken.

Pgm 19/9/84

TIC drops action against candidates

Political Reporter

THE Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has dropped its plan to take legal action against candidates in last month's election for allegedly abusing the special vote system.

In a statement yesterday, the TIC said it had taken the decision mainly because of the danger that people, who signed false declarations in their applications for special votes, would be prosecuted.

The TIC had collected at least 70 affidavits from people who had cast special votes alleging serious abuses of the system.

They included one case where a vote had been cast in the name of a dead man and at least two people who appeared to have voted twice.

The TIC had threatened to take the matter to the Supreme Court on the eve of the elections for the House of Delegates.

However, the matter was postponed and yesterday the TIC announced it would not be pursued at all.

...side the flat and his palm print

(Proceeding)

Argus 19/9/84

PCP gives up one PC seat to Labour

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party has decided not to create an opposition from its own ranks in the House of Representatives in order to keep out the two-member People's Congress Party and to claim three opposition President's Council seats.

In terms of an agreement with the PCP, which will be the Official Oposition in the House, the PCP will nominate only two of the three members it will be entitled to on the President's Council while the third will be a Labour supporter.

Confirming this today, the PCP Leader, Mr Peter Marais, said he would take up one seat. The other PCP member will be Mr Joe Pinetown, a Kimberley school principal and the Free State and Northern Cape leader of the party.

He said he and Mr D T de la Cruz, MP for Ottery who will be Leader of the Opposition, had had several rounds of talks with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party.

Mr de la Cruz said a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached.

Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border, who was said to be the leader of a dissident group of 10 MPs in the Labour Party, said differences had been thrashed out in talks with the party leadership.

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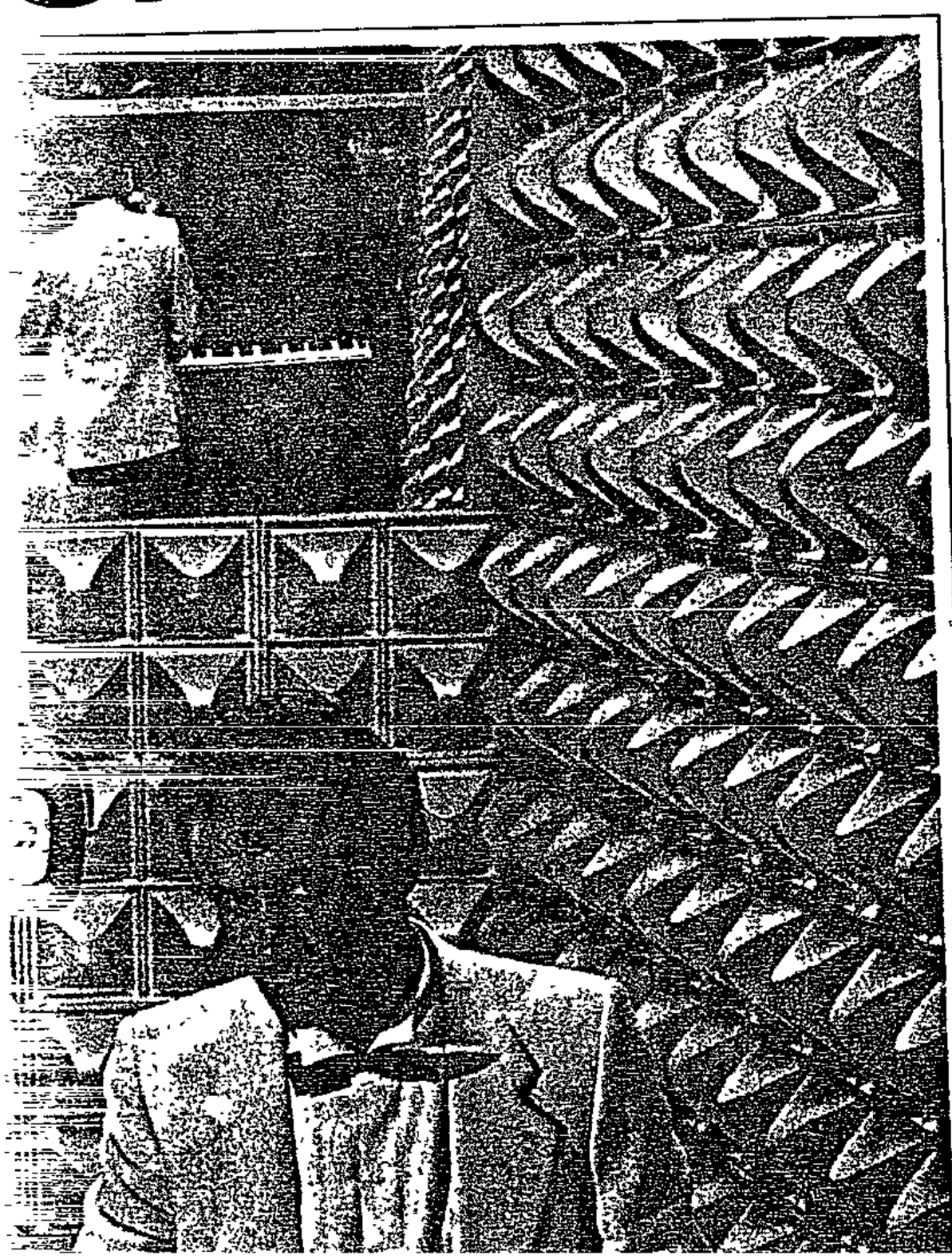

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Argus 20/9/84 (3&4)

ic' threatens children

ncy iron ll toddlers

al Reporter

idemic" of iron poison- the lives of many toddlers, two doctors Cross Children's Hospi- nual congress of the SA ssociation in Johannes-

teynolds and Dr Max 's department of pae- child health, reported a rease in the number of .. admitted to the hospi- identally eating iron

ago, they said, the hos- or two cases a year. In years the number had

five months of this year ad treated 14 children, between one and three, iron pills intended for

The tally for 1984 was expected to be about 30 at the Red Cross Hospital alone. Of the 80 cases seen over the past seven years three children had died Many others had damage to the brain and other organs.

Dr Klein said in an interview yesterday that 10 tablets could kill one-year-olds and that five would cause severe poisoning. If the children were not treated within two hours the iron would penetrate their tissues and nothing would save them.

Severe iron poisoning causes intestinal corrosion and severe bleeding. The pills can also induce a state of shock, leading to low blood pressure and damage to organs.

The doctors told the congress today the iron tablets were generally intended for the child's mother as a supplement during pregnancy.

PCP agreement with LP now off

THE one-man Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz (PCP Ottery), said today he would not carry out a "gentleman's agreement" with the Labour Party on nominations for the President's Council.

He confirmed that the People's Congress Party leadership had made the decision after an admission last night that the threatened Labour Party split was party strategy to persuade the PCP to agree on nominations.

Mr de la Cruz said the man identified as leader of the would-be split, Mr Peter Mopp (Border) admitted yesterday the strategy had been used to gain an additional President's Council seat for the Labour Party.

In return the Labour Party had undertaken to recognise the PCP's single member in the House as the official Opposition.

"But now they have admitted it was a ploy, which is unconstitutional," Mr de la Cruz said today.

"We are now going to elect our three members according to our constitutional rights, and we accept that we are going to be put under pressure.

"This is a David and Goliath situation and I am prepared to put my position as Leader of the Opposition on the line." — Sapa.

NTASTIC AVINGS from . . .

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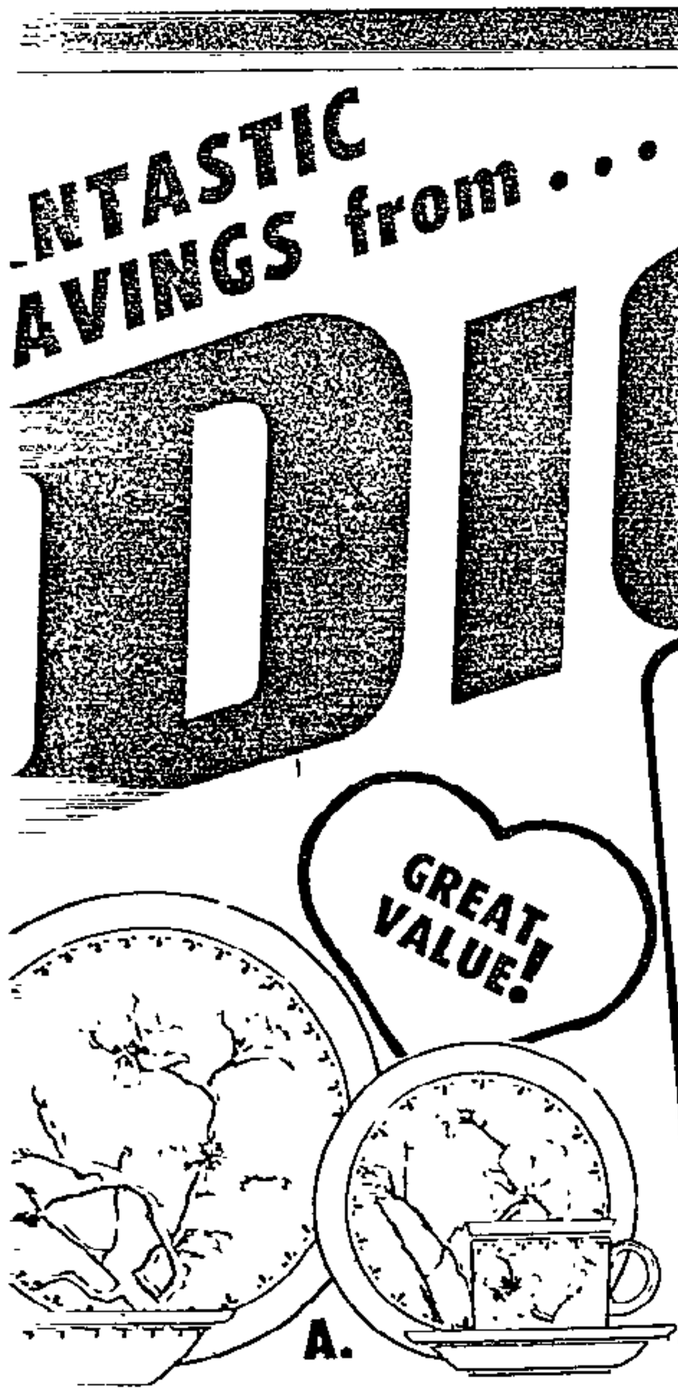

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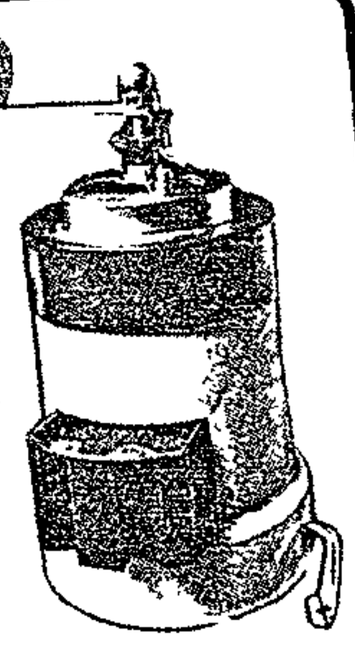
CRAFT 30-PIECE DINNER SETS
AFFORDSHIRE POTTERIES ENGLAND
sists of. 6 Dinner, 6 Side Plates. 6 Soup/

COFFEE GRINDERS

- With suction cup for fixing firmly to the table
- With container to hold ground coffee



4.98 DION'S LOW PRICE

EXPRESSO

Elderly robbed

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An intruder thre and his wife Anne, arrived home.

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"They just want to spoil our fun."

Argus 21/9/84 3541

No deal with Labour Party

By BRIAN STUART, Political Staff

THE opposition People's Congress Party (PCP) has torn up its "gentlemen's agreement" with the Labour Party on nominations to the President's Council — and is faced with an immediate split in its own ranks.

Mr Abdul-Wahab Tiry of Uitenhage, Eastern Cape leader of the PCP, said last night he would resign from the PCP and ask his supporters for a mandate on whether to join the majority Labour Party.

"We'd welcome him and his supporters with open arms," said Mr Peter Mopp of Labour.

THREE MEMBERS ON COUNCIL

Mr Tiry was speaking within minutes of being nominated by the PCP, official opposition in the House of Representatives, as one of its three members on the President's Council.

The row began when two opposition members of the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz and Mr Y Rhoda, met formally as the opposition electoral college for the House.

Feelings in the PCP were high because of a reported statement by Mr Mopp that the supposed split in the Labour Party had been a "strategy" to convince the PCP to give the Labour Party one of its three opposition seats on the President's Council.

ONE OPPOSITION SEAT

Mr de la Cruz conceded yesterday that in return for recognition as the official opposition, there had been a gentlemen's agreement with the Labour Party to give it an opposition seat in the council.

"The ploy was conceived and engineered in the Labour Party with the express object of pressurising the tiny opposition party into conceding to a demand — which is unethical and unconstitutional. We cannot now go along with it."

Mr Peter Marais, PCP leader, said that even in the white House of Assembly the National Party was strong enough to form a pretended "opposition" to deprive the true opposition of its rights.

ENDORSE PARTY RIGHTS

He felt President Botha should clearly endorse the rights of opposition parties.

Mr Peter Marais, PCP leader, said: "Our (PCP) decision to appoint all three members to the President's Council in terms of our constitutional right is an attempt to ensure our own integrity and to uphold the integrity of the new constitution. We cannot allow the new constitution to be raped or amended at will by the Labour Party."

Then came the closed nomination proceedings, followed by another discussion on what had taken place. During this Mr Tiry, one of the PCP nominees, said he had been "stabbed in the back".

He added: "I'm going to resign from the PCP and ask my people what to do."

Mr Tiry said he was "having close discussions" with two senior Eastern Cape Labour men in Mr Mopp and Mr F L Erasmus of Gelvandale.

He would take his place in the President's Council on September 25 but he would not represent the PCP which nominated him.

Top PCP man defects to Labour

Political Staff

THE wheeling and dealing surrounding the House of Representatives took another dramatic twist yesterday when the East Cape leader of the People's Congress Party (PCP), Mr Abdul Wahab Tiry, defected to the Labour Party.

Once again the "agent provocateur" for the Labour Party was the MP for Border, Mr Peter Mopp, the man who led the abortive attempt at creating an "artificial opposition" for the Labour Party last week.

Mr Mopp was to have led nine Labour MPs out of the party in a "split" which would have seen the formation of a Reformed Labour Party and which would have also given Labour the three opposition seats in the President's Council.

The plan was dropped after what is believed to have been pressure from the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Prior to yesterday afternoon's nominations of the three opposition representatives in the President's Council, the indications were that a deal had been hammered out between Labour and the PCP.

This was confirmed by a senior member of the LP who said the PCP leader, Mr Peter Marais, an LP member from Queenstown, Mr Winston Jasson, and a compromise candidate, Mr Anwar Ismael, would be the three nominees.

This meant that Mr Tiry, who had originally been widely tipped as one of the three nominees, would have been omitted.

There were, however, unconfirmed rumours that the PCP planned to renege on the deal.

When the opposition PCP convened at 3pm yesterday, however, five nominations — those of Mr Marais, Mr Ismael and Mr Jasson, together with Mr Tiry and a PCP man from Natal, Mr Joe Pinetown, were submitted.

Members of the press were not allowed to attend the proceedings, but the leader of the PCP in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said afterwards that the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, had disallowed the nominations of Mr Pinetown and Mr Jasson.

According to Mr De la Cruz, Mr Pinetown's telegram of acceptance had been "predated", while Mr Jasson's form had been incorrectly completed.

This meant that Mr Marais, Mr Ismael and Mr Tiry were duly nominated.

In a further twist, however, the PCP claimed that Mr Ismael was in fact a PCP supporter, while Mr Tiry announced that he had joined the Labour Party.

Just how confused the situation had become was borne out by the fact that after the proceedings Mr Tiry was unaware of whether he had been elected or not.

Representatives of both parties gathered outside the H F Verwoerd Building in an attempt to resolve not only who had been elected, but to which party they belonged.

Essentially, however, with Mr Tiry moving into the Labour camp — he maintains he must still consult his constituency — yesterday's nominations mean that the Labour Party has 11 members in the 60-seat President's Council — their 10 nominees made as the ruling party in the House of Representatives plus Mr Tiry.

The PCP has two — Mr Marais and Mr Ismael.

september 21 1984

Financial Mail

304A

THE CABINET

Concessions and discipline

Two issues are particularly relevant in the announcement by President P W Botha of his new Cabinet. The first, obviously, is the inclusion of a coloured and Indian politician as full members of the central authority. The second is Botha's statement that he will in future play a personal role in furthering the interests of SA's black communities.

Both developments are long overdue and most welcome. But, like the new constitution itself, both must be seen as only the first step on a long and rocky road.

As far as the appointment of Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi is concerned, it remains to be seen exactly how the "consensus Cabinet" will function with the inclusion of the first non-Nationalists. The criticism has already been made that their appointment in fact constitutes an entrenchment of apartheid.

Both men are there as representatives of their racially separate chambers of Parliament. Neither have portfolios, which means that, while they are members of the central executive body, they do not have authority over "general affairs." Nevertheless, their presence in the Cabinet is a significant move, and certainly a major concession in Nationalist terms.

Botha's new commitment to black affairs is also welcome. He went further at the opening of Parliament on Tuesday by admitting government was aware that the new constitution "does not provide fully for the diversity which marks the SA population." It is to be hoped his personal intervention will result in meaningful reform for the black majority of South Africans — but only time will tell. Botha made it clear he sees no possibility of a fourth chamber for blacks being added to Parliament.

The current level of social unrest among blacks is a dramatic warning of the extent of the problem. And the state of the economy sharply underlines the fact that we can no longer afford to squander the nation's human and natural wealth on expensive ideological experiments.

SA now needs a strong lead from government — deeds and not words, both in the social and the economic spheres. We have witnessed a lifetime's worth of rhetoric and political squabbling during the formation of the new system. The new Parliament — largely through the Cabinet — must now move to give consensus meaning in the debating chambers and more importantly within the very fabric of society itself.

Hendrickse and Rajbansi are now leading players in the scenario, and their's is an unenviably difficult task. Starting from a platform of questionable credibility, they find themselves inextricably a part of the very system they have sworn to dismantle.

Apart from that pressure, they will face massive demands from their communities for heavy State expenditure to correct decades of social imbalance. It will not be easy for them to heed Tuesday's call from Botha for all communities and individuals to exercise financial self-control. But discipline remains the only long-term solution for SA, politically and particularly economically.

NATIONAL

Staff costs for new-deal municipalities

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Municipal Reporter

THOUSANDS of staff would have to be hired for the Government's new deal for local authorities, according to Dr Stan Evans, Cape Town's Town Clerk

And already municipalities were being forced to cut spending drastically and were having trouble finding employees.

Dr Evans said the new dispensation meant increased spending on recruitment and training for new local authorities, just when councils were cutting back.

Concern over cost

He reported on a meeting of the South African Institute of Town Clerks at which there was concern at the cost of implementing the new dispensation.

Dr Evans said it was estimated that between 9 000 and 12 000 additional personnel would be needed for new local authorities.

He said: "Emphasis fell repeatedly on the anticipated additional cost in both money and manpower which many speakers felt would inevitably flow from implementation of the proposals."

Speakers believed extra costs would be incurred through the "inevitable duplication of administration, staff, councillors, and meetings", and through training and paying for the increase in staff.

"This caused concern because local authorities are already cutting back on staff quotas because of financial limits on expenditure.

"Many speakers said there would not be sufficient persons of the right calibre to meet the needs of new local authorities."

Regional services

Speakers also expressed concern over the new regional services councils.

"It was feared they would inevitably acquire greater powers and become an additional level of government superior to existing local authorities and thus further reduce their power and status," Dr Evans said.

Other fears expressed were that the degree of control over local authorities would increase because of the need for subsidisation, and economically unviable local authorities would be created.

THE CONSTITUTION

Will three into one go?

304A

Very few people actually understand the structure of the tricameral Parliament. It is highly complex, and final authority vests in the white component, with the State President calling virtually all the final shots. Not without difficulty, and against a background of widespread unrest, it swung into motion this week — and the *FM* here provides an outline of its structure.

The immensely complex tricameral parliamentary system is now actually in operation, with the first sitting in Cape Town this week of the three houses. Of the 308 MPs in those houses, not one knows how the new constitutional dispensation works in practice.

The fact is that the system is untested. Millions of words exist on paper on the system and how it works, but only time will be its judge. Many criticisms have already been levelled at it, the major being the fact that the black majority in SA is excluded. But another important objection stems from the fact that the bases are loaded. Whites, in effect meaning the National Party, dominate every meaningful institution, from the office of the State President to the President's Council to the Cabinet and the Electoral College.

There is no doubt that the new constitution formally divides the population groups in SA. It racially separates whites, coloureds and Indians into their own, mutually exclusive, houses of Parliament. It legally separates legislation into "general" affairs and "own" affairs.

Also, there is no doubt that the style of parliamentary politics in SA has radically changed. No longer will the parliamentary chambers be the scene of intense debate on legislation and policy. Consensus is the name of the game, and indications are that the most important instrument of consensus will be the joint standing committees, which will meet behind closed doors. It is in this forum that difficulties will be thrashed out.

This study of how the system functions is broken into two parts. First, we briefly review the actual structure of the tricameral system, then we follow the path of legislation — both general and own — through the houses.

Structure of the system

At the head is the State President. An immensely powerful figure, he is elected not by popular choice but by an electoral college consisting of members of the three houses, although he is not a member of any.

He presides over the Cabinet, which is the body dealing with general affairs — in other words, those affecting the country as a whole. Operating alongside the Cabinet are the Ministers' Councils — one for each of the three houses. These bodies deal with the "own" affairs of their particular racial group.

The President elects both Cabinet Ministers and the members of the Ministers' Councils. He may also appoint "Ministers without Portfolio" to perform any function he determines, and selects the chairmen of the various Ministers' Councils.

Parliament consists of three houses:

- **The House of Assembly (whites)**, consisting of 178 members. Of these, 166 are directly elected by white voters, eight are indirectly elected and four nominated;
- **The House of Representatives (coloureds)**, consisting of 85 members. Coloured voters elect 80 directly, three are indirectly elected and two are nominated; and
- **The House of Delegates (Indians)**, consisting of 45 members, of whom 40 are directly elected by Indian voters, three indirectly elected and two nominated.

The three houses are therefore based on the racial ratio 4:2:1.

An important figure in Parliament will be the Speaker, who may preside over any house when he deems it necessary or desirable. Each house will elect a chairman to act in the absence of the Speaker.

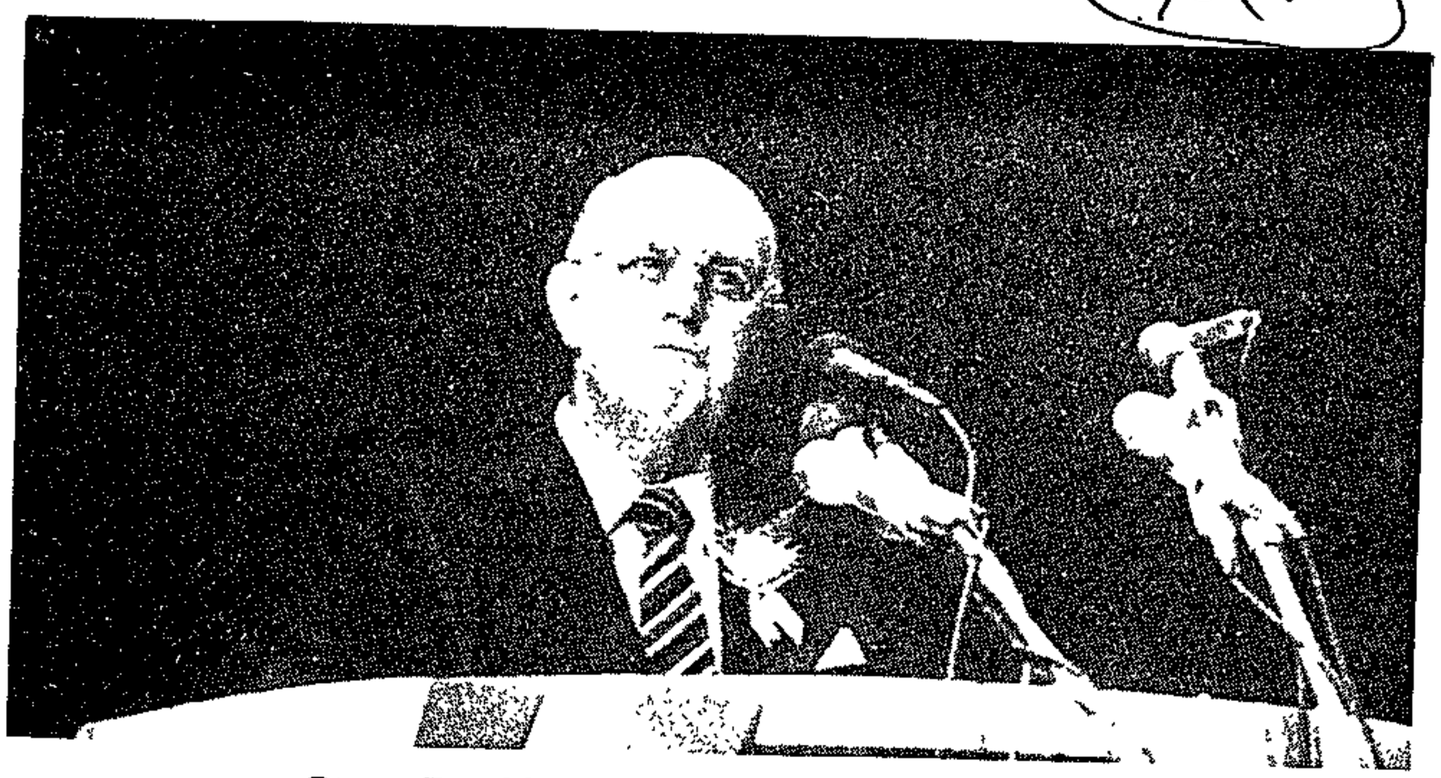
Each house will establish various committees. Most important will be the joint standing committees which will consist of members of all three houses sitting togeth-

THE NEW MPs

SA now has 308 Members of Parliament. Of the 178 members of the (white) House of Assembly, the National Party (NP) has 125, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 27, the Conservative Party (CP) 18 and the New Republic Party (NRP) eight. Of the 85 members of the (coloured) House of Representatives, the Labour Party (LP) has 83 and there are two independents. Of the 45 members of the (Indian) House of Delegates, the National People's Party has 24 and Solidarity 21. A "split" in the LP has apparently been averted.

More than half the country's MPs — 157 — have publicly committed themselves to scrapping apartheid: the 27 PFP members and all the members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives. Only 151 MPs — those of the NP, CP and NRP in the House of Assembly — still support separation in one form or another.

There are 33 Ministers, excluding the State President: 18 in the Cabinet for General Affairs and 15 in the three Ministers' Councils. The three chairmen of houses double as Cabinet Ministers. There are also nine Deputy Ministers for General Affairs. The President's Council consists of 60 members. The Legislature of SA thus consists of 368 people compared wih 178 before September 3 — and their annual wage bill will be in the region of R20m. The cost of meeting demands is incalculable.



State President Botha ... a labyrinth of rules.

bates, again separately in each house, at which each must take a final stand on the Bill. A disagreement arises only after the three houses have all taken their final positions on a Bill and when:

☐ One or two houses pass the Bill, with or without amendments, while the other house or houses reject it; or

☐ The houses pass different amended versions of the Bill.

It is at this point that the President faces his three options — to allow the Bill to lapse, to ask the PC for advice, or to call for a PC ruling. Thus, in effect, the PC provides a mechanism whereby a Bill can become law even though only one house may have approved it. The PC itself cannot introduce amendments.

Finally, as is the case at present, the courts will not be entitled to test the validity or merits of legislation, but only whether correct procedures were followed in its introduction.

Schedule of own affairs

The following are defined as own affairs, and, yet again, the decision in the case of a dispute rests with the President:

☐ All welfare matters, excluding social pensions, with exceptions such as norms and standards for the provision of welfare services, control of fund-raising for charity and control over the social-work profession. These are regarded as general affairs because they affect more than one group;

☐ All education matters related to a specific population group, but, significantly, excluding sport within the official school context and the training of cadets. Issues such as standards, financing, salaries of teachers and syllabuses are regarded as general affairs;

☐ All art, cultural, sport and recreational matters, excluding competitive sport;

☐ Health matters relating to a particular group, and including hospitals, clinics, etc. Health matters affecting more than one group are regarded as general;

☐ Aspects of community development relating to a particular group, such as housing, rent control, etc — but not the defining of group areas and other exceptions;

☐ Local government within a group area;

☐ Certain aspects of agriculture;

☐ Certain aspects of water supply, such as irrigation schemes, drilling for water, etc, unless they affect more than one group;

☐ The appointment of marriage officers for a particular group;

☐ Organisation of elections for a particular group;

☐ Control over financing of own affairs — but not the authority to levy taxes or arrange loans. Financing will, in fact, come mainly from the central joint State Revenue Fund by means of general legislation;

☐ Administration of staff matters for the performance of own functions for a specific group; and

☐ Auxiliary services necessary for the exercise of own functions by a specific group, such as the acquisition of land, buildings and supplies that may be needed.

Can it all work? Apart from the inherent and widely publicised fault of black exclusion, the system is cumbersome and will probably have to be amended as procedures evolve. But, for the moment, it's there is. And parliamentarians will have their hands full understanding it.

