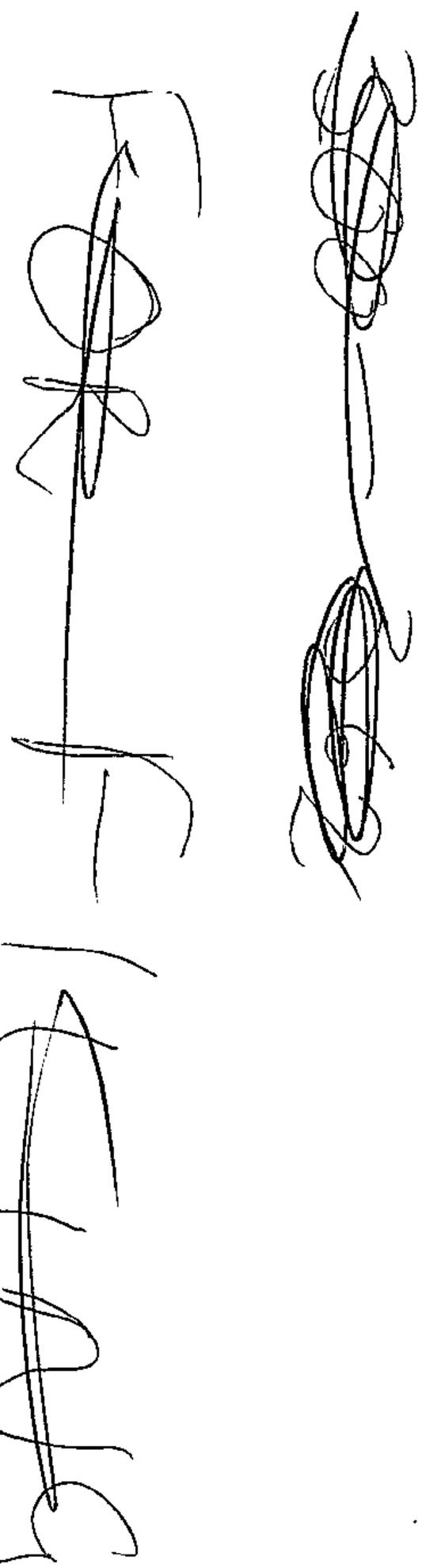
SA GOVT. & POLITICS - 1988

SEPT.



3044A

## Conservatives will vote against Bill

# Mixed rolls 'prelude to full integration'

The logical consequence of the introduction of mixed voters' rolls and non-racial management bodies for free settlement areas was total integration up to the highest level of government, **Dr Willie Snyman (CP Pietersburg)** said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said in second-reading debate on the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Bill that the CP would oppose the Bill as it affected the very root of the sovereignty and community life of "our people".

It was a sword hanging over the head of every white residential area.

Every such area faced the threat of being thrown open to all races and its residents of being included on a mixed voters roll and being subjected to the authority of a mixed joint committee.

What was being encountered here in microcosm was the principle of power-sharing in its naked reality, he said.

All race groups in free settlement areas would compete for control of the processes of government, as happened at central government level — a fact illustrated by last week's events in Parliament.

The overriding question was who was going to govern who.

This situation could work only if other groups were ready to accept the authority of one group — in Parliament this group was the NP — and then reach consensus.

If this did not occur, there was a breakdown.

No self-respecting population group would allow itself to be forced into situations that it found unacceptable.



Dr Willie Snyman

That was the basic drawback of the Constitution and this fact was now breaking out like measles.

Dr Snyman said education was unavoidably part of the problem surrounding free settlement areas. There was no way establishment of these areas could not lead to integration of schools.

If there was a majority of coloured children in such an area and there was an under-used white school there, did anyone think for a moment that the majority of children would be bused out to another school in another area?

The establishment of mixed or grey areas was anything but an orderly process and he foresaw great disorder surrounding the Bill.

The trilogy of Group Areas Bills, of which this was one, would supply the soap that would make the NP slip downhill faster, Dr Snyman said.

The importance of the Bill could not be overemphasised.

"We will ask voters on October 26 to take a stand on this. If they vote for the NP they are voting for the establishment of the first mixed voters rolls in South African politics and for the logical consequences of that move." — Sapa.

(ii) (aa), (bb) and (cc):

| | (aaa) Average annual electricity consumption per household (1905 KWh) |
|---|---|
| Pretoria | 9 413 |
| Johannesburg | 16 996 |
| Vereeniging | 11 730 |
| Durban | 7 665 |
| Cape Town | Not available |
| Bloemfontein | Not available |

The subdivision of these statistics by population group is not available.

(bbb) Average annual consumption per household is almost constant in established areas but rapidly increases in areas which recently have been electrified. Detailed data is not available.

(3) Total electricity consumption (GWh in 1986)

(a) (i) Commerce and industry 63 743 (Not yet separately available)

Other:

| | |
|---|---|
| Residential | 17 644 |
| Mining | 29 942 |
| Transport | 6 156 |
| Agricultural | 2 863 |

Statistics for 1987 are not yet available, but projected, it will be approximately 3,5% higher.

**Voters: race and age categories**

1357. Mr A E NOTHNAGEL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

According to the latest available voters' lists, how many voters in respect of each specified race group fall in each of the age categories particulars of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

According to the voters' lists as at 31 July 1988 the required information is as follows:

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

| | Whites | Indians | Coloureds |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-20 | 211 283 | 38 956 | 93 619 |
| 21-25 | 397 118 | 88 087 | 279 188 |
| 26-30 | 393 146 | 87 733 | 300 006 |
| 31-35 | 347 683 | 87 186 | 248 392 |
| 36-39 | 251 808 | 66 690 | 154 001 |
| 40-45 | 345 065 | 86 117 | 170 098 |
| 46-50 | 236 093 | 56 179 | 115 064 |
| 51-55 | 198 254 | 42 709 | 96 962 |
| 56-60 | 181 277 | 33 752 | 77 313 |
| 61-65 | 156 730 | 24 757 | 57 146 |
| 66-70 | 135 379 | 17 444 | 43 590 |
| 71-75 | 107 211 | 10 759 | 29 413 |
| 76-80 | 80 001 | 5 841 | 20 912 |
| 81-85 | 47 799 | 2 455 | 10 789 |
| 86-90 | 16 867 | 1 017 | 13 633 |
| 91-95 | 6 740 | 232 | 1 483 |
| 96-100 | 1 926 | 64 | 664 |
| 101-older | 563 | 25 | 359 |
| | 3 114 943 | 650 003 | 1 712 632 |

**Ostrich skins: RSA/Bophuthatswana trade agreement**

1427. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Agriculture:

Whether there is a trade agreement between the Governments of South Africa and Bohuthatswana regarding the tanning of ostrich skins; if so, what are the relevant details?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

No.

*Own Affairs:*

**Agricultural colleges: student numbers**

179. Mr R J LORIMER asked the Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply:

(a) How many (i) White, (ii) Coloured, (iii) Indian and (iv) Black students (aa) had applied for admission to and (bb) were enrolled at each specified agricultural college under the control of his Department as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) (i) what was the capacity of, and (ii) how many vacancies were there at, each such college as at that date?



The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND WATER SUPPLY:

| Agricultural College | (a) (i) Whites (aa) | (a) (i) Whites (bb) | (a) (ii) Coloureds (aa) | (a) (ii) Coloureds (bb) | (a) (iii) Indians (aa) | (a) (iii) Indians (bb) | (a) (iv) Blacks (aa) | (a) (iv) Blacks (bb) | (b) (i) Capacity | (b) (ii) Vacancies |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cedara | 173 | 73 | — | — | 3 | 2 | 90 | — | 75 | — |
| Elsenburg | 203 | 100 | 2 | — | — | — | 9 | — | 100 | — |
| Glen | 122 | 75 | — | — | — | — | 28 | — | 80 | 5 |
| Grootfontein | 106 | 61 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 64 | 3 |
| Potchefstroom | 142 | 95 | — | — | — | — | 80 | — | 95 | — |

Information as on 1988–08–24

Note: Vacancies arose as a result of students who withdrew from the course.

# Constitutional crisis deepens, system jams

**Political Staff**

GOVERNMENT has effectively suspended the workings of the tricameral system placing the country into a deepening constitutional crisis that sees no resolution during the current short session of Parliament.

This is how constitutional experts read the latest scramblings by the NP-dominated House of Assembly to manipulate the Parliamentary Standing Rules and Orders in such a fashion as to handle issues of a General Affairs nature according to procedures established for Own Affairs in order to bulldoze the trilogy of Group Areas legislation onto the statute books.

These latest manipulations have enabled Government to avoid having to submit any amendments to the proposed legislation to the Joint Parliamentary Standing Committees.

Having passed through this House, the President can then request the other two Houses to deal with the Bills. Should they decline to do so within a stipulated 14 days the President can then refer them to the NP-dominated President's Council (PC).

This process, initiated by Mr F W de Klerk, Leader of the House of Assembly and the NP's Transvaal leader, has opened up a legislative can of worms that threatens to demolish Government's attempts to build up a facade of consensus politics through the tricameral system, contends Mr Nic Olivier, the PFP's constitutional specialist.

The precedent set within the House of Assembly as an instrument of expediency could now well be used by the other two Houses for their own political ends — potentially reducing the entire system to a chaotic state.

The House of Representatives has suspended its parliamentary activities until next year, conceding to sit in on the joint session scheduled tomorrow to debate the Constitution Second Amendment Bill, designed to bring a black person into the Cabinet and expand parliamentary representation in the three Houses.

The Indian House of Delegates has been operating on an ad hoc basis.

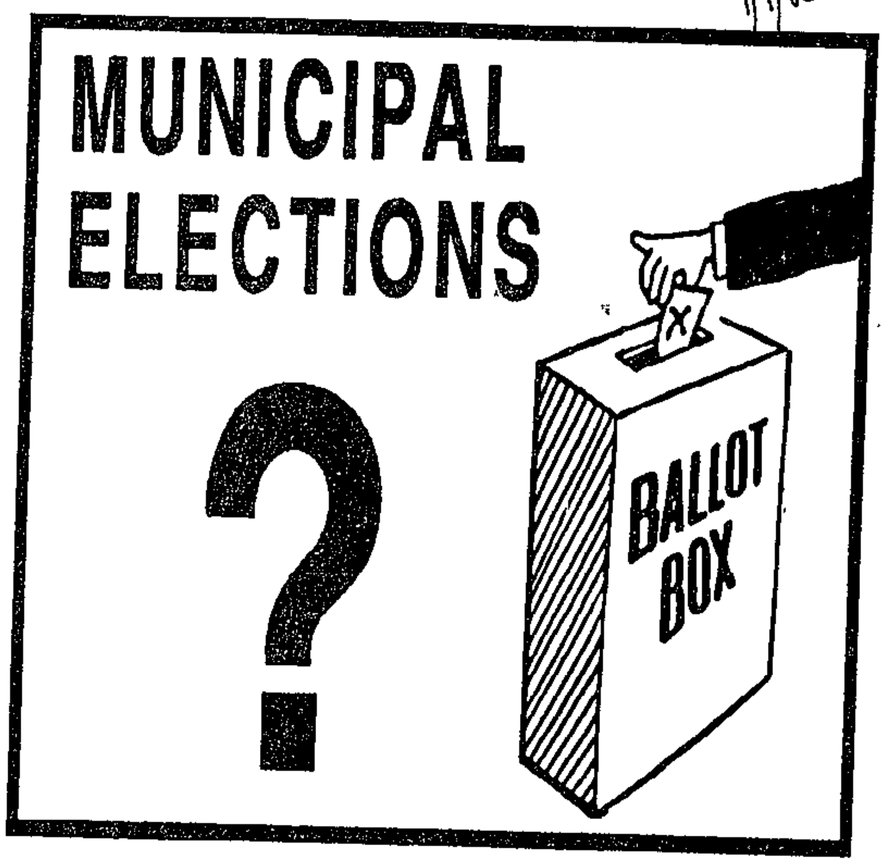
The House of Assembly finally passed the last in the trilogy of Group Areas Bills yesterday. This was the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill, concerned with the voting rights of people in mixed residential areas.

The scene is thus set to test whether the other two houses will stand firm in their rejection of the three Bills — in which case President Botha will be forced to send them to the PC.

# Where to draw the line on municipal elections

Newspapers are not permitted to publish the arguments of those who are precluded by law from advocating a boycott of the October local authority elections. Nevertheless, the argument rages in private places. The Star regrets to say that it may be prevented from publishing some of the replies this article provokes. If this should happen, we will inform our readers of the fact.

**BY JOYCE HARRIS**
**A personal viewpoint**




I respect the right of the Church leaders to call on all Christians to refrain from voting in the municipal elections. I have the highest regard and respect for all the signatories to the statement. Nevertheless, I take a different view and feel compelled to say so.

I understand and share all the reservations expressed by the leaders regarding the restrictions placed on these elections for structures based on racial and ethnic discrimination. However, I join issue with them on their inability to participate in them.

The question of participation in the establishment is not easily resolved.

Everyone participates, whether they like it or not. They pay taxes, they accept passports and object when they are withdrawn. They pay TV licences.

The problem is not whether or not to participate but rather where to draw the line.

I am disturbed that the Church leaders have chosen to draw the line, or at least one line, at the municipal elections.

## Panacea for all

I am not suggesting that participation in these elections will be a panacea for all South Africa's ills — far from it. But those white Christians who refrain from voting by and large will be those who would have voted for the PFP or one of the independents left of the Government.

The end result could well ensure that the NP or the CP will take control of all municipalities, even those where there might have been a chance of keeping them out.

While a PFP municipality will not be able to get the Government out or make any significant difference to the status quo, it would be able to make life a great deal more endurable for all those coming under its jurisdiction. Its majority on a Regional Services Council could have wider repercussions, and might even begin to undermine all the carefully created government structures of control, if it were supported by representatives of the other communities. It is the grassroots foundation on which the whole edifice is built

If everyone, or all Christians, simply refrain from voting the door is left wide open for the Government to put the final parts of its jigsaw puzzle in place, and the structure it has designed to retain control and remain in power will be well and truly established.

The only threat will be the one from the right, and should it gain power there will be no limits to what it can achieve with this ready-made monster.

The tricameral Parliament was similarly designed, yet the House of Representatives and, to a lesser degree, the House of Delegates are presently doing a great deal to discommode the Government, and far more effectively than extra-parliamentary constituencies have been able to do, though this is not in any way to discount their very real achievements.

It is far too easy for an undemocratic Government to control extra-establishment organisations by force, detention, and all the other powers the security legislation places in its hands. It discredits itself more if it takes action against its own creations.

I hold no special brief for these two Houses, but they are now proving that it is possible to use the space created by the Government itself to discredit it, and they are showing courage.

I believe that change in this country must come from inside it, not outside, and that one of the strategies for achieving this is to use the opportunities created by the Government — doubtful though they may seem — to undermine from inside the establishment.

If these are unsuccessful there is still time for a walk-out by the total opposition, which would discredit the Government far more than simple non-participation.

## Accepted strategy

The boycott is an accepted strategy in the black community and I understand that it is very difficult for them to participate in something in which they have had no say and which has gone out of its way to discriminate against them. I can accept that it might not be possible for them to vote, though I would plead for them to re-examine very carefully all the pros and cons.

But I simply cannot see what purpose a white boycott would serve except to prove to blacks that there are whites who identify with their problems.

It is painful to make this colour differentiation, but in the prevailing circumstances it is forced on us. There can therefore be differing strategies for reaching the same goal.

I do not profess to be right, but I do think that the Church leaders have been too inflexible in their call, and that the whole subject is debatable. Perhaps, too, they are confusing strategy with principle.

# Group Areas backdown

**Political Staff**

**IN A dramatic development last night, government backed down on the controversial Group Areas legislation, agreeing to send all three bills back to the joint standing committee.**

In return the Labour Party (LP) has agreed to participate in the tricameral system and debate five bills this afternoon.

The latest development after several hours of negotiation last night, ranks as a major victory for the LP — and an humiliating defeat for the National Party which has seen its tricameral creation brought to a virtual halt during the past two weeks.

There is now speculation that State President Mr P W Botha may opt for a referendum on the whole issue of Group Areas.

Mr Botha stated that he was prepared to do this when he addressed the Natal NP Congress last month, and it is possible he may announce this today.

The LP walked out of the House of Representatives last week in protest against government moves to press ahead with the Group Areas Bills and bludgeon them on to the Statute Book via the President's Council.

The House of Assembly used own affairs rules and orders to pass five bills which are general affairs, in order to be able to introduce amendments without going back to the joint standing committees where the legislation could have been delayed or blocked by the LP.

In addition to the three Group Areas Bills passed by the Assembly this week, the government has also agreed to withdraw the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill and the Slums Bill.

The Group Areas Bills withdrawn are the Group Areas Amendment Bill, the Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill.

Amended forms of these bills will now be introduced and discussed by the standing committees from September 19 and Parliament will reconvene on September 26 when they will be debated at a joint sitting of all three Houses.

While agreeing to participate in today's joint debate, the LP has made it clear it will not support any facet of the Constitutional Second Amendment Bill.

The bill, scheduled for debate today, and which will empower the State President to appoint a black to the cabinet and create extra parliamentary seats in all three Houses, needs the support of the LP if it is to become law.

The NP needs the bill

To page 3

From page 1

## Group Areas backdown

passed to gain extra seats, especially in the Transvaal, in a bid to stem the advance of the Conservative Party.

In a joint statement last night, Mr Chris Heunis and the Rev Allan Hendrickse said agreement had been reached on how to deal with the legislation which the House of Assembly had considered during the current session.

While the LP's acceptance that it will meet to debate the five bills this afternoon does not mean it will accept any of them, it does indicate that "Parliament will function in the

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Caucuses debate Nat-LP 'deal'

# Turmoil as Govt retreats on Bills

By David Braun, Political Correspondent
Cape Town

**Parliamentary politics were in turmoil today following the Government's capitulation over controversial legislation it had tried to ram through Parliament.**

Political parties were holding urgent caucus meetings early today to discuss the implications of last night's agreement between the National Party and the Labour Party on the processing of various draft laws and the future functioning of Parliament.

The Conservative Party is angry at the deal and is now threatening to boycott proceedings, while Indian parties are annoyed they were not party to the negotiations which led to the agreement.

In terms of the agreement the Government is to withdraw five Bills the Assembly processed in terms of rules it unilaterally amended last week to facilitate their passage through Parliament.

The Government amended rules to treat general affairs Bills as own affairs Bills to get them through, prompting the PFP and the National Democratic Movement to boycott further debate on the Bills.

The Bills are the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, the Free Settlement Areas Bill, Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill, the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the Slums Bill.

They are to be reintroduced, with amendments for consideration by joint committees and will be debated and disposed of at a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament at a new special sitting between September 26 and 30.

The normal rules will now apply to the processing of the Bills.

In return, the Labour Party has agreed to dispose of several other Bills this afternoon.

The LP will not necessarily endorse the Bills.

Labour leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said today there had so far been no discussion on the amendments to the group areas Bills.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said: "The Government seems to be playing a cat and mouse game with the CP ...

"The Labour Party is leading the Government about by the nose and the Government has clearly capitulated."

Several CP MPs said the party would almost certainly boycott the short sitting at the end of the month.

Parliamentary leader of the PFP Mr Colin Eglin said: "The fact is the group areas issue has the Government over a barrel. As long as it is in that situation it will stumble from one political crisis to another."

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said the fact the Government had backed down demonstrated the power of protest within the system

## Man with AK47 shot in road check

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

A suspected insurgent was shot dead, another wounded and two arrested when police stopped their vehicle during a routine check last night.

A West Rand police spokesman said four members of the West Rand Riot Squad stopped a car with five men inside on the corner of McLean and Van Eck streets in Krugersdorp at 10.30 pm.

A constable approached the car and ordered one of the men in the back of the vehicle to get out. The man pulled out an AK47 assault rifle and the constable opened fire. The man was killed instantly.

The other two passengers in the back climbed out of the car and tried to flee. The police opened fire at the fleeing suspects and one man was hit in the chest. The other managed to escape. An AK47 rifle was found by police.

The driver and a front seat passenger were arrested. None of the police were injured. The incident is being investigated.

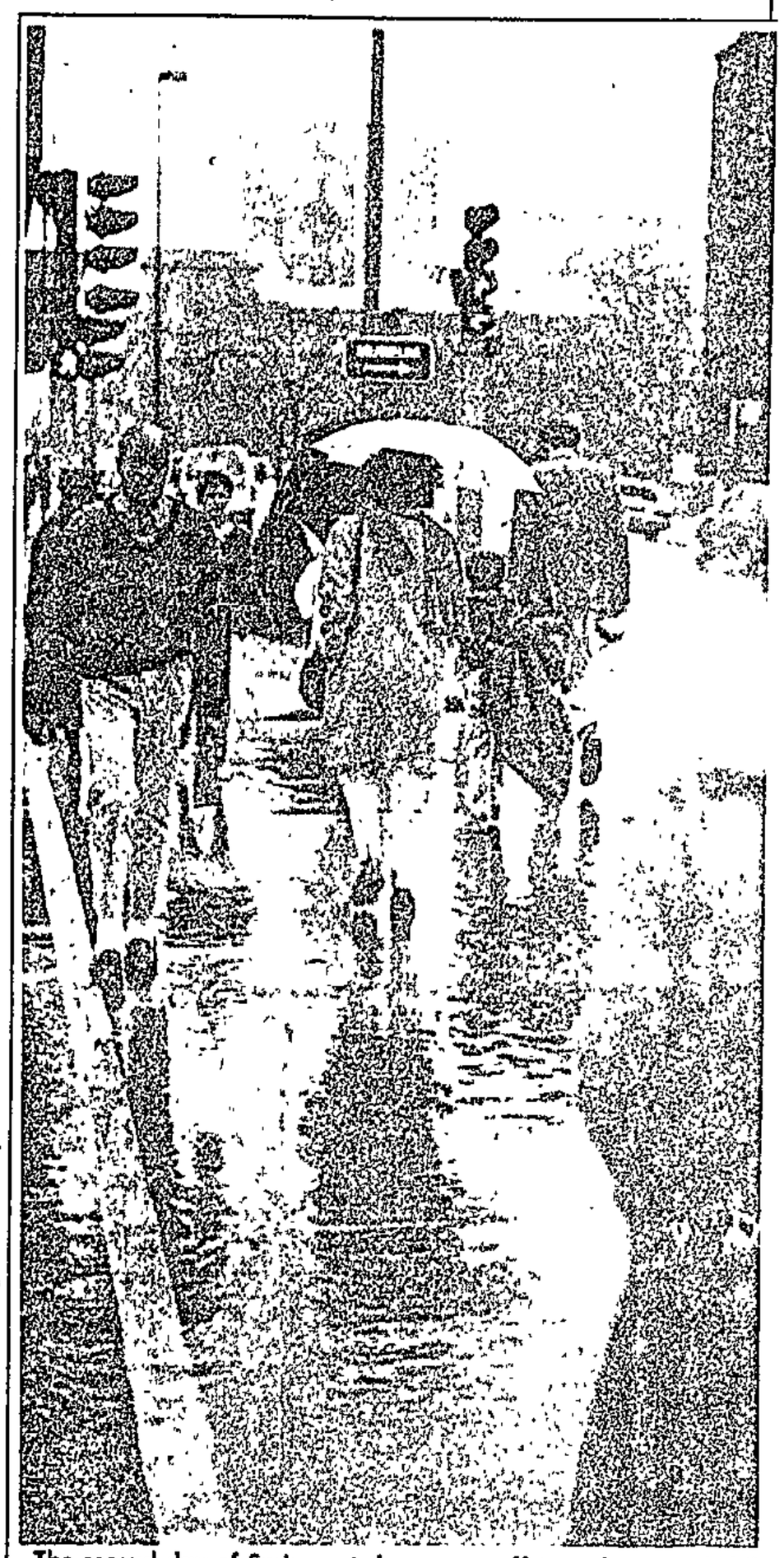
## Joubert Park tenants not evicted yet

By Sally Sealey

At least 50 people, threatened with eviction yesterday, were able to spend the night in their homes after inconclusive talks between the head lessee of five Joubert Park buildings and the tenants.

The tenants of Argyle Court, Claridge Court, Protea Mansions, Margate Court and Branksome Towers have refused to pay a R75 rent increase. The increase, they say, is in breach of an agreement made by Mr Dave Malan, head lessee of the five buildings and the tenants committee.

Lawyers for the tenants said last night they did not think the evictions would take place immediately because the tenants had not yet been served with



The second day of Spring set the season off to a damp and chil
burg office workers huddled into wet weather gear this morni
selves for the early Spring rains. Most of the country will be c
there is a possibility of further rain, according to the Weather Bu
to warm up on Sunday. Early morning temperatures in Johann
8 deg C today, rising to 15 deg C as the rains hit the

## Liberty restructures

Finance Staff

Mr Donald Gordon's Liberty Life Group yesterday lifted the lid on another major restructuring, involving the group's overseas interests.

Fugit, the investment trust in which Liberty Life has an 85 percent stake, will be used as the vehicle for acquiring Liberty's off-shore holdings, but will have to raise a massive R475 million through a rights issue to pay for the overseas interests.

Shareholders of Liberty Life and Liberty Holdings will also have an opportunity to participate in the issue.

Fugit will dispose of its entire equity portfolio, with an estimated value of R600 million, to Liberty Life.

See Page 15.

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# TerreBlanche says Afrikaner comes first

Star 2/9/88. 304A

**Vereeniging Bureau**

Once the Afrikaner volk came into power again members of non-white race groups would no longer be accommodated and subsidised "to continue breeding babies at the price of a papaw", so they should start thinking about establishing their own national states, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) told a capacity audience in the Vereeniging Town Hall that if the Afrikaner wanted a volk state they would need every available rand for themselves in an attempt to restore the country's shattered economy.

"We won't have money left to buy the happiness of other race groups and if they want to continue living in our territory they will have to do so as guests with work permits.

TEREST

Cape Times 2/9/88 (3042)

# Call to report 'boycott organizers' to SADF

**PRETORIA. — Boycott plans against the October 26 municipal elections should be reported to the security forces, the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Danie Hough, has said.**

**He made the call to councillors and candidates during a visit to Atteridgeville township outside Pretoria.**

**A provincial spokesman said it was found last week that street committees were organizing an election boycott.**

**"The Administrator said residents should be asked to help get boycott organizers' names, so we could inform the security forces," the spokesman said.**

**"The identity of people naming boycott organizers will not be made known." — Sapa**

CAPE TIMES 2/9/88

# 'Galloping poverty'

304A

**A FORMER architect of government economic policy, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, declared yesterday that as long as the Nationalist government remained in power, "galloping poverty" was a very real danger.**

**Professor Terreblanche, an economist at the University of Stellenbosch, was a member of the government's economic advisory board for six years and a confidant of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, for almost 15 years.**

**Speaking at the Independent Party's national congress, where he received a standing ovation, Professor Terreblanche said: "As long as this government remains in power, creeping poverty will continue.**

**"Indeed, the danger is rather that the situation will degenerate into galloping poverty."**

**Professor Terreblanche told delegates that as long as the NP remained the government, South Africans would in all probability never again see a rise in the real per capita income.**

**The only way this could come about, he submitted, was in the case of a "foreign windfall", such as the rise of the gold price to $1 000.**

**The reason why "creeping poverty" was continuing was because the government had never committed itself to real reform.**



Dr Andries Treurnicht



Dr Denis Worrall



Mr Jannie Momberg



Prof Sampie Terreblanche

# 'Ou Sappe' and 'Yuppies' lock horns on nationalism

Cape Times 2/9/88 (304)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Poltical Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — The "Ou Sappe" and "Yuppie" factions in the Independent Party locked horns yesterday during a fiery debate on Afrikaner Nationalism and the implications of an Afrikaner Boerestaat.

The resolution which sparked the lively clash between the old and younger generations at the IP's first national congress, originally endorsed the right of "groups" to self-determination, particularly "the right of Afrikaner nationalism to self-determination on a geographic basis".

Some of the younger delegates, who eventually defiantly bunched together at the back of the hall to emphasize their solidarity, said the resolution "smacked of racism".

They wanted to know why preservation of Afrikaner Nationalism — described by one as the "worst example of nationalism" — should be singled out and "placed on a pedestal".

One angry young delegate called for the resolution to be scrapped, saying: "If Dr Treurnicht reads tomorrow that we have voted for a Borestaat, then we (the IP) are really in trouble."

Another argued that the resolution implied division and could lead to similar resoluions calling for special protection for other ethnic groups like Zulus.

However, other delegates, including IP co-chairman Mr Jannie Momberg, countered that there was a great difference between Afrikaner nationalism and the National Party.

One elderly delegate dismissed the youth wing of the party as inexperienced and angrily demanded that they apologize for their intemperate language.

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall, who was called on in a bid to defuse the conflict, submitted that Afrikaner Nationalism was the "most advanced form of nationalism in South Africa" and that this reality needed to be taken into account.

He argued that there were certain strands of Afrikaner Nationalism devoid of a racist streak and that it was important that leaders like Professor Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner Volkswag be allowed to present their proposals at a negotiating table.

The stand-off was eventually resolved after a tea break during which Mr Momberg thrashed out a compromise resolution between the clashing factions.

The resolution, accepted by congress, eventually read: "Congress accepts the general principle that all language and cultural groups should have the right to negotiate its own self-determination."

## Constitutional 'expert' commissioned

STELLENBOSCH. — The IP has commissioned a leading South African constitutional expert to "draw together all the major constitutional choices before the country".

Dr Worrall said people and political parties in South Africa committed to peaceful change could no longer wait for the government to act.

"It is for others to seize the initiative."

Dr Worrall said the constitutional expert — not identified in remarks prepared for delivery — had been commissioned on a number of assumptions, among them:

● The tricameral parliament, "which was never more than a transitional system between white rule and a non-racial form of government including all South Africans", was in a "terminal crisis"; and

● Most South Africans, "as represented by organizations within the creative opposition", shared the same basic hopes and values for the future of SA. — Sapa

# Parliament's big bill for taxpayer

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

OUTRAGED opposition parties yesterday described the latest two-week session of Parliament as "a monstrous waste of money", which set the taxpayer back at least R3 million.

This follows a government decision effectively to nullify the outcome of much parliamentary work during the past fortnight and reconvene later this month to consider once again bills that had already been passed by the House of Assembly.

However, the tab for the session could well have been four times higher, had most departments not been operating on skeleton staffs.

Experts estimate that it costs about R1 million a day to keep the three Houses of Parliament and support staff functioning under normal circumstances.

But with just key personnel attending Parliament during the short session, experts estimated yesterday that costs could have been kept down to about R250 000 a day.

Additional travel costs during the period would add about another R25 000 to the overall bill.

Commenting on the government's decision to withdraw the trilogy of controversial Group Areas bills and return them to joint parliamentary committees, PFP spokesman on finance Mr Rupert Lorimer said: "This whole thing is a monstrous waste of money, due to the gross inefficiency on the part of the government, which insisted on going ahead with the session when it was quite apparent that no consensus on the measures was possible in the first place."

The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said the repeated convening of Parliament — already three times so far this year — was costing the taxpayer "many thousands of rands".

# NP 'sold out' to Labour Party — CP

Cape Times 3/9/88

**Political Staff**

THE National Party yesterday suffered a barrage of taunts from the Conservative Party in the wake of Thursday night's "agreement" with the Labour Party during the debate on a government motion that Parliament resume in three weeks' time, for a joint sitting on the group areas bills.

**Political Staff**

**THE parliamentary leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, gave notice yesterday that he will introduce a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet, when Parliament resumes on September 25.**

**Mr Eglin said he was introducing the motion in view of:**

- **the inept and damaging way in which the government had handled important political and constitutional issues, and**
- **the incalculable harm which the government's policies and actions were doing to the economy of the country.**

The motion was eventually passed, and Parliament will meet for a third session on September 25.

Yesterday morning's joint sitting was devoted entirely to tributes to the retiring secretary of Parliament, Mr Attie de Villiers.

There was no mention of the Constitution Second Amendment Bill on the Order Paper and the Bill, providing for the appointment by the State President of a black to the cabinet and for the creation of extra seats, has apparently been dropped for the time being.

When it reconvenes, Parliament will debate the group areas trilogy of bills, plus the Slums Bill and Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, which will come before the joint standing committees the previous week.

The Labour Party is expected to reject all five bills, and they will then be referred to the President's Council for a decision.

Effectively, this means that they will be on the Statute Book before the municipal elections on October 26.

During the debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, the CP contended that the NP had sold out to the Labour Party, while the government maintained that Thursday's agreement was a triumph for consensus politics.

The CP's Chief Whip, Mr Frank le Roux, said the government had "lost" to the Labour Party and that the Rev Allan Hendrickse was now ruling the country.

He said Mr F W de Klerk had suspended the rules of Parliament to get the group areas legislation through but then "Baas Hendrickse spoke" — he was ordered to withdraw the word "Baas".

Mr Casper Uys (CP Barberton) said that power was "now in the brown skin" predicting that the voters would take their revenge on the government on October 26.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the National Party had not lost. The fact was that the Constitution had won.

# Independent Party — home for the young

W/E ARGUS 3/9/88
by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent
30KA

THE Independent Party went a step further this week with an enthusiastic congress in Stellenbosch, a follow-up to its first launch meeting in Somerset West a few months ago.

Within the next few weeks it is to spread its efforts throughout the country with a series of workshops and meetings at which further details of policy will be worked out.

Many gaps in this policy, especially in the ecomomic one, still remain.

Meanwhile the party has committed itself to a free-market, democratic and non-racial system.

At the congress it was stressed throughout that the party intended operating on a non-racial basis and a smattering of delegates of colour attended.

ONE feature of the congress was a strong attendance and participation by young people, on one occasion to the irritation of one of the older delegates.

Among the young ones was a prominent former youth leader of the National Party at Stellenbosch.

Several university delegations attended.

Another feature was the easy mix of Afrikaans and English in both the delegates and in the use of both languages.

This was reminiscent of congresses of the old United Party and one of the other features was in fact the string presence of former UP and New Republic Party supporters.

They clearly form a substantial part of the new party. At the congress there were three former UP and NRP MPs and many more other former office bearers.

While there were former Nationalists, notably Mr Jannie Momberg, one of the party's co-chairmen, this did not appear to be such a strong presence at this stage.

The IP will in future set its sights more on these people as Dr Denis Worrall, formally elected leader at the congress, said it was not only going for Opposition voters.

He was confident that it could draw unhappy Nationalist supporters.

THERE were sparkling performance by Dr Worrall, clearly the political hero of his followers, at the opening public meeting of the congress and in the debates later.

There were open discussions on contentious issues such as whether any groups should have the right of self-determination on a geographical basis and on security issues.

As Mr Momberg remarked that these open expressions of differences in public was a refreshing change from National Party congresses.

The congress had a nearly "born again" enthusiasm about it, especially when Dr Wortall said that the time of Nationalist domination was ending and that it was the start of a new era.

The party has launched what is regards as a bold new initiative to indentify all constitutional options open in negotiations on a new system.

Its leadership insists that all possibilities must be on the negotiation table.

It maintains that the Government has lost the initiative and that the debate on constitutional change must be stimulated in other ways.

What it will do with all options after they have been formulated if the government does not cooperate in some is another matter.

The IP is also forging close links with Inkatha. For this purpose it adopted Inkatha's "statement of belief" as part of its efforts to create a new non-racial power base.

After the congress euphoria the IP supporters now have to continue to try and spread their message outside.

Enthusiasm and idealism alone are clearly not enough.

Mr Momberg told the delegates that the only way now was to "get out and knock on doors".

Dr Worrall said that the two biggest problems the country faced were black distrust and white insecurity.

He was optimistic about the development of chances for an alliance of the "creative opposition" growing.



**Dr Denis Worrall**

# CP fields scores of candidates in Cape

w/e ARGUS 3/9/88 (304A)

by MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Reporter

**THE Conservative Party is mounting an onslaught on the Cape, fielding scores of candidates in local election battles from Cape Town to East London and in most platteland constituencies.**

Bruising contests are expected as racial issues are thrust to the fore. The CP has given notice that its chief concern is the Group Areas Act.

Four candidates are running for Cape Town City Council in two central city wards, including Mayor Mr Peter Muller's Ward 4.

As nominations for white, coloured and Indian council candidates closed yesterday, the scale of the CP effort became evident.

## Grey areas

The party's Cape chairman, Mr Jan Hoon, said: "We are mounting a challenge throughout the province. We have candidates in Cape Town, Bellville, Parow, Port Elizabeth, East London and most of the platteland constituencies.

"In the cities the Group Areas Act and the possible creation of grey areas are of utmost importance. We will fight these.

"I believe we will get good support. There will be a swing towards our party now that President Botha has given in to the Rev Allan Hendrickse on this issue."

He added: "It is very strange the National Party has not put up candidates. They made such a fuss about putting up candidates and political decision-making and now they are nowhere to be seen."

"It must mean they are quite satisfied that the City of Cape Town is dominated by the PFP."

The four CP candidates in Cape Town are Mrs Aletta la Grange and Mrs Lente Roux, who are standing in Ward 4 against Mr Peter Muller and attorney Mr Norman Osburn, and Mr Johannes Jacobs and Mr Theunis la Grange in Ward 5 against Mr Louis Kreiner and Mr Llewellyn van Wyk.

However, Cape Town City Council's liberalism is widely believed to be unthreatened. Prominent liberals are among the 12 councillors in six wards who have not been opposed.

The PFP said in a statement yesterday that the National Party's "much-vaunted challenge (in the city) has collapsed".

"Not only have the National Party not entered the hustings in party colours as they threatened to do, but more importantly, they have fewer unofficial candidates than ever before."

The statement added: "The number and nature of unopposed candidates, taken together with the likely outcome of many contests, ensures that Cape Town will continue to be governed by those historic values that have made the city a bastion of sound human relationships."

Tough campaigns are expected in several city wards.

There are six candidates each in two wards: Ward 10 (Woodstock and Observatory) and Ward 13 (Athlone, Crawford and Rondebosch East) and the Group Areas Act may rear its head here, too.

Altogether, 45 councillors and nominated candidates will be canvassing votes in 11 wards on October 26 and, in most cases, local issues are likely to dominate.

Helping to shake up this election has been the resignation of six councillors in five wards, some of them long-standing city governors.

They are Mr David Bloomberg, Mrs Esmé Chait, Mr Kosie van Zyl, Mr Peter Parkin, Mr Jan van Eck MP and Mr Emil Riese.

## 97 nominations

Unopposed councillors are Mr Chris Joubert and Mr Jack Frost (Ward 1), Dr John Sonnenberg and Mr Joe Rabinowitz (Ward 2), Mr Sol Kreiner and Mr Ken Penkin (Ward 8), Mrs Bronnie Harding and Mr Gordon Oliver (Ward 12), Mrs Eie Stott and Mrs Joan Kantey (Ward 14) and Mr Dick Friedlander and Mr Clive Keegan (Ward 15).

Nominations and unopposed elections will be confirmed only on September 16.

● Cape Town's seven management committee areas have produced a record number of candidates: 97 nominations to fill 53 seats.

Elections in coloured, Indian and black areas will also take place on October 26.

# Is there room left of the left?

## FFF looks for like-minded candidates

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

POLITICAL parties to the left of Government who participate in the October municipal elections are fighting a silent but hectic battle for active support among extra-Parliamentary groups.

Because boycotts of the October 26 election have been declared illegal, organisations such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), the National Union of SA Students (Nusas) and the restricted United Democratic Front (UDF) cannot openly call for a boycott.

The Progressive Federal Party seems concerned about a poll stayaway similar to that in last year's general election, by students in particular.

PFP MP for Johannesburg North Mr Peter Soal told the Saturday Star informal talks had been held with student leaders about the forthcoming election.

"There is no doubt the stayaway factor in last year's election has adversely affected us. As a result we lost in Hillbrow and Edenvale. In my own constituency students and even people associated with students did not vote.

"We don't deny people their right not to vote, but we doubt the wisdom of it," Mr Soal said.

He said indications were that student leaders were reconsidering this approach.

Jodac and Nusas were reluctant to reveal their strategies for the nationwide elections.

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), an umbrella organisation embodying both the Progressive Federal Party and organisations such as Jodac, had already declared its intention of canvassing for candidates subscribing to its manifesto.

FFF publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke said the organisation supported candidates on condition they campaigned for the total abolition of the Group Areas Act, the desegregation of amenities and the proper use of money to create equal facilities.

No confirmation had yet been received of candidates who would openly endorse these principles. The FFF "is in touch with" Mr Tony Leon, PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council.

Although the latest proposals to group areas legislation empowered the responsible minister with the final decision-making right over evictions in terms of the stringent proposals, Ms Neke said a progressive council "will still have the initial say" and could contribute to the racial desegregation of public amenities.

She stressed the FFF had a "good understanding" of the viewpoint of other democratic organisations that black local authorities in particular were "Government puppets".

However, she said white progressive councillors "have a little more clout" and were not regarded as puppets in the white community.

Jodac spokesman Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg said the local government elections were for "structures which enjoy no credibility in the black community as they have no power to change apartheid laws".

Admitting that conditions in the white community were different, Mr Liebenberg said Jodac did not call for a boycott of the white elections but did not call for people to vote either.

"We call on all whites to join in anti-apartheid alliances in order to built a united opposition to the Nationalists and their allies."

While Nusas at this stage declined to comment, another youth organisation which has links with Inkatha's Youth Brigade — Youth for South Africa — yesterday called for participation in the elections.

National chairman Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said moderates, particularly young people, should not underestimate the importance of the local government elections.

They were "an effort to democratisation" which could form a basis for "a process which inevitably has to follow on provincial and central government level", Mr van Schalkwyk said.

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SMC
3/9/88

# SACC fears for files in Khotso House

## Workers barred from unsafe building

By KERRY CULLINAN

THE SA Council of Churches is concerned about the safety of files and documents contained in its head office that was wrecked by an explosion earlier this week.

This follows the refusal by police and Johannesburg city engineers to allow SACC officials into Khotso House, the headquarters for the SACC and offices of various other organisations,to ascertain the extent of the damage

SACC life president Peter Storey, general secretary Frank Chikane and administrative secretary Francois Bill, were told by city engineers that the building was unsafe, but were given the assurance that they could send in a delegation as soon as it was safe. Addressing a Press conference after being refused permission to enter the building, Chikane said that the SACC was, "shocked but not completely surprised by the callous attack on Khotso House".

Chikane added that although "the darkest forces of evil are arranging themselves against the forces of God", the SACC was determined to continue telling the truth.




**Workers begin clearing the debris in front of Khotso House after this week's blast.**

He likened the blast – possibly caused by a car bomb – which devastated the six storey building, to two similar blasts last year which severely damaged Cosatu House in Johannesburg and Community House in Cape Town.

Storey – who called the bombing a bestial act – said that those responsible had obviously wanted to immobilise the SACC.

He added his own church, the Central Methodist Church, had received a bomb threat a few hours after the Khotso House blast.

Meanwhile, Chikane added that member churches of the SACC had already offered the council alternative offices to ensure that its work continued.

Aside from the SACC, Khotso House also houses various other church and cultural organisations and a trade union.

# Free State Nats seek to steal march on CP

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

BLOEMFONTEIN — The second of this year's National Party provincial congresses, the Free State conference, is to focus on apartheid in residential areas, schools and other facilities.

The congress starts in Bloemfontein today with a public session tomorrow and Wednesday.

President Botha is scheduled to close the gathering at midday on Wednesday.

The conference takes place against the backdrop of municipal elections next month.

The Conservative Party, which, with the Herstigte Nasionale Party, won 40 percent of the popular white vote in the Free State in last year's parliamentary elections, has targeted the province for a complete take-over at local government level.

It should come as no surprise that the Free State Nats have placed such emphasis on the retention of segregation at almost every level of life.

A resolution proposed by two of the party's local executive committees seeks to confirm the NP's policy of:

- Own residential areas.
- Own schools.
- Own community life.
- Own public amenities for each population group within the context of communities and in the light of the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic nature of the country.

A resolution proposed by three constituencies calls on the Government to spell out its new political initiatives on reform.

One constituency calls on the Government to proceed with reform purposefully.

A glance at the remainder of the congress agenda reveals other problems of concern to the Free State politicians.

The congress wants a progress report on regional services councils in the province.

It wants to discuss methods of collecting rents in black townships to eliminate arrears.

It wants tollgates on all the Free State's main roads to ensure users from other provinces contribute towards the upkeep of the province's throughways.

Another is concerned at the role of heavy vehicles in road accidents and it wants to discuss this as well as what traffic police can do to promote road safety in the province.

A constituency is calling for steps to be taken to restore and protect the the image of authority of the SAP, while another wants SABC-TV to use more appropriate pictures of Cabinet Ministers when statements of sympathy with victims of disasters are broadcast.

One constituency wants the standard of farm schools to be raised to Std 6 to keep black children on the farms for longer periods.

Another wants to discuss the gap in remuneration between town and farm labourers.

Only once does the congress appear to take a look beyond the country's borders — a resolution calls on the conference to discuss the role of the Soviet Union in southern Africa.

# It's worse when the Nats set sensible goals

**KEN OWEN**

THE NATIONAL PARTY becomes more frightening, and certainly more exasperating, as its goals become less ridiculous. The reason, of course, is that the party seldom if ever achieves anything it sets out to do.

The late Editor of The Star, John Jordi, summed it up in one sardonic sentence: "If you must have a tyranny, would you rather it were efficient, or inefficient?"

His mockery has been a great comfort to me. Like most South Africans of my generation, I had suspected a flaw in the national character ever since I discovered how feebly Maj-Gen Hendrik Belzsar Klopper had surrendered the Second Infantry Division to captivity at Tobruk. Most of the soldiers found themselves POWs before they saw any action.

The suspicion was later strengthened when John Balthazar Vorster, outwardly the hardest man I ever met, fell to pieces in the adversity of his last years. He died a sad figure, commanding pity even from those, like me, who had learned to fear him in his ferocious days as the Minister of Justice after Sharpeville.

Even so, he was a paradox. An Afrikaner Nationalist, charged with the specific duty of upholding and defending his people's glorious heritage of Roman Dutch Law — a tradition of law built on the protection of the individual against the tyrannical state — he treated that law with utter contempt.

When the task of defending the State by lawful means became too onerous for Vorster, he simply chucked the law overboard. Thus was born our new tradition of 90-day detention, 180-day detention, indefinite detention, and, in the end, rule by the whim of the mighty.

When the going gets tough, the Americans say in their cute way, the tough get going. In this country, when the going gets tough, you change the goalposts.

The perfect Nat is Pik Botha. Whenever I see him on television, I wonder how so experienced and subtle a diplomat, so flexible and intellectually resourceful a man, manages to look so much like an enraged porcupine. The answer, I suspect, is that he thinks he had better look ferocious because he knows he isn't.

He reminds me of a small boy drawing lines in the dust as he retreats, saying all the while: "Step over that line — and see what happens!"

From 1806 until 1960, the Afrikaners wanted a democratic republic and the Nats rode to power on that ambition. In 1963 or thereabouts, the Nats shifted the goalposts: instead of a democratic republic, they decided, they would take any old republic, so long as it had a coloured sash for the president, and lots of medals, and some funny pension schemes.

From 1948 until 1978, the Nats worked to "turn the tide" of black people flowing to the cities. Nobody could persuade them the idea was ridiculous. In 1978, they suddenly proclaimed the whole idea to be ridiculous, and launched into a decade of "reform".

Things weren't so bad when they were persistently failing to achieve ridiculous objectives, like stopping black people from drinking liquor, or preventing lovers from loving, or forbidding people to go to town. Lately, however, there has been a sharp deterioration.

It began, I think, when President Botha — then newly elected to be Prime Minister — promised clean, efficient government and an end to bureaucratic *rompslomp*. He promised free enterprise, and government in keeping with Christian principles. These are terrible things to fail at. No wonder the country has gone to the dogs.



☐ BOTHA ... perfect Nat

The Reserve Bank, taking its cue from President Botha, immediately set out to control the money supply and bring inflation under control. Ever since then, the money supply has gone mad; it leaps upwards in great bounds of 30% a year or more, and has to be brought back to earth by ferocious interest rates. Then it goes soaring again as limp-wristed officials promise fierce discipline.

In the process, the reputation of the Reserve Bank has been badly scarred by the perception that the Bank yielded to political pressure in 1983 in order to sustain the Nats in the referendum campaign, and the untimely stimulation of the economy caused the runaway boom of the following year. Prime rates went to 25%, good businesses crashed under the strain, and even government enterprises like Sats fled overseas to borrow.

Everybody knows the result. Chase Manhattan, looking at this circus with a bleak eye conditioned by experience in Mexico and Brazil, decided to get its money out, and fast. Financially, the roof fell in, and we had to renege, for the first time since Union, on debt repayments. Unemployment soared, and the good people of Sebokeng began to march.

Today people blame sanctions on the Americans. In fact, I attended my first pro-sanctions rally outside the First City National Bank in New York in 1965, it had no effect. Nor did most subsequent anti-apartheid demands for sanctions.

What did cause sanctions was an international perception of South African weakness. The place seemed to be falling apart, and no wonder.

The law-and-order government, always blustering about security, couldn't uphold the law or keep order. The monetary authorities, always blabbering away about fiscal and monetary discipline, couldn't discipline themselves. The reformists couldn't reform, and the rulers couldn't govern.

In time, of course, the inherent strengths of the country reasserted themselves. The black taxi drivers solved the transport problem, and kept the motor industry going; the informal sector kept extreme poverty at bay for most black people; the mines kept digging up gold and platinum; the trades unions and the employers kept negotiating.

And government kept looting the fiscus, and dishing out medals to one another. Andreas Wassenaar caught the public service with its fingers in the pension funds, but otherwise there wasn't much to prevent government from insulating itself and its supporters from the hard times. Verwoerdburg, a public service bedroom suburb, became the country's richest suburb.

We are almost back to what, in South Africa, passes for normalcy. The only cloud on the horizon is that, in the meantime, government has once again shifted its goalposts. Having seen the astonishing effect on Britain's fortunes of Maggie Thatcher's policies, it now set itself the goal of privatising Sats and Iscor and Foskor and Eskom and all the other costly toys with which it has been playing for two generations.

It is, I think, the most terrible thing to have happened in my lifetime. If you look back on the party's record of persistent failure in everything it undertakes, then it is plain that to ask the National Party to defend free enterprise is like asking Maj-Gen Klopper to defend Tobruk.

The Aussies, who held Tobruk before we lost it, will die laughing

# Snubbing of civic ceremony 'saddens' Muller

**By ANTHONY DOMAN and DALE LAUTENBACH**
**Staff Reporters**

TWO of Cape Town's leading citizens, Mayor Peter Muller and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have fallen out over each other's public responses on the issue of the October municipal elections.

Last night the Archbishop of Cape Town stayed away from a civic ceremony after the Mayor had criticised Sunday's sermon by the Archbishop in which he dealt with the question of participation in the municipal elections.

Today each said he was unhappy about the action of the other.

Mr Muller was reported as being "shocked" by Archbishop Tutu's remarks at the installation of the new Dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday.

Last night Archbishop Tutu responded by not turning up at the ceremony in the City Hall honouring Dr Richard van der Ross with the Freedom of the City.

Mr Muller said he was saddened by Archbishop Tutu's absence.

## "Unhappy and suprised"

"I am very sorry that he did not see his way clear to attending the ceremony," Mr Muller said.

The Archbishop's media secretary Mr John Allen said Archbishop Tutu was "unhappy and suprised" that Mr Muller chose to "broadcast" his response to his sermon through a "Nationalist newspaper" without speaking to him first.

"Mr Muller is an Anglican and the Archbishop's relationship with him has been a good one."




Mr Muller said that at Sunday's church service he was approached by a reporter who asked him for his reaction to the Archbishop's sermon.

"He remarked that it appeared as if lightning had struck me when the Archbishop said what he did.

"As we were on our way out after the service he asked me why I had not walked out earlier.

"I said that was not in my nature and, anyway, I was not there in my personal capacity. I was representing the city."

Mr Muller said he told the reporter the thought of walking out "flashed through" his mind.

"But I said I would respond in a statement afterwards.

"And that response was that our standpoint has always been that we are not destructive but constructive."

## Not his personal opinion

Mr Allen said Mr Muller's response to Archbishop Tutu's sermon had to be seen against the background of the state of emergency and the fact that the government had outlawed all calls to boycott the elections.

Mr Allen said the Archbishop had not expressed his personal opinion only but "the widely held view of more than 20 church leaders" first made known in June.

"The church leaders' stand has been known for some time and should have come as no suprise to the Mayor," said Mr Allen.

He added that the Archbishop had worded his sermon carefully by saying that people should "consider prayerfully" their response to the elections.

Bishopscourt felt that the Mayor's response had not taken heed of this, Mr Allen said.

● City honours Van der Ross, page 5.

# Mayor and Tutu in election row





**FLASHBACK:** Cape Town's mayor, Mr Peter Muller, left, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the new Dean of St George's Cathedral, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday.

# Natal Anglican Synod

# EMERGENCY REGULATIONS HOVER OVER SYNOD ISSUE

**THE emergency regulations hung like a sword of Damocles over the Natal synod of the Anglican Church in Maritzburg at the weekend when the delegates abandoned a debate on the October 26 elections.**

**SOWETAN Correspondent**

Also abandoned, on Saturday, was a motion concerning sanctions and disinvestment. On this issue, the delegates also took into consideration the danger to which churchmen would be exposed in the deeply divided black community whatever stand was taken.

The motion on the elections was introduced by Canon Rubin Phillip of St Aidan's Parish, Durban, and it spoke of "a need to consider very carefully the consequences of voting in the October elections."

The preamble referred to "the continued repressive state of emergency, the continued detention of political prisoners, the continued detention without trial, continued media and information censorship, and the effective banning of popular, democratic, non-violent organisations and leaders, including church leaders".

## Proposed

The motion proposed that Bishop Michael Nuttall, Bishop of Natal, be asked to issue a pastoral letter on the October elections, setting out the issues involved, and taking into account the response to them by church leaders at a meeting in June.

# Govt waits for Tutu report

Political Correspondent

THE cabinet met yesterday but it is not yet known if the call on Sunday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu regarding the October municipal elections was discussed.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, a spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, said his department was still waiting for a full report of Archbishop Tutu's call.

However, it is known that the government is looking into an earlier call by 26 prominent church leaders relating to the elections.

They include: Dr A Boesak, the moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk; the Rt Rev M Buthelezi, president of the SA Council of Churches; the Rt Rev R S Taylor, honorary life president of the SACC; Dr C F B Naude, honorary vice-president of the SACC; the Rev F Chikane, the general secretary of the SACC; the Rev P Makhuba, president of the Baptist Church in Southern Africa; the Rev Dr K Mgojo, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa; Dr S Buti, moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika; the Rev P M Botipe, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Africa; the Rev B C P Lottering, vice-president of the Moravian Church; and the Rt Rev D A Dire, bishop of Johannesburg African Catholic Church.

# CP is fighting elections on racism, says Coetsee

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — Third-tier government will become an arena of suspicion and emotional political racism unless the Conservative Party is denied the opportunity to use it for such purposes, the Free State National Party leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, says.

In a written message to the 75th Free State NP congress beginning in Bloemfontein today, Mr Coetsee appealed to Nationalists to ensure third-tier (municipal) government stayed in responsible hands on October 26.

He said the municipal elections had come under the constitutional spotlight because of the development of a direct link between the executive authority and third-tier government.

The elections were also in focus because local government was the clearest exponent of the concept of own affairs as an expression of group identity.

Mr Coetsee's message follows a year of intensive preparations by the Free State NP for next month's municipal polls.

The CP is mounting a fierce onslaught in the province in virtually every town and village, including the capital of Bloemfontein, where it is fielding 15 candidates in the city's 18 wards and supporting "independents" in the other three.

The municipal elections, about seven weeks away, were the subject of behind-closed-door meetings of the Free State NP's various executive formations yesterday and they will feature prominently in the public session of the congress today and tomorrow.

A special resolution on the agenda requests the congress to discuss the elections.

Another asks to discuss the way the CP casts suspicion on well-intentioned agricultural assistance schemes.

Today's congress will be used to send voters a message that the National Party continues to be the guardian of white interests.

# Tutu snubs Mayor over call on elections

Cape Times 6/9/88 30KA

**Staff Reporters**

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, last night snubbed the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, by not attending the civic ceremony in which Dr Richard van der Ross was awarded the freedom of the city.

The snub followed a report in yesterday's Burger which said Mr Muller was "extremely upset" by the call made by Archbishop Tutu on Anglicans not to participate in the October municipal elections.

Archbishop Tutu made the call at the installation on Sunday of the new Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Mr Muller reportedly said that he "almost walked out of the (St George's) Cathedral" when Archbishop Tutu made the call.

Archbishop Tutu's secretary, Mr John Allen, last night confirmed that the archbishop did not attend the freedom of the city ceremony, in which Dr Van der Ross, former rector of the University of the Western Cape, became the fifth freeman of the city.

Mr Allen said the archbishop had intended to go to the function "in spite of the fact that some people in the community would have questioned his attendance".

"But in view of the Mayor's response to his call, the Archbishop decided not to attend," Mr Allen said.

He said Archbishop Tutu had telephoned Dr Van der Ross to say that he was pleased at the honour being bestowed on him and explained why he felt that he could not attend the ceremony.

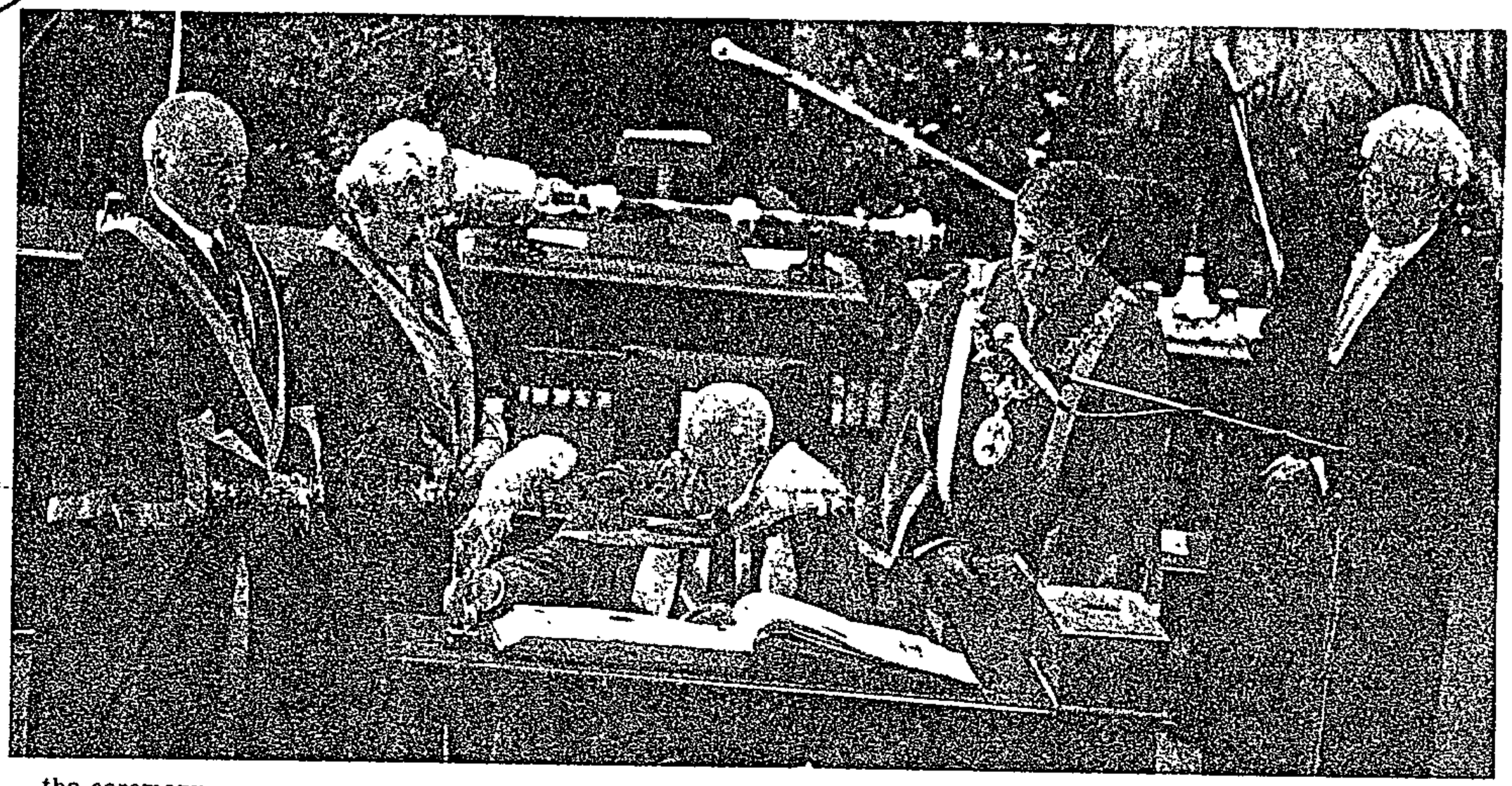
"Dr Van der Ross said he understood the bishop's position," Mr Allen said.

● At last night's colourful ceremony, Dr Van der Ross joined Professor Chris Barnard and Cardinal Owen McCann in accepting the freedom of the city.

He said that Cape Town was the centre of "liberal, idealistic policies committed to the return and retention of personal and public liberty" and that it was in Cape Town that people should reach out to one another "so that these values may be retained".

He regarded it as imperative that all South Africans should use every opportunity to seek peaceful solutions to problems of co-existence in "the land we share and love".

● Govt waits for Tutu report — Page 2



**FREEDOM OF CITY** ... Dr Richard van der Ross signs the roll of honorary freemen of Cape Town. From the left are councillors Mr Dick Friedlander and Mrs Eulalie Stott, the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, and Town Clerk Dr Stan Evans.

Picture: OBED ZILWA

No big changes in substance

# Withdrawn bills back in Parliament

Cut Times 7/9/88

30cA

**Political Staff**

FOUR of the five bills — including the Group Areas trilogy — withdrawn by the government last week were tabled in Parliament yesterday, with a number of technical changes.

The fifth bill was tabled on Monday.

The bills were withdrawn, despite having been debated and passed by the House of Assembly, following an agreement with the Labour Party.

In terms of the Rules and Orders of Parliament, the bills could only be withdrawn if amendments were to be made.

There are no major changes in terms of the substance of the bills.

Commenting on the tabling of the Group Areas Act Amendment Bill, PFP spokesman Mr Tiaan van der Merwe said the bill had not been changed in any significant way, reflecting the insensitivity of the government to all the opposition, pressure and argument advanced over the past few weeks.

The government, he said, had been prepared to risk the collapse of its own constitutional system for "what are essentially some very ugly racist laws".

He said that judging by the contents of the new versions of the bills, there was no indication that the government was interested in change.

"Judging by their performance and the contents of the bill, their political positioning seemas to be closer to the Conservative Party than it has ever been since the split in 1982, while the style of government leadership is spineless and without direction."

Mr Van der Merwe expressed the hope that all persons and institutions which had protested so vigorously in the past would redouble their efforts in the next few weeks.

The five bills will now be discussed at joint standing committee level in 12 days' time, after which they will be debated at a joint sitting of all the Houses, on September 25.

The Labour Party has made it clear that it will not support any change to the Group Areas Act, and is therefore virtually certain to reject all five bills, which means they will then be sent to the President's Council, which will decide on whether they should become law.

Cape Times 7/9/88

# Paper to refuse election ads

JOHANNESBURG. The daily Sowetan said yesterday that it would no longer publish advertisements promoting the coming municipal elections.