SA's NEW RULERS

Cabinet for General Affairs:

Executive State President: P W Botha
Transport Services: Hendrik Schoeman
Constitutional Development and Planning: Chris Heunis
Foreign Affairs: Pik Botha
Home Affairs and National Education: F W de Klerk
Law and Order: Louis le Grange
Communication and Public Works: Lapa Munnik
Health and Welfare: Nak van der Merwe
Co-operation, Development and Education: Gerrit Viljoen
Defence: Magnus Malan
Manpower: Pietie du Plessis
Industries and Commerce: Dawie de Villiers
Justice: Kobie Coetsee
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Greyling Wentzel
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Danie Steyn
Finance: Barend du Plessis
Environment Affairs and Tourism: John Wiley
Chairmen of the three Ministers' Councils: Nak van der Merwe, Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi

Deputy Ministers:

Constitutional Development: Piet Badenhorst
Foreign Affairs: Louis Nel
Home Affairs and National Education: Pierre Cronje
Land Affairs and Development: Ben Wilkens
Health and Welfare: George Morrison
Co-operation and Education: Sam de Beer
Defence: Adriaan Vlok
Industries and Commerce: Kent Durr
Agricultural Economics and Water Affairs: Gert Kotze

Ministers' Council, House of Assembly:

Chairman and Health: Nak van der Merwe
Agriculture and Water Supplies: Sarel Hayward
Local Government, Housing and Works: Abraham Venter
Budget: Eli Louw
Education and Culture: Stoffel Botha

Ministers' Council, House of Representatives:

Chairman: Allan Hendrickse
Local Government, Housing and Agriculture: David Curry
Health Services and Welfare: Chris April
Education and Culture: Carter Ebrahim

Ministers' Council, House of Delegates:

Chairman: Amichand Rajbansi
Education and Culture: Kessie Ramduth
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15 named as PC members

(304A)
22/9/84 C. Tuin

Political Correspondent

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday announced the names of the 15 President's Council members to be appointed by him in terms of the new constitution.

Included on the list are two former cabinet ministers who recently resigned — Dr Piet Koornhof, former Minister of Co-operation and Development, and Mr Pen Kotze, former Minister of Community Development. Dr Koornhof has been widely tipped as the first chairman of the new PC.

A notable omission from the list was veteran polician Mr Japie Basson, who had been a member of the old PC.

Cape members

Other Cape members chosen by Mr Botha are: Mr J L Horak, a former member of the old PC; Dr F P Jacobsz, a former member of the old PC and unsuccessful National Party candidate for Green Point in the 1981 general election; Mr J A Pickard, a member of the old PC and Western Province rugby chief; and Mr D P de K van Gend, a local attorney and Peninsula chairman of the NP.

Seven of the members chosen are from the Transvaal. Besides Dr Koornhof, those appointed were: Professor A J G Oosthuizen, Professor F J Potgieter, Mr I J Pinshaw, Mrs A Routier, Mr D J Hough and Mr J Wilkins.

The two members appointed from the Free State are Professor H J Strauss and Mr D M Grewar.

The sole member from Natal was Mr M van der Westhuizen.

Party choices

The majority parties and official opposition in each of the three chambers nominated their choices of members for the PC earlier this week.

From the House of Assembly, the 20 NP nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are: Mr G D Bornman, Mr P W Coetzer, Mr J M Henning, Mr H Kruger, Mr B Lategan, Dr B J Piek, Commandant L F Poorter, Dr J M Van Aswegen, Mr O A W van Zyl (all Transvaal); Mr T N J Hickman, Mr A Jooste, Mrs A J Kock, Mr P S Marais, Mr P D Palm, Mr L A Pienaar, Mr N Treurnicht (all Cape); Mr D J Smit and Mr P A van der Merwe (Free State); and Mr H B Klopper and Mr M J van Lingen (Natal).

The six white Opposition party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are: Mr R F Carlisle, Mr J G Rennie and Dr P Schoeman (all PFP); Mr F Herman and Dr C P Mulder of the Conservative Party; and Mr W M Sutton of the New Republic Party.

LP nominations

From the House of Delegates, the 10 Labour Party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are: Mr D Adams, Mr F G Backman, Mr C M Collis, Mr B P Cupido, Mr O C Godden, Dr W R Hoods, Mr P J C Klink, Mr C J Pierce, Dr F J L Quint and Mr F E E Swartz.

The People's Congress Party nominations confirmed are Mr P Marais, Mr A Ismail and Mr A W Tiry. Mr Tiry, however, has apparently defected to the LP.

From the House of Delegates, the majority National People's Party nominations confirmed by Mr Botha are: MR P P M Chetty, Mr T L Gounden, Mr I F H Mayet, Mr R Mohangi and Mr P Paruman.

The Solidarity member is Mr I Omar.

Deadlock

Mr Botha will appoint the acting chairman of the President's Council on September 25 and the council will have its first meeting the following day.

● Parliament will next sit on January 18.

● Parliamentary by-elections will be held on November 29 in the following constituencies: George, Parow, Primrose and Nuweveld. The results in the recent House of Representative elections in Tafelberg and Bosmont are being contested in court, and these two constituencies could also hold elections on this date.

RDM 22/9/84 (304A)

Financing new constitution will be difficult

By MIKE JENSEN

HIT by high levels of inflation and rapidly increasing Government expenditure, the South African economy will have great difficulty in financing the new constitution.

Speaking at the Institute of Directors' conference on New Challenges to Business Leadership, in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Bill Yeowart, the president of Assocom, warned that constitutional reform could only develop within the context of a strong and growing economy.

"An economy that has its resources misallocated, that pays too little attention to nurturing and developing the productive elements in the economy, will founder. If the economy cannot provide, constitutional development is itself in jeopardy," he said.

"At the heart of the problem is the fact that we are well into the 11th year of double-digit inflation, with little prospect of its dimunition. The consequences of an average inflation of 12,6% for more than a decade are frightening.

"One of the immediate factors contributing to concern is, of course, an increased level and tempo of Government expenditure which has just taken place before the constitutional dispensation has even come into being." The gross domestic product, at 1975 prices, had not increased so far this decade. "One can deduce from this that the cake from which everybody is hoping for a larger slice is, in fact, not getting any larger."

Taking the Government to task for not having yet provided definite financial proposals, Mr Yeowart said the new constitution was "a dispensation in search of finance".

He warned that the suggested sources of revenue for local authorities — an employment tax, an investment tax and a turnover tax — were not new sources of revenue, but new methods of extracting revenue from the same source.

"The people and the companies who currently pay income tax, company tax, GST and every other tax and impost will be those who pay the employment tax, the investment tax and the turnover tax.

"The centrally levied rate must therefore be reduced before the local tax is imposed. If that is not done, then overall tax rates will be increased. Increased taxes have to be offset somewhere, which means price rises.

"So it seems very clear that if this formula is to be adopted for the provision of local financing, then the central fiscus has to lessen its demands.

"It seems that these proposals have within them the ingredients of this potential problem.

"Take, for example, a turnover tax. It is a common and accepted business principle, and a good one at that, that high and fast turnovers create cost effectiveness and, therefore, profits in business.

"Supermarkets are judged on high turnovers and low margins. If one is taxed on turnover it is a tax against success, a tax against efficiency and a tax that will ultimately be passed on to every can of beans, every loaf of bread," Mr Yeowart said.

"We have been promised tax reform but the impression gained over the past few years is that as the demands on the fiscus have grown, the tax system has been juggled to try and squeeze the last out of the system."

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SOUTH Africa's economy was far too dependent on foreign markets and had to move away from the production of raw materials, the managing director of BMW SA, Mr Walter Hasselkus, told the conference.

Imports and exports accounted for 55% of the country's expenditure on gross domestic product and this percentage was exceptionally high when compared with the world's advanced industrial powers.

"In America, for instance, imports and exports comprise no more than 15% of that country's GDP expenditure. This is why the Americans are not concerned about the strength of the dollar," said Mr Hasselkus.

"Our exports, moreover, concentrate largely on raw materials. At the same time, we are importing the bulk of our sophisticated, technologically-advanced equipment from abroad.

"Today, the need in our economy is to take a great leap forward and to advance into a purposeful exploitatation of the secondary sector."

The development of semi-processed and highly processed products — iron instead of iron ore, or stainless steel instead of unprocessed chrome and iron — must be the objective, said Mr Hasselkus.

In particular, the development of high-technology products would cut down on the import bill and it could in itself become a significant generator of exports.

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Historical divisions would have to be bridged and energies focused on a common goal if the country was to have a stable future, said Mr Andre Spier, the executive director of Syncom.

"One of the strengths of the Japanese economy is the homogeneity of its leadership. Leaders in business andgovernment share the same culture, study at the same universities and pursue the same goals in a highly competitive society," said Mr Spier.

"By contrast, South African leadership is fragmented in every conceivable direction — language, culture, race."

"In the decades ahead the conflict between what we 'ought' to do in terms of economic and demographic investments, and what we will actually be able to do, will widen unless we overcome the divisions, modernise our economy and work not just much harder but also much smarter," said Mr Spier.

"Nkomati has demonstrated that dividing ideologies can be overcome by focus on the realities of the future. There can be no shadow of doubt that similar handshakes must be exchanged within South Africa."

Argus 22/9/84 (3&4)

The tough job ahead for Cape Flats MPs

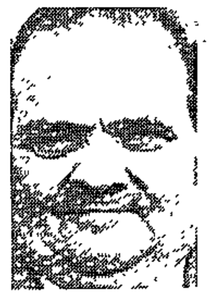


Mr Patrick McKenzie ... wishes to start small

They have been sworn in with pomp and ceremony as the first members of the House of Representatives. Now the new coloured MPs face the daunting task of delivering the goods. Weekend Argus Reporter PETER FABRICIUS asked them about their plans



Mr Allan Hendrickse ... we'll deliver the goods



Mr Richard Lackay ... less optimistic

THE majority Labour Party in the House of Representatives seems to be acquiring the dignity of its high office. Whether its going to have the corresponding clout to solve the vast problems of the coloured people remains to be seen.

"You'll have to put your questions through your Parliamentary correspondent now — these guys are not just Manco anymore," MP Mr Les Abrahams told the Weekend Argus this week when approached for access to the Cape Flats MPs.

That was a telling point. Till they were sworn in as Members of the new House of Representatives, most of these men were "just Manco"— members of management comittees who had to advise the white local authorities of the problems of their areas.

The residents came to them with their problems, anything from murder to muddy carpets. Now they have been elevated from the bottom tier of government to the top, with membership of the most exclusive club in the country.

Yet most of them will still be concerned mainly with the same problems.

The difference is they will now either have greater power or will be just a corridor's length from the people who do have the power.

Before, as Mr Ken Lategan, member of the Athlone Manco and now MP for Hanover Park, says, the white authorities would listen to your problem and that's all. If the secretary of the department decided it was not necessary, that was it. You would usually only hear a month later.

"I believe our present position will give us greater access and power. You can pick up the phone to the minister and say: 'I've got a problem. Let's talk.'"

Thorny issues

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse has staked his party's future on the successful resolution of these thorny local issues. After winning the elections he said his MPs were now in a position to "deliver the goods" to their constitutencies at local level.

They would be able to take up local issues and solve local problems, winning the support for the party which it had not won at the polls.

For the MPs who represent the Cape Flats, especially, the logistics and politics of delivery are going to be enormous. How are they going to go about it ?

Some are daunted and see a mass of problems; others have managed to pluck out specific projects and priorities from the seemingly indivisible tacky mess, venturing where angels might fear to tread.

Among the latter is Mr Patrick McKenzie, young MP for Bonteheuwel. He lives in his constituency and knows it well. He has travelled the dangerous train to witness crime first-hand and has watched people being robbed, stabbed and thrown off the carriages..

"Bonteheuwel is a working class area, one of those where people were forced to move by the Group Areas Act," he says.

It probably has a worse than average dose of the Cape Flats ailments. But Mr Mckenzie, wishing to start small, homes in on one need — a day hospital to replace the one damaged during the riots.

Next move

As a member of the Athlone and District Management Committee he has already got the Province to agree to a site. "My next move will be to try to influence the budget to get money for it."

There will be plenty more to occupy his time if and when that project succeeds. The list is endless. But he begins with transport. The bus service was shortened during the riots and has not been fully restored. Here, too, he has already taken action, arranging a meeting with a senior City Tramways official.

He has a close-up view of the problems. Nothing is too small to escape his attention. He knows that the housewives complain that their carpets are tramped full of mud because the Bonteheuwel pavements are bare earth. "What we need here is greenery," he says.

Then, of course, there is crime. Bonteheuwel is one of the worst areas.

"I would like to talk to the Minister of Police about forming a gang-busting police unit. Three years ago we had one, but it petered out. This time I would like to see it operating for longer periods in one place. I think the people of the area and I should meet the station commander to exchange information on the campaign every fourth night or so.

"Now that I am in Parliament I hope to influence the Minister of Police."

He wants to tackle train crime by streamlining ticket sales. The housing shortage he hopes to solve through a self-help scheme on a large open piece of ground.

Mr Lackay, MP for Manenberg and also a Manco man, is less optimistic, perhaps because he is older and wiser, perhaps because he lives in Grassy Park and not in his constituency Maybe the problems aren't as immediate.

Good contacts

"I've got hopes and that's about all," he says candidly. Though "if anything is possible, I should be able to do it; I've got good contacts within the party."

He recently became acquainted with Manenberg and was shocked that "people could live like that". His impression of Manenberg is of endless rows of barrack-like apartment towers with pools of water in-between.

"Manenberg is a transit camp. People move in here for a year or two and then move as soon as they can afford it.There is terrible overcrowding. I know of one family of 20 in a two-bedroom flat and there are seldom less than 10 in flats of that size.

"I would like to see some of those flats demolished and townhouses built." But he is a little vague about the plan. "I doubt that most people would be able to afford them," he admits.

Mr Lackay, a retired electrical contractor who still holds directorships in hotels, intends to finance a soup kitchen with his own money.

Mr Nick Isaacs, MP for Bishop Lavis, is also slightly daunted by the task in his area and unsure of the power he will be given to tackle it.

"There are so many problems here, I don't know where to start. Bishop Lavis is one of the poorest areas and has many problems."

Like most of the others, he first names overcrowding, with electricity a close second.

Real power

"There is no ground here. We have 17 people living in a four-room home. Bishop Lavis was built after the war for 17 000 people. It has hardly grown at all since, but now there are 34 000 people."

He is unsure how much real power the "own affairs" coloured ministers would be given to deal with these problems.

" I have found in the past that the real power is often delegated to the officials. We still have to see whether we have real power or whether we're just window-dressing. It's no use making wild promises when you don't yet know your limitations."

As chairman of the Ratepayers Association he presently arguing with the Department of Community Development about the price of houses to be sold to tenants. He is trying to knock them down to the range of R4 200 — R6 500 from the R7 000 — R10 000 they are asking.

"Now I'll be able to negotiate from a stronger position. I was just a little bird then, a minor, now I'm much stronger," he says.

When the individual problems of areas are added up, the result is a forbidding total for the party to deal with.

As Mr Nick Lategan says: "Of course, everyone is going to shout just as loud about housing."

The real problemn will come, they all acknowledge, when they have to sort out the priorities — and then to get the money. That will be when the new Parliament reconvenes in January to cut up the budget cake.

That, as Mr Hendrickse has hinted, will be the real test of the new system's viability.

WHERE DO WE STAND AFTER THE FIRST WEEK OF SA'S NEW PARLIAMENT?

How do you make consensus work?

(304A) S. Times 23/9/84

IN the debate about the new constitutional dispensation, it is often said that South Africa stands on the threshold of a new style in politics. This style is called consensus politics.

By this is meant that white people can no longer decide on everything alone, that negotiation must take place and that there must be joint authority at the level of decision-making over common affairs.

Unilateral announcements and simple consultation without those consulted being able effectively to influence decisions has been described as an intolerable procedure.

This shift in perception of political style represents a very important political gain.

Against this it must be stressed that consensus politics is not simply a poltical style.



Decision-making

Political decision-making takes place not only on different kinds of issues, but it is also influenced by a variety of factors.

For example decisions can be taken on non-ideological and simple technical matters where consensus is usually not difficult.

But, unlike technocrats are sometimes inclined to believe, political decision-making does not deal solely with technical questions. Values and ideology also come into it — especially when it deals with the formulation of broad political goals.

On decisions like these, consensus is not simple. Consensus politics means that there must be a determined rapprochement between participating parties over what can be accepted as basic goals and values. If the participating parties take up hard ideological positions consensus will be a futile exercise.

This question is of decisive importance for the future of consensus politics in South Africa.

Protagonists of consensus politics will have to accept that a change in political style demands equally that there be a change in traditional ideological choices.

It is wishful thinking to imagine that consensus politics must be directed towards achieving acceptance of the traditional ideology of the white governing elite.

Different kinds of conditions have been stipulated for successful consensus politics:

Wielding power takes practise...



By BRIAN POTTINGER

Political Correspondent

POWER — and its effective exercise — takes practice.

That is perhaps the kindest thing that can be said about the launch of South Africa's tricameral Parliament last week amid bursts of historic symbolism and incidents of purest farce.

As this first session of the eighth Parliament fades — almost before it has really been — the burning questions about the workability of the constitution, and its possible contribution to evolutionary political change, remain largely unanswered.

In some ways those questions have become even more problematic.

For whatever this session delivered in terms of precedent — and nobody should dispute its importance — it still failed to deliver more than a passing hint of the system's *potential* for advancing the cause of reform.

The session revealed, instead, a massive diffusion of energy and time by the participating parties away from the core issues towards the peripherals — inter-party bickering, palace revolts, bogus splits and political wheeler-dealing.

This month South Africa experienced its worst black urban unrest since 1976. A total of 46 people died.

Slaved

The Labour Party, meanwhile, slaved away at engineering a bogus breakaway to neutralise an already miniscule opposition.

Nearly 130 000 black school children boycotted classes. A dozen kilometres from Parliament building the University of Western Cape was periodically submerged in billows of teargas.

The Labour Party laboured to reduce the People's Congress Party's constitutionally entrenched right to a three-man representation on the President's Council to one man — and a "neutral".

Six would-be detainees sheltered in British consular territory to escape Minister Louis le Grange's attempts to serve them reissued incarceration orders.

The two House of Delegates parties — to give them their due — took time out to publicly condemn the detentions. Then got back [illegible] itimacy of ness of suborning each other's supporters.

Many reasons can be advanced for the unseemly squabbles over personal position — lack of disciplined party machines, a natural "settling-in" process as the job markets open, a "Third World" approach to politics, which makes it more a question of personal prerogative than party political persuasion.

One foreign diplomat with wide Far East experience last week claimed himself entirely at home in the frenetic politicking of recent weeks.

And of course there are the hardly laudable precedents set by the majority party of the House of Assembly.

The National Party — in that supreme act of political cynicism — constitutionally gerrymandered the exclusion of coloureds from the common voters roll 30 years ago precisely to neutralise their political influence in 11 key constituencies.

But these explanations — legitimate as they may be — fail to address a simple and harsh reality.

The new parliamentarians have come into this system under a double disadvantage — lack of working knowledge of parliamentary procedure and, more burdensome, a need the system itself to their constituents, the biggest majority of whom chose to stay away from the polls.

The argument offered by the participants during the elections — often at some considerable personal risk — was that the apartheid constitution could provide the instrument for its own destruction.

The activities of the parties thus far could hardly be said to have served that end.

For while the country burnt — in some places literally — there has been an aching silence from the Labour Party.

In its place has come a bizarre little skirmish between the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, over who carries the true mantle of opposition.

Merits

Whatever the relative merits of the argument, the fact remains:

If the Labour Party is serious about collapsing apartheid from within, it has made a surprising choice of first targets — a genuine opposition party in the House of Assembly, which has never claimed to be anything other than strongly in favour of apartheid's demise.

By oversight or choice, the Labour Party also failed to seize a golden opportunity last week to make its most comprehensive "state of nation" address.

Although advised that they could debate motions in the House of Representatives, they obviously declined.

The House of Assembly debated the state of the economy. The Labour Party — amid *sturm und drang* — fought over its President's Council appointments.

In the grimmest scenario, the consequences of a continuing lack of unity and mission on the part of the two Houses can be easily sketched.

The first consequence will almost certainly be a more rapid drift of the participating parties towards the enfolding arms of government — more co-option to put it in its simplest form.

It will be the old "pull-push" syndrome — the "push" of community rejection and the "pull" of government patronage.

Indications

Already the indications are that the Labour Party and National People's Party will face some problems in reconciling their status as "Government-cum-Opposition".

And the heaviest burden will fall on the party leaders who — because of their Cabinet status — will have to decide how to share responsibility for the administration of a political order they ostensibly totally reject.

It will be uniquely challenging to participate in a *structural* coalition which suffers from an almost total lack of an underpinning organic *political* coalescence.

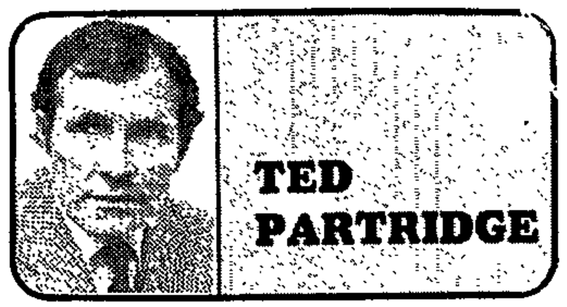
The task confronting the new parliamentarians is enormous.

It amounts to turning the past lessons of black constitutional experience in this country on its head — proving that a government-created structure, born without consensus and suffering from a credibility crisis, can after all be forged into a genuine engine of fundamental political change.

That cannot happen in the sort of atmosphere that saw in the first session of the eighth Parliament — [illegible] it out.

WP must lay Currie Cup semi-fina. without injured Springbok skipper who faces fitness race for Jaguars' tour

STOFBERG LAID LOW



TED PARTRIDGE

THEUNS STOFBERG, the Western Province and Springbok captain is out of rugby for the rest of the season — but don't write his playing days off just yet.

The Springbok skipper says he is far from finished, and although his doctors have confined him to bed for a third week, with a slipped disc, he said there is only a very slight chance that he could play against the Jaguars in October and November.

There is no chance, however, of him playing in either the Nissan Currie Cup semi-final next Saturday and if WP win, the final the following week.

The giant forward told me from his hospital bed just before he left for home this week that he was hoping to play again.

"This disc problem is a slight setback," he said cheerfully.

Although it is again a back problem, it is nothing to do with the pinched nerve in his neck which sidelined him earlier this year.

"There is no connection. The neck problem was one thing, this latest slipped disc is in my lower back.

"It wasn't a sudden thing, either. I first detected it during the Transvaal game in July, but hoped it would go away, as rugby players often do when the pain isn't severe or acute enough for a doctor's intervention.

"But when the pain stayed for two weeks, I decided to have it investigated and after X-rays, we discovered that the problem was a slipped disc.

"The doctor who looks after me is a cautious man. He won't send me back to rugby too soon, or if I am not 100 percent ready. He demands that my injury heals properly before I even start training. And that's the best policy — the only policy — I feel.

"So here I am back in bed giving the disc a chance to heal itself. But I am making progress. The treatment is right and I feel I am getting better. But I won't get back to rugby until I am completely fit again.

"I don't know if I will play again this year but I am not writing off the season yet although I must admit that I am fast running out of time.

"I'm 29 but, I believe I still have a couple of years to top rugby in me, and if my back doesn't pack up, I'll be back soon," he said.

Pickard's four golden years

RUGBY Presidents should change every five years — that's the view of a man who is coming up for his fifth year as president of the Western Province Rugby Union, Jan Pickard, writes TED PARTRIDGE.



JAN PICKARD . . . success at the top.

The giant former Springbok lock told me that new blood and new ideas normally came in with a new president, and after five years it could be that the new man had run out of both ideas and enthusiasm.

Not that he is thinking of retiring yet but certainly Mr Pickard is a realist and if he felt that he were losing interest and the energy to work for rugby, he would quit.

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"So many people ask me how one retains interest and motivation in a team of players who have won just about everything there is to win. And I ask myself that question too.

"Motivation — or lack of it — is the one single factor that can cause a team to break up. It can also cause a president to lose interest, too.

"Now don't get me wrong ... I am not losing interest or enthusiasm, but I have certainly thought a lot about the presidency and I think that possibly a five-year tenure would be long enough.

"It would give others the motivation to carry on, and make plans knowing that they won't have to wait until a forced retirement, and it would allow the incumbent to retain ideas and interest moment."

What Jan Pickard did not mention, but which I am certain could have been at the back of his mind, was that an enforced retirement after five years would also curtail the chance of provincial dictatorships.

Very often the dictators of rugby become that way because they are in the highest seat of their union for so long that they feel it is part of their mandate to run their house — and their "family" — in their own way.

And very often, like some fathers, that means with a rod of iron.

That's also when nepotism starts to creep in.

It is then that dictators start appointing — or certainly manoeuvring — their own men into positions where, even if the rest of the union wanted to baulk, they could be outvoted by the president's boardroom team.

It has happened in the past, and doubtless will happen in the future.

While there is no suggestion that Pickard may be looking for an out as presi[illegible] year or next, he would have every justification.

He would leave on a high note, for since he took over at the beginning of 1981, he has steered Western Province not only to the top of South African rugby but he has kept them there.

Take a look at his record: Since Pickard took over in 1981 Western Province have not lost a game at home; they have won the Nissan Currie Cup twice out of the three times they competed for it — and are favourites to retain it again this year; they have won the Lion Cup and, most importantly, they have produced the best, running rugby seen in South Africa for a generation.

It is also noticeable that the club rugby in the Western Cape has experienced a metamorphosis along with the provincial side's run of success.

According to Pickard this has been one of the most pleasing aspects of his presidency so far, for he wanted to bring the clubs and the players closer to Newlands and by doing so, the standard of [illegible] has im[illegible]

staff, multi-millionaire Pickard, one of South Africa's most successful businessmen, has surrounded himself at Newlands with a superb team of administrators headed by general manager Dawie Schoonraad.

Never afraid to delegate to his hand-picked team, Pickard has developed a team-spirit at Newlands that is hard to equal anywhere in South African sport.

And this has rubbed off with his development plans at the ground itself where the new north stand has been completed and paid for with a series of business boxes reputed to be the best in the country.

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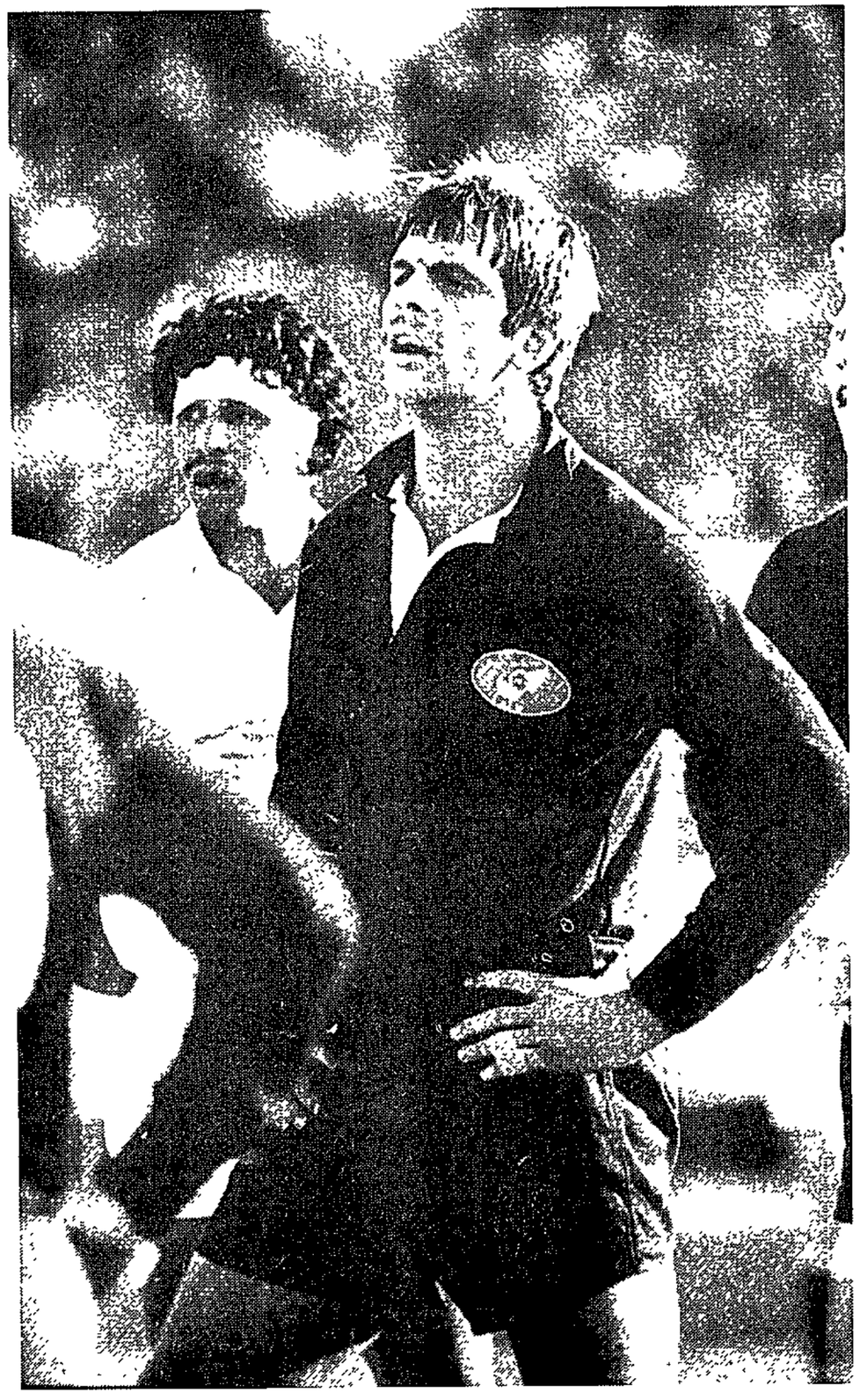
Plans are also advanced for the development of the south stand which will house more lucrative boxes — although it is unlikely that there will be sufficient to accommodate the 70 firms already on the waiting list for Newlands' "courtesy facilities" — a massive players' lounge and bar, and covered standing room at the south end.

But the development of the south stand will only take place after the All Blacks' tour next year — "and when", says Pickard, "we have all the money for it, in the bank!" Before the first brick was laid in north stand development every cent for the work had been collected from payment for the boxes — and this is how the south stand will be financed, too.

Which all makes it most unlikely that Pickard will re[illegible]tire — for who in the Western [illegible]



Easterns new coach: a man for all seasons

EASTERN Transvaal are cock-a-hoop after their seven-try 41-16 Nissan Currie Cup win against Western Transvaal at Pam Brink last weekend, and a lot more confident of their chances in the semi-final against Western Province at Newlands next Saturday writes MEL CHANNER.

For this they can thank their new no-nonsense coach, Derrick Minnie, who believes in showing the way with encouragement rather than using bully-boy tactics.

Since taking over as coach this season from former Junior Springbok centre Wally Labuschagne, Minnie has helped to take Eastern Transvaal from the bottom of the barrel to near the top of the country's rugby heap.

But despite their glory-trot this year, coach Minnie is not allowing success to cloud his judgment.

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"It will be like David taking on Goliath when we play Western Province, but we've got the ammunition to catapult them to defeat," Minnie said this week.

"They gave us a rugby lesson when we played them in the Lion Cup semi-final earlier this season. We were raw and completely overawed by the occasion, but they are going to find us a different proposition at Newlands.

"I appreciate that W P are a world-class side, but our morale is very high and we feel we are in with a chance.

"Our hard running backs may surprise them. Although the average age of the backline is only 22, there are some wise heads and I'm banking [illegible] coach, I've changed the dimension of our game by opting for positive rugby. And it has paid dividends this year.

"The lads are all fit and if we take advantage of our opportunities we can shock them, even if they are at home."

Minnie realises that the game will be won or lost up front, and that the lineouts and possession in the loose are vital.

"This is the one phase of our game we are working on," he said. "We intend cutting their giants down to size. But I'm not saying how we'll do that.

"If we can get about 30 percent possession I reckon we could give Province a run for their money."

Minnie, a former Eastern Province player, was reluctant to claim the major share of credit and felt that a large part of the success this season can be attributed to minor team changes.

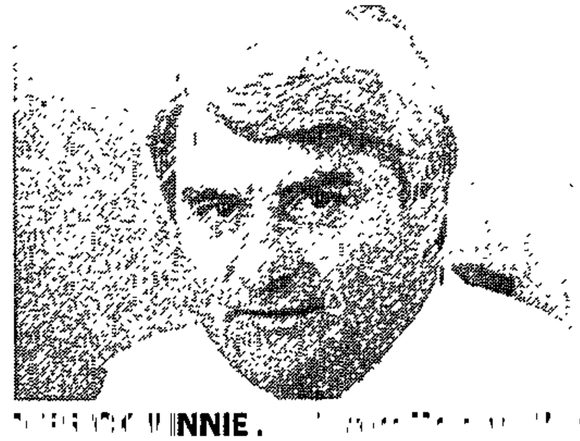
"We selected our provincial team early on and with the exception of a few injuries, we have been able to stick to the same players. This has given them a consistency and confidence in themselves."

His sentiments were shared by junior Springbok centre, Wally Labuschagne, the former Eastern Transvaal coach.

"Nobody can tell me that we have so much depth that we can afford to experiment with 43 players in a season. At last the selectors have sorted this out and it has paid dividends," he said. "Minnie has done a marvellous job of work with the team and there's no reason why they shouldn't do well against Western Province."

Eastern Transvaal president, Daan Nolte, is just as optimistic about his team's chances. "You can call it the impossible dream," he said. "But I've all the confidence in the world and with Derrick at the helm, our chances are good of making that dream come true."

Easterns are dedicated and full of rugby. They have a lively backline, A strong front row, two genuine triers at lock and their loose trio of Le Roux, Frik Duvenhage and Peter Hiten can match the best.



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parts, the question of whether there are enough common areas to further consensus decision-making and negotiating skills.

In the modern world bargaining has become a sophisticated affair which demands certain skills. And skilful negotiators are not found behind every bush.

I would like to pause over two conditions which are generally referred to.

The first is a climate of relative trust between the participating parties and the second is the existence of effective instruments.

On the question of trust there are a number of problems. On the inter-party level — and this affects especially the majority parties — there has been good progress with the creation of trust and confidence-building.

Distrust has been tempered and President Botha has successfully created faith in his abilities and his leadership among a broad section of the leader elite.

His personality and role will be decisive in the new style of politics and there can be little doubt that he will ensure breakthroughs regarded as impossible until a few years ago.

Compromise

Where there is a problem, it is among those outside Parliament. Among supporters and non-supporters of the majority parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, there is still a wait-and-see attitude.

It can be accepted that many coloureds and Asians did not vote, not because of intimidation, but because they had no confidence in the NP's intentions.

The first fruits of the new dispensation will have a real influence on this issue, as will the role of organisations like the UDF. It seems likely that the UDF will redefine its future strategy after the launching of the new dispensation.

There could even be an attempt to reach a compromise between the UDF leadership and the leadership of the majority parties among the coloureds and the Indians.

Strictly speaking, the main goals of these groups do not really differ. Everybody wants to see apartheid broken down and negotiation for black political rights. The main difference is strategy.

Well, certainly not by knocking shacks down



By WILLIE ESTERHUYSE

Professor of Philosophy at Stellenbosch University

It is also extremely likely that levels of trust will be fundamentally influenced by Government action against boycotters, demonstrators, strikers and squatters. And here the resettlement question must be included.

In the Western Cape, where the voting percentages were exceptionally low, the policy on squatters and established black residential areas will have an important influence on consensus politics.

It is inconceivable that the majority parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates will accept joint responsibility for the policy in its present form. All the more so because black issues will be dealt with as a "common affair".

I have little doubt that forced removals from established black residential areas, or even attempts to achieve this more subtly through, for example, the freezing of developments in established black townships, will be a dagger in the side of development of a more stable climate of trust.

Effective consensus politics on the basis of a relative measure of trust is simply not possible when it is accompanied by forced removals and the destruction in winter of squatter shelters.

The new style of politics must be accompanied by a different style of action in conflict situations and towards problems which have been inherited from the old dispensation.

To handle these problems as if the old dispensation, with all its ideologically-inspired ideals still existed, would not only be grist to the mill of radical forces, but also politically short-sighted.

If we look at the mechanisms which will aid consensus politics there are quite a few which hold promise.

The first is the Cabinet of the executive State President. Here we find an important element of Westminster — the link between the executive and legislative authority.

Leadership

The guarantee that consensus decisions will filter through to the legislative chambers via the representatives of the majority parties in the Cabinet is of crucial importance.

This filtering need not be difficult. In the new dispensation, more than in the old, Cabinet members will be exceptionally well placed to influence decision-making below them.

Political leaders usually have additional power bases. In the new dispensation connection power, reward power, expert power, information power and positional power will play an important role in the caucuses and the chambers.

Connection power rests on a leader's connections with other influential people. Reward power rests on his ability to acquire privileges for his supporters. Expert power derives from his expertise and knowledge, information power from his access to important information, and positional power from the position he fills in the hierarchy.

Cabinet Ministers will be extremely well placed with regard to these power bases. Consensus in the Cabinet will in most cases also mean consensus in the majority parties.

The position of the Executive President with regard to this question is interesting for he must also have a power base when he stands at the helm of consensus decision-making.

The way in which the President is chosen links him inevitably to the majority party in the white chamber. Because of his own power base he must have certain connections with this majority party. The nature of those connections will have an effect on the application of consensus decisions.

Power bases must necessarily take on an institutionalised form. It is therefore understandable that the President can remain as national leader of the majority party in the White House.

Mechanisms

In the final instance he must be able to rely on the support of this party. And it is even not too far-fetched that the President could also be chosen to remain as provincial leader. An effective power base for the President — apart from the constitutional powers of his office — is essential for the execution of consensus politics. But it must be conceded that a provincial leadership for the President could create certain problems.

A second mechanism which can advance consensus politics is the President's Council. Much will depend on the sort of people who will man this institution. If it is true that institutions give people status, in this case it will be the opposite.

President's Council will determine the ... and effectiveness of the President's Council.

A third mechanism great importance is the standing committee. One the big advantages of machinery is that it ... an institutionalised link between the majority parties in the different chambers.

It also promotes specialisation and the possibility frank debate and horse-trading without the necessity of always looking over one's shoulder at the public galleries.

Black rights

A major lack among the instruments is the fact that there is no effective mechanism for consensus politics on black rights. A condition for consensus politics is that those whose future is affected should also be full participants in the bargaining process.

Consultation is not enough. While the Cabinet committee represents a great step forward, it is inconceivable that it will remain the only mechanism. This would contradict the whole idea of consensus politics — even if in time coloureds and Asians were appointed to the Cabinet committee.

What is needed is a mechanism by which both representatives of the groups taking part in the new dispensation and representatives of the black people would have a seat.

What are the chances that consensus politics can succeed? This question can be answered only by a prophet. And the record of political prophets in South Africa is not very good. Nevertheless, it can be said that a number of minimum conditions are present in South Africa which could favour consensus politics.

It must also be accepted that forces are busy which would like to sabotage these minimum conditions.

The likelihood that consensus politics can succeed is still greater than the chance that it will fail.

The fact of the case is that the National Party cannot afford the failure of the new dispensation. And this puts the other participating parties in a better bargaining position than in the past.

One thing is certain — the Nats can't afford failure

Bribe offered in loo for a position on PC

(304A Sunday Times 23/9/84

A DESPERATE aspirant President's Councillor this week allegedly offered R2 000 down and R500 a month to another PC hopeful if he withdrew his nomination.

The offer — made in a toilet — was only one incident in a week of intrigue and conspiracy as 200 hopefuls queued and vied for the plum R43 000 a year PC posts.

In the scramble for seats inter-party deals were abandoned, old associates deserted and party loyalties dumped.

The "bribe" offer was allegedly made to Mr Joe Pinetown, a People's Congress Party candidate for the President's Council.

Mr Pinetown rejected the offer but later still lost the nomination when his application was ruled out of order.

The "bribe" offer has been reported by PCP leaders to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister for Constitutional Development and an official at the State President's Office.

By NORMAN WEST
Poltical Reporter

The man — whose name is known to the Sunday Times — has denied knowledge of the offer.

Legal contract

The alleged offer required Mr Pinetown, an ex-school principal, to withdraw from the PC stakes in favour of the other hopeful.

If he agreed, a legally binding contract to pay him R2 000 in cash and a further cheque for R1 000 would be drawn up.

He would also undertake to pay Mr Pinetown R500 a month while unemployed.

"I rejected the deal out of hand. The money was lying on the table and I refused to handle it," Mr Pinetown said.

"I told Mr Peter Marais (PCP leader) and Mr Dennis De La Cruz I am a Christian and was not prepared to even handle the envelope that contained the 'blood' money."

Mr Pinetown later revealed the "deal" suggested by the man shortly before the only two members of the People's Congress Party (PCP), Mr Dennis De la Cruz and Mr Yussuf Rhoda, were to submit five names of nominees for the three Opposition party seats in the House of Representatives, as provided in the constitution.

Mr Marais and Mr de la Cruz confirmed the incident, the amount of money involved and that the money, R2 000 in cash, had been handed to Mr Marais in a toilet by a man who insisted it be given to Mr Pinetown in an adjacent room.

"I was angry but decided to put the money on the table to expose the man's unethical methods," Mr Marais said.

Minister sounds off over apartheid laws

A SENIOR member of the Minsters' Council has demanded the immediate scrapping of the controversial Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

The call — by Mr David Curry, Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture, in the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives — comes hard on the heels of a government refusal to recommend the immediate repeal of the laws.

Instead, the laws have been referred to a joint-standing committee in the new tricameral Parliament where it is likely to become the first real focus of party political bargaining when the new system gets underway.

Conditional

Mr Curry this week sounded off against all forms of apartheid legislation and reiterated that his participation in the new constitutional dispensation remained conditional on the dismantling of all forms of apartheid.

"The Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Group Areas Act and all related Acts, must go. I am committed to that goal," said Mr Curry.

" The Government must show in concrete terms that it is serious about moving away from apartheid" he warned.



MR DAVID CURRY
Committed to a goal

By NORMAN WEST and BRIAN POTTINGER

Meanwhile, it is believed that the controversial Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act came within an ace of being struck off the statute book this year — but a burst of government nervousness quashed the move at the last moment.

It is understood that Mr P W Botha had all but agreed to the repeal of the law — one of the most offensive in the apartheid armoury — before the end of the last long session.

The initiative for the repeal was given an added boost by an appeal from the National Party dominated parliamentary committee investigating the laws that their terms of reference be broadened to allow the dumping of the measure.

But in a Third Report published this week the committee shied away from a direct repeal of the measures and suggested instead that they be referred to a joint-standing committee of Parliament.

It is understood government hesitation to back an outright repeal of the bill as early as May stems from concern over a controversial HSRC report which indicated overwhelming opposition from Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to the bill's scrapping.

Argue

In its Third Report published this week, most of the committee members now argue further investigations are required into the related legislation which might be affected by the dumping of the provision — Separate Amenities, Group Areas and Population Registration.

Now there are fears that the investigation — which has already continued for months and scanned scores of documents — may drag on for many more months.

23/9/84 S/Times 204 A

Real rebels in LP are still to emerge

THE Labour Party — which this week aborted plans to create a fake opposition in the House of Representatives — is still sharply divided with "real" rebels waiting in the wings to seize power.

This week 30 caucus members urged the chopping of the party's chief whip, Mr Willie Dietrich.

And indications are that party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse will be grilled over several controversial Ministers' Council appointments at the party's National Executive Committee meeting in Beaufort West in the first week of November.

Mr Dietrich is one of Mr Hendrickse's confidants. But his appointment to the influential chief whip's position has annoyed party loyalists and they claimed, this week, his lack of experience in parliamentary procedure was causing tension among those who sought his guidance.

This week the Labour Party did a "patch-up" job between themselves and a "rebel group", led by the Mr Peter Mopp (MP for Border), whose breakaway was really aimed at ousting the People's Congress Party from the President's Council.

Disgruntled

The day after the patch-up, the "rebel" leader accompanied Mr Hendrickse to lunch with the US Ambassador.

But now the real rebels in the party are poised to wrest power from the hands of Mr Hendrickse's appointees.

These disgruntled LP members maintain Mr Hendrickse has hand-picked his own men — in some cases men with unremarkable poltical track records — simply because he could depend on their loyalty.

The disgruntled faction apparently has the tacit support of the Transvaal MPs, none of whom has any significant post in the House of Representatives.

Other controversial moves by the party leader include:

● The omission of Mr Jac Rabie from the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives — something still causing dissension and threatening to widen the loyalty gap within the party.

● The appointment of the Rev Andrew Julies to the portfolio of Minister of the Budget (finance). Mr Julies, an Eastern Cape man, was the centre of a storm when he was appointed national chairman of the party earlier this year.

● The slotting of the Rev Chris April into the Ministry

Political Reporter

of Health and Welfare. Mr April is a former member of the old President's Council — boycotted by the Labour Party at the time of its formation. He did not contest a seat in the August 22 election.

Mr Hendrickse will be grilled on the issue at the National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting, scheduled for the first weekend in November at Beaufort West. The matter will be taken further at the LP's first post-election annual congress to be held in Kimberley, late in December.

"He will have lots to explain," said a senior LP man.

The two factions emerged dramatically this week when a motion was proposed in the Labour Party caucus to axe Mr Dietrich as chief whip and replace him with Mr J C Oosthuizen from Swartland.

A compromise amendment was proposed by another senior LP member to the effect that Mr Dietrich's position should be reviewed by the party leadership before the House of Representatives met again on January 18.

When the motion was put to the vote, 30 caucus members wanted Mr Dietrich removed immediately, while 43 voted for the amendment — an indication of a house with divided loyalties.

1984

Mercury 24/9/84 (304A)

Natal coloureds to 'raise hell over snub'

Mercury Reporter

THE 'glaring' omission of the Labour Party's Natal leader, Mr Albie Stowman, from the President's Council has upset many coloureds in the province.

An angry party member, Mr Gilbert Prinsloo, said yesterday Mr Stowman's omission was seen as a snub for the party in Natal by the Cape-based national leadership group.

'We'll raise hell at our meeting in Durban later next month,' he said.

Most of Natal's five Labour MPs spoken to yesterday said they intended giving vent to their feelings at the party's regional meeting next month and at the party's national executive meeting in Beaufort West early in November.

'We are most disappointed,' said Mr Maurice Lewis, MP for Natal Mid East.

Mr Prinsloo said Mr Stowman had been the 'livewire' in the recent elections in which the Labour Party had captured all five seats, and his name had been synonymous with the party in Natal.

Kicked

Instead of being rewarded with at least a PC seat, he had been kicked in the seat of his pants, he said.

The Natal MPs had been asked by the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, to furnish names for two PC posts for Natal, and Mr Stowman's was believed to be on top of the list followed by Mr Clive Pierce, provincial treasurer.

Later, the Natal MPs had been told Mr Pierce and Mr Oliver Gordon, of Kokstad, had been chosen by the party leadership group.

Mr Stowman said he was 'terribly disappointed', but he declined further comment yesterday.

Mercury 24/9/84

Policemen guard Indian MPs' homes

304A

Mercury Reporter

INDIAN MPs, back in Durban after their first fortnight in Parliament, have been given 24-hour, armed police guards at their homes.

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Col Leon Mellet, said the service was in line with enlarged security arrangements.

An MP, who did not want to be identified, said he had asked for the policeman stationed outside his home to be withdrawn because he found it embarrassing.

A Natal coloured MP said yesterday he had not heard of the arrangements and as far as he knew none of the province's five coloured MPs had a police guard.

Meeting

Meanwhile, NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi has confirmed he will hold his first House of Delegates Cabinet meeting in Durban today with all four ministers — Mr Baldeo Dookie, Housing, Agriculture and Auxiliary Services, Mr Kassie Ramduth, Education and Culture, Mr Boetie Abramjee, Finance, and Dr M S Padayachee, Health and Social Welfare.

Mr Rajbansi will preside at the meeting in a temporary Cabinet room in the Stanger Street Government buildings.

He said the meeting's purpose was to enable his ministers to get to grips with their portfolios.

Asked to comment on opposition Solidarity's stated determination to wrest control of the House of Delegates, Mr Rajbansi said his party had caught the 'tiger by its tail' and was not going to let it go.

Deplorable, says Foreign Office; Thatcher may retaliate by not sen

ing new ambassador

Argus 25/9/84 304A

SA ANGERS BRI

By JOHN D'OLIVEIRA
Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — British and South African relations reached a new low today with the Thatcher Government working on a response to what it considers a "deplorable" South African decision.

The most obvious action the British Government can take to underline its displeasure is to refuse to send its new ambassador to South Africa until the whole affair is satisfactorily resolved.

Baroness Young, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, has already told the South African Ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, that the South African refusal to ensure four of its nationals stand trial on arms smuggling charges here next month is "totally unacceptable".

This is strong language by diplomatic standards and most observers here believe it will almost certainly be followed by action of some kind.

"Show displeasure"

Mr Donald Anderson, the Labour Party MP for Swansea East and the party's spokesman on Southern African affairs, has already called on the Thatcher Government to show its displeasure by refusing to send Mr Patrick Moberley to Pretoria.

In a statement today, Mr Anderson said: "This is a matter of such gravity in international relations that the British Government should now consider not sending its new ambassador to Pretoria until the South African Government has complied with its undertaking (that the four men would stand tri-



The six refugees at the British Consulate in Durban are, from left, Natal Indian Congress executive members Moorgian "NJ" Naidoo, Mews Ramgobin, George Sewpersadh, Billy Nair, Paul David and UDF president Archie Gumede.

solved.

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In a statement today, Mr Anderson said: "This is a matter of such gravity in international relations that the British Government should now consider not sending its new ambassador to Pretoria until the South African Government has complied with its undertaking (that the four men would stand trial)."

Earlier Mr Mike Terry, executive secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, called for the expulsion of Dr Denis Worrall, the South African Ambassador in London.

"Effective response"

"For the South African Government to take this decision over people who have been charged in connection with arms offences means an effective response must be made forthwith by the Foreign Office".

However, Mr David Willers, London director of the South African Foundation, said today he did not believe the developments would lead to any "material" change in the British/South African relationship.

Mr Willers said the relationship was firmly based on long-standing factors like trade and he saw the issue in the context of the "banana skins" which cropped up from time to time in international relationships.

Early today a Foreign Office spokesman said Britain "deplored" the South African decision.

The refusal to ensure that the four men stood trial violated a "clear undertaking" given by Pretoria to a British court.

"Shocked, alarmed"

The spokesman said there was no link between the case involving the four men (due to be heard in a Coventry court next month) and the presence of six fugitives from the SA Police at the British consulate in Durban.

There was no comment on the suggestion that Mr Moberley should not leave Britain early next month to take up his new appointment.

Further reaction is expected from the British Governmment soon.

It was reported here today that both Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, and Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Minister, were "shocked and alarmed" by the South African decision to break a "solemn undertaking" to a British court.

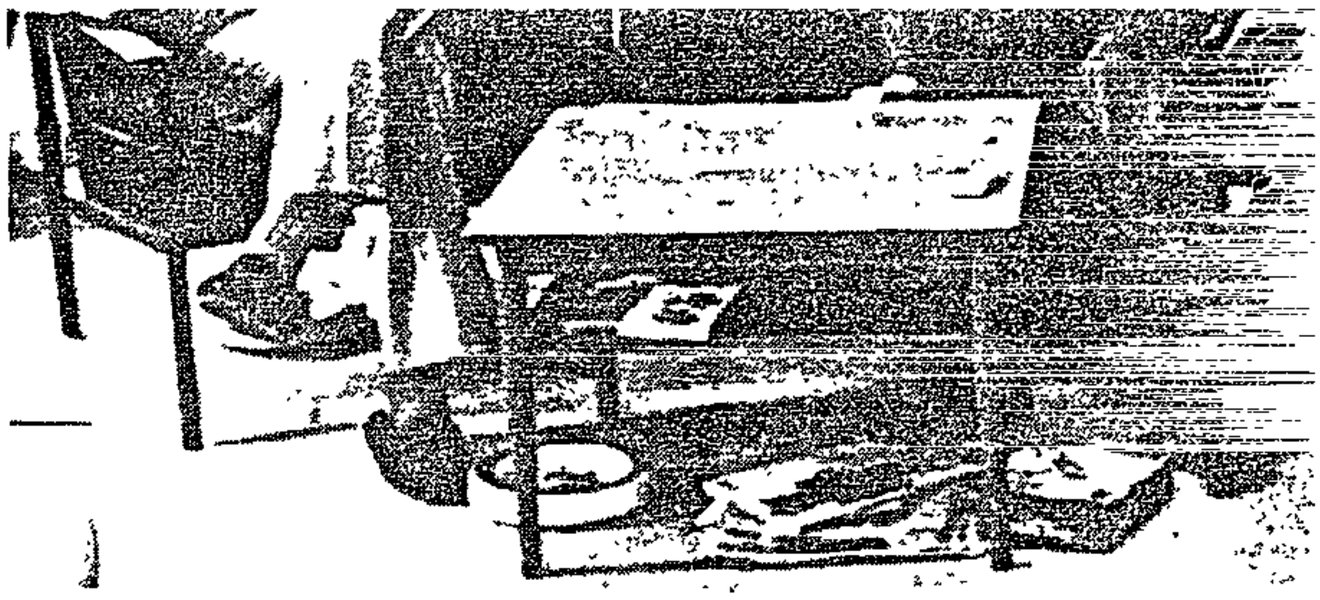
The Evening Standard reported that many Government and Opposition MPs were "furious" with the South African Administration.

Massive campaign

The newspaper also reported that Dr Worrall had been summoned to appear at the Foreign Office later today to be told of the British Government's anger at Pretoria's action.

However, a spokesman for the Foreign Office said he was unaware of any such appointment.

While the Thatcher Government works out its next move, anti-apartheid forces are preparing for a massive campaign to put pressure on the Government to review its entire approach to South Africa.



The six refugees at the British Consulate in Durban are, fr members Moorgian "NJ" Naidoo, Mews Ramgobin, George S president Archie Gumc

24-hour police guard for VIPs

25/9/84 Staff Reporter C. Turner

OWN AFFAIRS ministers in the (coloured) House of Representatives have been provided with a 24-hour armed police guard at their homes, it was confirmed yesterday.

The security arrangements have been provided only for those designated as ministers. However, it was confirmed at the weekend that all MPs of the (Indian) House of Delegatess in Durban have been provided with this service.

Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education (Own Affairs), confirmed yesterday that a 24-hour armed police guard had been posted at his home.

Miss Belinda Curry, daughter of Mr David Curry, Minister of Housing, Agriculture and Works (Own Affairs), who is away from his home in Stellenbosch, also confirmed that a security service had been provided at their home.

"We must get used to the idea, since it attracts a lot of attention," she said. "People make a fuss out of it."

A similar service was also provided to Mr Willie Dietrich, MP for Bethelsdorp and the Labour Party's Chief Whip, the LP secretary, Mr Fred Peters, said yesterday.

Meanwhile a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said he was unable to comment on whether all members of the House of Representatives were to be provided with 24-hour police protection.

26/9/84

Koornhof elected chairman of PC

Times 3044

THE former Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was yesterday elected chairman of the President's Council.

His deputy is the former Minister of Community Development, Mr Pen Kotze.

Dr Koornhof's nomination was seconded by Dr Jack Quint of the Labour Party.

In his acceptance speech Dr Koornhof said the role of the council was that of arbitrator and it was not a legislative body in the normal sense of the word.

"The extent to which the council will be involved in the legislative function will, in my opinion, therefore only be supportive to Parliament," Dr Koornhof said.

Current affairs

"It is my standpoint, therefore, that the offering of advice to Parliament in regard to current affairs should still remain the council's primary function."

Dr Koornhof said only bills or legislation on general affairs on which the Houses differed and which the State President referred to the council for a ruling were subject to the decision-making powers of the council. — Sapa

Angry Britain refuses to budge on sit-in 6

Rossm 26/9/84 (304A)

Send 4 back for trial, SA told

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — The British Government last night made it clear that it expected the South African Government to honour its undertaking to ensure that the four men facing arms smuggling charges would return to Britain for a court appearance next month.

The message was conveyed to SA Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall by Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young last night as the rift in Anglo-SA relations over the Durban sit-in and subsequent tit-for-tat retaliation deepened.

Baroness Young told Dr Worrall at the meeting — his fourth appearance at the Foreign Office in four days — that the British Government "deplored" the decision to link the Durban sit-in with the four South Africans facing charges on arms embargo offences.

"The latter is purely a



ensure that the four men facing arms smuggling charges would return to Britain for a court appearance next month.

The message was conveyed to SA Ambassador Dr Denis Worrall by Foreign Office Minister Baroness Young last night as the rift in Anglo-SA relations over the Durban sit-in and subsequent tit-for-tat retaliation deepened.

Baroness Young told Dr Worrall at the meeting — his fourth appearance at the Foreign Office in four days — that the British Government "deplored" the decision to link the Durban sit-in with the four South Africans facing charges on arms embargo offences.

"The latter is purely a matter for the British courts', Baroness Young said after the meeting.

"I reminded the SA Ambassador that his government had given a clear undertaking to the court that the four would return to the UK.

"We expect the government to honour that undertaking," she said.

The British Government is stepping up diplomatic pressure on Pretoria to enter into direct negotiations with the six members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) who have taken refuge in the British Consulate in Durban.

"We continue to believe that the best way to resolve this difficult problem is through negotiations between the six and the SA Government so that conditions can be created whereby the six can leave the consulate voluntarily," Baroness Young said.

And in a day of high drama and intense behind-the-scenes diplomatic activity:

- The British Government broke its silence on the Coventry arms trial and for the first time spelled out who it believes was behind the alleged arms smuggling. The connection of the four defendants on bail of R440 000 had previously been the subject of speculation.
- The British Government expressed its intense anger at the South African retaliation in careful diplomatic language "deploring" the SA Government's decision and describing it as "going back on a clear undertaking given to a British court".

The Foreign Office statement rejected any link between the arms case and the Durban sit-in and said there was "no justification" for the action.

- Foreign Office sources said they could recall no precedent for the SA Government reneging on a solemn and high-level undertaking.
- There was consensus in diplomatic and and political circles that by reneging on a

□ To Page 2



Newsmen crowd round South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, outside the Foreig

years ago today that a start [illegible]

...iosis on ...ations

Is the present impasse more serious than these previous clashes of will and opinion?

"I would hestitate to call it a crisis, although it has the potential to deteriorate into one," said Mr Michael Spicer of the Institute of International Affairs yesterday.

"Relations are moderately bad but they are capable of repair — provided both sides exercise diplomatic finesse."

If SA decided, however, to "bludgeon" its way to a solution — either by closing the Durban consulate or by going in and arresting the six men — relations could easily deteriorate into a full-blooded crisis with serious consequences for both countries, Mr Spicer added.

Judging from Britain's official statement yesterday there is no doubt that the British Government regards the decision not to honour the pledge to return the four SA nationals in a serious light.

Summarising the British reaction, Mr John Hedley, of the British Embassy, said: "It amounts to breaking or going back on a solemn undertaking made by the South African Government before a British court of law, and that is a very serious matter."

The whole situation is compounded by a suspicion that Pretoria might have used the furore over the six refugees as an excuse not to return the four men to Britain.

As Mr Spicer put it: "In some senses Pretoria might be relieved that the four do not have to appear in a protracted and open prosecution, with all its potential for embarrassment in what Pretoria consider to be a sensitive security area."

From Page 1

solemn undertaking given to a High Court judge in chambers, the SA Government had seriously undermined its credibility in all future bilateral dealings with Britain and with other governments.

● The spotlight fell on the first secretary at South Africa House, Mr Andre Pelser, who waived his diplomatic immunity and stood personal surety for the R440 000 bail granted the four defendants.

Mr Pelser subsequently gave an assurance to a judge in chambers on behalf of the SA State President that the four men would be back in Britain for the October 22 hearing and that, if they failed to do so voluntary, the necessary steps would be taken to ensure that they did.

● An SA Embassy spokesman said yesterday that Mr Pelser was in South Africa at present and did not know when he would be returning.

The sources said that in the event of Mr Pelser not returning to Britain or being unable to fulfil his undertaking Dr Worrall, as South Africa's most senior representative, could be called on to fulfil the undertaking.

● An expert in international law and practice, Professor Gerald Draper, former head of the department of international law at Sussex University, said that Britain was exposing itself to the risk of breaching international law if it continued to offer asylum to the six fugitives.

● The BBC yesterday broadcast an interview with SA Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in which he said: "The decision has been taken. When a window is broken, it is broken both sides."

The BBC said British Government sources believed South Africa was using the Durban consulate situation as an excuse for not sending the men back "as they fear the trial will lead to evidence embarrassing to South Africa".

Pelser back in SA

Heated debate likely over toll road contracts

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — Heated debate is expected in Pretoria today at a meeting called by the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, to discuss the controversial contracts awarded to Kirkpatrick, Marais and Associates to publicise the new toll roads.

An angry Mr Schoeman said in Cape Town yesterday he had summoned the chairman of the National Transport Commission, Dr A Eksteen, and former Nationalist MP, Dr Jan Marais, to explain the three contracts, said to be worth about R800 000.