"It has become impossible to justify carrying them when the community is barred from expressing sentiments on the elections," it said in a front-page notice.

The paper said it would publish election news, "on the basis of newsworthiness". —

Star (3 04A) 7/9/88 LATE ED...



Party leaders in the Johannesburg election battle are (from left) Mr Tony Leon (PFP), Mr Danie van Zyl (NP) and Mr Fred Rundle (CP).

# Variety is the spice of municipal election life

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

A brief look at Johannesburg's municipal candidates is certain proof that any voter can be a candidate.

Today's Troyeville housewife or Houghton businessman is tomorrow's city councillor. The salary is about R1 000 a month, there's a slap-up meal after each monthly council meeting and there's a pretty pension at the end if you last long enough — about eight years, that is.

The range of candidates' occupations is mind-boggling: from university students who dream of guiding the destiny of the biggest city in southern Africa to company directors on the takeover trail, aiming to have a say in the city's R1,4 billion budget, the fourth biggest in South Africa.

It's gloves off in the powder-puff war in at least two wards which have been left entirely to the ladies: Auckland Park, where the Progressive Federal Party's Mrs Esme Brink tackles Mrs Mariette Marx (National Party) and Parktown North where the NP's Mrs Nan Roberts does battle with the PFP's Mrs Judith Briggs.

The Consevative Party's most glamorous candidate is TV's "Wielie Walie" lady, Ms Elma Potgieter, who contests Melville. She tackles NP heavyweight Mr Johan Fick, the RAU lecturer who aims to teach her and Rand Afrikaans University student Mr Deon van Greunen (PFP) a lesson.

Peering over the border of Northcliff into NP chief Mr Danie van Zyl's Linden ward is the PFP's Mr Hans Strydom, who exposed the Broederbond in his book, "The Super Afrikaners".

Man with the biggest smile yesterday was sitting councillor Mr Eddie Magid. He was the only unopposed candidate.

Spare a thought for the men who have stood down. Among the notable omissions when the candidates' names were called out was Mr Francois Oberholzer. After 37 years, "Mr Johannesburg" has called it a day. Another was Mr Max Neppe, also a long-serving councillor.

# Police seize Tutu's sermon

Cape Times 7/9/88 (SOLA)

**TWO high-ranking policemen yesterday visited Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Bishopscourt residence with a search warrant and took away a recording of a sermon in which the archbishop defied a ban on calls for an election boycott.**

Archbishop Tutu said in the wake of his sermon on Sunday that he was willing to make available to police a transcript of his remarks.

The plainclothes officers, a colonel and a captain, who arrived at Bishopscourt about 3pm produced a warrant and asked for the recording which Archbishop Tutu's media secretary, Mr John Allen, had made of the sermon.

In the warrant, a Wynberg magistrate said there were reasonable grounds to believe that Mr Allen was in possession of "a sound and/or video recording of a speech by Archbishop Tutu ..."

The warrant authorized the police to enter and search the premises and seize the recording.

According to a statement released by the Anglican Church, Mr Allen said the archbishop was quite prepared to let them have the tape cassette and handed it over.

Mr Allen gave police a statement confirming the contents of the tape after consulting with the church's legal advisers, but said he would not be prepared to give evidence if the state tried to call him as a witness against the archbishop.

In his St George's Cathedral sermon, Archbishop Tutu urged Anglicans to boycott the municipal elections scheduled for October 26.

Meanwhile, Archbishop Tutu's call for the election boycott "could lead to an even greater growth of the CP", PFP leader in the Johannesburg city council Mr Tony Leon said yesterday.

— Staff Reporters, Own Correspondent and Sapa-AP



**SEARCH WARRANT** . . . Mr John Allen (left), spokesman for Archbishop Desmond Tutu, with the search warrant served on the archbishop yesterday. With him is the newly installed Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.
Picture: ERIC MILLER

# No ID numbers raise fears of corruption

From AMEEN AKHALWAYA

JOHANNESBURG. - Extra-parliamentary activists fear large-scale corruption in voting for the township's management committee on municipal election day on October 26.

Residents who went to check the voters roll this week found their names and addresses recorded, but no identity numbers.

"This means that anyone could go and vote in somebody's name without the person being aware of it," said one activist.

The UDF-affiliated Transvaal Indian Congress has warned that the new system of "priority votes" opens up the way to even more abuses than the old "special votes" system.

Under the old system, the voter had to declare that he/she would be out of the constituency on voting day. No reason is required for casting a priority vote.

In the last House of Delegates by-election in Lenasia, the TIC uncovered voting fraud and helped several people bring successful applications to the Supreme Court for their votes to be set aside.

The TIC's lawyers referred affidavits to the Attorney General's office, which in turn referred them to the police.

The Lenasia Management Committee, like the Coloured Management Committee, is effectively a sub-committee on an ethnic basis which has no direct representation in the City Council.

The Lenasia committee has had no full elections for a decade.

# Election 'crackdown'

From BEVERLEY GARSON
ALBANY NEWS AGENCY

GRAHAMSTOWN. - Many activists in the Albany District in the Eastern Cape have recently been detained in what appears to be a crackdown on opponents of the October elections.

According to the Dependents Conference here, two people, Ndoyisile Bete and Mzwandile Zokoza, were detained on August 10 in Alexandria, a small town between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown.

In Fort Beaufort ten pupils were detained on August 18. They are Nkosinathi Blackie, Zukile Fani, Zola Godwana, Rich Mlenze, Thobani Ngetu, Ningi Popo, Nkosinathi Qeqe, Mzoxolo Sabisa, Luyanda Tingo and a person known only as Macana.

Five people have also been detained here in August. They are Mcebisi Jonas, Mvuzo Mbebe, Songezo Mdoko, Vuyo Poswa and Mbuso Tali.

No reasons were given for their detentions, according to the DC, and it is assumed they were detained in the wake of State action against any form of resistance to the coming October elections.

Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Captain Bill Dennis, said he could not comment on State of Emergency detentions.

However, the Dependents Conference and family said police had confirmed the detentions to them.

The detentions form part of the government's attempt to contain any resistance to the coming elections.

Local Government structures have placed adverts in local newspapers in an attempt to popularise the elections.

## Nomination dates

In a local Grahamstown newspaper, Grocott's Mail, adverts were even published in Xhosa.

Nomination dates in the African townships here closed on August 19 and for the "coloured" and white municipalities on September 2.

Town clerk Koos Cilliers said the names of the candidates would be advertised by the council after nominations were finalised.

Cilliers said 11 054 people have registered to vote out of a total population of 60 000. He said this constituted 36 percent of potential voters.

Many are sceptical over elections held under a State of Emergency while hundreds of activists are in prison or detention. — ANA

# Special votes 'abused'

**DURBAN. - Pro-apartheid forces in the Indian and coloured communities are having a field day trying to get the people to register for the coming municipal elections in October.**

**In the African townships, like Lamontville and Chesterville, where elections will take place, the situation is complicated by the escalating political violence between tribalist and anti-apartheid forces.**

**Full town council elections will be held in the Indian areas of Verulam, Tongaat and Isipingo while elections for town board will take place in Umzinto and Marburg in Port Shepstone.**

**But in areas like Durban, Stanger and Maritzburg, Indian and coloured people will vote in elections for local affairs committees that are mere advisory bodies to the white city councils.**

**In all the Indian and coloured areas, the Labour Party, Solidarity Party, the National Peoples Party and other pro-apartheid supporters have already canvassed for votes.**

**They are promising gullible Indian and coloured people that the elections will be their passport to "prosperity".**

**Methods to get people to register their votes under the government's latest special votes system have been criticised.**

**A Verulam candidate accused candidates of misusing the special vote system by getting those people who were reluctant to participate to register special votes.**

**"The corruption and bribery is so rife that it is getting out of hand. It seems that because the authorities want a high poll they are allowing candidates to get voters to register as many special votes as possible.**

**"If this continues then there will be hardly anybody voting on election day on October 26," he said.**

**The candidate said he was meeting opposition from residents because they were disgruntled at the performance of previous town councillors.**

**"Because of their previous experiences they are not prepared to vote in the elections.**

**"They are also saying that the municipal elections are being used as a propaganda exercise to show the outside world that there is democracy in South Africa when there is no such thing," he said.**

**Another prospective candidate said the R1 000 a month salary and the pension scheme were the main attractions.**

**"It is for this reason the candidates are going all out to get people to register special votes. The whole elections have become a farce because of the special vote system."**

# Don't vote in October — Van Eck

• FROM PAGE 1

from pulpits a boycott of the elections in defiance of the emergency regulations.

Speaking after the bomb blast, SACC secretary-general Frank Chikane told a media conference in Cape Town: "The blast is connected to our witness and commitment to the opposition of apartheid especially the coming municipal elections."

The report, published last Wednesday, says the 27 church leaders including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Frank Chikane, undersigned a statement to all Christians calling on them to boycott the election.

The report says the SACC will use its publications to advocate a boycott in spite of the emergency regulations ban on such actions.

The SACC says it is aware that its actions are illegal but that it backs civil disobedience in the face of unjust laws.

Conveying the democratic movement's boycott call this week, Mr Jan van Eck said during the debate on the Group Areas Amendment Bill that black people did not merely want a vote within the present apartheid constitution.

"They especially want a say in determining within which constitutional structures they can exercise their vote.

"That is why the democratic movement and its leadership throughout South Africa are saying do not participate in the apartheid regime's racist local government elections.

"Do not stand for, do not vote for black town council and management elections. Boycott these elections.

"By participating in these elections you will not be working for the liberation of our people. You will instead become the apartheid regime's partner in oppression.

"Because the government has not only banned or restricted most leaders and organisations of the oppressed, but because it has now made it illegal for people to campaign peacefully against such participation, I take this opportunity after having made the necessary consultations, to convey this call by the democratic movement on the oppressed of our land."

Cape Times 7/9/88

304A

# NDM will fight CP's city bid

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE NDM yesterday promised to help fight a bid by the CP to gain a foothold in Cape Town, in next month's municipal elections, by offering assistance to all candidates who stand for an open city.

The NDM stand aims to counter the CP's election platform which endorses the banning of people of colour from beaches and amenities, the reintroduction of a nightly curfew and influx control, and the strict enforcement of racial zoning,for the CBD and residential areas.

A member of the NDM leadership committee, Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, said yesterday: "Cape Town has, for a long time, led SA in standing for an open society and it would be a tragedy if the CP gains a foothold in the city."

The Peninsula region of the NDM had accordingly decided to offer assistance to all anti-apartheid candidates, "in particular" to the four candidates in the City Bowl areas who are being opposed by the CP.

The CP candidates, Mrs Aletta la Grange and Mrs Lente Roux, are standing in Ward 4 against the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, and Mr Norman Osburn, while Mr Johannes Jacobs and Mr Theunis la Grange are opposing Mr Louis Kreiner and Mr Llewellyn van Wyk in Ward 5.

304A

# Candidates are named

A total of 128 white candidates are standing in the October municipal election in Johannesburg — 46 for the National Party, 37 for the Progressive Federal Party, 28 for the Conservative Party, 17 as independents and three for the Independent Ratepayers Association. The final roll will be announced on September 14.

The candidates are: Ward 1 Eddie Magid (Ind); Ward 2 Dr J F Uys (NP), Hans Strydom (PFP); Ward 3 Danie van Zyl (NP), Peter Roodt (PFP), Manie van Heerden (CP); Ward 4 Professor Harold Rudolph (Ind), Pat Rogers (PFP); Ward 5 Mrs Nan Roberts (NP), Mrs Judith Briggs (PFP); Ward 6 Ian McPherson (NP), Christopher Newton Thompson (PFP), Geoff Simpson (Ind); Ward 7 A P du Plessis (NP), Paul Asserson (PFP); Ward 8 A D Faulkner (NP), Elliot Kretzmer (PFP); Ward 9 Lionel Keenan (Ind) Cecil Bass (PFP); Ward 10 R Steenkamp (NP), Jacques Theron (CP); Ward 11 Mrs J D Coetzer (NP), G J du Preez (CP), Paul Bosch (PFP); Ward 12 E Venter (NP), S J van Staden, H C de Wet (CP); Ward 13 Johan Fick (NP), Deon van Greuzen (PFP); Elma Potgieter (CP); Ward 14 Ian Davidson (PFP), Douw Vermaak(NP); Ward 15 Mrs Rae Graham (PFP), Peter Pool (NP); Ward 16 Sam Moss (Ind) Carl Stein(PFP); Ward 17 Aaron Rosen (NP), Tony Leon (PFP), Mrs Myra Carel (Ind); Ward 18 Mrs Molly Kopel (PFP), David Neppe (Ind), Mrs Vicky Keenan (Ind); Ward 19 Les Duby (PFP), George Wolfe (NP); Ward 20 Frans Badenhorst (NP), Gerrit Bernedenhout (CP); Ward 21 Mrs Mariette Marx (NP), Mrs Esme Brink (PFP); Ward 22 Eddie Jones (NP), W Coetzee (CP), Pieter van Pletzen (PFP); Ward 23 Neels Meiring (NP), H J Claasen (CP); Ward 24 Jan van Blerk (NP), Miss Kim Heller (PFP), Doorvan Smith (CP); Ward 25 Hein Kruger (NP), Dr M Cobbett (PFP); Ward 26 R Korb (NP), Mrs Gene Ganther (PFP), A MacQueen (CP); Ward 27 Mrs C Burgess (NP), Lester Pocha (PFP); Ward 28 J Bekker (NP), Mrs Claire Quail (PFP); Ward 29 Clive Gilbert (PFP), Sol Berlowitz (Ind), Mrs Rita Oosthuizen (NP), Ward 30 Mrs Desiree Simpson (NP), Fred Rundle (CP), James Dryja (PFP); Ward 31 Daryl Swanepoel (NP), Clifford Garrun (PFP Willem Roos (CP); Ward 32 Stan Treisman (NP), Martin Sweet (PFP); Ward 33 Issy Schlapobersky (PFP), Trevor Bright (NP); Ward 34 Howard Bloomberg (NP), Jack Bloom (PFP); Ward 35 Koos Roets (NP), Ms Vanessa Mazaris (PFP); Johan van Wyk (CP); Ward 36 K Wearing (NP), Trevor Bernhardt (PFP), J Buckley (CP); Ward 37 Joe X Smith (PFP), Robert Rousseau (NP), F Meaker (Ind), J Taljaard (CP); Ward 38 R MacArthur (NP), Frank Peche (PFP), Finbar Dunne (Ind), M C Steyn (CP); Ward 39 Mike Levin (NP), John Fosset (IRA), Athol Green (CP); Ward 40 Jan Burger (NP), D Roltzhausen (CP); Ward 41 Mrs P Lion-Cachet (NP), G Annandale (CP); Ward 42 Dave Verster (NP), Ron Selley (IRA) D J Struwig (CP) Ward 43 Glen Kruger (NP) Torrie van Tonder (CP), Hennie Mostert (Ind) Ward 44 Dr P J Pretorius (NP) S Eggar (CP); Ward 45 Cecil Long (NP), C Roosenboom (CP), A Thom (Ind); Ward 46 Ernie Fabel (NP) C Buitendach (CP); Ward 47 D J de Waal (NP), Willem van Jaarsveld (CP); Ward 48 Mrs H Meyer (NP), R Janit (IRA), A Anderson (PFP); Ward 49 Mrs Linda Lewis (NP), S de Jager (CP), Ian Jayes (PFP); Ward 50 W Janse van Rensburg (NP), George Hazle (PFP); Mrs Brenda van Schlakwyk. Ward 51 F Oosthuizen (NP), Bert Horak (CP), Ken Giese (Ind).

## NP, PFP and CP battle for high stakes

# Three major parties in life or death fight

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

White, coloured and Indian candidates were announced at midday yesterday for the October municipal election in Johannesburg, dubbed the "watershed" of Transvaal politics.

In these elections the National Party will attempt to stem the threat of a total Conservative Party takeover in the province, the Progressive Federal Party will launch a campaign to regain lost ground and revitalise its forces under the new leadership of Dr Zach de Beer, and Mr Tony Leon and the CP will attempt to capitalise on the Government's failure to enforce residential segregation.

Also fighting for their share of the 51 wards are at least 10 independents and three members of the Independent Ratepayers' Association — a record total of about 123 candidates, 46 fighting for the NP, 37 for the PFP and 28 for the CP.

Mr Leon said there was a clear choice for the voters: "The meandering path of the NP making concessions to the CP at every opportunity, the race hatred being fomented by the CP or the rejuvenated PFP leading the way to a city at the cutting edge of urban renewal."

NP leader Mr Danie van Zyl said: "The NP can and must take control of the city council in October. This is our last chance and I believe the swing to the NP will do the trick."

Mr Fred Rundle, Johannesburg regional chairman of the CP, said: "There is no doubt the CP will win seats from the NP right in the heart of its urban stronghold."

### TRADITIONAL

The PFP is fighting off the first real NP onslaught on traditional PFP territory in Johannesburg's northern suburbs. The southern and western suburbs are virtually a straight CP-NP fight.

All three major parties are competing for representation in Malvern through Troyeville to Hillbrow.

Hillbrow, which is presently held by PFP councillors, will be hotly contested by the PFP, NP and CP tackling each other in what promises to be the hottest contest of the election. The high density flatland seems headed to become one of the country's first official "grey" areas.

A shock omission from the list of PFP candidates was that of the veteran councillor, Mr Max Neppe, who stood down in Berea because of his wife's illness in favour of Mr Lester Fuchs.

# Close contests expected in Indian and coloured wards

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

A tough election battle is on the cards in Johannesburg's coloured and Indian communities.

While 41 candidates were yesterday nominated for the South-Western Management Committee's 10 wards, 23 candidates will contest the Lenasia management committee's 7 wards.

In Johannesburg's south-western coloured townships, 13 candidates will be representing the Labour Party and 13 the newly-formed United Civic Association (UCA). The others are independents.

Both the wife and son of Labour MP for Eldorado Park, Mr Don Mateman, will contest the election.

Sitting councillor Mrs Margaret Mateman comes up against the leader of the UCA Mr Dudley Arends and independent candidate Mr Eugene van Heerden in Ward 1, while son Kurt will contest Ward 5.

The candidates for the South-Western Management Committee are:

D Arends (Ward 1), M E Mateman (Ward 1), E A van Heerden (Ward 1), K M Alexander (Ward 2), J Damons (Ward 2), H J Ackeer (Ward 3), S S Adams (Ward 3), D B Burgess (Ward 3), A L D Pieters (Ward 4), E A Pop (Ward 4), M F Rabie (Ward 4), C E Sinnye (Ward 4), V A Thomas (Ward 4), D J Heldsinger (Ward 5), V G Hendricks (Ward 5), S V James (Ward 5), K E V Mateman (Ward 5), E Rotkin (Ward 5), C D A Jacobs (Ward 6), T M Jones (Ward 6), J B A Riches (Ward 6) A R Booysens (Ward 7), G Morgan (Ward 7), G P Pinto (Ward 7), S Brand (Ward 8), A D Jeftha (Ward 8), R S Thomas (Ward 8), F Allie (Ward 9), S GoLath (Ward 9), P N Bandes (Ward 10), A H Forbes (Ward 10), G C I. Fortuin (Ward 10), M K McHugh (Ward 10), C V Williams (Ward 10), B Baaitjies (Ward 11), B J S Halters (Ward 11), C M Seefort (Ward 11), P E Peffer (Ward 12), M A Ramjee (Ward 12), D Seves (Ward 13), C L Smith (Ward 13).

Candidates for Lenasia:

K Kistasamy (Ward 1), G R Moodley (Ward 1), N Padayachee (Ward 1) M Lala (Ward 2) G Madhav (Ward 2), L T C Naidoo (Ward 2), S Padayachee (Ward 2), P Padayachee (Ward 3), A Sayed (Ward 3), M Essop (Ward 4), D Sakalingum (Ward 4), R Daya (Ward 5), S Dindar (Ward 5), N Gamieldien (Ward 5), A H Mahomed (Ward 5), J E Pillay (Ward 5), T Thambi (Ward 5), S S A Ally (Ward 6), I Ebrahim (Ward 6), M Pather (Ward 6), M Chetty (Ward 7), R Ebrahim (Ward 7), S R Mia (Ward 7).

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

# Nats promise 'security, stability and experience'

The National Party's seriousness about reform was proven by the fact that all population groups this year would go to the polls on the same day to vote for their own city councils, the NP in Johannesburg claims in its municipal election manifesto, signed by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, the NP chairman for Johannesburg.

It states that democratic participation for all has become a reality, but "radical and racist experiments" with the future of Johannesburg and the country are unacceptable.

It promises urban security, the combating of crime and unrest and a partnership between the city council and the business community.

"Live and let live is the only workable policy in our cosmopolitan metropolis. This means that the right of groups to their own residential areas, schools and other community facilities is secured."

Free settlement areas should be created where people who so preferred could reside.

"This vital election will determine whether Johannesburg will continue to be governed by the stable and experienced NP team or whether a power seizure by the leftist PFP clique with its radical connections is on the cards — or worse still, whether the right-wing conservatives and their neo-Nazi allies, the AWB, get a foothold in our city."

## Flowers for her invaluable help



Today is Secretary Day — a day on which bosses are supposed to show thanks to one of their most valuable employees. ICI's Mr Jim Simpson chose to give his secretary, Ms Janet Patterson, a well-deserved bouquet. ● Picture by Karen Fletcher.

# Soviet spy seeks release from jail

By Deborah Smith, Pretoria Bureau

Convicted Soviet spy Ruth Gerhardt, who has renounced violence and undertaken to abstain from subversive activities, has brought a Supreme Court application for her release in terms of the State President's offer to free security prisoners who renounced violence.

Gerhardt is currently serving a 10-year prison sentence after being convicted of spying for the KGB.

The application has been opposed by the State President, Mr P W Botha, the Commissioner of Prisons and the head of Pretoria Central Prison.

Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday said the case would be argued before him this afternoon in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

### TREASON

Gerhardt's husband, Dieter Gerhardt, former commanding officer of the Simon's Town naval base, is serving a life sentence after being convicted of treason.

President Botha had said in the House of Assembly in 1985 that he was prepared to consider releasing Nelson Mandela if he renounced violence as a political instrument, said Gerhardt in her affidavit.

Gerhardt submitted that she fell into the category of prisoner to whom the offer was made.

She said the implications of the President's offer were explained to her by the Officer Com-

# Tough election likely in Germiston

By Anna Louw, East Rand Bureau

Forty-nine candidates were nominated yesterday to contest 23 wards in the municipal elections in Germiston on October 26. One candidate was rejected by the returning officer and one was unopposed.

It will be a tough election in Germiston, with three candidates already indicating that they have sent affidavits to the Department of Home Affairs in a bid to have a NP candidate, who they allege does not live in Germiston, disqualified.

Mr Fanie Coetzee, who has been a councillor for seven years, of which he has served six on the management commitee, is adamant that he lives in the city.

Mr Coetzee, who is contesting Ward 3 which includes Primrose, gave his address as 11 Jotrusa Court in Rietfontein Street, Primrose The three candidates are saying he lives in Bedfordview.

Mr Coetzee will have three weeks to appeal after the complaint is lodged. If it is found that he does not qualify to stand as a councillor in Germiston, he will be disqualified should he win on election day, which will lead to a by-election in his ward.

Mr Derek Christophers, National Party MP for Germiston, said yesterday his party had 21 candidates in the field. Some political affiliations could not be confirmed at the time of going to press.

Ward 1 Mr Raymond Hofmeester (PFP) and Mr Ian MacGregor (NP), Ward 2 Mr N Gey van Pittius (NP) and Mr Kevin Maher (Independent). Ward 3 Mr Lewis Baker (Independent) Mr Fanie Coetzee (NP) and Mr Frank Werner (Independent). Ward 4 Mr Herman Immelman (NP) and Mr Johan Oosthuizen (CP). Ward 5 Mr A Ackermann (CP) and Mr Sarel Hattingh (NP). Ward 6 Mr P Delport (NP) and Mr Hermanus Vermeulen (CP) Ward 7 Mr Heodrik Albertyn (NP) and Mr Mario Valli (CP) Ward 8 Mr J Potgieter (CP and Mr H van Zyl (NP). Ward 9 Mr Johannes van den Berg (NP) Ward 10 Mr Fred Botha (Independent). Mr G de Plooy (NP) and Mr G Lotug (CP, Ward 11 Mr L Janse van Rensburg (CP) and Mr Leon Louw (Independent) Ward 12 Mr Johan Rossouw (NP) and Mr Johan Swart (CP) Ward 13 Mr J Fourie (CP), Mr Ian Uys (Independent) and Mr Stan van Eeden (NP) Ward 14 Mr D Fourie (CP) Mr Hennie Loots (NP) and Mrs Kelly Morris (Independent). Ward 15 Mrs Winnie Haveloh (Independent) and Mr M van Rooyen (NP) Ward 16 Mr J Booysen (NP) and Mr Viv Morris (Independent) Ward 17 Mr P Sadler (CP) and Mr Daan van Coller (Independent). Ward 18 Mr N Beker (NP) and Mr W Scholtz (CP) Ward 19 Mr Sarel Naude (Independent) and Mr R Scholtz (CP) Ward 20 Mr John Oxley (Independent) Mr B Stemmet (CP) and Mr Dirk van den Berg (NP) Ward 21 Mr C Oberholzer (Independent) and Mr P van Wyk (NP) Ward 22 Mr F Lloyd (NP) and Mr R van der Merwe (CP). Ward 23 Mr E Jordaan (NP) and Mr J Nel (CP).

# Coalition rumour 'a smear'

Reports that seven of Johannesburg's 17 independent municipal candidates have formed a "partially political coalition" have been hotly denied by Professor Harold Rudolph, Mr Sam Moss, Mr David Neppe, Mr Finbar Dunne and Mr Geoff Simpson.

It has been alleged Mr Simpson said the coalition would help the members in their campaigns, "leaning to the left of the political spectrum but deciding each issue on its merits".

Denying he had ever mentioned the formation of the group, Mr Simpson said he had never met two of the independents who had been linked together in the mythical coalition.

Professor Rudolph accused "whoever is trying to smear the independents" of dirty tricks.

"This is the first I have heard of the so-called coalition, there have been no meetings and I have never met Mrs Myra Carel or Mr Finbar Dunne who are included in the group," he said.

"My platform is clear and in my canvassing I have categorically stated that I am fighting on the basis of reducing politics in council.

# Petition against train integration

A petition signed by 7 000 people, who object to the scrapping of apartheid on passenger trains, was handed to the Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw, yesterday.

The Conservative Party spokesman on transport, Mr J J S Prinsloo, MP for Roodepoort, said yesterday the petition explained that the signatories objected because white South Africans had deep-rooted traditions incompatible with the removal of train apartheid.

# R150 deposits on some telephones

The Department of Post and Telecommunications is demanding a deposit of R150 from people applying for telephones in metropolitan suburbs with a high occupancy turnover.

A spokesman said the R150 was refundable after six months if a client had proved his creditworthiness. Johannesburg suburbs affected were Mayfair and Hillbrow, and the deposit did not necessarily apply to blacks.

● The R150 deposit is in addition to the installation fee of a similar amount.

HÄGAR the Horrible ® By Dik Browne




# Harare couple held in detention

HARARE — A couple who were facing charges of involvement in the abortive bid to free alleged South African agents from jail in Zimbabwe have been served with detention orders after they had been freed by a magistrate.

The State yesterday

(3044 Sunction 8/9/88



TREURNICHT . . . "too much too soon."



BOTHA . . . "too little, too late."

# For Ian Smith substitute TREURNICHT and for Whitehead substitute P W BOTHA

FOCUS

By MICHAEL HOLMEN of the *Financial Times*

THE history of Rhodesia — now Zimbabwe — may provide President P W Botha with food for thought.

The rise to power of Ian Smith, last Prime Minister of Rhodesia, and the downfall of his predecessor, Sir Edgar Whitehead, is a cautionary tale.

For Mr Smith and the Rhodesian Front (RF), substitute Dr Andries Treurnicht and the South African extreme right wing Conservative Party.

Put Mr Botha in the place of Sir Edgar Whitehead and the United Federal Party.

Sir Edgar tried to combat riots in black Rhodesian townships in the 1950s with a combination of a state of emergency, a new constitution and a promise to repeal the Land Apportionment Act, which divided the country into black and white areas.

He was trounced by the RF in the 1962 general election. His party had lost touch with white Rhodesian grass roots, and woefully underestimated the impact of the Rhodesian Front's racist appeal

Yet to many the UFP has seemed firmly in control. Its greatest challenge appeared to come from the rise of black nationalism.

The 1959 state of emergency, detention of nearly 500 black leaders and banning of the leading black party did not stop further widespread riots breaking out the following year.

## Partnership

The UFP acknowledged that it was time to reassess its paternalistic vision of "partnership" between black and white (like horse and rider, said Sir Godfrey Huggins, Whitehead's predecessor, in a singularly unfortunate turn of phrase).

The new constitution, introduced in 1961, gave blacks 15 guaranteed seats in a 65 member Rhodesian parliament. A complex electoral system held out black rule as a distant possibility. But black politicians dismissed the reforms as too little, too late.

Most whites thought it was too much, too soon.

In early 1962 the right wing had regrouped as the Rhodesian Front — and stunned the pundits a few months later. From an initial electoral base of white farmers and white blue-collar workers, the RF consolidated power.

The Rhodesian establishment was purged within months: senior civil servants were replaced, radio and television brought under state control, the loyalty of police and army officers vetted, all in preparation for the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) on November 11, 1965.

The RF won every white seat at subsequent elections. Ian Smith's 15 year premiership of Rhodesia was ended not by the ballot box but by the war — and international sanctions.

## Parallels

It can be dangerous to draw parallels with present-day South Africa. But from the important common factor — a white minority determined to resist black rule — there may emerge insights into possible political developments there.



IAN Smith

Of course Mr Botha's cautious reforms fall a long way short of what the Rhodesian UFP attempted. But these reforms have none the less antagonised and galvanised his own right wing, raising the possibility that Mr Botha and his National Party will go the way of Sir Edgar Whitehead and the UFP.

Like the UFP, the National Party is embarking on reforms which alienate many white voters on the one hand, and on the other fall far short of satisfying black aspirations.

Like the UFP, the National Party introduced — in 1984 — a new constitution (based on a tricameral parliament), which broke new ground but offered no solution.

Like the UFP, the National Party is discovering that a crackdown on black opposition does not win right wing voters once they have lost confidence in government's general direction.

## Anniversary

South Africa's Na-

2-8/9/88 (304A) $ W/Meil



STALEMATE IN PARLIAMENT

# CRISIS?

## No, the paint's just peeled off the tricameral system

**The parliamentary system is not in crisis. It was never intended to be any more than an instrument of white control. This week, however, the facade was scraped bare**

THE "constitutional crisis" in the tricameral parliament is no such thing — the system was, from its inception, designed to keep real political power in the hands of the ruling party in the white House of Assembly.

The system was also designed to ensure that the parliamentary system would not collapse if the two black Houses decided not to participate or to boycott the proceedings.

All that has happened over the last week or so is the camouflage has been lifted, exposing the effective workings of the system.

The government would obviously have preferred the 150 MPs (out of 318) not to have boycotted the debate over the group areas trilogy of Bills and the squatting/slums measures. It doesn't look good when a law, and a highly controversial one at that, can pass through an elected parliament when almost half the representatives are not participating in the legislative proceedings.

And Conservative Party MPs last week also seriously considered walking out of the debates. But they decided not to, apparently because the Progressive Federal Party had pre-empted them and they did not want to be seen following the liberals' lead.

If the CP had walked out, it would have left a minority of MPs participating in the debate and the only non-Nationalists would have been the New Republic Party's Ralph Hardingham and independent MP Jan van Eck, who felt it was still justified to use the parliamentary platform.

And still the system would have "worked".

The measures will become law because the National Party dominates the white House of Assembly and therefore can control the majority of members on the nominated President's Council which will rubberstamp the six Bills not even debated by the 150 MPs.

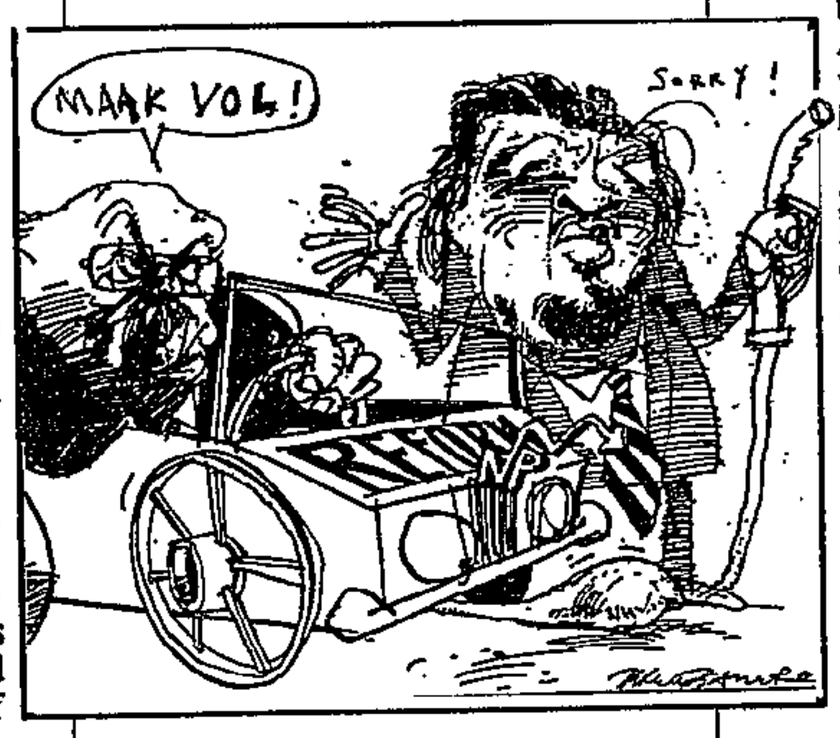
The tricameral system is structured in such a way that it can survive the sort of problems — "hickups", Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe called them — it has faced recently.

It was never intended that there would be real power-sharing between the three Houses. This was demonstrated soon after the tricameral parliament started functioning: although a majority of MPs and two of the three Houses rejected two contentious security Bills, they became law.

Perhaps the most cynical move came with the establishment of the Chamber of Parliament. The move towards joint sessions was seen by the CP as yet another step towards racially integrated government and, symbolically, it was a step away from all-white government.

But when it came to voting procedures, the ugly face of Nationalist "reform" was shown again. It would be logical for 318 MPs to vote jointly after they have jointly debated proposed legislation, but not to the reformists.

At first, they wanted the vote to be taken in the three Houses. Then, as a concession to Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, the government agreed the




MPs could vote together in the joint chamber — but they would still vote in their separate Houses.

Indeed, in June, when the two PFP MPs in the House of Delegates tried to vote with their fellow MPs, the Speaker ruled they had to take their place with the other House of Delegates MPs and they could only speak from those benches.

So the tricameral reform means joint debates and voting in the same chamber but the votes are counted separately. An absolute majority of MPs may vote against a proposed Bill but if the National Party majority in the House of Assembly wants it passed, it will become law.

This is the way the government has always intended the tricameral system to function and this is the way it has been working over the last week — albeit with somewhat less finesse.

The brief career of Hendrickse as a member of the cabinet demonstrated what tricameral power-sharing is all about.

PFP national chairman Colin Eglin says the tricameral system means — for the government — "do-it-my-way or else I-will-do-it-my-way anyway".

The only exception to this process has been the joint committees of all three Houses.

Until recently, when the Labour Party has played an obstructionist role in the committees because of the government's determination to toughen up the Group Areas Act, these committees tried to reach consensus on proposed legislation.

Many of the government's hair-brained proposals, which have often come from civil servants, have collapsed in the committees.

For instance, when the National Party was procrastinating over scrapping section 16 of the Immorality Act — the ban on sex across the colour line — the PFP proposed a deadline. This was backed by MPs in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates. In order to get consensus, the National Party MPs on the committee backed down. And the controversial race law went sooner than the government had intended.

"Power-sharing" has, to a degree, worked in the committees. But the MPs don't vote together. Or rather, they vote together but their votes are counted separately, depending on which House the MP comes from.

Even in the committees, National Party control, through its domination of the House of Assembly, remains. Until now it has not often had to use this power in the committees, except those dealing with constitutional matters, because a degree of consensus and compromise has usually been negotiated before the voting.

National Party control has never been under threat in parliament. Some may consider recent events "a crisis" — and there are problems — but until the government is willing to share power, it is hardly a new "crisis".

With the rightwing claiming the government has surrendered power to Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the Majority Party in the House of Delegates, it may be convenient for the government to have a "crisis" during the run-up to the municipal elections.

But after October 26, there will almost certainly be some conciliatory gestures to the other two Houses. And when parliament reconvenes in January, it will be a fair bet that the system will be "working" again.

There are no signs that the National Party is willing to relinquish any of its control of the system. That is the crisis, not the recent "hiccups".

# An MP mentions the unmentionable

AN MP who did not boycott the parliamentary debates on the Group Areas Bills and the squatting/slums measures, used the occasion to convey the call of the "democratic movement" to boycott the municipal elections in October.

Jan van Eck, the independent MP for Claremont, said the democratic movement and its leadership throughout South Africa were, at this stage, "telling all voters not to participate in the apartheid regime's racist local government elections in October.

"They are telling them: 'Do not vote and do not stand for black town council and 'coloured' and Indian management elections. Boycott these elections. By participating in these elections you are not be working for the liberation of our people. Instead, you will become the apartheid regime's partner in oppression.'

"That is the message being sent throughout the country by those people not represented in parliament.

"Because the government has not only banned and restricted most leaders and organisations of the oppressed, but has now also made it illegal for the people to campaign peacefully against participation in the October elections — it is now illegal to say outside this House that people should boycott the elections.

"I take this opportunity, after having made the necessary consultations outside this House, to convey this call made by the democratic movement to the oppressed people of this country.

"The government is not allowing them even to discuss the option of not voting. They are saying: 'You will vote.' They are saying to a person who does not want to vote that that person is committing a crime."

Andre Fourie (NP, Florida) asked: "Do you support them?"

Van Eck replied: "Why should that be a crime? I do support them."

Cape Times 8/9/88

# Craven expects bid to unseat him

LONDON. — The president of the SA Rugby Board, Dr Danie Craven, expects his leadership to be challenged at the board's next executive meeting.

Dr Craven said it was "not unlikely" that a vote of no confidence in him would be proposed.

He has been president of the board since 1956.

In an interview with the Guardian, he said: "I will fight, and if the worst comes to the worst, I will walk."

Dr Craven was speaking after disclosures that ANC officials were present at two secret meetings earlier this year between the president of the Transvaal Rugby Union, Dr Louis Luyt, and senior African sports officials. Dr Craven said he approved the meetings.

He insisted there would be further meetings with key figures "as soon as they set a date".

Reacting to opposition to the meetings within the board, he said: "The outcry must be overcome. If people want to see the country go down the drain, that's their choice. My choice is to live in friendship, not enmity, with our neighbours."

**IAN HOBBS** reports from London that Dr Craven, Dr Luyt and other South African sports chiefs were due to fly to Lusaka this week for a further meeting with the ANC.

But there are fears that the meeting may have to be postponed because of premature publicity.

ANC headquarters in Lusaka declined to respond to requests yesterday to confirm or deny that the meeting was still being held.

Dr Luyt is said to have impressed the ANC in Frankfurt with his commitment to fight to remove the last vestiges of apartheid from South African sport.

Sources in South Africa say Dr Luyt specified that certain people in Northern Transvaal and Free State rugby would do their best to sabotage the initiative to end sports isolation and sports apartheid.

The correspondent was told that Dr Luyt said his group was prepared to cut relations with such people if they persisted in retaining racialism.

In Frankfurt, Dr Luyt was told future meetings would be a waste of time unless his supporters could guarantee that racialism in sport would be eliminated from school level upwards. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

As he spoke, the State President's eyes brimmed with tears and his jaw quivered with emotion.

He told a public meeting in the Bloemfontein City Hall during the Free State National Party Congress that, in his view, there were only two people who could play a decisive role in giving new meaning to Afrikaner unity.

"The two people are Dr A P Treurnicht and myself. I extend a hand of goodwill to him."

He asked why, in this year of festivals, Afrikaners could not celebrate together.

"I am of the opinion that we must build bridges to help Afrikaners move closer together."

Mr Botha's statement to his party faithful comes against the background of burgeoning support for the right-wing Conservative Party.

Last night Dr Treurnicht said he would respond to Mr Botha at a public meeting in Germiston tonight.

Mr Botha's emotional appeal to Dr Treurnicht came after he had dealt with the anti-South African sanctions campaign and allegations of a troop and arms build-up in Angola.

Mr Botha said that while South Africa faced one of the greatest onslaughts in its history, there was division and disunity among Afrikaners.

This division was to be found at church, cultural and political levels.

This year of festivals — including both the Dias Festival and 150th anniversary of the Great Trek — would be less meaningful if it only reminisced about the past. It should also contain a message of greater national unity for the future, Mr Botha said.

He said there had been venomous attacks from the ranks of Afrikaners on his person and his presidency.

"I have no other desire than to achieve the best for our country. I now wait for a response; my hand is outstretched to everyone wanting to cooperate," Mr Botha said.

On the issue of sanctions and boycotts, Mr Botha said these would affect the R9,5 billion earmarked for socio-economic upliftment programmes over the next five years.

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These programmes would have to be postponed for between 10 and 15 years or even scrapped if the sanctions campaign intensified.

Turning to recent allegations of large-scale build-up of Cuban troops and arms in Angola, Mr Botha said no one should confuse South Africa's willingness to negotiate for peace with weakness to defend itself if necessary.

"If the recent reports of a further large-scale build-up of Cuban troops and armaments in Angola are correct — we will have to make sure of that — then it is a breach of the principles agreed to in New York and of the provisions of the Geneva Protocol.

"This is the subject which will be placed on top of the agenda at today's negotiations by our delegation.

"The linkage between implementation of Resolution 435 and Cuban withdrawal has been formally recognized but there will have to be a fair and realistic balance between the timetable for Cuban withdrawal and the implementation of Resolution 435."

The leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, last night said: "A lot of Afrikaners and traditional NP supporters would have much preferred President Botha to be making overtures to a leader like Chief Buthelezi than Dr Andries Treurnicht."

Independent MP Mr Jan Van Eck said Mr Botha's speech was that of "a broken man making offers of peace from a position of weakness".



Reform policies would be the price

# CP glee at PW's unity call 'blunder'

8/9/88
30 KA
Star

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

**The State President, Mr P W Botha's, Afrikaner unity offer to Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht may have been a huge political blunder on the eve of the municipal elections.**

Politicians in various political parties were stunned by the offer, which has been immediately interpreted as a sign that the State President has lost his political nerve.

Senior Conservative Party members were excited at what they perceived to be a political windfall from the President.

One senior CP MP said today: "The first thought that came to mind was the man charged with the murder of his parents who pleaded for clemency because he was an orphan.

## On knees

"The CP has nothing personal against Mr Botha so this is not about personalities holding hands.

"There will not be Afrikaner unity until P W Botha abandons his ideas of powersharing and returns to a policy of white self-determination," he said.

The CP source said Mr Botha's speech yesterday was a sign of weakness and capitulation.

"He is creeping on his knees. It is an unbelievable humiliation. The end for P W Botha is nigh," he said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is to react tonight to the offer.

Dr Treurnicht said today he would make a full statement at a public meeting at the Elsburg town hall near Germiston.

His initial reaction was that there did not seem to be anything new in Mr Botha's offer, because the State President had on previous occasions appealed for Afrikaner unity, Dr Treurnicht said.

Mr Botha made an emotional and personal invitation to the CP leader during his speech at the Free State National Party congress yesterday.

He said there were two people who could make a major contribution to Afrikaner unity, himself and Dr Treurnicht.

National Party sources say the President has been strongly moved in recent weeks by disunity in Afrikanerdom, particularly because he believes South Africa is entering its fiercest struggle for survival.

He has also been sensitive to attacks on both his person and in his capacity as State President.

## Weak

Mr Botha is particularly sensitive to criticism by the Conservative Party that he is the man responsibile for tearing Afrikanerdom apart (by proceeding with the policy of powersharing).

Senior Nationalists were stunned at the latest development and several of them are concerned that Mr Botha might appear to be weak in the face of the Conservative onslaught.

Progressive Federal Party parliamentary leader Mr Colin Eglin said he found Mr Botha's offer "amazing, to say the least".

PFP MP for Johannesburg North Mr Peter Soal said: "I wonder if Mr Botha has lost his grip on the country. It is all very well to plead for Afrikaner unity, but what about the rest of South Africa."

# Sowetan stops ads promoting elections

The *Sowetan* newspaper will no longer carry advertisements promoting the October 26 municipal elections.

It said in a front-page article: "It has become impossible to justify carrying these advertisements when the community we serve is barred from expressing its sentiments on the elections.

"We will, however, carry stories on the elections. These will be carried primarily on the basis of their newsworthiness."

● **Editor's note:** The Star, faced with a similar dilemma, has decided on a different approach. Like the *Sowetan*, it believes the Government restriction on calling for an election boycott makes it an unfair election. But The Star is against banning *any* view. Rather than deny its columns to pro-vote advertising it has opted instead for recording that the advertisements are one-sided. (This election policy accords with The Star's normal editorial practice, which is to report all the political views it can.)

## Restrictions

Once it was only the news that was censored. Now it's the advertising, too. The Government can urge people to vote in the local authority elections; the Goverernment has made it an offence for anyone to invite them not to vote. So there are some advertisements we are not allowed to accept.

● Remember, too, that The Star is still restricted by emergency regulations in what it can publish editorially about some matters. This includes pictures and reports on current events.

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# Gesture to Treurnicht

*(Continued from page 1).*

Mr Jannie Momberg, co-chairman of the Independent Party, said the President was obviously under tremendous pressure from the CP, hence his gesture of conciliation.

It was, however, sad that this gesture was aimed only at the Afrikaner and not at the whole country.

Mr Botha should first of all be a South African and then an Afrikaner.

For the thousands of English-speaking voters who had turned to the National Party out of fear for the CP, his overture to Dr Treurnicht must be an alarming situation, Mr Momberg said.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Party, said Mr Botha's plea had been based on a misunderstanding of Afrikaner unity.

There had never been Afrikaner unity in the sense of all having the same political convictions, but there had always been an underlying cultural affinity which remained.

Mr Malan did not see the gesture as a sign that Mr Botha's will for reform was cracking. He said Mr Botha had never had a will for reform if this meant looking for a new order.

Mr Jan van Eck, Claremont independent MP, said today that President Botha's reaching out to the CP and Dr Treurnicht could be the signal to a number of "new Nats" to leave the National Party.

Their mood was one of extreme impatience with the pace of reform and anger at the way in which issues such as group areas were handled.

"PW's performance might be the thing that precipitates a new-Nat breakaway with the NP moving towards the right wing and individual MPs joining forces with Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, with Denis Worrall and the Progs."

Mr van Eck interpreted President Botha's performance as his "swansong".

"It was not the typical PW political trick but a real cry from the heart, almost a confession.

"I've never seen him so emotional. This is obviously his swansong. He doesn't want to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaners."

● **Fifth CP candidate for city — page 7.**

# De Beer blames poverty on NP

Cape Times 8/9/88

**Political Correspondent**

SOUTH AFRICANS were growing steadily poorer each year as a direct result of National Party rule, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

It was "literally true" that a vote for President P W Botha was a vote for poverty, he told a meeting at Fish Hoek Civic Centre.

The average South African was, in terms of his buying power, becoming nearly 1% poorer every year.

Dr De Beer said this growing impoverishment was not simply due to the incompetence of the government — "though there is enough of that" — but because of apartheid.

"As long as we have apartheid, we shall have poverty."

If voters chose to stay with an apartheid government, either in its Nationalist or Conservative Party form, "you will have conflict, with no end in sight".

Dr De Beer said the National Party, which had been in power for 40 years, had to accept responsibility for the state of affairs in the country.

However, the Nationalists were "past masters" at creating a mess and then blaming others for it.

While the country had for a long time managed to get away with an apartheid policy and prosperity along with it, after 1974 progress had been shaky and since 1981 things had become disastrous.

SA's high inflation rate had a lot to do with high, unproductive government spending and a lot of that spending had to do with apartheid.

President PW Botha reaches out to win hearts and minds during his visit last weekend to the Crossroads squatter

# Militant Alex to discuss October votes plan

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE Alexandra Civic Association (ACA) — which has always firmly boycotted official structures — is considering a plan for possible participation in the October 26 municipal elections.

The plan, written by ACA's chairman, Mike Beea, is to be discussed by the ACA executive and will probably be presented to residents at a mass meeting next weekend.

A smaller meeting this week resolved to allow the mass meeting to decide whether to participate. A magistrate has apparently given permission for the gathering, due to be held on September 10.

This week's preliminary meeting was attended by 32 people, including five executive members of the ACA and members of the Reverend Sam Buti's Save Alex Party, which participated in the last election.

The names of nine people to be fielded as candidates in the election were on the agenda.

A number of speakers warned against the folly of pre-empting the outcome of the public meeting by proposing names of election candidates at this stage. They argued this would be a negation of the democracy they wished to excercise by testing the will of the people at the meeting.

Because of much heated debate and difficulty in maintaining order, the meeting was closed before this issue was resolved.

Participants at the meeting listened attentively when a former councillor who served under Buti emotionally recounted the past. With hands raised and his eyes occasionally closed, he warned against the idea of fighting the system from within.

He said: "My council was rotten, accused of corruption ... we never consulted the people ... then we were forced to live in hiding in Sandton, afraid of the very people we claimed to have represented.

"I appeal that we carefully examine each step and not repeat the mistakes of the past," he said.

According to an ACA representative, "events" led them to assign Beea to study and prepare a plan for participation to be presented to residents. At least one member of the ACA, Thomas Ndzondza, confirmed this.

Beea is expected to present his plan

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The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emerge

304A Willcard 2-8/9/88

# October votes: Alex activists discuss plan

●From PAGE 1

to an ACA meeting for approval. Only once it has been adopted will it be taken to the mass meeting.

The plan entails a local organisational structure with a 25-person central committee. Some will take out Progressive Federal Party membership to enable them to serve in the Transvaal administration and the regional services councils.

The committee will elect two members to each of these bodies to be the "eyes and ears" of the local authority. However, it states clearly that they will not participate in the national statutory council or parliament at this stage.

The formula calls for a new "community voters' roll" and for election manifestoes to be read at mass meetings as working documents rather than campaign statements.

Candidates will be obliged to work for "meaningful" change, to challenge the government to provide more land, to build proper housing for all sections of the community and to abolish the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

They will also demand the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the State of Emergency. Candidates will strive for an "unfragmented" South Africa and the abolition of all segregation laws.

On a local level they will fight for all Alex hostel and shack dwellers to be accepted as permanent residents, the building of a hospital in the area with its "doors open to all races" and for educational institutions to be reorganised on the basis of education — not skin colour.

Beea was released from prison last year after 12 months in Emergency detention. On his release he was served with restriction orders preventing him from addressing political gatherings, from being with more than 10 people, from leaving Alexandra without permission or disseminating information to the press.

The mass meeting will be held a day after the official closing date for the registration of candidates. However, organisers said this week that the government was expected to extend the closing date if the residents chose to contest the vote.

It would be particularly significant if the ACA chose to participate in the municipal vote, not just because it would signal a fundamental shift in strategy, but also because the township was a focal point of unrest during 1985/6 and had one of the most developed street and area committee structures.

Since the State of Emergency, Alex has become a focal point of the government "winning hearts and minds" upgrading programme.

# 'Blunder' PW's 'goodwill' to AWB

**By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent**

**ACROSS South Africa's political spectrum today President Botha was deemed to have made a political blunder with his emotion-charged gesture of conciliation to Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on the eve of the municipal elections.**



Dr Treurnicht

Politicians of various parties expressed surprise that Mr Botha reached out a "hand of goodwill" to his arch-rival against the background of the Great Trek celebrations.

Although it was made in the name of Afrikaner unity they said it would almost certainly be interpreted as a sign of weakness.

And it seemed that Mr Botha may find the hand of friendship slapped away or only coolly or conditionally accepted.

President Botha made the goodwill gesture at the National Party's Free State congress yesterday.

Dr Treurnicht said from Pretoria today there was not much new in what Mr Botha had said — he had made calls for Afrikaner unity in the past.

One was during the 1983 referendum campaign.

Dr Treurnicht said he would make a fuller and "considered and calm" response when he spoke at a public meeting in Germiston tonight.

He made it clear that that he and his party would continue to support the Great Trek festival being organised by the Afrikanervolkswag in competition with the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK).

He said the AV spoke the language of the CP and its members had been "worked out" of the FAK some years ago.

The CP was not interested in a festival climate that would be created by the National Party and the FAK.

The FAK was interested only in the President speaking at the end of the festival, regardless of who held the post.

## No reconciliation

Dr Treurnicht added that in the present controversy the government need not be concerned about the CP's support of the Defence Force. Party members would continue to serve.

He would not indicate firmly whether there could not be any reconciliation between him and Mr Botha but the tone of his remarks today made this seem unlikely.

In Bloemfontein, President Botha showed deep emotion when he referred to a disappointing division and parting between Afrikaners.

They were divided religiously, culturally and politically, he said.

This would have a negative effect on South Africa's defence capabilities and potential to ensure security.

"It must have a negative impact on the future of other minority groups who make our country their home."

For South Africa and for the Afrikaner 1988 was an important year of celebrations and gratitude.

The celebrations should not only recall the past but also have a message for the future.

"It must be a message of greater national unity and a greater renewal of Afrikaner unity ...

"There are two people who in my opinion can make a significant contribution to Afrikaner unity, Dr Treurnicht and myself.

"I put out a hand of goodwill to him."

A senior member of the CP said today the President's offer was an "unbelievable humiliation".

"He is creeping on his knees. Do you think he would do that if he did not realise that he was defeated.

The Progressive Federal Party's parliamentary leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said Mr Botha's gesture was "amazing, to say the least".

PFP MP Mr Peter Soal said the gesture was "pathetic" and it seemed that Mr Botha had lost his grip on what was happening in the country.

*(Turn to page 3, col 1)*

renewed economic approach by the Government.

bail of R500 and the case was postponed to November 2.

# House of Delegates confusion spills over to municipal poll

**Pretoria Correspondent**

The political confusion in the House of Delegates has spilled over into the municipal elections.

When nominations closed yesterday for the Laudium management committee election — representing Pretoria's Indian community — all 25 candidates indicated they were "independents", with no sign of candidates from the political parties.

The United Action Team Committee fielded one candidate in each of the five wards, but stressed in its manifesto that they would represent "the people of Laudium and not any political parties".

The Laudium Member of Parliament in the House of Delegates, Mr Boetie Abramjee (National People's Party), confirmed last night that there would be no party-political involvement in Indian municipal elections, "not in Pretoria nor anywhere else in the country".

The NPP and Solidarity formed a coalition which subsequently led to the formation of the breakaway Progressive Reform Party, later disbanded when its members joined the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Abramjee said against this background it was seen as premature for political parties to become involved in Indian municipal elections, and although there were candidates with strong party ties they would not receive any assistance from the official party organisation.

Star (304A) 8/4/88

P'W BOTHA AND THE NATION

# Neither honour nor success

## The presidential direction is unerringly towards poverty

**The fruits** of President P W Botha's constitutional and economic reforms have not been sweet. They have brought him neither honour nor success. What virtue he possessed has been led astray by fanaticism and profligacy.

The constitutional crisis that threatens the short and tragic life of the tricameral parliament is testimony to the profound poverty of his political endeavours. We are, in consequence, facing the possibility of what amounts to the suspension of parliamentary government.

Botha's mismanagement of the economy has set foreign capital to flight and debased the currency. One of the world's most richly endowed countries is now in the ridiculous position of being told that, under its president's guardianship, it cannot afford prosperity. The corollary, equally absurd, is that all it can afford is poverty.

Bureaucratic corruption is rife. There have been at least four inquiries in recent months into official irregularities. The authorities' grip on law and order must be tenuous to say the least; almost weekly, indiscriminate terrorist bombings kill and maim innocent bystanders and "unrest" may well be rekindling in Natal.

If there be some fructification of foreign policy from the negotiations over Angola and Namibia, it would be the improbable crowning glory of 40 years which have progressively alienated our friends, strengthened our enemies and led us to the unerring scorn of ordinary, sensible folk in other lands.

South African society would not be the loser if there were to be a change of leadership now — and almost any change would do. For Botha's volatile, even ambivalent disposition is now the greatest impediment to progress and prosperity. The National Party, which is by no means about to be unseated, should consider very carefully whether it car continue to afford him.

Macaulay once wrote of a capricious Highland chieftain: "His age was venerable; his aspect was majestic; and he possessed in large measure those intellectual qualities which, in rude societies, give men an ascendency over their fellows." Botha's ascendancy, once the very instrument of reform, has instead become the means of its abrogation. His autocratic style and imperious mien have alienated the coloured people and the Indians, whose gradual enfranchisement, via the tricameral system, could have kept the threatening Conservative Party in puny parliamentary aspect, especially after the next general election, which could be in May — if not October this year.

We have no doubt that Nat consensus with the elected coloured and Indian representatives over reform was once promising. The price of its continuance, however, was made very clear when both communities agreed — in strictly limited number — to participate in a parliamentary arrangement that excluded blacks. It was that this less-than-perfect parliamentary structure become the means by which racial discrimination — especially as expressed in group areas and squatting laws — be progressively removed.

Indeed, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse is on record as having said that if, within five years, he had not achieved the removal of those laws, he would review his participation. That period expires this year; we assume Hendrickse will keep his word and enhance his integrity.

It is the Nats who have reneged. Now that they cannot get agreement on regressive amendments to group areas and other discriminatory laws that will effectively reintroduce influx control, they are to rely on the autocratic powers vested in the President's Council, which they control — which, indeed, P W controls.

This will win them no brownie points with the CP and probably save them very few of their own members who have been beguiled by Andries Treurnicht's romantic bigotry. But it will alienate opinion abroad and polarise politics at home. It will render the Great Indaba (or National Council) a dead letter — if it ever was a constitutional option while genuine black leaders are incarcerated.

About the only group of voters left either to replenish the Nationalist ranks or with whom to form an alliance, are the English-speaking ones, who are perfidious, to say the least. Twice in recent years they have supported the Nats in substantial measure: once over the new constitution and again at the last general election.

But they didn't then have a rejuvenating PFP and Denis Worrall's Independents with which to flirt. Nor have they seen their support of the NP repaid by any influence in its affairs, let alone the allocation of any plum jobs, which remain firmly in Afrikaner hands irrespective of — some would say, in spite of — relative competence.

In these circumstances, the temptation for Botha to foresake parliament and rule via the President's Council, or for that matter some thinly veiled military tribunal, could become overwhelming. Regional administrative mechanisms enabling an instant switch to martial law have long been in place.

There remains a strong belief in the National Party — especially in its communications arm, the SABC — that this country's future depends almost entirely on political decisions. What happens to the economy — and the ability of people to provide the basic requirements of life — is considered secondary to the siren call of Afrikaner survival.

That is a view, we fear, based not on insights denied the rest of us, but on ignorance. It is akin to the argument advanced for trade sanctions against us: that an economic wasteland is a price worth paying for an uncertain political goal.

The fact is that P W Botha's economic reforms — fiscal discipline, fairer and more efficient taxes, deregulation and privatisation — like his political ones, lie more in the minds of Nat politicians than in reality. Where steps have been taken in their direction, they have been no more than tentative when, to have any effect, they should have been robust.

Important as they may be, the absence of these reforms in substantial measure is less immediately a restraint on economic growth than other policies which have been manifest failures — but with which the Nats, in their esoteric visions, will persist.

One of these is the refusal to address inflation in a way that will bring lasting price stability and sustainable growth. It has declined in recent months — as a



**President Botha ... a Rubicon too far**

result of short-term stability in the exchange rate and monetary discipline last year — but there is not an economist who doesn't expect it to be back to about 16% next year.

Just to maintain export performance, the rand will have to depreciate against the main trading currencies by the difference between our inflation rate and that prevailing in the country of the relevant currency. At present, that suggests at least a 10% depreciation on average a year for the foreseeable future, while the economy is overwhelmed by the need to repay foreign debt.

If the capital flight is to find domestic compensation — let alone be reversed — the depreciation will have to be larger and, if the money supply is not under firm control (and it is not), that will aggravate inflation in the immediate future.

Even the celebrated Dellums Bill, in all its sanctimonious ferocity, would have only a cumulative impact on growth here. It would be small beer compared to the blows that the capital flight and boycott are administering daily, and have been for three years.

It is not what is happening to the economy this year or will happen next that is important; the trends over the past 10 or more years tell the depressing story of a mounting economic crisis and progressive slide towards impoverishment. White real wages have been declining for that period. No wonder the CP is in full cry in the industrial heartlands.

Domestic savings became negative over that period too; fixed investment has not kept pace and capital formation is in relative decline. All this has been substantially aggravated since the capital boycott and flight which began in mid-1985.

We're not just eating our seed corn — we're allowing it to blow away to nourish the booming economies of the West who don't need it.

For SA to export the capital it needs so badly to unlock our natural wealth and transport it to world markets is sheer economic folly.

But the folly does not end there. Over the past 10 years, SA's share of world gold production has fallen from 80% to just over 50%. Within another 10 years, it could be substantially lower, as low-cost production in Australia and Canada is rising fast. Costs at these mainly open-cast mines are a fraction of those of our deep-level mines in an economy where inflation is rife. Even if the gold price does not rise — and there is little to suggest that it is building anything like a head of steam — these new mining ventures have ample funds to spend on developing new and more efficient mining and extraction techniques — the exact position which SA mines enjoyed for so long and which kept us ahead of the game.

Without investment capital inflows, the only way our mines can keep abreast of technological development is by generating their own capital. Yet no measures taken since our celebrated tax reform started have significantly encouraged domestic capital formation or wealth creation. The only reforms so far have been revenue-generating for the Exchequer.

So we sit on an abundance of mineral riches, with available labour, management skills, a developed banking system and a sophisticated capital market and become progressively poorer.

For, government tells us, to pay what by international standards are modest foreign debts, we cannot afford to grow at more than 2% or 3% a year for the foreseeable future — the so-called balance of payments constraint.

And the chances are we won't even meet those modest targets if our dominance as a gold producer is steadily undermined, inflation allowed to keep eroding our foreign trade and we do not continue to save and invest in our resources. And as the urban black population is growing by 8% a year, our progressive impoverishment is bound to create social strains.

The Nats' dilemma, therefore, is whether to restrain domestic growth at the risk of fostering another bout of violence in the townships, or to attempt to reschedule foreign debt repayments. The prospect of the former would, to normal people, make the cost of rescheduling cheap at the price, which we can quantify: a statement of intent on political reform and a timetable for implementation.

But the Nats' reluctance to do so gets to the fulcrum of their fears — the awful spectre of electoral gains for the CP. Our rejoinder is that the way the Nats are going now, it makes little real difference whether they are in power or the CP has that dubious honour. The economic outcome will be the same — poverty.

Still more errors could compound government's economic folly. One, that rather than control money supply and allow interest rates to find market levels, Pretoria will interfere with direct controls to shield the debt-ridden farmer and thus discourage his defection to the CP, which in the Transvaal could cost some Cabinet members their seats.

Another is that even Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock's modest forecast of 2,5% growth this year and a surplus on the current account of the balance of payments next year is based on the maintenance of adequate monetary and fiscal discipline. Well, there hasn't been any over the past year and even he admits money supply won't be brought down to targeted growth this year.