Mr Schoeman, who was severely embarrassed by a lavish R44 000 party to launch the first toll gate and by the original contract, made it clear yesterday that he was angry at not being told that there were another two highly expensive contracts.

He said at the time that if he had had anything to do with the matter, the first contract would not have been awarded.

Asked yesterday about the other two, Mr Schoeman snapped: "They did not tell me about them."

He had launched an investigation into the Transport Commission and said he expected a Bill in Parliament towards the end of next session

...No SA depre...

THE Minister for the Bl... white ministers' counc... Louw, yesterday slamm... who were trying to gene... pression psychosis" in Sc...

PAGE 8

Owning up

ONE of the largest ... tractors in the US ... workmanship on thre...

— PAGE 8

Sweden upset with Moscow

STOCKHOLM. — Sweden is likely to make further protests to the Soviet Union after Moscow's rejection of two notes declaring that a Soviet fighter tailed a civilian airliner in Swedish air space on August 9.

The Acting Foreign Minister, Mr Mats Hellstroem, said on Monday night Moscow's dismissal of the allegations was unsatisfactory. "We will protest again", he added. — Sapa-Reuter.

MATTER OF FACT

TO CORRECT specific errors of fact, write to the Editor at P O Box 1138, Johannesburg, or telephone the Editor's secretary at 710-9111 between 9am and 5pm on weekdays.

If you have broader complaints about the Rand Daily Mail these can be taken up with the Mail Ombudsman, James McClurg, c/o the Editor's secretary.

TO IMPROVE the handling of complaints about the non-arrival of home delivered copies of SAAN publications — the Rand Daily Mail, the Sunday Times, the Sunday Express and the Financial Mail — a new hunting line telephone system has been installed by SAAN.

Readers can telephone 710-2917, a number from which calls will be automatically routed to a number of extensions.

The circulation complaints telephone service is monitored from 6 am onwards from Monday to Friday, and from 8 am to 11 am on Saturdays and Sundays.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Benjamin Pogrund, newsbills by Paul Holroyd; headlines and sub-editing by Anthony Allison; cartoons by David Anderson; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.

...iers charged with car, truck theft

...venue in Newclair; Mr Ja... Kotze, 33, of Krugersdorp ...dam Farried, 41, of New... pleaded not guilty.

...e alleged to have stolen a truck belonging to the Jo... Municipality as well as belonging to private owners.

...ively they are charged ...the three vehicles without ...s' permission.

... told the court Mr Martin ... him to drive the truck to ...t he had been arrested on the ... Mr Martin said in a statement to the court he was the owner of Protea Motors in SWA and Mr Julius was his partner who assisted him financially.

Mr Martin said he had financial problems when he was approached by a man who asked him to sell a Mercedes-Benz car on his behalf.

He sold the car for R16 000 which he gave to the man who was supposed to have given him R2 000 commission, but had failed to.

He said he and Mr Julius flew to Johannesburg to buy the three motor vehicles, but they did not know they were stolen.

The investigating officer, Warrant-Officer Petrus Jacobus Cronje told the court after he arrested Mr Nqobo he went with him to SWA.

Two cars which had been stolen in Johannesburg were found in SWA. One of them was found at Protea Motors where it was being sold for R8 800.

The trial continues today. Mr Nqobo was remanded in custody while R1 000 bail each for the five others was extended.

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Disservice to say blacks are out — Heunis

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — People who created a psychosis that blacks were excluded from constitutional development in South Africa had done the country "a great disservice".

This was said yesterday by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Closing the Cape National Party congress he said South Africa's problems were big enough without "malicious people" influencing the state of events.

The Government's aim regarding blacks was the same as that for whites, coloureds and Indians — to let them govern themselves as regards those things which concerned their own interests, and to "acknowledge them" as regards the affairs which concerned everyone.

The Government's point of departure on the constitutional position of blacks was:

- The reality that "we are a multinational country".
- The desirability of the protection of minorities, defined in terms of pride and the right to survival.
- The removal of "hurtful, unnecessary discrimination".
- The implementation of consultation and negotiation.
- The development of the "national states".
- The acceptance of the irrevocability of the national and self-governing states as political entities.

Mr Heunis said the idea of citizenship and nationality within a broad geographic territory would also have to be looked at.

"The fact that blacks are not included in the same way as coloureds and Asians does not mean that they are excluded — it is for their own protection".

Mr Heunis said "no one" wanted a situation in South Africa "like in the rest of Africa", with its military dictatorships and one-party states.

The costs of South Africa's new constitution should not be evaluated against the "present constitution" because there was no political party in the country which had asked that things remain static.

The costs of the new constitution also had to be seen against the background of the proposals of the other political parties.

The official Opposition's was a model "which has failed in every country in Africa", while that from the right-wing had to be measured against its "total unacceptability".

Mr Heunis said there was no country in the world which had financially survived "a refusal to adapt".

The National Party had been responsible for all constitutional change in South Africa "which had been meaningful for the country".

He added: "People argue that the constitution is imperfect: it is not so — the society it has to serve is imperfect."

He drew applause when he said South Africa was "totally over-governed — the sooner we get rid of control measures which are ineffective, the better".

'Total onslaught' toned down — claim

From
JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — A United States political scientist has claimed that the South African Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, issued a secret memo within the SADF in August last year calling on all military personnel to minimize references to the "total onslaught".

The claim is made by Dr John Seiler who last year conducted interviews with government and military officials, including Lieutenant-General A J van Deventer, head of the secretariat of the State Security Council.

Dr Seiler, who is a visiting professor at the John F Kennedy Special Warfare Centre in North Carolina, said in a study on South Africa's evolving state security system that "almost every man" he interviewed late in 1983 said the "total onslaught" phrase generated an "exaggerated and fearful" assessment of the challenges facing South Africa and SWA/Namibia.

Dr Seiler was addressing a meeting in West Berlin last week of the Study Group on Armed Forces and Society of the International Political Science Association.

Dr Seiler said few government officials he interviewed had subscribed to the "total onslaught" theory before President Botha became prime minister in 1978.

He speculated that scepticism had been put aside only because both Mr Botha, then prime minister, and General Malan, Minister of Defence, "had made so much" of the total-onslaught rubric

"By 1983, the concept was entrenched in the structure of the advanced inter-department joint course at the SADF's defence college, in which high-ranking officials from the SADF, the SAP and a wide range of government departments considered its implications for joint planning and programmme management, both in theory and through case studies

"But nowhere else in the SADF training system was the concept given more than cursory rhetorical attention," Dr Seiler said.

"The opposition English-language press had been criticizing its scare implications, but this was undoubtedly less important to Malan than privately offered advice from the small cadre of strategic-studies scholars who had access to the SADF and the SSC," he said.

THE NEW CABINET

Botha's junior partners

ALLAN HENDRICKSE

This week, exactly eight years ago, Helenard Joe (Allan) Hendrickse became Prisoner M919/76 and spent two months in detention without trial. As a prominent propagator of the Black Consciousness movement and leader of the "boycotters" in coloured politics, he was branded an "agitator" by the authorities.

Today, he is MP for Swartkops and the first coloured member of SA's supreme decision-making body, the Cabinet. Hendrickse is an influential man without whom the National Party could never have got the tricameral Parliament on the road.

Many people despise him for that, but many more — including some of his opponents — see Hendrickse as the man who could bring the NP to accept real change in SA. Government itself does nothing to dispel the fantasy that equates him with a kind of Trojan horse within the walls of white power.

His powerful new position in politics is not only due to his leadership of the Labour Party (LP), which won all but two of the seats in the House of Representatives. As his political adversaries — white, black and coloured — know, he's regarded as a "shrewd operator."

Since his first active political involvement in 1969 he has proved that behind his double-chin, goatee beard and pomaded hair, is a cunning politician who is equally at home in a township political street-fight as in tough negotiations with stubborn Afrikaner politicians.

Hendrickse (56) was born in Uitenhage, the fifth of seven children. The main branches of his family tree are Dutch and Hottentot, but even the famous Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, Lord De Villiers, figures somewhere. Both his parents were teachers, but his father, still fondly remembered as "Reverend W C," also became minister of the Dale Street Congregational Church — a post held by Hendrickse junior today.

The two main influences in Hendrickse's life, politics and Christianity, stem from childhood. His father, the Dale Street minister for 40 years, was a fiercely committed Christian and community worker. As an active member of the Teacher's League he also actively protested against Jan Smuts' segregation laws. The Hendrickse family had several unpleasant experiences with the Group Areas Act.

His eldest brother, Arthur, was an ardent Leninist and leading member of the Oppressed People's Alliance. (He even named a tennis club he helped form after Lenin and Trotsky: Lentro.) Today, Arthur is a minister of religion and registrar of a Durban hospital. Hendrickse and his wife have four children and his eldest son Peter, now MP for Addo, is following in his father's political footsteps.

Hendrickse attended high school in Cape Town and in 1946 enrolled at the "SA Native College," or Fort Hare, as it is known today. He switched from a science course to a BA, majoring in Afrikaans-Nederlands and Ecclesiastical History. This was followed by a diploma in theology.

Though a member of the Unity Movement, Hendrickse wasn't actively involved in student politics. With him at Fort Hare were people like Robert Sobukwe, Gatsha Buthelezi, Dennis Brutus, Seretse Khama (later Sir Seretse) and Robert Mugabe, now PM of Zimbabwe.

Participation strategy

Hendrickse remained a friend of Sobukwe's until his death and often visited him after his release from Robben Island. Hendrickse says hesitantly that though the legendary black leader is no longer alive to verify the claim, "he was appreciative of our strategy of participation."

A high school teacher until he became a LP representative in the CRC in 1969, Hendrickse has also been minister of the Dale Street Congregation since 1957. In 1970 he was elected chairman of the LP executive and leader in 1978. In 1972, he was elected chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa.

Hendrickse became a thorn in the side of government when the LP used boycott tactics to destroy the CRC and entered into the Black Alliance with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha. With his party colleagues, he had at least two stormy meetings with the then PM, P W Botha. However, his relationship with Botha reached an even lower level when the latter said on TV in 1981 that he (Hendrickse) only worked three days a week, but made R1 000 a month as a member of the CRC executive.

Then came the split in the NP with Andries Treurnicht breaking away, and later the historic Eshowe decision at the LP national conference in January 1983 to take part in the new deal. Both events helped to repair the damage between Hendrickse and Botha who now seem to have a happy working relationship.

Of the Eshowe decision Hendrickse says: "In the six months prior to that I was on my knees every night praying for guidance. The night before the decision was taken, I still didn't know what it would be and prayed for guidance."

He likes to quote Oliver Wendall Holmes to defend the decision to go into the new deal: "The great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, but the direction in which we are moving."

Whether Hendrickse is in the new dispensation for power and money — as his enemies charge — or because he sincerely believes this is the best way to work for change — as his friends maintain — he will have to walk a political tightrope like very



few politicians before in SA's history. His chances of becoming a national villain are as good as his chances of becoming a national hero — or even better.

AMICHAND RAJBANSI

"You can tell them Rajbansi is here to stay and will grow from strength to strength," said Amichand Rajbansi prophetically in 1976.

Since his deft victory over Solidarity, when he emerged as leader of the Indian House of Delegates, people have already started calling him "The Raj," or king of SA Indian affairs. But, to his many detractors, the name Rajbansi stands for "sellout" and "stooge."

For Rajbansi, the first Indian Minister (without portfolio) in the SA Cabinet, has always stayed the statutory course. He became executive chairman of the SA Indian Council (SAIC) in 1981 after the majority Reformed Party in the council decided that the SAIC had run into the political sands.

Rajbansi, who owns a couple of butcheries in Chatsworth, dismissed the 10% turnout in the 1981 SAIC election as the work of intimidators. In the tricameral election last month, however, he got even fewer votes (1 008) in a smaller poll (14%) in his Chatsworth constituency than he did even in 1981.

As long ago as 1976, he was described as "the stormy petrel of Indian politics in SA." He told veteran Durban columnist G R Naidoo that year: "Everything in my life is planned. My entry into politics was no accident. This is what I wanted to do and, by God, I am here to stay and be heard for a long, long time.'

In the lounge-study of his Chatsworth home, beneath a large photograph of him with former PM John Vorster, Rajbansi revealed that he believes in strength. Indeed, the names of his son and four daughters all begin with the Hindi word "Vim" — meaning strength.

Raj, as he is known to colleagues, has always been his own man. The determination of this sturdily built man is perhaps reflected in the cast of his jaw and forehead. He does not hesitate to cock a snook at Indian Congress-led opposition to "participation in apartheid institutions."



Nor does he get embroiled in debates with Congress. His approach is pragmatic. In the mid-1970s, his line was to show up the SAIC's unworkability. Later, he justified serving in order to take care of "the day-to-day needs of the Indian community."

Opponents, of course, reject what he calls his "zig-zag approach" — a strategy to change apartheid from within. The choice facing SA, he explained during the August election campaign, is between the "ballot or the bullet." To support taking part in the new constitution, he quotes Lenin's injunction to the Bolsheviks to take over the Duma (Russian parliament): "Get into the accursed pigsty if you can," he says cajolingly.

Yet, participants in the system can also be very critical of the man whom friend and foe alike describe as an accomplished political manipulator. After Raj recently failed to interest J N Reddy's 18-seat Solidarity party in aligning with his 20-seat National People's Party, Solidarity chairman Pat Poovalingam said: "We will have no truck with the NPP, as its leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is completely unacceptable to us."

Rajbansi would have to give "a full account of his handling of several matters, including education ... while he was head of the SAIC" before Solidarity would consider any coalition with the NPP, said Poovalingam.

But there is a gentler side to the man whose father was a master builder and whose grandfather was a fisherman. In 1960, the 18-year-old Amichand won an arts degree bursary as first prize in a national art competition for Indians. His painting, based on Hindu mythology, depicted victory over evil.

However, Raj completed only one year of his fine arts degree at the University College for Indians at Durban's Salisbury Island. In his second year, he was part of a group of students who clashed with the college authorities over the formation of an SRC.

Raj walked out and enrolled with Unisa. He lost interest after finishing his second year and became a high-school teacher in 1964. But he grew "restless" and, in 1968, quit teaching.

After six months in a chemical laboratory, he joined a public relations firm. He has also been a professional football referee, president of the Southern Natal Indian Football Association and secretary of the Chatsworth Sports Board and, as a result, became involved in local affairs.

"But," he said, "as long as Local Affairs committees (LACs) were nominated, I had nothing to do with them. I'm not a stooge and will never be one." He contested a ward in Chatsworth when LACs became partially elected bodies in the early 1970s, and is proud to have beaten more established community figures for the job.

He is now also a member of the National Liaison Committee and the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs, chaired by Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis.

MINISTERS' COUNCIL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The four members of the Ministers' Council of the coloured House of Representatives are all former teachers — at least two were surprise appointments and the omission of Tranvaal Labour leader Jac Rabie also raised eyebrows. Some of the new ministers are better known than others and some are busier than others. As a result, the *FM* was unable to speak directly to all of them.

DAVID CURRY

Local government, agriculture and housing is the portfolio which fell to David Curry last week. An ex-chairman of the LP executive, Curry has made local government his political base.

Some observers believe that ever since the tricameral parliament was mooted, within LP ranks it was Curry who had the clearest strategic grasp of what was happening and what could be negotiated for; and that in seniority, experience and shrewdness he rivals present party leader Hendrickse.

Granite-jawed Curry says of his political style: "Essentially I'm a negotiator. That and community work, particularly for housing, are my fields."

Last year he resigned as chairman of the LP executive, a platform from where he repeatedly assailed government's principles and proposals. He holds no position within the party at present. Was his resignation the outcome of party conflict? "No comment," he says tersely.

He is chairman of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac). "In local government we were fighting

for direct representation in municipal councils — for ourselves, blacks and Indians — before we even began talking to government about this constitutional formula," he says.

This, he believes, can be attained in the foreseeable future. "Economic logic is on our side. Local government is the most expensive and sophisticated government level. The cost of separate structures can't be carried indefinitely. In fact, I believe it's cost factors that has made them place us in the old Senate chamber, a concession to economic realities over the heads of objectors."

On housing, he says: "We must get more money spent on housing itself, developing alternative housing methods such as changing regulations so a resident can take ownership and residence of a core unit and complete it himself.

"Relaxing Group Areas so housing supply can be increased without the massive subsidies needed to develop infrastructure in newly proclaimed areas. Group Areas must ultimately be worn away, not least because of its high cost structure. But that will take more time."

Curry has said many times that a constitution that doesn't include blacks is like "a wedding without the bride." Does that still hold? It does: "I'm opposed to this dispensation; like certain homeland leaders we're using government's structures to challenge it. A calculated risk."

Curry was a teacher for 15 years — something you can pick up from his expository manner. Married with five children, he's forceful and shrewd. He's likely to have strong pull within the Minister's Council.

CARTER EBRAHIM

As Minister of Education and Culture, Carter Ebrahim (60) is possibly in the hottest and most contentious Cabinet seat. And with increasing unrest in coloured schools around the country, he's likely to have a few more grey hairs before the year is out.

"I feel quite capable of handling this portfolio, though I'm aware of the seriousness of the problems I face," he says stoically.

His immediate challenge is dealing with the widespread dissatisfaction of the student body. "Equality is my goal," he says. "But, right now, I'm putting together all the information I can lay my hands on.

"My background in education has given me an insight into the problems, but basically I have a political view of education. I also think that there must be a shift from academic education to career-oriented education. Already, industry is complaining that the products of this education system aren't cost-effective."

Ebrahim's opinions are apparently widely respected. He has variously been described as the LP's intellectual and ideologue, a good strategist and a clear thinker. "He has a rather stern appearance and can be quite sarcastic at times, but short men are like that," says one party stalwart.

Ironically, Ebrahim's involvement in party politics began with his membership of the Coventry branch of the British Labour Party. "While I was teaching in England for two years, I worked at Coventry's Belgrade Theatre. The local Labour Party was so effective in bringing about political and social change in the town that I joined up." During this time, he was involved in stage management, acting and the production of several plays.

For Ebrahim, and for many of his generation, 1948 was a watershed year. It was a year in which many people were forced to take strong political positions, he explains. "In his younger days, when he was involved with the Unity movement, Ebrahim was regarded as a radical," says one observer. "But he's grown more conservative and mellowed with the years."

Ebrahim counters: "There's something wrong with a guy who starts off conservative at 20." Some of his detractors in the UDF have said that in view of his past, Ebrahim "should know better" than to participate in what the UDF regards as a flawed constitution.

As a former member of the CRC, Ebrahim was elected LP representative for the southern Cape — a seat he won again in this year's elections for the House of Representatives in a 30% poll. He's regarded as "something of a constitutional expert" in party ranks, having served on the Du Preez committee investigating alternative constitutional proposals and on the Buthelezi Commission.

His stated priorities are to raise standards of education and, in the longer run, to campaign for the establishment of a unitary education system. "Students are attending schools with tremendous deficiencies — backlogs of buildings, equipment, facilities and fully qualified staff. Improving teachers' skills is a priority."

Having taught intermittently for the past 25 years, he brings experience to his position. One of his priorities will be the elimination of prefabricated school buildings. "I've taught in them," he says with feeling. "In winter, they're iceboxes; and, in summer, they're ovens."

And the current unrest? "We must recognise the fact that there are genuine grievances which aren't impossible to rectify. But while the protests start as domestic grievances, they usually get distorted by political defiance.

"The next five years will be a tremendous challenge for me. They're years in which we're sure to see fundamental changes in SA's education system. Hopefully, they'll also be years in which the aspirations of the teaching world, students and the general student body will be met."

ANDREW JULIES

As national chairman of the LP, Andrew Julies' appointment to the Ministers' Council was perhaps predictable. Since he's considered to "have done a good job so far" as party leader, it was rather his award of the portfolio of the Budget (MOB) that shocked some.

Julies (61), a member of the LP for 11 years, was elected to the House of Representatives for the Kalahari constituency. "A very capable person with an Alex Boraine type of personality, a man with a quiet strength that people confide in," is the way LP Deputy leader Miley Richards describes him.

Another party luminary describes him as a "helluva fine person." He adds: "He's the sort of person you could open



From left: Padayachy, Julies, Ebrahim, Curry, April, Abramjee, Dookie and Ramduth

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your heart to and who would always be willing to assist."

Trained as a teacher at Dower College, Uitenhage, Julies spent 20 years teaching in Humansdorp before being ordained to the ministry of the United Congregational Church in SA — Hendrickse's denomination.

Those who know Julies say he's totally committed to the church of which he was appointed SA chairman in 1981.

His Keimoes flock is believed to be one of the largest and poorest congregations in the Northern Cape. He has a reputation within the church as an excellent organiser and is said to have devoted "huge amounts of energy to building up his congregation from scratch."

Testimony to Julies' considerable energies is the fact that he organised a fund-raising drive for the construction of a church and hall which yielded around R1m.

Julies has also been described as "an unbending type of person," but this is probably one of the qualities that has propelled him to his present position.

CHRIS APRIL

Chris April's appointment as Health and Welfare Minister by House of Representatives and LP leader Hendrickse, was almost as surprising as the exclusion from high office of the LP's Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie.

April, a former dominee of the NG Sendingkerk, was forced to resign from the LP when he accepted nomination to the President's Council (PC) in 1981. The party opposed participation on the PC, where April served on the community relations committee, visiting over 100 coloured townships in his quest for the "upliftment" of his people.

Nor did April, who rejoined Labour in May (having first joined in 1976) stand for election to the coloured chamber on August 22. "The whole appointment came as a big surprise to me," says April, strongly denying that it caused any ill-feeling outside the LP inner sanctum.

Born in Bo-Kaap in 1939 and married with three children, April was a practising minister of religion for 10 years from 1970, when he moved to George — President PW Botha's former constituency.

April first met Botha, then defence minister, in 1976 after he had done "the spadework" to improve George's very poor coloured areas, Lavalia, Rosemore, Urbanville, Conville, Borchards and Parkdene. He contacted Botha, April explains, "for assistance." And Botha "always took a keen interest in the development of the people." On April's request, he says, Botha was "instrumental" in seeing to "a change in attitudes of the local white officials and businessmen" towards the coloured community.

"Our airport and theatre were opened to all races. Then the showgrounds By 1978 we could use the civic centre. George, in 1975, was the first municipality in SA to allow the chairman and vice-chairman of the local coloured affairs committee to sit in on their standing committees. Later we attended all the council meetings and participated in the discussions — although we couldn't vote on it. This was all brought about by Mr Botha and me," April says proudly.

His aim as Health and Welfare Minister will be to improve the quality of life of the community. "We are working for parity (with whites) in pensions and welfare grants. But we are not simply going to make handouts, but see to the whole man," adds April, who says he will personally try to visit every coloured town and "try to be a minister from the people of the people."

April believes the socio-economic upliftment of his people should precede, and thus hasten, the bigger aim of dismantling apartheid. "We can only break down apartheid by developing ourselves," he says.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The Indian Ministers' Council is dominated by its chairman and minister without portfolio of the SA cabinet, Amichand Rajbansi. As leader of the majority National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates, Rajbansi has appointed two stalwarts of the (former) SA Indian Council, of which he was also chairman, as ministers. Two of the appointments are relative unknowns. Three are Hindi speakers, one a Tamilian and one a Muslim.

PADDY PADAYACHY

Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Pensions, Murugasen Sammy Padayachy is, at 65, the oldest member of the Indian Ministers' Council.

Padayachy won the north-western Cape seat for Indians by a 44-vote majority in a five-way contest which saw a smaller than 20% poll. With only 2 582 registered voters, Padayachy's constituency is the smallest Indian seat. It lies outside the main Indian centres in Natal and the Transvaal and, as a result, he's not well-known in the community.

An educationist, Padayachy has taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels for 35 years. He is a retired deputy rector of the coloured teacher-training college, Perseverance, in Kimberley where he was born and raised. He took a B Sc degree at Fort Hare and has a BA from a university in India. In addition, he has a doctorate in psychology which should help him in administering his new portfolio. He's also an associate member of the London Institute of Education.

The subject of his doctoral thesis, which coloured education minister Carter Ebrahim might be interested in, was "Some aspects of the education of teachers in England — a survey related to the education of coloured primary school teachers in the Cape province."

Padayachy, known to colleagues as "Paddy", says he serves on eight bodies dealing with education, cultural and local government matters. He was an executive member of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac) and vice-chairman of the Kimberley management committee for Indians.

He believes that "a terrific task lies ahead" for the Indian House. Aside from the "tremendous backlog" in Indian health, welfare and pensions that he intends remedying, "we must try our damnedest to get blacks in (to the new constitution) and then gradually dismantle all discriminatory legislation."

However, it is "unethical to make unrealistic demands," Padayachy says. The main thing is to establish that "the principle of equality can be attained," he explains.

Padayachy says he was originally asked to stand as an independent but he wanted to join a political party. After initial approaches, Solidarity appears to have dropped him. He was then asked to join Rajbansi's National People's Party by the NPP's Cape leader and Speaker of the Indian chamber, Raman Bhana and the party's Baldeo Dookie, who is now Padayachy's fellow minister on the Indian Council of Ministers.

BOETIE ABRAMJEE

Ebrahim "Boetie" Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the Indian House, is easily the most controversial figure in his home town, Laudium.

Since 1979, he has been chairman of the local management committee, which is at the centre of a storm over alleged nepotism and corruption in the

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allocation of plots for housing. Legal action has begun, and Abramjee could be appearing in court to defend the allocations.

He won his seat with a 792-vote majority in a three-cornered contest which saw one of the highest polls (32,5%) in the Indian election last month. However, no fewer than 72% of the votes were cast as special votes. This raised many eyebrows, but testifies to Abramjee's determination to succeed. In the run-up to polling day, teams of his campaign staff were seen ferrying people to cast these votes.

In 1980, the "totally bilingual" Abramjee was nominated, and later elected, to the SA Indian Council (SAIC). Like others in the SAIC, he joined Amichand Rajbansi's NPP — but only weeks before the election and after he had kept both Solidarity and the LP guessing.

Labour's Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie, vehemently denies Abramjee's claim that he has been a LP member. At any rate, he was offered, and he accepted, the post of NPP Transvaal leader.

Abramjee, who is a member of the National Liaison Committee of the Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning, maintains that in 1982 he had tea with US President Ronald Reagan and Mrs Reagan at the White House. Yet, US embassy officials in Pretoria say they "doubt" such a meeting occurred.

Last year, a Sunday newspaper had to apologise to Abramjee for reporting that he is a director of a Pretoria pickle factory, Abramjee's Achaar, which is in liquidation. The fact is that he was a director, but resigned a few months before the insolvency.

Abramjee has defamation suits pending against an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, and also against the editor of a local newspaper. He successfully challenged the nomination, on a technicality, of the original LP candidate in Laudium, who was assaulted before the election.

Born in the Nylstroom district 53 years ago, Abramjee matriculated at Pretoria Indian Boys' High in 1950. He is the father of four sons and a daughter from his marriage to Mariam Akoojee in 1954.

Abramjee describes himself as a director of companies. But he'll certainly need his Unisa courses in law and economics while running the Indian budget.

In addition to being "main cell leader 28 — Pretoria civil defence," he's a Justice of the Peace and vice-president of the Transvaal Association of Management Committees. He serves on the local transportation and Unemployment Insurance Fund boards and on local educational and Muslim religious bodies.

KASSIE RAMDUTH

Indian Education and Culture Minister, Kassipershad Ramduth (62), known to his colleagues as Kassie, is an unknown quantity. Not many outside the Durban-based Hindu religious body, the Sanathan Dharma Sabha of SA, of which he is chairman, have heard of him.

The former principal of the Protea Secondary School in Chatsworth — where Minister's Council chief Amichand Rajbansi lives — has taught in the Department of Indian Education for 39 years. Length of service plus a BA degree would seem experience enough to oversee Indian "own" education — within the parameters set by the (white) Minister of National Education.

Ramduth stood as an independent in the August election for Durban's Clare Estate — and not under Rajbansi's NPP flag. His majority, in a five-way contest, was 75. In a 20% poll, Ramduth got 783 votes to the NPP candidate's 708.

He has been chairman of the Northern Durban Local Affairs Committee. And his position as vice-chairman of the Clare Estate ratepayers association no doubt helped him clinch his seat.

Ramduth says he switched to the NRP "when I found that the party had achieved a majority." In fact, Ramduth's switch helped Rajbansi and the NPP become the Indian House majority party when it was touch-and-go between the NPP and JN Reddy's Solidarity.

Married with four married children, Ramduth is the author of a book of Indian Folk Tales. He takes over the important portfolio of Indian education, which has been an area of heated controversy under the control of Rajbansi as head of the SAIC.

Maintaining that there was "general consensus" about his appointment, even though he was not an NPP man until two weeks ago, Ramduth says he is going to base all educational appointments and promotions — a sensitive subject in the community — on "merit and ability." He also intends creating "the right image for the educational fraternity and ensuring that everything is above board."

BALDEO DOOKIE

For his portfolio of Indian Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, Baldeo Dookie has a list of service which even opponents of the new deal acknowledge.

Dookie's involvement in community housing, welfare and local government since 1959 has been remarkable. He was therefore a sure bet last month to win the Red Hill, Durban, seat in which he lives.

Though only 21,6% of Red Hill's 12 000 registered voters voted, Dookie's 1 227 majority was, not surprisingly, comparatively large. He is also a close ally of Amichand Rajbansi.

A tall and pleasant man, Dookie (48) is married with two sons and a daughter. He was educated at Congress High and at Sashtri College in Durban. For the past 38 years, Dookie has been employed by a large food manufacturing company where he is a manager.

His tireless welfare career began when he joined the Friends of the Sick Association (Fosa) and the Durban Child Welfare Society, both of which he chaired and ran singlehanded, working among the poorest sections of the Indian community in Avoca, Red Hill and elsewhere.

From being chairman of the Red Hill Ratepayers' Association, Dookie was elected to the Northern Durban Local Affairs Committee in 1973 and became chairman a year later. The local affairs electoral college for the province sent him to the SA Indian Council (SAIC) in 1974, where he served as housing committee chairman for the controversial life of the council.

In 1977 the bespectacled Dookie who is also a member of the local Deaf School management board, delivered a paper critically assessing Indian housing at a University of Durban-Westville seminar organised by the Town and Regional Planning Commission.

Dookie has also held various chairmen's posts in the SAIC, including transport, town and regional planning and welfare. In 1981, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Award by Umgeni Jaycees of Durban.