For decades, this administration has been characterised by economic policies that applied too little restraint too late. Seldom, if ever, has it been responsible for overkill. That is why, in our view, De Kock's modest real growth prognostications are optimistic.

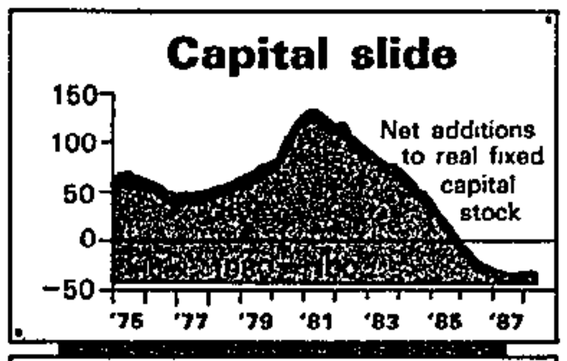
It is not difficult for Pretoria to pump growth up to 5%, 7% or even 10% next year by simply printing more money and allowing the rand to plunge. But the cost thereafter of that shot in the arm will tear at our already fragile social fabric.

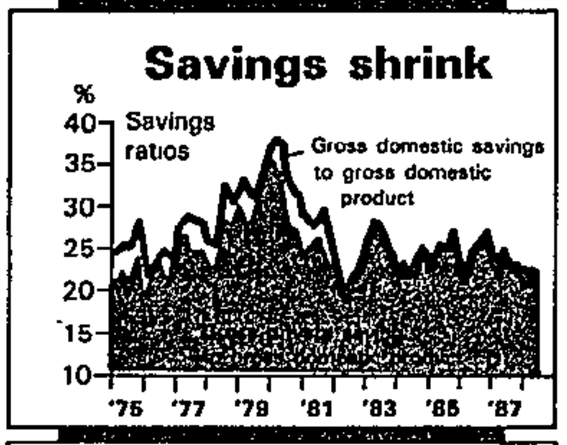
For inflation will, in a haphazard and uncomfortable way, adjust lifestyles to the austerity we cannot avoid.

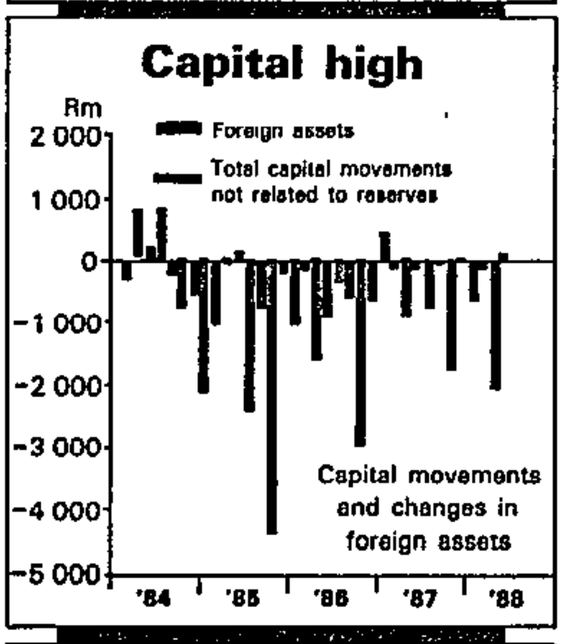
There is a way out of this mess: tight money, no exchange control, rapid deregulation and privatisation. But those are policies that take political guts and require an understanding of economics. P W Botha manifestly has no stomach for the former and no head for the latter.

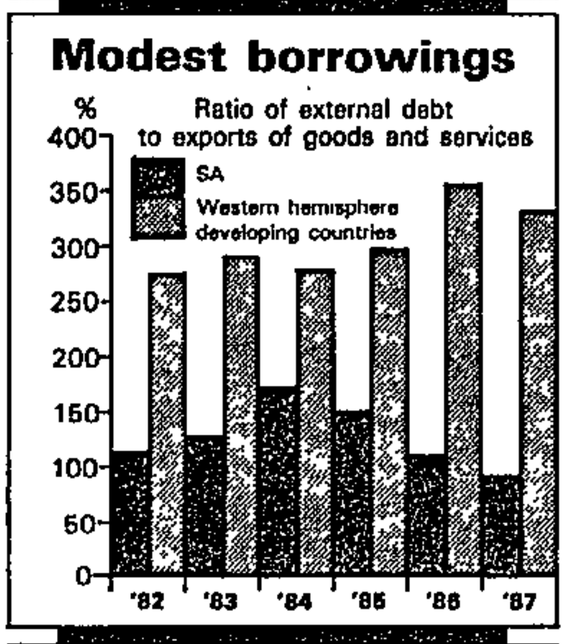
His inertia speaks volumes. What he and his party are telling us is that they are prepared to see this economy reduced to a wasteland if that is what maintaining the status quo entails. Is it that much different from the spirit of Tutu's or Dellums' scorched-earth sanctions policy?

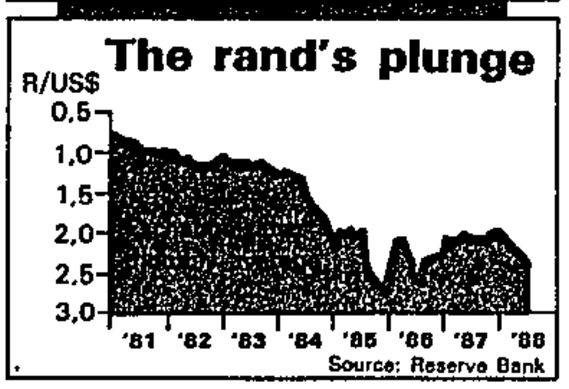
The outcome will be the same — impoverishment. ■



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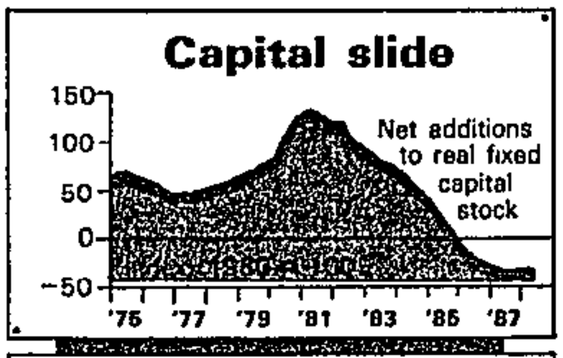
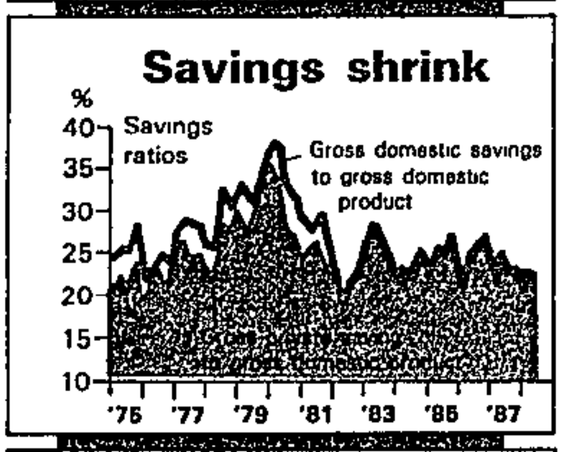
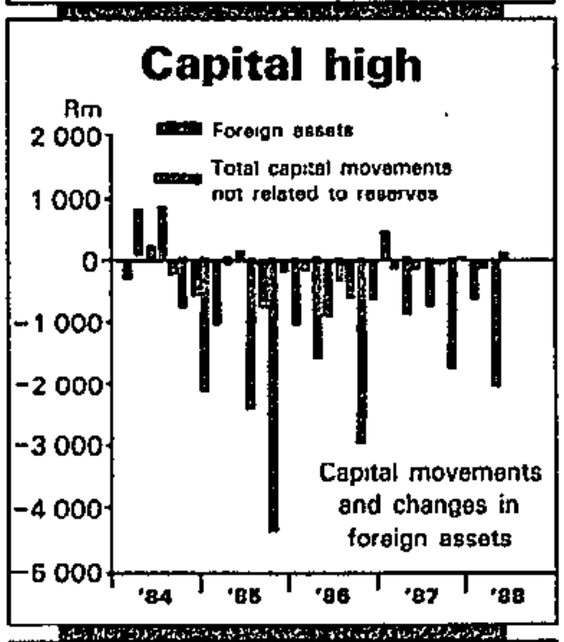
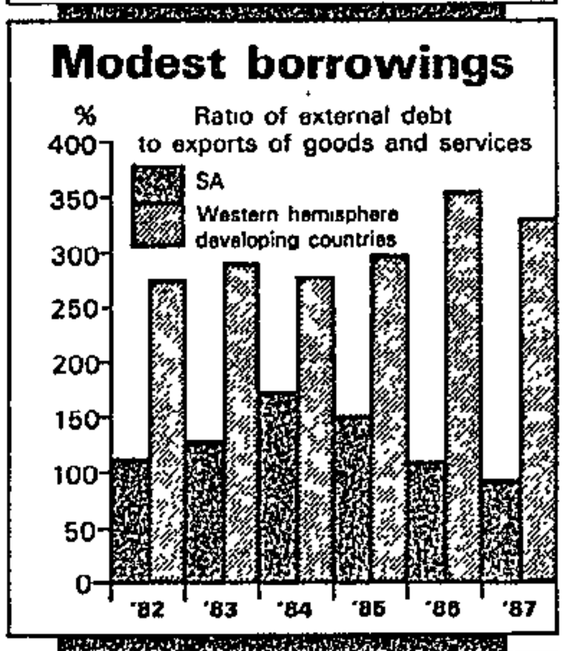
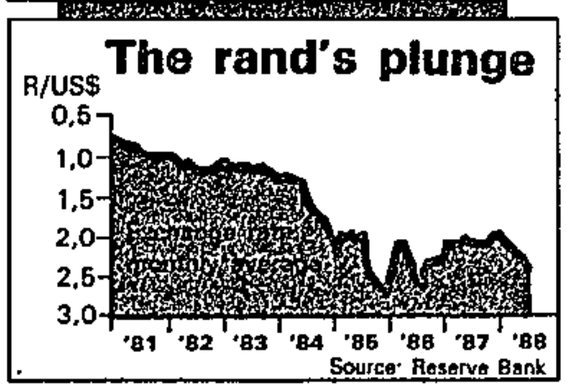


HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## Lurching on

**Parliament**, this week threatened by the walk-out of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) caucus and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement over amendments to the Group Areas Act (GAA), will never be the same again. There must now be doubts in even President P W Botha's mind about the road he is taking — which might well explain renewed rumours of an early general election this year.

Botha's call to the two junior Houses to attend this Friday's joint debate on the second reading of the Constitution Second Amendment Bill (which deals with constituency delimitation and the appointment of blacks to the Cabinet), triggered the rumours. Political pundits immediately speculated that Botha might use the occasion to announce an early election.

Until now, Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) has steadfastly refused to co-operate on delimitation, a refusal which some National Party (NP) MPs secretly support.

It could be that Botha, irritated by the LP's stonewalling — and the prospect of Conservative Party (CP) gains in next month's municipal polls has decided to go for a general election in October. If so, it will mean that parliament will reconvene for a *third* time this year, since the constitution states that parliament must reconvene within 30 days of a general election.

However, a general election will not save Botha from a real crisis should the LP persist in refusing to back Botha on delimitation, required every 10 years — meaning the next should be in 1989.

Once a new delimitation has been carried out (assuming by that time some compromise can be reached with Hendrickse), it automatically implies another general election. There would obviously have to be one, especially as current proposals suggest that the Transvaal should gain 15 new constituencies, while the number in the Cape should shrink.

Another scenario is that Botha will use Friday's joint session to instruct the other two Houses to come to a decision on the GAA amendment Bills before he refers them to the President's Council within two weeks.

Whatever Botha decides in the solitude of his Tuynhuys office, there can be no doubt



that the future of the constitution is in jeopardy. In their frantic efforts to ram the GAA amendments through parliament before the October elections, the Nats changed the rules by converting the debate from a "general" to an "own affairs" one in order to enable government to refer the Bills to a House Standing Committee instead of a joint committee. This caused CP chief whip Frank le Roux to remark joyously that the Nats are doing everything to get in line with CP policy: "The only consensus reached in SA at this stage, is that the new (political) deal is a hoax," he observed.

Before he led his walkout, PFP parliamentary leader Colin Eglin called the changing of the rules a "disgraceful way to perform a shabby and unworthy Nat trick." He said the debate "will ripple out from this House and have implications for all of us in SA. The government is opening the door for a constitutional crisis which they do not yet even understand ... The only good thing about it is that it is driving one of the first nails into the coffin of the tricameral system."

Rebel NP MP Albert Nothnagel, at least, showed some of the compassion his fellow Nats lacked in dealing with the sensitive issue. If he ever had to consider a permit for someone under the GAA in his Innesdal constituency, the colour of that person's skin will not play a part, said Nothnagel bravely.

He admitted that the GAA amendment Bills had plunged SA into a constitutional crisis — but "eventually democracy must get us through to the other side."

There are other dangerous options facing the country, Nothnagel continued. One was the possibility of a CP takeover, or a radical takeover by the ANC. He also warned against the option of a one-party State or military rule, which would "be the end of this country."

The NP may yet find that their juggling with the rules of the constitution may be ruled out of order by the courts. A firm of attorneys has offered free legal advice to the LP to explore the possibility of contesting the ruling. The PFP is also seeking legal advice on the matter.

In the background, high-ranking Nats, among them Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, are still courting Hendrickse for a way out.

A few months ago, when Hendrickse apologised to Botha during a Cabinet meeting for embarrassing the office of the State President by taking his famous swim, all the members of the Cabinet stood and clapped as the LP leader took Botha's hands as "a Christian and from one fellow believer to another." That was then, this is now ■

# Tutu: You can't reform a Frankenstein

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

**ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu defied the government yesterday for the second time this week, repeating a call he had made about the October municipal elections, and said blacks should not vote for a system which oppressed them.**

**Speaking to more than 1 300 students and staff at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), the archbishop said people should "prayerfully consider what God wants you to do".**

**"But we urge black people: Do not take part in a process that is meant to perpetuate your oppression."**

**Archbishop Tutu, who was speaking in his capacity as chancellor of UWC, told the audience his stand was "not bravado".**

**He said he would protest when "people are being turned into things so that the world can be misled".**

**"Our people do not have the right to say: May we participate? And we cannot say to our people: You cannot participate. Because it is an offence," he added.**

**He said he was committed to the "struggle for a just South Africa to the extent of saying: When God demands certain things of me, I will obey only God".**

**"I want to say to you what other church leaders have been saying. We say please consider prayerfully what God wants you to do on October 26."**

**He also challenged the State President's assertion during a television interview earlier in the week that a majority of South African blacks were favourably inclined towards the government's policies.**

**"He is so sure of the majority of blacks supporting him that he won't allow them to vote," Archbishop Tutu said.**

**"We are not going to allow, or participate in, third-rate operations.**

**"You cannot change this system piecemeal. You cannot reform apartheid, you cannot reform a Frankenstein, you can only destroy it," said the archbishop, to cheers from the audience.**

**During the induction service of the new Anglican Dean, the Very Rev Colin Jones, on Sunday, Archbishop Tutu also "prayerfully" urged black people "not to vote in the October elections — and I hope white Anglicans**

To page 3



Archbishop Tutu at UWC yesterday

From page 1

will join their black brothers and sisters not to vote".

On Tuesday, two high-ranking policemen visited the archbishop's residence at Bishopscourt and seized a video recording in which he defied a ban on calls for an election boycott.

Yesterday he referred to the police seizure of the videotape and joked about how the police would probably come to fetch a tape at UWC.

Our Political Staff reports that the police investigation into a statement over the weekend by the archbishop on the municipal elections has not yet been completed.

The liaison officer to the Minister of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday: "The police are still busy with the investigation."

He also said there was nothing further to add to previous police announcements on the matter.

Normally, dockets are referred to the Attorney-General for his decision on whether to institute a prosecution or not after the police investigation, and it is only then that a final decision is taken on whether to charge someone in court.

This is likely to be the procedure in this case, but it is possible that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could give an indication of the government's intentions in a speech in the near future.



**CALLING FOR DISCIPLINE.** Archbishop Desmond Tutu calls for discipline on campus during his speech yesterday at UWC. With him are vice-rector Professor Jaap Durand, left, and rector Prof Jakes Gerwel.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

tion without revolutionary instigation is the economic and the social. And the government is working toward giving them in these fields a better life."

But the huge costs of this programme mean upgrade projects are generally little more than a seasoning thrown in to spice the soup.

The strategy continues, therefore, to rely largely on repression. Prospects of townships throwing up legitimate "moderate" representation are dim. Said one activist: "It's a bit like strangling a chicken and then expecting it to still lay eggs."

Accepting the October elections are designed to seal the success of "bottom-up" reform, what are the chances of these policies succeeding?

Not good, if the CP has its way. In the general election of May 1987, the CP won over 600 000 votes. It hopes to increase this to one-million. If it does, it stands to win every white Transvaal municipality except Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton.

Exploiting the NP's constitutional paralysis and white fears, the CP is leading the fastest-growing movement in white political history towards a Jacobin takeover of the RSCs. If they succeed, it is unlikely the Transvaal RSCs will be champions of urban black advancement.

The October elections may well be remembered as the battle for the Transvaal. With the right wing poised to take most of the province and black communities threatening boycotts of the polls, the Transvaal — with 13 of the country's 16 RSCs and the largest black urban agglomerations — may force the NP back into its Cape trenches and its black moderate allies into an even more illegitimate cold.

As far as the black communities are concerned, the government has three problems: resources, resistance and race.

Despite the massive increases in the amount spent by the state and capital on services, housing and land in recent years — in direct response to black resistance — this does not even begin to address the problem.

Whereas 400 0000 houses need to be built annually, the building industry is only constructing 35 000 units per year. Only 33 percent of Africans can afford a housing loan of R12 000. But most of the houses built by private companies (none are built by the state) cost on average between R25 000 and R35 000.

Building costs are rising at 16 percent annually. The pitifully small amounts being generated by the RSCs cannot remove the inadequacies in basic infrastructural services.

Where could more money come from? When a general in the State Security Council was asked this question, his response was that it "was not his department's affair". A senior official in the Directorate of Urbanisation said the money will come from the proceeds of privatisation. But Jan Lombard, deputy governor of the Reserve Bank, noted that a five to seven percent growth-rate is needed for upgrading to succeed. With sanctions, this is impossible.

Limited resources coupled with extravagant media campaigns which inflate the true extent of upgrading lead to a discernible rise in unmet expectations in the black communities.

This will greatly strengthen the already-high levels of political consciousness, dramatically underscored by the fact that the two largest-ever stayaways have taken place since the declaration of the 1986 Emergency.

Rent and schools boycotts, strikes, marches and organisational rebuilding all testify to the survival of black opposition. And, ironically, the increase in housing and urban services is presented by activists as a victory.

Further struggle, they argue, will yield more benefits. This process of bargaining through rebellion casts substantial doubt on whether the winning-hearts-and-minds campaign will really work in the government's favour.

The single most significant difference between 1983 (when the last BLA elections were held) and October 1988, is the existence of giant trade union federations which have in the past consciously organised in support of election boycotts. Thousands of shop stewards trained by the unions have risen to leadership in "local united fronts".

The persistence of the "national question" remains the biggest obstacle in the way of any reform that ignores the need to negotiate with legitimate representatives of the majority.

Thus, instead of sealing the success of the first stage of repressive "bottom-up" reform, the October elections may well mark the beginning of its demise. Caught between a hungry right wing and an angry reorganising black community, the NP government has never been weaker.

Everything will hinge on the battle for the Transvaal. If the CP can take control of the RSCs and this is complemented by low polls in the black areas, the NP reform programme will be as good as dead.

■ The authors are both researchers at the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

# Case study: All I need is 1 percent, says Linda

**In the highly politicised Eastern Cape black communities have opted for different strategies to the municipal elections**

TAMSANQA LINDA, the former mayor of the Ibhayi Town Council, told a recent meeting: "Even if I get one percent of the population to vote for me I will still be voted in."

As nominations for the Eastern Cape's 50 black local authorities closed this week, black communities in the area have adopted widely differing responses to the October municipal elections.

On the one hand, Port Elizabeth's Ibhayi town council has 42 nominees for 21 seats. And, in effect, 22 Eastern Cape townships have already elected their councils — all the candidates are unopposed.

But on the other hand, the township of Motherwell 20km outside Port Elizabeth and Cradock's Lingelihle township have no contenders for the municipal elections.

In KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, there were only eight nominations for the 16 vacancies. Town clerk Eddie Coetzee said the council would not be able to reach a quorum and the matter would be referred to Cape Administrator Gene Louw. He said it was possible a by-election would be held to elect other councillors.

Lingelihle and KwaNobuhle have been run by administrators since 1984 after their councils resigned during unrest.

Ibhayi mayor, Jimmy Nako, was clearly elated as 21 candidates under the banner of his Asiko Ntweni Party, or the Port Elizabeth People's Organisation, rushed to register for nominations.

Linda, now special advisor to the Ibhayi Administrator, also has 21 nominations for his Zamukulungisa Party.

But the extent of their support remains to be tested.

Residents of the Ibhayi townships say Linda is aiming his speeches at pensioners and impoverished people. He has promised housing to the unemployed, to upgrade hostel facilities for the homeless and the aged, and claims to have opened soup kitchens in all the townships.

Hostel tenant Stebha Mbelwa said: "Linda organised a soup kitchen and served pensioners personally in order to obtain votes from them. He asked: 'If you don't vote for councilors who will give you houses?'"

A pensioner living in a kwaZakhele hostel says Linda claims he succeeded in getting their rents lowered from R14 to R11.

"We have paid R11.20 from the time we occupied the area in 1979," the pensioner insisted. "What he said was not true."

Pensioners in Ibhayi and Middelburg in the Karoo have been told they will lose their pensions if they do not vote, according to a Black Sash representative.

But the authorities have had little success with attempts to persuade residents of the small township of Lingelihle to vote — even though Lingelihle has been singled out for state upgrading, recently acquiring tarred roads and streetlights.

Residents, interviewed, interpret the upgrading as an attempt to "buy" them.

Lingelihle's administrator recently called a meeting to discuss prospective councillors. The meeting was attended by about 10 people who soon realised they were in the wrong place and left to apologise to the community for attending.

Recent upgrading projects are also conspicuous in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage townships.

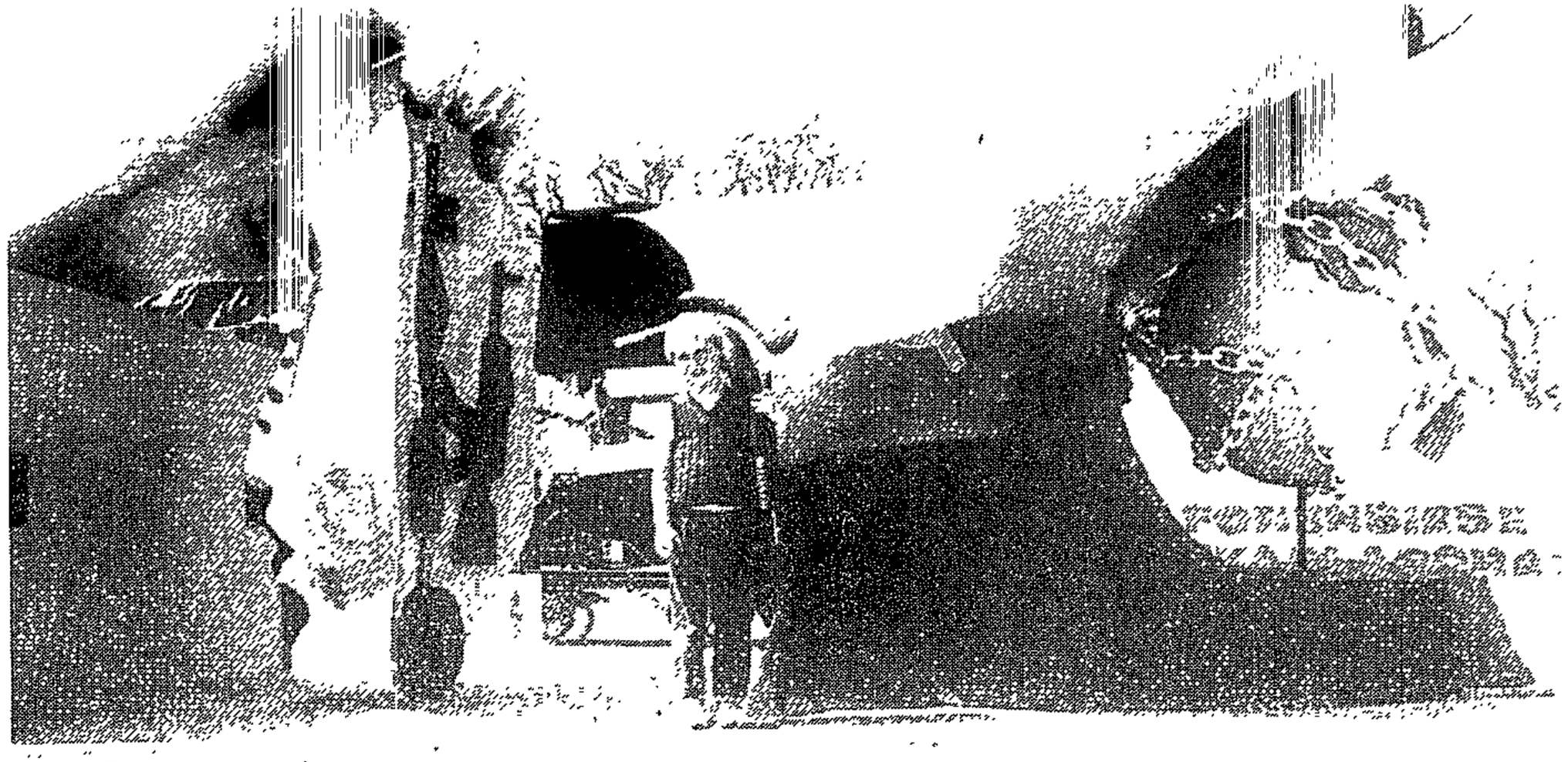
Uitenhage community leader and former Robben Island prisoner, Diliza Mayford Mfazwe, described the improvements as a ploy to win votes.

He said he had seen construction activity in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage everytime there was to be election for black authorities. "The way it is being handled makes me feel it is a ploy to win the confidence of the ignorant people," he said.

In Oudtshoorn's Bhongolethu township election violence broke out last month. Police claimed houses of candidates were burnt down by an unidentified group of "comrades" and a car was smashed and burnt.

Three students were detained for campaigning against the elections and in protest pupils from the local secondary school boycotted classes. — Pen






**Two prongs of state strategy: PW and Elize Botha win hearts and minds during a visit to Crossroads and, right, the SAP celebrates 75 years of keeping the nation in safe hands**
**Pictures: ADIL BRADLOW and ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix**

# The unspoken word: b*yc**t

**Just how much of a black voter turnout do the Nats need to be able to say they won? SHAUN JOHNSON reports**

WE know already that whatever happens in the October elections, all interested parties will claim victory.

The Nationalists will interpret the results as a mandate for more of the same of their reform recipe; the Conservatives will say they are poised to assume the responsibilities of government; the extra-parliamentary resistance groups will insist the low poll exposes the barrenness of ethnic politicking. And there will be inventive variations on these themes by new black incumbents.

Nevertheless, the battle for the thousands of local positions will provide interesting pointers toward likely political trends over the next few years, constituting a litmus test of sorts for all affected. And, characteristically enough for South African politics, the black and white elections beg entirely different questions.

*How* the posts are filled is critical in the black elections, while *who* fills them is the issue in the white.

Up for grabs are more than 7 100 "third tier" jobs, distributed among 1 126 local authorities. Their nomenclature differs according to racial groups, but all are supposed to feed in some form or another into the "second tier" Regional Services Councils (RSC) — and even, perhaps, into the mooted National Statutory Council.

White votes will account for just under half of those duly elected on October 26: there are 516 "white" local authorities, as against 276 "coloured", 260 "black" and 74 "Indian". The respective numbers of individual posts are 3 651, 1 321, 1 763 and 370.

(The reason these ratios are at such obvious variance with population statistics is, of course, that the majority of Africans are supposed to exercise their political rights in the "independent" and "self-governing" homelands.)

The October poll differs from previous exercises in that for the first time Africans will be allowed to cast their votes at the same time as other South Africans. More representatives will be elected on one day than ever before. It is also the first time the African votes will (theoretically) steer some of their recipients into multi-racial structures. Finally, there is a modest increase in the number of posts on offer.

But these are technicalities, entirely subordinate to the political dynamics at play. The latter can be monitored by reference to a number of salient factors, and by decoding the "newspeak" being employed by the government over the elections.

In the white ballot, the question pressing on the government is one of control; in the black, it is of appearance.

There will be no difficulty in getting white voters out. Democracy will be seen to be in action: the electors will decide whether to scupper the RSCs (by electing enough CP candidates to afford them overall control in the Transvaal), or to give reform some manner of approval.

An indicator of the government's sense of panic about the former prospect is to be found in the decision to field a number of candidates on non-party lines, even though local government has been so irrevocably politicised.

Interest will centre on the possibility of a "Scotlandisation" of the Transvaal whereby, as in Britain, the ruling party loses control of the northern reaches of its country. This is a straight, comprehensible, electoral fight.

Not so the black poll. Here, *realpolitik* renders it almost irrelevant which individuals get in. There is no serious prospect of popular extra-parliamentary figures making themselves available for the contest, and carrying their support-bases with them. What matters for the government is that the posts are filled by people of the correct skin colour, that the polls are not too derisory, and nor are the circumstances of their election too shady. If they are at least installed, the government can pursue its belief that economic upgrading will make communities forget about their political aspirations.

There has already been state intervention on these issues. Widespread provisions for "special voting" have been announced, opening the way for a situation where, in the words of the Transvaal Indian Congress, "90 percent of black votes will be prior votes, with hardly anyone voting on the 26th". While far from being an ideal demonstration of broadened democracy, the government is prepared to countenance it in order to secure relatively respectable polls.

What is a "respectable poll", in the government's terms? By the lights of 1983, not a very high one. Daveyton "mayor" Tom Boya says he regards 25 percent as "acceptable", but hedges his bets by pointing to by-election turnouts in white areas being as low as 16 percent.

His hopes — and the government's — will depend heavily on the success of the special voting dispensation. But even more importantly, the will hinge on the strength of the extra-parliamentary groups which have thus far had nothing to do with local authorities and, although constrained from calling for boycotts, show no real sign of altering their attitude.

The TIC has implied this, a United Democratic Front position paper made broad hints, and a group of churchmen defied the restrictive legislation. It would be unwise for observers to equate the disappearance of mass street politics in the townships with a cooling of resistance ardour. The success of the two most recent national stayaways seals the argument.

Thus whether the word "boycott" is removed from debates around the elections or not, its euphemistic presence will be no less obvious. And in the black elections, the really important vote to be cast is whether to vote.

# THE X FACTOR

## Yes, the October elections DO matter. The government has staked its entire 'winning hearts and minds' policy on them ... and the risks are enormous. MARK SWILLING and MARK PHILLIPS report

TOP government official Len Dekker describes the October municipal elections as "the greatest exercise in democracy in Africa".

The black opposition also sees it in dramatic terms. "We have correctly identified bodies of minority rule as a weak link in the apartheid chain," commented a township newspaper, referring to local authorities.

And the Conservative Party says it will take part "intensively in order to protect the rights of the whites".

The municipal elections are critical for a state searching for popular legitimacy, a movement seeking to confirm its leadership in anti-apartheid struggle, and a muscular right wing that could take the Transvaal.

Why so much hinges on the elections can be explained in terms of the ambitious intentions of state policy.

These include a security operation to restabilise black local government through township upgrading, mass detentions and multi-million rand propaganda campaigns; and a complex constitutional process that will use local authorities as the "building blocks" of a new constitutional order.

For blacks, a vote in October will be a vote for a constitutional formula. For whites, a vote against the National Party will be against the reforms. The stakes could not be higher.

The 1983 constitution created the "own affairs"/"general affairs" framework. It created a central government structure for whites, coloureds and Indians — the tricameral parliament.

African representation was seen as external to this "consociational contract"; local rights were to be exercised through Black Local Authorities (BLA) and central rights through "independent homelands".

Once the tricameral structure was in place, the government reproduced the consociational arrangement at local level — hence the creation of Regional Services Councils (RSC) for whites, coloureds and Indians. Because blacks weren't part of the deal, BLAs were excluded from RSCs.

This changed soon after the Vaal uprising and regional stayaway in 1984. Minister Chris Heunis announced in December that BLAs were to be included in the RSCs because this would give them access to much-needed financial resources.

A top official at the time explicitly tied this change to resistance: "If we had given the BLAs resources of magnitude, we would not have had so much of the current unrest."

By fully incorporating Africans into local government, Heunis was resolving a financial problem by violating the fundamental basis of the constitution — the exclusion of Africans.

It was when this dawned on the government that a new constitutional vista opened for them to resolve the "problem of black political rights".

In May 1985, Minister Gerrit Viljoen was the first to refer to the "bottom-up reform process" when he said "our mistake in the past was to start at the top". Africans, he argued, must be incorporated into "all levels of decision-making up to the highest level". By the end of 1985 this had been accepted as NP policy.

By October 1988 these "building blocks of a future South African democracy" will have been set in place — "own affairs" local authorities to facilitate "self-determination" for all "groups" and "general affairs" RSCs to facilitate "co-determination".

The elections will be presented by government media as an opportunity for, in the words of a Nationalist MP, the "whole nation" to express its will. After this, the next round of constitutional re-ordering at regional and national level can take place.

But behind the talk of "broadening democracy" is the more fundamental objective of restoring administrative stability in the urban townships. This is seen as the immediate aim in the larger "counter-revolutionary war".

A much-circulated state document said late last year "that all other objectives must be secondary to this until this objective has been achieved." Soon after the 1986 State of Emergency was declared, Defence Minister Magnus Malan said: "I think for the masses in South Africa democracy is not a relevant factor."

What is relevant in state security thinking is a network of local administrative bodies which can be used to "win hearts and minds" — of a key minority if not of the majority.

Thirty-four "oilspots" have been identified. These are high security risk townships marked for special attention to demonstrate the benefits of co-operation with the state.

Presiding over this strategy is the repress-counterorganise-upgrade triumvirate of the National Security Management System and the Joint Management Centres (JMCs).

On the one hand, activists and the representative leadership thrown up in the "people's power" period are "taken out" as organisation is suffocated.

On the other, "counter-organisations" such as conservative youth groups, gospel choirs and of course BLAs are promoted. In a few much-publicised cases (Mamelodi, Alexandra, Crossroads and New Brighton) huge upgrading resources complement the process.

Justifying upgrading as a security strategy, a State Security Council general said: "What is more important to the masses in the natural situa-



**'Independents' Worrall . . . all options on the table**

INDEPENDENT PARTY

# Off and running

**The sudden** rumble at the back of the Stellenbosch Town Hall as six or seven young men stormed towards the microphone did not signal another bust-up within the ranks of the Worrallites. It was a sign of growing pains at the first congress of Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP).

The issue at stake was a resolution calling for the acceptance of "a general principle that linguistic and cultural groups should have the right to self-determination . . ." But what really affronted the youthful delegates was the tail-end of the resolution: "That the congress accepts . . . in particular the right of Afrikaner nationalism to self-determination on a geographic basis."

To single out *Afrikaner* nationalism was Boerestaat talk of the likes of Carel Boshoff and the AWB, argued the young Worrallites. A middle-aged delegate defended the resolution and got the reply, "We didn't make the mistakes, you did."

Worrall tried (unsuccessfully) to explain that the resolution meant only that all options should be on the negotiating table; the party was not subscribing to the Boerestaat idea.

It was left to cricket administrator and congress chairman Jannie Momberg to defuse the situation over tea. The younger wing prevailed — in the sense that the bit about Afrikaner geographic self-determination was scrapped; and the IP prevailed in the sense that it resolved the disagreement.

The party, after the initial shock of the break between Worrall and Wynand Malan, has survived its first test. Here, in action, was the consensus politics so often preached by National Party (NP) leaders like Chris Heunis and F W de Klerk. The IP, it was clear, was not going to be merely a safe haven for former United Party and NRP supporters. Most IP members, like the young men at the microphone, are tired of the NP — an Omnichek poll published last weekend found that support for P W Botha among white voters aged between 18 and 24 has decreased considerably. His support among men in this group came down from 59% in May to 37% in July and among women from 32% in March to 27% in July.

It is this group, said Worrall, which yearns for the days when SA could still compete at the Olympics, and when South Africans did not need visas to travel to most Western countries. "There is a sense of expectation, of concern, of disenchantment among voters. They are looking for alternatives to a government that has run out of creative impulses."

Worrall's message was the first flickering of hope to many supporters since he and Malan parted ways. "We'll be tirelessly going across the country getting our message through to the people. We are the future party who can pull disenchanted voters from the NP. The government had its chance. It has fiddled away its time," said the re-elected leader.

Labour Party leader in the House of Representatives, Allan Hendrickse, likes Worrall's strategy. "It is a healthy approach to go for Nat supporters. The Nats still represent the majority of whites and I think Denis is correct in trying to win them over to the IP," Hendrickse told the *FM*.

But still to be achieved is some kind of cooperation between Worrall and his former ally Malan. While political pundits cannot foresee any formal alliance between them at this stage, insiders say efforts are currently under way — at least to get the two leaders talking again. ■

PARLIAMENT

# Hard Labour

**Last week's** disastrous one-sided parliamentary debate on the amended Group Areas Bills was only the beginning of heartaches for the ruling National Party (NP). After cold-shouldering Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party (LP) on June 15, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis can now forget about any more compromises from the LP leader.

Hendrickse told the *FM* this week that he will not abide by his earlier offer of certain concessions to Heunis, made without the knowledge of his caucus. "He totally rejected the concessions I was willing to make," says Hendrickse. He would not elaborate on



what his offer entailed.

He says he has not seen the new group area proposals government is expected to put before a parliamentary joint standing committee and which will be debated during a joint session when parliament reconvenes (for the third time this year) on September 26. "But I suppose we still have problems," he says.

A month ago, after an invitation by P W Botha, Hendrickse and the president met to discuss certain matters. Hendrickse says he told Botha that the LP would support the proposed National Council and that "although no agreement was reached, we expected some kind of a quid pro quo — but there was nothing forthcoming from the NP."

After that, Heunis, on numerous occassions, made overtures to the LP, Hendrickse says. "But our attitude had hardened and we were not prepared to talk."

He thinks government's change in attitude — withdrawing the amendments which had already been debated in the white House without the participation of the PFP and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement — took place when "their Afrikaner Calvinist morality came home to them. They must have realised the immorality of having laws passed by nomination (the President's Council) people."

The NP now faces a crucial choice over the next few weeks: it can strengthen apartheid in a vain attempt to stave off growth in the Conservative Party (whose supporters will never return to the NP); or bring together other South Africans by means of compromise and concessions.

The government-supporting SABC was quick this week to describe the developments in parliament as a triumph of consensus politics. Auckland Park's *Current Affairs* intoned: "Negotiation and a readiness to acknowledge the legitimate concerns of other parties have averted a serious constitutional confrontation ..."

The SABC went on to say it was all a triumph for the tricameral parliamentary system as a democratic institution with the flexibility to accommodate diverse groups in joint decision-making, despite serious differences.

Critics believed, it continued, that the president would continually have to resort to strong-arm methods to overcome disputes between the white, coloured and Indian Houses. But, "so succcessful has the new constitution been, however, that the President's Council has hardly ever had to meet for that purpose" (ramming into law NP Bills on which no consensus could be reached).

However, at a report-back meeting in her Houghton constituency this week, PFP stalwart Helen Suzman told supporters that government has already succeeded in passing seven Bills using this method. And, warns Suzman, both the coloured and Indian Houses are busy studying the possibility of altering the rules — as the Nats did a week ago — to suit themselves. "This could lead to a chaotic situation. It will be the opening of Pandora's box, which will still be deeply regretted by government," she says.

It is up to government then, once parliament reconvenes, to show proof of its willingness to participate in the "consensus politics," so fawningly described by the SABC. If not, they may again find themselves in another constitutional crisis.

Former Nat academic and economist Sampie Terreblanche does not think government is able to overcome its credibility crisis. Speaking at Denis Worrall's Independent Party congress, he said that, after 40 years of open and concealed forms of racism, government is still unable to identify problems facing the country.

"While on the threshold of the 21st Century, this government, with the continuation and reinforcement of racial groupism, tries to turn back the clock of history," he charged. ■

CP ovation as Treurnicht sets terms

# Nats rally round PW on unity call

**By David Braun and Esmare van der Merwe**

**Nationalist politicians are rallying around the State President, Mr P W Botha, following Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's virtual rejection of his call to unite Afrikaners.**

Dr Treurnicht slapped away Mr Botha's "hand of goodwill" at a public meeting at Elsburg last night, stipulating his own tough conditions for the unification of Afrikaners.

The CP leader's response was tantamount to telling Mr Botha to abandon political reform and take up the CP policy of partition if he wanted a united Afrikanerdom.

Nationalist sources close to the President are emphatic that Mr Botha did not signal to Dr Treurnicht that he was turning his back on reform.

A spokesman for the Office of the State President said Mr Botha would have to study the text of Dr Treurnicht's reply before deciding on whether he would comment.

Addressing about 600 people in Germiston last night, Dr Treurnicht told Mr Botha to reject the policy of power-sharing and to rejoin him on the road to separate development.

Dr Treurnicht said he regarded Mr Botha's personal appeal to him in a serious and positive light.

But he said the State President should "turn around, away from mixed residential areas and mixed political structures".

"I take the liberty tonight to ask for the State President's renewed support for the only path which led Afrikaners to greatest unity in the past and the only way in which it can be achieved in future and which offers English-speaking people security. That path is one of separate freedom for whites as for other nations."

## Separatism

Dr Treurnicht said cultural and political divisions could only be mended if Afrikaners and other whites associating themselves with Afrikaners, were granted the right to be governed by their own people in their own fatherland.

He told Mr Botha: "Abolish all multiracial Government bodies ruling the Afrikaner. Stop the campaign against separatism. Stop making concessions to the two other Houses of Parliament. Return to the road of our own sovereign white Parliament, where we cannot be vetoed by other nations . and you will find our hand right there."

Dr Treurnicht said he shared the nostalgia for true Afrikaner unity and mourned the divisions which threatened the free survival of the Afrikaner nation.

"I believe that Dr D F Malan is talking to us again. Bring together those who out of inner conviction belong together. Not unity for the sake of unity only, but unity of conviction about principles."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night leapt to Mr Botha's defence, saying at a public meeting in Johannesburg there was nothing wrong with the State President's appeal at a meeting of predominantly Afrikaners for Afrikaner unity.

## At least 30 activists arrested

**At least 17 Pretoria activists and leaders, including Azanian People's Organisation president Mr Nkosi Molala, were arrested on Wednesday.**

**This brings to 30 the number of people believed to have been detained in the Pretoria and Johannesburg areas in the past week. Police neither confirmed nor denied the arrests.**

**A spokesman said: "Action is not taken against people because they are affiliated to one or other organisation, but such steps are aimed at the actions of individuals.**

**"We deny that the SAP harass people. Certain organisations feign all innocence and raise a hue and cry when certain of their members are detained, and aspersions are cast on the *bona fides* of the police."**

**Last Friday, 11 people were arrested at the Wits Glynn Thomas Residence in Soweto.**

**The detained residents of Mamelodi, Pretoria, are Mr Michael Seloane, a restricted former secretary of the Mamelodi Youth Organisation (Mayo); Mr Bheki Nkosi, acting president of Mayo; Mr Donald Makola, executive committee member of Maca; Mr Mike Ncube, a field worker for the Pretoria Council of Churches; Miss Martina Mokhonyana, an artist and dressmaker; Mr Billy White and Mr Durban Makuba, both of Mayo.**

**Those detained from Atteridgeville are Mr Arthur Mkhwanazi, a former Robben Island prisoner and an official of the Atteridgeville and Saulsville Residents' Organisation (Asro); Mr Oupa Masuku of the Saulsville Youth Organisation; Mr Reeves Mabifi of Asro and Mr Shine Dau of Asro.**

**Other Atteridgeville residents detained include Azapo member Mr Philemon Moshepye (28) and Mr Vuyo Kapa (30), a member of the restricted Azanian Youth Organisation.**

**In Soshanguve, Mr Master Molokoane, Mr Peter Magagula and Mr Benjamin Ntuli, all students, have been detained**

**According to *New Nation*, three other people have been detained in the Pretoria area — Mr Post Molepo, Mr Tiny Molepo and Mr Khorombi Dan.**



**Hillary Lewis will be racing in The Star-Lesotho Sun Roof of Afr month on her Draper Plant Hire Kawasaki 200. For many of the n against her this will be the last time they see her — until the prize- She recently finished sixth in the 200 class at the tough Mmb off-road race, ahead of many of the "unfair" sex.**

# Eskom could close older power stations

**By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau**

Eskom seems on the point of closing some of its older power stations because of the oversupply of electricity-generating capacity in South Africa

Closures — which could lead to widespread retrenchment — will probably be announced next week. A spokesman could not comment on which stations would be affected or how many staff would be involved.

But the rationalisation is bound to be centred on the eastern highveld, which has a string of "sooty sinner" stations, which had been earmarked by Eskom for multimillion-rand clean-up programmes.

In the statement yesterday, Eskom's general manager in charge of power generation, Mr Paul Semark, said the imminent opening of Kendal — the world's largest coal-fired power station — would enable Eskom to "cut back on production at stations not equipped with modern technology".

With Kendal going on stream within the next few weeks, and with a number of other generating giants already producing for the national grid, Mr Semark said Eskom now found itself entering a period of surplus generating capacity.

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## Botha motivated by a vision to solve South Africa's growing problems

# 'I'm doing what I think is right'

Excerpts from a television interview between London-based freelance journalist John Coker and the President, Mr P W Botha at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Tuesday.

**Coker: President Botha, it's coming up to your 10th anniversary of being in power. During that time you've gone down as the most reformist of all your predecessors, yet your reforms have resulted in turbulence and the townships problems. All in all, what do you think?**

Mr Botha: My attitude is that I am doing what I believe to be right and in the interests of the country.

**Q: Looking at the municipal elections, Archbishop Desmond Tutu in a sermon openly stated that blacks should not vote and by so doing you cannot argue legally that that is an illegal statement liable to 10 years in prison or R20 000.**

I do not want to discuss Archbishop Tutu except to say that he is not representative of the majority of blacks in South Africa.

**Q: But the archbishop represents as a Christian what he believes to be true on human dignity. If he can make such statements others like Reverend Alan Boesak and Frank Chikane and Beyers Naude can surely make them too.**

Even if you take the Reverend Boesak and Archbishop Tutu together they do not represent the majority of the black people in South Africa.

**Q: Last week you offered Mandela your best wishes for a speedy recovery and your Justice Minister visited him. He has not gone back to prison but to a clinic — is this a gilded cage?**

He is receiving the best medical attention a man can receive in South Africa and as soon as he renounces violence and undertakes not to start violence in South Africa the Government will release him.

**Q: But is this not inconsistent after you released Govan Mbeki who did not renounce violence?**

We did so after a proper investigation by a judicial commission especially created by Parliament for such cases and if necessary we can also refer Mr Mandela's case to them.

### In process

**Q: Is that in process at the moment?**

If necessary.

**Q: Your friends in the West, President Reagan, Chancellor Kohl and Mrs Thatcher have all pleaded for his release.**

It is interesting to me that my friends in the West can plead for his release on these grounds, but I find that the Baader Meinhof group in West Germany or McGhee, the terrorist leader from Northern Ireland are not released.

**Q: But they are not 70-year-old men.**

That is why we are caring for Mr Mandela in a proper way.

**Q: And when that is complete?**

Then we will decide on his future. But if he is going to lead violence, instigate violence, then of course the Government would be most irresponsible if it just let him go without any preconditions.

**Q: Supposing Governor Dukakis is elected in the coming American elections, he has said he would declare South Africa a terrorist state.**

I would like to know on what grounds.

**Q: On the grounds that apartheid is a crime.**

What has apartheid to do with it? I said if apartheid means taking away the rights of other people and not developing people and not acknowledging the right of individuals and groups to live in a proper way in their country, then you have...

**Q: Twenty-eight million American blacks and every black person through the continent see apartheid as destroying the dignity of their fellow blacks.**

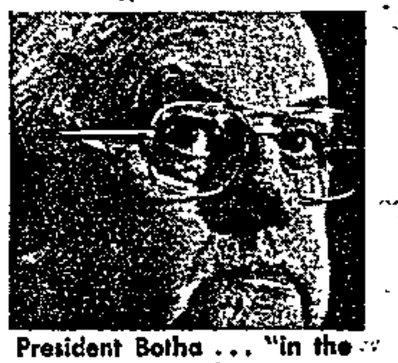
South Africa is today the state providing transport services to the whole of southern Africa. Without us they cannot export or import. Secondly South Africa is providing health services to many a country in southern Africa. Thirdly South Africa is providing agricultural services and know-how to southern African countries. Now that can't be a terrorist state because terrorism means that you destroy people.

**Q: Frontline states say that since 1980 South Africa's policy of destabilisation and supporting rebel movements have cost them $30 billion.**

What is meant by this term 'Frontline states'? I can say South Africa is a front line against dictatorships.

**Q: But they could say straight back to you that you represent the worst type of dictatorship which is based on racialism.**

I have in many cases broadened democracy in South Africa and apart from the few terrorist organisations ... the vast majority of black people in this country are well disposed to the Government.



President Botha ... "in the best interests of my country."

I will give you an example. Only last week I paid a visit to the so-called Crossroads in Cape Town where a lot of propaganda was made against our Government for the bad conditions existing there. And what happened ... I was overwhelmed with goodwill by the inhabitants of Crossroads.

**Q: According to the world media, those were your supporters who had in fact kicked out ... the more aggressive elements.**

So they admit that I have supporters among the black people?

**Q: Well in America they are very politely called 'Uncle Toms'.**

So the moment a black man is co-operating with me he is an Uncle Tom. The moment he uses violence against his own people in South Africa he is the right fellow.

### Credible

**Q: What they are trying to say is how can any self-respecting credible black leader take part in any of your systems as long as Nelson Mandela and the ANC and PAC are banned?**

I have told you that Nelson Mandela is jailing himself. The moment he renounces violence and undertakes to come to the conference table in a friendly and a peaceful way he will be out of jail. But he is not the only leader in South Africa.

**Q: He is a symbol of the world's regard.**

If he renounces violence and comes down to the conference table will he also be an Uncle Tom?.

**Q: Looking at Angola, the Cubans maintain that you had to negotiate a peace settlement because your forces were effectively defeated, that the cost of the war was proving too expensive in monetary and human terms.**

South Africa has no claim against Angola. We would like to see Angola develop and reconciliation to enable that potentially wealthy country to become a strong element in southern Africa. We have no claims against South West Africa/Namibia — it is a burden to us at present. Coker: Presid

**Q: Why don't you just let them have their own independence?**

I am prepared to do it tomorrow. But get the Cubans out. I am not prepared to allow the Cubans to dictate to South West Africa and Angola. Why don't the Cubans leave?

**Q: It would seem that the Cubans are reluctant because South Africa and the US support Unita — the big opponent of the MPLA.**

Unita is an organisation standing for democracy. They want reconciliation. They want their country rid of the Cubans. What is wrong with that?

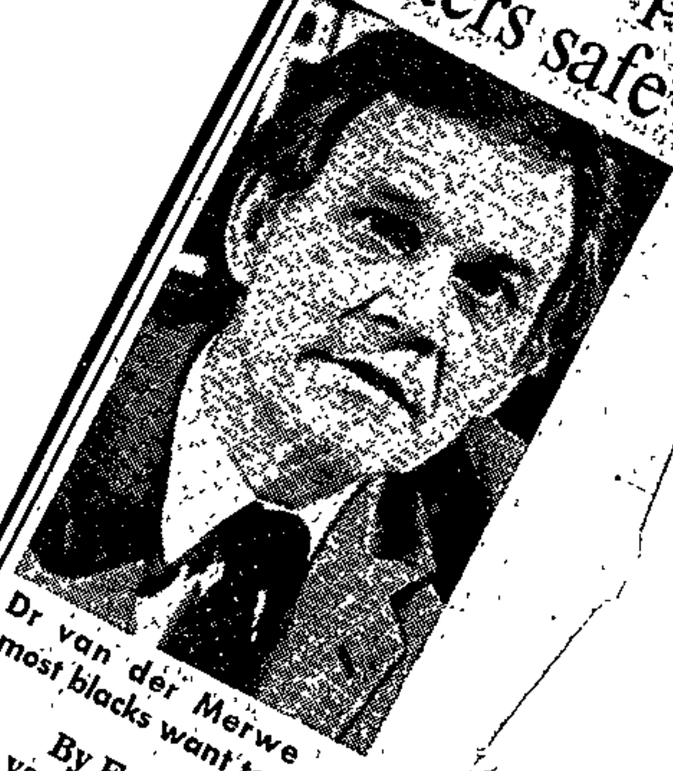
**Q: What of the fate of the Sharpeville Six?**

There is no Sharpeville Six. There is the Diamini Six — people who were found guilty because they murdered Mr Diamini. I cannot interfere with the judicial system in South Africa unless it is completed and only when it is completed will I, as a Christian and a human being, deal with these matters on merit.

**Q: Sir, you are 73 and have spent your entire life in politics. What remaining goals have you set yourself?**

A solution for South Africa's unsolved internal problems. I would like to see my country economically developed, even better relations with our immediate neighbours and peace in southern Africa.

# Emergency 'will keep voters safe'



Dr van der Merwe . . . most blacks want to vote.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The emergency regulations were conducive to democracy because they prevented intimidation of those who wanted to participate in the forthcoming municipal elections, the Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday.

At a press briefing in Pretoria he said an independent survey conducted among blacks on behalf of the Bureau for Information had revealed that most blacks wanted to vote on October 26.

"There is a process of intimidation going on to prevent people doing what they want to do."

Referring to black municipal candidates who had been murdered, he said: "The struggle is on."

Dr van der Merwe said elections would take place in most black local authority areas in the Cape and Free State.

There were sufficient candidates in about 90 percent of the 80 Cape and 60 Free State black local authority areas for elections to take place.

Where elections could not be held, administrators would have to be appointed.

Dr van der Merwe released details of a recent survey conducted among 500 blacks on the Reef and 250 in the western Cape.

While in April 28 percent of blacks in the Western Cape were aware of the elections, by August 86,4 percent were aware of them.

Corresponding figures for the Witwatersrand were 36,5 percent in April and 74,8 percent in August.

# PW's 'hand of goodwill' slapped by CP leader

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

DR Andries Treurnicht has slapped away President Botha's "hand of goodwill" by putting forward political conditions it would be impossible for the government to meet.

His reaction to Mr Botha's plea for Afrikaner unity amounted to a demand that "power-sharing" in the present tricameral system should be scrapped. He demanded separate freedoms for whites as for other nations.

He said the Conservative Party rejected power-sharing in a multiracial, unitary state.

## IN AUTHORITY

Multiracial government bodies in authority over the Afrikaner had to be abolished. The campaign against "separateness" should be stopped. There should be a stop to concessions to the other two Houses of Parliament.

"Return to the road of our own sovereign white Parliament where we cannot be vetoed by other nations. Turn around, away from mixed residential areas and mixed political structures and you will find our hand right there."

There was no immediate reaction from Mr Botha.

Meanwhile some Nationalist politicians remained baffled about Mr Botha's offer to Dr Treurnicht which they said never had much chance of success.

## PREDICTABLE

They said Dr Treurnicht's reaction was predictable and it was impossible to achieve political co-operation with the CP.

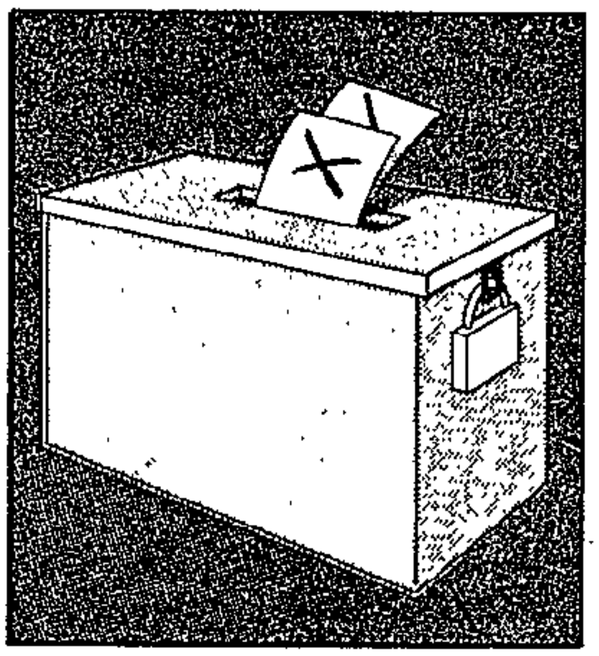
Sources close to the President said today that his call to Dr Treurnicht had been meant as a sincere effort to achieve Afrikaner unity in difficult times against a background of division and estrangement. It did not mean that he was turning his back on other groups or on reform.

LOCAL ELECTIONS — 1

# Trouble with candidates

**As the** municipal elections approach and the issues and ambitions of different groups rapidly surface, October 26 looks set to be a day of reckoning for the Nats. Never before has a local election attracted the hype of a general election.

From the diamond towns of Kimberley and Klerksdorp to the northern reaches of Pietersburg, city centres are plastered with Conservative Party (CP) posters promoting the Group Areas Act. Even Foreign Minister Pik Botha has had to reorganise priorities (tending to peace in Angola and so on) to find time to campaign — this week he addressed an audience in Yeoville, Johannesburg.



At stake is not only whether the Nats will lose the platteland or maybe entrench their position in Johannesburg; equally important is whether enough coloureds, Indians and blacks will turn out to demonstrate support for what is essentially an extension of the tricameral parliament — plus blacks — to third-tier government.

In the longer term, a larger concern hinges around the Nats' inability to gain support for their policies from Left or Right. While boycott politics remains firmly on the agenda, other parties like the CP are opting to "fight the system from within." Government is already reeling from a parliamentary constitutional crisis. Will there come the day when there are so many cogs in the wheel that day-to-day administration suffers?

Transvaal Province MEC responsible for regional services councils (RSCs) Fanie Schoeman confirms that should the CP gain control of any RSC they could "retard the decision-making process." At the moment decision-making is based on consensus, he says, and any disgruntled party can appeal to the Administrator.

Schoeman is of the opinion that the RSCs are functioning well and points to the fact that the current budgets for all 12 Transvaal ones were passed without a single appeal. "About 400 members of all racial groups were involved in allocating more than R300m to a few hundred projects," he notes.

But CP policy aims at controlling the finances of the RSCs and blocking any redistribution of wealth. This is contrary to the spirit of the legislation which lays down that the less developed areas should be given first priority and CP tactics are likely to result in more appeals, says Schoeman.

But even before the voters can make it to the polls, the elections are turning chaotic.

Despite the State of Emergency making it illegal to call for a boycott, the "broad democratic movement" is making it known that voting is out (see **page 54**).

Calls for a boycott are not only coming from the church. Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough has disclosed that there is a grassroots campaign taking off in the Pretoria township of Atteridgeville where street committees are organising a boycott. While recently addressing councillors and candidates in Atteridgeville, Hough demanded that the identity of boycott organisers be reported to the security forces. And during the past week at least 26 black activists from Pretoria and Soweto, including leaders of the banned Azanian People's Organisation and the SA Youth Congress, have been detained in an apparent attempt to break the growing anti-election campaign in the townships.

The question of participation reached a head in the Johannesburg township, Alexandra, this week where the issue has been the topic of heated debate.

The Johannesburg township has been run by a white administrator, Steve Burger, since the previous council led by Sam Buti resigned in 1986. Nominations for candidates for a new council closed on Friday. Although nine clergymen have registered, pressure being put on them by the Alexandra Civic Association (ACA), a United Democratic Front affiliate, could derail the whole election.

Before seeking nomination, the nine clergymen discussed participation with the ACA, who conditionally endorsed their candidature — provided they could demonstrate that they have the support of Alexandra residents.

The nine subsequently called a much-publicised meeting to discuss the election and their nomination. But less than 100 potential voters attended the meeting last Saturday.

This, together with the fact that the candidates called the meeting for the day after they had registered as candidates, angered the ACA, which then placed further conditions on them participating with the civic's blessing. ACA Chairman Mike Beea says the nine can only participate in the elections if they endorse a plan adopted by the association last week.

There is a major catch: ACA's plan is unlikely to be accepted by government because of its radical nature. For starters, the plan includes drawing up a new "community voters' roll" and the recognition of extensive organisational structures involving "communes" which resemble street committees.

The nine have accepted the ACA plan on condition the ACA "oversees the process." In effect, this means the ACA will be running the council from behind the scenes — an unlikely set-up. The alternative, at the moment, seems to be continuing with a white administrator and no council.

No elections are also on the cards for a number of eastern Cape townships which have yet to recover from being rendered ungovernable. Nominations close this week but indications are that in Ibhayi (Port Elizabeth), Motherwell, Lingehlile (Cradock), KwaNobuhle (Uitenhage), New Brighton and Zwide, nominations are so poor that there will probably not be enough candidates to form a council.

Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe said this week that in those areas where meaningful elections could not take place government would be forced to nominate administrators.

And a number of white authorities are also in disarray following the disqualification of candidates. Because of a technicality eight candidates in Pretoria and four in Vanderbijl have had their nominations rejected. They all omitted to fill in the name of the town or city where they lived. If the same rule applies the candidature of 14 people in Johannesburg is similarly threatened. No ruling had been made by the Johannesburg City Council when the *FM* went to press.

Government's initial optimism that the elections would demonstrate reform in action with all racial groups peacefully voting on the same day for their "own" institutions looks more like a mirage every day.

POLITICS

## P W's double game

**In a frantic** effort to minimise any damage that P W Botha's extraordinary call for reconciliation to CP leader Andries Treurnicht may have caused, Nationalist political commentators were quick this week to extract political capital from a statement by industrialist Anton Rupert. However, the fine print of Rupert's message was ignored.

It all started when Senator Paul Simon —

LOCAL ELECTIONS

# Different trains

**To vote or** not to vote — the old issue crops up again as October 26 draws near. Although it is illegal to call for a boycott, the message is slowly seeping out that there will not be participation from the "democratic movement." Independent MP Jan van Eck said as much under parliamentary privilege and Archbishop Desmond Tutu has said people should be entitled not to vote if they so desire (the police are studying the transcript of Tutu's speech since it appears to flout the law against advocating an election boycott).

The reasoning underlying the boycott

*Continued on page 57*



strategy is outlined by Dullah Omar, head of the UDF in the western Cape, who speaks in his personal capacity. He notes that, all along, bedrock principle has been "the insistence upon consultation and decision-making by the people in the creation of whatever structures of government are to exist." According to this view, the tricameral constitution and its structures are an illegitimate imposition. Hence "non-participation is the only way through which people can express their feelings."

David Curry, Minister of Housing, Local Government and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, naturally takes the pragmatist view: "Abstention from local government is not going to solve your problems. I understand the reasons for wanting a stayaway, that this is a system the community doesn't want, myself included, but that doesn't absolve you from solving local issues. There must be someone for the people to go to when they have problems with their houses, or payments or whatever."

Omar also notes that to participate in group structures is not to participate on neutral terrain. "It would be driving our train on government railway lines. Apartheid and group practices reinforce apartheid and group ideology."

This sort of talk makes Curry unhappy. He wonders why he must be called a stooge when Helen Suzman is not considered one. "People must look at a political party's achievements. We don't have a morally correct society in SA, but we still have to live in this country." Curry also asks why it is considered acceptable to participate in government structures when one is providing an educational service, but not when one is dealing with, say, housing or roads.

One of the key issues effecting the outcome of the election is the concept of prior voting which, in Omar's view, makes October 26 an irrelevance as so many people will have voted before the day.

Curry contests this: "If people want to vote before the time, what is so undemocratic about that? What about subtle intimidation of voters? We've seen this." He refers to youths loitering on corners in a way so as to menace voters. He also cites the fact that many people live so far from polling stations and work such long hours that extended voting hours are a necessity.

They also differ over the size of the poll that can be expected. Omar says that at meetings with various community organisations he has not heard a single voice for participation. He notes that even the Muslim clergy have recently decided against participation.

Curry is more optimistic. "In the Peninsula, polls are going to be much higher than in 1984. You can see it by the number of people making themselves available for election." He cites the example of Athlone, where 37 people are contesting 18 seats and the fact that there is not a single management committee without candidates standing (and only one which is uncontested). ■

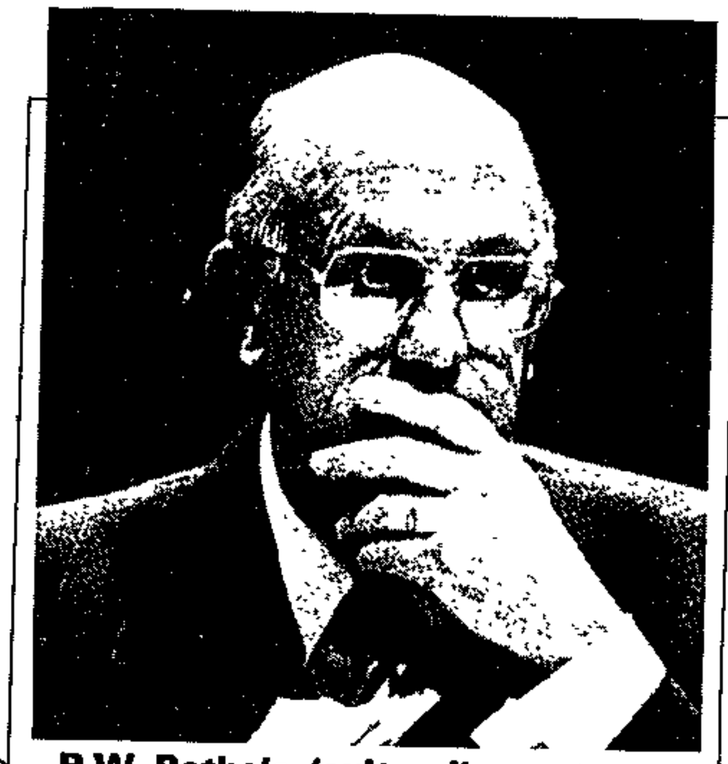
POLITICS

# P W's double game

In a frantic effort to minimise any damage that P W Botha's extraordinary call for reconciliation to CP leader Andries Treurnicht may have caused, Nationalist political commentators were quick this week to extract political capital from a statement by industrialist Anton Rupert. However, the fine print of Rupert's message was ignored.

It all started when Senator Paul Simon —





**P W Botha's 'cultural' overture to the Right . . . retreat in C major**

one of the driving forces behind the sanctions debate in the US Congress — after a four-day fault-finding mission in SA mentioned Rupert as a possible mediator in a future negotiation process in SA. Rupert, describing Simon's statement as "a bolt from the blue," said sanctions "could lead to enormous sacrifices, particularly on the part of our black people."

He added: "Many years ago my father used to type a sentence on his typewriter to test the typeface. It read: 'Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the government.' "

The pro-Nat lobby took the gap. Rupert supported the unity idea, said *Rapport* in its analysis of Botha's call to Treurnicht. But the commentators (perhaps consciously) ignored Rupert's last sentence — " . . . in doing so (coming to the aid of government) it must be acceptable."

Although Rupert normally plays his cards extremely close to his chest, it is known that he is unhappy about Pretoria's pace of reform. Two weeks ago he and retired Anglo chairman Harry Oppenheimer called on Pretoria to postpone action on the three draft Bills relating to the Group Areas Act. They warned that the Bills, if enacted, would damage race relations and fuel the campaign for further punitive measures against SA.

But it was only after a constitutional crisis loomed that government withdrew the Bills.

Botha's sudden overture to his rightwing opponent clearly embarrassed middle-of-the-road Nats. Foreign Minister Pik Botha explained it away as a natural call to a specific group of people; and both *Rapport* and the Johannesburg daily *Beeld* went out of their way to stress it was only a call for Afrikaner unity — "it was not a political offer," said *Beeld.*

Strategically, Botha's call came at an inopportune time for the Nats, who are facing an unprecedented onslaught from the Right in their effort to take control of local authorities on October 26. "The political wisdom of the State President's offer we do not want to judge," *Beeld* admitted.

Then, this week, Botha made his first official trip into Africa when he met Mozambique's Joaquim Chissano and Malawi's Hastings Banda. A recommitment to honour the ailing Nkomati Accord and an invitation to Chissano to visit SA (which he accepted) served to deflect criticism at a time when well-meaning reformists in his party are still reeling from the Treurnicht offer.

But perhaps Botha is simply out of touch with real events in the country. On the day that parliament debated the Group Areas Bills, Botha, amid huge Bureau of Information-orchestrated fanfare, visited the Crossroads squatter camp. Afterwards, he was heard to remark that blacks support him. If he believes that he'll believe anything — even that a "cultural" overture to the Right has no political content. ■

The Star

# Attendance at the big Alex meeting on elections: 58

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

ALEXANDRA residents apparently snubbed attempts to discuss participation in the October municipal elections when only 58 people attended a public meeting in the township last weekend.

Nine candidates of the newly formed Alexandra Representatives Party asked the audience to endorse their candidacy — and were told to resign immediately.

As the candidates promised to serve the community — and praised the present administrator, Steve Berger, urging that he continue in office — they faced hecklers shouting, "Who gave you the mandate? Who elected you?"

The meeting ended prematurely after a speaker from the audience said the turnout was not representative of the township's 125 000 residents. A representative of the nine conceded that point and said his party would convene a series of meetings until the necessary mandate was obtained.

During the build-up to last weekend's meeting, the Alexandra Civic Association had adopted a plan for possible participation to be presented at the public meeting for consideration in the event residents granted the required mandate and elected democratically-representative candidates.

The plan was drawn up by ACA chairman, Mike Beea, at the request of the organisation.

It was decided the plan — which entailed a local organisational structure with a 225-person central committee — would only be presented to people if they gave the green light to the notion of participation.

The plan was not presented at Saturday's meeting, but one of the candidates claimed this week it had been adopted by the party at a meeting two days earlier.

Beea said he had no objection to his plan being used. But, he added, the candidates should have heeded the ACA's stand on democratic elections. "They should not have registered until residents decided to participate," he said. "They have created a monster that is going to destroy them."

Saturday's meeting was the culmination of a series of smaller gatherings in the township called by Concerned Residents of Alex to discuss the possibility of participating, reflecting a raging debate in the township about participating.

The candidates — plus a tenth who did not attend Saturday's meeting — were nominated at two meetings, each attended by fewer than 32 people. Among those who attended were former executive members of the Reverend Sam Buti's disbanded Save Alex Party, which took part in the last elections in 1984; two of them have registered as candidates in this election.

The ACA sent observers to all the meetings, including the meeting on Saturday. The attitude expressed by these observers was that candidates should not stand — or even register — unless they had a mandate.

The 10 candidates registered on Friday, the last possible day for registration — and one day before the public meeting.

At the meetings preceding the public meeting, speakers were sharply divided over the issue of possible participation.

# Botha's plea 'a lurch to right'

Cape Times 9/9/88 30cA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W Botha's tearful plea for conciliation with Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was seen by political parties as heralding a "lurch to the right" in South African politics.**

**A number of politicians interpreted the gesture as an act of desperation delivered from a position of weakness and criticized Mr Botha for placing a higher priority on Afrikaner unity than the interest of the country as a whole.**



**EMOTIONAL APPEAL . . .** President P W Botha appeals to the Conservative Party to end the feud between Afrikaners during his speech at the Free State congress of the National Party in Bloemfontein. Picture: REUTER

**The parliamentary leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said he was "astounded by Mr Botha's righwards lurch" at the NP's Free State congess.**

**"What South Africa needs is not a ganging up of right-wing forces but a new national unity of verligte South Africans that will reach out across the traditional barriers of language, colour and race.**

**"I have no problem with cultural leaders seeking cultural unity on cultural matters, but I am appalled when political leaders shamelessly advocate political unity on a sectional basis," said Mr Eglin.**

**PFP law and order spokesman, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said Mr Botha's latest gesture was a bid to seek "new partners in repression".**

**National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan said: "If the State President wants to make a contribution to Afrikaner unity, he will have to hold out not only his right hand — but his left hand as well."**

**Mr Malan said that to try to force all Afrikaners into one party was precisely what the State President should not do.**

# Dr T: How PW can heal Afrikaner rift

BR Times 9/9/88 30KA

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The government must end political and residential integration if it wished to find a hand of goodwill from the Conservative Party, said CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last night.

Responding at a public meeting in Germiston to the emotional plea for Afrikaner unity made by President P W Botha in Bloemfontein on Tuesday, Dr Treurnicht said the CP rejected power sharing in a multi-racial state.

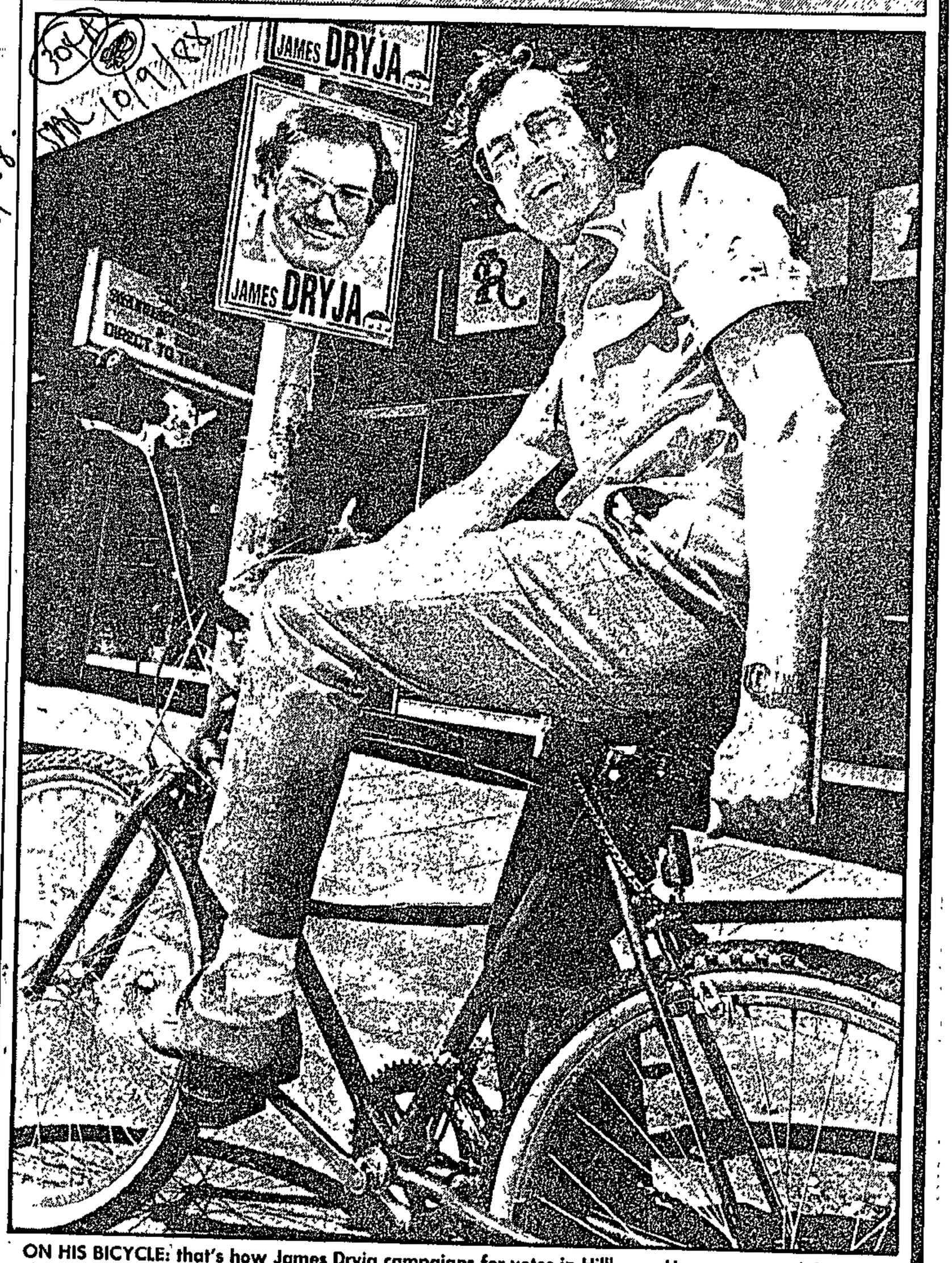
"Abolish multi-racial bodies governing Afrikaners, stop the campaign against separateness, stop making concessions to the other two Houses, and choose a path towards our own fully fledged sovereign white Parliament where we cannot be vetoed by other people," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said separate freedoms for whites and other groups was the only way in which Afrikaners had found unity in the past. This had also given security to many English speakers and was the only way Afrikaners would find unity in the future. He asked for the State President's renewed support for this cause.

"There is unity across party lines in our support for the security forces and in our resistance to threats, attacks by boycotters, blackmailers, underminers and terrorists."

● PW's 'lurch to right' — Page 3

# Hillbrow 'shows way to future'




ON HIS BICYCLE: that's how James Dryja campaigns for votes in Hillbrow. He says no candidate can change the area's nonracial identity. ●Picture by Karen Fletcher.

A FUTURE non-racial South Africa is being decided in Hillbrow, says Mr James Dryja, PFP municipal candidate for the area.

Minutes before being interviewed by the Saturday Star Mr Dryja had defused a heated exchange between a black traffic officer and a rude motorist.

After the incident he shrugged, saying: "That's Hillbrow. There are so many people living in this densely populated area it makes for lively interaction."

As a personality he seems to embrace the image of the cosmopolitan yet strongly South African essence of Hillbrow.

**PAT DEVEREAUX**

He grew up in Cape Town's Woodstock and District Six in a working class family and now lives in Hillbrow.

Mr Dryja believes he is totally in touch with his constituency.

"Because of my background I understand whites' fears. They aren't worried about the colour of their neighbours. They are worried about standards of living," he said.

Asked why he decided to get involved in the municipal elections, Mr Dryja said running an independent cinema in the area led to his involvement in the Hillbrow Traders' Association.

"It became obvious to me that the Government's policies hinder business and residential development so I entered politics."

He endorses the Five Freedoms Forum campaign for "One City, Open City" and believes an end to the Group Areas Act will be in everyone's interests.

There was an attempt to smear his campaign by the publicising of his two-year relationship with a "coloured woman" Miss Gertie du Plessis. But Mr Dryja retorted: "Gertie is more Afrikaans then those who have been condemning our relationship."

Has PFP been duped by clever manoeuvring?

# Sandtonians accused of 'power play'

THE "non-political" Sandtonians were yesterday accused of horse-trading with both the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party to gain power in the Sandton town council after the October municipal elections.

The National Party leader in Sandton, Mr Kosta Babich, said after negotiating with the Sandtonians since July last year — that was even before the group of independents officially formed an organisation — the NP became aware of the Sandtonians' effort to reach a pact with the PFP "behind our backs" about six weeks ago.

"The Sandtonians have all along claimed to be opposed to party politics in local government. I regret that was not the object of the exercise. It was sheer powerplay," Mr Babich said.

While the PFP admitted it was aware of the simultaneous negotiations, the Sandtonians denied that concrete negotiations had taken place with the NP.

The PFP leader in Sandton, Mr Peter Jardine, said the PFP-

**ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE**
**Political Reporter**

Sandtonians pact was reached at a very late stage "because of them talking to the Nats".

The PFP had accepted the Sandtonians' bona fides as a "like-minded" body which shared the PFP's national philosophy.

Sandtonians' leader Mr Perry Oertel said his organisation did not have "fights with any political party". He did not specifically deny that talks had occurred, and said: "I was only present at one meeting."

"We don't talk about party political powerbases. We have acted in the best interest of the community."

After nominations had closed this week, the PFP and the Sandtonians jointly announced they had reached a "working agreement".

As a result, only nine of Sandton's 20 wards will be contested.

However, PFP ranks appear to be split over the arrangement; the Sandtonians and the PFP will oppose each other in four of the nine contested wards.

Both the Sandtonians and the PFP were pleased with the pact, saying they had acted in the interests of the town and had ensured an "effective and enlightened" town council.

Mr Jardine and Mr Oertel said at least 18 wards would be represented by "effective and enlightened" councillors after October 26.

However, Mr Babich claimed that at least six of the 11 independent candidates are Nat supporters in addition to one official candidate, Mr Blyth Thompson, who will contest Ward 16.

Asked why the stable-mates had decided to oppose each other in four wards, Mr Oertel said he believed the Sandtonians' candidates in those wards were "potentially better".

Mr Jardine commented: "We were not able to come to an agreement in all the wards. Because the agreement was reached shortly before nomination day, the PFP was not prepared to withdraw candidates who were already appointed and who we believe are very competent candidates."

Asked why the PFP opted for an election pact in Sandton, the only PFP-controlled town council in South Africa, Mr Jardine said the agreement was reached in the spirit of PFP leader Dr Zac de Beer's call for greater unity among the creative opposition.

# Police swoops viewed as pre-poll crackdown

10/9/88 2054

PAT DEVEREAUX

IN WHAT is believed to be the start of a nationwide crackdown on possible opposition to next month's municipal elections, security police this week raided homes and detained several activists linked to various organisations.

Late on Thursday evening the homes of a number of Yeoville residents linked to the United Democratic Front-affiliated Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) and Johannesburg Youth Congress were raided.

The home of Mr Colin Purkey and Ms Rina Sherman was searched by at least 10 plainclothes policemen, said Mr Purkey, a member of Jodac. Tenants at Ms Colleen Taylor's house in Yeoville said they were visited by police at about 12 pm.

Photographer Ms Sandy Smit told the Saturday Star that after her return home on Thursday she found her Hunter Street flat had been teargased.

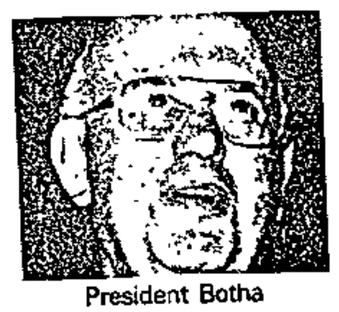
A spokesman for the SAP public relations division said: "We consider the visiting of premises to be routine duties. We do not comment on routine police duties. We would also like to point out that for obvious reasons we don't identify persons who have been visited or questioned by the police."

The raids follow the recent round-up of black activists throughout the country in what observers see as a pre-October municipal elections crackdown.

Black organisations in the townships seem to have been hit hardest by the swoop. At least 30 people, including Transvaal UDF executive member Mr Arthur Mkhwanazi and Azapo president Mr Nkosi Molala, have reportedly been detained.

Police would neither confirm nor deny the arrests. But a police spokesman said: "Action is not taken against people because they are affiliated to one or other organisation, but such steps are aimed at the actions of individuals. We deny that the SAP harasses people. Certain organisations feign all innocence and raise a hue and cry when certain of their members are detained and aspersions are cast on the bona fides of the police," the spokeman said.

# PW on Africa tour


President Botha


President Chissano

By BARRY STREEK

**PRESIDENT P W Botha will travel to Mozambique on Monday to meet President Joaquim Chissano in war-ravaged central Tete province.**

The meeting will take place at Songo, near the Cahora Bassa dam and hydro-electric power station partly financed by South Africa during Mozambique's former Portuguese colonial rule

No reasons for the visit were given yesterday by the SA Department of Foreign Affairs nor the official Mozambique news agency Aim.

Mr Botha will then travel to Malawi for discussions with the Central African country's president, Dr Kamuzu Banda, on Tuesday.

This tour will be Mr Botha's first official visit to any African country since he became head of the SA government in 1978.

Mr Botha's visit was confirmed yesterday by the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria after Aim disclosed details of the trip

The Department said Mr Botha would be discussing "matters of mutual concern", with the two heads of state

It will be the first time Mr Botha and Mr Chissano have met since Mr Botha and Mr Chissano's predecessor, Mr Samora Machel, signed the non-aggression pact known as the Nkomati Accord in 1984 on the border between Mozambique and South Africa.

Their discussions follow meetings earlier this year when it was agreed to revive the Nkomati Accord and discussions this year between SA, Mozambique and Portugal at which they agreed to repair the giant Cahora Bassa dam which was built to supply electricity to SA This has been repeatedly disrupted by MNR rebels.

Malawi is the only African country which has diplomatic ties with SA and its government has long supported dialogue with Pretoria in spite of its disagreement with existing race policies

Next week's visits are in line with Pretoria's effort to build up links with countries in Africa.

The government has stated that all but one country in Africa trades with SA and Pretoria has an extensive but low-key aid programme for African countries.



**THE BIG CLEAN** . . . Pupils from Jan van Riebeeck Primary School will clean parts of Table Mountain, Signal Hill and surrounding areas of rubble next weekend as a contribution to the Keep the Cape in Shape campaign. Here the chairman of Captour, Mr Louis Kreiner, stands with pupils Andre Hugo (left), Andre Pienaar and Karen Lamminga. Picture RICHARD BELL

# Afrikaners to meet ANC, senior Soviets

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and CHRIS STEYN

A GROUP of 18 top Afrikaner politicians and academics will hold a six-day conference in Germany next month with senior Soviet policy-makers and key ANC members.

The initiative is expected to come as a major embarrassment to the government, particularly as the SA delegation includes Dr Wimpie de Klerk, the brother of the National Party's Transvaal leader and former editor of Rapport, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch and Professor Willie Breytenbach, the government's former constitutional guru.

News of the mission comes just days after Mr F W de Klerk voiced his strong opposition to talks with the ANC in response to plans by Dr Danie Craven's SA Rugby Board to forge ahead with contacts with the banned organization.

The conference, which will be held under the auspices of the Friedrich Nauman Foundation in Munich from October 23 to 29, comes at a time of important changes in both Soviet and ANC policy towards SA.

Sources in SA and London yesterday indicated that topics would include how the Soviet Union and SA view each other and the problems of national unity in the two countries.

To page 3

From page 1

Papers would also be given on Soviet foreign policy towards SA, perestroika, state policy and strategies for opposition groupings in SA.

The Soviet delegation will include Professor Gleb Starushenko and Professor Victor Goncharov, two of the five deputy directors of the African Institute of Soviet Academy of Sciences, and possibly the Soviet Envoy in Lesotho, Mr Boris Asovan.

Included in the SA delegation are Idasa director and former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Beyers Naude.

Academics on the trip are: Professors Andre du Toit and Herman Giliomee of UCT; Professors Willie Breytenbach, Willie Esterhuyse, Sampie Terreblanche, Hennie Kotze, Jannie Gagiano and Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch; Professors Laurie Schlemmer, John Barrett and Mark Swilling of Wits; Professors Wimpie de Klerk and Deon Geldenhuys of RAU; and Professor Susan Boysens of Unisa.

The Cape Times learnt yesterday that the Stellenbosch academic and Director of the Institute for Soviet Studies, Professor Philip Nel, was in Europe to finalize the arrangements for the meeting.

It is believed that the ANC's publicity secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, will lead his team.

In July last year, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert led more than 60 prominent academics, clerics, artists, politicians and journalists on a three-nation West African indaba with the ANC and other African leaders.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport last night before flying to Geneva, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said: "It is better to talk frankly and honestly than to make sabre-rattling noises about Red armies on the border."

Dr Boraine, who recently visited Moscow and the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, said Soviet policy was currently undergoing "radical changes" and it was "just as well South Africans understand these".

# 84 to stand for black seats in polls

YESTERDAY was the final day for the acceptance of candidates for election to black councils in the Western Cape and at the last count 84 people had made themselves available to stand in the October polls.

A Provincial Administration spokesman said that final details of the candidates would be available on Monday.

The 84 candidates are standing for election to the Ikapa town council and to councils in Langa, Crossroads, Lingelethu (Khayelitsha), Mfuleni (Kuils River), Kayamandi (Stellenbosch) and Mbekweni (Paarl).

The Western Cape candidates are among 780 people competing for 629 seats on 92 councils in the Cape Province.

Weekend FOCUS 2

# CRISIS

# Racial issues focus of 'most divisive' election in country's history

Report: FRANS ESTERHUYSE Political Staff

THE local government elections have developed into a major political struggle with direct implications for the country's political and constitutional future.

It has become a fight — especially in black and coloured areas — about the legitimacy of the National Party's system of government.

The intensity of the political battle in and around the elections was shown by this week's incidents involving the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, followed by the taking away by police of tape-recordings of a sermon in which the archbishop had spoken about participation in the elections.

The tapes were to be examined to establish if he had contravened emergency regulations.

EARLIER Archbishop Tutu had taken the rare step of snubbing the Mayor, Mr Peter Muller, by not attending a civic ceremony in which Dr Richard van der Ross was awarded the freedom of the city. The archbishop did this after a Press report that the mayor was "extremely upset" by remarks about the elections made in the archbishop's sermon.

A further indication of the intense election climate came this week in an announcement by the daily newspaper Sowetan that it would no longer publish advertisements promoting the municipal elections.

The October 26 elections — with prior voting between October 10 and 22 — will be the biggest in the country's municipal history. About 7 600 local authority representatives of all races are to be elected.

A R5-million publicity campaign was launched by the government to encourage the public to take part.

It has been made a criminal offence to advocate any boycott of the elections.

In many white areas the elections have become an intense fight between the political parties, with the Conservative Party in an aggressive frontline position in its bid to wrest control over local government from the NP and other parties.

For the CP and its rightwing allies the elections are the first phase of a determined bid to topple the government at the next parliamentary general election.

For the liberal-minded opposition parties and groupings the elections signify an intensification of their fight against apartheid.

THE crucial political issues are national rather than local — with Group Areas and related apartheid legislation top of the list.

With the government's continuing adherence to Group Areas and basic apartheid, the elections are potentially the most divisive in the country's history, with the focus squarely on racial issues.

The stage for the final campaigning before polling day will be set by the special joint sitting of Parliament later this month when the government's controversial new Group Areas legislation will be debated.

The session comes in the wake of the threatened constitutional crisis which followed Government attempts to steamroller its legislation through Parliament.

For the Government the outcome of the elections could be crucial for its plan to negotiate with black leaders and other groups for a new constitutional system to replace the present trouble-plagued system.

Against this background the elections — to be held under the continuing state of emergency with its tough restrictions — can be seen as a crisis election, perhaps even more significant politically than most parliamentary elections of the past.

LEADING academics see some of the latest election developments as a manifestation of a legitimacy crisis facing the present tricameral constitutonal system.

They say the major election issue in some black and coloured areas appears to be the election itself rather than local political or civic matters. It was a question of co-operation or non co-operation in the government's system.

Professor Lourens du Plessis, professor of public law at the University of Stellenbosch said: "This is a symptom of the legitimacy crisis of the constitutional system. It is a serious crisis situation which shows that even confidence in the system's ability to change itself is in jeopardy and has become an issue."

The system had brought itself into discredit. To the extent that this happened, the present participants in the system — including the government and those co-opted by it — would have less of a say in the transformation process of society.

"The issues facing us in such a situation are not everyday political issues but are about a totally new dispensation which, in the eyes of the majority of the people in the country, must be so new that it cannot be born out of the old system by means of the instruments offered by it.

"In other words, one must virtually climb out of the present system.

"The longer the Government tries to entrench its power in terms of the present dispensation, the more it will lose relevance in terms of the new dispensation."

POLITICAL scientist Professor Albert Venter of the Rand Afrikaans University said one feature of the elections was that there was clearly a countrywide political battle between the central government and its black opposition over the issue of the legitimacy of the present constitutional system.

Black and coloured groups saw the present system as "a mask for apartheid", while the government wanted as many people as possible to take part in the elections.

It was around this situation that the problem of intimidation of potential voters and candidates had developed. Counter-action was taken by the government by banning all attempts to advocate election boycotts and by introducing the system of prior voting.

It was important for the government to get as many people as possible to vote in order to ensure a substantial percentage poll.

Usually the poll in municipal elections was quite low — in the region of 25 percent — but if the Government could succeed in getting, say, a 40 percent poll among blacks and coloureds and a similar percentage among whites, then it could claim after the election that "real leaders" had been elected.

BUT in the clash between the government and its coloured and black opposition, one of the issues was the use of the local government franchise as a "platform" for the National Council.

A Pretoria specialist in local government, political scientist Professor Jan Hattingh of the University of South Africa, said municipal elections had a reputation for low-level voter response and in the past percentage polls usually ranged between 25 and 27 percent.

The party-political interest shown in the elections in white areas could raise the level of participation.

On the white election front, major political battles are looming between the National Party and the Conservative Party on the one hand and between the NP and liberal-minded opposition parties and political groupings on the other.

National apartheid issues such as Group Areas, squatting and racial integration are becoming major election issues.

In the Cape, as in the Transvaal and other provinces, the CP has already drawn the battle lines on such issues as strict enforcement of the Group Areas Act, apartheid on beaches and at other public amenities, protection of "white rights" and the reintroduction of influx control and a nightly curfew.

The CP has also declared that it intends to take over control of as many local authorities as possible, including those in Pretoria. Its further objective is to gain control of regional services councils (RSCs) and thereby to pave the way for a bid in the next parliamentary general election to topple the government.

PFP leader Dr Zac de Beer emphasised economic issues such as the lack of foreign capital and the downward poverty spiral under NP rule when he launched the PFP's municipal election campaign in Johannesburg.

On the issue of Group Areas he said it was PFP policy that the Group Areas Act be scrapped and all South Africa be opened to free settlement.

President P W Botha drew battle lines for the government and the NP when he opened the recent NP congress in Natal.

He defended the government's controversial Group Areas legislation and hit out at Labour Party "obstructionalism".

He claimed that in a referendum 80 percent of whites would favour separate residential areas and 70 percent of Indians and coloureds would favour the protection of their residential areas.

Political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said the local government elections had in effect become a full-scale confrontation between political parties in many areas.

The issues were not only local but also national and in many areas campaigning was as intense as in any hotly-contested parliamentary election.

NATIONAL Independent Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan said it was the government that began the process of politicising the local government elections.

It had done this by offering the establishment of RSCs as part of its answer to the question of black political rights.

The CP, especially in the Transvaal, took up the challenge and said if black people were to be given rights through multi-racial RSCs, then the CP would fight local government elections on political lines.

Mr Malan said the NDM's viewpoint was that local people should take decisions about local affairs and this should not be done under the central authority of a political party.

The NDM had decided not to put up candidates but rather to set its sights on the next parliamentary general election. NDM members were, however, taking part in local government elections in various areas, but they were doing this mostly in their individual capacities.



FOCUS 1

# Facing up to Afrikaner disunity





LEON MARSHALL, Editor of Weekend Argus, analyses this week's peculiar episode in which President Botha offered his hand of friendship to Dr Andries Treurnicht and had it rudely slapped aside

**THIS is the week in which Afrikaner Nationalism has finally been made to face up to the irrevocability of its disunity.**

It might sound a strange thing to say about people who have been fighting each other with determination and growing bitterness for six years now.

But somehow the impression has always been left that beneath it all lay hopes, a longing almost, for the day when the once great Afrikaner Nationalist brotherhood would be restored.

That longing was illustrated this week when President Botha appeared on television, a picture of pain and nostalgia, declaring himself and Dr Andries Treurnicht to be the only two people able to reunite Afrikanerdom and offering him his hand of friendship to that end.

REPORTS from Bloemfontein where he spoke said he had tears in his eyes. On television he looked suddenly old and a deeply troubled man.

The longing for unity was shown also by the way his audience rose in spontaneous applause at his gesture.

It was all so different from the time six years ago when Mr Botha defiantly declared healthy power-sharing as the new Nationalist policy, threateningly wagged his finger at the Treurnicht group in the party's Parliamentary caucus for refusing to give him their vote of confidence, proceeded to make an unexpected appearance on their home turf of the Transvaal Nationalist head committee to preside over their expulsion, and afterwards to lead the battle to smash them in the tricameral referendum and to keep them at bay in subsequent elections.

Immediately after Mr Botha's emotion-charged appearance on television, a still picture appeared of Dr Treurnicht, serenely set against a backdrop of fluorescent light. The news reader quoted him simply as saying his reply to the President's offer would be given after calm consideration.

His response, when it came a full 24 hours later, was predictable — return to Nationalism's old apartheid ways and all else would be well.

THIS, too, was a far cry from the days when, as Transvaal Nationalist leader and embattled Cabinet member, he vainly tried to curry Mr Botha's favour, such as when he defended him to rightist rowdies at an election meeting as an eagle which soared higher as the storm clouds gathered.

The rebuffs he then had to endure and his growing isolation within the Botha administration once had him described by a close conservative associate as a lamb in the veld with bombs exploding round him.

Clearly, somewhere between that time and now the tables have been turned.

Still, some say that for all the emotion that went into it, Mr Botha's gesture in offering Dr Treurnicht his hand of friendship was not so much an honestly-felt desire as it was a political ploy to have the CP leader branded as the schismatic, the man refusing to rise to Afrikaner Nationalism's cry for unity in its hour of need.

If that is so, it has backfired badly.

As the image of the Conservatives is no longer that of a struggling fringe movement, so the picture of the government is no longer one of rulers acting with strength and conviction. Rather, it is one of people milling about not knowing which way to go.

It is nothing like the earlier days of the Botha administration when it scrapped one apartheid law after the other, mustered massive white support for its tricameral system, proudly propagated the principle of consensus and spoke out fearlessly of negotiations with black people.

Seemingly unable ever to understand the full meaning of consensus as well as the full implications and conditions for negotiations, it has by now had its hand of friendship repeatedly slapped away by black people who might otherwise have been quite willing to talk.

Even in Parliament the spirit of consensus has deteriorated to a point where at the last session the Nationalists and the Conservatives had the entire tricameral edifice exclusively to themselves — exactly as the Conservative would want it.

THE impression President Botha gave this week was that of a man who, with the trundle of Great Trek wagons making their separate ways to the north, with the battle cries of the Conservatives at the municipal hustings, with a world crying for retribution and with no one else to talk to, finally had his role in the splitting of Afrikaner Nationalism catch up with him.

The peculiar episode could still serve a purpose if, in bringing Nationalism to grips with its own disunity, the government would now once and for all turn its mind to the true and urgent demand of the broader unity of the country.

Surely it must have made it clear to Mr Botha as well as his government that there is simply no turning back anymore.

# PW's gamble backfires

## Unity call may have troubled 'New Nats'

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA'S gamble to re-unite Afrikaners may have backfired in the run-up to October's crucial municipal elections.

The Conservative Party immediately rebuffed the "hand of goodwill" he extended at the NP's Free State congress, and the move is sure to aggravate the growing feelings of uneasiness in the party's left wing.

NP colleagues this week rallied around Mr Botha in an effort to minimise the damage resulting from the Bloemfontein speech and the CP reaction.

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER

The view in the National Party is that Mr Botha expressed a worthy sentiment and clearly meant it to apply to social, religious and cultural affairs.

There has never been any suggestion of a political deal with the CP, nor any suggestion of compromising the NP's basic policy of reform.

And it is CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, they say, who has tainted the issue with the political tar brush, and is the real "jukskeibreker" standing in the way of Afrikaner cultural unity.

But Mr Botha's remarks have also disturbed the small group of liberal "New Nats" in the party, who have kept a very low profile since the defection of Mr Wynand Malan from the NP last year.

They are already very uncomfortable with the Government's actions around the new Group Areas Bills and the rumpus caused by the efforts to push it through Parliament.

Now many of them are also worried at the image of Mr Botha's deep concern with the breakaway of right-wing Afrikaners.

This may have further shaken national confidence in the President's resolve to lead meaningful reform.

All those close to the President confirm that he has been deeply troubled by the role his style of government and policies have played in splitting Afrikaners in all spheres.

He does not want to be judged by the history of Afrikanerdom as the man responsible for the split, they say.

Yet, in this very respect, Mr Botha's move has revealed a generation gap between himself and the large corps of younger member of the NP caucus.

While the Afrikaners play a vital role in the country, their unity is no longer the priority of the NP, its younger MPs say.

They concede the CP has taken over that function.

One MP said it would be regarded as "ludicrous" by the right wing that the man they regard as responsible for the split should call for reconciliation without offering a basis for it.

### Emotional

Another MP said those Afrikaners, who were pained most by the division and would respond positively to Mr Botha, would already be in the NP camp.

Mr Wynand Malan, who himself had an emotional break from the NP last year when he left to form the National Democratic Movement, said: "Few people realise how painful it is for Mr Botha to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaners.

"What he does not understand is that Afrikaner history will honour him for his part in making it possible for us to regain our self-respect among other South



Pope John Paul II with President Robert Mugabe after the Pontiff arrived in Harare yesterday for his Southern African visit

## Pope tells bishops to spurn violence

□ From Page 1

ferences by peaceful means," said the Pope. "The time for such steps is now."

Pope John Paul said instances of serious injustice continued to cause immense suffering in Southern Africa but he still hoped for a peaceful outcome.

"A just solution must include a genuine and sincere dialogue between opposing viewpoints," he said.

"This is true for the grave issue of apartheid and for all the violations of human rights."

In his speech, Mr Mugabe had said: "The struggle [illegible] of admi[illegible]

in his traditional arrival gesture.

Mr Mugabe, one of nearly a million Catholics in Zimbabwe, waited at the edge of a red carpet to greet the Pope and then led him to a receiving line of churchmen, government officials and diplomats.

Traditional dancers and church choirs gave John Paul, 68, a festive welcome to start his 39th tour abroad and fourth visit to Africa since he became head of the Roman Catholic Church 10 years ago.

In his wide-ranging arrival speech, Pope John Paul called for dialogue and non-

solutions that are less imposed, and more worthy of man," he said.

"If these solutions do not succeed ... then the others are always forced."

The Pope indicated he did not favour the boycott of next month's local elections in South African black and white communities urged by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"It is possible to boycott elections, but in principle it is not a good thing," he said.

He also said he wanted the release of Nelson Mandela.

"It is my desire, I am full

la, Cuba and SA.

"I pray constantly that the underlying causes of the conflict now going on ... can be clarified in the talks now taking place," the Pope told the 71 bishops from nine countries.

Pope John Paul's appeal to avoid violence also appeared to be aimed at some Catholic and Anglican churchmen who hold that violence might be justified against an oppressive regime.

In his address to bishops, including South Africans, he bluntly told them their job was to "promote au-

the church to provide the guide of establishing a just and humane society in which peace was effectively achieved and defended.

"Each particular church and the church in each country is encouraged to promote a Christian response to the questions of justice and peace by presenting the church's social teaching and fostering dialogue and development."

Pope John Paul is also visiting Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland.

The Pope refused to

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# PW's gan

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## Significant

Mr Malan said Mr Botha would lose support to his left, rather than gain from his right.

Mr Peter Soal, a Progressive Federal Party MP, said Mr Botha's call was a blow to non-Nationalists who voted for the Government in last year's election.

"They will no longer be beguiled by Nat talk of reform."

He said it was significant that Mr Pik Botha, regarded as an ardent reformist, supported the President's appeal.

A CP MP, Prof Fanie Jacobs, said: "Mr Botha tried to present himself as the person most concerned about Afrikaner unity, when it is he who must carry the greatest responsibility for the split.

"He tried to give the NP a boost for the coming elections. In reality, they fear the results."



# ELECTIONS-POLICE HIT ACTIVISTS

Cpress 304A 11/9/88

By KERRY CULLINAN, SELLO SERIPE, LULAMA LUTI and VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

SECURITY police have been rounding up activists throughout the country in what observers see as a pre-October elections crackdown.

An especially high concentration of dententions has been reported in the Pretoria area.

This week alone, police swooped on Mamelodi and Atteridgeville townships, detaining a number of activists, including Transvaal UDF executive member Arthur Mkhwanazi and Azapo president Nkosi Molala

Meanwhile, the government may be forced to postpone the October elections in Natal townships due to growing indifference In Maritzburg, consituencies are without candidates There are no candidates in Hambanathi either

On the clampdown, those believed to have been detained include Bheki Nkosi, Michael Seloane, Michael Mncube, Oupa Masuku, Reeves Mabitsi and Khorombi Dan.

Azapo's Molala, 35, was detained from his house on Tuesday evening

Another Azapo member, Philemon Moshupye, 40, was taken from his Atteridgeville home Vuyo Kapa, the organiser of National Hotels, Liquor, Restuarant Workers Union and also a member of Azapo was arrested at the BAMCWU offices in Pretoria on Tuesday

Nkosi, a Community Resource and Information Centre worker and Mamelodi Civic Association executive member, was released from detention six weeks ago following inquiries into the whereabouts of his colleague Stanza Bopape, who was detained with him at the time and who police alleged escaped from custody

Cric said it was deeply concerned about Nkosi's redetention He was suffering from severe post traumatic stress

Mamelodi Youth Congress activist Seloane has been detained four times in the past, and has spent three months in detention this year He was served with severe restrictions on his release, which barred him from political activities and restricted him to the Pretria area

Dan and Mabitsi are executive members of the Atteridgeville-Saulsville Residents Association, while Masuku is president of the Atteridgeville-Saulsville Youth Organisation

Police are also believed to have raided the homes of UDF Transvaal executive member Titus Mofoli, and Atteridgeville-Saulsville Youth Organisation activist Ronnie Mamoepa

The SAP Public Relations Department said none of the abovementioned people were being held under the Internal Security Act Police do not confirm detentions under the emergency regulations.

Also from Atteridgeville, police swooped on the home of the president of the restricted Azanian Youth Organisation, Thabo Mafihla, and detained him on August 30.

The general secretary of the SA Youth Congress, Rapu Molekane and three other executive members were held last week Thurday when security police raided Wits University's Glynn Thomas students residence near Soweto

It is belived Molekane, of Jabavu West, is being held under the Internal Security Act.

Molekane, 27, is also the president of the restricted Soweto Youth Congress

Police have only confirmed the detention of Joe Nkuna, an executive member of Sayco and Joseph France

Others reportedly held from the Glynn Thomas residence are Simon Nthombela, Sayco publicity secretary; Patrick Flask, of Riverlea; and Bernard Koleman, Sipho Khomo, Paul Stoberg, Philip Pike and Logon Wort from the Cape

Molekane, Nkuna and Nthombela have joined other Sayco members who are also in detention

They are president Peter Mokaba, who is held under section 29, Ephraim Nkoe, Fawcett Mathebe and Ignitious Jacobs.




## kill him

ys more power should be given to the police so that law and order can be maintained and they demand that "poor Boerekinders" must be given food

The movement also demands that "should a white be injured during one of our actions, the government must give such a victim R77 000 and a medal for bravery"

The last of the ten "wishes" is that Mandela should be released to enable the White Wolves to wipe him and the ANC from the face of the earth ( hom en die ANC gelyk met die aarde kan blaas).

11/9/88

## Sport boycott until racism ends – ANC

CP Correspondent

THE ANC says South Africa's international sports isolation will continue as long as apartheid exists

Speaking from Lusaka, the ANC was confirming its recent talks with rugby administrator Louis Luyt.

An ANC spokesman said: "Our position is that, as long as apartheid exists, we do not believe there should be intergration of sports"

He added "It will take us a long time to stand up and tell the world, 'Yes, you can start playing with South Africa'." – Ano

● See page 16.

11/9/88

Cpress 302

**Voting Tales** X




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# CP predicts it will win 60 TVL councils

30/12 Cape Times 12/9/88

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party will control at least 60 of the 84 white Transvaal municipalities after the local government elections next month, CP chief secretary Mr Kobus Beyers predicted at the weekend.

The CP has put up 1 200 candidates in municipalities, local area committees and health committees, most of them in the Transvaal, at a cost of at least R4,8 million.

Apart from Sandton, Edenvale and Midrand, the CP is fighting all white local authorities in the Transvaal. It has also put up candidates throughout the Free State, and is flexing its muscles for the first time in the Cape and Natal.

The NP has backed out of confronting the CP onslaught in most councils, acknowledging widespread opposition to party politics in local government.

Mr Beyers said the CP's decision to put up official party candidates had received unprecedented support. "People know where they stand with the CP." He predicted the CP would force the government's reform programme to grind to a halt by taking control of councils throughout the country.

The CP, he said, was confident of taking control of Pietersburg, Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, Potchefstroom, Klerksdorp, Randfontein and Rustenburg.

The CP was also optimistic about its chances of winning Pretoria, where it has put up candidates in all 42 wards.

In the Free State the CP was in a strong position, having put up candidates throughout the province. Mr Beyers said the party was cautiously optimistic about winning Bloemfontein where, he said, the NP was too scared to put up candidates under its official banner.

CAPE TIMES 12/9/88 (30KA)

Cape Time

# Praise for meeting with ANC, Soviets

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**DR Wimpie de Klerk yesterday praised the planned meeting in West Germany next month between Afrikaner academics, the ANC and Soviet officials.**

**Dr De Klerk, the former editor of Rapport and brother of Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, said he regretted not being able to attend the ANC conference but he already had a prior commitment to a banking conference in Cape Town.**

**He dismissed any suggestion that he had decided to opt out of the ANC meeting because news of the controversial meeting had leaked out prematurely.**

**The RAU communications professor said yesterday: "I am not backing out. I have not got anything against it (the ANC meeting)."**

**He then added: "I think it is necessary and in the spirit of the times."**

**Dr De Klerk's stand follows weekend press reports that some members of the 18-strong SA contingent to the six-day conference in Germany were expressing concern and unhappiness that news of the conference had leaked out.**

**Some of the participants were apparently worried about reaction to the trip by the government and the university authorities.**

**News of the invitation comes at a time when the storm surrounding recent meetings between Transvaal Rugby Union chief, Mr Louis Luyt, and ANC members concerning international sporting links continues unabated.**

**State President P W Botha recently condemned South Africans holding talks with the ANC during his address to the National Party congress in Bloemfontein.**

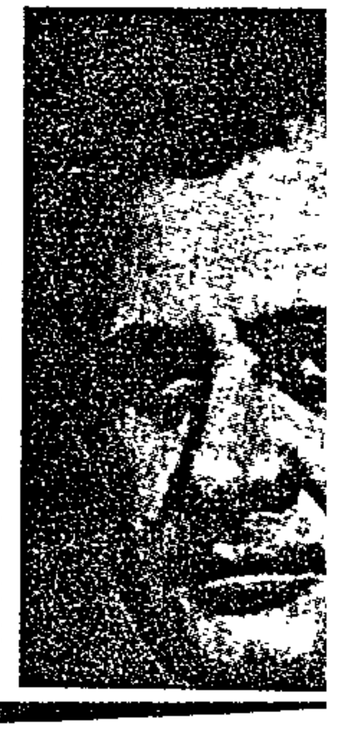
**South African Rugby Board president Dr Danie Craven, however, yesterday reaffirmed that further talks would take place with African sports administrators which included the ANC.**

**The first government reaction to the West German meeting came from Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe who said: "The government's view is very clear. We cannot approve talks with those who are blowing up our people in Wimpy Bars."**

**The talks will be led by the ANC information officer Mr Thabo Mbeki and the Soviet delegation is expected to include Professors Victor Goncharov and Gleb Starushenko of the African Institute of the Soviet Academy of Science and possibly the Soviet envoy to Lesotho, Mr Boris Asoyan.**

**According to Rapport, some of the South Africans invited felt that the conference could be threatened by too much publicity.**

**Most of the academics invited had not yet been granted leave by their universities to attend the conference and some expressed concern that the "untimely publicity" would place their universities in a contentious position.**



DR WIMPIE DE KLERK ... praise for meeting between top Afrikaners, the ANC and Soviet officials.

# Coloured residents may vote in elections

Cape Times 12/9/88 30kA



CIVIC LEADERS . . . Chairman of the Lansdowne Civic Association Mr Cecil Walker (right) and executive committee member Dr Norman Maharaj. Picture: RICHARD BELL

**Staff Reporter**

HUNDREDS of coloured residents in the Lansdowne-Wetton area are eligible to vote for the white Cape Town City Council, but a survey in the area yesterday showed that most people either did not know their voting status or did not intend voting.

A resident of 26 years, who asked not to be named, said he would not exercise his vote for the council, while other residents surveyed did not know if they were on the roll, or said they did not vote.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party said it would make the strongest possible representations to the government to have the Lansdowne residents removed from the roll.

City Council public relations officer Mr Ted Doman said yesterday that residents in the triangular area bounded by the Cape Flats railway line, Lansdowne Road, Wetton Road and the Wetton Circle were eligible to vote for the council in the October elections — but only if they had lived there since 1972.



Mr Harold Holmes

## Exception made

After the government scrapped the Common Voters' Roll and then introduced coloured management committees in 1972, it was decided to make an exception for people living outside management committee areas. "They would be allowed to vote for council," Mr Doman said.

There were possibly a few other small areas where this would apply in Cape Town, but the Lansdowne community was the largest.

While Mr Doman could not say how many people were still on the voters' roll, estimates by residents in the area and by canvassing candidates put the figure in the region of 600.

Mr Doman said attempts were made by the Athlone and District Management Committee to have the area included in its jurisdiction but that this had been opposed by the City Council.

The area falls in Ward 13 (Athlone, Crawford, Rondebosch East, Lansdowne, Wetton, part of Claremont and Kenwyn) where sitting councillor Mr John Muir is fighting against non-aligned candidates Mr Aubrey Cox, Mrs Ruth Ortlepp, Mr Raymond Roos and Mr Alexander Papayanni — and against Mrs Jean Vigus, who is standing for the Conservative Party.

Mr Jan Hoon, CP Cape leader, confirmed yesterday that Mrs Vigus was standing for the CP, and added his party would make "the strongest form of opposition" in representations to the government to have the coloured voters removed from the roll.

"We believe only voters eligible for the House of Assembly should vote for the City Council," he said.

Mrs Vigus could not be reached for comment.

Mr Muir said yesterday that he would canvass in the area on the same basis as the rest of the ward. "These people are all voters and will get the same attention as other voters."

Lansdowne Civic Association yesterday said it had not been aware of the voters' eligibility for the council elections. "But we would be opposed to anything not based on universal franchise," said its chairman, Mr Cecil Walker.

Mr Harold Holmes, a resident in the area and son of former coloured councillor Mr Henry Holmes, said yesterday that in the days of the common municipal voters' roll, he had been involved in the "hurly-burly of politics. But there is such tremendous apathy now", he said

# Bid for white administrator

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A new black political grouping was formed in Alexandra township here at the weekend with a view to participation in the coming municipal elections.

The Alexandra Representatives Party was established at a meeting called by a group called the Concerned Residents of Alexandra.

The chairman of the meeting, the Rev Michael Motsele, said yesterday that the meeting had agreed in principle to support candidates, and perhaps even to field some, in the elections.

The meeting had also agreed to send a delegation to Pretoria, according to Mr Motsele, to request that the current white administrator of Alexandra, Mr Steve Berger, be retained.

"We think that Mr Berger is doing a wonderful job in Alex," Mr Motsele said, "but he won't be available after the elections.

"We see the retention of Mr Berger as one of our most important issues."

Alexandra resident Mr Linda Thwala, who attended the start of the meeting, said it was a failure.

The hall was "not very full and the meeting was not successful", Mr Twala said.

**Players escape death** 52

# More may be disqualified from election

By Shirley Woodgate
Municipal Reporter

Last week's disqualification of at least 11 municipal election candidates in Pretoria and Vanderbijlpark for failing to complete their nomination forms properly, has sent shock waves through the electoral scene in the Transvaal.

All 11 omitted the name of the town or city where they lived — despite the fact that this appeared on the top of the nomination forms.

If the same ruling is applied in Johannesburg, it is believed 14 white candidates could be disqualifed.

Lenasia management committee chairman Mrs Rashida Ebrahim said probably all but four of the 23 Indian candidates would be wiped out even before the election got off the ground.

On Friday, a Rand Supreme Court judge dismissed three urgent applications brought by the unsuccessful Vanderbijlpark CP candidates.

In Pretoria, eight candidates were rejected by the electoral officer in terms of Section 37 of the Electoral Act relating to the completion of nomination forms.

They included the chairman of the National Party's election committee.

At least nine of Johannesburg's threatened candidates are members of the Progressive Federal Party. Four candidates are independents, one from the Consevative Party and one from the National Party.

# Coloured voters to tip balance for mayor?

Cape Times 13/9/88

3044

Staff Reporter

A SMALL group of coloured voters could hold the key to the mayor of Cape Town retaining his seat and fending off the Conservative Party in the October municipal elections.

The group of voters, estimated to number between 20 and 40, are entitled to vote in the city council Ward 4 elections as they do not fall under the management committee for the area.

They are in the same situation as a larger group of Lansdowne-Wetton residents who can vote for the council if they were resident in their area before 1972, when the government abolished the common municipal voters' roll.

Ward 4, which comprises Tamboers Kloof, Schotsche Kloof, the north-western part of Cape Town and part of Gardens, is being fought by standing councillors Mr Norman Osburn and Mr Peter Muller, the mayor, against Mrs Aletta la Grange and Mrs Lente Roux, standing on a joint CP ticket.

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8-14/9/88 304A Sowetan

# Poll defiance

THREE of the country's top clerics this week continued their defiant stand on the October 26 municipal elections in the face of government threats to act against those calling for a boycott.

At separate meetings this week, Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu, World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak and South African Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane again took tough stands on participation in the elections.

Their stand — in clear contravention of the State of Emergency regulations banning any boycott calls — was first made in a statement to SACC-member chuches recently.

Earlier, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had threatened to "clip the wings" of outspoken clergymen irrespective of an international outcry.

On Wednesday, Tutu appeared unperturbed about possible police action, celebrating the second anniversary of his enthronement as Cape Town's archbishop with his staff at Bishopscourt.

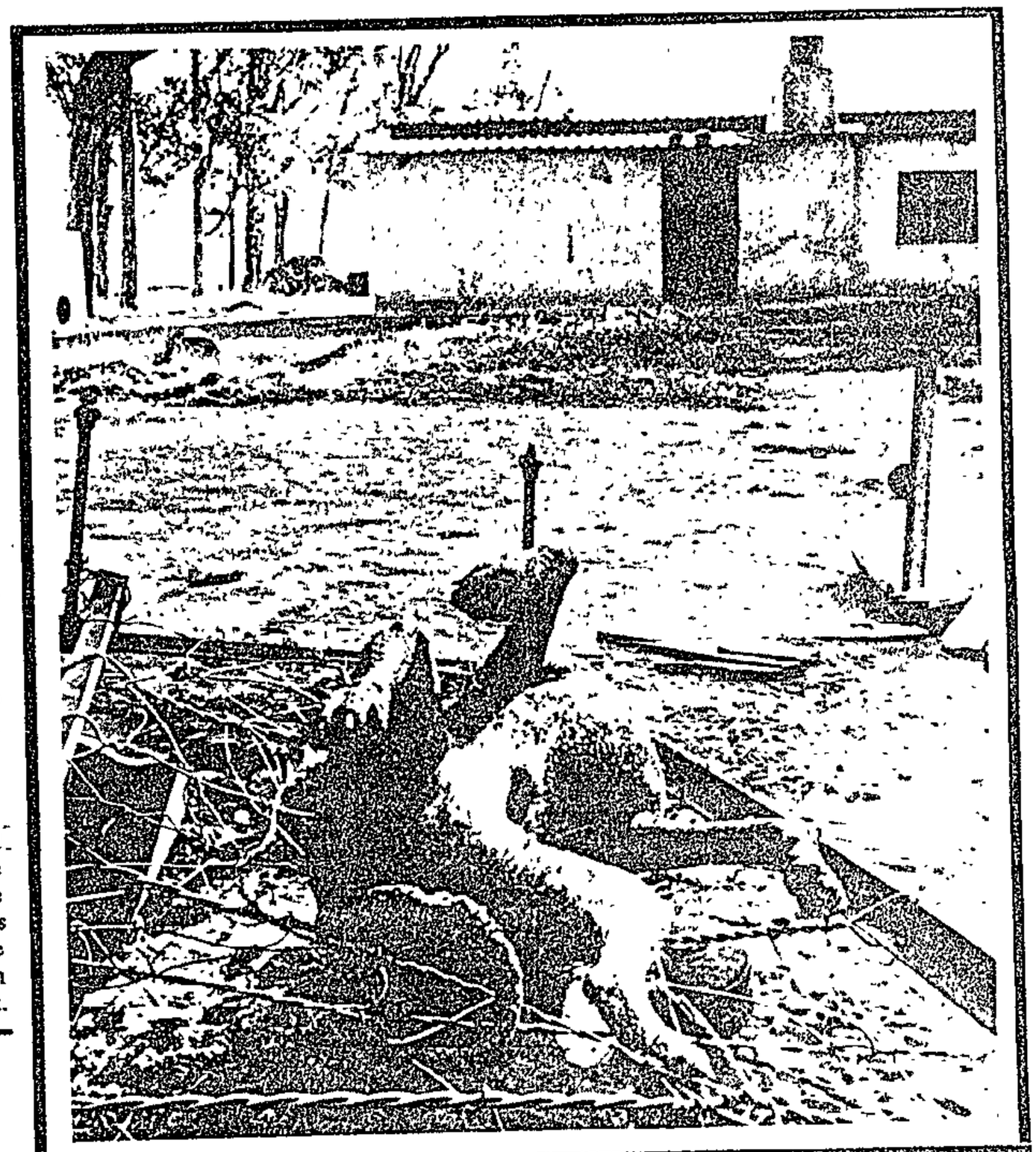
**Many held in swoop — Page 3**

Police visited Bishopscourt for a second time on Wednesday to collect a transcript of Tutu's sermon at the installation ceremony of the Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Colin Jones.

Allen said it was "business as usual" at Bishopscourt after the police visits.

At Sunday's service at St George's Cathedral, Tutu said he was not defying the government, but obeying God.

TO PAGE 3



# Unionist's dog shot, roasted

HAPPIES, a Transkei contract worker's faithful brak, became the hapless victim of a bitter labour dispute at a quiet Boland town.

As his master fled, fearing for his life after he and about 50 fellow workers were dismissed, Happies bore the brunt of unbridled anger.

He was shot dead, then roasted on a bonfire fueled by some of the belongings of the workers — this after the hostels they had occupied near Wellington were cleared.

The workers claimed "kaffir" slurs were made against them, and their union, the S A Allied Workers Union (Saawu). They say they were threatened with axes and guns and had to take refuge in an open veld for five days.

Full story pages 4 and 5



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# ree axe

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Jugoo Govender, athletic ministrator Mr Dorrie

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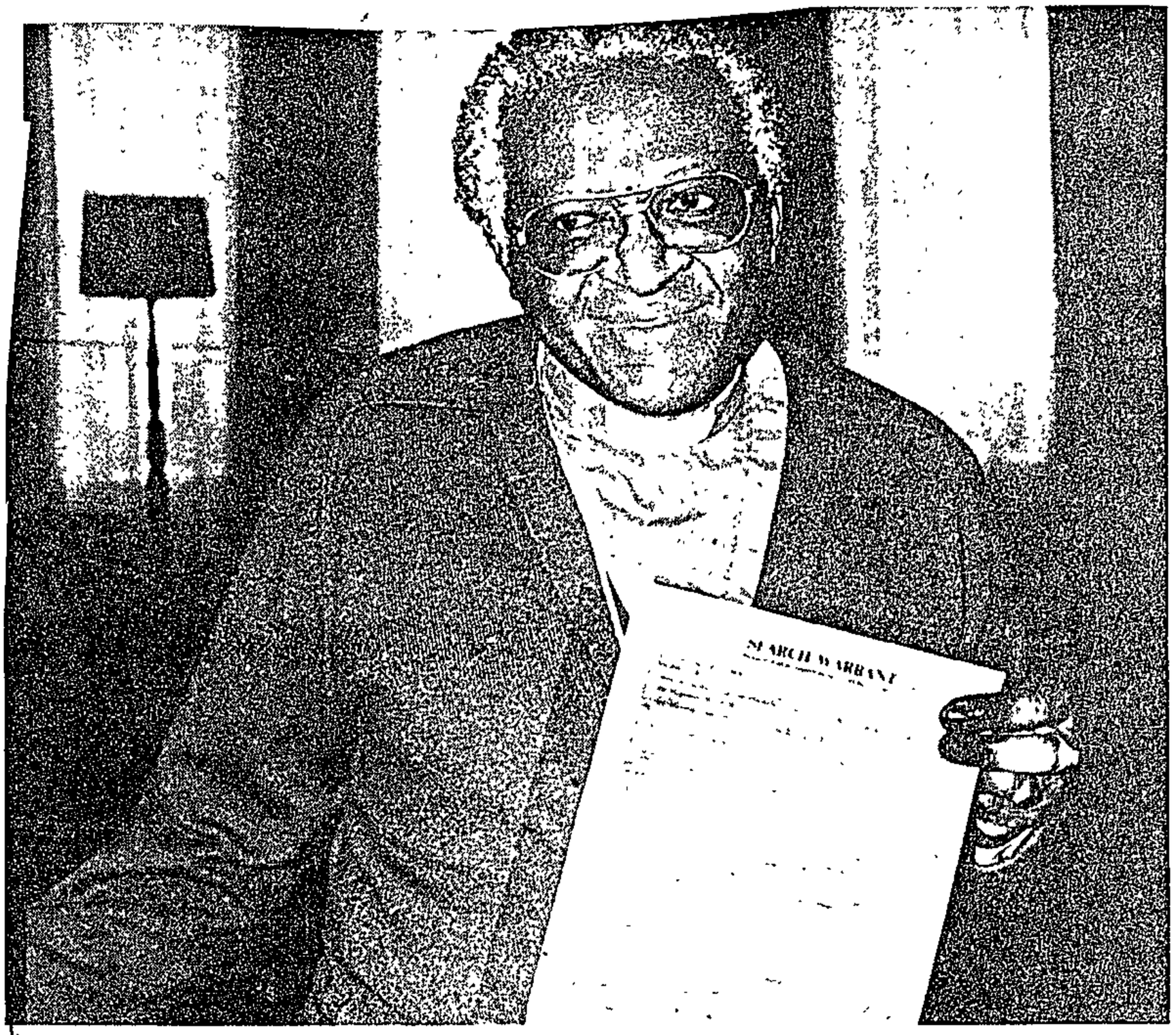


Unperturbed at police action, Archbishop Desmond Tutu with a copy of the search warrant

# Tutu, Boesak in defiant stand

• FROM PAGE 1

"There is an alternative, a better way," he said.

"This is the way of mutual respect, the way of mutual acceptance, the way of justice, of love. There is an alternative to this repressive and unhappy, polarised dispensation; one where people can participate democratically in the decision-making process.

"You don't have to do it by proscribing certain organisation and political leaders, denying them the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not.

"It is unjust, it is ludicrous to say that it is only candidates, who stand in that election precisely because they want to be voted for, to say that they alone can call for a boycott of the elections. In a normal society people can advocate participation or non-participation. These elections in an unjust dispensation cannot therefore be fair.