He continued to serve on the SAIC even after the derisory 10% poll recorded at its 1981 elections, taking charge of police matters, posts and telecommunications and manpower as well as housing. Two years ago, the then Minister of Community Development appointed Dookie to the State committee investigating the overall planning of Durban.

The list of Dookie's involvements in welfare and planning seems endless. This year, he was called on by the private sector to represent the Indian community on the joint housing committee in Pretoria, and was chosen as SAIC representative on the health service liaison committee for greater Durban-KwaZulu.

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Those who know Julies say he's totally committed to the church of which he was appointed SA chairman in 1981.

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Testimony to Julies' considerable energies is the fact that he organised a fund-raising drive for the construction of a church and hall which yielded around R1m.

Julies has also been described as "an unbending type of person," but this is probably one of the qualities that has propelled him to his present position.

CHRIS APRIL

Chris April's appointment as Health and Welfare Minister by House of Representatives and LP leader Hendrickse, was almost as surprising as the exclusion from high office of the LP's Transvaal leader, Jac Rabie.

April, a former dominee of the NG Sendingkerk, was forced to resign from the LP when he accepted nomination to the President's Council (PC) in 1981. The party opposed participation on the PC, where April served on the community relations committee, visiting over 100 coloured townships in his quest for the "upliftment" of his people.

Nor did April, who rejoined Labour in May (having first joined in 1976) stand for election to the coloured chamber on August 22. "The whole appointment came as a big surprise to me," says April, strongly denying that it caused any ill-feeling outside the LP inner sanctum.

Born in Bo-Kaap in 1939 and married with three children, April was a practising minister of religion for 10 years from 1970, when he moved to George — President PW Botha's former constituency.

April first met Botha, then defence minister, in 1976 after he had done "the spadework" to improve George's very poor coloured areas, Lavalia, Rosemore, Urbanville, Conville, Borchards and Parkdene. He contacted Botha, April explains, "for assistance." And Botha "always took a keen interest in the development of the people." On April's request, he says, Botha was "instrumental" in seeing to "a change in attitudes of the local white officials and businessmen" towards the coloured community.

"Our airport and theatre were opened to all races. Then the showgrounds. By 1978 we could use the civic centre. George, in 1975, was the first municipality in SA to allow the chairman and vice-chairman of the local coloured affairs committee to sit in on their standing committees. Later we attended all the council meetings and participated in the discussions — although we couldn't vote on it. This was all brought about by Mr Botha and me," April says proudly.

His aim as Health and Welfare Minister will be to improve the quality of life of the community. "We are working for parity (with whites) in pensions and welfare grants. But we are not simply going to make handouts, but see to the whole man," adds April, who says he will personally try to visit every coloured town and "try to be a minister from the people of the people."

April believes the socio-economic upliftment of his people should precede, and thus hasten, the bigger aim of dismantling apartheid. "We can only break down apartheid by developing ourselves," he says.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

The Indian Ministers' Council is dominated by its chairman and minister without portfolio of the SA cabinet, Amichand Rajbansi. As leader of the majority National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates, Rajbansi has appointed two stalwarts of the (former) SA Indian Council, of which he was also chairman, as ministers. Two of the appointments are relative unknowns. Three are Hindi speakers, one a Tamilian and one a Muslim.

PADDY PADAYACHY

Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Pensions, Murugasen Sammy Padayachy is, at 65, the oldest member of the Indian Ministers' Council.

Padayachy won the north-western Cape seat for Indians by a 44-vote majority in a five-way contest which saw a smaller than 20% poll. With only 2 582 registered voters, Padayachy's constituency is the smallest Indian seat. It lies outside the main Indian centres in Natal and the Transvaal and, as a result, he's not well-known in the community.

An educationist, Padayachy has taught at primary, secondary and tertiary levels for 35 years. He is a retired deputy rector of the coloured teacher-training college, Perseverance, in Kimberley where he was born and raised. He took a B Sc degree at Fort Hare and has a BA from a university in India. In addition, he has a doctorate in psychology which should help him in administering his new portfolio. He's also an associate member of the London Institute of Education.

The subject of his doctoral thesis, which coloured education minister Carter Ebrahim might be interested in, was "Some aspects of the education of teachers in England — a survey related to the education of coloured primary school teachers in the Cape province."

Padayachy, known to colleagues as "Paddy", says he serves on eight bodies dealing with education, cultural and local government matters. He was an executive member of the Association of Management Committees (Assomac) and vice-chairman of the Kimberley management committee for Indians.

He believes that "a terrific task lies ahead" for the Indian House. Aside from the "tremendous backlog" in Indian health, welfare and pensions that he intends remedying, "we must try our damnedest to get blacks in (to the new constitution) and then gradually dismantle all discriminatory legislation."

However, it is "unethical to make unrealistic demands," Padayachy says. The main thing is to establish that "the principle of equality can be attained," he explains.

Padayachy says he was originally asked to stand as an independent but he wanted to join a political party. After initial approaches, Solidarity appears to have dropped him. He was then asked to join Rajbansi's National People's Party by the NPP's Cape leader and Speaker of the Indian chamber, Raman Bhana and the party's Baldeo Dookie, who is now Padayachy's fellow minister on the Indian Council of Ministers.

BOETIE ABRAMJEE

Ebrahim "Boetie" Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the Indian House, is easily the most controversial figure in his home town, Laudium.

Since 1979, he has been chairman of the local management committee, which is at the centre of a storm over alleged nepotism and corruption in the

C. Herald 11/9/84 (3044)

Only 18 people cast their vote for JC Samuels but still...



● *JC Samuels — not even a crushing rejection will convince him that he was not born to serve.*

He wants 'to serve'

MANY years ago, an aspiring coloured politician called JC Samuels met the then South African Prime Minister, Jan Smuts, and vowed: "I want to be like him."

So he grew a little *bokbaard.*

The meeting took place at Rhodes Memorial, and Mr Samuels recalled last week. "We walked the mountain together and he was such a thorough gentleman that I promised him I'd grow a beard like his and never shave it off."

Well, Jan Smuts is dead and JC Samuels has gone on to become one of the greatest failures in the history of South African politics.".

Mr Samuels, whose run of disaster in ethnic elections, must surely qualify him for an honorable mention in the Guiness Book of Records — he has polled a total of 88 votes in his last two campaigns — does not believe he has been rejected by the people he so much wants to serve. He vowed this week to continue "to serve the coloured people".

The Reformed Freedom Party diehard quickly explained away the fact that only 18 people thought he'd be good enough to represent Manenberg in the soon-to-be installed coloured Parliament.

"The Labour Party had all the money needed to run a successful campaign," he says. (Labour victor Richard Lackay polled 294 votes). The Reformed Freedom Party had nothing."

"The Labour Party also made great use of their name to woo potential voters. Both here and in the rural areas, their workers went around to people saying: 'You're a labourer? Then you must vote for the Labour Party.'

"Who are these people to argue against something like this?"

The problem with coloured politics, Mr Samuels believes, is that the voters are too unsophisticated.

"In Manenberg, for instance, none of the people who voted really knew what they were voting for. Our people are not politically right."

No, he says, he did not make any blunders in his campaign. "I made about 400 *visitations* in the area. But most of the people told me they supported the UDF. I see the main task of our Party as getting these people to move in the right direction.

"Certainly we all lost our deposits, but I must give credibility to our leader, Mr Charles Julies. Although he never came over to assist us, he was an inspiration in all ways."

Mr Samuels is 52.

THE controversial "coloured" elections are over, and while some of the candidates can start budgeting on their new, five-digit annual salaries, others, including certain party leaders, will have to settle for the life of second best.

Second best in this case means a lot of things.

For starters, it's R500-a-candidate in deposits down the drain.

But more important, there are the political, personal and moral blows which those who did not quite pull it off, will have to live with for some time.

Many prospective MPs stuck out their necks and made all sorts of promises, right up to election day only to discover later that it was all for nothing, or for very little.

Cape Herald staffers DOUGIE OAKES and TYRONE SEALE (both of 122, St George's Street Cape Town) spoke to some of the candidates who did not make it last Wednesday. Here's what they had to say...

Julies's party never made it

THE Reformed Freedom Party last week donated R5 500 towards making the "New Deal" work.

But there was no official handing over ceremony and cocktails.

What happened was that all of the 11 RFP candidates in the House of Representatives elections lost their deposits in making way for the Labour Party's landslide victory.

The party leader, Mr Charles Julies, also parted with R500 when he received only 533 votes against the 4 388 of Labour Party's Peter Hendrickse in the Addo (Port Elizabeth) constituency.

DIRTY

Mr Julies's pride must have been dented even further because Peter Hendrickse is the son of the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The 63-year-old insurance broker claimed that the young Hendrickse, who is also the LP national youth leader, played dirty to get to the top.

"They defaced my posters, they upset my transport arrangements and did several other things to beat me."

But the Labour Party could not be blamed for all the upsets, he said.

"The UDF, Sacos and the no-vote people intimidated the voters. People didn't know what to expect at the polling stations after all the threats and intimidation.

"All I can say about the future is that my party will be working hard. I am standing by all the things I have said in the past. I will soon be meeting with my men and then we will come up with concrete decisions."

"Not very well, I'm certain. They will just sit there, and vote when David Curry tells them to vote."

How did he feel about losing out on that fantastic salary?

"You can check with the company that I work for. I earn R4 000 to R5 000 a month, and that's when I'm lazy. So the money is no problem. I earn that kind of money when I work only two to three hours a day."

Peter Marais's not inside and he's not on top

"WHAT is there that they can do from outside, that I cannot do more effectively from the inside?"

This was the catchphrase that the People's Congress Party leader, Peter Marais, threw around every time he tried to woo the support of the electorate at public meetings or during his SABC-TV appearances when the question of an election boycott was raised.

Shortly after 10 pm in Bishop Lavis last Wednesday evening, and in full view of the TV-watching nation, Mr Marais joined the ranks of those who are not inside and therefore certainly not on top.

The Labour Party's ex-traffic cop candidate, Mr Nick Isaacs, beat the PCP leader by 735 votes and dealt Mr Marais an early and severe blow on his way into the 4:2:1:0 dispensation.

PROCESS

Hours later, Mr Marais, went on the air to say that he was in the process of deciding whether to go back into his insurance broking job or whether he was going to try to get into the President's Council.

And last week he told me his greatest consolation was the fact that the PCP was still the official opposition despite having clinched only one of the 80 contested seats.

"For many years, the PFP had only one MP in parliament, but that didn't make them any less effective," he said.

Poor (as in defeated) Mr Marais had so many reasons for the fact that he did not get in.

"The UDF made their point, and they got their message across quite effectively. But they will die. What are they going to tell the people at their next public meeting. Are they going to tell the people not to vote?"

PERFORM

Turning to the men who made it, Mr Marais said: "I wonder how Labour Party men like Vernon Sass, Oom Hansie Christians and Richard Lackay will perform against people like Chris Heunis, Greyling Wentzel and Louis le Grange.

(304A)

'Another poll flop coming'

By Gary van Dyk

BUOYED by the success of the boycott campaign in the coloured elections, speakers at a meeting in Rylands on Sunday predicted a flop of similar proportions when Indians go to the polls this week.

More than 1 000 people attended the meeting, organised by the Thornhill Residents Association.

● Well-known attorney Dalla Omar hammered the new constitution and highlighted the low percentage poll of the August 22 coloured elections.

"The stayaway was a victory for the oppressed," he said

● And Mr John Erntzen, secretary of the Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, outlined the role of the worker in the economy and the need for worker unity to achieve a new South Africa

● One of the main speakers at the meeting, Dr Allan Boesak, received a standing ovation when he was introduced to the crowd, who burst into spontaneous song as he greeted them.

DEAD

His first reference was to the number of dead people on the voters roll. "I can understand this," he said.

"The Government cannot get the support of the living so it has to make do with the support of the dead."

Dr Boesak continued his speech rejecting the so-called "New Deal" and condemning the system of apartheid on which it was based.

"We must not allow ourselves to become part of a system that has been rejected since it's beginning," he said.

He also made reference to the recent letter competition held by SABCTV, saying he was sorry that they had cancelled the competition for the Indian election: "It was such a nice programme," he said.

"But they should not have cancelled the competition they should have cancelled the election," he continued, to applause from the audience.

● Imam Hassan Solomons called on all Muslims to reject the new system, and making a reference to the Koran, he said: "No matter how much you cook or spice it (apartheid) you cannot accept it, the only thing you can do is pull the chain and flush it."

● Ela Ramgobbin, granddaughter of Mahatma Ghandi, was described as a daughter of Africa, by the chairman of the meeting.

At the end of the meeting a resolution was passed condemning all facets of the New Deal and outlining the demands for a better future for all

(News by G van Dyk of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

'WHY I GOT ONLY 6 VOTES'

SIX votes were all that the Natal Mid-East independent candidate, Mr Malcolm Hoskins, could rope in.

It constituted the lowest show of support for a candidate nationally and slightly more than a quarter of the 22 spoilt papers in that constituency, which was one of the 76 out of 80 seats that went to the Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party.

But, I later found out, there was a twist in the tale ...

First the man told me: "I have never been a politician, I've always just worked in the community."

And then: "I withdrew from the elections two weeks before the time."

"Otherwise, I would have won hands down," Mr Hoskins said.

However, what did happen in his constituency was that the Labour Party's Mr M Lewis walked off with 903 votes (that's 151 times 6) and he was followed by the PCP's Mr H Baxter who polled 129 votes.

But Mr Hoskins was adamant that he had the whole lot wrapped up before his withdrawal.

Mr Hoskins is 48 and runs a panel-beating concern in Maritzburg.

"About two weeks before the elections, the ratepayers association invited me to a meeting and said that they needed me in Maritzburg. They said that if I were to go to Cape Town, to serve in Parliament, it would be a great loss to them.

(News by T Seale of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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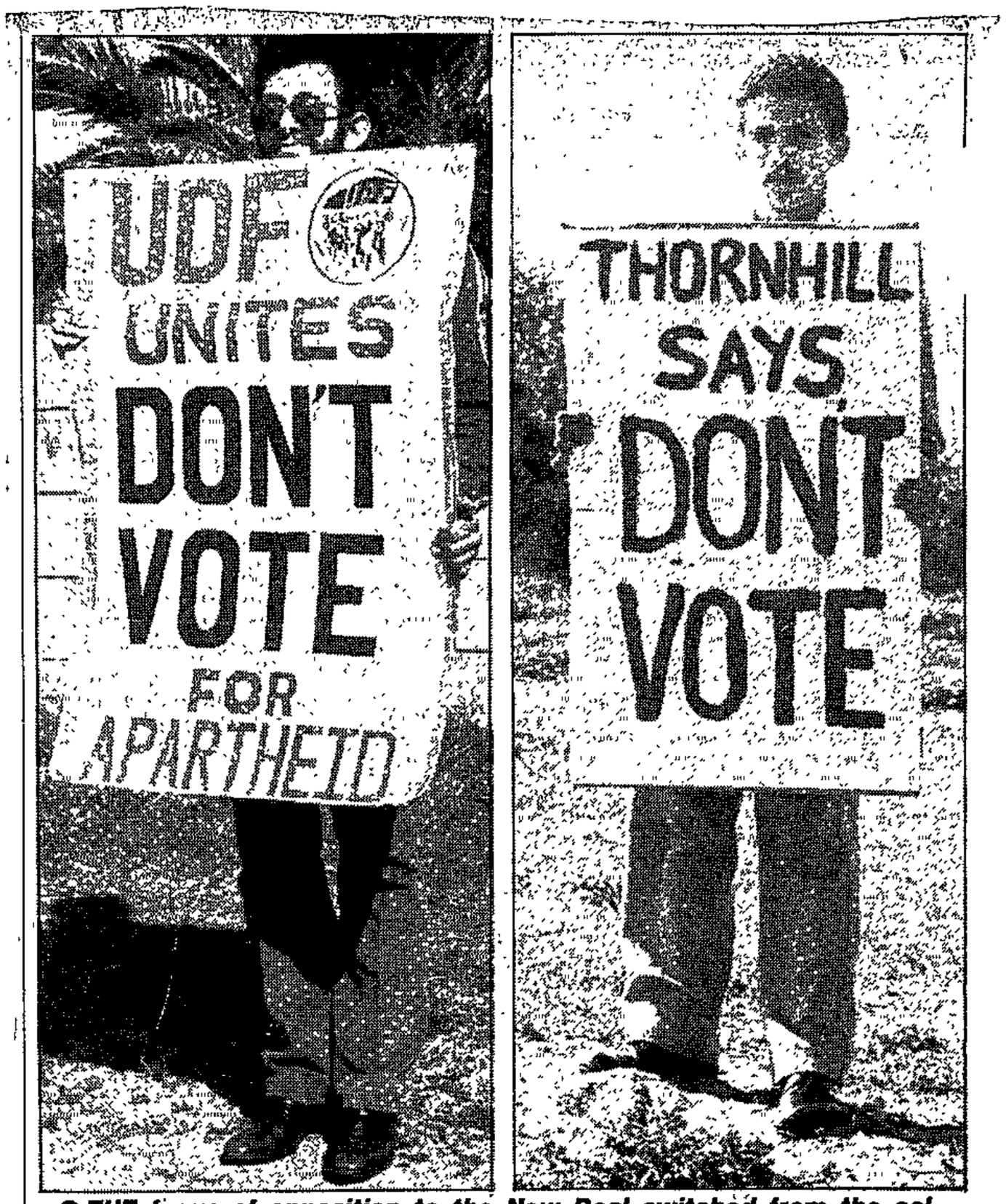


● ***THE focus of opposition to the New Deal switched from the coloured to the Indian elections, over the weekend. These boycott campaigners offered some advice to waiverers in Rylands on Saturday.***

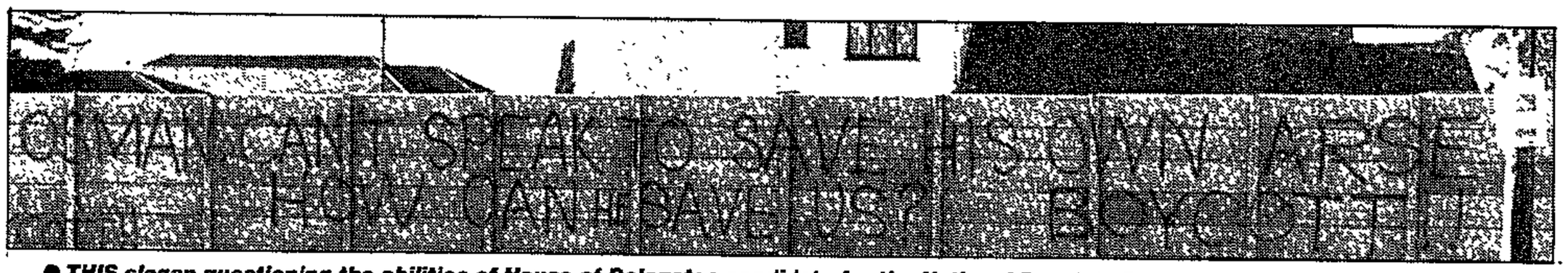
C. Herald 1/9/84 (304A)

Special votes: fraud claimed

INDIANS go to the polls on Tuesday to elect members for the House of Delegates — and indications are that the percentage polls will be even lower than those of the coloured elections last week.

In fact, special votes could play a dominant role in the elections, with a sudden increase in special votes at the weekend as parties made a last-minute scramble for support with the prospect of a low poll looming.

With 164 candidates in 40 constituencies, it is not clear which of the two major political parties, Solidarity (40 candidates) and the National People's Party (38), will hold the majority seats by Wednesday morning.



● *THIS slogan questioning the abilities of House of Delegates candidate for the National People's Party in the Rylands seat, Mr Hassan Osman, was painted on a wall in the constituency over the weekend.*

The NPP, under the leadership of Mr Amichand Rajbansi, has an advantage over the nine-month old Solidarity because it has been around longer.

Meanwhile the Labour Party, banned by law from putting up its own candidates, has thrown its weight behind nine independent candidates.

Also standing are 74 independent candidates who could hold the balance of power after polling stations close tomorrow at 9 pm.

TENSION

As with last week's elections, tension has been running high and there are reports of school boycotts, election violence and allegations of electoral fraud.

The Transvaal Indian Congress claims to have collected extensive evidence suggesting fraud in the posting of special votes. There are plans to have the votes declared null and void.

The Congress reported it had collected about 80 affidavits in the East Rand township of Actonville claiming abuse of special votes. These included claims that a dead man had a special vote cast in his name and that two votes have been cast for a woman whose name appears twice.

CONTROVERSIAL

By Friday special votes numbered 24 740, but this jumped by several thousand at the weekend. One of the most controversial constituencies was Springfield, where the number of special votes cast jumped to 1 327 at the weekend — already a poll exceeding 10 percent.

● Indian political leaders whose parties are participating in the election predicted in the Springbok Radio programme Top Level on Sunday night that the percentage poll will be lower than the coloured poll last week.

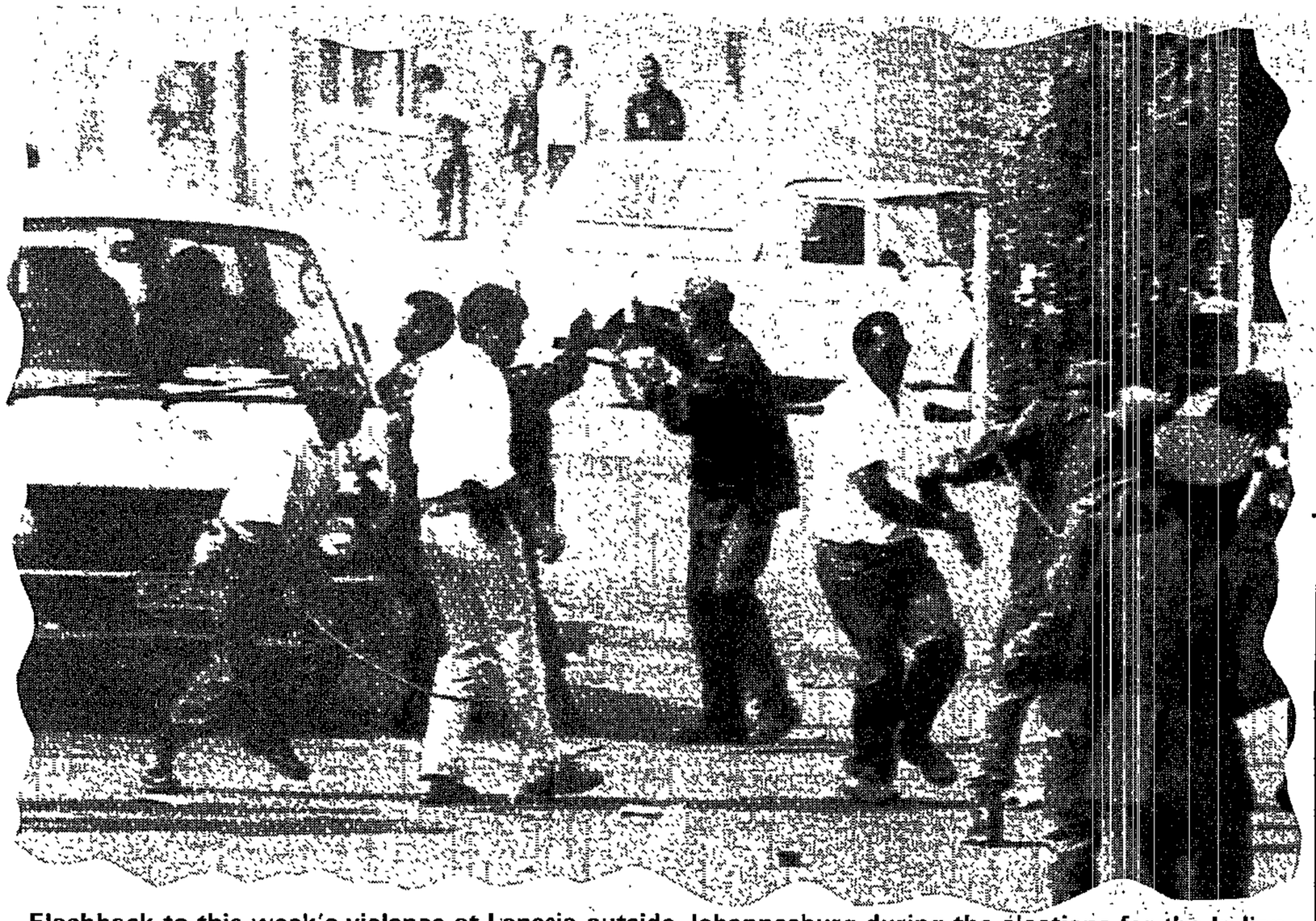
This would be, they said, because most Indians live in the urban areas where, during the coloured election, the polling had been the lowest.

● In the Western Cape, everything is going ahead as planned except for the last-minute withdrawal of Mr Hassan Osman (standing in Rylands) because of ill-health.

Last week an independent candidate, Mr Abdul Ebrahim, said he was calling on his supporters to boycott the poll. One of the main reasons he gave for his change of heart was the Government's controversial decision to build luxury homes for Indian MPs at the new Pelikan Park township.

(News by A J Doman, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Ingredients for a volatile Year 1 clash



Flashback to this week's violence at Lenasia outside Johannesburg during the elections for the Indian House of Delegates.

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Political Staff

DURBAN. — If ever there were two politicians more unalike in character and style they are Dr J N Reddy and Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who are now locked in battle to gain control of the Indian House of Delegates.

Both hail from sprawling Chatsworth suburb south of Durban.

Both entered politics by way of the Southern Durban Local Affairs Committee.

Both reached what was then the pinnacle of Indian participation politics. the executive chairmanship of the South African Indian Council.

But there — except to say that both are equally popular in their respective Glenview and Arena Park constituencies — all similarities end.

Dr Reddy, 59, has an almost disarmingly low-key approach to politics.

This former engineering stores clerk became the largest Indian shipping magnate and first Indian banker in South Africa.

He scorns the emotive rhetoric which has become the hallmark of most black politicians.

Free enterprise call

On platforms during the election campaign he eloquently argued the cause of free enterprise, calling for more foreign investment and the dropping of economic apartheid measures to facilitate job creation.

The success of his campaign in an Indian community racked by unemployment can be gauged by Solidarity's remarkable performance in the elections barely seven months after it was formed.

His low-key approach makes him a prime target for being too "pro-Government" or a "Government lackey", but it has also brou ht results with



Dr J N Reddy

Argus
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SA's Indian leaders as different as chalk and cheese



Mr Amichand Rajbansi

which few could quibble — among these the return of Cato Manor to the Indian community and the dropping of barriers restricting the movement of Indians in parts of Natal, the Cape and Transvaal.

His one major weakness is an inability to deal effectively with criticism from the left. Time and time again during the election executive members of Solidarity had to step in and protect him on public platforms when he was attacked by members of the Natal Indian Congress and United Democratic Front.

Avoided confrontation

Significantly, dealing with the left is probably one of the strongest points of his chief opponent, NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

At one time an extremely vocal and controversial politician, he was able throughout the campaign to avoid a head-on confrontation with the NIC and UDF.

Having learnt from the traumatic SAIC elections in 1981 that the NIC were formidable opponents, he rarely attacked them directly. Instead, he consistently argued the merits of participation and skillfully re-directed the wrath of the anti-election movement on to Solidarity by depicting the party as conservative and pro-Government.

Of the two leaders, Mr Rajbansi, 42, is probably the best equipped to handle the cut-throat negotiations necessary to gain control of the House of Delegates.

He has a political cunning which is almost without equal, having risen remarkably quickly, from LAC member to Reform Party executive member and then leader of his own party.

Wields great clout

The NIC has dubbed him "the master of the politics of patronage and a supreme wheeler-deeler". This is perhaps cruel, but it is nevertheless true that for someone who does not have enormous financial resources like Mr Reddy, Mr Rajbansi wields considerable clout.

It is this influence which allowed him to seize control of the NPP from Mr E.V Mahomed after the SAIC elections, and eventually persuade enough independents to join the party to enable it to get a majority.

However, not surprisingly, in his ascent to power Mr Rajbansi, with his no-holds-barred political style, has made enemies.

Solidarity is now trying to exploit this. Whether it will succeed or not is debatable. What is certain is that at least in its first year the House of Delegates will be an extremely volatile chamber.

Low coloured poll poses co-optation dilemma



The Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN GILIOMEE

THE time has come to review the coloured and Indian elections within a broad political and social context.

To maintain its goal of firm control over a stable and efficient state the government has pursued two distinct, yet related, strategies.

Politically it has embarked on the co-opting of selected ethnic groups as junior partners rather than as individuals or classes along the formula of universal or qualified franchise. Instead of opening the political arena to everyone, the government wants to move one step at a time, starting with the coloured people and Indians and later moving on to the urban blacks. The key in this strategy is to limit each political incorporation to a limited and thus manageable number of people.

The second strategy has aimed at keeping the number of browns and blacks in the cities down to a minimum. By restricting brown and black urbanization in various ways (limiting housing stock, razing squatter camps, pass controls and encouraging industrialists to switch from labourers to machines) the government hopes to create a stable core of urban insiders.

Crucial test

This must be small enough not to constitute a threat but affluent enough to develop an interest in policies aimed at keeping out rural outsiders who may undercut their wages. Put differently, they must be willing to help the government to keep Africa out of the cities.

The new constitutional dispensation is a crucial test for both these strategies. It is generally recognized that the poll for the coloured and Indian chambers was a vital indication as to whether the junior partners would be willing to play their role.

What was less generally realized was the bearing of the polls on the second strategy as well. A sufficiently high poll, particularly in the cities, would indicate that the coloured and Indian urban insiders were prepared to accept both piecemeal political incorporation and to use the new representative institutions to protect urban middle class interests which, in the case of whites, means keeping out rural outsiders.

Overall poll

If this double context is borne in mind the significance of the election results becomes clearer. The poll of just over 30 percent for the coloured house and 20,2 percent for the Indian one is high enough to give the two new chambers a certain measure of respectability and legitimacy. However, a closer analysis of the make-up of the coloured poll reveals that not only must the overall percentage be seen as disconcertingly low but that it also rests on a "wrong" social and regional base.

Refusal

In regard to the overall poll, Professor Nic Olivier, head of the Progressive Federal Party research division, points out that Mr F W de Klerk earlier this year indicated that there were about 1 500 000 potential coloured voters and about 900 000 registered. Of the latter figure fewer than 300 000 actually voted — in other words less than 20 percent of potential voters. The Labour Party actually does not command the support of more than 15 percent of potential voters.



Voting in the coloured elections . . . junior partners for the Nationalist government

Even more telling are the figures for Cape Town, the urbanized heartland of the coloured community. Only five percent of the eligible voters in Cape Town went to the polls. This is significantly lower than the figures for the old CRC. Whereas in the 1975 CRC election some 44 270 coloured people in Cape Town voted only 25 110 did so on August 22 in spite of the growth of the coloured population in the city.

The middle class stayed away almost *en masse*.

Thus, while higher polls were registered elsewhere, the Cape Town coloured community has unambiguously signalled its refusal to take part in a political dispensation that excludes and divides people on the basis of race. The main support for the new constitutional deal came from the working class and the rural areas, but it is not clear that these are the groups the government is seeking to co-opt, particularly if we bear in mind the second strategy — that of stemming urbanization.

Insiders

In this connection it is of particular importance to consider the impact of the remorseless state action against squatters in the Cape Town metropolitan region.

The coloured urban insiders clearly have not seen this as government action on their behalf. After all, a mere seven years ago it was coloured squatter camps that were being razed in Cape Town.

Ironically, the low poll has put the Labour Party in a stronger position that it would otherwise have been The poll indicates that the coloured community as a whole, and the middle class of Cape Town, do not consider the new dispensation to be satisfactory.

Little progress

This means the government will have to do something to provide the Labour Party with a broader, particularly urban, base. As a very first step the coloured urban middle class demands the reform of the Group Areas Act and the racial sex laws. There are indications that Mr P W Botha himself has decided that the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act should go. This will be a dramatic, symbolic move that will considerably enhance the legitimacy of the new Parliament.

Ultimately, however, not much progress towards peaceful accommodation will be made until the government realizes that the strategy of stemming urbanization will fatally undermine its strategy of political incorporation. In the new dispensation the Labour Party will fatally compromise itself in the eyes of the coloured middle class if it condones the razing of squatters' camps by the state in Cape Town and beyond. The government would be ill-advised to jeopardize the tenuous position of the Labour Party through continuing with the hard line on influx control.

Crucial test

The vital fact white SA must confront is that influx control has become both a moral and political cancer. Key government advisers are beginning to realize it.

A verligte Nationalist MP, Mr Wynand Malan, recently stated that the government must replace its influx control policy with an urbanization policy.

The time has come for the Urban Foundation to commit itself publicly to the principle that every person in SA has the right to live in a city. As long as people are excluded from our cities and political institutions on the basis of race there is little hope of better polls at coloured and Indian elections and a genuinely new political dispensation.

Real political incorporation can only occur on the basis of shared values and interests — and influx control is not among them.

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New constitutional era dawns in violence — and hope

Political Survey



Gerald Shaw

SOUTH AFRICA enters the new constitutional era in somewhat unpromising circumstances, with police sjamboks flailing down on the backs of newly enfranchised citizens and signs of a new wave of urban black unrest in the offing.

It is clear that the intermittent violence which has plagued the country since Sharpeville in 1960 will continue and that the black youth will intensify their demand for rights as South African citizens.

But the outlook is not uniformly depressing. The significance of the low polls in both the coloured and Indian elections has not been wholly lost on the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, judging by his comments. In spite of the official propaganda about intimidation, the Botha administration is neither totally blind nor deaf, politically speaking.

Mr Botha is aware that the main reason for the overwhelming stayaway was not intimidation — but wholesale scepticism in the coloured and Indian communities and rejection of an apartheid-based constitution which, in their view, can do them no good.

Boost

The negative and equally sceptical reaction abroad is likewise a spur to Mr Botha to move heaven and earth, we may hope, to demonstrate that the new deal is not a fraud, as many suspect, but is actually a first step in a genuine programme of reform.

Ironically enough, the low poll gave a considerable boost to the new chambers' chances of getting something done. Mr Botha cannot afford to let his collaborators down. He must be able to salvage something from the wreck by well-timed actions and concessions which will enhance the credibility of the new system and overcome the scepticism.

and issues such as Crossroads and the demolition of squatter shanties. All this is seen as a denial of citizenship rights and gratuitous cruelty of a sort associated with Stalin's uprooting of the Kulaks. The same is true of the Thatcher Tories, as right wing a group as you are ever likely to find in the Treasury benches.

The cautious encouragement of Mr Botha's constitutional schemes abroad has always depended on the question of black rights remaining open-ended. But Mr Botha's position is ambiguous. He has never said anything which could be construed as a departure from the Verwoerdian dogma of black exclusion from South African citizenship.

So what can he have in mind when he talks of rights for urban blacks? It seems likely that he does not know himself at this point but that he is beginning to see that the old way of exclusion simply will not do. The Botha government is under immense pressure to accept continuing black urbanization as a fact of life which would mean, in time, that citizenship rights for blacks would inevitably follow.

But will Mr Botha ever consider such a thing? He seems loath to tackle the pass laws. Influx control and citizenship are intimately bound up. If the one is abandoned the other must in time be conceded — which is why pass arrests, population removals and the destruction of shanty communities grind on and on, in spite of the talk of reform.

If the Labour Party leadership in the House of Representatives, and their counterparts in the House of Delegates, have the political skills and strength of character to make the most of the opportunity, the new parliament could become a useful bargaining forum in a transitional phase of constitutional development, we may likewise hope, leading to full incorporation of blacks as citizens.

Civil war

It all depends on how badly Mr Botha wants the new system to command some measure of credibility and, ultimately, legitimacy at home and abroad. If such considerations are secondary, Mr Botha will no doubt congratulate the Minister of Law and Order on his aggressive policy during the election and will urge him to go even further in detaining the leaders of protest groups and whipping the masses into line.

If Mr Botha is only concerned to entrench Afrikaner Nationalist power by co-opting the English financial establishment and a coloured and Indian elite as allies against the black and brown masses, as some have suggested, and if the Labour Party plays along with this strategy, the new constitution will be a prelude to civil war.

The signs are, however, that Labour Party leaders such as the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr David Curry, for example, are sufficiently far-seeing to realize that there is no future for themselves or anyone else as collaborators in a white-Indian-coloured laager, ganging up against the blacks.

Black rights

Mr Hendrickse has shown wisdom and realism in his statement calling for the scrapping of the coloured labour preference area in the Western Cape and the extension of leasehold rights to Africans in this region.

The Prime Minister himself has likewise wasted no time in addressing himself to the question of black rights, although it is by no means clear what he has in mind.

In the West generally, and particularly in Mr Reagan's rightist conservative Washington, the whole edifice of the Botha reform stands or falls on the question of black rights. There is great sensitivity in Washington about population removals in South Africa

Same footing

And which is why the tide of black resentment and anger rises by the day, and overflows at intervals in a flood tide of violence.

Mr Botha's daunting task is to move by easy, imperceptible stages from the total exclusion of blacks on principle, as now in force, to acceptance of blacks as South African citizens on the same footing as everyone else. Which need not mean one man one vote in a unitary South Africa, in spite of the mindless knee-jerk view which holds that any concession to blacks must wind up in black domination.

There are any number of constitutional variations on the theme of federalism, de-centralization and local autonomy. The whites are in a position of immense economic and military power. They are well-placed to negotiate a constitution to safeguard their interests. If they have neither the wit nor the courage to do so soon, they will in time lose everything.

The scepticism in the black and brown community about the new constitution is wholly understandable. It was always unrealistic to expect communities which have suffered so much under the Group Areas Act to support a system which retains this hated legislation in its very structure. Yet scepticism should be tempered with the knowledge that this is the way the game is going to be played for some time to come, whether we like it or not.

The readiness of the Nationalist government to mobilize the apparatus of the state to impose its will with violence — using all the repressive paraphernalia of sjamboks, tear gas, baton charges and detentions in solitary confinement — should not be underestimated.

As in the past, effective protest outside the approved channels will be ruthlessly crushed. There will be no squeamishness about inflicting casualties, if this appears necessary to the guardians of law and order.

Equipped with scant legitimacy, and occupying a position subservient to the white House of Assembly, the coloured and Indian chambers might yet confound their critics, initiating a dynamic process of reform. We may hope so, anyway.

1984 a watershed year for South Africa

by Malcolm Fothergill

Southern Africa has entered a period of constructive diplomacy that promises well for the future of the region, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in Johannesburg last night.

"Old, stereotyped patterns of relationships are being replaced and relationships based on a new recognition of realities are emerging," he said.

The Prime Minister, addressing the golden jubilee dinner of the South African Institute of International Affairs — whose third International Outlook conference begins on Monday, said 1984 would go down in history as a watershed year in the affairs of South and Southern Africa.

FRUITION

"Not only have important ideals come to fruition, but a beginning has also been made with the implementation of concepts and structures on which we can pin our hopes for a better and more prosperous future for this country, and for the region as a whole.

"The year has seen the further emerging of South Africa as a regional power willing to play a positive role in the normalisation of relations and the settlement of disputes.

"What we have achieved so far in the internal dispensation in the country has been done in a peaceful and orderly way, despite diversity and difference of opinion."

Mr Botha said South Africa was deeply concerned about the bleak economic picture emerging from much of Africa.

"It gives me no joy. The pity of it all is that this economic decay is taking place in spite of Africa's rich potential."

The responsibility for African development rested on Africa itself, "and the time has come for Africa to get its priorities in order.

"There are signs in 1984 that this is beginning to happen."

South Africa saw nothing wrong in the desire of other states to achieve greater economic independence and prosperity, Mr Botha said.

"Such a development would benefit all of Southern Africa. However, to work on the assumption that this goal can be achieved without South Africa's active participation is to ignore realities."

Mr Botha said the Nkomati Accord and the security agreement with Swaziland had opened the door to a new era of cooperation and development in Southern Africa.

"I sincerely hope that those states in the region who still refuse to normalise their relations with South Africa will soon realise that they have chosen an impossible path."

Argus 1/9/84 (304A)

Boesak: A UDF leader with no political aspirations



Dr Allan Boesak. . . will remain a minister

'Young man's' call resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Front

By LEON MARSHALL
Political Editor

WHEN Dr Allan Boesak made his call a year ago for the formation of some grouping to oppose the new constitution, he had no idea what would come from it.

He made the call to people of all races knowing that he was a young man — only 37 then, who had no conception of the struggle waged by black resistance movements over decades in this country.

He knew he was addressing himself to a racially and religiously divided community and he was conscious of the fact that he was a Christian, a member of the Dutch Reformed Church — and a "coloured". Why, he thought, would people respond to him?

Election boycott

His call resulted in the formation of the United Democratic Front which led the election boycott and which has been cast into the role of extra-Parliamentary opposition at a time when South Africa has embarked on constitutional transition.

And Dr Boesak, though only one of several patrons of the movement, is recognised by opponents and supporters as by far its most potent leadership figure.

Over the past few months he has been travelling from platform to platform throughout the country spelling out his objections to the new constitution and voicing deep-felt resentment of apartheid. Last Sunday alone he made five speeches, including his sermon as minister of Ned Geref Sendingkerk.

The response he got has left him perplexed — slightly scared even — and he believes he now needs time to think things over.

The past few months has been the climax to eight years of involvement in church and political affairs which have caught him like a whirlwind and cast him into the vortex of this country's stormy public life.

It started in 1976 with his return to Cape Town from studying overseas which coincided with the eruption of student riots throughout the country.

From the pulpit, from academic platforms and political stages, locally and internationally, his voice became increasingly heard against apartheid. And two years ago he emerged into international prominence when he was elected President of the World Council of Churches.

Over the past few months he has heard a growing chorus at political meetings shouting the name "Boesak". Wherever he has gone the response has been overwhelming.

Where does that leave him?

Perplexed

He is perplexed, though grateful that he has been so widely accepted. But it scares him, too.

"It places responsibilities on me which I don't know whether I can cope with.

"There are expectations which frighten me.

"I am not sure how I can make it clear that I have no political aspirations whatsoever.

"My involvement in politics is a product of my Christian faith. Whether the UDF existed or not, I would have resisted this constitution, the Government and apartheid in the same way.

"You ask me where I go from here? I don't know. All I know is that it doesn't end here.

"The Government will be pushing ahead with its constitution. The UDF will continue to exist. It is a broad national movement which has generated enormous enthusiasm. It has helped people to begin to believe in themselves again.

"I can't just walk away from it. I still won't take office in the UDF (apart from being one of its patrons).

"I'll remain a minister. My foremost responsibility is to the church. But it seems my role as it crystalised over the past year will have to continue, but I am not sure in what way."

Pressure

He says he has never been under so much pressure as during the past few months. He values the opportunities he had to speak to multiracial audiences and people of different walks of life and faiths. He was amazed by the intensity of their response. But he realised, too, they all the time expected him to say new things.

He believes he has learned more about South Africa this year than ever before. He knew from the outset the majority of black people would not accept the new constitution, but he didn't realise they felt so deeply about it.

It has convinced him that apartheid was artificial, because people could not have responded in such a way if apartheid was an inherent part of their nature.

He doesn't know what the future holds for the UDF. He believes, however, it cannot sit back and allow the momentum to go out of its campaign. But he says he doesn't know what the organisation has in mind.

He acknowledges that the greatest danger to the UDF would be if the Government "delivered the goods", as Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has suggested.

If the Government became more tolerant, stopped threatening the UDF, started "delivering the goods", and if it generally started doing the things the UDF presently believes it will not do, then there is only one thing. "We'll have to change too."

But he strongly doubts whether the Government will do these things, even if insisted upon by the coloured and Indian participants in the new Parliament. To deliver the goods, the Government would face the severe difficulty of first having to find the money.

Tough-handed

What he expects to happen is that Mr Hendrickse and his fellow MPs will merely be drawn into the climate of tough-handed Government action in which they will have to co-operate This already has become evident from the Labour Party's threats against Sacos and teachers, he says. These were not much different from the threats used by the Government.

What he fears most is that the Government has no idea of the depth of feeling among the people opposed to the system.

And even if the Government found the money, it wouldn't help simply to "deliver the goods", as suggested. The Government would also have to change its political perceptions.

He believes the UDF could keep going by concentrating on its grass-roots organisation. But mostly, Dr Boesak believes, the organisation will survive on the issues put on its agenda by the Government.

C. Herald 1/9/84 (304A)

..ntimidation not to blame for low poll

By Ted Doman

NO word was more overworked during last week's election than the word intimidation.

Before the election there was talk of intimidation on the part of the anti-election brigade. On election day many of the candidates threw the word around to explain the lack of election bustle at the polls.

In the election television programmes the panel suggested intimidation as reason for the poor turn-out of voters in the Cape Peninsula. Minister F W de Klerk laid the blame for the poor percentage poll at the door of intimidation.

It would be idle to pretend that there was no intimidation. Of course there was. There was undoubtedly intimidation from the other side as well, but this is not at issue here.

FALSE

The claims of intimidation as a major reason for the poor election are palpably false, and are being used as a red herring.

Dr Frank Quint, during the election night television programme, suggested that another reason for the poor turnout was that some churches made congregants feel that it would be "unChristian" to vote. This is true of many Muslim communities, too.

But it doesn't explain why the urban voter stayed away and the country voter went to the polls.

Other reasons offered for the poor poll are:

I believe that the poor poll is due to that fact that the majority of eligible voters — or even registered voters — do not approve of the new constitution and that, in the absence of any other means of expressing their point of view, they opted to stay away.

IGNORANCE

This is not due to irresponsibility, as suggested by Prime Minister PW Botha. Or ignorance.

Indeed, and with respect, it is probably ignorance which led to the people in the country areas notching up high percentage polls. I can't believe that the generally better educated city slicker knows less about political rights than a person who is in the unfortunate position of having to live far away from schools. For example, how can the electorate in, say, Liesbeek, be regarded as less responsible than that of Wupperthal? In Liesbeek the percentage poll was 5.24, in Wupperthal 34.

Liesbeek is an area which covers Hazendal, the major part of "old" Athlone, on both sides of the Cape Flats railway line, Crawford, Lansdowne and a huge area of Rondebosch, Mowbray and Claremont.

PROFESSIONAL

In the main, the 6068 registered voters live in privately-owned homes, would all have at least two years of high school, would be a qualified artiperthal opposite number to be able to discuss political rights intelligently?

And has a thought been given to the fact that people in the Cape Peninsula know very well how politics work, and have worked it for many years? Has it been forgotten that, not only did they have the parliamentary vote (even if it did have a reduced value), but they elected people — their own people — to the Provincial Council, and to the Cape Town City Council?

Of course, these rights were later removed. And there is the rub.

They had rights, which they used — responsibly. But when these rights were removed (irresponsibly?) and there was no way of getting them back, they rebelled in the only way they knew — by refusing to particpate in any one of the relatively powerless substitutes for real power.

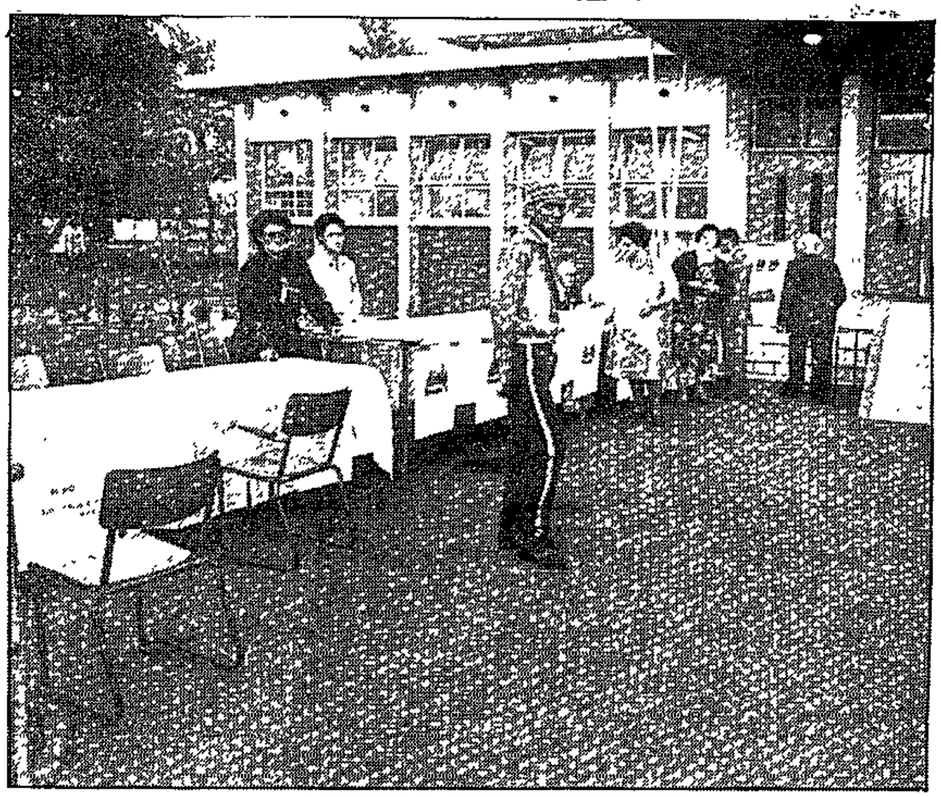
Why, in the first Coloured Persons Representative Council election in 1969 the percentage poll in Liesbeek was 12.9. In Strandfontein the percentage was 19.2, in Tafelsig 26.3 and in Heideveld 15.4.

In the second CRC election in 1975, Liesbeek recorded 12 percent, Strandfontein 18 percent, Tafelberg 26 percent and Heideveld 20 percent.

There was no United Their protest was not a violent one. It had nothing to do with the UDF. It had to do with their own preceptions of justice. And when only 322 people go to the polls out of a total of 6068, that IS protest.

And it is NOT the result of intimidation.

(Report by EJ Doman, 122, St George's Street, Cape Town).



© A BUSY period at on of the Peninsula's polling stations last Wednesday.

Regrettably not the best team

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse failed to score the biggest majority in the election last week. But the 8020 votes he polled was the highest number of votes cast for any candidate.

That is something which he and his supporters — and even his detractors — could have forecast before polling day.

Candidates who scored bigger majorities were JD Swigelaar of Dysselsdorp in the Oudtshoorn area (6036) and Willie Dietrich of Bethelsdorp (5755). Close behind was Laurence Erasmus of Gelvandale (5666).

So Allan Hendrickse, who claims to have been elected to the CRC with the highest number of votes ever cast in South African politics, is running true to form. It is hardly surprising, since his involvement in the Uitenhage community, and his family history of service, placed him well a "white" election, and who could hold their own in any debating company, it is regrettably true that there are a large number of successful candidates who wouldn't stand the proverbial snowball's chance in hell against the likes of the majority of the anti-election brigade.

CONTRIBUTION

Without running through the entire list of new Members of Parliament, one shudders to think what contribution Peter Harris of Strandfontein could make. Or Richard Lackay of Manenberg. Or Ken Lategan of Hanover Park. Or Harold Ross of Rietvlei. Or MD Arendse of Tafelberg

And, if they, as successful candidates, can be looked at quizzically, what then of a large number of unsuccessful men and women, both party representatives and independents?

Some appear to be thick-skinned. JC Samuels, standing as a Republican in 1975, managed to get 70 people to make their crosses for him in Liesbeek. This time he could score only 18 in Manenberg.

Solly Fester, who has had no previous visible political exposure, polled 37 in Rietvlei. In Natal Mid-East, M Hoskins polled six votes. And there are many others who barely made it into double figures.

Of course, for this election, the State temporarily removed the requirement that Independents would have to find 300 signatories to back their candidature

It certainly seems that not only Independents would have had trouble for, had that been a requirement for party representatives, successful candidates like MD Arendse in Tafelberg polled only 118. Arthur Stanley in Liesbeek 271, and Richard Lackay in Manenberg 294.

(News by EJ Doman of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

C/Herald 01/09/84

3 col A

● the negative attitude of the Press;

● that there was a preconceived conclusion;

● that there wasn't enough competition;

● people were waiting to see what developed;

● the credibility of the system had to be proved;

● the parties were not adequately prepared, and finacially able, to run an election campaign;

● a fair number of coloured people still showed no interest in exercising their political rights.

san or professional man. How can they be less responsible, less intelligent than the people of Wupperthal, a pastural community which has not has the opportunity of becoming politically sophisticated?

Is the man in Liesbeek less likely than his Wupperthal opposite number to show an interest in exercising his political rights?

Is the man in Liesbeek less likely than his Wup-

Democratic Front. There was no concerted anti-election action. But the people were protesting. And on Wednesday they protested again.

Butcher, baker, teacher, plumber, clerk, factory worker, accountant — I've asked them all about the election. They haven't been to any UDF gatherings. Nor to any political party meetings. But they did not vote. They didn't even register.

ahead of anybody who would dare to stand against him.

SUCCESSFUL

This is true of a number of other successful candidates as well. One thinks of Solly Essop in Beaufort West (Nuweveld constituency), JD Swigelaar in Dysselsdorp, Laurence Erasmus in Gelvandale, Willie Dietrich in Bethelsdorp, Louis Hollander in Britstown, Les Abrahams in Diamant (Kimberley) and Jac Rabie in Reiger Park.

But, whereas there are among them people who would win a seat even in

Election gems

HEARD during the election, and on radio and television programmes on the election:

● There doesn't seem to be much opposition for Labour.

● Votes are being counted in there as never before — Freek Swart of SABC-TV.

● The Freedom Party has made a huge breakthrough in Bosmont — Freedom Party leader Arthur Booysen who tied with his Labour Party opponent.

● The losing Independents haven't carved a niche for themselves — Prof Lawrence Schlemmer.

● It shows that the voters are not altogether raw (rou) — Dr Frank Quint commenting on the relatively low number of spoilt papers.

● My party will be the official opposition in the House of Representatives — PCP leader Peter Marais, whose party has one seat.

PW voted top of coloured and Indian pops

304A S. Times 21/9/87

By FLEUR DE VILLIERS

MR P W Botha is the top political leader among coloured and Indian South Africans, shows a nation-wide Human Sciences Research Council survey released last night.

The Prime Minister, who this week will become South Africa's first executive State President, enjoys far more support in the coloured and Indian communities than the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, boycott spokesman Dr Alan Boesak, or any Indian leader.

The opinion survey casts a new and surprising light on the recent coloured and Indian elections.

Based on personal interviews with representative samples of 1 242 coloureds and 1 406 Indians conducted in March this year, its release was delayed because the Electoral Act forbids the publication of opinion polls during an election.

Approval

Both groups were asked by means of an open question to name their choice for political leader.

The survey shows that Mr Botha was chosen as political leader by 37,3 percent of the coloureds. He was followed by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert (5,6 percent) and Mr Pik Botha (4,9 percent).

Mr Hendrickse, who led his Labour Party to a landslide victory in the recent elections, polled only 3,9 percent and Dr Boesak, 2,9 percent.



Mr P W BOTHA
Popular choice

Among the Indians polled, 41,5 percent chose Mr Botha, followed by Dr van Zyl Slabbert (5,7 percent) and Mr Pik Botha (five percent).

No Indian leader was chosen by more than 0,8 percent of the sample.

Nude show girls soaked in SAP search

By CAS ST LEGER

POLICE stopped a bus carrying Miss Body Beautiful contestants — and searched through their bikinis and feather boas for bombs.

It happened this week in the middle of the Free State bush on a wild, rainy night.

"We had nothing to hide," said sexy blonde, Lovell Krynauw, 18 of Cape Town.

"But we were very frightened. They were in camouflage and they pointed big guns at us.

"We had to stand away from our combi in the mud and rain for about half an hour. We were scared the police dogs would bite us," said contest winner petite brunette Monica Marsh, 22.

The girls, both models, had flown to Bloemfontein from Cape Town on Thursday with their agent Charlotte Field.

A minibus from the hotel in Maseru, Lesotho, had arrived to fetch them, ready for the bare-all contest this weekend.

Deserted

Driving the bus were the hotel staff manager, Stuart Anderson, and hotel accountant, Patrick Matsoha.

The group took a short cut to Maseru driving on a deserted stretch of gravel road.

About 5km from the Lesotho border post they were stopped.

"It was about 7.15pm and raining heavily. I didn't notice the South African Police car at the side of the road and drove past — which I think was why they were furious with us," Mr Matsoha said.

The bus was ordered to pull over and the occupants were forced to stand well away from it on the dark muddy road in the pelting rain.

"My hairdo was ruined," wailed Lovell.

"I was the only one personally searched," said Mr Matsoha.

After the dog had sniffed we had anything to declare — and then they found a gun in the combi. They asked us whose it was and we were all very worried.

"Then one of the policemen discovered it was his own gun he had put down. I don't know if they were just testing their dog."

Unsettled by the incident the girls decided not to allow it to mar their weekend and not to disappoint the audience of over 500 who paid up to R50 each for seats.

Parties

All of the 14 Miss Body Beautiful contestants said they had entered just for fun — and not for the R2 000 prize.

Samantha Gouss, 21, of Johannesburg, said: "I don't think my parents would mind at all."

Slender doe-eyed Zsa Zsa Coetzee, 23, a cabaret dancer, said: "No nude pictures, my



MONICA MARSH
Winner

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"During 5.30am, I sort of said Mr ...

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No Indian leader was chosen by more than 0,8 percent of the sample.

These results were reinforced by the response to a question on whether Mr Botha had fared well in the past year. Nearly one in two coloureds and Indians felt that he had.

When the coloureds were asked to choose a leader from their own community, Mr Hendrickse romped home an easy winner with (25,1 percent of the support) over Dr Boesak (7,7 percent).

In the Indian sample Mr A Rajbansi won a narrow victory (14,4 percent) over Mr J N Reddy (11,3 percent). Mr George Sewpersadh of the anti-constitution Natal

□ To Page 2

search

By CAS ST LEGER

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After the dog had sniffed out the bus and given an all-clear, the drenched young women were allowed by the five policemen to proceed — but not before an unpleasant incident about a weapon had occurred.

Said Lovell: "They asked if



MONICA MARSH
Winner

we had anything to declare — and then they found a gun in the combi. They asked us whose it was and we were all very worried.

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Slender doe-eyed Zsa Zsa Coetzee, 23, a cabaret dancer, said: "No nude pictures, my husband would freak."

The event was as sizzling hot as the weather was icy.

Hotel staff were amazed at wild parties and young ladies wandering lost in hotel corridors, missing essential items of clothing, in the wee small hours.

Monica Marsh, 22, was named as South Africa's new Miss Body Beautiful in the finals in the early hours of yesterday morning.

The runners-up were Natasha Harris, 28, a Johannesburg secretary, and Miss Nolleen Rossouw, 21, who is a professional dancer from Cape Town.

SA's biggest war games

MORE than 500 army vehicles left Alberton for Lohathla in the Northern Cape yesterday to take part in South Africa's biggest and most spectacular military exercise, "Thunder Chariot".

# of death

AN adventure in Africa bec[a]me safari of death for bubbly blonde [te]man teenager Karina Broums.

Yesterday her distraught friends how they stood by helplessly as K[a]rina, 17, was eaten alive by a lioness.

A whimpering cry in the early darkness was the only sound the girl make as the growling cat savaged her.

The young couturier, from Rotenburg then dragged across a river in [Bo]Okavango Swamps as her friends [wa]horror.

She had been unable to scream [be]had an orthodontal brace fastened to her

The brace, to straighten her slightly nent teeth, was strapped round her head night before she went to sleep.

"There was nothing we could do," tour leader, Pastor Falk Rohland, 46.

"We could see she had already been and no amount of hooting, shouting, ing lights would drive the lioness [a]

Karina, 17, and 27 friends — as the she was the "baby" of the party — were ling through northern Botswana.

Due to fly home

They were part of a Lutheran Church ship tour, meeting different cong[re]across the country.

She and 14 other German youths had in Botswana only three weeks ago. Ka[ri]her first trip to Africa, was due to fl[y] home to her parents on Friday.

"We decided to break our journey [a]at the wildlife in the Moremi Game R[e]said Mr Rohland, who left Botswana after working there for four years.

They spent the day spotting game — seeing any lion. Late in the evening [we] arrived at a public camping site [on] banks of the Xaxanago lagoon.

"We were terribly tired. We pitched and decided who was to sleep in the [t]the lorry. The Batswana who were were scared of the animals, although no sign of them, and they chose the

"Ten of us got into the tent and [fo]front."

The tent, a military bell type, flaps lowered. The edges were [se]ground under piles of earth.

"During the night, at about 5.30am, I heard crying — a sort of whimpering noise," said Mr Rohland.

"I thought someone was having a nightmare. I struggled for about two minutes trying to find a torch."