"I call on all Anglicans in this Diocese to consider prayerfully what God demands of them in this matter.

"I pray that no intimidation either by those who wish to participate or by those who do not want to participate will mar these elections.

"I am aware of the penalties attaching to this call. I am not defying the government. I am obeying God."

At a meeting at his Bellville South church on Sunday, Boesak made a similar call in defiance of the emergency regulations.

In Johannesburg, SACC general-secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane questioned the basis of the October 26 elections.

Speaking at the launch of Professor Fatima Meer's book on Nelson Mandela, Chikane said the Government wanted to be free to tell the lie that the coming municipal elections were "the most democratic ever."

IN THIS CORNER . . .

# PW and the black boxing 'blue'

By JEREMY BROOKS
London

JOHN COKER counts among his friends at least a dozen African presidents, while he has personally sat — and sweated — at the side of some of the world's most notorious tyrants.

The remarkable man who this week became the first black journalist to interview President P W Botha is renowned in Europe and Africa for his incisive knowledge of African affairs.

The huge rugby player and champion heavyweight boxer has taken tea with Libya's Colonel Gaddafi

## Executed

He has also watched horrified beside Liberia's Master Sergeant Doe as 12 former Cabinet Ministers, tied to posts on a sandy beach, were executed by firing squad.

He spends at least two months of every year travelling the US on lecture tours. The other 10 months are spent flying to and from Africa, preparing a series of television programmes watched by tens of millions in the West, or preparing analyses on different countries.

And yet his meeting with South Africa's President still sent a "chill" through him, he said this week on his return to London.

"It was like walking into a fridge. I could not sleep the night before. Here I was about to meet the man who, for blacks everywhere, is the most hated in the world.

"It was very odd — I've never experienced anything like it before. But P W Botha dominates, he is a symbol of power, he sits above the system and has enormous resources at his disposal."

In the end he felt satisfied with the interview. He and the President managed to strike a chord and explore some of the deeper issues facing the country, he said.

Certain friends had been "appalled" by the fact that he had personally conducted an interview with the South African President.

"My reply to that is that I am first and foremost a journalist, and where the story lies I go."

The television producer and international sportsman is based in England today simply because as a child he suffered from malaria.

He could just as easily be running the family business in Sierra Leone, his home country. But the young Coker, a sickly child, was packed off to public school in England, where it was thought his doctor uncle could take better care of him.

From small beginnings "Pikeen" (small baby) Coker filled out into the towering frame which took him to three Olympic Games — once as the Sierra Leone team captain in 1968, and then as Zambia's boxing coach in 1972 and 1976.

He read economics and political science, first at Trinity College, Dublin, and then St Catherine's, Oxford. It was at Oxford that he became the first black man to gain a "blue" in boxing.

## Undecided

"After that I spent a year teaching, totally undecided about what I wanted to do, and toying with the idea of joining Rugby League and going to Wigan. By that stage I was already playing for the Harlequins," he said.

But he was lured into the world of radio sports reporting, eventually moving across to television current affairs on the BBC.

It was a world in which Coker — having battled his way upwards — found himself face to face with the newsmakers of the '70s — Ted Heath, Harold Wilson and Golda Meir were a few.



John Coker with President Botha . . . "It sent a chill through me — meeting the man most hated by blacks"

Picture: HORACE POTTER

# Facing up to the black side of TV interviewing

FOR both it was a unique experience. President Botha found himself interviewed for the first time by a black television journalist.

And BBC's John Coker confronted the man whom many foreign blacks regard with deep hostility — so much so that some of Coker's friends urged him not to do the interview.

By MANDLA TYALA

President Botha had to field questions concerning the destruction of black dignity by apartheid, the denial of black political participation and charges that he was considered a leper in the international community.

Mr Coker, conversely, was told about the number of black South Africans who died in the British concentration camps during the South African War.

## Visit

Points from the interview:

● Mr Botha refused to give his standpoint on Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for a boycott in next month's municipal elections.

"I do not want to discuss Bishop Tutu. He is not representative of the majority of blacks," he said.

Asked what he would do if other church leaders like Alan Boesak and Frank Chikane also made the same "Christian" call, Mr Botha said Bishop Tutu and the Rev Alan Boesak together did not represent the majority of blacks.

● The President told of his visit to Moria three years ago where he said he was received by three million blacks. He went at the invitation of the leader of the Zionist church, Bishop Lekganyane.

● When Mr Botha raised his recent visit to Crossroads in Cape Town to support his claim that the majority of blacks were "well-disposed towards the Government", Mr Coker said the black supporters who turned out to see the President were "Uncle Toms".

Botha: So if you co-operate with me you are an Uncle Tom, but if you use violence against your own people you are the right fellow.

Coker: How can any credible person take part in your system when Nelson Mandela and (Zeph) Mothopeng (of the PAC) are in jail and the ANC is banned?

Botha: So what if Mr Mandela renounced violence and came to the conference table with us. Will he also be an Uncle Tom?

Coker: We shall have to wait for that day.

● Coker: Gorbachev on coming to power inherited an unpopular country, but since glasnost that image has changed. You are regarded as a leper throughout Africa and the rest of the world.

Botha: It must be a funny world that is trading on a vast scale with this leper. I receive African leaders from time to time . . .

## Burden

The conversation touched on several other issues.

● On Namibia, the President said the territory was a "burden" to SA.

On top of having to guarantee its loans, Pretoria had to pay half of its budget every year.

Coker: If it's such a burden why don't you let them have their independence?

Botha: If the Cubans leave tomorrow, we will leave tomorrow. We are not prepared to have them dictate to Namibia and Angola.





Krish Mackerdhuj

# Sacos three face the axe

THREE officials of Sacos-affiliated sports bodies have put their non-racial sporting future on the line by standing as candidates in the October municipal elections.

They are former Natal cricket captain Mr Jugoo Govender, athletic official Mr Prem Mooruth and soccer administrator Mr Dorrie Rungasamy.

## Cut all ties

Govender will contest a ward in Stanger, Mooruth in Phoenix and Rungasamy in Verulam.

In terms of Sacos' double-standards resolution, any person taking part in elections in government-created bodies will be barred.

Senior Sacos official Mr Krish Mackerdhuj said Sacos supporters had to abide by the resolution. "If these people choose to take part in the elections then there's no place for them in Sacos. They will have to relinquish all ties with clubs and associations on which they serve."

8-14/9/88 South 292 304A

September 15, 1988 / 3041 3

# They're off - W/mail and the fraud charges start

LESS than 36 hours after nominations for the October municipal elections closed, serious allegations of fraud were already being investigated in a Durban ward.

The allegations came to light the day after nominations closed, and concern a candidate for the North Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee.

Progressive Federal Party regional director Roy Ainslie took affidavits from the alleged proposer and seconder of the candidate and these have been handed over to the electoral officer, Durban town clerk Wilf Stone.

In their affidavit the brother and sister whose names appear on the forms as proposer and seconder claim they did not sign the forms although signatures purporting to be theirs were on the nomination papers.

It is understood they were visited by the candidate on the evening after nominations closed and that he told them what had happened.

It is further understood that during the morning in the nomination hall the candidate was much in the company of House of Delegates leader Amichand Rajbansi — himself at the centre of an inquiry into allegations of irregularities — and therefore drew some public attention to his actions.

It is believed the candidate changed his mind belatedly — in the nomination hall — about which ward to contest but was faced with the problem of finding a proposer and seconder.

It is claimed the candidate found suitable names in the voters roll, and filled in the forms according.

He allegedly visited his "proposer and seconder" subsequently to inform them.

Stone confirmed he was investigating allegations of irregularities which had been drawn to his attention and that the matter would also be handed over to the police.

At least 15 candidates standing in the Durban Indian LAC elections and a number of the coloured LAC election candidates are PFP members or supporters standing in their individual capacity.

# No investment without peace — Rupert

From TOM HOOD, Business Editor

STELLENBOSCH. — No significant foreign investments would be attracted to Southern Africa as long as it was regarded a region of war and unrest, leading industrialist Dr Anton Rupert said today.

At the annual meeting of the Rembrandt Group, of which he is chairman, Dr Rupert suggested that Southern Africa follow the example of the 12 countries of the European Economic Community and establish a more solid economic union.

Southern Africa, with 11 states and 13 parliaments, should organise itself into an economic confederation on the Swiss pattern.

He added: "The many states are in fact a partial cause of our untenable high rate of inflation, which is so out of step with that of our trading partners.

"With a population as big as that of Britain and Northern Ireland in an area 20 times the size, the Southern African economic region undoubtedly has at its disposal the world's richest natural resources and the greatest potential."



Dr Anton Rupert

South Africa had already paid dearly for the illusion that it had a first-world economy.

"The sooner we realise that our economy has elements of both the first and the third worlds, the sooner economic planning and decisions will come into line with the real needs of our society.

"The creative energies in our various communities must be given the opportunity to be liberated so they may flow with vitality through the economy and banish the fear that South Africa is heading inevitably towards becoming a violence-ridden society."

What was often not realised or appreciated was that South Africa was probably one of the most peaceful multiracial societies in the world.

"As opposed to many other parts of the world, our history is not one of violence and bloodshed," he said.

### CLASHES

In Europe about 50 million people died in two wars before differences could be set aside and economic co-operation achieved.

Compared to this, in more than 300 years 18 000 blacks died in armed clashes with whites in South Africa.

"Let us go forward without fear on the road to the future where every form of discrimination will make way for mutual respect, co-existence, trust and free participation in the creation of prosperity for all."

Dr Rupert added that the country's young people, especially young black people, would have to receive more technical training to meet demands which continued economic growth in Southern Africa would place on them.

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B04A W|Mail 9-15/9/88

# Church-state relations hit new low as priests repeat calls

**Archbishop Tutu repeats his call. Allan Boesak and others make similar statements. The government hits back sharply, attacking 'wolves in sheep's clothing'**



Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok: Churches 'hiding behind liberation theology'

**Weekly Mail Reporters**

A DEFIANT Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday reiterated his call regarding participation in the October 26 municipal elections.

And this week others church leaders joined in his call: Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Right Reverend Sigqibo Dwane, Anglican Bishop for the Order of Ethiopia.

Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, first made his call while delivering a sermon last Sunday.

Police announced they were investigating Tutu's speech. Senior police visited his offices in Bishopscourt and took a video tape of the service. They also took notes on the sermon and a tape from the religion reporter of a Cape Town newspaper.

This did not deter Tutu from repeating his view yesterday. He was speaking to more than 2 500 students, academics and workers at the University of the Western Cape in his first address on campus since he was elected chancellor earlier this year.

After first dealing with university issues, Tutu turned to the question of the elections, prefacing his remarks by saying the depth of his commitment meant he obeyed God.

"I would want to say to people what has been said by our church leaders: please consider prayerfully what God wants you to do," he said.

People were "being turned into things to be used" so the world could "be misled" into thinking South Africa had become "more democratic".

"We want to urge black people: do not take part in a process meant to perpetuate your oppression."

His speech cannot be reported in a context in which his words would be likely to encourage members of the public not to participate in local authority elections.

Tutu said he was committed to making the call, knowing the police might arrive at UWC demanding tape-recordings of what he'd said.

"This is not bravado; this is not Tutu trying to look smart. I have a commitment and a passion for South Africa.

"This enables me, whatever the penalties, to do what I believe God is asking me to do."

Asked afterwards whether he expected any police reaction to his speech, Tutu said: "Go and ask Mr Vlok (the Minister of Police) — that's his area."

Asked whether police action would influence his behaviour in future he said: "I don't look over my shoulder to see whether I have approval from the government. I don't go out of my way to provoke the government. I do what I believe is right and if they get upset, tough luck."

He said he expected the police might very well say they wanted him to produce his sermons before he preached. "They can wait until the cows come home," Tutu said.

In his sermon on Sunday, Tutu described "an alternative to this repressive and unhappy, polarised dispensation" where people could take part democratically in decision-making.

"You don't do it by proscribing certain organisations and political leaders, denying them the right to decide whether to participate in the October elections or not," he said.

Boesak made a similar call the same day during a sermon in his Bellville South Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk.

Tutu and Boesak were among 26 church leaders who issued a statement on the elections after the South African Council of Churches' conference last month.

Dwane made his call at the "Grahamstown Initiative" conference last weekend.

"I want to make my position clear here. I do not intend to participate or to encourage anyone to participate in RSC's and in the so-called elections in October," he said.

**CARMEL RICKARD** reports that relations between church and state hit a serious low over the last week with threats of strong action against anti-apartheid clergy and church organisations, a police investigation against Tutu and a police raid on the offices of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

The raid and the investigation into Tutu's sermon are linked to the October municipal elections.

Two days before Tutu's first election call, Vlok warned he was considering action against "wolves in sheep's clothing" who hid behind liberation theology and "people's democracy".

He hinted at restrictions which he anticipated would cause an international outcry but said such a response was to be expected as part of the "onslaught" against the country.

In the wake of Vlok's threats, leading clerics said his remarks were irresponsible and could encourage further right-wing harassment of church leaders and organisations, such as the bomb which damaged the Johannesburg headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and other organisations at Khotso House.

The blast has left the SACC, which was playing an important role in coordinating criticism of the elections, in disarray.

The timing of the raid by about 10 police officers at the Pretoria headquarters of the Catholic bishops on September 1 was also interesting. It followed just hours after the last of the bishops left for Zimbabwe where they are attending a meeting preparatory to the visit of Pope John Paul II.

They were apparently looking for copies of a booklet on the October municipal elections, which has been published by a number of churches and church organisations.

No copies of the pamphlet, *Standing for the truth: understanding the municipal elections*, were found.

Police headquarters said searching and seizing documents was regarded as routine activities and they were not prepared to make any comment.

On the same day, acting under Emergency regulations, police confiscated 10 000 copies of the pamphlet sent to the Durban ecumenical church agency, Diakonia.

The sharp deterioration in church-state relations is partly due to restrictions imposed on major anti-apartheid organisations, which has left the church one of the few voices still able to articulate the feelings of extra-parliamentary groups.

As the state is anxious the elections should be successful, with a high poll, an all-out campaign has been launched to prevent criticism of the elections. This is increasing the level of confrontation between the government and the churches as they have become the chief voice of criticism.

Police have also confiscated 35 000 copies of a newsletter put out by the Western Province Council of Churches. The pamphlet outlined a June 29 call by a number of church leaders which cannot be reported as calls for a boycott of the elections are illegal under the Emergency.

# Fierce debate in Alexandra over October election

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

A WEEK of sharp debate in Alexandra about participation in the October municipal elections comes to a head at a crucial public meeting tomorrow.

Two key association members this week publicly criticised each other's stand on the sensitive issue of the Alexandra Civic Association's (ACA) possible participation in the October 26 elections.

The association's vice chairman, Mack Lekota, reportedly labelled chairman Mike Beea — who had drawn up a special plan for possible participation in the elections — an "opportunist", saying "the ACA will not take part" in the elections.

However, a number of ACA members, including Beea, said this week Lekota last attended an ACA meeting in April. Beea claimed Lekota had thus ceased to be an ACA executive member.

Similarly, Lekota considered Beea's executive membership to have ceased. Lekota, who was acting chairman while Beea was detained for a year, told the *Weekly Mail* Beea had rarely attended ACA meetings after his release from detention, thereby flouting the constitution.

The Reverend Michael Motshele, an Alexandra community leader who has chaired a series of residents' meetings to discuss the October elections, said Lekota's claim was ridiculous.

He pointed out Beea was released from detention with a restriction order which, *inter alia*, prevented him addressing political gatherings or being with more than 10 people.

A number of ACA executive members confirmed Beea did not act independantly of his executive.

Beea and Lekota said they had decided, for political reasons, to bury the hatchet and refrain from public mud-slinging.

These developments — and heated debates for and against participation at residents' meetings — may have influenced a crucial resolution at an ACA meeting on Tuesday.

It lays down conditions for participation that are so radical they could scupper the whole idea.

The resolution's conditions include the drawing up of a new "community voters role" and the recognition of extensive organisational structures, involving "communes" (which resemble block committees).

The ACA decided it would only participate in the election if the government accepted this elaborate plan, drawn up by Beea.

Adopting Beea's plan, the ACA described it as "step one" to "democratic" elections — provided the plan was approved by the people of Alexandra at Saturday's meeting.

It is significant that the decisive meeting comes a day after the closing date for the registration of election candidates.

There is speculation, therefore, that the timing of the meeting could be an attempt to sabotage participation — unless the government extends the closing date for registration.

The ACA is adamant residents should decide tomorrow whether they will participate in the elections. They argue if the government is serious about the elections it will extend the closing date for registration.

...e representative said the move ...as not an attempt to hoodwink the people into contesting the elections, but to "guide" them if they chose to participate.

There had been indications that people might opt for participation, the representative said. The plan, therefore, should not be seen as a sign of weakness or a shift in policy, but an attempt to prevent residents being "herded like lambs to the slaughter".

# To vote or not to vote — that is the question

BY ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

Participation in next month's highly politicised municipal elections is a hotly debated issue among organisations and political parties to the left of the Government.

Although boycott calls have effectively been outlawed, The Star's Editor-in-Chief, Mr Harvey Tyson, last week organised a debate between four prominent anti-apartheid leaders. The topic: should voters participate in the elections or not?

The hour-long closed debate did not lead to changes in attitude from *Sowetan* editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Black Sash executive Mrs Joyce Harris, church leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.



Mr Harvey Tyson (left), who chaired the debate, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Zach de Beer and Mrs Joyce Harris.

## Objected

Mr Klaaste, who had decided not to publish pro-election advertisements as a result of the Government's prohibition of anti-election advertisements, and Archbishop Tutu, who together with other church leaders have defied the Government by publicly calling for non-participation, objected to any form of participation in what they perceived as unrepresentative apartheid structures.

The elections were unfree and unfair, they argued, and were being held under the continued state of emergency, which had resulted in scores of detentions and severe restrictions on many democratic organisations.

They strongly questioned the role of "white" parliamentary politics in promoting political change.

On the other hand, Dr de Beer and Mrs Harris (debating in her personal capacity) favoured participation as a peaceful and practical way of stating opposition to apartheid by ensuring the election of enlightened local government representatives.

Governmental structures should be changed from within, they said. Non-participation was thus a negative attitude.

They questioned the effectiveness of extra-parliamentary politics to bring an end to apartheid.

The participants agreed — although "reluctantly", in the words of Archbishop Tutu — that a distinction could be drawn between black and white strategies.

Asked by Mr Tyson, who chaired the debate, whether the legally available option of standing as a candidate and then calling on people not to vote had been considered, the participants agreed that such a strategy would have appeared contrived.

The debate varied from the validity of participation in regional services councils to the historical role of opposition parties in Parliament. It became heated at times.

Said Archbishop Tutu: "Why is such a lot of money spent on encouraging people to participate?"

Dr de Beer: "If I have to speculate, the answer would be that the Government would like to tell the world it has made a start on the road to a non-racial democracy."

Archbishop Tutu: "Why do you want to help them create that impression?"

Dr de Beer: "I don't."

Archbishop Tutu: "You are. If you participate, and if we participate, the Government will ask the world to give it a chance. Why do you want to help them perpetuate a lie?"

Dr de Beer: "I don't in the slightest want to help them do anything. What I do want to do is elect a progressive city council in Johannesburg, and nothing that you have said indicates that that would be of any help to the Government at all."

## Negative

Mrs Harris accused Archbishop Tutu of being negative by calling for non-participation.

Said Archbishop Tutu: "Don't you think the country is (in any case) sliding to destruction?"

Mrs Harris: "No. And I'm trying to stop it."

Archbishop Tutu: "Why stop it? We've got to a stage where a person dies in detention and there is no longer any outcry."

Mrs Harris: "I find it unbearably sad. If participation is out, and I understand why you feel it is out, I still don't hear any alternatives. All I can see is a bloody revolution. I will rather try to get change in this country without a revolution.

"What is your alternative to participation?"

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Klaaste: "Non-participation."

# Fair debate is impossible

Aggrey Klaaste



Traditionally, blacks have found it not only stupid but unrealistic to participate in elections for structures imposed on them by the Government.

Black local authorities are a governmental imposition, they are wrongly structured and unrepresentative.

In addition, the municipal elections are awfully mistimed because of the continuing state of emergency.

To make matters worse, the Government has declared it illegal to say anything which is calculated or likely to incite members of the public to boycott or not to take part in the elections.

### CODE OF ETHICS

As a professional newspaperman, I say it is nonsense to say the *Sowetan* is practising self-censorship by refusing to publish any pro-election advertisements.

The *Sowetan*, like other mainstream newspapers, subscribes to the Media Council's code of ethics, which in its own fashion is a moral and philosophical way of "censoring" ourselves.

If we have to adhere to the council's code is silly for us to say anything about the elections.

By saying that this election is democratic and will further democracy, the Government is untruthful and dishonest.

What should happen, and in time it will, is for us to get our act together and then to participate in elections. But that time is not now.

It is asking far too much to say we should now go into governmental structures and try to change them from within when we can see with our own eyes that even those who are doing precisely this are being made to look like fools now and again.

Blacks have mobilised, they have been mobilising for all these years to change apartheid.

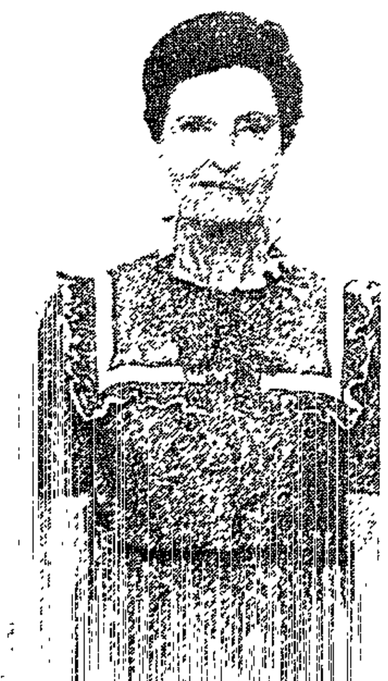
The radical view — I am not quoting my own view — is that the Conservative Party should come to power, because then we will no longer be tortured by incremental reform. Then we will probably have the "big bang" scenario and then it will come to an end.

### CRAZY SITUATION

While arguing that blacks should not participate in these elections, I have not really consid-

# All should use the chance

Joyce Harris



I have an enormous amount of sympathy with the viewpoint that blacks should not participate in elections for structures which they regard as unrepresentative.

However, I doubt the efficacy of boycott strategies. Boycotts work well economically, but not politically.

Maybe one ought to be able to make use of the space the Government creates, whether one agrees with the space or not. Of course, none of us here do.

Strategies depend very much upon goals, and those goals have to be very clearly delineated.

If the goal is to undermine the credibility of the Government, then a boycott can show that you don't have any confidence in what the Government is doing.

But if your goal is to get the Government out, and you would still like to get them out peacefully, then it seems to me that it is necessary to use the space that is provided.

### A GOOD IDEA

If the objective of non-participation is to show that this is not a democratic Government, I don't think that is a strong enough motivation for not participating.

So I would certainly go for partici-

I know regional services councils (RSCs) are designed to keep the power in the hands of Government. But if there are a few progressive city councils in an RSC area — so that the representation on that RSC consists of progressive people — and just say by some miracle other population groups also decided to participate and get their people in, and you get RSCs which are represented by progressive people who all felt the same way ...

The RSCs are the foundation of the whole edifice which the Government has built in order to hold everything in place. If things were to start collapsing at that level, who knows what might happen.

### MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

I feel it is an opportunity that ought not to be missed. We've missed too many opportunities in this country.

I have a wonderful vision of mass meetings going on all over the country with representatives of all the various constituencies on that platform discussing how to get this Government out, and how to get in. And most importantly, discussing what kind of system should replace this apartheid government.

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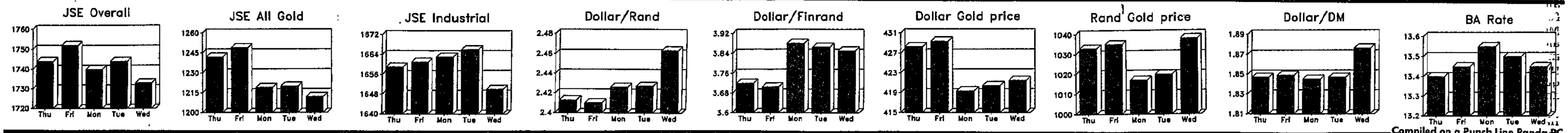


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# FSI answers its critics handsomely

The balance sheet has been

# AVI lifts dividend 33 percent

Finance Staff

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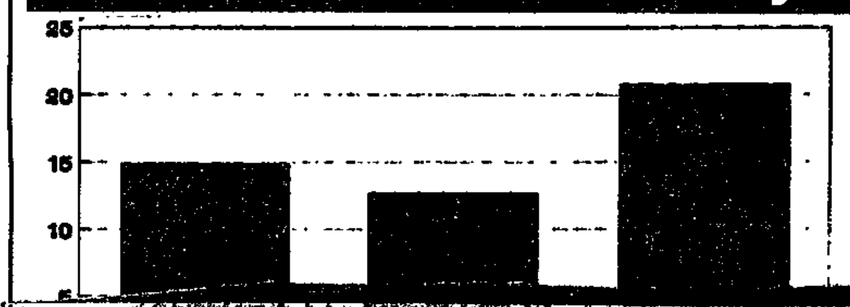



# Presto Containers getting back on track

Presto Containers, specialising in inter-city container movements, may have picked the wrong day

Diagonal Street



# What is God asking us?

I am shocked that nobody is particularly appalled by the fact that one cannot rightfully make a call for non-participation — which is a non-violent strategy. This option under normal circumstances is available.

People should have the right to withhold their involvement. By denying them that right, the Government is guilty of intimidation.

The church leaders have asked people prayerfully to consider what God is asking them to do. While calling on blacks not to participate quite categorically, we are saying we hope whites will join their black fellow South Africans in not participating. We are saying: 'Don't you think the time has come to recognise the irrelevance of white politics?'

The churches' alternative to participation is a campaign for truth. A massive campaign of peaceful refusing to co-operate with the Government. For example, people should refuse to pay taxes or anything which helps to prop up this Government.

People should say we are working towards a society where we will live together. That is not negative, it is positive.

Participation in governmental structures in South Africa has not achieved much. People have thought participation in the tricameral system might have begun to erode the intransigence of the Government. Clearly that is not the case. The Government always has its way — if not through the channels which have the facade of democracy, then in another way.

The Government has, in fact, made it quite clear that it did not intend these elections to be democratic by denying a list of possible candidates, who might have wanted to stand for office, the right to do so.

**HORRIBLE ILLUSION**

This is particularly galling when the organisations which have been so proscribed enjoy a very considerable measure of support in the black community.

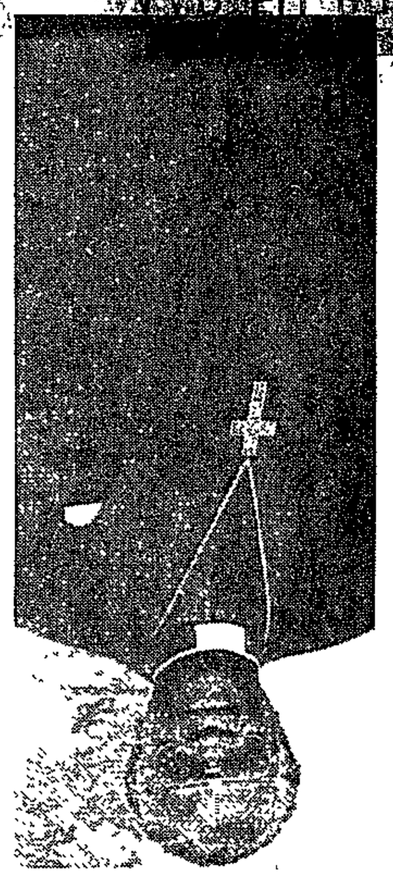
In previous years we did not so much question participation in Parliament, because we kept being under the horrible illusion that somehow white people would begin to recognise that blacks are human beings. And that somehow those who had the ability to change things would move towards a democratic dispensation.

Our view is that the election of "good" people now will achieve nothing except certain adjustments to the life of the oppressed. It will not address the fundamentally unjust society.

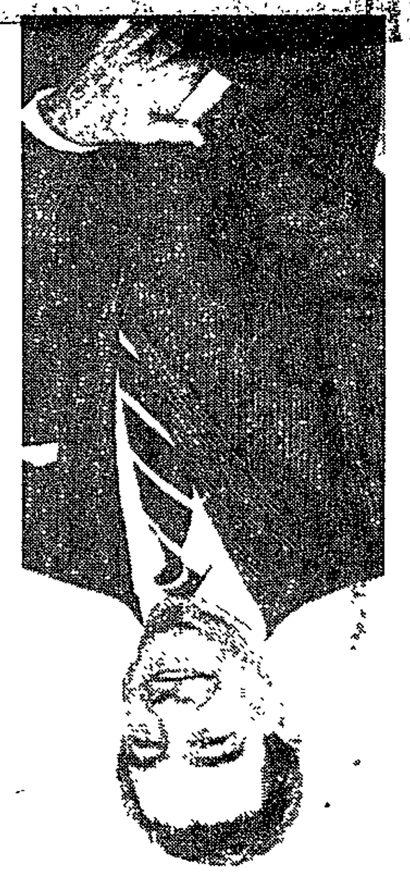
Maybe you will be able to urge whatever council comes into Soweto not to switch off the lights and not to evict people. For those people it is important. But those actions make it more possible for the situation to remain.

Blacks will not longer be co-opted into a process of perpetuating their own oppression.

Desmond Tutu



Zach de Beer



# It's strategy and tactics

Let me first say that I *am* appalled that people are not allowed to make a call for non-participation.

My attitude towards a call for non-participation is that I do not agree with that, but I will defend to the death people's right to say they don't want to participate.

With regard to participation in the election, the first thing to say is that there is no principle at issue here. We are talking about strategies and tactics.

Whether one is white or one is not white makes a big difference in this situation. With every fibre of my being, I wish that were not so, but when we practise politics, or even practise it by refusing to practise it, we are doing so within the framework that is imposed upon us.

For more than 30 years, those of us in the liberal section of thought in South Africa have from time to time pondered these strategies.

All of us have from time to time made use of abstention from the use of our rights. For example, when my party walked out of Parliament two weeks ago because the Government decided to handle the group areas legislation as an "own affair", I believe that was a correct use of the boycott.

I have not the slightest doubt that in a body such as the Johannesburg City Council there are useful things to be done. By having a liberal or forward-looking majority in that council — which is not beyond the bounds of possibility — one can make life better for many people in and around Johannesburg.

Similarly, I believe that the participation in Parliament — even under the tricameral system, and even with the shortcomings of Parliament — is beneficial.

It would be presumptuous of me to pretend that I can decide whether our brown and black fellow countrymen should take part in the elections. I would tend to think that in general it is better to "take what you can get and use it to get what you can take".

However I have no doubt that on October 26 whites ought to go to the polls and ought to vote for the most enlightened candidates they can find.

In last year's general election, which was the moment of greatest humiliation for the PFP, 300 000 whites voted for it. I will not do anybody a service by not being willing to give those people leadership, by not being willing to lead them into participation and using the influence they have.

In terms of the Government's wish to prove that it is succeeding, I don't know which would be more dramatic: the election of council after council which repudiated the Government, or the failure of people to turn up at the polls.

I want a platform from which I can fight to get rid of apartheid. In practice, participation in the white institutions of Parliament does offer good idea if everybody voted.

The churches' call for non-participation to me seems very negative. They called on people not to do something — *not* to do something.

● Mrs Harris debated, not on behalf of the Black Sash, but in her personal capacity as author of a recent article in The Star on the issue.

# Rebels in the news again

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

When Chief Leabua Jonathan banned the Basutoland Congress Party, its leader went into exile and formed the Lesotho Liberation Army, three of whose gunmen are believed to have hijacked a busload of pilgrims.

Four months after the outlawed Lesotho Liberation Army tried to negotiate with the Lesotho military government for the safe return of its members to the mountain kingdom, the LLA is back in the news as the alleged hijackers of a busload of pilgrims in the heart of the Lesotho capital, Maseru.

The LLA was formed seven years ago in the hills of northern Lesotho after its founder and commander-in-chief, Mr Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the banned Basutoland Congress Party (BCP), became frustrated at his political ambitions being thwarted and took up arms against the former government of Chief Leabua Jonathan.

The Jonathan government was overthrown in a military coup in January 1986 in which the LLA played no part.

Mr Mokhehle and Chief Jonathan had contested general elections in the 1960s, with Chief Jonathan — then Prime Minister during the transitional period leading to full independence — declaring the elections null and void because of alleged violence at the polls. A turbulent period followed, with King Moshoeshoe II being effectively banished and later allowed to return, amid massive political activity that kept Lesotho in the news for years.

### STERN CRITIC OF PRETORIA

Chief Jonathan headed a government of national reconciliation in which all political parties, including the BCP, were initially involved. He stayed in power for 20 years before he was overthrown.

The BCP leadership was detained and the party later banned. An angry Mr Mokhehle went into exile, and at one time lived in Zambia and Botswana.

The Lesotho Liberation Army was brought into being when Mr Mokhehle lived in Botswana.

It was rumoured for years that South Africa — with which Chief Jonathan had at first been friendly (he was the first black leader to meet a South African Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd) and later became a stern critic of Pretoria — had been offering safe conduct across its borders for Mr Mokhehle and his lieutenants, but this was never confirmed and was consistently denied by SA.

However it is known that Mr Mokhehle — today almost blind — lived in the Free State and also in Soweto. He is said to have directed LLA operations from Soweto.

He conducted press conferences on the South African side of the Caledon River in the vicinity of Ficksburg.

The LLA did not only attack installations. It also murdered political figures — the most notable being Mr J K Rampeta, Minister of Works, in 1982 — and their families.

The liberation group appeared to close down its operations as soon as Chief Jonathan was overthrown. Negotiations began with the new government of General Metsing Lekhanya on May 18 this year for the 500-strong LLA to come out of hiding, and in many cases out of exile, in order to return to normal life in their own country.



Dr Banda . . . I will make a pact with the devil if it is in the interests of my people.

People

# Power at tip of a fly-whisk

HARARE — Life President Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, who held talks with President P W Botha on Tuesday, has defied the rest of black Africa to forge strong ties with South Africa despite its apartheid policies.

In 1971 he earned scorn and bitterness from other black African leaders for making an unprecedented visit to South Africa. To those who labelled him a sellout he replied: "I will make a pact with the devil himself if it is in the interests of my people."

Malawi is the only black African country to have full diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Dr Banda who, as a teenager once worked on a South African gold mine, has openly sought economic aid from Pretoria to develop his impoverished country of 7,8 million people.

"I have no regrets whatsoever," he says. "I am a man like this: If I am convinced within myself that this is the right thing to do, no matter who opposes, I go ahead."

South Africa employs thousands of Malawians, who send home millions of rands.

"Those (African countries) who talk about boycotting South Africa, they just talk. They can't do it," Dr Banda once said.

Landlocked Malawi buys more than one-third of its imports from South Africa and ships two-thirds of its exports to or through South Africa.

Trade with South Africa has helped boost Malawi's agriculture-based economy. Pretoria gave R22.5 million for the development of Lilongwe, which became Malawi's capital in 1975.

Mr Botha is the second South African head of state to visit Malawi after Prime Minister John Vorster's 1970 trip, which set the stage for co-operation between the two countries.

Dr Banda's maverick foreign policy is often outclassed by his unique government methods.

He rules like an earthly god, brooking no dissent, and his political opponents are swiftly jailed or forced into exile.

### PERSONALITY CULT

The Western-educated medical doctor, officially born in 1906 but widely believed to have been born much earlier, has built an unparalleled personality cult around himself, banning any mention of a successor.

Though he is a tiny man, always spruce in a three-piece suit, Dr Banda is an awe-insipring political giant to his mostly peasant compatriots.

He has moulded women, officially called "mbumba zaKamuzu" (Kamuzu's women), into a powerful political force owing allegiance only to himself.

The mbumba dance with him and sing his praises at every public appearance, where menfolk are expected to rise, cheer or sit when beckoned by his ever-present white fly-whisk.

Last July Malawi celebrated its 24th independence anniversary and "30 glorious years with Kamuzu" — and the life president again reminded the nation of his great sacrifice in returning home, after 40 years abroad, to liberate them. — Sapa-Reuter.

(30pp SPK 15/9/88

No widespread rejections for form errors

# Eight disqualified from Jo'burg poll

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Eight candidates — three whites, one Indian and four coloureds — were yesterday rejected for Johannesburg's October municipal elections.

There had been widespread fears that nearly 50 candidates would be rejected for not completing their nomination forms properly.

The anxiety was based on disqualifications in Vanderbijlpark and Pretoria, where 11 candidates were thrown out because they failed to enter the name of their town on their nomination forms.

In Johannesburg, 14 white candidates, all 23 Lenasia candidates and 10 of the 41 coloured South-Western Management Committee candidates did not enter "Johannesburg" on their nomination forms.

But the Johannesburg city secretary, Mr Howard Veale, said yesterday that he was satisfied the information on the forms "substantially complies with the ordinance".

There is a total of 124 white nominees for the 51 wards: 46 National Party, 37 Progressive Federal Party, 26 Conservative Party, three Independent Ratepayers Association candidates and 12 independents.

There are 37 candidates for the 13-person S/W Management Committee and 22 Indian candidates for the seven Lenasia Management Committee wards.

The disqualified whites candidates are Mr F Meaker (Ind), Ward 37; Mr J A Taljaard (CP), Ward 37; Mr F Dunne (Ind), Ward 38. Mr G Annadale of Ward 41 has withdrawn, which makes Mrs P Lion-Cachet (NP) the second councillor elected unopposed.

S/W Management Committee candidates Mr E van Heerden, Ward 1; Mr A Pieters, Ward 4; Mr G Morgan, Ward 7; and Mr G Fortuin, Ward 10 were disqualified.

Mr A Mahomed (Ward 5) was rejected for the Lenasia elections.

## Nine Azaadville candidates

Nine candidates were nominated for five seats for Azaadville in next month's municipal elections. There are no wards in Azaadville.

They are: Mr Mohamed Ebrahi, Mr Abdul Danka, Mr Ahmed Essack, Mr Hassen Lorgat, Mr Krishnasamy Moodley, Mr Abdool Samad Nanabhai, Mr Vanmali Natha, Mr Yunus Saleh, Mr Mohamed Farouk Valiallah and Mr Hassim Varachia. — West Rand Bureau.

## Minister visits bomb sites



Mr Raman Bhana, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Delegates, inspecting the house of Mr Miley Ebrahim yesterday.

By Jovial Rantao

The recent spate of bomb attacks on premises in Lenasia was an effort to intimidate municipal election candidates and the community, the Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Delegates, Mr Raman Bhana, said yesterday.

Amid tight security, Mr Bhana, Ministerial representative for the House of Delegates, Mr Perry Chetty and Mr Dennis Pillay, MP for Lenasia West, inspected sites that were recently bombed.

"We intend tightening the security at these centres because we now fear for the safety of our employees and the public," Mr Bhana said.

However, Mr Bhana said city councillors could only get protection from the House of Delegates at their own request.

Mr Bhana encouraged the community to take part in the October municipal elections because "this is the only chance the public has to democratically elect their own leaders".

The Minister declined to speculate as to who could have planted the bombs.

The Ministerial entourage also visited the home of management committee chairman Mr Miley Ebrahim, which was bombed on Saturday.

# Turn round PW, says Andries

9-15/2/88
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J Meiring

## *The CP scoffs at the hand of peace*

By SHAUN JOHNSON

ANDRIES TREURNICHT has spurned PW Botha's hand of Afrikaner friendship — until the state president "turns around, away from mixed residential areas and mixed political bodies", and returns to the apartheid path mapped out by Dr DF Malan.

Speaking at a political rally in Elsburg near Johannesburg last night, the Conservative Party leader said only when these conditions had been fulfilled would Botha find the CP's hands outstretched in welcome.

"We say reject power-sharing in a multi-racial, unitary state," said Treurnicht, "remove multi-racial structures of government that have power over the Afrikaner ... Stop making concessions to the other two (parliamentary) houses. Choose again a path to our own absolutely sovereign white parliament, where we can't be vetoed by other races."

Treurnicht was responding to Botha's emotional call for Afrikaner unity at the National Party's Free State congress this week. In a plea to Treurnicht, Botha said only two men could rescue Afrikaner unity — himself and his arch-rival in the House of Assembly.

He called on the *volk* to shelve their differences in the year of Afrikaner festivities. In the process, he released a wave of speculation that he had betrayed great weaknesss on the eve of the municipal elections — in which the buoyant right-wing party is expected to make huge gains.



Treurnicht

The incident is also taken to indicate that the president's consuming interest lies in intra-Afrikaner relations, and this will be sure to infuriate his coloured and Indian partners in the tricameral parliament.

Gleeful CP representatives described Botha's statement as a revealing blunder. "He is creeping on his knees," a senior CP source reportedly said, "it is an unbelievable humiliation.

In his response, Treurnicht used more temperate language — but the message was just as blunt.

"In Bloemfontein, the state president extended a hand of goodwill to me personally and to everyone who wishes to work toward Afrikaner unity in the year of festivities," Treurnicht told the Elsburg meeting.

"I share the longing for true Afrikaner unity and regret its lack, a lack that is threatening the survival of our *volk*.

But, he said, although "we (Afrikaners) enjoy great unity — beyond party boundaries — in our support for our security forces and in our resistance against threats and attacks from boycotters, blackmailers, subversives and terrorists," the only real unity stemmed from conviction based on fundamental principles.

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

# Truth and justice in SA?

**These are edited extracts from the inaugural lecture of PROFESSOR ANDRÉ DU TOIT, delivered last night at the University of Cape Town.**

LET us take a hard look at what I have called the crisis of confidence in the "moral" tradition of liberal politics in South Africa, a generalized failing of moral will that has made it increasingly difficult for us to even talk about truth and justice in South Africa at all ...

As good an example as any may be found in what is currently no doubt the most influential and incisive political commentary to appear in our liberal press, that by Ken Owen.

In lucid and entertaining prose Mr Owen has sustained a powerful liberal critique of the many excesses and irrationalities of an increasingly authoritarian government.

In Van Zyl Slabbert's words, he is "the most eloquent English-language press chronicler of the sustained and massive assault of those who govern on what has remained of the values and institutions which could make up a liberal democracy in South Africa".

A worthy representative, then, of the traditional discourse about justice and truth? That would be a serious misunderstanding. The dominant tone of Mr Owen's coruscating wit and of his devastating polemical shafts is not that of serious moral commitment but of a comprehensive cynical disillusion.

His is not a discourse about truth and justice. It would not be unfair to say that Mr Owen will not let any overriding concern for nuanced and uncomfortable truth spoil a good polemical sally.

And when human rights spokesmen and others mount a campaign against the execution of the Sharpeville Six, Owen will typically raise questions about the ulterior motives of any such moral crusade, insist that their reprieve or not must basically be a political decision, and argue that the best ground for clemency is the cynical one that it is not in the government's interest to create political martyrs (Cape Times, September 4).

This is a long way indeed from a stand simply on the grounds of justice and truth.

The same distrust of moral discourse has become a pervasive feature of many academics at our liberal universities as well ...

Academics contribute in a variety of ways to the making of public policy as well as to devising strategies of opposition. But they also take increasing pains not to do so on any explicit moral basis.

Consider a representative example in a recent publication by one of South Africa's most respected social scientists, with a distinguished career in liberal circles, most recently as president of the Institute of Race Relations, Lawrence Schlemmer.

Professor Schlemmer has recently assumed the position of director of the important new Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, which has just published, almost as a manifesto, a paper called *Beyond Protest: Thoughts on Change Strategies in South Africa.*

As we are wont to expect from him, Schlemmer's paper gives much sober food for thought. Precisely for that reason, we should take quite seriously what he has to say about moral discourse and public policy. For Schlemmer's position paper amounts to an outright rejection of the different varieties of what he calls the "moralists".

Apart from revolutionary confrontation, Schlemmer distinguishes three main forms of committed and sustained opposition to the racial order in South Africa.

There are (1) protest and the expression of moral outrage; (2) strategies of pragmatic moral pressures; and (3) strategic analysis.

Like Peter Berger and Bobby Godsell in their new book, *A Future South Africa: Visions, Strategies and Realities,* Schlemmer is primarily concerned with arguing for the need for strategic analysis, and warns against the dangers and confusions inherent in either version of the "moralist" approach.

Schlemmer is prepared to grant that the moral pressure approach "may have some strategic ability if it is used with careful discipline"...

Perhaps, if we are still even residually concerned with truth and justice in South Africa, we need to take the social significance and political functions of "moral outrage" rather more seriously. Schlemmer is right that, both internally and internationally, moral outrage is a major component of the committed and sustained opposition to the apartheid order. But it would be wrong to dismiss that simply as moral posturing, or as irrational emotional gratification.

Part of the problem is that we tend to think of moral protest in terms of actual organized demonstrations or petitions, typcially by students or other marginal groupings.

But this is to look at some of the attendant symptoms, not at the underlying social forces and experiences.

In its most basic forms the experience of moral outrage and protest which sustains opposition to apartheid is to be found at quite a different level.

It is to be found in the struggles through which migrant labourers and their families refused to remain separated by the pass laws and influx control; it is to be found in the experience of whole communities uprooted by the Group Areas Act which has made District Six into such a searing public symbol.

It is to be found in the indomitable resistance of traditional rural communities like KwaNgema or Magopa to their forced removal as "black spots"; it is to be found in the will of squatting communities such as Crossroads and KTC not to be moved, coming back again and again after their shacks had been destroyed or razed; it is to be found in the traumatic experiences of individuals and families who fell victim to the Race Classification and Immorality Acts; it is to be found in the outrage of public opinion here and abroad at what was revealed at the inquest following the death of Steve Biko; it is to be found in the moral courage which enables a solitary Black Sash member to stand in silent protest in the midst of uncaring suburban bustle; it is to be found in that which brings young white conscripts to declare in public that they cannot fight an unjust war or go with the troops into the townships, even if this would cost them six years of their lives.

I could go on, but the point should be clear. Moral outrage and protest is not an irrational encumbrance of strategies to change; it is a major source for the social and political processes which give rise to and sustain resistance against the injustice of the apartheid order ...

*Ken Owen comments: Professor du Toit has quoted me selectively to suit his purpose. What I actually wrote was (Cape Times, July 4):*

*"There are, fortunately, more valid arguments.The first is cynical — that a government under revolutionary pressure should not create martyrs. The second is that the death sentence brutalizes the society which imposes it, and this blood-bespattered continent deserves occasional models of civilized magnanimity.*

*"The third is that, on the facts as found by the court, not all six were equally culpable, and that the less culpable deserve — as a matter of plain common sense — lesser sentences. The fourth is that President Botha, as a Christian whose faith I do not doubt, owes it to himself to show mercy."*
*Editor, Cape Times.*

# Police expect more terror attacks

PRETORIA — The country's top riot policeman said yesterday the SAP was expecting an increase in terror attacks to disrupt next month's municipal elections.

Lt-Gen A J Wandrag, chief deputy commissioner, riot control, added in a statement police had over a period obtained comprehensive information that what he called the ANC/SACP alliance planned to "increase their doomed terror attacks on defenceless people".

Wandrag added: "The alliance's primary aim in this regard is to try to disrupt the forthcoming municipal elections."

He said the national executive committee of the ANC had issued a statement on August 17 "in which they again admitted that terrorists of Umkhonto we Sizwe were responsible for attacks on civilian targets and which led to the deaths of defenceless people".

Wandrag added: "The SAP will not tolerate the continuation of such murderous assaults which are aimed at South Africans of all races.

"In order to combat this evil, the SAP has already taken certain steps and further actions are being planned.

"Although some of these actions, such as continued roadblocks, may inconvenience the public, they are deemed to be essential and in the interests of all.

"The public is, therefore, requested to accept these measures in this spirit.

"Only when there is a meaningful partnership between the SAP and the public can the curse of terror be eradicated," Wandrag said.

Polling day for the municipal elections is on October 26. — Sapa.

# What PW's trip means

**A British view**

## Smile, iron fist both serve

**RICHARD DOWDEN** on why South Africa is exerting itself at the moment by both withdrawing its armies and pushing for peace with its neighbouring states.



President P W Botha . . . meeting southern African leaders and "talking peace on the run-up to the American elections".

The Krugerrand said so much. When President Botha met President Chissano at Cahora Bassa on Monday he presented the Mozambican president with one of the gold coins.

Gold is the base of South Africa's wealth and power. It symbolises the relationship between South Africa and Mozambique.

South Africa is rich: Mozambique is poor. But it is Mozambican miners who dig up much of the gold and the government of Mozambique which is paid for supplying them. Since it is banned by all but a few countries the Krugerrand also represents South Africa's isolation.

There have always been two opinions in Pretoria about how to deal with South Africa's northern neighbours. On one hand, there is the dream of a constellation of states — a South African economic and political hegemony over the pliant black governments of southern Africa.

On the other hand is the view, roughly represented by South Africa's military leaders, that the only way to stop a guerrilla invasion of South Africa from the Frontline states is to destroy their infrastructure. It is called destabilisation.

### Not contradictory

The two policies are not necessarily contradictory. There have been plenty of instances of the South African Foreign Ministry professing eternal friendship with its neighbours while its commandos quietly cut their arteries with a few well-placed explosives.

One might be tempted to hail President Botha's meetings with President Chissano and President Banda as a diplomatic break-out by Pretoria heralding an era of peace — if it had not all happened before.

In February 1984, Pretoria signed an agreement with the Angolan government promising to withdraw its troops and in March it signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique by which both countries agreed to end support for each others' rebels.

In May South African Government officials met Swapo representatives in Lusaka to discuss Namibian independence. Later that year President Botha came to Europe and met Mrs Thatcher.

Those international peace moves also coincided with domestic peace moves. In late 1983 the new constitution had just come into effect, with Indian and coloured parliaments demonstrating the unity of South Africa. This time there are municipal elections in October and the Government cannot be seen to be at war with its neighbours if the black population is to go to the polls.

Is it also a coincidence that, as in 1984, Pretoria is talking peace during the run-up to an American election? Pretoria is deeply worried about a Dukakis presidency and the Dellums Bill which is working its way through Congress and would, if passed, impose almost total sanctions on South Africa.

The differences are that this time there is a change in the military balance For the first time Cuba has deployed its troops to the Frontline and there are good reasons for South Africa wanting to bank its military gains now.

In Mozambique the Renamo rebels have failed to cut the oil and rail links from the port of Beira to landlocked Zimbabwe or stop work on the Limpopo railway to connect Bulawayo and Maputo. With these links open, Zimbabwe may survive and reduce its transport dependency on the Republic.

And Malawi, South Africa's long-standing ally in the region and conduit for Renamo supporters and supplies, has recently begun to take some measures against the Mozambican rebels.

If South Africa were to agree to Namibian independence in exchange for a Cuban withdrawal from Angola, south western Africa could be settled to Pretoria's satisfaction. Namibia would be nominally independent under a Swapo government but economically dependent on South Africa. Swapo has recently indicated its willingness to be pragmatic and flexible and do nothing to frighten off Namibia's white population or its capital.

A Swapo government in Windhoek neither could be nor would be a threat to South Africa. It would not allow ANC guerillas to operate from its territory and if they did Namibia would be vulnerable to South African retaliation.

### Poor terrain

Also, Namibian independence would make South Africa's north west border the Orange River where it runs through open arid country.

It is just about the worst terrain in Africa for guerillas.

Meanwhile Pretoria can either hope that in Angola its Unita allies will become part of the government or continue, perhaps with a little covert help, to tie up the MPLA government.

At the US-sponsored talks Pretoria is insisting that African National Congress bases in Angola are closed and the ANC has let it be known privately that it would move out of Angola if that would help secure Namibian independence.

With the closure of ANC bases in Angola, Pretoria could claim that it had driven the enemy's bases more than 1 100 kms north, to Tanzania.

So if Mr Botha can demonstrate that the Cubans have gone and that South Africa has a cordon sanitaire along its borders, he just might feel strong enough to haul down the South African flag in Windhoek. — The Independent, London.

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# Exploratory step to open continent

## A South African view

**BY GERALD L'ANGE, The Star's Africa News Service**

The State President Mr P W Botha's, southern African safari may have softened up the rest of Africa to a government probing for openings in a hostile continent.

South Africa is poised to exploit the political opportunities that appear to have been opened elsewhere in Africa by the successful visits to Mozambique and Malawi by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

His meeting with President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique is regarded by South African officials as especially promising for wider and more open dealings with African countries.

The meeting at Songo near the Cahora Bassa dam on Monday is said to have succeeded beyond expectations.

It is regarded in some official circles as even more promising than the Nkomati Accord itself.

There is high optimism in Pretoria that the Songo summit and Mr Botha's talks with President Kamuzu Banda in Malawi will encourage African countries that are dealing covertly with South Africa to do so more openly.

Not only did Mr Chissano accept an invitation from Mr Botha to visit South Africa, but both he and Dr Banda invited Mr Botha to visit them again.

It is hoped that this will have a snowball effect, giving strong impetus to the Government's efforts to win wider acceptance in Africa.

Mr Chissano's acceptance of the invitation to visit the Republic was confirmed in an unusually positive manner by the Mozambican leader.

When Mr Botha said in answer to a question at a news conference at Songo that he had invited President Chissano to South Africa, the Mozambican president interjected: "And he has accepted."

His acceptance is obviously only in principle at this stage and no date has yet been suggested. But the South Africans are thought likely to encourage the earliest possible visit to maintain the momentum of what was started at Songo.

Their aim will be not only to further improve relations between between the two countries but to encourage the opening of relations with other African states.

These prospects are thought to have been strengthened by Mr Botha's visit to Malawi, even though that country has long maintained diplomatic relations with South Africa.

African states hesitant about dealing more openly with South Africa may be encouraged, it is thought, by the fact that Dr Banda was prepared to receive Mr Botha rather than keep relations low-keyed to avoid further criticism from other African leaders.

The personal relationships that Mr Botha has now established with the Mozambican and Malawian leaders will facilitate further exchanges.

Mr Botha had previously met Mr Chissano only briefly when he was Mozambique's Foreign Minister at the time the Nkomati Accord was signed, and informally when they both attended the coronation of King Mswati III of Swaziland. And as Minister of Defence he met Dr Banda during his visit to South Africa in 1971.

The meetings this week were the first in which the leaders had met as heads of state in formal conference.

There are unlikely to be any immediately visible effects of what is being seen in some circles as a breakthrough.

South Africa's immediate concerns will be to reach agreement on the protection of the power line from the Cahora Bassa dam and to seek full implementation of the Nkomati Accord.

It will try to open avenues for mutual trade and private South African investment in Mozambique and to persuade the Maputo government to ensure that the African National Congress is prevented from launching cross-border insurgency from Mozambique.

For their part, the Mozambicans will be looking mainly for more effective or more visible South African action to stop any aid reaching the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

Mr Chissano said at Songo that Mr Botha had given him guarantees that South Africa would not help the MNR. Failure by Pretoria to convince Maputo that it is doing its best to implement these guarantees could jeopardise what was achieved at Songo.

The South Africans believe, however, that the Mozambicans now have a more realistic view of the MNR situation. They are now thought to realise that South Africa cannot on its own put the rebels out of action.

# SA's hope is the quality of its people

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☐ EGLIN . . . "much that is positive"

**COLIN EGLIN, national chairman of the PFP, sets out an agenda for liberals in SA. This is an edited extract from a speech he made yesterday to the Congress of Liberal International in Pisa, Italy**

THE PROSPECT of achieving liberal objectives in the short-term is bleak, because at the present time SA is caught up in a spiral of escalating conflict.

At a time of conflict, in an atmosphere of violence, neither repressors nor revolutionaries have much respect for concepts such as individual freedom, or civil liberties, or the rule of law.

But however bleak the short-term prospects of achieving liberal objectives may be, the longer-term prospects are much more promising.

Provided — and this is a big proviso — it can resolve the issue of citizenship rights, SA is better placed than almost any other developing country to meet key issues of a liberal agenda.

In spite of apartheid and the destructive impact it has had on SA, there is much that is positive about its people and its economy and certain important structural features of its society.

There is a considerable and enriching cultural diversity. There is also a very considerable degree of cultural tolerance, and in the urban areas a considerable amount of cultural synthesis is taking place.

There is freedom of religion and worship.

In areas where apartheid laws have been repealed it has shown that interpersonal relationships are far better than the pundits of apartheid would have believed.

The basic common law which underpins the legal system — Roman Dutch Law — while often mutilated by apartheid legislation, is rooted in the concept of the inviolability of the rights and freedoms of the individual.

The country is richly endowed with natural resources. Its infrastructure is capable of providing the base for significant economic growth.

Its people, although often succumbing to group fears and prejudices in the politcal field, show a strong urge for self expression and creativity and individual attainment in many other fields.

And finally on the positive side, in spite of decades of apartheid, there is in SA an important and sizeable core of people who are firmly committed to basic liberal values — to equal rights, to individual freedom and to the rule of law. These people are to be found in the churches, in the Press, in the universities, in institutions and community based organisations, in industry, in commerce and in political parties like the Progressive Federal Party.

It is against this backgrund that I approach the task of defining the agenda for liberals in SA:

1. — Surely, the first of these tasks must be to keep a commitment to basic liberal values alive, even in the darkest of days. Should the belief in these values be extinguished, the tyranny of apartheid will be replaced one day, not by a system upholding human freedom, but by a tyranny of a different kind.

For liberals the commitment to the freedom and dignity of the individual and to the upholding of the rule of law must be uncompromising.

2. — The second of these tasks has to do with citizenship and the rights which go with it. While citizenship rights do not in themselves guarantee individual freedom or economic opportunity or civil liberty, these key features of a liberal and just society cannot exist unless the people have the basic right of citizenship.

Liberals cannot be armchair commentators. They cannot merely be kind people bringing comfort to the downtrodden and oppressed.

Liberals must be in the forefront of the fight for full and equal rights for all South African citizens — and in SA this means being in the forefront of the fight against apartheid.

3. — Liberals must deal with the creation of opportunities and the ensuring of access to them.

Freedom is of little value as an abstract concept. Freedom is of incomparable value when it is a reality for men and women living out their daily lives.

Liberals must advance policies and programmes and strategies in the social, the economic and the political fields so that individual freedom becomes a reality, not just for the privileged or the affluent or the fortunate, but for all citizens.

The government of the day will have a part to play in achieving these objectives. It will have to outlaw discrimination and prevent the exploitation of the weak, and help to roll back the frontiers of ignorance and poverty and disease. It will have to assist in providing the safety net for the aged, the infirm and the handicapped.

It will have to ensure that there is the infrastructure and the basic services so that the economy can grow and individuals — especially individuals in transition from the Third to the First World — can make use of the opportunities provided by an open society.

Government will have to do these things, but never at the expense of productivity and growth, and never at the expense of the individual and his right to use his talents and exercise his freedom and to develop as a person.

I am often asked: "Are you optimistic?" The fact is that it is not really possible to be optimistic when you are living under a Botha government.

But let me say this: when you look beyond government, beyond the laws and restrictions, beyond apartheid and beyond the bannings and the bombings; when you look at the country, its resources, its infracture and its people, then you will see a country of great potential.

Be assured that those of us in SA who share a commitment to the freedoms and dignity of the individual human being will do what we can to make that potential and that promise a reality.

# WE'VE COME FULL CIRCLE

## Fate of reform, perhaps of the NP itself, is on the line

PATRICK LAURENCE

**THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, rates the pending municipal elections on October 26 as among the most important in South Africa's history.**

**That puts them on a par with the watershed general elections of 1924 and 1948, which saw the defeat of General J C Smuts by Afrikaner nationalist leaders of yesteryear, General J B M Hertzog and, later, Dr D F Malan.**

At face value, comparisons between next month's municipal elections and the general elections of 1924 and 1948 may seem spurious But there are compelling reasons for it.

As Mr Peter Soal, of the Progressive Federal Party, points out, October 26 will mark the first time in South African election history that people of all races go to the polls on the same day, even if it is to elect racially segregated municipalities.

But, more than that, all the main contenders for power, from the rightist Conservative Party (CP) to the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), agree that the elections have become a major arena for what may prove to be vital, if not decisive, contest.

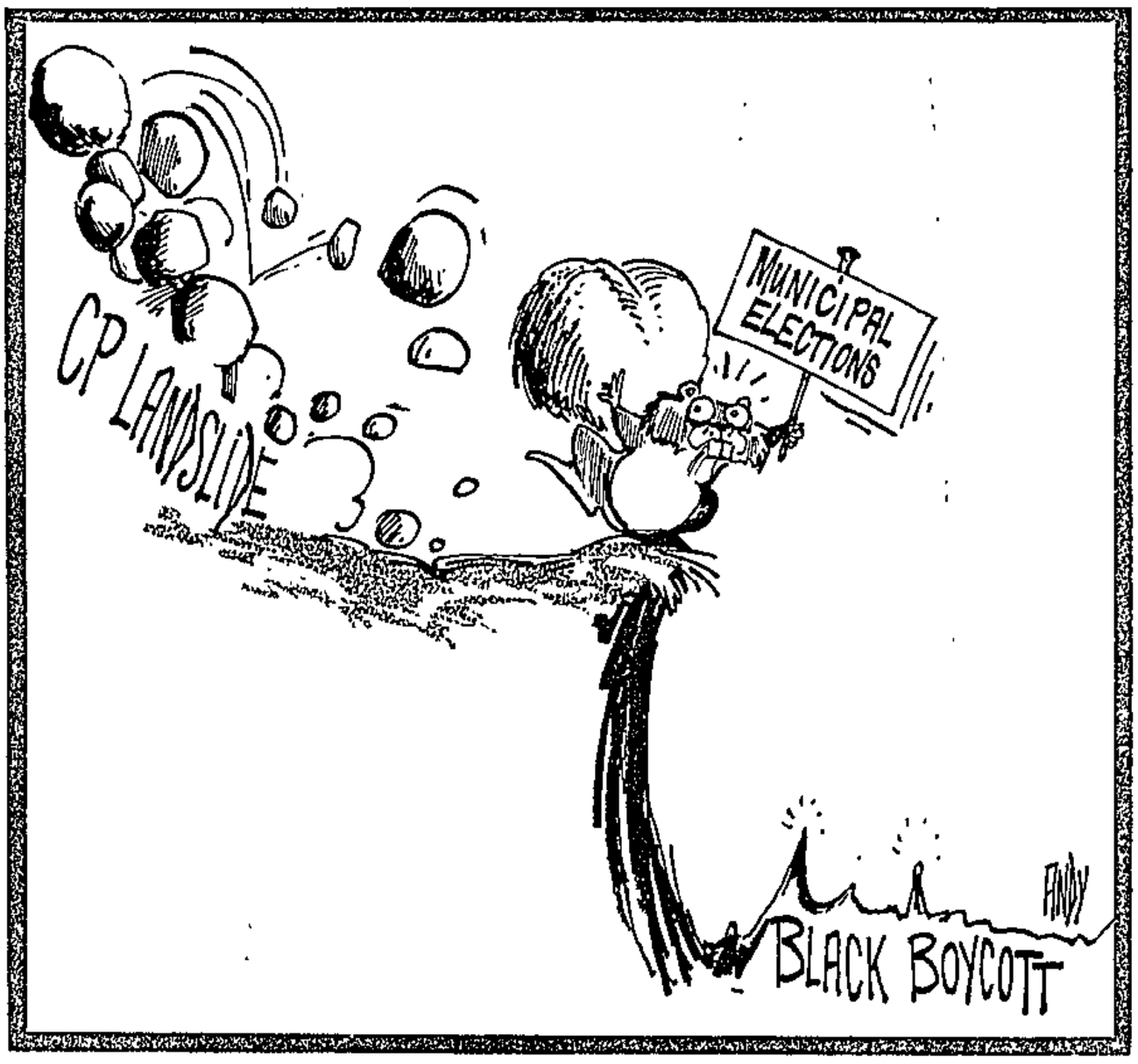
At stake is the reform programme of the ruling National Party (NP) and perhaps even, in the longer run, the survival of the NP itself The elections are critical to the NP's plans for controlled reform — or, more cynically, calculated co-option — at regional and national level.