Agonising

Once he found the torch, and other members of the party had woken up, they saw the lioness standing about 15m away with Karina in its jaws. The girl made no movement, no sound at all.

The sleeping bag lay halfway between her and the tent.

Then followed an agonising five hours during which the lioness, despite the noise and lights, dragged Karina across the river on to an island.

"We climbed some trees and we could see the lion

PW the top choice of Indians and coloureds

□ From Page 1

Indian Congress received only 3,1 percent support.

The HSRC poll casts a fresh light on the dismally low polls during the recent Indian and coloured elections and tends to rebut UDF claims that the stayaway vote could be interpreted as a victory for the boycott strategy and proof of wholesale rejection of the new constitution.

At the time of the survey 46 percent of the coloured and 57,1 percent of the Indian communities accepted the constitution at least in part. Only 15,9 percent of the coloureds and 14,8 percent of the Indians rejected it completely — in startling contrast to the UDF claim that the low-poll elections proved that 80 percent of South Africa's coloured community had rejected the new deal.

Uncertain

Some 16,4 percent of the coloureds and 16,7 percent of the Indians surveyed were completely in favour of the new constitution, while 29,6 percent of the coloureds and 40,4 percent of the Indians accepted it in part.

On the effect of the new constitution on Indian-coloured-white relations, 32 percent of the coloureds and 45,3 percent of the Indians believed it would be beneficial, while 7,6 percent and 12,1 percent respectively believed that relations would deteriorate. The remainder were either uncertain or believed that relations would remain unchanged.



VAN ZYL SLABBERT
... second choice

The majority in both communities (49,9 percent of the coloureds and 56,5 percent of the Indians) believed that blacks should participate in the same government with whites, coloureds and Indians.

Some 24,1 percent of the coloureds and 30,1 percent of the Indian rspondents believed they should not.

Asked whether they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the course of events in South Africa, the coloured community was evenly divided (32 percent satisfied and 36,1 percent dissatisfed). Among Indian respondents 48,3 percent were satisfied and 24,9 percent dissatisfied.

More Indians (45,8 percent) than coloureds (34,9 percent) believed that the political situation had improved in recent years. And more Indians (44,2 percent) than coloureds (27,4 percent) believed that their own attitude to whites had improved.

Apartheid practices were identified by 29,9 percent of the coloureds as South Africa's most pressing problem, followed by the economic situation (25,7 percent) and housing (13,5 percent).

These three issues were also seen by Indians as South Africa's most important problems.

The greatest threats to peace and stability were identifed by coloureds as poverty and unemployment (30,4 percent), the Government's race policy, (24,3 percent) and communism (9,6 percent).

Indians regarded poverty and unemployment, the Government's race policy and Black nationalism as the three greatest threats.

The survey also reveals little large-scale support for any Indian or coloured political party, although the Labour Party received the greatest support among coloureds (25,2 percent).

Threats

Commenting on the survey, the HSRC says the fact that between 35 and 40 percent of the Indian and coloured respondents generally accepted the legitimacy of the new constitution was no guarantee that they would have participated in the elections.

Nor could the inference be made that everyone who did not participate totally rejected the new constitution.

"Voting behaviour is a complex social-psychological phenomenon and a great variety of factors can combine to influence people not to vote."

Among these it cited "apathy, ignorance, lack of motivation, the absence of an election tradition, organisational and logistical shortcomings, intimidation and numerous other problems faced by developing communities the world over."

SET AGE

Hendrickse promises tough action

By NORMAN WEST - Political Reporter

LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse this week strongly warned the South African Council on Sport, and teachers, to keep politics out of education affairs and to cease instigating students — or face the consequences.

Mr Hendrickse, whose party won 76 of the 80 seats for the House of Representatives, was speaking on the eve of the opening of the new tricameral Parliament.

He said : "The grip of outside organisations, like Sacos, must be broken, and teachers wanting to force their Sacos policies and so-called 'double-standards resolution of no normal sport in an abnormal society' on pupils and schools, will have to bear the consequences.

Freedom of choice

"Ideally, we want a normal society in South Africa in which everybody must have the freedom to choose where he wants to go and with whom he wants to play.

"Although Sacos claims to have a policy of non-racialism, they are victimising even primary school children, who practise non-racialism by playing for clubs of their choice.

"This type of victimisation is on record and has occurred, unfortunately, with the concurrence of teachers and even school principals.

"The community has my assurance that such cases will be dealt with severely in future."

Mr Hendrickse said the role of sport organisations, which meddled in the administration of sport at school level, was another matter that would receive immediate attention.

"We want the administration of school sports to be a matter to be decided upon by the school, in conjunction with parents and school committees — and not outside organisations with dubious motives."

He said teachers acting as "phantom political activists" and instigating students to use school time for politicking, faced tough action once the new Parliament came into operation.

"The Labour Party has pledged itself to work for the social upliftment of the community in the broad sense, and the first rung of the ladder in this process



The Rev Allan Hendrickse.

is the education of the community — nothing is more important.

"If the roots of a proper education are allowed to become poisoned by irresponsible elements, the tree of uplifment becomes rotten.

"We find the disturbing trend that, at the drop of a hat, students and even primary school pupils stream off their campuses and on to the streets with the unfortunate encouragement and concurrence of certain teachers.

Vulnerable pupils

"This reprehensible behaviour of some State employees entrusted with the moulding of the characters of vulnerable students and pupils, must be looked into urgently and seriously.

"In contravention of the regulations governing their employment, during the elections some teachers were among those anti-election canvassers going from house to house, engaging in active politics of a negative nature.

"Yet, these hypocrites are drawing fat salaries from the State and live in luxurious houses in posh townships — houses which were built with 100 percent Government loans and on which they draw 60 percent subsidies."

"The regulations governing education leave several options to deal with misconduct and we will not hesitate to have those options exercised," said Mr Hendrickse.

● In the past, teachers guilty of misconduct have been suspended, transferred to remote towns or, in many cases of those holding promotion positions, demoted.

Now for the blacks

WHAT to do with the "urban blacks"?

It is extraordinary how politically aware whites have managed to give this question a political career of its own. As if "urban blacks" constitute a constitutional and political problem that can be solved on its own.

Thus: "We have solved the problem of the whites and the coloureds and Asians (have we?), and the rural blacks, and now, what about the urban blacks?" (The Prime Minister at the National Party Free State Congress).

If we insist on posing the question in this way and then begin to search for a constitutional "step in the right direction" we will repeat exactly the same mistake that we made with regard to the "constitutional solution" for coloureds and Asians.

That is to take the status quo for granted and then to graft a new constitution on to it and pray for goodwill and a miracle.

Already the Government approaches the new parliament like a novice does a one-armed bandit at a casino; it is going to keep on feeding it (our) coins in the hope that it will hit a political jackpot.

Implicit in the phrase "urban blacks" are a number of major political assumptions which flow from one of the most costly and unsuccessful experiments in grand social engineering, namely, separate development.

Let us not beat about the bush. If the Government assumes that:

- Its policy of homelands becoming independent sovereign states is not negotiable; and
- Therefore that all blacks must exercise their final rights of citizenship within, or as



But you can't kraal them off into rural and urban

and the "solution" for "urban blacks" must be "linked" to the home-lands; and

- The problem of influx control is simply one of finding acceptable administrative and legal machinery to distinguish between "urban insiders" and "rural outsiders"; then
- There is no viable and durable "solution" for the "urban blacks".

To first demand that "homeland leaders", or "urban black leaders", or other opponents of the Government must accept these points of departure and then invite them to participate in finding a "solution" for "urban blacks" is to expect the impossible.

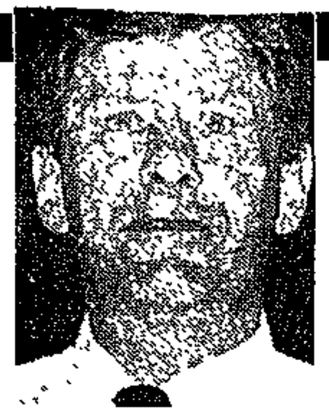
Why? Because these assumptions are totally unrelated to the demographic, economic, social and political forces shaping South African society for the next two decades.

Take a very simple point: There are no "urban blacks". Only black people living in the metroplitan and urban areas.

We do not think of "urban whites" as constituting a separate constitutional and political entity and we would be totally ridiculous if we did.

That is why we could accommodate the urbanisation of the Afrikaner and the "poor white" problem in a fairly rational economic and social manner.

We certainly did not start off by saying: "You have no right to be in the cities, so let us see how we can solve your problem." If we did, we would have had a civil war on our hands. (Makes you think, doesn't it?).



By FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

Leader of the Opposition

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In other words, there are a host of social, economic and community problems that arise out of the increasing presence of black people in our cities and metropolitan areas that can be approached in fairly low-keyed and sensible ways.

For heaven's sake, we are not the only quasi-Third World country experiencing large-scale urban migration.

But such attempts cannot first be subjected to political assumptions that deny any chance of these problems being tackled successfully.

Over the last 20 years a wealth of research material has become available about the problems of urban planning, housing, job creation, local government and metropolitan control in Latin America, Africa and the East from which we can learn a great deal.

I do not believe there exists any model or formula that we can transplant holus-bolus into South Africa, but I do believe that there are many mistakes we can avoid repeating.

But, and this is an important "but", if we are forced to look at the problems of black urban influx, housing, freehold, allocation of land for residential and commercial purposes, the desired ratio of people to land, local community and government structures, and so on, through the spectacles of grand apartheid and separate development, then we cut ourselves off from a host of comparative resource materials which could be very useful in solving these problems.

Why? Because some of the fundamental assumptions of grand apartheid or separate development simply deny the reality of urbanisation and urban migration.

So what is to be done? There is no magic formula, no single act of political ingenuity that can redefine "the problem" in more manageable terms, simply because we do not have only one problem.

We have a combination of problems and they interact and affect one another.

There is the problem of unplanned urban migration, the problem of economic inequality and racial discrimination, the problem of a massive housing shortage, lack of social and community infrastructure and of course, the problem of political domination.

I think it is fair to say that the political problem overshadows and impinges on all the others so that is where a start will have to be made.

First and foremost, trust and confidence will have to be restored and the initiative must come from Government.

There are many blacks, and unfortunately their numbers are growing, who no longer believe in evolutionary or reformist change; who distrust the whole idea of "the politics of negotiation".

But the evidence still shows that the majority prefer to negotiate rather than resort to unconventional and violent means of change.

I have no doubt that so-called homeland leaders will use the structures already created to explore new initiatives, whereas they certainly will not use them to be coerced into old and unworkable ones.

Equally, there are many local black bodies in the urban areas in labour and community organisations which could be mobilised to co-operate in finding new ways of coping with urban and rural problems.

But they need a sign from the Government, an indication of a change of heart, a fresh declaration of intent.

It is not enough to appoint a Cabinet committee; its terms of reference must grab the imagination and evoke trust and co-operation.

I believe that if such terms of reference made it clear that:

- The Government was prepared to reconsider the question of black South African citizenship
- The Government accepted that blacks had the right to urbanise like anyone else and sought co-operation from them to help control and organise problems that could arise out of urban migration, overcrowding, housing and community development, and
- The existing system of influx control was going to be phased out, then
- The climate for the "politics of negotiation" would change dramatically and almost instantaneously.

But under no circumstances must the Government in the absence of such a declaration of intent, impose hastily concocted constitutional formulae based on the status quo on black urban communities.

This is precisely what they did with their concoction for coloureds and Asians and that is why we are stumbling from an old crisis of legitimacy into a new one.

Following such a declaration of intent, the Government must delegate and decentralise responsibility to cope with problems of urbanisation to the various urban and metropolitan areas and charge them to find new "initiatives" in terms of such a declaration of intent.

The Government must also be prepared to accept that some urban areas will, for obvious reasons, differ from others in the way in which they are going to cope with these problems.

Some areas may lag behind for racist, political or infrastructural reasons, but those that go ahead can generate new insights in coping with old problems.

This must not simply be an extension of bureaucratic structures that become self-perpetuating pockets of vested interests.

On the contrary, such committees must consist of people from the private and public sectors as well as from the communities themselves which are actively involved in coping with these problems.

The Government must also demonstrate its own bona fides by removing statutory obstacles to the individual's "normal and legitimate" participation in economic and community activities. Freedom of organisation, speech, association and trade must be established in a racially non-discriminatory manner.

There is no other way of finding out who the real and viable political, economic and social interest groups in the communities are and it is obviously better to negotiate with real ones than with "unreal" ones.

A successful urbanisation strategy is complemented and strengthened by an equally successful rural development strategy.

Once rural overcrowding and exploitation of our natural resources have been halted, attention will have to be directed to redevelopment of these areas as sources of food production and job creation.

There may very well be a natural flow back of population to these areas but I believe it will take quite a long time.

I have studiously avoided talking about national conventions or immediate political rights for blacks on a national level, not because I do not believe either to be important.

On the contrary. The suggestions I made are those which I believe are reasonable and plausible for the Government to consider.

Of course there are going to be very serious and difficult problems to cope with.

For example: the growth of black and white militancy and radicalism; the rate and tempo of urban influx; the strain on the economy and our financial resources.

But these problems are going to be there not because of the steps I have suggested, but in spite of them and, what is more, in the absence of implementing them, these problems are going to be even more difficult to deal with, if not impossible.

If it is argued that it is unrealistic to expect a change of heart from the Government on the presence of blacks in the cities, then it is equally unrealistic to expect sensible suggestions for a "possible solution for urban blacks".

The one depends upon the other.

Realism — not ideology

304A S. Times 2/9/24

Talks to choose new Cabinet

Now we are the Opposition, says Hendrickse

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Political Correspondent

TOP-LEVEL discussions are taking place between senior Cabinet Ministers and newly-elected coloured and Indian leaders over the appointment of Ministers in the new tricameral parliament.

The new-look multiracial Cabinet will be announced by the State President on Saturday, two weeks hence.

It is understood discussions have already taken place between coloured political leaders and government figures over allocations of positions in the new system.

Indications are that at least four Ministers will be bowing out from the Cabinet — Dr Piet Koornhof and Mr Pen Kotze, both of whom have announced their resignations and are earmarked for the President's Council, Dr Nak van der Merwe and Dr Lapa Munnik.

Dr van der Merwe's poor health — underlined by his collapse at the conclusion of the OFS NP congress last week — is being punted as the major reason for his retirement.

Those dropped from the "Super Cabinet" could still hold jobs in the Ministers' councils — the "own affairs" Cabinets in the new system.

Newcomers to the Cabinet will include Mr Stoffel Botha, former Administrator of Natal, and certainly an English-speaker.

Most interest

Mr John Wiley is being strongly punted as a possible Cabinet appointment.

But most interest will focus on the new coloured and Indian faces from the other two Chambers.

Mr Hendrickse's overwhelming election victory would qualify him for appointment to the "Super Cabinet".

The position of the Indian representative in the Cabinet — either deputy or full — is more problematic.

If Solidarity manages to pool the majority in the hung Chamber of Delegates it is likely party leader Dr J N Reddy will move into the Cabinet.

If the National People's Party top the score, however, it is Mr Rajbansi who might be invited to join the Cabinet — perhaps in a Deputy Minister's role.

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse says his party is "the only real opposition to the National Party".

As such, he said, the Labour Party would in future "call the shots" in national politics, and not Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Hendrickse was reacting yesterday to a view expressed this week by the PFP leader that the PFP may decide to form an alliance with other parties, including the Labour Party, "depending on the actions and attitudes of the Labour Party once the tricameral parliament comes into operation."

Mr Hendrickse said in terms of percentage support, the LP had 95 percent of the support of coloured voters who went to the polls, judged on the basis of the 76 out of 80 seats the LP had won on August 22.

He believed the LP had now clearly established itself as the party with the clearest majority, compared to any of the other "opposition" parties in the three houses of the tricameral parliament.

Contrast

In contrast to the LP victory, the photo-finish election results of the House of Delegates, split the two main contesting parties, Solidarity Party (SP) of Dr J N Reddy and the National People's Party (NPP) of Mr Amichand Rajbansi, almost down the middle with 18 seats won by the NPP and 17 by the SP.

Four seats went to Independents and one to the Progressive Independent Party of Mr Faiz Khan.

Dr Slabbert said it would be "improper" to prescribe to the Labour Party how it should behave under the new system, but said "there is no reason why the PFP should not co-operate with the LP".

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday he "took exception" to remarks by Dr Slabbert in which he questioned whether the LP could claim a mandate from the coloured voters because of the low 30 percent turn-out at the polls.

"Dr Slabbert and his ilk are in no position to sit in moral judgment over the LP, because the PFP's track record in terms of support from its own constituency, is not all that rosy.

Alliance

"In spite of its call for a 'No' vote in the referendum of November 2, last year, 66 percent of the whites voted 'Yes'.

"In elections for the House of Representatives, we won 95 percent of the contested seats.

"We will, therefore, decide, whether we would like to form an alliance with a minority party like the PFP, and not the other way around," said Mr Hendrickse.

Key men jockey for power

By TICKS CHETTY, BOETIESHAK and NORMAN WEST

THE power struggle for control of the House of Delegates has become a frantic race against time.

But by yesterday the Solidarity Party seemed to have the edge over the National Peoples' Party in attempts to woo the Independents and others into its ranks.

Solidarity and the NPP, which won 17 and 18 seats respectively in the House of Delegates elections, need at least 21 to swing control into their hands before Tuesday when they enter the new parliament.

The four MPs who have become the focus of attention are Mr K Ramduth and Mr R Mohangi, Independents; Mr F Khan, leader of the Progressive Independent Party; and Mr A E Lambert, who stood as a Labour Party-sponsored Independent.

Mr P C Nadasen, who won Maritzburg's Allandale seat as an Independent with the backing of the NPP, has since announced that he would join the NPP.

Final decision

Meanwhile, Mr Narantuk Jumuna, who won the North Coast constituency. as an NPP candidate, said yesterday that he was considering moving to Solidarity.

Mr Mohangi said he would consult with the Committee of 60, which helped him in his election campaign, before coming to a decision.

Mr Ramduth, a retired headmaster who won the Clare Esatate seat, said he had been offered the Education Portfolio by Solidarity and the NPP.

He denied earlier newspaper reports that he had demanded to be put in charge of education in the House of Delegates in exchange for his support for either party.

Key man

"I am still considering my position," Mr Ramduth said.

Education is termed an "own affair" under the new constitution.

If Mr Jumuna and Mr Mohangi decide to join Solidarity, the party would have 19 MPs and the NPP 18.

But the man with the key to ending the impasse may be Mr A E Lambat.

There is speculation that Mr Lambat could be persuaded by the Labour Party to join Solidarity — but for a favour in return.

It is said that part of the deal would be for Solidarity, if it then commands the majority, to nominate Mr Salam Abram-Mayet, an Indian member of the Labour Party's Transvaal executive, to the House of Delegates or put his name forward for nomination to the new President's Council.

"I won through my own efforts and not on a party ticket," Mr Jumuna said.

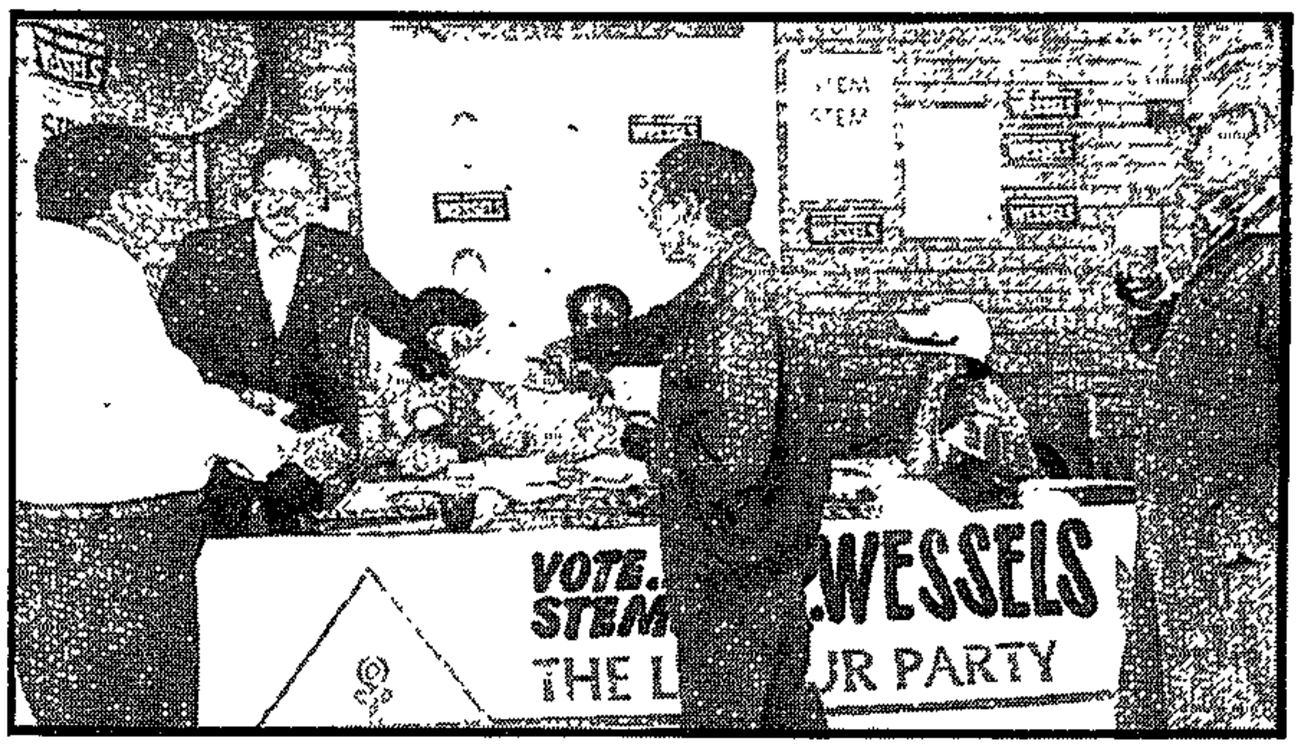
"If I join Solidarity it would be largely because of the backlash there has been from the community to the NPP-controlled Indian Council's undue interference in Indian education and its attitude towards teachers," he said.

The NPP, as the majority party in the SAIC, was responsible for educational matters.

Mr Jumuna said he would make a final decision at the weekend.

There is also a possibility of Mr Mohangi, who won the Tongaat seat and who is Mr Jumuna's cousin, joining Solidarity.

"I am still on the fence. But I would like to be where my cousin, Jumuna, is. I wouldn't like to let him down," he said.



One of the voting booths for the House of Representatives

is a game for those who want to play

A FUNNY thing happened on the way to the Forum.

As could be expected, there were those who anyway ignored the call to vote, who were simply apathetic or otherwise too busy or too lazy to get away to the urns.

But this time there was also a faction that decided to shun the Forum and some thugs who scared people off voting, telling them they might get roughed up if they did.

And now they have the cheek to lump together all who didn't vote and presumptuously declare that they did attend the Forum, casting their pebbles in a block vote against the candidates as well as the system.

The sturdy proponents of Roman democracy would, of course, not have given a hoot for such a spurious claim, and would have told the caterwaulers to go jump into the Tiber.

So, too, should all sensible and practical South Africans fob off the current bleating against the coloured and Indian elections as not being "legitimate" or "credible" in the light of the low polling percentages.

Democracy is, after all, for those who have the will to participate. Casting one's vote and accepting the result manfully is of the essence.

By definition, democracy is not for boycotters, abstaining perfectionists or ideological axe-grinders who really want to wreck it.

Democracy is the practice of democracy itself, and it dare not buckle before those who would deny its practice to themselves — and others — in a showy exercise of demonstrative politics.

Moreover, democracy is a matter of legitimately established democratic institutions and their practical working; it is those institutions that have to be adapted over time; they are not to be shunned because of this or that theory.

Curiously, it is when the theorists and the dogmatists hijack democracy, sounding off endlessly about "the will of the people", that democracy really doesn't work.

Even more curiously, it was the Stalins and the Hitlers who regularly boasted the highest polls; similarly have latter-day dictators organised vast voter turn-outs.

In fact, in these times when everyone prates of democracy, one should be very wary of high-percentage polls as indicators of its actual working.

Just take a few one-party states on this continent and look at some of their recent polling figures: Algeria, 96 percent (1984); Rwanda, 99 percent (1983); Djibouti, 91 percent (1982); Mali, 95 percent (1982); Burundi, 95 percent (1982); and Guinea takes the cake among these pretended democracies with no less than a 100-percent vote for guess who (?) in 1982.

When one looks at polling percentages in countries generally recognised as working democracies, one discerns patterns that more truly reflect voter behaviour in free and open circumstances.



By LOUIS NEL

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs

Perhaps the "greatest democracy on earth" is the pointed example here. The United States does indeed have a history of low polls.

In 1976, a mere 27,2 percent of America's registered voters propelled Jimmy Carter into the White House. Or put it another way: 72,8 percent of the people who could vote either voted against him or didn't vote for him.

Ronald Reagan, who achieved a "landslide" in 1980, did not do much better — he was backed by 27 percent of the voters, while 73 percent voted against him or did not vote for him.

Our Labour Party also gained a landslide, taking nearly all the seats in the new House of Representatives through commanding overwhelming support in a 30,5-percent poll — in effect, not much less than Reagan or Carter gathered behind them, percentage-wise.

Allan Hendrickse can, therefore, at least talk to the President of the United States.

The greatest democracy gives other evidence of the freedom not to vote. For instance, in 1980 only 67 percent of Americans entitled to vote registered themselves as voters.

Not much more than half of them (54,4 percent and 53,2 percent) cared to vote in the past two presidential elections; just under half voted for the House of Representatives in 1982.

Furthermore, blacks and Hispanics in the US tend to vote on a lesser scale than whites: sometimes 10 percent to 20 percent less than their compatriots.

And nobody would deny that, given a free and open democracy, there is a tendency among less-educated and less well-off citizens to hie them to the polls.

This pattern is found in Mexico and India; and in democratic Venezuela, where voting is compulsory, and turn-out is usually below 60 percent.

Clearly, this factor would apply to an election among the coloureds and Indians here in South Africa. And there were several more factors that made for a low poll on those voting days....

For one, rightly o. wrongly, there is little tradition of campaigning, voting and general politicking among our brown peoples.

Experience and knowledge of electioneering practices are lacking. There were also organisational and logistical problems for parties, some of them quite new, that had nothing like the financial support from private businesses that our white parties enjoy.

Many coloured and Indian voters obviously stayed away because of ignorance, lack of interest and the "what's in it for me?" syndrome. In the prevailing political climate, many also said "let's wait and see".

In the case of the coloured election, there was a real lack of competition among the parties; many voters knew that Labour would win in any case, so why vote?

There was competition for the Indian vote between Solidarity and the National Peoples' Party, but their middle-class apathy (found as well among coloureds of the Cape Peninsula) and the Zulu threat, as uttered by Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi, seem to have been more powerful factors in keeping the poll low.

Yes, besides the UDF's boycott movement, there was also intimidation — something that developed people, well practised in the ways of democracy, tend to ignore as a force among lesser-developed folk.

Intimidation manifested itself increasingly as the polling days drew nearer, and when it came to voting the threats were clear.

The police had to act preventatively; but now, with a typical twist, it is they who are accused of "overreacting".

One should have no illusions as to how certain media have been swept away by the campaign to cast doubt on these elections, in every possible way.

Be that as it may, the imperative is that South Africa's democratic institutions be maintained.

Imperfect as some would claim they are — and no lid is placed upon improvement — these institutions are the legitimate instruments of our democracy. They have long been so, and are backed by a democratic tradition which is as important as the procedures of democracy.

And they will remain so.

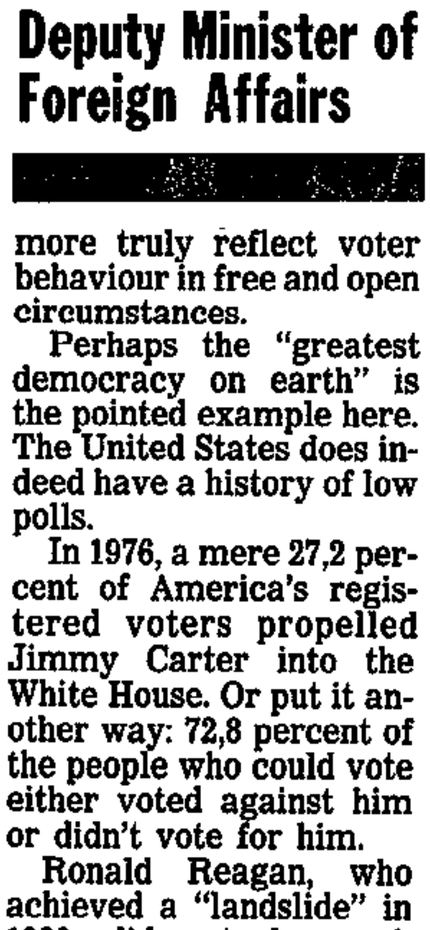
What the Government has had to face was not so much a campaign to discredit the pertinent procedures for coloured and Indian participation — as accepted by an existing electorate — but a movement to weaken the very foundations of our democracy.

Because, as so many instances in recent history show, where the "will of the people" (and it is mighty dubious in this case) is allowed to override existing democratic institutions, the way to totalitarianism lies open.

Two new Chambers of our Parliament have been elected, properly and with all validity; their workings must proceed; those who voted for them cannot be denied their right of representation.

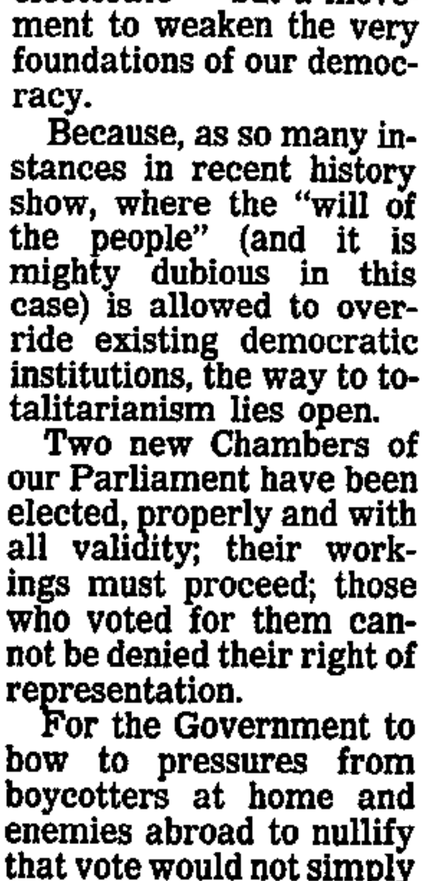
For the Government to bow to pressures from boycotters at home and enemies abroad to nullify that vote would not simply mean taking a knock itself, but would also undermine Africa's oldest working democracy.