Professor Hermann Gilliomee of the University of Cape Town aptly describes the NP aim as one of sharing power with black people without losing it.

But if the NP suffers heavy defeats at the hands of the CP in the election of white local authorities, the CP will be in a position to wreck the reform programme at regional level and thus to undermine it at national level.

By the same token, however, if the NP fails to persuade blacks to participate in meaningful numbers in the elections, it will find itself landed with unrepresentative black allies and malfunctioning black town councils. Both will burden President Botha's already embattled administration

The CP, rampant after trouncing the NP in a series of by-elections in March, is determined to capture control of as many white municipalties as possible and to use them to sabotage Government plans to establish, activate or extend the multi-racial Regional Service Councils or RSCs.




The RSCs are designed as regional institutions to provide bulk services — water, electricity and sewerage — to the local municipalities and village councils and to serve as conduits through which levies raised in richer, white areas can be diverted to upgrade poorer black areas.

But they are deliberately structured to blend white hegemony with black participation. Representation on the RSCs is skewed to give white cities more votes than black townships, the rationale being that voting power is allocated according to wealth.

Thus if the CP gains control of enough white municipalites it will be in position to destroy the RSCs from within.

To take a concrete example: in the Central Rand RSC — which embraces Johannesburg and Soweto — Johannesburg controls 48,5 percent of the votes against 12,7 percent for Soweto.

Theoretically, as urban affairs consultant Mr Nigel Mandy points out in an article in *"Indicator, South Africa"*, the voting power of black areas will increase as they are upgraded.

But if they RSCs are controlled by the CP, that remains a theoretical prospect only. The upgrading will not take place or, at the best, at a rate which does not close the gap in wealth

The situation does not look auspicious for the NP In many towns the NP is not even contesting under its own colours

The official reason is that it does not want to introduce party politics into local government. But, says the CP, the real reason is fear of defeat at the hands of the CP.

President Botha's recent emotional appeal for Afrikaner unity to the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, is widely seen as a sign of anxiety, not statesmanship, of nostalgic longing for old days when the NP, not yet hounded by the CP, was still strong and sure of itself

But, as Mr Steve Friedman, of the Institute of Race Relations, argues in a recent article, even without an obstructionist CP as the dominant force in the RSCs, black representatives will have a difficult task bargaining for a better deal from their white co-representatives

Their minority voting status is likely to make them supplicants rather than negotiators and thus, to quote Mr Friedman, "to entrench black dependence rather than introduce a new ethos of co-operation"

For these reasons many blacks are as hostile to the NP reform plans as the CP, seeing them as a device to recruit "collaborators"

In the townships a covert battle is being fought over whether or not to participate in the elections, covert because the Government has made it an offence, punishable by imprisonment for up to 10 years, to call for a boycott.

One of the Government's first priorities, now that the revolt in the townships has been largely contained, is to restore the credibility of the township councils Many councils collapsed as councillors were targeted as "collaborators" by activists deploying a range of pressures, stretching from from scorn and ostracism to petrol-bombing and "necklacing".

Resuscitation of township councils as credible institutions depends on a reasonable poll on October 26. It is, of course, difficult to define what is reasonable.

But, at the least, there will have to be a substantial improvement on the percentage polls recorded in the township council elections in 1977 and 1983.

Soweto's poll was 5,9 percent in 1977 and 10,7 percent in 1983

In a bid to ensure a good turnout, the authorities have taken a number of special measures.

They include fettering the main extra-parliametary opposition organisations which have traditionally opposed participation in "apartheid institutions", making it unlawful to call for a boycott, passing special legislation, the Prior Votes Act, to enable voters to vote before polling day, and empowering the provincial adminstrator to remove from office any person who wins a seat but then refuses to participate.

These steps may avoid the embarrassment of a low poll But, as the Institute of Race Relations notes in its *"Quarterly Countdown"*, they will inevitably result in questions about the authenticity of the poll

Matching the Government's determination to ensure a high poll is the ANC's determination to wreck the elections It is an open secret that the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is committed to disrupting the elections and attacking "puppets"

There has already been a grenade attack on an election meeting in Soweto and General A J Wandrag has warned the public to brace themselves for further "murderous assaults"

Opposition to participation has taken a more peaceful form, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu publicly calling on blacks not to vote and on whites to "prayerfully consider" solidarity action

The battle lines are drawn and the fight is on. A reasonable poll will be a blow to the extra-parliamentary opposition. A low poll may finally strip the township councils of any vestiges of legitimacy Worse still, from the Government's point of view, a poor turn-out will indirectly discredit the RSCs and the proposed National Council, both of which are integral to President Botha's hopes for a deal with "responsible" blacks.

Councillors from the townships will join together as an electoral college to elect nine representatives to the National Council.

If the electoral college lacks credibility, then Mr Botha will be talking to men without substance in the National Council, the more so since nearly every black leader of stature, from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha to Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC has already rejected the National Council

# Going for the 'good guys'

## Sandtonians: PFP pact is no sell-out

**MARK GLEESON**

THE leader of the Sandtonians has denied that his party's pact with the Progressive Federal Party is a sell-out of their "non-political" principles.

He says it was done solely to ensure the "good guys" got in.

Mr Perry Oertel says the Sandtonians' pact with the PFP will help the organisation achieve its four main principles: removing party politics from the council, eliminating the caucus system, ensuring free and open debate and instituting a "best man" local government.

"It is a limited election alliance — not a coalition — to ensure that the good guys get in," said Mr Oertel.

As a result of the alliance, however, only nine of Sandton's 20 wards will be contested.

Asked if this did not simply protect the "old boys' club", he said: "I deny that completely. The motivation was to look at the council and to see that an enlightened town council emerged from the elections."

His comments come just a week after the National Party accused the group of horse-trading with both it and the PFP in order to gain power in the council.

The National Party's Sandton leader, Mr Kosta Babich, said his party had been negotiating a pact with the Sandtonians since July last year — but had been dumped in favour of the PFP. This was denied by the Sandtonians.

"We don't talk about party political powerbases. We have acted in the best interests of the community," said Mr Oertel.

He said a survey conducted by his organisation had shown an "overwhelming majority" of Sandton residents rejected party politics in the council.

"All our candidates are reform-minded, liberal thinkers. But we guarantee we will not take any political decisions without consulting the people.

"If there are important political developments, say with the Group Areas Act, that affect us, then we'll consult our constituents."

This could possibly take place in the form of a limited referendum, said Mr Oertel.

In the meantime, Mr John de Villiers, who is standing in Ward 14 as a "non-aligned" candidate, said the pact would work in favour of independent candidates.

He claimed at least three PFP candidates and two from the Sandtonians were dissatisfied with the pact and were considering crossing to independent ranks.

"This could give the independents a strong chance of controlling the council, which it did not have before the pact was made."

# Volk feeds under the AWB banner



HEAPS OF HELP: Food donations, with AWB identification, pile up.

PRETORIA — No Afrikaner child should go hungry.

So says Mr Eugene Terre Blanche, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

That's what he tells colleagues as he strides through Pretoria's poorer suburbs and sees starving whites.

"But one hand should not know what the other is doing," he adds.

For the original intention with what is now a massive, whites-only feeding scheme was that no one should know the AWB gave it impetus.

The AWB's *Volkshulpskema*, nearly three years old, provides more than 14 000 white children with a meal each day.

In Pretoria, where the scheme started, families swallow their pride and queue for food twice a week at the house of an AWB member west of Pretoria.

More than 200 people, some barefoot and dressed in tattered clothes, throng Brand Street in the less affluent suburb of Danville, about 7 km from the city centre. Most depend on the *Volkshulpskema*.

Locally, the scheme operates in Pretoria West and Pretoria North.

On the Rand, AWB members feed about 2 000 impoverished families.

> "These people are Afrikaners. We help any white. The hulpskema has nothing to do with politics, but with Christianity"

LESLEY WROUGHTON

It all began when Mr Giel Groenewald approached the AWB leader at a public meeting for help. He saw the need for a "backer" following involvement in a feeding scheme for 230 children at the Willie Snyman School in Herculus.

He told Saturday Star: "The scheme is aimed at the child. In the beginning we felt no one should know the AWB was behind it, but then we learned people believed the Government was feeding them.

"Then we started attaching the AWB's name to the *hulpskema*.

"We are not talking about intimidation here, though some believe so. Not even 2 percent of those we feed are AWB members.

"Because it's aimed at the child, one cannot talk politics. Children don't understand."

West Rand organiser and long-time AWB member Mr Leon van Rensburg has been feeding the poor for five years — since his wife saw starving children at a school in Roodepoort.

He recalled: "The day after she gave these children food, their parents sat on the pavement, also waiting for a meal."

Critics of the AWB may find it hard to believe it is involved in charitable work.

"But who else is going to look after these people if we don't? Government is pre-occupied with its reform programme," said Mr TerreBlanche.

He believed protection of "the volk" was vital. "His" people were being impoverished by Government's "forced reform programme".

The AWB stressed that the people it feeds and clothes are all Afrikaners in Pretoria. Some walk several kilometres twice a week for food.

Care of destitute whites in Pretoria is organised by Mrs Susan Pellincin. She is assisted by Mrs Lenie Pretorius, at whose Danville home people queue for food. Both are members of the AWB Boerevroue.

The *hulpskema* also operates in schools and churches. The AWB feeds hundreds of children at at least two schools in the Pretoria area, while on the West Rand there are five schools where children receive meals daily.

Areas covered include Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, Johannesburg and Mayfair.

For most youngsters, the plate of food they were given yesterday was the last nourishment they could expect until Monday when they returned to school, said Mr van Rensburg.

The scheme has also been expanded to the Free State and parts of Natal.

Mr van Rensburg added: "These people need not be members of the AWB. They are Afrikaners. We help any white person, in spite of their political beliefs.

"The scheme has nothing to do with politics. It is to do with Christianity and a welfare service.

"I have never attempted to recruit members or convince them the AWB's direction is right."

According to Mrs Pellincin, the poor are well aware the AWB is helping them "and many inquire when the can vote for it".

The AWB is assisted by organisations and companies which do not necessarily sympathise with it, but give bags of meal, bread or damaged packets of food.

Main links in the contribution chain are farmers, many of them AWB members. Individuals also give money, food and clothing.

In Roodepoort one businessman contributes R1 000 a week, said Mr van Rensburg.

On the West Rand, 30 tons of food a week is said to be brought by truck from Thabazimbi.

Though the organisation denies the *hulpskema* is a ploy to win support, AWB banners proclaiming "sterk, jonk en dinamies" and the organisation's emblem is pinned to food bags. AWB emblems line the Danville distribution point.

Said Mrs Pellincin: "This is only to make them aware the AWB cares."

Workers in the *hulpskema* also keep particulars of those who are unemployed and able to work.

Many young men are sent to the mines or employed by farmers. During holidays, school children are sent by the AWB to work on farms or are found temporary work.



HANDOVER: At a poster pointing out the AWB's dynamic qualities.



FOOD QUEUE: Parents and children in a less affluent suburb west of Pretoria city centre wait for food from the hulpskema.

BOLA STIMES 18/9/88.

# BOER TO BOER

## By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

LET'S trek, Boere. The English — and an assortment of Cape Dutch folk, liberals, and their fellow-travellers — are upon us.

Taking up the cudgels to restore the glory of the old Boer republics is veteran campaigner for Afrikaner lost causes, Mr Robert van Tonder.

At last, he believes, he has found the pot of gold at the end of his bleached rainbow.

This Friday, the man whose tireless efforts to keep Afrikaans "pure" have earned himself the nickname "Taalbul", will realise a lifelong ambition — the formation of a political party with the sole purpose of "getting back what the British stole from us almost 90 years ago".

Like the biblical Moses, his arms will be held aloft by his own Aaron and Hur — maverick Pretoria city councillor Piet Rudolph and fiery Afrikaans actor Schalk Jacobsz, this time finding himself on an already overcrowded rightwing stage.

Armed with maps detailing the borders of his Boerestaat and with his own, slightly idiosyncratic, interpretation of South African history and world politics, Mr Van Tonder will launch his Boerestaat Party (BSP) in Pretoria.

And he has a "secret weapon" up his sleeve: His "shortcut to the Boerestaat", known now only as DVV — Demokratiese Vryheidsvestiging (Democratic Freedom Settlement). Details are to be made public on Friday.

■ ■ ■

DVV will tell the faithful where the National Party left the beaten track during the reign of Dr Verwoerd and where everybody else — including the Treurnicht's Conservatives and the Carel Boshoff white homelanders — are still lost in the wilderness while the Promised Land is there for the taking.

"We are the realists," says Mr Van Tonder, scoffing at suggestions that he is dabbling with hare-brained ideas.

"The NP and CP are living in cloud-cuckoo land. They are chasing mirages and unpractical solutions that can never work," he says, shaking his head more in sorrow than in anger.

For Mr Van Tonder "reality" is a "Boer country" encompassing the old Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid republics.

Please note, he says, this is not a white homeland or an Afrikanerstan. "Boer" is a cultural concept, earned by all those who identify themselves with the volk.

Those "Cape liberals" or "colonials" in the shadow of Table Mountain may be as white as driven snow, but they are out in the cold. Their forefathers left the Boere in the lurch at the time of their greatest need.

■ ■ ■

"Why should the Boere live together with the Cape colonials in one state?" Mr Van Tonder wants to know. "Just because the British gangsters, mass murderers and robbers like Rhodes, Kitchener and Victoria, wanted it?"

They will get Hexania, a new country, generously pencilled in by Mr Van Tonder on his jig-saw map.

The Land of Bop will still be there. And the Keis, Lebowa, Gazankulu, a "Zulu State" *et al* — all conveniently consolidated and neatly arranged around the borders of the BSP state.

Within the borders of Mr Van Tonder's "ever-ever land" the Boere will reign supreme, naturally.

The old Vierkleur will fly gaily from mountains to shining seas, Afrikaans will be the official language (with Russian, German, Spanish, French, Japanese and English being taught in the schools), the salaries of teachers and civil servants will be doubled and special family allowances will be introduced to boost population growth.

The BSP is not at all fazed by minor details like the future of the 15-million plus blacks presently living within the borders of the proposed state.

They can move to their own countries and if they want to stay, well, in the BSP state you do as the BSPers tell you to do.

Mr Van Tonder is at pains to point out that he and his followers are neither racists nor neo-colonialists.

"We only want what rightfully belongs to us. We don't want to subject other people. We don't have expansionist ambitions.

"Are we asking too much?"

If this approach brings them into conflict with other right-wing groups like the CP, the AWB or Afrikanervolkswag, so be it.

"The ideas of Dr Treurnicht are as unworkable as those of Mr P W Botha. They want to govern the whole country and dish out power and pieces of land to other groups. It smacks of racism," says Mr Van Tonder.

"Isn't it sad that all politicians are only interested in votes and the next election. We are looking at the next generation."

While scathing about Dr Treurnicht's rejection of the Boerestaat concept, Mr Jacobsz is presently supporting his common-law wife, actress Elma Potgieter, in her bid to become a CP member on the Johannesburg city council.

■ ■ ■

Miss Potgieter, best known on TV as the former Wielie-Walie tannie, is taking on NP and PFP candidates in the NP stronghold of Westdene.

She is also billed as a "speaker" at Friday's party launch, but, says Mr Jacobsz, she will only recite patriotic poetry.



**Robert van Tonder . . . a lifelong ambition**

# Councils' credibility problem

## Despite massive advertising campaign, people lack faith

By ELIAS MALULEKE

DESPITE the more than R7,5-million spent by the government to promote the October municipal elections, black local authorities are still faced with a credibility problem.

Sources close to the government claim nothing short of a 70 percent turnout at the polls would satisfy the authorities.

"The government wants to market the success of the elections as a swing to moderation after the sporadic township unrest," said a senior official of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, Olaus van Zyl.

"The problem," he said, "is that in the past, black councillors used their positions for personal gain by allocating themselves business sites and accepting bribes.

"Added to this was their failure to solve issues that affected their constituencies. This made people perceive community councils as powerless," he said.

Another big problem is the rent boycott and evictions.

Election candidates admit that evictions are going to cost them votes because they are carried out even on pensioners – people who normally make up a high percentage of voters.

"They (councillors) have the tendency to bite the fingers that feed them," said Ouma Msiza, a pensioner.

"They show their best side when they tout votes, but afterwards we are nothing.

"They turn into big shots when they are elected and never spare a minute to speak to old people."

But the biggest disadvantage yet could be the goings-on behind closed doors.

In Atteridgeville recently, the chairman of the management committee was unseated because he had failed to attend a braaivleis function on behalf of the council.

Van Zyl is nonetheless optimistic that the elections will be successful.

# Local elections vital to future of RSCs – claim

By SOL MORATHI

**THE October municipal elections were of vital importance to the plans of the government as they would determine the control of the Regional Services Councils, according to the Institute for Race Relations publication *Countdown*.**

**According to *Countdown*, the government was worried by threats from the Conservative Party – which opposed the multiracial RSCs – to render the RSC ineffective in areas where it gained control.**

***Countdown* says the elections in townships are equally crucial to the government's plans because the local government system may be impaired if polls are low. This might happen, despite security action against boycott campaigns.**

***Countdown* says a high municipal poll is also necessary to increase the legitimacy of the proposed National Council, which is dependent for its urban representation on an electoral college composed of local councillors.**

**The publication also quotes government sources as saying that a high municipal poll in the townships is a precondition for ending the state of emergency, which has been in existence for two years.**

***Countdown* says the introduction of prior or special votes, hitherto unheard of in municipal elections in South Africa, underline the government's determination to secure a high poll in the townships.**

**The publication further says it is certain that black extra-parliamentary organisations will not take part in the elections.**

# No one wants to stand in Rini

CP Correspondent

THERE will be no elections in Grahamstown's black townships after only nine nominations were received, of which two were disqualified under the election regulations.

Six of the nine nominations were filed by present Rini councillors.

The other three nominations were filed by RK Tinta, a former Rini councillor, A Maseti, a former community councillor, and SC Mngcongo.

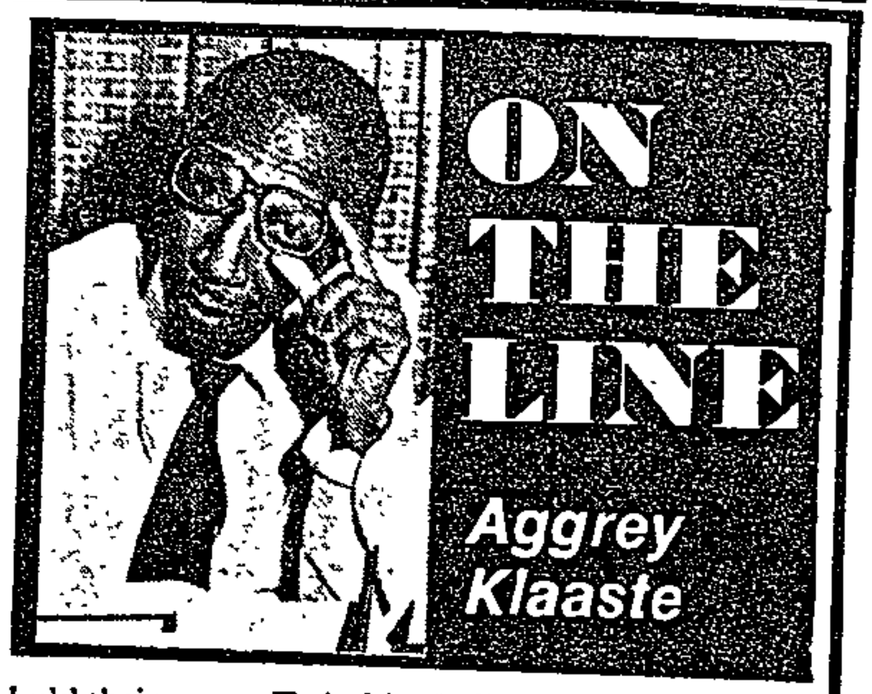
The two nominees who were disqualified are Maseti and Mngcongo, according to Rini town clerk, Koos Celliers.

He said they were disqualified in terms of election regulations for owing the Rini Council arrears for rent and lights.

Celliers said since Maseti and Mngcongo were disqualified there would probably be a by-election early next year.

Until that time the Minister of Local Affairs would nominate people to fill the vacant positions. – Ana

# History will depend on strong black people




THE fear of a Conservative Party win in the coming municipal elections does not touch us blacks. In fact the more radical view is a CP win now and perhaps in the general elections would be a blessing in disguise.

The intriguing view is that a CP government would fall apart much quicker than a National Party government.

The trouble with Dr Andries Treurnicht and his fellow travellers of the right is that they are not in power.

They have a misguided belief that their antiquated proposed systems of running a modern country such as South Africa, will work. As everybody is believing As everybody is believing the CP has a fair chance of stepping into the shoes of the National Party, there is a strange sense of fatal exhilaration among blacks.

The feeling is the Big Bang scenario would take place sooner under such rightwing radicals.

It is perhaps much easier for the challengers to power to make extravagant apartheid claims to gullible white voters. It might make them feel noble and winnable now. As soon as they step into Parliament their bark will perhaps be louder than their bite. Running a complex country such as South Africa is not for ox-wagon politicians who are about to see the historico-political situation take a giant leap back into history.

## Crack

There is just no need for jubilation Dr Treurnicht. Your little boerestan system of government would crack in a few months. If that is not the case there will probably be a clash between blacks and whites that would lead to the wasteland scenario quicker than most of us think.

My particular view is that we blacks should not let the CP take this country to pieces. We should be as shrewd as we are courageous. We should not dash into confrontation, difficult as the temptation will be. We should not allow a few radicals with 1848 ideas to bring ruin and destruction to our country.

In fact I believe if we are strong enough we should simply leave them alone to destroy themselves. They are mad enough.

The problem with taking them on headon is we will help them take the country down with them.

Perhaps we should be anticipating what is likely to happen should these crazy people take over.

The first thing that would go would be the tricameral parliament. We will not shed too many tears over that. Then they would probably take on an emotional thing like the Mixed Marriages or Immorality Act and bring that back. We won't lose too much sleep over that.

## Influx

Then they will become bolder. They will try and get influx control and the pass system back. They will try to consolidate the Group Areas Act. They might even have the crazy thought of driving blacks out of the cities.

In the end they would hope to build an all-white boerestan. And God help them!

The country's security system under them will go bananas. They will run rough shod over all forms of opposition. I am always presuming that Dr Treurnicht and his folk would have enough sense to make these things happen slowly and not rush. For if they did, then we would have the revolution in one week flat!

This is no idle threat. The black people are as angry about their state, as the rightwingers are about the privileges they believe they are losing. For their infomation there is as much buried fury in the black townships about their continued oppression (despite some pretty hefty reform moves from the incumbents) as there is in Pietersburg about the going of the sex Acts for instance. So we will have two forces poised for the race war to end all wars.

I am the eternal idealist. I am thus hoping that black people will try and be adult enough to hold their anger. To hold their horses. I would perhaps not even be allowed (under CP rule) to edit a newspaper, but should the day dawn we should become bigger than ever. We should become heroic.

## Strong

I am not saying we should ever allow people to ride rough shod over us. But a little thinking, a little time, would probably see the whole sorry apartheid house of cards tumble on its own. We would not even have to lift a finger to make the thing collapse.

Lastly the history of this country will be dependent on strong black people. We have to build strong people now. We have to rebuild the total person right now, from the material through to the spiritual.

I have a feeling many of my black brothers and sisters are prepared to give nation building a shot. Please stop worrying your heads about the political route or the transfer of power. That will fall into place as soon as we have taken hold of the other power structures just begging to be manned by us.

We have to build desperately — in our own interests, in the interests of all South Africa and in other race groups and in the end in the interests of humanity. Afterall we have *ubuntu* — a humanness in us.

# 4 stand again in Sasolburg

**Vereeniging Bureau**

Only four of the nine councillors who are presently serving on the Sasolburg town council have made themselves available for re-election in next month's municipal elections.

A total of 19 candidates will be contesting the nine seats. No nominations were rejected.

The four councillors hoping to represent their wards for a further term of office are: Mr Dawie Malherbe (Ward 3), Mr Johan Combrinck (Ward 5), the town's present mayor, Mr George van Niekerk (Ward 6) and Mr Koos Olivier (Ward 7).

The line-up of new candidates includes Mr Roelf Pienaar, a former mayor of the town, Mr Bill Sharp, a former town clerk of Sasolburg and Mr Koos Strauss, retired electrotechnical engineer of the municipality.

The only three-cornered contest will be in Ward 5 where the sitting councillor, Mr Johan Combrinck will be opposed by Mr Christo Oelofse and Mr Daan van Staden.

The complete list of aspirant candidates who will be contesting the election is as follows: Ward one: Mr H P (Harrie) Malan (National party), Mr J C (Koos) Strauss (Conservative Party). Ward Two: Mr F H (Frikkie) Conradie (independent), Dr J I (Sakkie) de Villiers (independent). Ward 3: Mr D H P (Dawie) Malherbe (NP), Mr H J J van Stryp (CP). Ward 4: Mr Z (Slang) van Zyl (independent), Mr S P (Fanie) Venter (CP). Ward 5: Mr J J Combrinck (independent), Mr P C (Christo) Oelofse (NP) and Mr C P (Daan) van Staden (CP). Ward 6: Mr W A Naude (independent), Mr G P (George) van Niekerk (independent). Ward 7: Mr J J (Koos) Olivier (NP), R J J (Roelf) Pienaar (CP). Ward 8: Mr W H S (Bill) Sharp (CP), Mr P J (Piet) Steenkamp (independent). Ward 9: Dr D J (Danie) Bosman (independent), Dr C T (Callie) de Lange (CP).

# CP claims poster war victory

**Political Reporter**

**The Krugersdorp Town Council has rejected a management committee proposal that the R4 fee for putting up election posters be increased to R7 per poster — and this has prompted the Conservative Party to claim victory in the poster war.**

**Conservative Party nominated MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, who had accused the National Party-dominated town council of trying to handicap candidates "who are not rich but still want to serve their country", said the withdrawal signified "an example of the CP agitating for justice".**

**He said that not only had the R4 fee been retained, but the number of posters which might be put up had been increased from 50 to 100.**

**A council spokesman said the proposal had been referred back to the management committee "because the increase would have been too much". The management committee was requested to investigate tariffs in other council areas.**

**Asked whether the CP-led row had influenced the decision, the spokesman said: "I don't want to comment. Draw your own conclusions."**

# Municipal elections are 'madness'

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN — The municipal elections next month will effectively boycott themselves, says Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

They will be a "futile exercise" held under impossible conditions with an inbuilt crisis of legitimacy, Dr Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said.

"The elections will take place under the most unnatural circumstances possible.

"There is a state of emergency, organisations are banned, no gatherings are allowed, candidates can't express their points of view and the Government hopes for a normal election. It's madness."

He said the October 26 elections were the State's attempt to restore "good government" and, among black communities, have to be seen against the background of the national security management system.

"It's part of the strategy to reduce the revolutionary climate: a total strategy to deal with the total onslaught."

In mid-1985, with the first state of emergency, the State Security Council decided on a three-pronged strategy: "Get rid of the activists, remove grievances, install black government.

"They've got rid of the activists, they're trying to remove grievances by upgrading black communities, and now they want to restore good government.

"It's a futile exercise in the sense that the very people who originally identified the grievances are the activists they've arrested.

"The elections are seen as a State strategy and have an inbuilt crisis of legitimacy," said Dr Slabbert.

He described the State President, Mr P W Botha's, recent call for Afrikaner unity as a major blunder which was politically impossible and made him vulnerable in the run-up to the elections.

# HNP congress shows divisions in the Right

**Pretoria Correspondent**

The 19th Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) congress held in Pretoria at the weekend again proved that right-wing politics in South Africa is still very much divided and gave no indication of possible reconciliation.

No matter how much the congress wanted to avoid the "sore point" — the issue over the Conservative Party — it was brought up again.

Discussions over Namibia were sidestepped as delegates called for a total freeze on all publicity on the CP — even in the HNP's mouthiece *Die Afrikaner*.

Delegates agreed that no further attention should be given to the CP or its leaders. The CP's actions should rather be kept on file and attention be focused on the HNP's battle against the NP.

One delegate said that HNP members who had walked across to the CP should be seen as "uninformed people who had chosen the wrong path".

The animosity between the HNP and CP was further illustrated when Mr Jaap Marais replied in answer to a question that should the CP ever take over power it would be the most "incompetent government" South Africa had yet seen.

The CP would do everything the National Party had done, but at a slower pace, he said.

Mr Marais told delegates that former HNP members would never return to the party because they suffered from guilt complexes.

Mr Marais said it was the highest form of deception when CP candidates in the municipal election claimed they stood for the truth.

# CP outlines plans for coloureds

CAPE TOWN — There was no reason why coloureds could not be governed as a nation from a central point even though they did not all live in a single heartland, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said on Saturday.

He told the party's Cape congress that the CP had no intention of abolishing the House of Representatives "but we would rather expand it into a full parliament so that the coloureds do not have to remain a minority group in a multiracial set-up".

The coloureds were already established in four large metropolitan areas — Atlantis, the Cape Flats, and near Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.

About 60 percent of coloureds lived in these areas, which formed a very suitable basis on which a coloured parliament could begin to function.

It was claimed that a people could only attain independence on the basis of one consolidated area of land, but even the National Party did not adhere to this proposition.

Bophuthatswana had been given independence even though it consisted of seven separate pieces of land, one of them in the heart of the Free State.

If Bophuthatswana could govern over Thaba 'Nchu, coloureds not living in their heartland could be governed from a central point.

When the CP attained political power it would be able to negotiate with much greater authority with other races on a geographical dispensation that would bring about a viable and decent existence for them as well as for the white man in his own area.

The CP had no plan to hand over districts in the Western Cape to the coloureds.

"That which is our own will be our point of departure, and the basis on which we will negotiate with other peoples."

The CP was a democratic party and would work in a democratic way to change the constitution, which at present was not democratic but "a non-white veto and non-white domination.

"People should not expect the CP to remain permanently subject to and inferior to the veto of the non-white," he said. — Sapa.

30(4A) STAR 19/9/88.

# 'Boycott blast'

IN A FLURRY of activity on the municipal elections, the mysterious bombing of Khotso House offices of the S A Council of Churches has been linked to the SACC's call to boycott the October poll.

And in the Eastern Cape, several activists have been detained in what has been described as a crackdown on election opponents.

While in Cape Town this week, parliamentary privilege was used to make the first official call of the democratic movement to boycott the municipal elections.

## Seizure order

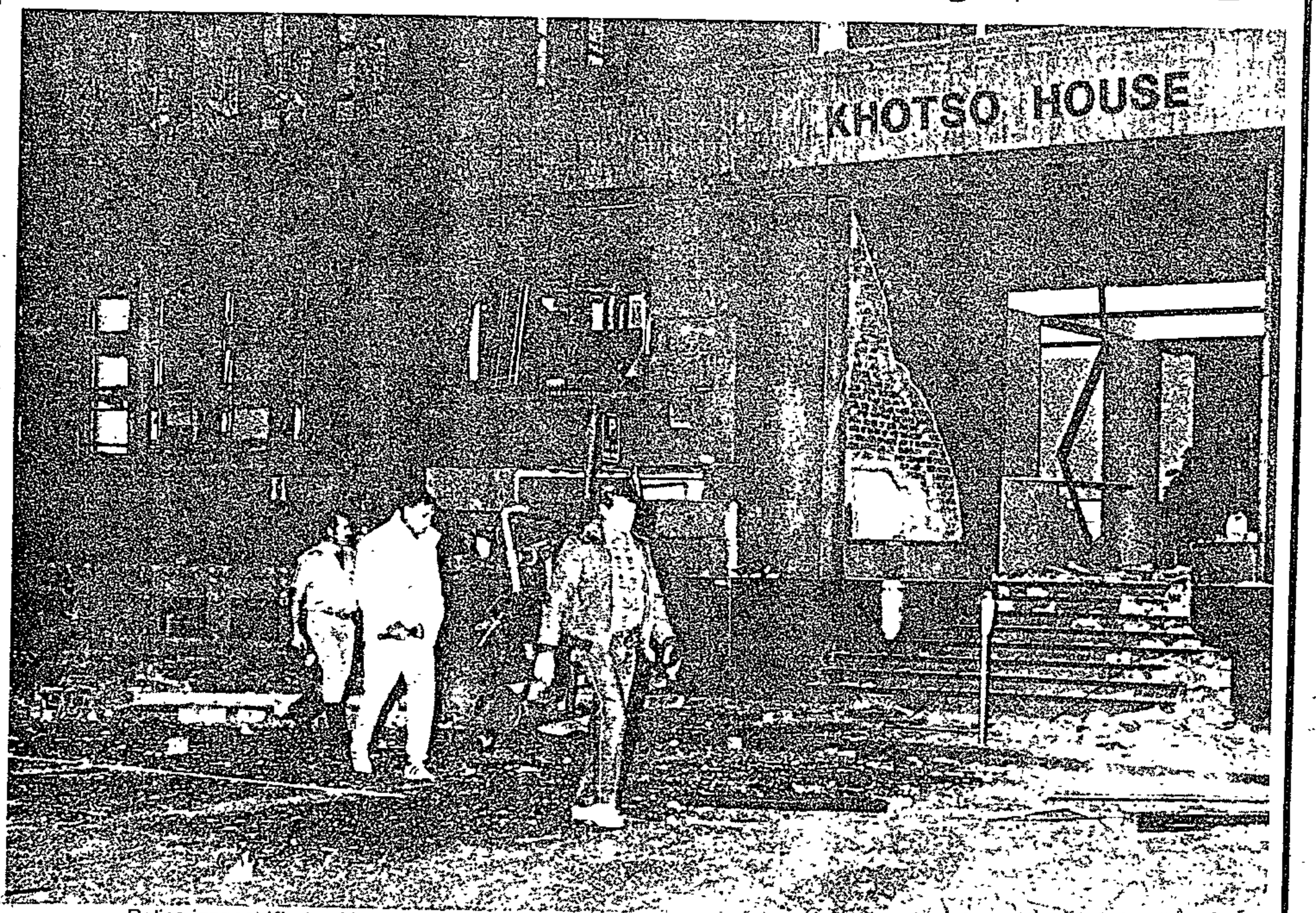
In addition, claims of misusing the special vote system has been levelled against some election candidates in Durban.

Also in Durban, police swooped on the office of the Muslim newspaper, Al Qalam (The Pen), this week seizing about 5 000 copies of the August edition with a full page advert stating "You have the right not to vote" in the October elections.

The seizure order was issued by Divisional Commissioner of Port Natal, Brigadier Barend Hermanus Henn.

In another development last week, Cape National Party mouthpiece Die Burger carried a front page report on the SACC decision to propagate

• TURN TO PAGE 12




Police inspect Khotso House minutes after the building was rocked by a blast early on Wednesday morning

# Money spent 'corruptly' on elections

ARGUS 19/9/88 304A

**Political Staff**

THE government was "corruptly" spending taxpayers money to promote a National Party-devised municipal structure, Mr Peter Soal MP, Progressive Federal Party, information spokesman said today.

Mr Soal was responding to a strong attack made on him by Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

Dr van der Merwe challenged Mr Soal to provide "one shred of evidence" that the bureau's campaign was aimed at getting people to support National party by "throwing money at them".

Mr Soal said the bureau's R5-million publicity campaign for the forthcoming municipal elections had to be seen as promoting National Party policy.

A system of racially exclusive local authorities was the policy of the National Party.

"It is not the policy of the PFP, of the Labour Party, of Solidarity, of the National Democratic Movement.

"For Dr van Merwe to suggest that I am out of step with my party is a cheap trick.

"This campaign supports National Party policy and to spend taxpayer's money to promote its policy is corrupt.

"It is also scandalous that those who oppose the system are in many cases stopped from doing so by the emergency regulations."

Mr Soal asked why, if the campaign was so successful, the bureau was considering stopping its present campaign and why the government was struggling to get people nominated in some black areas.

In his statement Dr van der Merwe said the bureau was satisfied the main objectives of its municipal campaign had been met.

"During the past four months awareness of the elections, particularly among black South Africans, has risen dramatically by 38 percent to 74 percent in the PWV-area and by 58 percent to 86 percent in the Western Cape area.

"I wish to emphasise that the objective of the campaign is to promote participation in democratic elections at the municipal level and not to promote the interests of any particular political party."

# Homelands are 'a success story'

Cape Times 19/9/88 30 cA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOMELANDS for blacks had been a "great success story" and this could also be the case for coloureds and Indians, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said at the weekend.

Speaking at the CP's congress in Cape Town at the weekend, Dr Treurnicht said his party's "categoric point of departure" was that it would not allow whites to be governed by a racially mixed government.

"If you share power, you lose power — if you share power, you are no longer in control."

## Progress with homelands

Dr Treurnicht said that "much progress" had already been made with black homelands, with seven independent states already having been established.

Great Britain had created three of these — Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — and the National Party had created the other four.

In addition, there were six self-governing states — confirmation that partition was not only practicable but workable.

Dr Treurnicht said he saw "no problem" with the ideal of geographic self-government for coloureds and Indians as well.

Much progress had already been made towards this end with 76% of Indians already living in three or four areas in Natal. The majority of coloureds lived in four "heartland" regions: the Cape Flats, Atlantis, Kimberley and Port Elizabeth.

Despite the fact that these areas were not consolidated, they formed "a very acceptable geographic basis for a coloured parliament".

Dr Treurnicht pointed out that the fragmentation of homelands like Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu had not prevented the government offering them independence.

In apparent anticipation of opposition to plans for coloured and Indian homelands, Dr Treurnicht said: "If we have political power, we can negotiate with much greater influence with these groups."

He said the government had already capitulated on the issue of a multi-racial government and could accordingly be written off as a force in the future.

Dr Treurnicht said he would rather have a smaller SA that was white than a large SA that was dependent on a multi-racial government.

The CP would be prepared to negotiate about more land for coloureds and Indians but this did not mean the CP would, for example, "give away the Western Cape".

Dr Treurnicht warned: "We will not be satisfied with a small province or kibbutz."

## School system in US attacked

**AN American observer at the Conservative Party's Cape Congress was given two standing ovations by 400 delegates, after she told them that integration had caused the collapse of the whole school system in the US.**

**Speaking with a pronounced Southern twang, a Mrs Sharon Golden of Alabama told spellbound delegates that "America has become a nation of illiterates" because of integration and pressures from the civil rights movement.**

**School integration had resulted in a lowering of standards and the passing of black students to the next grade even when they failed.**

# It's 'victory' for the Constitution

304A 19/9/88

Argus

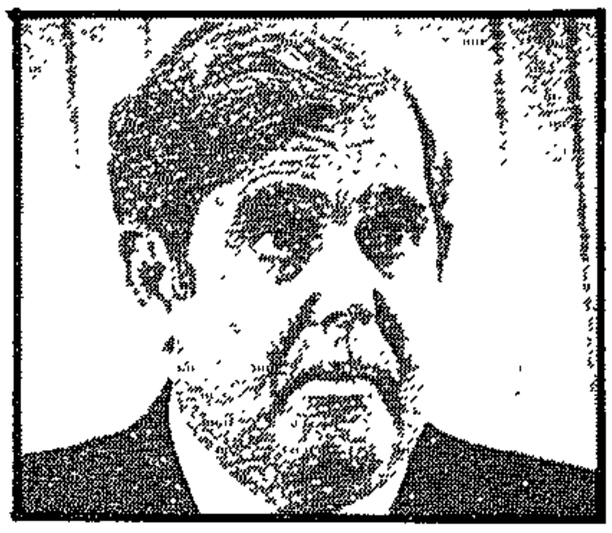
By DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Political Staff

THE extraordinary sitting of Parliament later this month is, in the words of the Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Chris Heunis, a "victory for the Constitution".

This is not the way the white official Opposition Conservative Party sees it, of course. It says the sitting is a waste of time and is undermining the relevance of Parliament.

But it is a victory for the Constitution and for the voices of reason in the government.

The special sitting is necessary because the government wasted everyone's time last month by forcing the House of Assembly to process legislation that had been rejected by the two other Houses. To do that, it had to get the Assembly to amend rules of procedure which had previously been agreed to by all three Houses.



Mr Chris Heunis



Mr Allan Hendrickse

## A lesson in consensus for Nationalists

In so doing, in the words of the Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, the National Party converted a constitutionel dilemma into the worst constitutional crisis in the history of the South African Parliament.

To many outsiders the structures and rules of the tricameral system are complex: it is not easy to understand what the crisis has been all about.

In a nutshell, however, the government unilaterally changed agreed rules of Parliament so that it could pass controversial group areas and other legislation without the consent of the two other Houses. If it had not changed the rules, it would not have been able to deal with the legislation (for a variety of technical reasons).

The Labour Party, Progressive Federal Party and others had outmanoeuvred the government within the rules of its own creation — so the National Party simply changed the rules.

Government spokesmen argued that the spirit of the Constitution was being violated by the opposition parties. These parties had found technicalities to thwart the will of the House of Assembly, so the Assembly would quite legitimately use its own authority to amend rules which it had made in the first place to overcome this.

The government was fairly certain that it had acted legally, although the opposition parties were taking expert advice on this. What was less clear, however, was the moral aspect of one House simply changing rules that all three Houses had agreed to jointly.

There was also a danger that what was good for the goose was good for the gander: if the Assembly could make up its own rules as it went along, then why coul not the two other Houses? The potential for chaos was enormous.

It was with this in mind that the National Party bargained with the Labour Party and decided it had been wrong.

All the legislation which had been processed by the Assembly in terms of the amended rules would have to be reintroduced to Parliament and debated again — this time within the rules. This is why there is to be a special sitting at the end of the month.

Why has it been a victory for the Constitution?

Mr Heunis meant that consensus had after all saved the day. Ten hours of tough negotiations with the Labour leadership had resulted in a compromise, and the tricameral Parliament was working again.

The House of Representatives will take part in the debate on legislation and, of course, it will vote against Bills to which it objects. The Presieent's Council will still be called in to ram the legislation through so that the government gets its controversial laws on to the statute book.

The entire exercise may seem ridiculous, but look at these advantages:

● The Labour leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has emerged sith greatly enhanced stature and is a real force to be reckoned with. The government had to sit down and make a deal with him if it was not to destroy the tricameral Parliament.

● Parliament has been strengthened, not only because its rules have held up against an onslaught from the government but because the government, as part of its deal with Labour, has had to agree to allow a joint debate on controversial group areas legisLation.

Labour has said the House of Representatives is tired of talking to itself when it comes to controversial issues. It wants to confront the National Party and the Conservative Party in direct debate — people of colour arguing with the white politicians on the implications and effects of apartheid legislation.

● Mr Heunis and the other government leaders, including the Leader of the Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, have demonstrated that they are serious about consensus and that they are prepared to pay the price of political humiliation (in the eyes of the CP) to uphold the principle of co-operation.

The government has also demonstrated that consensus comes with concessions made by all, including itself.

● Labour and the National Party are, for the first time since Mr Hendrickse was dropped from the Cabinet, really talking to each other again.

The talking has been tough and both sides have been bruised, but if genuine co-operation is to be expanded among all the South African communities it is going to have to start in the tricameral Parliament.

It is no wonder then that the Conservatives are so outraged. Just when they had been goading the government into taking a dictatorial line against the coloured and Indian politicians, the Nationalists went and did a deal.

All the CP could think of saying was that "Baas Allan" had won the day. Mr Hendrickse, however, has not won the day. The government will still get its group areas legislation in spite of his vigorous opposition to it.

The Constitution, which allows the government to get its way in spite of opposition from the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament, has won the day.

A logical next step for the government is to expand the consensus it saved at the last minute and make the Constitution a more genuine instrument of power sharing.

# New vehemence in CP's attack on Nat policies

304A AR64 19/9/88 304A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE of The Argus Political Staff

IF the defiant mood of the Conservative Party's Cape congress is sustained in the coming weeks the party's bid for control of local authorities will be marked by bitter racial strife in the municipal elections.

Racial issues and the party's claim to be the main champion of white rights were the predominant themes of the congress held in the Cape Town Civic Centre at the weekend.

These have always been CP themes but this time an aggressive, almost militant, tone entered the discussions.

There were calls for "organised action" to confront the government on certain issues and for the withdrawal of children from schools where mixed sport and racial mixing were encouraged.

Government policy and all suggestions of sharing either power or amenities with other races were rejected as usual.

But this time a tone of such vehemence and contempt in some of the speeches left the impression that the party was on the warpath.

Ironically, delegates were clearly pleased with the friendly service they received from a team of coloured women who served them at tea and coffee tables in the foyer of the congress hall. There were friendly exchanges between some of the delegates and the coloured women at the tables.

Speakers such as CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, both fresh from the fierce election campaign in the Transvaal, introduced blasts of hot air into the discussions.

Dr Hartzenberg denounced any move towards granting property rights in white areas for people of other race groups.

Under CP policy it would not be possible for blacks, coloured people or Indians to own land in "white" South Africa, he said during a debate on agricultural issues.

On a proposal from Dr Hartzenberg, the congress amended a motion seeking to exclude blacks from land ownership to exclude also coloured people and Indians.

Mr Jannie Marais of Beaufort West referred to statements by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse that coloured farmworkers should be enabled to buy land from their employers so that they could have their own farms.

"These demands are going to increase under National Party rule," Mr Marais said.

Complaints were also made that valuable farmland was falling into the hands of foreigners as a result of the "rotten" state of the rand.

Mr Jack Engelbrecht (Humansdorp) said South Africa was losing a valuable part of its heritage because Western Cape wine farms were "falling into the hands of foreigners".

Some of the most defiant statements against government policy came during debate on education policy. The government was accused of undermining Christian National Education and thereby "threatening the very existence of the Afrikaner people".

A woman delegate from the Worcester constituency said teachers were being silenced by the authorities while children were subjected to the "power-sharing policy" of the government. This policy "makes a mockery" of Christian National Education by forcing white children to mix with children of other races, she said.

Professor Gert Duvenage of Bellville called for "organised action" against government strategies that had the effect of stripping the Afrikaner people of their values.

It would not help to put requests to the government — "the time has come for us to take action".

He added: "If your church leaders and political leaders become alienated from the people, then you face destruction. One of the biggest disasters and tragedies will hit the people. Many nations have been destroyed in this way."

The congress adopted a motion declaring Christian National Education a "non-negotiable principle" and calling on the government to scrap its policy of power sharing "in the interest of white education".

It was decided to urge the CP executive to help CP teachers and parents to launch "organised action" against moves to enforce mixed sport and rituals such as the compulsory reading of the preamble to the South African Constitution at school gatherings.

It was suggested that children be withdrawn from schools where mixed sport was encouraged.

The congress took advantage of the crisis in education to whip up further opposition to government policy. Calls were made for a better pay deal for teachers to prevent the departure of thousands of teachers from the profession.

On teachers' pay one delegate said: "We refuse to accept Third World standards for our teachers and demand a salary packet for them which is consistent with the standards they are maintaining."

There was enthusiastic applause when an American, Mrs Sharon Golden of Alabama, was invited to address the congress in support of racial segregation in schools.

Claiming that "the Lord has brought me here", Mrs Golden said that racial integration had turned the United States into "a nation of illiterates" by lowering standards.

The American school system had lowered its standards to such an extent that it was collapsing.

Other issues that were heavily emphasised at the congress included residential apartheid and the government's plans for "open facilities" and "open areas".

Frequent references were made to the coming local government elections and the CP's plan for an all-out effort to gain control of as many local authorities as possible.

A pamphlet setting out the CP's policy for local government was distributed among delegates. It says that where control cannot be gained, the CP aims to set up "a strong and significant CP opposition to fight the NP's leftist policy directions at municipal level".

The party's policy document includes a promise that the CP will reintroduce influx control.

# PW explains 'hand of goodwill' gesture

By Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha has tried to explain the meaning of his "hand of goodwill" gesture to Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He said he was not asking for Afrikaner unity at the cost of sound group relations.

Speaking at Potchefstroom, where he received the freedom of the town, he referred to the recent controversy.

Mr Botha said he was not asking for sterile uniformity in Afrikaner ranks or for artificial unity. Cultural unity and co-operation should not depend on political unanimity.

Repeating his call for greater Afrikaner unity, he said that when he had stretched out a hand to Dr Treurnicht he had said that Afrikaners should commemorate festivals together. He felt that bridges should be built to bring Afrikaners nearer to each other.

If this call was a blunder, as was alleged in some circles, he was surprised. His call should also be seen in the broader context.

National unity should be built on sound group relations on the basis of good neighbourliness among all population communities and the acceptance of the principle of South Africa first. This also applied to security and economic interests.

If it was believed that the answer to South Africa's population problems lay in a group approach, it had become time for groups and communities to dedicate themselves more to unity, also within their own ranks.

Those who did not understand the idea of greater Afrikaner cultural unity and love for spiritual values should rather "leave the matter to us".

He was not asking for Afrikaner unity at the cost of national unity or at the cost of sound group relations. He was asking for united action to keep the light of the Christian civilisation burning in the country.

This unity was high on the agenda of the terrorist onslaught. Petty squabbles played into terrorists' hands.



Rev ALLAN Hendrickse



Mr CHRIS Heunis

# TALKING AGAIN THE GOVT AND LABOUR

FOCUS

**Sowetan Correspondent**

THE extraordinary sitting of Parliament later this month is, in the words of Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, a "victory for the constitution."

This is not the way the white official opposition Conservative Party sees it, of course. They say the sitting is a waste of time and an undermining of the relevance of Parliament.

But it is a victory for the constitution and for the voices of reason in the Government.

The special sitting is necessary because the Government wasted everyone's time last month by forcing the House of Assembly to process legislation that had been rejected by the other two Houses.

In order to do that, it had to get the Assembly to amend rules of procedure which had previously been agreed to by all three Houses.

## Dilemma

In so doing, in the words of Progressive Federal Party Parliamentary leader Mr Colin Eglin, the National Party converted a constitutional dilemma into the worst constitutional crisis in the history of the South African Parliament.

To many outsiders the structures and rules of the tricameral system are complex and very difficult to understand, so it is not easy to comprehend what the crisis has been all about.

In a nutshell, however, the Government unilaterally changed agreed rules of Parliament so that it could pass controversial group areas and other legislation without the consent of the other two Houses.

If it had not changed the rules, it would not have been able to deal with the legislation (for a variety of technical reasons).

The Labour Party, Progressive Federal Party and others had outmanoeuvred the Government within the rules of its own creation, so the National Party simply changed the rules

Government spokesmen argued that the spirit of the constitution was being violated by the opposition parties. Those parties had found technicalities to thwart the will of the House of Assembly, so the Assembly would quite legitimately use its own authority to amend rules which it had made in the first place to overcome this.

The Government was fairly certain that it had acted legally, although the opposition parties were in the process of taking expert advice on this

What was less clear, however, was the moral aspect of one House simply changing rules that all three Houses had that all three houses had agreed to jointly consensus

There was also a danger that what was good for the goose was good for the gander. If the Assembly could make up its own rules as it went along, then why could not the other two Houses?

The potential for chaos was enormous.

It was with this in mind that the National Party bargained with the Labour Party and decided it had been wrong.

## Debated

All the legislation which had been processed by the Assembly in terms of the amended rules would have to be reintroduced to Parliament and debated again – this time within the rules.

This is why there is a special sitting at the end of the month.

Why has it been a victory for the constitution?

Mr Heunis meant that consensus had after all saved the day.

Ten hours of tough negotiations with the Labour leadership had resulted in a compromise, and the tricameral parliament was working again.

The House of Representatives will take part in the debate on legislation, and, of course, it will vote against Bills it objects to

The President's Council will still be called in to ram the legislation through so that the Government gets its controversial laws on the statute book.

## Advantages

The entire exercise may seem ridiculous, but look at these advantages:

- Labour and the National Party are, for the first time since Mr Hendrickse was dropped from the Cabinet, really talking to each other again.

The talking has been tough and both sides have been bruised, but if genuine co-operation is to be expanded between all the South African communities it is going to have to start in the tricameral parliament

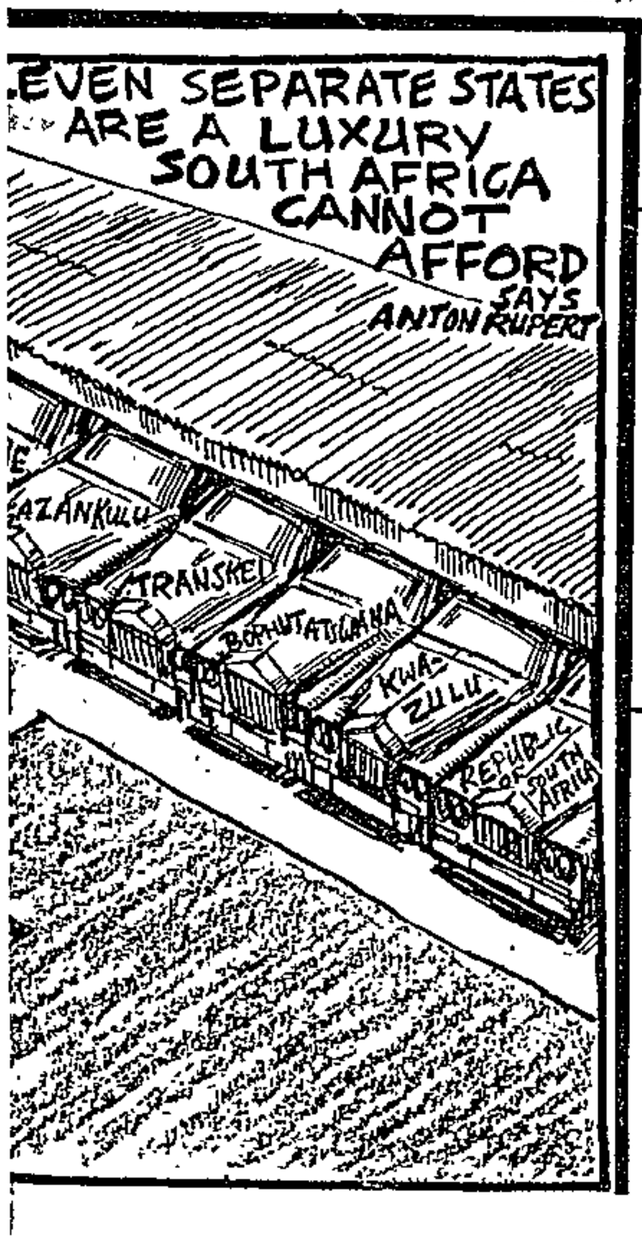
It is no wonder then that the Conservatives are so outraged. Just when they had been goading the Government into taking a dictatorial line against the coloured and Indian politicians, Labour and the Nats did a deal.

All the CP could think of saying was that "Baas Allan" had won the day

Mr Hendrickse has not won the day. The Government will still get its Group Areas legislation in spite of his vigorous opposition to it.

The constitution, which provides for the Government to get its way in spite of opposition from the coloured and Indian Houses of parliament, has won the day

A logical next step for the Government would be to expand the consensus which it saved at the last minute and make the constitution a more genuine instrument of power sharing.

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# CP will not oppose West Rand three

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

Three independents are standing in different wards in Krugersdorp with the full backing of the Conservative Party for the forthcoming municipal election, according to Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, nominated MP and CP spokesman on economic affairs and technology.

He announced this at a meeting in the Krugersdorp Town Hall at which he introduced the party's candidates to an audience of about 200. He explained that three candidates could not stand officially for the CP because of the type of work they did.

"In fact," Mr Derby-Lewis said of Mr Francois Joubert, Mr Kobus Meiring and Mr Tommie Steenkamp, "we will just say of these three candidates that we will not oppose them in their wards".

Three of the candidates were nominated unopposed to council. They are Mr Sakkie Nel, Mr Thys Steenkamp and Mr Braam du Plessis. All are members of the CP.

He said although teach-ers and lecturers were not allowed to stand officially for the CP, he knew that 90 percent of the teaching corps was behind the party as they had lost their trust in the National Party.

Mr Derby-Lewis said the recent two-week sitting of parliament cost the taxpayer R6 million a week. This figure did not include the travelling costs of the 308 members of parliament.

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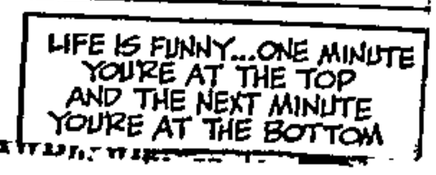


(Sowt) Star
20/9/88

# NP in legal bid to disqualify 11 poll candidates

By Shirley Woodgate

The National Party in Johannesburg has taken legal steps in a bid to disqualify 11 of the 120—odd white municipal election candidates: nine from the Progressive Federal Party, two from the Conservative Party and one independent.

Mr Danie van Zyl, leader of the NP in the city council, said last night the application would be heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Thursday.

Disqualification has been applied for on grounds that nomination forms were not filled in properly.

He added: "This disqualification is not a democratic way of getting rid of people but the fact is, if a candidate is legally disqualified he is out. If I'd been guilty of any error or omission the PFP would have come down on me like a ton of bricks."

CP Johannesburg leader Mr Fred Rundle, who warned last week that the election could be turned into a farce after the Supreme Court disqualification of candidates in Pretoria and Vanderbijl Park, said: "If the court rules in favour of the NP in Johannesburg then every Indian and most coloured candidates are also threatened. In fact the entire Transvaal would be in trouble. I believe if the PFP contested the NP application it would have strong grounds for having the whole election declared null and void.

"This is going to be Standerton all over again where the NP disqualified the CP man on a technicality and he received so much sympathy that he doubled his majority the next time round."

The leader of the PFP in the city council, Mr Tony Leon, said the NP was trying to use undermining tactics because it was "terrified of facing the electorate on a free and fair basis.

"We resent the sheer intimidation used in this court action. They served the legal process on several PFP candidates at 6 am this morning. This smacks of security police methods. Voters should be aware that this is the lowest form of political life."

The candidates whose nominations are being contested are: Ward 2, H Strydom, PFP; Ward 13, D van Greunen, PFP; Ward 22, P van Pletzen, PFP; Ward 24, Miss Kim Heller, PFP; Ward 26, Mrs Gene Gunther, PFP; Ward 30, J Dryja, PFP; Ward 34, J Bloom, PFP; Ward 36, T Bernhardt, PFP; Ward 38, M Steyn, CP; Ward 39, Atholl Green, CP; Ward 51, K Giese, Ind.

Random Check

# And the winner is — S African Constitution

20/9/88
30(A)
Star

**BY DAVID BRAUN**

**This month's extraordinary sitting of Parliament is necessary because the Government wasted everyone's time last month by forcing the House of Assembly to process legislation that had been rejected by the other two Houses.**

The extraordinary sitting of Parliament later this month is, in the words of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, a "victory for the Constitution".

But this is not the way the Official Opposition Conservative Party sees it. It says the sitting is a waste of time and an undermining of the relevance of Parliament.

But it is a victory for the Constitution and for the voices of reason in the Government.

The special sitting is necessary because the Government wasted everyone's time last month by forcing the House of Assembly to process legislation that had been rejected by the other two Houses.

In order to do that, it had to get the Assembly to amend rules of procedure which had previously been agreed to by all three Houses.

## Dilemma

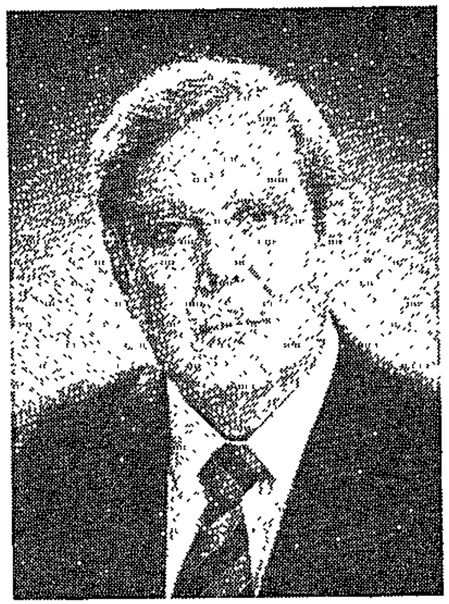
In so doing, in the words of Progressive Federal Party parliamentary leader Mr Colin Eglin, the National Party converted a constitutional dilemma into the worst constitutional crisis in the history of the South African Parliament.

To many outsiders the structures and rules of the tricameral system are complex and very difficult to understand, so it is not easy to comprehend what the crisis has been about.

In a nutshell, however, the Government unilaterally changed agreed rules of Parliament so that it could pass controversial group areas and other legislation without the consent of the other two Houses.

The Labour Party, Progressive Federal Party and others outmanoeuvred the Government within the rules of its own creation, so the National Party simply changed the rules.

Government spokesmen argued that the spirit of the Constitution was being violated by the opposition parties. Those parties had found technicalities to thwart the will of the House of Assembly, so the Assembly would quite legitimately use its own authority to amend rules which it had made in the first place



Mr Heunis ... victory for the Constitution.



Mr Eglin ... dilemma converted into crisis.

to overcome this.

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What was less clear, however, was the moral aspect of one House simply changing rules that all three Houses had agreed on in a joint consensus.

There was also a danger that what was good for the goose was good for the gander. If the Assembly could make up its own rules as it went along, then why could not the other two Houses?

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It was with this in mind that the National Party bargained with the Labour Party and decided it had been wrong.

All the legislation which had been processed by the Assembly in terms of the amended rules would have to be re-introduced to Parliament and debated again, this time within the rules.

This is why there is a special sitting at the end of the month.

Then why has it been a victory for the Constitution?

Mr Heunis meant that consensus had, after all, saved the day.

Ten hours of tough negotiations with the Labour leadership had resulted in a compromise and the tricameral Parliament was working again.

The House of Representatives will take part in the debate on legislation, and, of course, it will vote against Bills to which it objects.

The President's Council will still be called in to ram the legislation through so that the Government gets its controversial laws on the statute book.

The entire exercise may seem ridiculous, but look at these advantages:

- Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has emerged with greatly enhanced stature and as a real force to be reckoned with. The Government had to sit down and make a deal with him if it was not to destroy the tricameral Parliament.
- Parliament has been strengthened, not only because its rules have held up against an onslaught from the Government, but because the Government, as part of its deal with Labour, has had to agree to allow a joint debate on controversial group areas legislation.

Labour has said the House of Representatives is tired of talking to itself when it comes to controversial issues. It wants to confront the National Party and the Conservative Party in direct debate — people of colour arguing with the white politicians on the implications and effects of apartheid legislation.

- Mr Heunis and the other Government leaders, including Assembly leader Mr F W de Klerk, have demonstrated they are serious about consensus.

## Bruised

The Government has also demonstrated that consensus comes with concessions made by all, including itself.

- Labour and the National Party are, for the first time since Mr Hendrickse was dropped from the Cabinet, really talking to each other again.

The talking has been tough and both sides have been bruised, but if genuine co-operation is to be expanded between all the South African communities, it is going to have to start in Parliament.

It is no wonder then that the Conservatives are so outraged. Just when they had been goading the Government into taking a dictatorial line against the coloured and Indian politicians, Labour and the Nats did a deal.

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'Botha's policies have less than 50-50 chance'

# US report gloomy over prospects for reform in SA

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Significant political reform is most unlikely in South Africa over the next five years, according to a new report here designed to help banks, international businesses and government agencies with their forward planning.

"Mounting pressure on the Right and growing black opposition give President Botha's pragmatic policies less than a 50-50 chance of survival, regardless of whether Botha is replaced," it says.

"Over the next five years the National Party government might regain support from domestic conservatives by shifting to reactionary policies," it adds.

## Retain support

The 50-page report was compiled by Political Risk Services (PRS), an international market research division of the respected New York-based company, Frost and Sullivan.

Its latest report on South Africa, just released, predicts that the National Party will retain much of its support among Afrikaners, but it predicts a struggle for the party to retain its parliamentary majority at the next elections, which must be held by 1992.

Offering three possible political scenarios for South Africa over the next five years, it says: "At 40 percent the odds for the South African Government to abandon even the pretence of reform are almost as great as the odds for the National Party to remain on its present policy course.

"Even if the NP lost the vote of traditional white supporters, it could still stay in power by forming a coalition with the military, which already plays a major role in government.

"The third most likely scenario for the next five years is the remote chance, with a 15 percent probability, for the formation of a multiracial government to lead the country."

The report predicts a period of stagnation in economic growth, depending on international demand for raw materials.

"The Government will introduce slightly more expansionary fiscal measures, partly for political and social reasons and partly to keep the rate of black unemployment down.

"Nevertheless, the high rate of inflation along with sanctions and stagnating gold prices will push real gross domestic product growth back down to an average rate of about 2 percent through 1994, after peaking at 3,5 percent this year."

The PRS report, compiled by a five-member team, expects the present government to remain in power over the short term, making "modest" reforms to accommodate the urbanisation of blacks.

Two members of the team believe more strongly than their colleagues that economic deterioration and growing violence will lead to reactionary retrenchment by the Government over the next five years.

All five see the possibility of significant political reform in South Africa as most unlikely.

Among other points made in the report are that:

- South Africa will be careful to avoid antagonising its major trading partners, and its regional dominance will temper the policies of neighbouring countries.

## Evade sanctions

- By mid-1988 nearly 200 foreign companies had withdrawn, but South Africa and its customers and suppliers skillfully evade many sanctions, and more than 1 200 companies from 20 countries continue to operate there.
- The military and the police do not yet dominate the country, but the power structure has become a fusion of civilian and security forces. The military's role in day-to-day decisions will continue to grow.
- Black groups lack sufficient unity and military clout to threaten the Government seriously.

# Defiant CP is on the warpath

304A

If the defiant mood of the Conservative Party's Cape congress is sustained in coming weeks the party's bid for control of local authorities will be marked by bitter racial strife in the municipal elections.

Racial issues and the party's claim to be the main champion of white rights were the predominant themes of the congress held in Cape Town's civic centre at the weekend.

These have always been CP themes but, this time, an aggressive, almost militant, tone entered the discussions. There were calls for "organised action" to confront the Government on certain issues and for the withdrawal of children from schools where mixed sport and racial mixing were encouraged.

As usual, government policy and all suggestions of sharing either power or amenities with other races were rejected. But this time there was a tone of such vehemence and contempt in some of the speeches that an impression was left that the party was on the warpath.

Ironically, delegates were clearly pleased with the friendly service they received from a team of coloured women who waited on them at tables in the foyer of the congress hall. There were friendly exchanges between some of the delegates and the coloured women at the tables.

## Blast of hot air

Speakers such as CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, both fresh from the fierce election campaign in the Transvaal, introduced a blast of hot air into the discussions.

Dr Hartzenberg went as far as to denounce any move towards granting property rights for people of other race groups in white areas.

Under CP policy it would not be possible for blacks, coloured people or Indians to own land in "white" South Africa, he said during a debate on agricultural issues.

On a proposal from Dr Hartzenberg, the congress amended a motion seeking to exclude blacks from land ownership to exclude coloured people and Indians also.

Another speaker, Mr Jannie Marais, of Beaufort West, referred to statements by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse that coloured farm workers should be enabled to buy land from their farmer employers so that the coloured people could have their own farms.

"These demands will increase under National Party rule," Mr Marais said.

Complaints were also made that valuable farmland was falling into the hands of foreigners as a result of the "rotten" state of the rand.

**By FRANS ESTERHUYSE**

The Conservative Party was in an aggressive militant mood at its recent Cape congress and, if this attitude persists, the forthcoming municipal elections could be marked by bitter racial strife.



**Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg ... determined that white areas will stay white.**

Mr Jack Engelbrecht (Humansdorp) said South Africa was losing a valuable part of its heritage as a result of western Cape wine farms falling into the hands of foreigners.

Some of the most defiant statements against government policy came during debate on education policy. The Government was accused of undermining Christian national education and thereby causing a threat to the existence of the Afrikaner people.

A woman delegate from Worcester constituency said teachers were being silenced by the authorities while children were subjected to the power-sharing policy of the Government. This policy made a mockery of Christian national education by forcing white children to mix with children of other races.

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20/9/88

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## Teachers' pay

Stay

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Frequent references were made to the coming local government elections and the CP's plan for an all-out bid to gain control of as many local authorities as possible.

A pamphlet setting out the CP's policy for local government was distributed to delegates. It says that where control could not be gained, the CP aimed to set up "a strong and significant CP opposition to fight the NP's leftist policy directions at municipal level".

The party's policy document includes a promise that the CP will re-introduce influx control and separate amenities for whites and non-whites.

The document also states that the CP rejects the system of regional services councils on the grounds that it is an expensive system which promotes multi-racial local government and aims to use white tax money to pay for amenities to be established for other race groups.

# 29 miss Soweto election deadline

By Stan Hlophe

Twenty-seven Soweto municipal election candidates — the majority belonging to the Sofasonke Party — and two councillors were disqualified last night from standing for election for failing to meet a deadline to settle their rent arrears.

They were disqualified for owing rent and service charges, or for being nominated by people who were not living in the same area as themselves or could not submit their identity numbers.

## CASUALTIES

Among the casualties was Sofasonke Party public relations officer Mr Isiah Nxumalo.

A total of 36 candidates, including chairman of the executive committee, Mr L Radebe, housing chairman Mr S Manthata, Mr J Mdlalose, Mr R Gabutloele and Mrs V Petjaulema, will fight it out in 17 wards.

Eighteen candidates were elected unopposed. They include eight councillors, the outgoing mayor and nine Sofasonke Party members.

Those elected are:
Ward 1 — Mr Nelson Botile; Ward 4 — Mr Glen Jwara; Ward 8 — Mr Michael Gcwensa; Ward 10 — Mr Joseph Khumalo; Ward 12 — Mrs Felicia Buthelezi; Ward 13 — Mr Philemon Mkhwanazi; Ward 17 — Mr E Kunene; Ward 19 — Mr C Lengene; Ward 21 — Mr S Madikane; Ward 22 — Mr V Ncube; Ward 24 — Mr V Klaas; Ward 25 — Mr Abel Rangane; Ward 26 — Mr E Mudzuli; Ward 27 — Mr M Ntloko; Ward 29 — Mr L Shabangu; Ward 31 — Mr T Kunene; Ward 33 — Mr A Twala; Ward 34 — Mr M Assher.

# SBDC chief pulls out of SA

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Mike Smuts, general manager and co-founder of the Small Business Development Corporation, is leaving South Africa to settle in Australia.

On his departure he delivered a broadside at the government.

Champion of small business, Mr Smuts, a third cousin of General Jan Smuts, said he finally gave up hope for South Africa in the face of the "general incompetence of the government in running the economy and finding political solutions".

"We have a love affair with white-elephant projects. Take Eskom, now mothballing a plant of R6bn, the equivalent of three years of foreign exchange earnings. There are many more examples. We can no longer afford a bloated bureacracy."

A political head of state would continue to antagonize rather than unify the divergent cultures in SA.

The white leaders were weak-willed, sacrificing for short-term gains the future of the country.

"On the other hand I am not enthralled at the level of black leadership who call for the destruction of the economy. It is going to be difficult to build up again."

PFP condemns NP election tactic

# Row over Nats' open area threat

21/9/88
304A
Star

**By David Braun and Esmaré van der Merwe**

**A huge election row is erupting over the National Party's "attempts to intimidate voters" by threatening that municipal wards which elect Progressive Federal Party representatives will be opened to residence by people of all race groups.**

The row began in Johannesburg, but the NP is now saying the threat could be applied to all PFP areas throughout the country.

The row started with a threat to this effect by NP Johannesburg leader Mr Danie van Zyl, who said that the local NP would lobby for all areas represented by the PFP on the city council after October 26 to be declared free settlement or official open areas.

The PFP in Johannesburg hit back angrily, saying that the party did not stand for selected areas to be opened but that the whole of South Africa should be opened.

## Apology

Mr Tony Leon, PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, threatened to "slap another summons on Mr Van Zyl if he persists in spreading falsehoods among the voters".

Yesterday, three members of the PFP caucus threatened to sue Mr Van Zyl for R150 000 if he did not apologise for allegedly defamatory remarks he had made to the press about PFP leadership.

Mr Leon said it was an "infamous lie" to imply that the PFP favoured opening certain suburbs to all races.

"While the NP plans to open only Hillbrow, the PFP has made it clear it wants the scrapping of the Group Areas Act for all areas, with the emphasis on maintenance of acceptable community standards throughout."

The NP has since taken up Mr Van Zyl's theme and implied that a vote for the PFP anywhere in South Africa was a vote for that particular area to be opened to all race groups.

The PFP MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, also rejected the proposal, saying it was a "racist threat" which would not scare off PFP support.

"I have news for Mr Van Zyl: One day, the whole of Johannesburg and South Africa will be open to all races, including the suburb he ran away from (Newlands) and the one in which he is now standing (Linden).

"PFP voters are not as dumb as Mr Van Zyl. They realise it is an inevitability that the Group Areas Act will one day be abolished."

## Prediction

Mr Soal said to open selected areas was a recipe for slum creation which would lead to unnatural concentrations of people and would hamper the free flow of people.

National Party information director Mr Con Botha said today it was a fair assumption that if someone voted for the PFP it would mean that person accepted open residential areas.

He said it was not for the PFP to say it did not want selected areas opened but that it wanted all areas to be opened to all races.

"If they want their areas opened, that is fine. However, they cannot speak for other areas," he said.

Mr Botha predicted that if the voters realised that a vote for the PFP was a vote for opening their residential areas, not a single member of the PFP would be elected.

"There is an underlying principle involved here. A vote for the PFP will of course be an indication of what sort of area one prefers to live in," he said.

Mr Botha, however, said it would not be easy to open all PFP wards to all race groups. Some wards straddled suburbs or comprised only a parts of suburbs.

Mr Botha said voters who elected PFP representatives in this election might not do so in future polls.

from Cape Town that subsidy [illegible] yesterday, reports Sapa.

# 27 candidates for Soweto disqualified

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE number of disqualified Soweto candidates for the October municipal elections increased to 27 yesterday as six more were rejected by council for being in arrears with their rent and services payments, town clerk Nico Malan said.

But some councillors expressed disbelief when informed that Payne Tshabalala, whose hardware business owes the council R18 000 in rent arrears, had not been disqualified. Tshabalala is the son of Soweto millionaire and Sofasonke Party president Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala.

Malan told councillors that Tshabalala was in no personal arrears with the council but that it was his hardware store which owed the council money.

"The fact that Tshabalala's business is a limited company leaves him unaffected by the money his business owes the council," explained Malan.

Malan said the full list of candidates and those who had been disqualified would be available today.

He announced 18 unopposed candidates, including mayor Nelson Botile and former mayor Edward Kunene.



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# Independents' true colours are exposed

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Scores of civil servants, including many teachers, are contesting the highly politicised October municipal elections as "independents", but have secret party political links.

This party political penetration into the civil service and other government institutions comes mainly from the Conservative Party, which has vowed to take control of white local authorities in the Transvaal on October 26.

CP chief secretary Mr Kobus Beyers confirmed yesterday that most of its almost 200 "independent" candidates in the Transvaal were civil servants who, in terms of government regulations, were prohibited from standing as party-political candidates.

The National Party said it could not estimate how many official and "unofficial" candidates it was fielding.

However, the NP's Transvaal director of information, Mr Piet Coetzer, told The Star the CP's "unofficial" candidates were asked to sign a document which committed them to CP policies.

Mr Coetzer, the MP for Springs, said the document stated that "independent" CP candidates who were elected should join the CP caucus in a town council.

Although the NP also supported "independent" candidates, the party did not commit candidates in such a way, he said.

Mr Beyers said yesterday the CP "used specific methods" to determine "independent" candidates' political sentiments before deciding whether to oppose them with official CP candidates.

In terms of Commission for Administration regulations, civil servants standing for public office may do so only after obtaining personal Ministerial permission and on condition that they do not stand as party-political candidates, said a senior spokesman, Dr Rassie du Plessis.

At the time of going to press, no government reaction could be obtained.

● See Page 4M.

The puzzling arrest of the

WEEKLY MAIL, September 16 to September 22, 1988

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# e Ciskei generals

**The murder last year of Idasa director Eric Mtonga seemed unlikely to be solved: the inquest was heard quietly without the family's knowledge; relatives complained of a 'cover-up' as investigations fizzled. Then this week, five men were arrested ... two of them Ciskei generals**

By SIMON NGOMANE

THE Eastern Cape is notorious for unsolved murders of anti-apartheid activists, but this week saw the arrest of two Ciskei generals following the assassination of Eric Mntonga, a former United Democratic Front leader and Idasa co-director.

The arrest of Major-General Zandisile Ngwanya, deputy chief of the Ciskei Elite Unit, Major-General Phakamile Ngcanga, chief of the Ciskei security police, Major Mpekiseli Potwana of the Mdantsane security branch, Colonel Mabandla Mbejeni and Warrant Officers Thamsanqa Hlulani and Khayalethu Ncadana has sent shock waves through the region.

Mntonga, the last victim on the list of many missing Eastern Cape activists, was found dead on a lonely road near King William's Town in June last year — a day after he had been summoned to the Tamara police station in Ciskei.

A secret inquest into his death in June this year, held without the knowledge of his next-of-kin and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), found that he had died from manual strangulation and head and abdominal injuries.

Dr Basil Wingreen, who conducted the autopsy, said Mntonga's body had rope marks on the legs and that he had been stabbed in the chest after he was dead.

No oral evidence was led during the inquest and the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court made its findings on affidavits submitted by the Ciskei police. His death was found to have been caused by unknown people.

The outcome of the inquest enraged the Mntonga family and Idasa. Steve Fourie, a Border Idasa co-director, dismissed the court findings as "irregular and a cover-up" as the family was not consulted.

Idasa director, Alex Boraine, also sent a letter to President Lenox Sebe urging him to intervene personally in the matter but the organisation never received a reply.

Despite serious concern about the death, it seemed to be becoming another on the list of unsolved murders.

However, it appears that rumours that senior policemen were implicated in the incident became so rife that other senior Ciskei policemen were forced to act.

A Ciskei police representative said new information had recently been received and a senior team of security officers — possibly including Lieutenant-General Kwame Sebe, Lenox Sebe's eldest son — were working around the clock to unravel the mystery of Mntonga's death.

The furore over the hasty inquest and the letter from Boraine probably added to the pressure to act.

Local UDF and Idasa supporters, the security police and families of the policemen packed the tiny Zwelitsha courtroom on Monday to hear a bail application brought on behalf of Ngwanya.

Ngwanya, who rose from constable to general in just 11 years, said he had to look after his business and family. He told the court he would not jump bail as he had a house valued at R100 000 and a bottle store worth R250 000 in Ciskei.

Ngwanya's application was turned down by the magistrate, Ayanda Njozela, pending the decision of the attorney-general.

Most of the accused have featured in trials involving activists who were, in one way or another, connected to Mntonga. The most recent case was the terrorism trial of the former University of Fort Hare lecturer, the Reverend Makhenkesi Stofile.

Yvonne Meyer appeared as a state witness in the Stofile case and said she was assaulted and tortured by Hlulani. She was allegedly choked with a tyre tube.

Milton Mdze, an advice office worker, and journalist Phila Gqumba were also allegedly assaulted and tortured by Hlulani and other security policemen at the instruction of one of the Ciskei generals. The two were acquitted of charges of terrorism

The policemen taken into custody this week would have known Mntonga from his days as branch chairman of the South African Allied Workers' Union, a position he held until 1983 when Ciskei banned Saawu.

The state is likely to call as witnesses people who were allegedly arrested and tortured by the accused.

The policemen, who have not yet pleaded, will appear in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court on September 26.

# Clamp on activists 'to protect elections'

3044

Political Staff ARGUS 22/9/88

PRETORIA. — The government is to swoop on a number of organisations and individuals following the recent spate of bombings and what the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has described as a campaign to make next month's municipal elections fail.

Security sources today confirmed that a nationwide clampdown on activists had started and would be continued.

A number of individuals around the country were yesterday detained or served with restriction orders.

With this latest security action, the government apparently intends ensuring there will be little opposition in the run-up to the municipal elections on October 26.

## INTIMIDATION

The government is looking for a high percentage poll because local authorities are considered to be a vital foundation for the extension of power-sharing structures to central level.

The spate of bombings in recent weeks, including five blasts after 5pm yesterday, are being seen as part of a campaign aimed at intimidating candidates and voters.

Mr Vlok said last night in Verwoerdburg that the police had reliable information that certain radical organisations and people were engaged in activities of such a nature that the police would be compelled to act against them.

Mr Vlok said the police had information that the ANC-/South African Communist Party alliance would do everything in its power to make the elections fail, particularly among blacks, coloured people and Indians.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

# Not cricket

**Transvaal cricket** may be on a collision course with the Conservative Party (CP).

The Transvaal Cricket Council (TCC) is preparing to allocate about 100 black children to its clubs in the latest stage of a campaign to encourage cricket in the townships. The intention is that the children will be followed into these (almost exclusively) white clubs by hundreds — perhaps thousands — more in the next few years.

However, many Transvaal clubs play on council-owned grounds, while others enjoy financial assistance from their local authorities. With the CP expected to gain control of many Transvaal local councils in the October 26 municipal elections, it is unlikely to take kindly to the idea of mixed sport on its turf.

The TCC move is part of its Springboard programme to attract young blacks to cricket. Starting next month, clubs will each be allocated a handful of black schoolchildren to take part in an under-14 multiracial cricket competition.



**Cricket's Pamensky ... confrontation looms**

The TCC will provide prizes, food, playing kit, transport and, if necessary, even the membership fees for these black children to play for their adopted clubs. The hope is that they will become lifelong members and work their way up to senior cricket. The long-term aim, says the TCC, is to bring blacks up to Currie Cup and even Springbok level.

The more immediate hurdle isn't cricket but politics. On the strongly pro-CP West Rand, for example, nearly every major cricket club has its headquarters and pitches on council land. To varying degrees, the same problem exists elsewhere.

It's hard to see CP-controlled councils refusing to renew clubs' leases over the issue, unless the party is prepared to close down most of the region's sporting activities. It would find it difficult running its own clubs, since national bodies of nearly every sport insist their member clubs be nonracial.

What the CP could do, however, is make life uncomfortable for clubs by reducing or withdrawing services and financial assistance — whether it be grants, soft loans or the use of council staff and equipment.

As can be expected, CP spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis takes a strong stand: "It is obvious to us that this is another way for the TCC to siphon white money into facilities for other groups. If they do this, we'd have to consider the interests of our white ratepayers.

"If the TCC has this sort of money to use then they should have enough to pay the normal tariffs for these facilities. It looks as if the TCC is trying to break down the norms in SA and doing so to kowtow to the real racists, the Indians and Pakistanis."

Derby-Lewis says the CP will take a serious look at the situation when they control the local authorities. "The TCC would be looking for trouble if they think they can confront the CP in this manner," he says.

It may not be as easy as that. Cricket reigns supreme in the Transvaal and the TCC enjoys great support in the province. SA cricket boss Joe Pamensky says the matter will be studied should it arise. But already he warns: "If necessary we will move our clubs away. The CP will then have to explain that to the ratepayers." ◙

INFORMAL SECTOR

# Scouting for talent

**SA cannot** underestimate the importance of the informal sector as a potential provider of jobs. One obstacle to the growth of this unrecorded economy is the difficulty in raising small sums of capital to get started. In an attempt to fill the gap, a credit guarantee scheme to provide financing to the informal business sector is to be launched.

Details of the Black Enterprises Trust (BET) project were released when the magazine *Black Enterprise* celebrated its first birthday recently.

BET is an independent trust which oversees the publishing and marketing of *Black Enterprise*. It now intends to embark on a number of other projects.

The creation of a credit guarantee fund is aimed at establishing "a central fund which will be used as collateral for viable, new businesses the trustees nominate," says BET trustee Sam Alexander.

Other development projects are aimed at linking small and big business in a number of schemes including a plan to join forces with the Urban Foundation (UF) to expand the foundation's directory of black business sup-

# Potential to converge seen after PFP-NDM talks

Argus 23/9/88 (30UA)

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — A top-level meeting in Johannesburg between the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement found that potential existed for a convergence of the two groups as part of South Africans getting together.

Two Durban members of Parliament, Mr Ray Swart, PFP MP for Berea and Mr Peter Gastrow, NDM MP for Durban Central, attended the day-long talks.

Dr Zac de Beer led the PFP team, accompanied by Mr Tian van der Merwe MP, Mr Ken Andrew MP and Mr Douglas Gibson. NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan was accompanied by Mr Harold Pakendorf and Mr Jannie Hofmeyer.

A brief joint statement was issued after the talks and the parties agreed not to say anything beyond that.

But a political source said that although the parties did not want to build up expectations there was room for optimism and hope because they were at least talking to each other.

## Common future

The statement said the political situation had been thoroughly analysed at the talks and a broad measure of agreement on the nature of the country's problems had been found.

"The experiences of both parties is that there exists a basic desire among most South Africans to work for a common future based on a new national pride.

"The delegations agreed to contribute to the development of conditions for the emergence of that common future. In this respect potential was found for the convergence between the two groups as part of the whole process of South Africans getting together."

The PFP and NDM also discussed electoral matters "and methods of acting effectively in that area".

Municipal polls 'recipe for conflict'

# Student spotlight on Govt repression

By Zenaide Vendeiro, Education Reporter

The National Union of South African Students (Nusas) launched a national campaign in Johannesburg yesterday focusing on Government repression during the run-up to the October municipal elections.

At a press conference at Wits University, Nusas executive member and Wits SRC president Ms Bettina von Lieres said Nusas believed that far from presenting a solution to the crisis apartheid had created, the elections were dangerous for the future of South Africans, black and white.

## Warning of political violence

The elections, she said, were a "recipe for conflict" and the National Party would have to shoulder the blame should October see an outbreak of political violence.

The conference was addressed by Nusas honorary president Dr Beyers Naude, Dr Max Coleman and Ms Laura Pollecut of the Black Sash, who expressed support for the campaign.

Ms von Lieres said the elections were presented as a chance for all South Africans to decide the future of their country, but were politically unacceptable and part of a strategy to ensure the survival of apartheid and NP rule.

Local authorites were still based on economically-wasteful ethnic division, powerless to address legitimate grievances and existing only "on the basis of the widespread use of force by the State to suppress popular opposition".

Despite a ban on any boycott call, it appeared the majority of the black community would boycott the election.

In the white community, however, where there was still a strong tradition of voting, even among those opposed to apartheid. On university campuses, there would be many white students who would refuse to vote because it would give credibility to a "dangerous and politically unacceptable system", while others would feel that the only way to prevent the Nationalist and the Conservative Party from consolidating their position was the vote against them.

"Ultimately, the decision on whether or not to vote will rest on the individual's assessment of their situation and their own conscience," she said.

Students should take local conditions into account and consider the nature of the candidates, their ability to influence the outcome of the elections and the power of the city councils to effect change in their cities.

## Important decisions, but ...

White municipalities were able to make important decisions at local level on issues such as petty apartheid, but the central government retained the power to veto such decisions.

She said Nusas would reiterate the call for "single non-racial municipalities in a non-racial and democratic South Africa".

"We will campaign around the principle that any meaningful political solution must take place at national lelvel and must be based on the equal participation of all South Africans," she said.




Wits SRC president Ms Bettina von Lieres, Nusas president Mr Steve Kromberg and Dr Beyers Naude ... launching a campaign to focus on repression. ● Picture by Johnny Hogg.

# Slabbert vs Terre'Blanche

## I seek peace in an integrated, democratic South Africa, says former leader of PFP





## Exclusive land for Afrikaners only solution for peace in this country — AWB leader

### Argus corespondents report on the great debate in Pretoria between leaders of Afrikanerdom's extremes

THOUSANDS of students, lecturers and members of the public packed the Aula Hall at the University of Pretoria yesterday for a historic debate between Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Apart from the mass of people who blocked up the aisles and entrances to the hall, a large contingent of media people were there for the event.

Mr Terre'Blanche's appearance on stage was met with loud cheers while some students displayed the Transvaal Vierkleur and an Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) flag. Standing behind the AWB leader were six stern-faced guards.

Dr Slabbert, former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, strolled on stage unguarded, also to tremendous applause.

A bearded Mr Terre'Blanche was dressed in khaki. His opponent, clean-shaven, wore a blue blazer and scarlet tie.

Before the debate started a student official requested that stairways be cleared because the packed hall contravened fire regulations. About 1 000 students sat outside listening quietly, laughing and applauding the proceedings occasionally.

The debate centred on the preservation of the Afrikaner — partition versus integration.

Mr Terre'Blanche said an exlusive land for the Afrikaner with borders separating the nations was the only solution for a peaceful South Africa. He hammered Dr Slabbert for negotiating with "communists" — a reference to Dr Slabbert's Dakar mission for talks with the African National Congress.

To loud applause the AWB leader said he did not negotiate with communists, who had a predetermined plan of death and destruction with "bombs exploding everywhere".

In contrast, Dr Slabbert started on a conciliatory note, thanking Mr Terre'Blanche for appearing on stage with him. Not a single Cabinet Minister had done so while he was in Parliament.

He said there were two ways of preserving the Afrikaner. The first was Mr Terre'Blanche's idea of partition and the other the one in which he believed: integration.

Dr Slabbert emphasised continually that he, too, was an Afrikaner. Like Mr Terre'Blanche he ate "pap and boerewors" and wanted to live in the country in which he was born.

There was laughter when he said Mr Terre'Blanche often used images of nature in his introduction to explain partition and the growth of the Afrikaner in South Africa. But certain animals lived in harmony without group areas or population registration, Dr Slabbert said.

Mr Terre'Blanche tried to corner his opponent on the issue of negotiating with "communists" by referring to the Angolan peace talks which, in his opinion, had failed. This proved that negotiating with communists while South African soldiers were being killed on the border was a waste of time.

Dr Slabbert responded by saying that negotiating with the enemy was the only hope for peace, which was for the sake of young people in the country.

It was a "foefie" (a bluff) that leaders did not negotiate with communists. "Look at Magnus Malan: he is speaking to communists."

Mr Terre'Blanche pressed further on the Angolan issue, questioning whether a country (South Africa) should negotiate for peace if it had lost the war. To which Dr Slabbert replied: "What were we doing in a country that is not ours in the first place?"

Mr Terre'Blanche, who started the debate, said the AWB would not talk to communists but would "flatten them".

Dr Slabbert remained cool, calm and logical, scoring several points with swift answers to Mr Terreblanche's questions, while the latter whipped the audience into cheers with his impassioned pleas for Afrikaner self-determination.

Mr Terre'Blanche devoted much of his opening address to an attack on Dr Slabbert and his talks with the "communist alliance" of the United Democratic Front, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

The problem with leftist liberals, said Mr Terre'Blanche, was that they could not count. They spoke of a multiracial democracy, "but you are the only one who is democratic" among those organisations.

Outlining his policy of a whites-only "boere volkstaat", he said the AWB wanted to keep the power "our ancestors fought for so that our descendants are not trampled". Every people had a right to self-determination in its own area.

Fences between neighbours and borders between nations promoted peace and friendship, said Mr Terre'Blanche. "We don't want to share power. We demand power ... we demand a country for the Afrikaner."

Dr Slabbert said that Mr Terre'Blanche felt he couldy remain Afrikaans only by being apart from other races, but "I can only be an Afrikaner if I can be part of the community in my country".

Partition would demand huge sacrifices from whites, said Dr Slabbert, adding that the Conservative Party made promises to whites it could never fulfill — to huge applause from the audience.

Referring to Mr Terre'Blanche's accusations of speaking to "communists", Dr Slabbert said the government itself was negotiating with communist regimes over the future of SWA/Namibia. "If you want peace, you have to speak to your enemy," said Dr Slabbert.

Was negotiation in Angola not the reason South Africa had "lost the war"? asked Mr Terre'Blanche, adding that many young men had lost their lives.

Dr Slabbert replied: "We had no choice but to negotiate, or lose more lives. I hope that negotiation succeeds precisely for the sake of the lives of those young men."

In reply to a question about the status of other races in Mr Terre'Blanche's "boere volkstaat", the AWB leader said they would be "treated as guests in the structure".

Dr Slabbert closed his argument by matching Mr Terre'Blanche's demands for self-determination for Afrikaners with his own "demand that I be allowed to strive in peace for an integrated, democratic South Africa where I can say with pride: 'I am an African and an Afrikaner.'"

In closing, Mr Terre'Blanche said he did not see the groups with whom Dr Slabbert wished to negotiate getting "tears in their eyes" about South Africa. "I hear only bombs. You speak, but they laugh and throw bombs."

South Africans — and South African reporters — are not used to judging clashes of this kind, but the debate appeared to end in a draw.

# The cut and thrust of two Afrikaners politically poles apart

### Question time

Mr Terre'Blanche: "Did you speak to Joe Slovo when you were in Dakar?"

Dr Slabbert: "No, he was not there." (lots of laughter).

Mr T: "Doctor, why was he not there? Did they hide him from you, or would you have used the opportunity to tell him to stop giving the order to kill our innocent women and children?" (cheers).

Dr S: "In all honesty, I had spoken to him before, and made exactly that point. I read this morning that Dr Piet Mulder wrote that if we just take off our political blinkers we will realise that Afrikaners are in a civil war situation. It is essential that Afrikaans is distanced from race and that the gap between Afrikaans speaking people must be bridged. Do you consider an Afrikaans-speaking coloured who belongs to the N G Kerk and lectures Afrikaans at University as a possible member of your volkstaat?"

Mr T: "Definitely not." (abundant cheering). Doctor, don't you think the negotiations with communists led to us losing the war in Angola?"

Dr S: "In my opinion we have no other option than to negotiate . . . (cheering) . . . negotiations succeed for the sake of these young people." (loud cheering). Mr Terre'Blanche, in your Boerestaat, will there be any non-whites, and what will be their status and their privileges?

Mr T: "There will be non-whites, and they will be treated as guests in this structure. (lots of laughing). You see doctor, and I want to quote Dr Verwoerd, you can not if you are good to other people, and you create job opportunities for them, that later, when they are ten times as many as you, say to them because you could breed better than me, take my country. (laughter and cheering).

Mr T: "Doctor, I can't let you go from Angola that quickly because much of our blood lies there. Do you think one has created peace when one has lost the war, when you have put your forces in a position where they can not return and win. Is peace more important to you than the eventual victory, because if you want peace without the right and knowledge that you have won, then you have created a war and many more will die. You surely know the Cubans won't leave Angola?

Dr S: "One must go back to the Angolan situation and ask in the first place what we were doing there? (loud cheering) It is not our country, it is another country. We initially went there on November 11 1975 to determine the nature of another government and we got involved in a war where we were the losers. And now we must ask ourselves: must we continue sacrificing lives for what?" (loud cheering).

Mr T: "Dr Slabbert, you must not now put the choice on me. I am very glad the doctor realises that the AWB could give such an order, but can not do it now. So what you want to say to the public is that everyone who died there should never have been there. The SADF was winning until Pik Botha held himself 'general' and then we lost. (cheers of hear hear). There is nothing wrong with fighting in another country, from where communism threatens one, you must just finish your work and not play a political game when it suits you."

Dr S: "You have now had a taste of what a decent political debate in South Africa can be like. (loud applause) Like Mr Terre'Blanche, and the supporters of the AWB, I also have my dreams for a future for South Africa. And I make no excuses in that dream.

"I am a white and like Mr Terre'Blanche, I look forward to the day when the Afrikaner's word will again be his honour, when he will speak without fraud, where he accepts that he must live equally with all citizens of this country, and I believe this is the kind of South Africa I want to work for. And I don't to lie to Mr Terre'Blanche, or to undermine him, but I demand, just like him, that I can strive in peace for an integrated, democratic South Africa in which I can say with pride that I am an Afrikaner and in Africa." (long and loud cheering).

Mr T: "Dr Slabbert, not for a single moment did I doubt that your intentions were sincere. It is even difficult to wake you from this deadly sleep. In your honest intentions there is one weak point in the total argument. You base the solution on the presumption that the enemy, which at this moment is planting bombs and yesterday caused hell and heaven to explode with five bombs, will speak to and love you as much as you love them (loud cheering).

"I find nowhere that the left-wingers and communists speak with so much love about South Africa. I only hear the explosions and see the security police daily in action, so much so that Minister Vlok said a while ago the revolution was now in its third stage. That is all, a revolution, they kill our people, and you still believe you can will talk this thing right.

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## Black schools will be used for polling

Primary schools in black townships would be used as polling stations in the October municipal elections, the assistant director of black local authorities, Mr Pieter de Beer, said yesterday.

He confirmed this would be done despite the tense atmosphere prevailing in black schools as a result of dissatisfaction with black education, the state of emergency and the detention of scores of students.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration had obtained permission from the Department of Education and Training to use black primary schools in areas where no other suitable venues were available, he said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party's black affairs spokesman, said the move was "unwise" in the light of the radicalisation of black youths and large-scale intimidation.

Mr De Beer acknowledged that the use of schools as pollings booths could be politically sensitive.

"But what are we supposed to do if there is no other available place? We cannot exactly erect tents."

## Missing jogger in Pretoria — SAP

**Staff Reporter**

The Pietersburg jogger, who disappeared after leaving home for her customary morning run yesterday, travelled from Pietersburg to Pretoria on a bus belonging to the Lebowa Bus Service, police said yesterday.

A statement from the police public relations division in Pre-

### Confusion reigns over disputed figures

# Information black-out on municipal election

**By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter**

No central information point exists in the Transvaal for the collection of information on the October municipal election.

Although nominations for the Transvaal closed last Friday, the number of accepted and unopposed candidates are not yet available — with most political parties, the Transvaal administration and the Bureau of Information (which has spent about R5 million promoting the elections) referring inquiries to local authorities.

In terms of regulations, local authorities have to announce the number of accepted candidates within two weeks after nomination day.

This means the picture should begin clearing after September 30, according to spokesmen for various poitical parties.

However, contradictory information is provided by various sources about even basic details

About two weeks ago, the Transvaal administration said there were 258 local authorities in the province. Last week, the independent newsletter *Southern Africa Special Dispatch*, in an article researched by two top political journalists, said the number was 302. And today, another Transvaal administration spokesman gave the figure as 222.

The Transvaal administration will open a central information office on October 26 to which election results could be sent for further distribution, the Administrator's liaison officer, Mr Fanie Terblanche, said today.

This offer had been extended to white, coloured and Indian local authorities, but no official reply had been received from the umbrella organisations for these local authorities.

Mr Terblanche said the administration only handled black local authorities information.

Asked why it did not co-ordinate white, coloured and Indian election information too, he said it was because these elections had been politicised.

# Teacher defies call to quit election

**By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau**

A Belfast teacher has put his career on the line by openly standing for the Conservative Party in the coming municipal elections.

Maths teacher Mr Gabriel Joubert (42) of Hoërskool Belfast says he believes in "playing honest".

A widower with three teenage children to support, Mr Joubert claims he has already been instructed by the Transvaal Education Department to withdraw his candidacy immediately.

"But I'm not going to. They will now see that as insubordination and I stand a big chance of losing my job."

He said he knew that other teachers, both CP and National Party members, were standing as so-called independents, but they were only doing that to get around the TED's ruling that no teachers could stand for a political party.

"But nobody is kidded, they're all standing for their own political party.

"If I stood as an independent I would be accepting party funds for posters and things, and I would then not be a true independent.

"I believe in being honest with the public. The CP have asked me to stand for them, and that is what I'm doing."

He did not want to withdraw as directed by the TED because then his National Party opponent would win by default.

Asked what he would do if the TED dismissed him, Mr Joubert said he did not have any definite plans.

"But teachers' salaries are not good anyway, so it won't kill me."

# Poles apart — two visions for the future

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

Almost 3 000 people packed a campus hall at the University of Pretoria yesterday to witness a debate between Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Debating the question "Where to with South Africa?", Mr TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and Dr Slabbert, a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, competed as much with the audience liberally sprinkled with AWB officials — as with one another.

But the pleas from the chair for order were always promptly, if only temporarily, heeded as the two men, representing opposing sides of extra-parliamentary politics, set out their vision for the future.

## Swift answers

Dr Slabbert remained cool, calm and logical, scoring several points with swift answers to Mr TerreBlanche's questions, while the latter whipped the audience into cheers with his impassioned pleas for Afrikaner self-determination.

Mr TerreBlanche devoted much of his opening address to an attack on Dr Slabbert and his talks with the "communist alliance" of the United Democratic Front, the ANC and the SA Communist Party.

The problem with leftist liberals, said Mr TerreBlanche, was that they could not count. They spoke of a multiracial democracy, "but you are the only one who is democratic" among those organisations.

Outlining his policy of a whites-only *boere volk-Staat*, he said the AWB wanted to keep the power "our ancestors fought for so that our descendants are not trampled". Every *volk* had a right to self-determination in its own area. Fences between neighbours and borders between nations promoted peace and friendship, said Mr TerreBlanche.

"We don't want to share power. We demand power ... we demand a country for the Afrikaner!".

Dr Slabbert thanked Mr TerreBlanche for accepting the invitation to debate with him — something no Cabinet Minister had ever done.

The choices facing South Africans were partition — "debated with particular passion by Mr TerreBlanche" — and integration.

Mr TerreBlanche felt he could remain Afrikaans only by being apart from other races, said Dr Slabbert, but "I can only be an Afrikaner ... if I can be part of the community in my country."

Partition would demand huge sacrifices from whites, said Dr Slabbert, adding — to huge applause — that the CP made promises to whites it could never fulfil.

To Mr TerreBlanche's accusations of speaking to "communists", Dr Slabbert pointed out that the Government itself was negotiating with communist regimes over the future of Namibia.

## Troop withdrawal

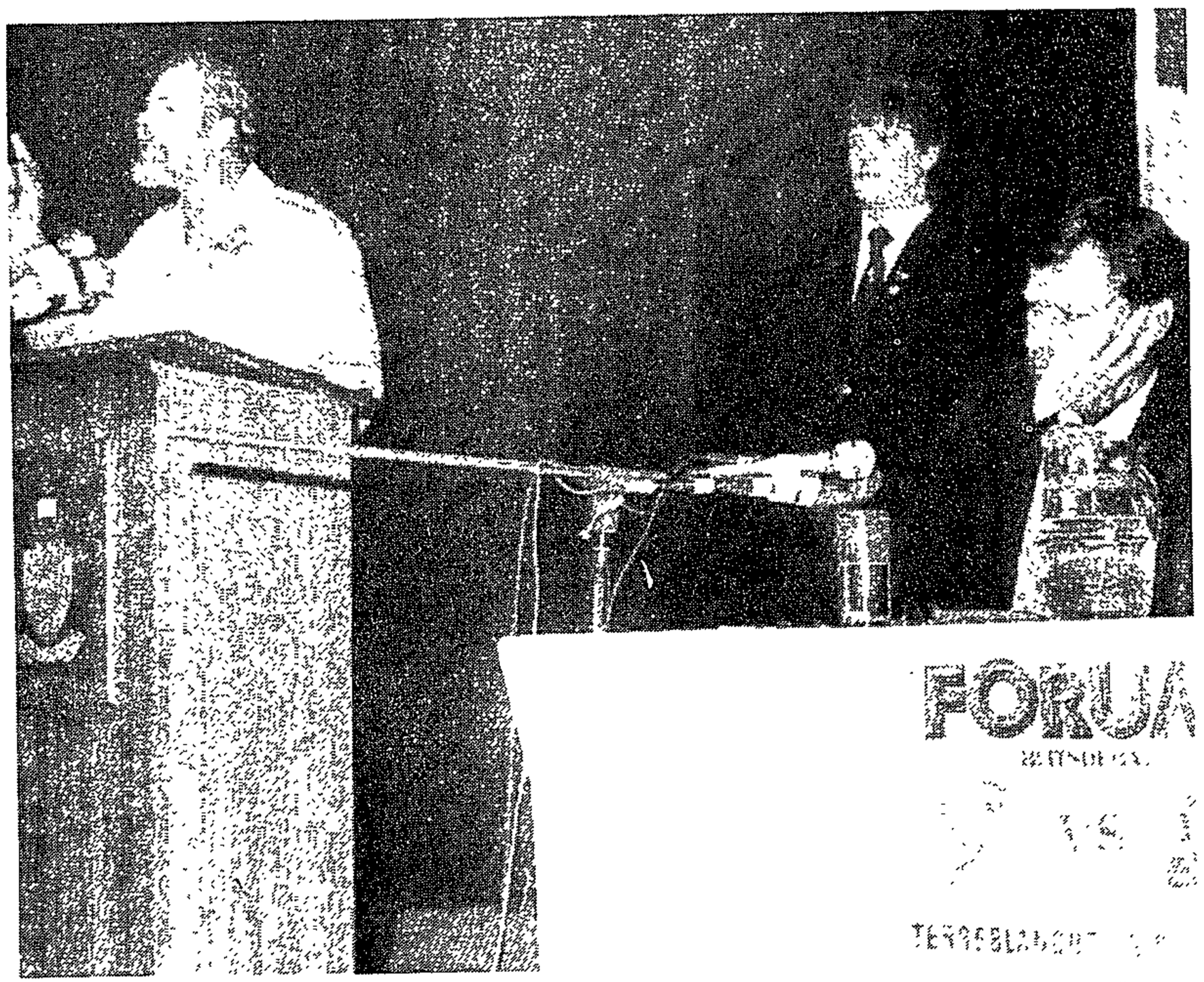
Seven questions were asked after Mr TerreBlanche ended the question-and-answer segment of the debate by saying he had nothing more to ask.

The questions were dominated by the withdrawal of SA troops from Angola.

Was negotiation in Angola not the reason South Africa had "lost the war" asked Mr TerreBlanche, after so many young men had died.

"We had no choice but to negotiate, or lose more lives. I hope that negotiation succeeds precisely for the sake of the lives of those young men," answered Dr Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert closed his argument by matching Mr TerreBlanche's demands for self-determination for Afrikaners with his own "demand that I be allowed to strive in peace for an integrated, democratic South Africa where I can say with pride: 'I am an African and an Afrikaner'."




Tukkies students heard both sides of the story when AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche and Idasa director Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert presented their different visions of where South Africa should be heading.

## 'Even the Govt is talking to Reds'

By Claire Robertson

Colourful highlights from yesterday's debate at Tukkies between Dr Slabbert and Mr TerreBlanche:

A group of female Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters sitting two rows from the front heckled Dr Slabbert with a particularly virulent mixture of ethnic slurs and comments on the doubtful parentage of all liberal Afrikaners and the prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases among Angolans. But who can resist Dr Slabbert's smile? Certainly not one of the women who, during a sudden lull in the noise level, let fly with her contribution — and then shrank in her seat, blushing and mouthing "Ooh, sorry!" as Dr Slabbert treated her to a mild, quizzical smile.

★ ★ ★

Mr TerreBlanche accused Dr Slabbert of talking to communists. Dr Slabbert countered that even the Government, in negotiating with Angola over Namibia's future, was talking to communists.

"Ag, we're just looking for a rugby touring side!" suggested a student heckler.

★ ★ ★

A student asked Mr TerreBlanche: "After you've got your *boerestaat*, who will play with you?"

"There will be too much work to play sport," came the reply that earned the biggest boo of the day. Rugby-mad Tukkies did not like that at all.

★ ★ ★

Dr Slabbert rises to give his closing argument. "Eat him, Frederik!" comes a cry from the audience.

★ ★ ★

In all the noise of the debate, two silent signals made their own statement: six students in suits and AWB badges took up position behind Mr TerreBlanche, barely moving a muscle throughout the meeting.

One student who disagreed with what was being said did not boo. He merely waved a small, orange sign bearing one word: "*Twak*" (piffle).

Briefing

# Marching to Pretoria takes on new meaning

The municipal elections to be held countrywide on October 26 have become a test of the viability of the tricameral system of parliament and could also mark a turning point in white politics. The Star's Special Correspondent **GRAHAM LINSCOTT** has been travelling the country picking up the mood.

"The CP will take the whole Transvaal, you can be sure about that," said the young army officer. He was careful not to express any personal preference and he politely borrowed a lighter from a black man sitting close by.

We were in one of Pretoria's larger hotels and the place was packed, the clientele at least 50 percent black. It seemed an odd setting for discussion of a Conservative Party victory.

But his perception is one that was conveyed time and again during a week in the strategically vital Pretoria/Witwatersrand region of the Transvaal where a desperate struggle is being fought for control of the Afrikaner heartland.

The terrain is the municipal elections, but both the National Party and the CP know it is future control of the government that is at stake.

The CP will not take the whole Transvaal, of course. The army officer's perception is probably explained by the fact he is stationed in the remote north, now undisputed CP territory, as is most of the Transvaal platteland. But the CP could take a huge and possibly decisive chunk.

The real struggle is in Pretoria itself — where the Nats admit they are desperately worried — and Johannesburg's satellite mining towns, several of which are expected to fall to the CP, while others are critically in the balance.

If the CP is able to take control of the mining towns of the East Rand and the West Rand, its capture of the white urban blue-collar vote in the Transvaal would be confirmed. If it is able to break through in Pretoria, it would have entered the citadel of elite Afrikaner orthodoxy.

On paper it should not have a chance in Pretoria. The CP does not hold a single parliamentary seat in the city. Its success so far has been among relatively unsophisticated rural and blue-collar folk.

But this time the rightwing vote is not being split by the Herstigte Nasionale Party; an intellectual core has begun to emerge within the CP, which could appeal to the more sophisticated Afrikaner voter; and many public servants — teachers especially — are bitterly dissatisfied with their financial position.

The Nationalists are worried and will tell you so in private. The loss of Pretoria would be a psychological as well as a political event with incalculable consequences countrywide.

"Truth triumphs — Think — Vote Nat!". The poster, with its hesitant appeal to the reasoning process rather than gut emotion, seems to capture the NP predicament in Pretoria today.

"The CP will put it RIGHT!" No such problems for Dr Treurnicht's men.

The NP's uncharacteristic hesitancy also seems to be expressed in the fact that only in the Johannesburg/Pretoria region will its candidates fight on the official party ticket. The NP says this follows a congress decision two years ago that regions should be free to decide for themselves whether they should fight municipal elections as individuals or as a party. The CP derides it as *bangbroekerigheid*.

## Psychological capital

Meanwhile CP general secretary Mr Andries Beyers (formerly Nationalist MPC for Lichtenburg) is a man who positively brims with confidence. A stocky, genial figure, he reels off the towns that he says the CP is certain to win: Krugersdorp, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Carletonville, Witbank, Bethal, Middelburg, Ermelo ... Others are being hard fought: Springs, Benoni, Germiston, Boksburg ... Things could be better at Potchefstroom, Nelspruit, White River.

"The Nats are going to fall, there's no doubt about it," he says. "We will win a majority of councils and a majority of wards overall. Best of all, we are going to win Pretoria — the psychological capital of Afrikaner nationalism."

It is impossible to determine exactly how much of this is election hype, but if the CP should make significant inroads in Pretoria and at places such as Springs, Benoni and Boksburg it would indicate a shift in the balance of power in the Transvaal. And a shift in the Transvaal means a national shift because of the province's numerical preponderance among white voters.

It would also mean that the Government no longer has the option of reloading the rural vote in a redelimitation of constituencies as a counter to the CP. If the CP has indeed entered the urban areas in strength, for the Government to create more urban seats at the expense of the platteland would solve nothing at all.

But the CP has no chance at all of winning more than a few seats in Johannesburg, the country's largest urban concentration by far.

"We want to make the point that there is no room for the CP in South Africa's biggest city," says Mr Johan Fick, local deputy chairman of the NP and himself a candidate.

A fair point. And one cannot help reflecting that the United Party used to make exactly the same point about the Nats two decades ago.

# Will they step back in time?

What will happen if the Conservative Party gains control of a large number of municipalities in the Transvaal in next month's polls — and attempts to go back to the days of Jim Crow by-laws?

Nobody in the Transvaal seems to argue these days about the likelihood of the Conservative Party taking control over a large number of municipalities The only question is how many.

But the question which immediately follows is what the effect will be, especially as the CP has sworn to paralyse the system of regional services councils wherever it can.

One effect of widespread CP success is likely to be a reversal of the Government's programme of devolving powers to local authorities Instead of devolving, Pretoria will clutch powers closer to its chest.

There could also be acrimonious confrontation between CP-controlled councils and the provincial and central levels of government if the councils attempt to introduce Jim Crow by-laws for such things as curfews or resegregation of facilities which are already shared.

It seems likely, however, that talk of paralysing and wrecking the RSC system could be exaggerated. Well-placed National Party sources point out that the CP is already deeply involved in the running of three Transvaal RSCs, where two of its members are deputy chairmen. It has made no attempt at all to frustrate the system.

On the other hand, widespread CP success could in itself set up the momentum for a change in strategy to deliberate confrontation with the provincial and central authorities

# The sirens of yesterday resurface

There is talk in the Transvaal that the curfew barring blacks from towns will be reintroduced in areas which fall into CP hands after the October elections. But racial mixing in South Africa won't easily be stopped by the sirens of bygone days.

Johannesburg's Carlton Centre is surely a symbol of the new South Africa. Sophisticated blacks throng its glass and steel shopping malls and pack its restaurants and bars. It is the sort of racial mixing which the Progressive Federal Party knew all along was inevitable, the Nationalists have come to terms with — but the Conservative Party finds anathema.

There is talk in the Transvaal these days of the curfew being restored in towns where the CP gains control — blacks being barred from the urban areas after dark. Much of it is probably only election talk, but it worries people.

The Carlton Centre is safe enough. It seems certain that the National Party will take firm control of Johannesburg, possibly winning as many as 30 of the city's 51 wards.

The PFP will be content with winning 18 or so, which would be an advance on the party's drubbing in the national poll in May last year.

PFP workers believe the appointment of Dr Zach de Beer as national leader has revived flagging enthusiasm, while the activities of youthful Wits academic Mr Tony Leon are expected to bring back to the fold droves of young PFP voters who abstained last year in solidarity with black South Africa.

The tendency is likely to be given impetus by public appeals (in her private capacity) by Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash executive, for whites at least to go to the polls.

The CP is unlikely to capture more than six



# Slabbert and Terre'Blanche in lively clash

CHL Times 23/9/88

30 KA

PRETORIA. — The Angolan war and Wednesday night's terror blitz came up in a lively public debate between Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche at the University of Pretoria yesterday.

Dr Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, is now a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa). Mr Terre'blanche leads the far-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).



Mr Terre'blanche



Dr Slabbert

Tukkies students packed the the university hall and the overspill of students listened to the debate broadcast by loudspeakers outside the hall.

Mr Terre'Blanche maintained that communists were not interested in negotiations while Dr Slabbert said negotiation was the only solution to the country's problems.

Mr Terre'Blanche said the AWB would not negotiate with communists: "It blasts them level with the ground."

The AWB was demanding the land and power to which the Afrikaners were entitled. The AWB wanted the Transvaal, the Free State, Northern Natal and a part of the Cape.

Dr Slabbert said the Afrikaner could exist only by living among, and being a part of, the other people in the country.

He said that both the partitionists, such as the Conservative Party and AWB, and those who favoured integration, such as the National Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, had to devise a way of avoiding domination.

Partitionists might face a future of strife from people who might lay historic claim to the same land.

Therefore, in both instances, democratic negotiation was the only way to achieve a peaceful solution.

Mr Terre'Blanche said South Africa had lost the war in Angola because it had started negotiating with communists.

"We were winning until (Minister of Foreign Affairs) Mr Pik Botha saw himself as a general (tot hy sy lyf generaal gehou het), then we lost."

He said it was difficult to shake Dr Slabbert from his "deathlike sleep" and to make him realize that communists would continue their terror campaign in South Africa during negotiations because communism was geared to "taking over everything".

If the price of peace had to be war, one had to go to war, he said in answer to a student's question.

Dr Slabbert, asked why democracy had not worked in Parliament, said: "It is an undemocratic Parliament, it is as simple as that."

He expressed his appreciation to Mr Terre'Blanche for agreeing to the debate, saying that he had never succeeded in getting a cabinet minister to engage him in public debate.

He asked Mr Terre'Blanche whether he would allow coloured members of Afrikaner churches as boerestaat citizens. "Definitely not," the AWB leader replied.

Blacks would be treated as "guests", he said.

The debate was marked by cheering and jeering, but was well managed by the student body Forum. — Sapa

A fifth man tried to take refuge in the consulate yesterday but was apparently

● To Page 2

toria after Moscow indicated it wished to keep SA in the UN body.

The group said it had withdrawn its resolution until next year's conference after Soviet delegates indicated they be-

bership of the NPT.

Sources said there was not total conformity of views on the issues and another SA team went overseas earlier this month for more t .lks. — Sapa-Reuter.

# AWB and Idasa leaders clash on stage

BRUCE ANDERSON 23/9/87

THE options of partition in the form of a volkstaat or negotiation between blacks and whites were passionately presented yesterday when AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche took part in a boisterous debate with Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The hour-long debate, in front of an appreciative 2 000-strong crowd at Pretoria University, was opened by Terre'Blanche, who said the difference between his organisation and Slabbert's was that the AWB "does not speak to communists, it does not negotiate with communists — we blast them level with the ground".

There was only one possibility of bringing peace to SA and preventing conflict, said Terre'Blanche, and that was in the creation of a volkstaat.

Slabbert said there were two choices for white SA. One was partition, the other was a constitutional system of integration.

"I demand, in the same way Mr Terre'Blanche demands, a democratic future for SA."

Slabbert praised the recent withdrawal from Angola by SA: "Must we continue to sacrifice our lives there — for what?"

Terre'Blanche argued for a continuing SA presence in Angola. Asked if he intended "making peace by starting a war", Terre'Blanche replied: "If the price of peace is war — then you must begin war."

Outrage at conference ban

# Apartheid 'cannot be reformed'

24/9/88. Sowa SMH

**SATURDAY STAR CORRESPONDENT**

CAPE TOWN — One of the organisers of the planned weekend conference on apartheid, yesterday criticised the decision to ban it as a demonstration of the Government's inability to lead the country out of its present crisis.

Possible legal action against the banning was being considered yesterday, but the situation was complicated by the lateness of the police announcement.

Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said the banning extinguished one of the few rays of hope in SA.

It removed the fundamental right to organise, meet, discuss and decide on issues of importance that faced the majority of people in South Africa.

By its actions the Government had declared there could be no peaceful solution to the country's problems.

The conference had been intended to build unity and give direction for a peaceful solution in a situation of heightened political confrontation and economic disintegration.

The conference was not intended, as a police statement had alleged, to fill a vacuum created by restrictions placed on some organisations.

Mr Naidoo said Cosatu also rejected the notion that the conference had been designed to launch a campaign of violence.

It had now again been shown that apartheid could not be reformed.

Mr Dullah Omar, president of the western Cape branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, said one problem was not only the legality or illegality of the banning order, but the timing of this action. This gave the impression it had been intended deliberately to thwart legal action of a meaningful kind.

The emergency regulations were being used to suppress legal and legitimate political activities, and the courts were being made virtually useless.

The authorities were signalling to people that if they wanted change, they could not do so through the legal and constitutional framework.

The prohibition itself gave no reasons for the ban. A separate press release gave reasons that were "news" to conference organisers, Mr Omar said.

The National Council of Trade Unions said the banning had stifled the voice of the black community. Nactu general secretary Mr Piroshaw Camay said the conference had been an attempt to articulate opposition to increased repression.

"We cannot believe that any person elected in this atmosphere of repression can claim to be truly representative of the people," he added.

# DAR

## Two men speak o

MR STEVE KGAME carries the marks of his office: bullet scars. They serve to remind him that he has enemies.

When he gets dressed to go about his daily business, he straps a pistol to his waist. It rests on his hip, barely centimetres away from two of the scars.

"All councillors carry pistols," he says.

Mr Kgame is a black town councillor, a political species which has been condemned by black radicals. He, and other councillors, are charged with "collaboration", an accusation which invites ostracism and can excite murderous attacks, often launched by anonymous nocturnal killers.

It is the heavy price black councillors pay for being "different", for persevering in something they believe in even though it enrages other political movements.

Mr Kgame's house in Dobsonville, near Soweto, has been petrol-bombed three times in the past three years.

Aged 61, Mr Kgame is no ordinary councillor. He is chairman of the Dobsonville management committee and, more important, president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

He is one of the few black men to openly declare his willingness to serve on President Botha's proposed national statutory council. It is a stand which takes him out on the proverbial limb.

The proposed National Council has been rejected by most black leaders, from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mr Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress.

Even Mr Kgame's erstwhile deputy in Ucasa, Mr Tom Boya, has refused to serve on the council. Mr Boya broke with Mr Kgame in February last year to found the rival United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa).

"Today people call me a sell-out," Mr Kgame says. "I don't mind them saying so because I know I am not."

He goes on to list what he believes he has achieved for black people, often referring to them as "my people".

As a Government-recognised organisation, Ucasa serves on a special Government committee for co-ordinating local government. It guarantees easy assess to Cabinet Ministers, particularly the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, someone who has impressed Mr Kgame as a sincere reformist.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Ucasa's status as a recognised organisation gave greater weight, Mr Kgame believes, to the memorandum which Ucasa submitted to the special Cabinet committee on constitutional affairs.

Among the reforms which believes Ucasa has helped secure is the abolition of influx control, that network of laws which denied freedom of movement to blacks and which the ANC once declared to be "Enemy No 1".

"When I called for the abolition of influx control people thought I was mad," Mr Kgame recalls. He is, he says, just as determined to fight a tough new law to combat squatting, a law which some observers see as another form of influx control.

He likens homeless black people in the townships to a swarm of bees: "If you don't plan for them and make hives, they will sting you."

Justfying his decision to serve on the National Council — after next month's local government elections, black town councillors will meet as an electoral college to elect nine representatives to the National Council — he claims that it will give him greater leverage to press for further reform.

High on his agenda, he says, is the release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

He recalls that when the present Government came to power in 1948, one of its first actions was to "call for the keys" to free imprisoned Afrikaner nationalists

Envisaging taking his seat at the National Council, he says: "I even went so far as to tell the Minister that when we come to the table we are going to demand the keys to release political prisoners."

He denies that Ucasa plans to usurp the role of the imprisoned or restricted black leadership. Its task will be one of "bridge-holding", he says, noting: "It has happened throughout Africa. When Jomo Kenyatta was in jail, Tom Mboya was holding the bridge."

Mr Kgame's exposition of his role invites the question: if he has contributed so much to the advancement of black people, why has he made enemies, some of whom have tried to kill him?

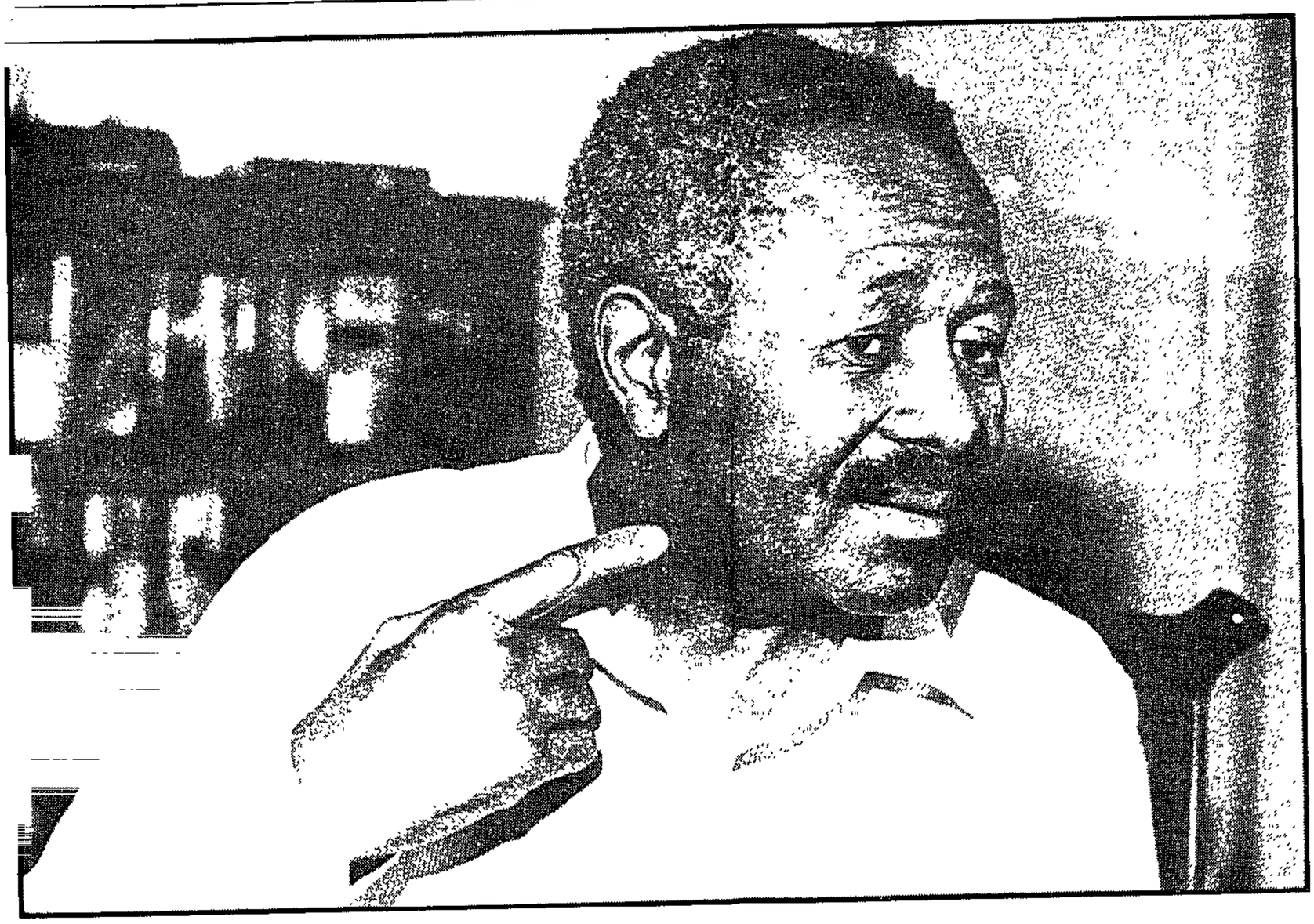
"Leaders will always be attacked," he replies, citing the crucifixion of Christ, the assassination of Lincoln, the murder of Martin Luther King and the killing of Shaka.