QUOTE



ALLAN HENDRICKSE

Now Hendrickse can talk to the President of the United States on even terms . . .



RONALD REAGAN

RDM 3/9/84 □□□ ~~134~~ 304A

DID campaigning by emerging unions for a boycott of coloured and Indian elections for the new three-Chamber parliament affect the poll?

The six union groups involved in unity moves last week hailed the low poll, but stopped short of claiming direct credit for it.

One reason is that their coloured and Indian membership, while significant, is not big enough to make much impact on national poll figures.

But one area may have provided a test: the East Cape. There Fosatu unions conducted a house-to-house campaign urging a stay-away. And many coloured workers there belong to a Fosatu union.

On one level, this campaign seems to have failed: coloured election polls in the area were higher than in several other areas — between 30% and 48%.

But the area is a stronghold of the Labour Party's leader, Rev Allen Hendrickse, and many Fosatu union members have been Labour members or even office-bearers.

And only about 58% of coloured people were registered voters, so only one in four potential voters probably went to the polls in one of Labour's key areas.

So the union campaign may have had some impact.

HSRC releases survey results

Coloureds, Indians prefer PW Botha as leader of SA

More coloured and Indian people would prefer Prime Minister Mr P W Botha as a political leader for South Africa, according to a recent HSRC survey.

Against candidates from all race groups, Mr Botha received more support than all the others together.

Less than 16 percent of the respondents in the survey totally rejected the new constitution, but a majority of both groups felt blacks should be included in the new dispensation.

RELEASE

The results of the survey, conducted in March by the Human Sciences Research Council's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research, were released in Pretoria at the weekend.

The release of the report was postponed until after the coloured and Indian elections due to a clause in the Electoral Act concerning the publication of survey findings which may influence an election, according to the project leader, Dr Nic Rhoodie.

Mr Botha was chosen as political leader by 37 percent of the coloured people, followed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition (5,6 percent), Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs (4,9 percent) the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party (3,9 percent), and Dr Allan Boesak (2,9 percent).

STRIKING

Just under 30 percent of the coloured respondents had no preference.

"It is particularly striking that respectively 52,5 percent and 30 percent of the coloureds chose either a white person as leader or were uncertain, while only 10 percent named a leader from their own ranks," Dr Rhoodie said.

In the Indian sample, 41,5 percent named the Prime Minister as their choice of political leader, followed by Dr Slabbert and Mr Pik Botha with 5,7 and 5 percent respectively.

No Indian person was chosen as leader by more than 0,8 percent.

When asked to choose a leader from their own population groups, the coloured people chose Mr Hendrickse (25 percent) and the Indians Mr Amichand Rajbansi (14 percent) and, once again, a large proportion said they were uncertain.

With regard to the new constitution, just over 16 percent of both coloured and Indian respondents accepted it completely, 30 and 40 percent respectively accepted only certain parts, while just under 16 and 15 percent respectively rejected it.

"It thus appears that, at the time of the survey, 46 percent of the coloured and 57 percent of the Indian respondents accepted the new constitution at least in part," Dr Rhoodie said.

Twenty-four percent of the coloured and 30 percent of the Indian respondents agreed that black people should not participate in the same government with white, coloured and Indian people.

OPPOSED

Fifty percent and 56,5 percent respectively of the two samples were opposed to this view.

Twenty-six percent of the coloured people and 13,5 percent of Indians were uncertain or did not know.

With regard to a group name, 56,2 percent of the coloured and almost two-thirds (64,6 percent) of the Indian people indicated they preferred to be known as "South Africans". — Sapa.

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Mercury 3/9/84 (304A)

'Under 16 p c reject new deal'

PRETORIA—Less than 16 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in a recent HSRC survey totally rejected the new constitution, but a majority of both groups felt blacks should be included in the new dispensation.

The results of the survey, conducted in March by the Human Sciences Research Council's Institute for Sociological and Demographic Research, have been released.

The release of the report was postponed until after the coloured and Indian elections owing to a clause in the Electoral Act concerning the publication of survey findings which may influence an election, says the project leader, Dr Nic Rhoodie.

Just over 16 percent of both coloured and Indian respondents accepted the new constitution completely.

Thirty percent and 40 percent, respectively, accepted only certain parts.

Just under 16 percent and 15 percent, respectively, rejected the constitution completely.

Thirty-eight percent of the coloured respondents and 28 percent of the Indians had indicated they were uncertain or ignorant about the matter.

'It thus appears that, at the time of the survey, 46 percent of the coloured and 57 percent of the Indian respondents accepted the new constitution at least in part,' Dr Rhoodie said.

Regarding blacks, 24 percent of the coloured and 30 percent of the Indian respondents agreed that blacks should not participate in the same government with whites, coloureds and Indians.

Fifty percent of the coloured respondents and 56,5 percent of the Indian respondents were opposed to this view.

Twenty-six percent of the coloureds and 13,5 percent of the Indians were either uncertain or did not know on this issue.

On the choice of a political leader from any group for South Africa, the Prime Minister received more support in both the coloured and Indian samples than all the other candidates together.

Mr Botha was chosen as the political leader by 37 percent of the coloureds, followed by Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition (5,6 percent), Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs (4,9 percent), the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the coloured Labour Party (3,9 percent), and Dr Allan Boesak (2,3 percent). — (Sapa)

Rajbansi clashes with airport policeman

Argus 3/9/84 304A

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The leader of the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is to lodge a formal complaint with the head of the Railway Police in Natal after a policeman at Louis Botha Airport asked non-passengers to leave the departure area.

Witnesses, however, claimed Mr Rajbansi was rude and shouted at the police.

According to Mr Rajbansi, the trouble yesterday began when about 300 NPP supporters arrived to say farewell to the newly elected MP, who was leaving for Cape Town.

"GO TO HELL"

"I was standing in the departure lounge when a railway policemen shouted at our supporters to get out. I went up to him and told him he should not shout at the people and that the place was not overcrowded. The policeman then asked me to get the people to leave.

"I told him he could go to hell and if the people were forced to leave, the NPP delegates would not take up their seats in Parliament," said Mr Rajbansi.

He said the policeman was rude to those present.

Supporters were reported to have raised clenched fists in the air and chanted repeatedly: "NPP, NPP."

Brigadier C JH Pelser, commanding officer of the Railway Police in Natal, said the matter was under investigation.

Argus 4/9/84 304A

Detainees' position 'under consideration'

Political Staff

THE position of the 36 detainees held under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act in the week of the elections for the House of Representatives is "under consideration", according to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

In an interview Mr le Grange said he was not prepared to say more at this stage.

Those detained were leaders of anti-election groups and included leaders of the United Democratic Front, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order, said today that the new tricameral system would open under a cloud of hostility and mistrust because of the unprecedented wave of detentioons.

"Mr le Grange must now speedily begin dealing with all those he locked up during the coloured and Indian elections.

"Preventive detention is meant for subversive activities and not for people legitimately protesting against unpopular measures.

"Either people must be charged for having caused violence during the elections or they should be released."

Mrs Suzman also called for a thorough investigation of the violence used by the police during the elections.

World socialist leaders pull out of Tanzania conference

The Star's Foreign News Service

ARUSHA — An internationally publicised conference of Socialist International, due to open today with the objective of charting a strategy to hasten the downfall of the South African Government and the independence of Namibia, has been downgraded to the status of a Southern Africa committee meeting.

Only two European heads of state or government, Mr Olaf Palme, the Swedish Prime Minister, and Portuguese Premier Dr Mario Soares, are now expected to attend, and delegations from 12 other European socialist parties are understood to be at a lower level than originally anticipated.

The reason, say Tanzanian sources, is that Tanzania has refused to allow an Israeli delegation to attend the conference and it will be holding simultaneously, at the same venue, (the government's sprawling Arusha conference centre) a meeting of African journalists invited to study the "Palestine problem".

Significantly, an enormous green and gold banner strung along the front of the conference centre today reads: "The members of the international socialist organisation argue for the complete isolation of apartheid South Africa".

Conference sources say this is likely to be the main thrust of whatever strategy is evolved during the two-day conference, and that its odd English underlines the relative weakness of the Arusha assembly.

Tanzania expects it also to be attended by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, Swapo's Mr Sam Nujoma and the heads of all African Frontline states.

Presidents Nyerere, Kaunda, Machel, Dos Santos and Mugabe, or their deputies, will be seeking extra financial and other support from Europe for their own countries, on the grounds that they are playing significant roles in the anti-apartheid campaign.

Most of the Western Press has been excluded from the conference, its small Press corps having been handpicked and invited by Tanzania's overseas ambassadors.

All but the meanest hotel rooms in Arusha, the capital of Tanzania's richest region, 120 km from the Kenyan border, have been block-booked by the government. Security is tight, scores of security men having been drafted in from other regions, and telephone services to Nairobi have ceased functioning.

None of the ruling parties of Africa's Frontline states are members of the Socialist International.

Mr Leopold Senghor, the former leader of Senegal and the chairman of the African Socialist Parties Organisation, was expected to attend but has not yet arrived. Neither have Italian Premier Bettino Craxi, French President Francois Mitterrand, British Labour Party leader Mr Neil Kinnock and former West German Chancellor, Mr Willy Brandt.

Housing not such a problem for some, says survey

An average of only 12,5 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in a recent Human Sciences Research Council survey named the housing shortage as a major problem in South Africa — a finding that would seem to indicate that the survey sample consisted mainly of middle to upper class people, writes Gary van Staden.

The housing shortage was a major issue during the recent election campaigns for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, with every single political party involved addressing the issue.

WAITING LIST

Yet only 13,5 percent of coloured people interviewed during the HSRC survey, and 11,6 percent of Indians, mentioned the housing shortage as a major problem in South Africa.

The official waiting list for a house in Lenasia is just over 5 000 while the larger coloured areas such as Eldorado Park, Western, Bosmont and Reiger Park have official waiting lists in the region of 4 000 names each.

The low priority allocated to housing by the respondents would seem to indicate that most have a house.

The fairly well-off economic standing of the respondents is also indicated by the high priority they gave to the economic situation as a major problem in South Africa

Recent elections raise doubts over validity of HSRC surveys

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

Human Sciences Research Council data released at the weekend have again put the spotlight on the validity of such surveys, especially when the data base, as used in this survey, reflects a narrow slice of the communities involved.

The survey dealt with trends and opinions prevailing in the coloured and Indian communities shortly before the elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates on August 22 and August 28.

The validity of survey data is dependent on several critical factors, not least of which is the so-called "random sample".

For survey findings to be a valid reflection of the true opinions of the communities concerned, the sample must include respondents from all sections of the community and in proportion to their overall numbers.

In other words, if verified data from previous surveys indicate that 99 out of every 100 members of a certain community are living below the poverty line then 9 out of every 10 respondents in any new research must be of the same economic standing or the findings of such research will not be valid.

The "random sample" selected by the HSRC for its latest survey appears to be suspect.

HOUSING

It is an accepted empirical fact that a massive housing shortage exists among the coloured and Indian communities with official waiting lists for the Johannesburg area alone running into thousands.

It is also an accepted empirical fact that the present unemployment rate, particularly among coloured people, is unacceptably high.

Yet an average of only 12,5 percent of coloured and Indian respondents in the latest HSRC survey saw the housing shortage as a problem while an average of 26 percent — more than double — cited the economic troubles of the country as its major problem.

These findings would seem to peg the average survey respondent as a homeowner with an above-average stake in the economy, perhaps a small business. By no stretch of the imagination can such a respondent be regarded as "average" in the respective communities.

Without exception the coloured and Indian political parties said during the election campaign that poverty and the low standard of living of their respective communities were in need of urgent attention.

The overall picture the coloured political parties have of the state of their communities is thus not reflected in the survey data.

DISPUTED

Another hotly disputed claim is that the majority of coloured people and Indians would prefer a white man — Mr P W Botha — to be their leader.

In fact, according to the survey, 93 percent of Indians and 87 percent of coloured people would prefer either a white man (not necessarily Mr Botha) to lead them or were unsure how to answer the question. Only the remaining seven percent and 13 percent of the respective communities said they wanted a man of colour (including black) to lead them.

Other favoured white leaders were Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, and Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Of the coloured respondents 37,3 percent named Mr P W Botha as their number one choice while 41,5 percent of Indians selected him.

It would be logical to assume that, as those respondents preferred Mr P W Botha to any other leader, the majority of them would have voted for his new constitution. But, as both percentage polls were well below the support pledged for him, they apparently did not.

Another survey finding contradicted by election results is the support the survey found for the leaders of the two main Indian political parties — the National People's Party of Mr Amichand Rajbansi and Mr J N Reddy's Solidarity Party.

According to the survey, Mr Rajbansi was more popular than Mr Reddy. Yet the two won nearly equal support from the 20 percent of Indians who voted in the election.

The survey found almost no support for Mr George Sewpersadh, of the Natal Indian Congress. But newspaper reports indicated that thousands of people were attending meetings called by the NIC while the participating parties were attracting a few hundred at best.

Again the "random sample" may account for this disparity. Most of the support for the NIC came from young people who were apparently neglected in the sample.

CONFIRMED

On the other hand, the coloured community's support for the Rev Allan Hendrickse, as documented by the survey, was confirmed by the election results. The research findings were that 25 percent of the coloured respondents supported Mr Hendrickse — and that is roughly the support his Labour Party won from the electorate on polling day.

Of the 30 percent of coloured people who voted, all but two percent voted Labour.

The survey sections which deal with support for the new constitution are almost impossible to evaluate.

NO INDICATION

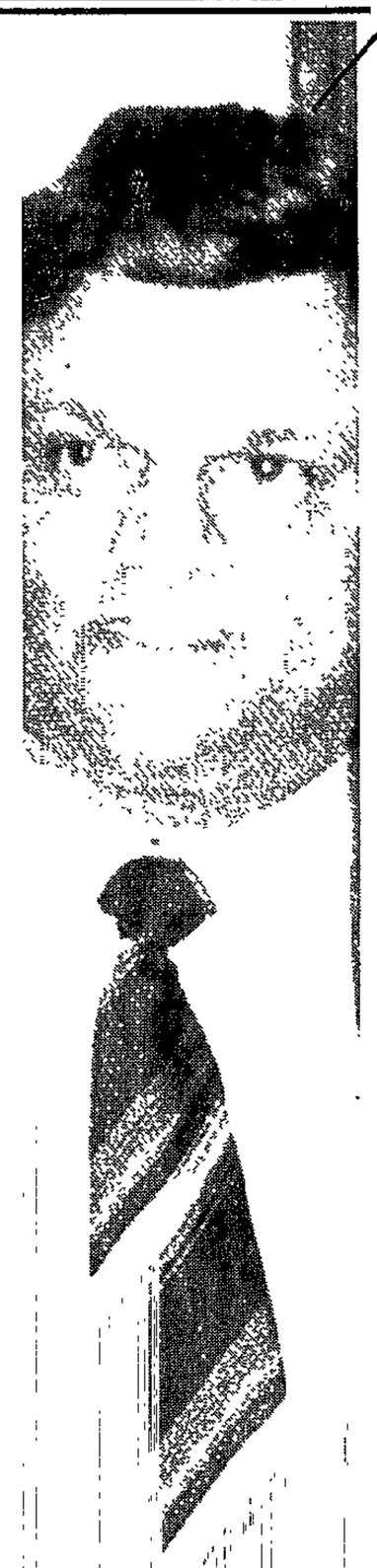
The reasons for this are the high percentages of "don't knows" and those who support only sections of the new constitution with no indication as to what those sections are.

There are no data available to point out which direction the above two categories took on polling day. But the percentage polls indicate that they did not vote.

This, in turn, contradicts another section of the survey which found increasing support for the new constitution as polling days drew closer.

The final percentage polls recorded, in fact, are far lower than previous HSRC survey data indicated.

Dr. Nic Rhoodie, project



Exclusion of blacks reason for low polls — HSRC

The exclusion of blacks — not intimidation or apathy — was probably the biggest single factor contributing to the low percentage polls in the recent elections, according to Human Sciences Research Council data released at the weekend, writes Gary van Staden.

According to the survey results the rejection of the new deal by both the coloured and Indian communities was centred on the neglect of black political aspirations.

An average of 53 percent of the coloured and Indian respondents in-

The breakdown for the two communities of those who wanted blacks included in the new deal was 49,9 percent of coloured people and 56,5 percent of Indians.

These findings are supported by another section of the survey in which the combined figures for total rejection of the new constitution and those who "supported only sections of the new deal" tally at 45 percent for the coloured people and 55 percent for the Indians.

BLACK ASPIRATIONS

responsible for the rejection of the new deal by the coloured and Indian communities.

Only 16,4 percent of the coloured respondents and 16,7 percent of Indians interviewed unconditionally accepted the new constitution. On the other hand the figures for total rejection in the respective communities are also low — 15,9 percent and 14.8 percent.

The majority of respondents said they accepted "sections" of the constitution and, read with the community feelings on black participation,

spondents from both communities told interviewers they were not sure whether they supporterd the new deal. From the percentage polls recorded by the elections it is clear that when it came to a decision the majority of this group opted not to vote.

Full survey findings under the heading "Black participation" were (in percentages):

Coloured people:

Blacks must be included: 49,9;
Blacks must not be included: 24,1;
Unsure or don't know: 26,0.

said that blacks should have been allowed to participate in the new dispensation.

would seem to indicate that the neglect of black political aspirations, and not intimidation or apathy, was single factor in the failure of the new deal at the polls last month.

An average of 33 percent of respondents felt that Blacks must be included: 56,5; Blacks must not be included: 30,1; Unsure or don't know: 13,5.

involved with the sample selection, was not available for comment yesterday.

Mr Rajbansi . . . more popular.

ECONOMY

Of the coloured respondents, 25,7 percent felt the nation's economy was a cause for concern while 26,5 percent of Indians supported them. The importance attached to the economy is only slightly lower than that attached by the two communities to the problem of apartheid.

Of the coloureds interviewed, 29,9 percent said apartheid was South Africa's major problem and among the Indians the figure was 28,8 percent.

The concern of the respondents over South Africa's economic plight suggests that the majority of them have a stake in the financial well-being of the country and their apparent lack of concern for the housing shortage appears to show that this area does not affect them.

Both these findings suggest that the respondents were mainly middle to upper class people. An equal cross-section of lower, middle and upper class respondents would have resulted in the housing shortage receiving a higher priority.

Education, another major issue among the political parties which contested seats in the tricameral Parliament, was not isolated by the survey but put together with general problems in the category "Other".

The full findings of the survey under the heading "Biggest problems in South Africa" were (percentages):

Coloureds: Apartheid 29,9; Economic situation 25,7; Housing 13,5; Other 30,9.

Indians: Apartheid 28,8; Economic situation 26,5; Housing 11,6; Other 33,1

Russian bear still on the march — former Nato secretary-general



Dr Luns . . . be prepared.

By Malcolm Fothergill

Despite its failings, the communist world still presented a formidable challenge and danger to the West, former Nato secretary-general Dr Joseph Luns said in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The massive and continuing build-up of military strength — the only yardstick regarded as a valid measure of international influence by the leaders in Moscow — is a threat in itself," he told the "Economic Interdependence and World Order" conference run by the South African Institute of International Affairs.

DANGEROUS

"Allied with a resolute singleness of purpose on the part of these same leaders, and an ideology which cannot but be expansionistic, it is doubly dangerous.

"So far as I can judge, the Soviet leaders show not the slightest inclination to relax their grip on that part of the world they now control, nor to abandon their quest for expanded influence wherever a careful calculation of possible gains and losses convinces them the chance is worth taking.

"The time-frame in which they now pursue their goal of world hegemony has certainly been extended: their attachment to that goal remains as firm as ever."

Dr Luns said that, given the existence of two fundamentally antipathetic political and social systems, it was unreasonable to suppose the expansionist and subversive challenger would be content to rest on its laurels and abandon the competition.

"The world must therefore be prepared for periodic crises as one side seeks to expand its influence and the other seeks to protect its values and freedoms."

In comparison to 30 years ago, the communist world was no longer monolithic.

"The schisms which have rent it are now so deep that the former frightening solidity it presented to the Western world cannot be recreated.

HOSTILITY

"The hostility between its two largest proponents, the Soviet Union and China, has passed beyond the point at which, in the foreseeable future, a reconciliation could be brought about.

"Yugoslavia's successful challenge to Moscow and the heresy of Eurocommunism within the communist parties in a number of Western countries are symptomatic of the centrifugal forces which have sundered the once homogenous communist bloc.

"Furthermore, the appeal of the communist ethic which at one time seemed almost universal has withered as the fundamental shortcomings of the system have become all too apparent."

Disenchantment was evident not only in the Third World but also in the communist camp itself, and not only in Poland.

"The average Soviet citizen sees his standard of living stagnate as the country is sacrificed on the altar of military expenditure.

CONDITIONS

"Conditions of life in Rumania are deteriorating.

"All over Eastern Europe, and in the Soviet Union as well, nationalist sentiment is on the upsurge."

Although Western Europe and the US disagreed on various issues, they shared a "solid bedrock" of values, principles and ideals, said Dr Luns.

The West's attachment to common values and free association was a guarantee of the durability of the democratic system.

● See Page 10, Metro section.

Expert deplores 'waste of effort' on arms

Around seven percent of the world's resources had been used to make arms each year for the past 30 years, said Australian strategic studies expert Dr Tom Millar yesterday, writes Malcolm Fothergill.

"The quantity of nuclear explosive power now available to those states with nuclear weapons is almost — but not quite — beyond human comprehension," he told the "Economic Interdependence and World Order" conference held by the South African Institute of International Affairs.

"It is generally and rather loosely considered to be about a million times the explosive contained in the single bomb which incinerated Hiroshima 39 years ago."

However horrifying this enormous destructive capacity, "we do the cause of peace, of world order, a grave disservice if we declare that the nuclear arms competition between the superpowers must inevitably by some 'law of averages' lead to conflict, or indeed that the competition has its own uncontrollable momentum which will produce the same end result.

"These are hypotheses, beliefs. They are not demonstrable, and are based on assumptions which involve the abdication of human reason and decision.

"Even so, we cannot but deplore with every fibre of our being the great diversion of human and physical resources to so counter-productive an end.

"While the civilian spin-off from the nuclear weapons, missile and space programmes is considerably more than the much-quoted teflon covering on frying pans, there is nevertheless a monumental waste of effort and treasure that can only be laid at the door of human folly, fears, suspicion, greed for power, political barrenness and diplomatic ineptitude.".

Dr Millar said the superpowers were the main world arms suppliers, with each providing about a third of arms acquired by the Third World.

"The balance between them has shifted a little over time towards the United States," said Dr Millar.

France had become the other major supplier during the past three years.

"One might assume the intention of the supplying government is to obtain influence, or in other ways to further its own national interests.

"Even this is by no means demonstrable.

"The cash register can have a more powerful ring than strategic advantage," he said.

One could easily and rationally condemn the industrialised powers for selling or giving away so many arms, usually with little concern for the consequences, and for not providing more economic aid to the Third World, said Dr Millar.

"But to change attitudes and policies will require processes not yet devised."

Forty years of international aid-giving had shown that "in most cases alms can only alleviate, not eliminate, a problem."



Shanty fire 275 homeless

More than 275 people including babies and toddlers were left homeless when fire gutted about 55 shanty homes, resulting in about R50 000 damage, at Inanda, near Durban, last night.

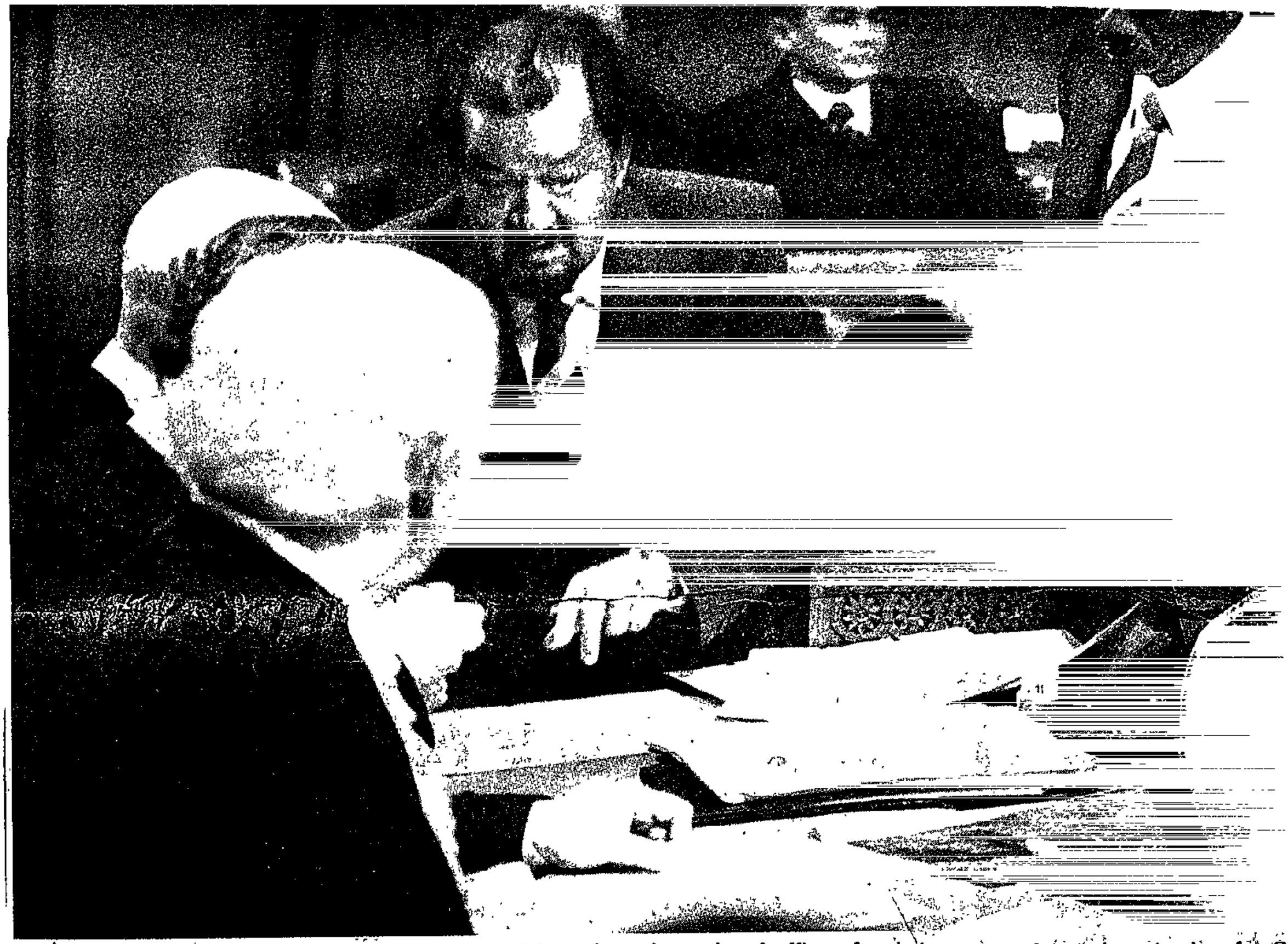
The fire started at about 10.30 pm after an explosion in one shack. It is thought this was caused by an iron being left to heat up on a pressure stove.

Mr Nicholas Ndawonde, one of the shanty dwellers, said: "I heard a terrible bang. I went out to investigate and saw the shack was a ball of fire."

He said the fire jumped to other shacks, which "just shrivelled like plastic".

Roofs collapsed and the area became chaotic.

"There were cries for help all over the place. Children were crying and shouting for their mothers. Men struggled to save those still trapped in their houses. The scene looked like hell," he said.



The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, signs the oath of office after being sworn in as the member for S the new House of Representatives yesterday. Waiting his turn in the former Senate chamber, is Mr Ismail Richards, the Toekoms rus.

Cape Times

Rajbansi rules Indian House

Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT. — The National People's Party yesterday won the battle for control of the 45-member Indian House of Delegates, taking a four-member lead over the rival Solidarity party.

Neither Mr Amichand Rajbansi's NPP nor Solidarity, led by Mr J N Reddy, had an overall lead of the 40 elected seats. Both vied for support of the four independent members and the sole Progressive Independent Party member, Mr Faiz Khan.

Majority

Yesterday three independents supported the NPP, giving it a majority which in turn gave it two of the three indirectly elected members chosen yesterday and a total of 23 seats to Solidarity's 19.

The NPP stands to increase its lead when the new State President nominates an additional two members to the House of Delegates later this month.

It also claims the firm support of the fourth independent, Mr A E Lambat, who is in Mecca. Mr Khan appears determined to keep his options open.

In the 85-member House of Representatives, the Labour Party consolidated its massive majority by securing all three of the indirectly-elected members yesterday. Labour stands to gain a further two members through presidential nominations.

Earlier yesterday, members of all three Houses were sworn in separately by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice P J Rabie.

The Houses then chose their members for the electoral college which will select a new State President today.

The National Party has a clear majority in the electoral college, made up of 50 white, 25 coloured and 13 Indian MPs. It is therefore a foregone conclusion that the NP candidate, Mr P W Botha, will be the first executive president.

'Skande'

However, as the constitution does not make provision for an acting state president, Mr Botha will lose his salary for 10 days before he is inaugurated on September 14.

There were cries of "skande" in the white House of Assembly when the Progressive Federal Party tried unsuccessfully to have eight of its MPs elected to the electoral college.

The NP voted down the PFP proposal in the first division of the new Parliament, ensuring that all 50 white electoral college members are Nationalists.

It is believed that Mr Lambat, who stood on a Labour Party ticket during the Indian election, has backed the NPP in return for the choice of Mr Abraham-Mayet, an unsuccessful LP-backed independent candidate, as one of the three indirectly-elected elected MPs in the House of Delegates.

The other NPP-backed indirectly-elected MP is Mr Yusaf Ismael Sedat, and the third MP, backed by Solidarity, is Mr Gopi Munsook.

In the House of Representatives the three Labour-supported indirectly-elected members were Mr J Douw, Mr A Goosen and Mr I Solomon.