(304A)

SPECTRUM

# NG TO DIFFER

## on participation in the elections in defiance of radical opposition



**Mr STEVE KGAME:**

**Pointing to one mark of his office, a bullet scar, Mr Kgame is out on the proverbial limb as one of the few blacks openly to declare his willingness to serve on the national statutory council. He believes he is achieving for blacks, whom he refers to as "his people", and says serving on the National Council would give him leverage for further reform.**



**MR TOM BOYA:**

**A former radical who sought election to the Daveyton Council to destroy it from within, Mr Boya is the longest serving mayor, black or white, in South Africa. Although he believes in participation in the municipal elections Mr Boya will not participate in the election of black councillors to the National Council. He says: "The more we refuse the more we get."**

Suspicions that councillors are enriching themselves at the expense of the people they are meant to serve were fuelled last year when no less than five Dobsonville councillors — among them Mr Kgame and the Mayor, Mr Steve Nkatlo — were charged with theft and corruption.

Mr Kgame, however, insists that they were framed. His explanation is that they were the victims of aggrieved township residents who did not get one of 400 new houses built by the town council. He charges that the resentful residents were assisted in their alleged perjury by an interfering clergyman.

What is certain, as Mr Kgame points out, is that the charges were withdrawn against four of the councillors. The fifth, Mr Alex Jaca, the deputy mayor, was acquitted on appeal.

At about the same time *City Press* published a report claiming that Mr Kgame had acquired 11 residential stands, registering eight in his name, one in his son's name and two in his daughters' names. The report gave the stand numbers.

Mr Kgame does not deny that his family acquired more than one stand. But he puts the number at six, not 11, saying: "They were not allocated by me. They were allocated by the administration board. My children have a right to a stand. Why must my children be denied the right to own a stand when they can afford it?"

Mr Kgame's former deputy and now rival, Mr Boya, is a much younger man. But at 38 he is South Africa's longest serving mayor, black or white.

A former furniture salesman, he favours participation in next month's nation-wide municipal elections, defying opposition from radicals who believe the best way to force Mr Botha to change his ways is to boycott the elections

But the flamboyant Mr Boya — he wears three rings on his left hand, one of which has his name — will not participate in the election of delegates to the National Council by township councillors.

Umsa, in a memorandum submitted to Mr Heunis in June, set three conditions to its participation in the National Council the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles; the unbanning of outlawed organisations; and the repeal of all discriminatory legislation.

"We don't want to be accused of negotiating with the Government while leaders are restricted," he says.

Of attempts by Mr Heunis and even President Botha to woo black leaders into joining the National Council, he says: "The more we refuse, the more we will get."

Mr Boya has lobbied to try to co-ordinate a boycott of the National Council holding meetings with the leaders of three of South Africa's quasi-black states Chief Buthelezi of kwaZulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu and Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

The trio of leaders agreed not to take their seats on the National Council under present conditions, Mr Boya says. Noting that the Chief Ministers of two more homelands — Mr Enos Mabuza and Mr Kenneth Mopeli — have taken a similar stand, he predicts that it will be "political suicide" for any black leader to serve on the council.

He is, however, determined to defy pressure to quit as councillor. He sees no contradiction between his role as a councillor in a Government-created body and his refusal to serve on the National Council.

Mr Boya, who like Mr Kgame has been a victim of petrol bombers, justifies his position as a town councillor by the development and growth of Daveyton since he was elected to the council in 1978.

A prosperous businessman — he owns a garage in Daveyton and freely offers stickers promoting it — Mr Boya confesses that he was once a radical.

He was a member of the Tswelopele Youth Club and stood for election to the Daveyton Town Council to destroy it from within.

Today he heads it and will presumably resist any attempt to wreck it, whether from within or without.

# 10 years of PW Botha

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha completes 10 years in power on Wednesday, pressing ahead with policies that have disenchanted many whites and blacks across the political spectrum.

Not interested in charming his way to popularity, Mr Botha has presented himself as a stern, dedicated patriot leading his country on a precarious path between outright racism and black majority rule.

Lately, his balancing act has won little praise.

Growing numbers of right-wing whites feel he has gone too far in extending power to blacks, while white liberals and a solid core of blacks believe he has fallen woefully short.

The criticisms, and increasingly frequent calls for new leadership, sometimes rankle Mr Botha, but he is unapologetic.



**ELECTED** . . . Mr P W Botha, with his wife Elize at his side and surrounded by members of the Nat caucus, on the steps of Parliament soon after being elected prime minister.

## 'Total onslaught' rhetoric

"My attitude is that I am doing what I believe to be right and in the interests of the country," he recently told a television interviewer who sought an assessment of 10 turbulent years.

Mr Botha, 72, became prime minister on September 28, 1978, when the National Party caucus elected him over more moderate and more conservative rivals.

He had been in the cabinet since 1961 and became Minister of Defence in 1966. His first speech as prime minister stressed a theme that remains dear to him: the paramount importance of national security in the face of what he called a communist-led "total onslaught".

A year later, however, in one of his most quoted remarks, he sounded a different theme when he told whites: "We must adapt, otherwise we will die."

In his early years in power, Mr Botha had a broad mandate from whites for his twin goals of maintaining stability while moving away from rigid apartheid.

In 1984, he helped push through a new constitution that brought Indians and coloured people into the previously all-white parliament, but continued to exclude blacks. One result was black anger that ignited nationwide political violence.

The constitution abolished the post of prime minister and Mr Botha became state president. His critics say he has steadily increased the power of the executive branch since then, while weakening Parliament.

Since 1984, he has been credited with the repeal of several of apartheid's most hurtful laws, including the Immorality Act and the hated pass laws.

These reforms, along with promises of limited power-sharing with blacks, triggered a wave of defections by fellow Afrikaners from the National Party to the extreme-rightwing Conservative Party.

Mr Botha's anniversary this month comes as the National Party verges on losing the support of a majority of whites for the first time since it gained power 40 years ago.

The party won 55% of the vote in general elections in May 1987, while 26% went to the Conservative Party and 19% to liberal candidates.

The Conservatives are believed to have gained strength since then, and could outvote the National Party in nationwide local elections on October 26. Anticipating setbacks, National Party officials question whether municipal balloting is a proper barometer of general election results.

This month Mr Botha made an emotional plea for Afrikaner unity. Foes on both flanks described the appeal as humiliating, and the Conservatives said unity could come only if Mr Botha reaffirmed his support for undiluted white sovereignty.

"Few people realize how difficult it is for Mr Botha to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaners," said Mr Wynand Malan, former Nationalist MP and now leader of the National Democratic Movement.

"He belongs to an older generation and indeed went way beyond what could be expected of him," Mr Malan said. "It is now time for the torch to be handed to the new generation of Afrikaners."

Many liberals believe Mr Botha has gone as far as he is willing to go toward substantive reform. The president has declared some aspects of apartheid non-negotiable. He rejects equal voting rights for blacks and insists that whites retain segregated schools and residential areas.

"We are forever told that President Botha's government has chosen the path to reform and should be given a chance," wrote the editor of a a black newspaper, Mr Khulu Sibiya. "What chance, when they move one step forward and three backwards?"

Locally and overseas, one of the most vivid images of Mr Botha is that of a finger-wagging, defiant speechmaker, telling the world to stay out of South Africa's affairs.

His temper is renowned. Last year, he forced the lone coloured member of his cabinet, Mr Allan Hendrickse, to resign, then telephoned SABC during the TV news broadcast and demanded an immediate revision of a report which he deemed too favourable to Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Botha, whose government has detained thousands of black activists during a 27-month-old state of emergency, claims most blacks view him favourably. Opinion polls suggest otherwise, but the president — unlike his predecessors — has visited several black communities and cites approval through subsequent news footage showing him cheered by flag-waving schoolchildren.

This month Mr Botha held his first summit meetings in neighbouring African states. He visited Malawi and Mozambique.

Some critics say he is more willing to take chances in the international arena than at home.

"One has to say that P W Botha lacks imagination," said a Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Peter Soal. "He has failed to deal creatively with black political aspirations." — Sapa-AP

# P W's 10 years of power

**Next week, it will be 10 years since Mr P W Botha rose to power. JOHN MacLENNAN of Weekend Argus Political Staff assesses his achievements and failures**

W/E ARGUS 24/9/88 3044



**THE tragedy of Pieter Willem Botha is that he will be remembered for the things he didn't do. He didn't go far enough and he didn't give the country a unifying vision for a new tomorrow.**

History's epitaph of the man who this week marks his 10th year in power will be that he started a job which others will have to finish. It is also likely to say that he was not the right person to take new democracy to its logical conclusion.

In short, he has been around too long.

The epitaph is unlikely to mark the stupendous changes he has wrought, other than to note he split the volk and party and brought a new fluidity to politics.

President Botha came in as a compromise candidate on a second ballot as the NP wallowed in the worst government scandal of our history.

He said at the time he was not wedded to power and it is known he was bitter because John Vorster had clung on for so long.

But in staying at the helm for a decade, President Botha only follows the pattern set by every one of his predecessors. Vorster was in office for 13 years before being forced out. Malan retired in his eighties. Strydom and Verwoerd died in harness.

IT is difficult to provide a fair assessment of the man and his achievements. By the standards of his party and his people he has brought about near miracles of change.

But he has been rejected by the people who were supposed to benefit from his new deal and it is fair to say he nears the end of the road as a tragic figure. He has not been able to take many of his own people with and he is angry and hurt because he feels betrayed by those he has tried to help.

Now there is speculation that he might pick his aniversary this week to call it quits and announce he will stand down soon. This would enable his successor to put his own stamp on a campaign for a general election next year.

Whatever his critics may say, he will go down as a leader who made tremendous impact. The years since he took over have been more eventful than any other period since the Nats came in. A spinoff is that he presided over the worst political turbulence to hit the country in decades.

On the credit side:

His greatest contribution is that he accepted the reality that many of apartheid's goals were just not attainable.

He also accepted the "South Africanism" of blacks and set about reducing inequities in housing, education, opportunities and salaries.

He expounded what must have sounded like pure idolatory to people attuned to traditional Nat messages when he said blacks must have representation at the highest level in government.

He destroyed many of the myths which justified special treatment for whites, rid the country of much of the burden of discriminatory legislation which he inherited, kept the country secure even though it meant bringing in harsh and undemocratic measures and placed it on the road to an eventual participatory democracy.

INSTEAD of invoking the Almighty in the Nat crusade against the ungodly — and I mean people who don't agree with their politics — he made a new and Christian sound for an Afrikaner leader, saying you could not claim for yourself that which you were not prepared to grant to others.

He was courageous in making his adapt or die speech and in labelling apartheid an outdated concept.

In his first five years he in effect destroyed much of what Nationalist Afrikaners have always believed in. But his greatest failure is that he could not articulate an alternative future acceptable to all.

He has stupendous reserves of energy, his capacity for work is legendary. But the country needed a leader and a visionary and not a super manager.

He remained trapped in statutory group membership, failed to recognise how profound apartheid really is and never considered genuine accommodation with blacks in a non-racial South Africa. This is still anathema to most Afrikaners and whites in general.

Instead he decided key elements of apartheid were unattainable and set out to find new mechanisms for securing white interests.

He never meant to weaken white rule. When he rejected apartheid he meant that he intended to end some policies, modify others and keep control in white hands.

WORRIED by the conservative cause, he moved to the right while the future of the country lies to the left of the NP. He has lost contact with the leftwing accents in the party and his dwindling support base now consists of older English-speaking UP-types and Afrikaners who have outgrown his thinking.

He was hampered in his search for a new society by the very strategies he used to achieve it. In warning that people must adapt or die and developing a total strategy to meet the "total onslaught" he made white voters fearful, created a climate which enabled Dr Treurnicht's party to flourish and raised black expectations . . . which he has been unable to satisfy.

To be fair, he came in under the most inauspicous circumstances possible. He had to preside over the Info scandal, he had to deal with an entrenched and obstructive civil service and he had to contend with disinvestment and sanctions.

Nor was his cause helped by his style. President Botha may now have mellowed, but he was wellknown for a short fuse as well as an abrasive manner. He has a powerful personality, but his public image lacks charisma, humour or charm.

He seems, however, to have learned from his mistakes. He no longer shakes his finger at the world.

In order to get things done he centralised control under his executive presidency and gave the military greater influence in decision-making than ever before. Critics call it the "shadow government."

They also claim that with his increased powers he has developed an imperial style. He has his own flag and there were irritating questions when it became known that a trumpeter played a presidential salute when he left home to drive to his office at Tuynhuys.

HIS goals right at the start of his term were:

- To maintain law and order. (He has done so at the cost of individual freedom).
- To improve race relations. (Here it is surprising that they are still as good as they are after 40 years of divisive Nat rule. He personally claims to have black support and Nats point to the success of his township visits and to the Moria Church.)
- To build up friendly relations with neighbouring states. (His policy is: SA will prove a friend if you mind your business and don't assist our enemies. We reserve the right to beat you up if you don't.)
- To trim down government. (Today we have a bigger bureaucracy than ever.)

His biggest triumph was probably the 1984 constitutional referendum, when he obtained overwhelming white backing for limited power sharing. But the exclusion of blacks led to political voilence and the tricameral system — instead of getting people of all colours to work together — staggers from one crisis to the next.

His conservative critics also lambast him for allegedly selling out the white man by his offers to talk about a new set-up with blacks in his National Council. Here again, he has received a political hammering without deriving any benefit. No real black leaders are talking to the government in public.

In the end he will be remembered for putting up a monumental struggle in coping with a thankless and gargantuan task. He opened the door for blacks, but unless he achieves a breakthrough, he will go down in history as a leader who could not go far enough.

(304A) S Times 25/9/88

# Authority of security body almost paramount

THE State Security Council (SSC) is playing an increasingly active role in the running of South Africa — amounting to a government within a government, according to some analysts.

The role of this important body has again been highlighted in a study by the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies.

The authors of the Centre for Policy Studies document, Mr Mark Swilling and Mr Mark Phillips, say the policy of "total strategy" has been replaced by one referred to as "wham" — an acronym for "win hearts and minds".

The main difference is that total strategy was a policy for reform from the top down.

■ ■ ■

That involved the creation of constitutional structures which blacks would accept, allowing the normal dynamics of civil society to put flesh on the bones.

When this failed demonstrably, it was decided to start from the bottom up — by addressing basic grievances and improving the quality of daily life in black areas.

The new policy "assumes that resistance is a product of grievances exploited by revolutionaries. It follows that if the revolutionaries are annihilated; the worst grievances addressed and reorganised under trustworthy leaders, supported by the security forces, the ultimate political questions will disappear," say the authors.

The slogan of the early '80s — "no security without reform" — became reversed to read "no reform without security", they say.

They describe its development and nature like this: "In reality, the SSC was established to be an extremely powerful body with horizontal and vertical tentacles that embrace almost every aspect of public policy-making.

"As the apex of the National Security Management System (NSMS), the SSC has in effect become a state within a state to control the State."

The authors nominate several reasons why the SSC's "wham" strategy is likely to fail:

- It denies the absolute necessity for resolving the "national question";
- The State cannot rely on international support;
- The State cannot achieve the economic growth rate needed to make the welfare component work — President Botha recently said sanctions would deprive the State of R9-billion earmarked for black upliftment;
- The organisations forced underground by security action may become more effective in the long run.

The Policy Studies report is likely to reopen one of the most-important debates in the politics of the country at the moment: Are these "shadowy organs" gaining too much power from open, constitutional bodies?

Because of the invisible workings of the SSC (its permanent secretariat is housed in a nondescript building in central Pretoria) and the NSMS, a perception has grown that it is a "shadowy empire" geared to oppression.

But, say some analysts, this is not necessarily so. Many enlightened attitudes have evolved within the structure. Particularly within the NSMS, its workings entailed considerable community contact.

■ ■ ■

Out of this grew a new appreciation of the grievances there, and the aspirations that flowed from them. One top general in the secretariat once remarked privately: "All we can do is create time and space for the politicians to move in."

President Botha is the man who has become "trapped at the top" — having to strike a near-impossible balance between security and reform. In the view of many, security actions are interpreted as a negation of reform, speeding up the cycle of protest and repression.

In this maelstrom of political vacuums

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For example, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told a researcher that he heard of the bombing raids on frontline state capitals two years ago on the morning news, shortly before he was to meet the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) visiting SA at the time.

■ ■ ■

Senior aides around the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, believe Mr Botha did not know of the release of the ANC prisoner, Mr Govan Mbeki, until hours before it happened last year.

A further indication of the attitudes of the securocrats dominating the SSC came in a court case brought by the End Conscription Campaign against the SADF earlier this month.

There, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the Chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant-General Jan van Loggerenberg, stated that not only were extraordinary measures, such as "dirty tricks" campaigns, justified, but that in the circumstances the security establishment should not be answerable to the courts.

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By LESTER VENTER

Political Correspondent

and compulsions, the SSC has burgeoned — not least through the increased reliance on it by an executive State President.

It is not difficult to see why: The SSC gathers into one body the President, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order, Justice, Finance and Constitutional Development and Planning. In addition there are the chiefs of Intelligence, the SADF, Army, Air Force, Navy and Police.

There is concern among some parliamentarians, including some in the National Party, about growing centralisation of power — not just in the SSC, but in a smaller band of "securocrats".

# Mamelodi mayor at crossroads

## Ndlazi fights for his political future in October polls

25/9/88 Pres 304A

By ELIAS MALULEKE

MAMELODI mayor Bennett Zikhali Ndlazi goes into the October polls to fight for his political life, a month before the third anniversary of the incident in which at least 11 Mamelodi residents were shot dead on November 21, 1985.

The former "golden boy" of Mamelodi civic politics was then branded a villain by the people who blamed him for the massacre.

A similar march in Atteridgeville earlier in 1985 ended amicably when the mayor joined the marchers to present their grievances against the SADF presence at the local police station.

Ndlazi was subsequently accused of siding with the government and his house was stoned.

He then briefly quit the township to live in Waterkloof.

He was later welcomed by the State for a supportive statement on television.

Ndlazi praised the presence of troops in the township, a statement that angered many of the residents and which led to the march.

Among their grievances, residents complained about rents, police brutality and the right to bury their dead without restrictions.

The shooting incidents led directly to rent boycotts in the township which have still to be resolved, despite council claims that rents was being paid and that legal offices in Pretoria were dealing with thousands of rents queries from Mamelodi residents.

Ndlazi claims he is not worried about the publicity he received from his links with the government and scoffs at any suggestion that the November shooting would cost him votes.

"Mamelodi residents, particularly in my ward, where I am held in high esteem by the young and the old alike, have accepted me in because they know I was not responsible for the shootings," he said.

"I am a free man in the township and walk the streets without any fears for my life because the peoplewill not harm me.

"One thing I know is that I am going to win by a wide margin," he said.

However, there could be very little interest in the elections because his opponents appear to have little or no support in the ward.

A meeting called by unknown candidate Piet Gomba attracted only 15 people.

OK Mbalati, ex-mayor and another of Ndlazi's opponents, has not spelt out his position yet and Ndlazi has also not called a public meeting this year.

"I will do so shortly and there is no doubt that I will pull in the crowds," he said.

In all, 23 candidates had their nominations accepted and they will contest 11 of the 14 wards.

Two candidates are unopposed and there was one rejection in Ward 14.

# BROEDERTWIS!

# Slabbert and Terre Blanche in battle for hearts of the young in Big Debate at Tuks

**ARRIVING at the Tukkies campus on Thursday, Eugene Terre Blanche and Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert had only one thing in common — they both spoke Afrikaans, a ringing, vivid Afrikaans at that.**

**They left an hour later, still worlds apart, but conceding they had inched somewhat closer together.**

**Former Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Slabbert acknowledged that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging strongman represented a certain strand of thinking in white politics — that of separation and Afrikaner exclusivity.**

**And firebrand Mr Terre Blanche somewhat relented on his earlier hardline stance towards the "Dakarite", grudgingly accepting the Pietersburg-born politician's Afrikaner credentials.**

**In a sense that was what the Big Debate — before the standing-room-only student audience, spilling over on to the steps and the grass in front of the 1 500-seat hall — was all about, a battle for the hearts and minds of young Afrikaners.**

**By DRIES VAN HEERDEN**

**Mr Terre Blanche tried to project himself as the quintessential Afrikaner. Dressed in a safari suit and surrounded by a bevy of AWB heavies, he had no compunction in labelling himself "the most right-wing figure in rightwing politics".**

**He talked, he cajoled, he conjured up stirring images, but in the end he underestimated his audience.**

**Those moving phrases, which had so often in the past whipped the AWB faithful into a frenzy, sounded somewhat archaic to most of the students.**

**They were more than slightly amused by his rhetoric and his bombast. The grim-faced bodyguards lined up behind him on the stage and the AWB agent peeping from behind the stage curtain every now and then looked more like a Leon Schuster comedy than a serious political movement.**

**And Dr Slabbert tried his utmost to "out-Boer" the man from Ventersdorp. Calling himself a "boerewors-en-pap Afrikaner", he delivered an impassioned plea for negotiated solutions to SA's problems.**

**Rejecting Mr Terre Blanche's claim that "you don't talk to communists, you level them with the ground" as a "foefie" (con), he countered with his own dictum: "If you want peace, you will have to talk to the enemy."**

## Surprise

**And, perhaps even to his own surprise, he found fertile ground for his views among the Tukkie students, usually regarded as the most conservative in the country.**

**Their loudest cheers were reserved for his stinging rejection of the Angolan war: "What have we been doing in that country in the first place? Should we continue losing valuable young lives in a futile war?"**

**Equally popular was his reply to a question on why he left Parliament. He said: "It is not a democratic institution."**

**Mr Terre Blanche had his moments too. Bolstered by a strong contingent of AWB-groupies from as far afield as Standerton, he was at his bellicose best.**

**He said: "If war is the price to be paid for peace, then you should be prepared to start the war."**

**Like Martin Luther King 20 years ago, both professed to have "a dream" for their country.**

## Treated

**Mr Terre Blanche's vision was that of the resurrection of the old Boere republics, the Transvaal, the Free State and Northern Natal, with parts of the Cape if the people so wished. Only AWB-approved Afrikaners would live there and everybody else would be treated as "guests".**

**Dr Slabbert dreamt of the day when Afrikaners would be accepted as indigenous to Africa and not as an extension of Europe. "I long for the day when the word of the Afrikaner can be honoured again and he will not manipulate the state to benefit himself."**

**Between the Slabbert dream and the Terre Blanche vision, the whole spectrum of white opinion can be fitted in. And the students, who listened to them, will be there when wake-up time comes.**



AFRIKANERS POLES APART ... Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Eugene Terre Blanche

25 1988 SUNDAY TIMES Perspectives

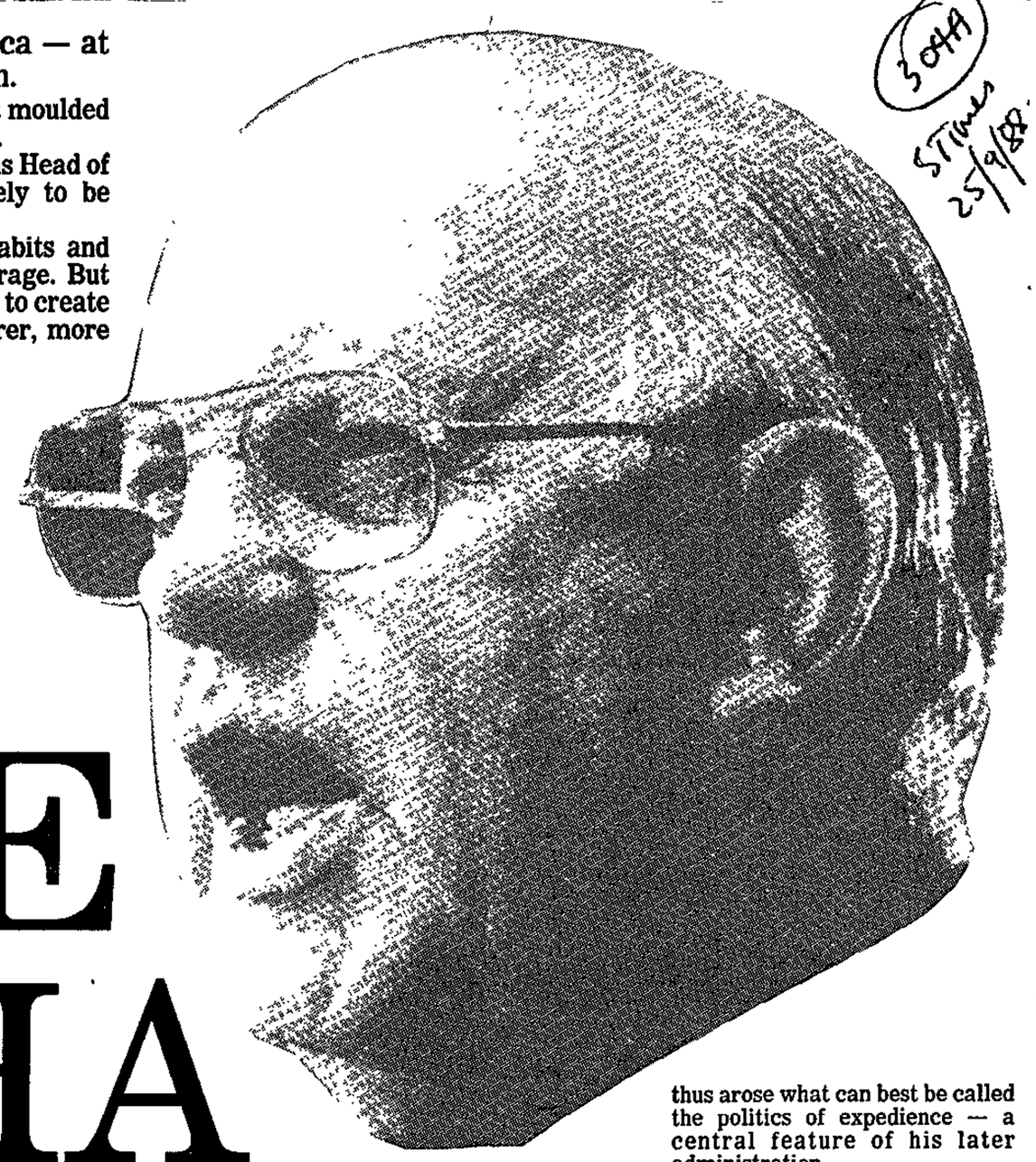
3044 ST Times 25/9/88

**FOR 10 years he has dominated public life in South Africa — at various times inspiring, shrewd, arrogant and stubborn.**

**He has not merely ruled the country, but to a considerable extent moulded it. His tenure, put another way, has not been that of a caretaker.**

**Yet, when President Botha quietly observes his 10th anniversary as Head of Government on Wednesday this week, the champagne is unlikely to be running other than in Tuynhuys.**

**Mr Botha set out 10 years ago to untie his people from the habits and prejudices of the past — something which required no little courage. But whereas he began with a six-point pledge on the steps of Parliament to create a better country, he will most likely be leaving office with a poorer, more cynical and divided one.**

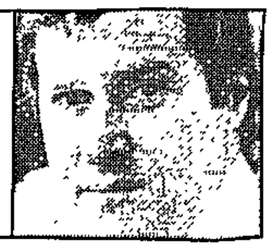


HE SET OUT TO CREATE A BETTER COUNTRY. TODAY HE WILL FIND IT POORER, MORE CYNICAL AND DIVIDED . . .

# THE BOTHA DECADE

**by Brian Pottinger**

*author of a forthcoming book about the President's first 10 years in office*



The reason lies in three qualities which have come to characterise our politics in recent years: Insularity, intolerance and impetuosity.

Can one fairly accuse the President of being insular? Here, after all, was the first National Party leader to force his supporters to face the realities of a changing economy and society.

He challenged them at Upington when he told them to "adapt or die", and again at his first Transvaal National Party congress when he attacked a delegate for complaining about mixed post office queues.

Later he took on Dr Andries Treurnicht for treating coloureds like "lepers", Arrie Paulus for opposing the extension of trade union rights to blacks, and Jaap Marais for denying black people basic dignity.

He made no bones of his willingness to work with English-speaking business in the pursuit of national self-sufficiency (he had been doing it for years in any case in building up Armscor), or his desire to bring coloureds and Indians into a limited form of power-sharing with whites. English-speaking South Africans flocked to his colours.

In May 1984, riding largely on his domestic triumphs, he embarked on the most ambitious foreign tour since the days of Jan Smuts, and returned to pronounce himself pleasantly surprised at the courteous way he had been received — something he no longer thought possible.

All this is true, and yet Mr Botha's insularity is more elemental.

## Defeated

It is the unshakable belief that individuals *should* not only be politically represented by the racial group into which the gods delivered them, but that they actually *want* to be.

There is enough evidence that large numbers of South Africans do value their ethnic ties, but not sufficiently to accept being herded into racial corrals when it comes to participating in the running of the country.

This insularity — what has been called the "group covenant" — is what has defeated Mr Botha's best attempts to achieve what he rather disingenuously calls the broadening of democracy.

Because of this he cannot invoke the support of the coloured and Indian MPs to oppose the Conservative Party which, although it holds only seven percent of all the seats in the tricameral Parliament, exerts a preposterous influence on the country's future.

Also, he cannot reach agreement with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, and most certainly cannot even begin to start talking to the United Democratic Front and other "popular" organisations.

He, and thus the country, are victims of this group covenant.

This raises the question of intolerance.

During his famous (or infamous) Rubicon speech in Durban on August 15, 1985, Mr Botha posed this rhetorical question: "How do we build a better future ... by letting the people speak ... by letting the people speak through their leaders."

The sentiment sounded fine, but its application turned out somewhat different, because the truth is that Mr Botha is pretty intolerant of other people's views — both personally and politically.

Only a comparatively narrow band of people ended up speaking, and then only through selected leaders. In his term of office more than 20 000 people have been detained without trial for various periods, the Press substantially curbed, the UDF and ANC entirely muzzled and, most recently, people threatened with prison if they call for a boycott of the municipal elections.

Some argue that any or all of these steps are necessary to nip a pending revolution in the bud (although this raises doubts about how serious Mr Botha is about saving democracy if he can so blithely destroy some of its basic elements), but it is coy to suggest this is anything other than an awesome display of intolerance.

## Reforms

This would not be so serious if it were merely the foible of a head of government — after all, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is known to run a tight ship in Cabinet — but it becomes dangerous when it is institutionalised in the running of a country.

People denied the right to express their views do not just relinquish them. They look around for other ways to voice them — mostly through violence or silent boycott. And that is the second problem Mr Botha bequeaths to himself on his 10th anniversary.

The last flaw, both personal and political, is impetuosity.

Throughout his long career, Mr Botha has garnered a justifiable reputation as a good crisis manager. He early identified crises (after 40 years of National Party rule there are enough of them) and took rapid action to deal with them.

Out of the window went bans on mixed marriage, sex across the colour line, the pass laws, social segregation, job advancement and restraints on informal economic activity, self-help housing and freehold rights. These were vital reforms that should never be lightly dismissed.

But it was when it came to political changes that Mr Botha's impetuosity became a liability. The limited reforms proposed in terms of the tricameral Parliament were rejected by radical groups — unwisely, but perhaps predictably. Simultaneously, also predictably, there was a surge of violence — some driven by revolutionary groups, but much of it spontaneous street thuggery.

A sophisticated long view would have been to nurse the country with as much restraint as possible through the rough patch. The short view, the impetuous one, would be to hit hard and massively at every sign of vaguely radical opposition.

This was Mr Botha's choice and thus arose what can best be called the politics of expedience — a central feature of his later administration.

If opposition grows too strong, lock it up and ban its organisations. If the courts find a reason to release them, change the law. If the courts remain persistent, claim your actions are above the law. If the Press reports critically on your actions, shut them up.

If the clergy or other luminaries protest, threaten them or, if necessary, smear them. If the protestors receive money from abroad, cut off the funding. If foreign governments remonstrate, tell them to do their damndest.

## Danger

If the economic costs of your failures become too high, tax more. If you cannot find genuine leaders to join you, create weird constitutional structures and fill them with anybody prepared to take the king's shilling. The process is endless.

The danger, of course, is that after a time the very idea of open and responsive constitutional government becomes anachronistic, almost laughable. Other people, if they are not already thinking along the same lines, quickly take the cue set by the Government — those on the ultra right, the radical left, the vigilantes, the death squads, the faction fighters and other disreputable political fauna.

The last 10 years have been unkind to Mr Botha and the country he has ruled. The man who once inspired many people by his ability to identify the problems has now disillusioned many others by his lack of wisdom in resolving them.

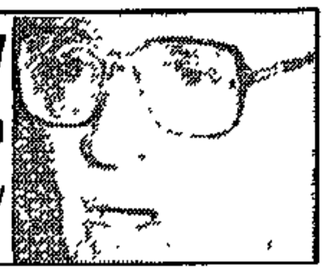
Wednesday could easily have been an occasion for champagne. Sadly, it is not.

# Why SA may need a black president

ST Times 25/9/88. 30KB

**by Denis Worrall**

*Leader of the Independent Party*



AT THE beginning of the 1986 parliamentray session, Mr Pik Botha said a black President of South Africa was acceptable to him. He was promptly slapped down by President Botha.

This week Parliament will debate an amendment to the constitution which allows for the appointment of blacks as Cabinet Ministers.

## Duty

While reservations (which I share) have been expressed about the effectiveness of reform of this kind, the question does arise: If black Cabinet Ministers, why not a possible black President?

In terms of the present constitution, a coloured or an Indian can be President. Why not a black?

There are several compelling reasons why Parliament this week should make this possible, and why the Labour Party, Solidarity and the PFP would be failing in their duty if they did not insist on such an amendment.

Having admitted that blacks will in principle serve in central government, there can in principle be no reason why a black should not be President.

Negatively expressed, it is an insult to black leaders that they are constitutionally ineligible for this position.

The principle aside, there are good practical reasons why this provision should be implemented now.

One of the realities which South Africans in general, and white South Africans in particular, need to face is that we have a population which is growing at the rate of 2,3 percent a year.

This means that in the year 2000 (only 12 years away) South Africa will have around 50-million people, of whom fewer than 5,5-million will be white.

It will reach 80-million in the year 2020, when there will be a little over 6-million whites.

This means that the South Africa of tomorrow will be non-racial. It means also that black consumer power, already an important factor, will be the dominant factor in our economy, and the advancement of white economic interests will depend on the advancement of black interests.

Perhaps most disturbing to many white South Africans, facing reality means we are likely to have a government, certainly over the greater part of this country, in which there will be more black faces than white faces.

In fact, there is a very good chance that most people under the age of 60 will live under such a government.

While the quality of the people in government, expressed in terms of integrity, intelligence and philosophical commitment, is more important than their colour, the fact is that this is a reality which whites must face. And it clearly would be desirable to give a black President the opportunity of pursuing the politics of reconciliation before the onset of a debilitating civil war situation of the kind which Rhodesia/Zimbabwe experienced.

Related to this is the paradox that black leaders are best able to give white South Africans the reassurance and general sense of security which they need if they are to feel they have a future in South Africa.

## Opposition

It comes as no surprise to me that surveys have consistently shown that a very large number of white South Africans would like to see Dr Buthelezi in government.

One survey showed that no fewer than 70 percent of whites in Natal want to see him in a leadership position. The same survey showed that 62 percent of National Party supporters in that province would similarly like to see him in government.

SWA/Namibia and Zimbabwe illustrate the crucial reconciling role of black leadership.

President Mugabe has reconciled white and black Zimbabweans (he has been less successful in reconciling black and black), but this has happened only after the traumatic experience of a war — a war which many white Zimbabweans now say was unnecessary.

And Dirk Mudge, although deserving much credit, will tell you that the fact that whites are prepared for the fundamental changes which will take place in SWA/Namibia is because of the creative contribution of black leadership.

A second practical reason for making it possible for a black to be elected President is what could happen in the general election constitutionally scheduled for late next year or early 1990.

## Forces

The next election could produce an Assembly in which no party has a majority. This would happen if the CP won between 45 and 50 seats. For it to win 60 seats would be very difficult and for it to win the magic 84 is impossible. It would have to win virtually all Afrikaans votes for that to happen.

But were it to win 50 seats or so, and the Independent Party, PFP and NDM, in association with the Labour Party, Solidarity and other parties in the tricameral system, to do equally well, the creative opposition could determine who the next President is going to be.

The great challenge in South Africa is to get ahead of events. We need to realise that we are not hostages of blind historical forces or, for that matter, of the tired leadership of a played-out National Party. Amending the constitution so that a black could be President is not only the logical and morally right thing to do.

It is, in fact, wise politics.

# State wields big stick before poll

## The Govt targetted activists of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Freedom Charter group

IN what observers see as a pre-election crackdown on political activists, police have swooped on more than 50 people and placed restrictions on many others countrywide.

The targets have been drawn mainly from two of the country's most conspicuous political strains: Black Consciousness and Freedom Charter adherents.

It all started before the Steve Biko Week commemoration services between September 6-12 when a number of Pretoria-based activists were netted.

By MOKGADI PELA

Among the first to be arrested was the president of the Azanian's People's Organisation, Mr Nkosi Molala, and United Democratic Front Transvaal executive member, Mr Arthur Mkhwanazi.

The detentions were soon to intensify.

The family of Azanian Youth Organisation president, Mr Thabo Mafihla, reported that their son was picked up by men believed to be security police.

Others believed to be behind bars are: Mr Fundile Mafongosi (Azapo Cape vice-president), Mr Mila Koltani (Eastern Cape Azanian Student Movement member), Philemon Mosupye (Atteridgeville Azapo member), Vuyo Kapa (Azapo member), Rapu Molekane (South African Youth Congress general secretary), and Sayco publicity secretary, Mr Simon Ntombela

As an addition to the suspicion that the Government moves were aimed at curbing opposition to the October 26 elections, 13 members of the Black Consciousness Movement in Bekkersdal township alone were served with restriction orders between July 9 and September 9

The restrictions prohibit them from taking part in activities of Azapo, Azayo and Azasm

The orders further restrict them to the magisterial districts of Westonaria, in the West Rand. They may also not attack the system of local authorities or encourage people to boycott the elections.

Those restricted are: Simon Lethea (24), Jacob Sebogodi (17), Boitumelo Raborifi (31), Glad Mofokeng (22), Oupa Magwaza (23), George Zama (25), Joseph Montoedi (34), Dumile Sithole (22), Phillip Mthembu (20), Pule Khumalo (20), Sello Modisane (30), Leonard Phillemon and Themba Damane (19).

They were all released after spending about two years in detention.

Other prominent activists who have also been restricted include the chairman of the Release Mandela Committee, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, Mr Phillip Matthews, a long time member of the African National Congress and Mr Jabu Ngwenya of the United Democratic Front.

And on the eve of the Congress of South African Trade Union's "Anti-Apartheid Conference" in Cape Town, three high ranking Cosatu officials were served with restriction orders that prohibit them from leaving their magisterial districts for 10 days from September 22 to October 3.

They are: Mr Chris Dlamini, Cosatu's vice-president, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, assistant general secretary and the federation's Northern Transvaal regional Transvaal regional secretary, Mr George Khumalo.

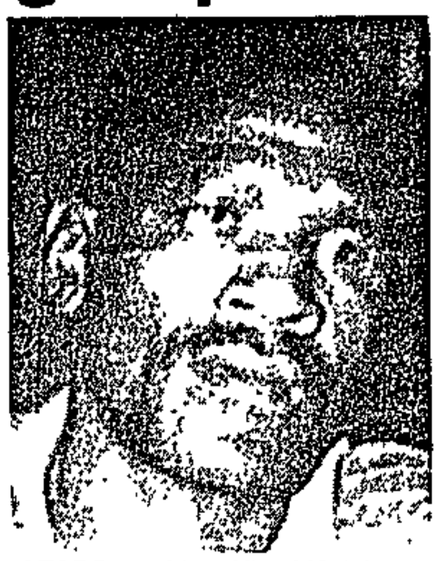
The National Union of Metalworkers' of South Africa reported that two of its members were detained in terms of the emergency regulations on September 21

They included Numsa's education secretary in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Jerry Thibedi and its regional secretary in Natal, Mr Willis Mchunu.

The question in the minds of many people should be: Who is next in line to receive a restriction order or an early morning knock which would most likely send him in the coolers.

But as one singer rightfully said: "Time will tell."

FOCUS



AZAPO president Nkosi Molala ... detained.



RMC chairman Aubrey Mokoena ... restricted.

**"Crackdown started before the Steve Biko Week commemoration services between September 6 to 12 when a number of Pretoria-based activists were detained ... The family of Azanian Youth Organisation president, Mr Thabo Mafihla, said he was taken by men believed to be security police."**




Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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**"Thirteen members of the Black Consciousness Movement in Bekkersdal township alone were served with restriction orders prohibiting them from taking part in activities of Azapo, Azasm and Azayo".**

# BIG SQUEEZE

## Govt silences over 400 in election run-up



MR VLOK, Minister of Law and Order

3044 26/9/88

By THEMBA MOLEFE and MOKGADI PELA

**A MASSIVE government crackdown on anti-apartheid forces and the labour movement intensified last week. About 400 people were detained and almost 30 restricted as the countdown to the municipal elections on October 26 begins in earnest today.**



A high political note was reached on Friday with the last-minute banning of the mammoth anti-apartheid conference planned for Cape Town at the weekend.

Four high-ranking officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which organised the conference, were slapped with restriction orders confining them to their homes for 10 days.

They are Cosatu first vice president, Mr Chris Dhlamini, assistant general secretary, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Northern Transvaal regional chairman, Mr

© To page 2

MOVE TO MILDNESS

BENSON & HEDGES

ESTABLISHED 1873 OLD BOND STREET LONDON

P.T.O

*HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY*

†Indicates translated version.

*For written reply:*

*General Affairs:*

**N13 Highway: proposed toll road**

1429. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

Whether the Department of Transport has at any time consulted the Johannesburg City Council in connection with the proposed toll road on the N13 highway; if not, why not; if so, (a) (i) with whom and (ii) when were these consultations held and (b) what was the outcome thereof?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

No, not as such but discussions were held on 8 June 1988 at which an official of the Johannesburg City Council was present.

**Talks on SWA: cost**

1431. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(a) What was the total cost to the State of the recent visits to (i) Brazzaville, (ii) Cairo and (iii) New York in connection with the discussions on South West Africa, (b) what was the duration of each visit, (c) how many members of each South African Delegation had their expenses paid by his Department, (d) (i) how many members of each such delegation were representatives of Government Departments and (ii) which Departments were represented and (e) what were the functions of these members during the above-mentioned discussions?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(a) (i), (ii) and (iii) Some of the expenditures which have to be borne by the respective foreign governments have not yet been determined and consequently total costs cannot accurately be established at this stage.

(b) The duration of each visit was as follows.

(i) Brazzaville: 12 to 14 May 1988

(ii) Cairo, 22 to 25 June 1988

(iii) New York: 7 to 15 July 1988.

(c) The relevant government departments involved in the peace talks and the media representatives who accompanied the delegation to Cairo each paid their own expenses.

(d) (i) All members, with the exception of the media representatives who accompanied the delegation to Cairo.

(ii) Department of Foreign Affairs, SA Defence Force, National Intelligence Service.

(e) The members of the delegation performed integrated official functions

**SADF: charges against serving members**

1436. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether the South African Defence Force has laid charges relating to refusal to perform military service against any of the serving members of the Defence Force whose names appeared in a certain newspaper report, particulars of which have been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what charges and (b) against whom; if not,

(2) whether he intends taking any steps in this regard; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2) No, because no charge can be laid against persons who only indicated that they would refuse to do Military Service. Where offences, however, are committed, suitable steps in terms of the Defence Act, 1957 (as amended) will be taken.

**Municipal elections: financial assistance to candidates**

1466. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

(1) Whether candidates in the municipal elections of October this year have been promised any financial assistance by his

book published in 1954.

It seems that women who like having car doors opened for them have a simple solution. "It is easy for a lady to get her partner to open the car door for her if she wishes," says the book. "All she has to do is sit there scrabbling through her handbag until he becomes so impatient that he goes round and opens the door."

But even in 1954 there were obviously women who didn't like having doors opened for them. The book provides a list of "don'ts".

DON'T brush past her to grab the door before she gets there.

DON'T push her hand from the doorknob if she reaches for it.

DON'T make a big thing of it.

And finally: DON'T expect her to be consistent.

All very good advice.

Incidentally, does anybody have a handy new form of non-sexist address for modern letters?

"Dear Sir/Madam" does sound a little pompous in this relaxed age. "Dear Person" sounds idiotic (and anyway, most business seems to be handled by machines now.)

Then there's the ending. "Yours sincerely" and "yours faithfully" seem a bit incongruous after a letter that has been complaining about rotten service or rebuking the addressee for something.

Time for a re-think, I think.

Personally, I rather favour just a terse: "I am Joe Bloggs." at the end of such a letter.

★★★★★

SMITHERS was an avid boxing fan, so he was most upset when he discovered he would not be at home to watch an important fight on television one evening.

He asked his wife to be sure to watch the fight and let him know the result.

"Well," he asked, when he returned, "what was the result?"

"No, there was no result," she reported. "One of the men got hurt in the first round, so they cancelled the rest of the match."

The Wanderer

On paper it should not have a chance in Pretoria. The CP does not hold a single parliamentary seat in the city. Its

mediately follows is what the effect of this will be, especially as the CP has sworn to paralyse the system of re-

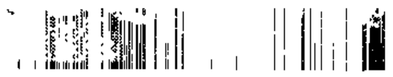
its chest.

There could also be acrimonious confrontation between CP-controlled councils

could be exaggerated.

Well-placed National Party sources point out that the CP

a change in strategy to deliberate confrontation with the provincial and central authorities.



Dr Andries Treurnicht

government to create more urban seats at the expense of the platteland would solve nothing at all.

# Election important for blacks, but they're split on participation

WHILE white politics takes a high profile, key elections in the sprawling black townships of the Transvaal have yet to emerge from the shadows.

The elections in these areas are important, firstly, because the government hopes to restore sound administration and public legitimacy, as a prelude to withdrawing the security forces, and, secondly, because they are a vital component of its constitutional plans.

The elected black councillors will form an electoral college to determine the representation of urban blacks on the National Council (which has so far failed to arouse the enthusiasm of non-urban blacks).

The legitimacy of what follows depends largely on the size of the municipal poll, which makes the election something like a referendum — acquiescence or otherwise in the government's constitutional plans being indicated by voting or not voting.

Some believe in giving the system a try; others oppose it utterly. But the latter are bound and gagged in a sense which is almost literal because so many of their leaders are in custody (if they are not living in the United States consulate), while it is an offence in terms of the emergency regulations to urge a boycott.

Some referendum.

It is consequently rather difficult to speak to those who oppose participation. One such leader with whom I had an appointment did not turn up, presumably because he had been served with restriction orders that very morning.

Yet black candidates have come forward, many of them under the umbrellas of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) and the breakaway United Municipalities of South Africa (UMSA). Party formation in the townships appears to be otherwise nebulous, although a grouping known as Sofasonke is said to have achieved some cohesion in Soweto.

Steve Kgame, president of UCASA, insists that the participation message is getting across. The RSCs have already dramatically improved the quality of life in the townships, he says. Meetings are well attended and intimidation is not a factor.

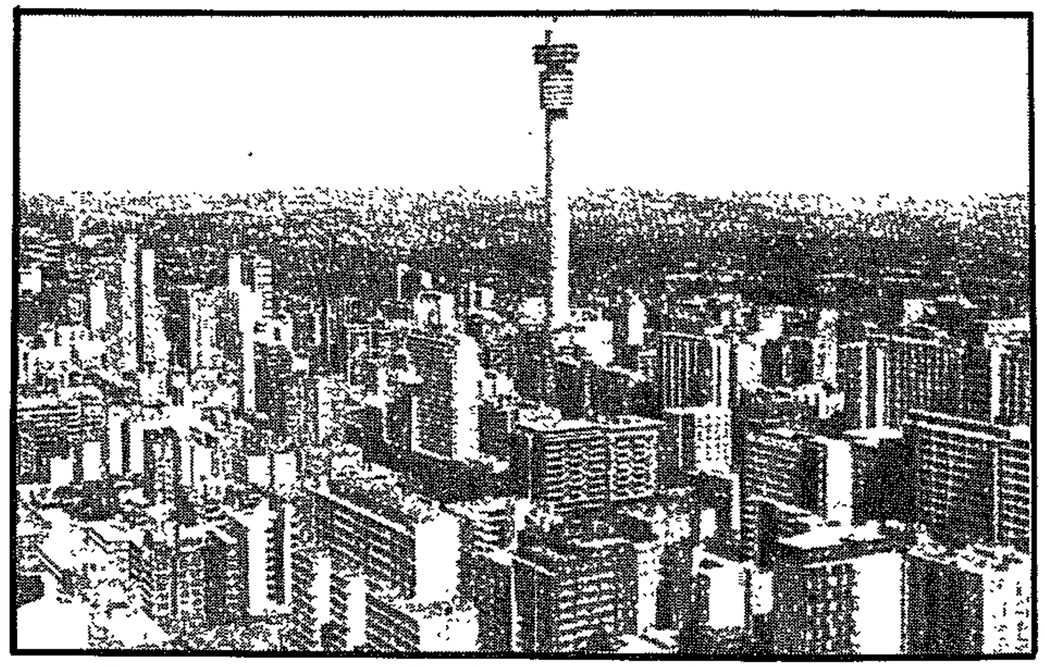
He says the percentage poll will be higher than before (which could still mean lower than 10 percent), but is not prepared to make firm predictions.

Cecil Goba, a member of UMSA and of the West Rand RSC, says much the same. The greatest factor in low municipal polls, he says, is the unfamiliarity of blacks with the system and their failure at this stage to understand that it is the RSCs which are providing material upliftment in their lives.

He believes that under the circumstances a poll of 20 percent would indicate successful elections.



Dr Zac de Beer



Johannesburg . . . the Conservatives have no chance.



Mrs Joyce Harris

# PFP enthusiasm revived, but NP likely to control Jo'burg

JOHANNESBURG'S Carlton Centre is surely a symbol of the new South Africa.

Sophisticated blacks throng its glass and steel shopping malls, they pack into its restaurants and bars. It is the sort of racial mixing which the Progressive Federal Party knew all along was inevitable, the Nationalists have come to terms with — but the Conservative Party finds anathema.

There is some talk in the Transvaal these days of the curfew being restored in towns where the CP gains control, blacks being barred from the urban areas after dark. Much of it is probably only election talk, but it worries people all the same.

The Carlton Centre is safe enough. It seems certain that the National Party will take firm control of Johannesburg, possibly winning as many as 30 of the city's 51 wards.

The PFP will be content with winning 18 or so, which would be an advance on the party's drubbing in the national poll in May last year.

PFP workers believe the appointment of Dr Zac de Beer as national leader has revived flagging enthusiasm, while the activities of youthful Wits academic Tony Leon are expected to bring back to the fold droves of young PFP voters who abstained last year in solidarity with black South Africa.

The tendency is likely to be given impetus by public appeals (in her private capacity) by Joyce Harris, of the Black Sash executive, to whites to go to the polls.

The CP is unlikely to capture more than six wards at most, although its organiser, Fred Rundle (himself a candidate), says it will hold the balance of power and force the NP in the direction of segregating facilities, reintroducing the curfew and "cleaning up" Hillbrow.

Johan Fick, deputy chairman of the NP in Johannesburg (and also a candidate), finds the notion amusing and absurd.

Yet, oddly enough, the PFP is likely to pursue this very line in the coming weeks. The State President's emotional appeal for Afrikaner unity will be portrayed as an indication of underlying affinity between the NP and the CP, with the likelihood of agreement on questions such as books of a Christian National character for municipal libraries.

The PFP's problem is to persuade its natural supporters (who are aware of the general CP threat in most of the Transvaal) that there is no logic in voting Nat just to keep the CP out when the CP has no chance in Johannesburg anyway.

The PFP is assured of controlling Sandton, in alliance with an organisation calling itself the Sandtonians, while it could also regain control of Randburg with independents who support local MP Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

Let the Carlton Centre have the last word.

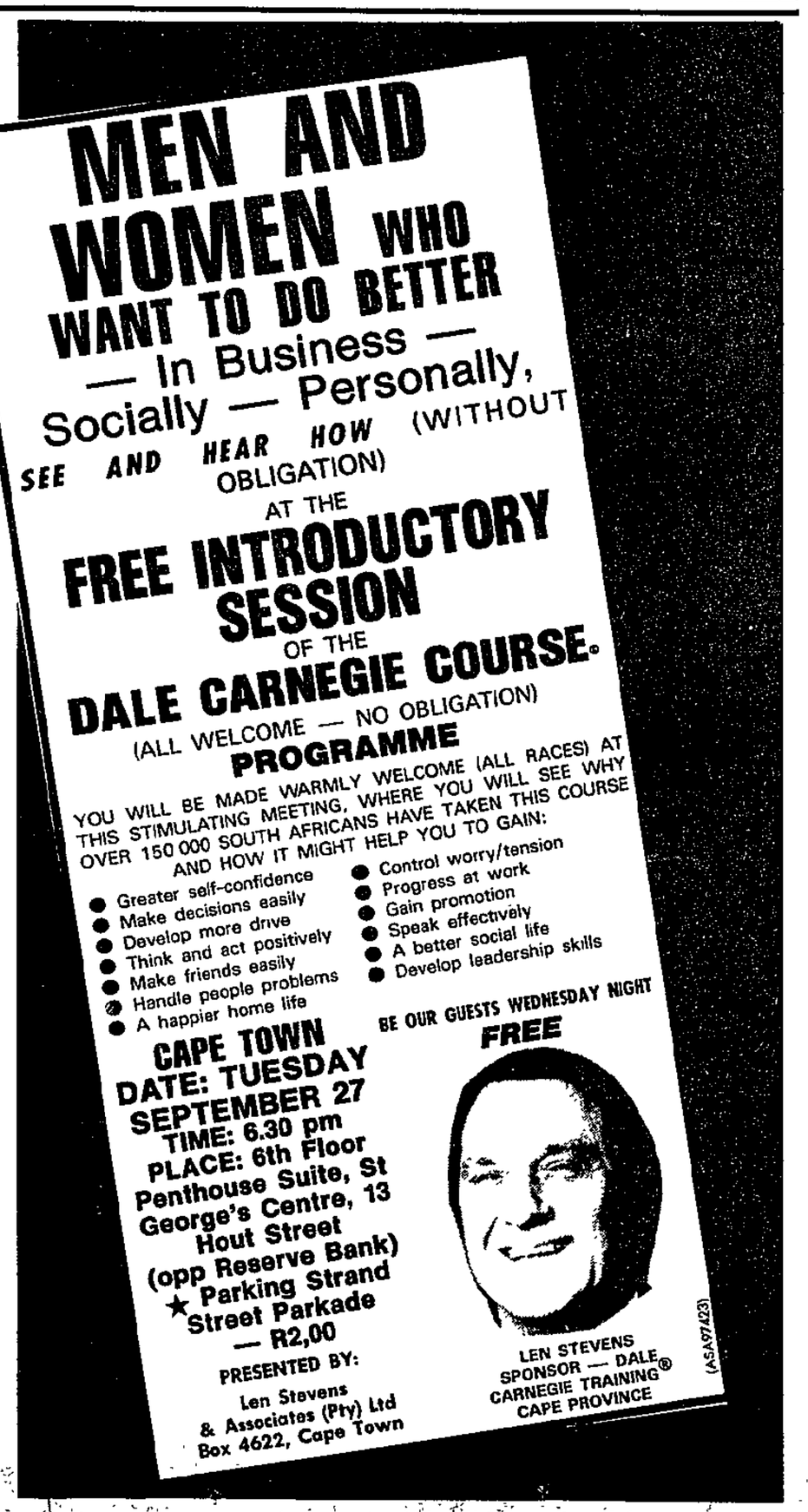
"Support P W Botha!" an elderly and well-refreshed white man declared at large to a plush bar which was full of blacks.

"I used to vote for the United Party. Now I vote for Botha. He's the only man who's ever done a thing for you people. The CP will throw you out in the gutter."

"Quite true," declared a highly articulate black woman (she told me she was "in computers"). "Give P W Botha a chance. He's a human creature, he has human weaknesses. He is trying, give him a chance."

But when I asked if she would vote in the municipal elections, she threw back her head and laughed. "No, not that nonsense."

She seemed to articulate Mr Botha's opportunities and his immediate problem: black support for reform, but not in terms of the present system.

# Names of those standing

By Stan Hlophe

The full list of candidates who are standing for election in Soweto in next month's municipal elections has been released.

Fifteen councillors have now been elected unopposed and 24 aspirant candidates were disqualified.

This brings to 43 the number of candidates who will be opposed.

Fierce battles are expected to be waged in wards 3, 16 and 32, in which councillors Ms Violet Phetjaulema, Mr Patrick Gaboutlole and Mr Daniel Kumalo will fight against Mr Hendrik Tsietsi van Roos and Mr Simon Nontele, Mr Welcome Tshehla Lepamo and Mr Alfred Zim, and Mr Mandla Milanga and Mr Samuel Tsatsi respectively.

Those disqualified are: Ward 1 M Mnguni, Ward 2 Alfred Nyathi, Ward 4 Samuel Mkhwanazi, Ward 5 Peter Mngomezulu, Ward 6 J Nkosi, Ward 9 Lillian Matheta, Ward 10 G A Msimango, Ward 15 E Leballo, Ward 16 O Maseko, Ward 18 M D Kunene, Ward 19 J Mogarisi, Ward 20 S Motsele, Ward 24 I Nxumalo, Ward 25 P Sibasa, Ward 26 H S Mgibe, J Zitha and Mr Simonn Hanyane, Ward 27 T S Khoza, Ward 29 J V Mohube, Ward 30 A C Lesenjane, Ward 33 Z Meku, A Motlaase and E Shai, and in Ward 34 J Ngobeni.

Those standing are: Ward 2 B Letsoalo and N J Mogamisi, Ward 5 J A Khuzwayo and W Masia, Ward 6 P K Kodi and M M Mazibuko, Ward 7 E Kekana and P M Tshabalala, Ward 9 I Buthelezi and S S Ntengo, Ward 11 M Khanyile, and P Ramela, Ward 14 S M Manthata and S Seheri, Ward 15 E M Mokotime and L Radebe, Ward 18 M H Maseko and J W Mokoena, Ward 20 M Ditshego and J Mdlalose, Ward 23 M K Kgaladi and E Mnisi, Ward 28 D Rasmeni and J Mavuso, Ward 30 P Dlamini and G Jiyane, Ward 35 F S J Msimango and H Nkosi.

# Look, no gun, says Soweto mayor

By Patrick Laurence

The Mayor of Soweto, Mr Nelson Botile, stood up, opened his jacket, lifted it up and turned around, saying: "There is no gun here, gentlemen."

His impromtu action had been prompted by the question of whether he carried a gun.

The question had not been asked idly. Town councillors have been attacked as "collaborators". Mr Botile's three predecessors — Mr Edward Kunene, Mr Ephraim Tshbalala and Mr David Thebehali — were the targets of bombers and assassins.

The controversy over the pending October 26 municipal elections has added to the danger of serving as a councillor, the African National Congress having vowed to wreck the elections.

Mr Botile (61) had earlier related how his house in Orlando East had been burnt down in 1985 and how he decided to remain in Soweto rather than live in the fortified complex at Power Park on the edge of the huge township.

"I believe in God," he said. "Even if you have guns, even AK-47s, if your day has come, it has come. That is my belief."

But, he conceded, some of his fellow councillors thought differently. "They feel they should have a gun so that if it comes to a shoot-out, they must be able to shoot back."

A businessmen — he owns a garage and a shopping centre — Mr Botile succeeded Mr Kunene as mayor.

Mr Kunene took over from Mr Tshbalala, the leader of the Sofasonke Party which was victorious in the 1983 election.

Shortly before Mr Kunene became mayor, Mr Edward Manyosi emerged as a challenger to Mr Tshabalala. But, in December 1984, having won the support of 14 councillors, Mr Manyosi was shot dead.

Mr Botile is one of 15 candidates who are unopposed in next month's election in Soweto, a factor which he attributed to his use of his position to advance the cause of his constituents.

He recalled that he had made representations for the repeal of the pass laws, for the granting of freehold rights to urban blacks and for the restoration of South African citizenship to those who had lost it.

Young radicals sometimes attend his meetings in Soweto, he said. "I always tell them that there is no way you can win.



Mr Botile ... No good shouting from afar.

your battle by fighting from outside."

Elaborating, he said: "If you are shouting from afar, you will not be heard (by the white man). But if you come nearer, he will hear you at the end of the day."

Mr Botile was a member of the African National Congress before it was banned and, from 1958 to 1960 of the Pan Africanist Congress.

In apparent contradiction of his own advice about "getting nearer", Mr Botile is opposed to participation in the National Council which President Botha hopes to use as a forum in which to forge a new constitutional dispensation for all South Africans.

"We have long passed the situation where the black man can only make recommendations.

"We want to be in Parliament."

Later, in another interview, the Soweto town clerk, Mr Nico Malan, gave further details about the pending election on October 26.

The Soweto Council has been enlarged from 30 to 35 members. Of the 35 seats 15 are unopposed; 43 candidates are contesting the remaining 20 wards.

Altogether 24 candidates were disqualified, a figure which Mr Malan described as "alarmingly high".

At least 15 of the 24, were candidates for the Sofasonke Party.

Mr Malan disagreed that the high number of disqualified candidates was an indication that liaison between the authorities and aspirant candidates was weak. His door had been open.

The disqualifications had been due to "silly mistakes" or "unforced errors" by the candidates in not meeting the conditions to stand.

He declined to speculate on what percentage poll would be attained on October 26, except to say: "We are hoping for a higher poll than last time." The percentage poll in Soweto in 1983 was 10,7 percent.

3044

# FOCUS ON BLACK ELECTIONS

**WHILE white politics takes a high profile, key elections in the sprawling black townships of the Transvaal have yet to emerge from the shadows.**

The elections in these areas are important firstly because the Government hopes to restore sound administration and public legitimacy, as a prelude to withdrawing the security forces; and secondly because they are a vital component of its constitutional plans.

**Sowetan Correspondent**

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Some referendum.

It is consequently rather difficult to speak to those who oppose participation. One such leader with whom a reporter had an appointment did not turn up, presumably because he had been served with restriction orders that very morning.

## Forward

Yet black candidates have come forward, many of them under the umbrellas of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa and the breakaway United Municipalities of South Africa.

Party formation in the townships appears to be otherwise nebulous, though a grouping known as Sofasonke is said to have achieved some cohesion in Soweto.

Steve Kgame, president of Ucasa, insists that the participation message is getting across. The RSCs have already dramatically uplifted the quality of life in the townships, he says.

## Intimidation

Meetings are well attended and intimidation is not a factor. He says the percentage poll will be higher than ever (which could still mean something lower than 10 percent), but is not prepared to make firm predictions.

Cecil Goba, a member of Umsa and of the West Rand RSC, says much the same. The greatest factor in low municipal polls, he says, is the unfamliarity of blacks with the system and their failure at this stage to understand that it is the RSCs which are providing material upliftment in their lives.

He believes that under the circumstances a poll of 20 percent would indicate successful elections.

PRESIDENT P W Botha completes 10 years in power tomorrow, pressing ahead with policies that have disenchanted many whites and blacks across the political spectrum.

Not interested in charming his way to popularity, Botha has presented himself as a stern, dedicated patriot leading his country on a precarious path between outright racism and black majority rule.

Lately, his balancing act has won little praise. Growing numbers of right-wing whites feel he has gone too far in extending power to blacks, while white liberals and a solid core of blacks believe he has fallen woefully short.

The criticisms, and increasingly frequent calls for new leadership, sometimes rankle Botha, but he is unapologetic.

"My attitude is that I am doing what I believe to be right and in the interests of the country," he recently told a television interviewer who sought an assessment of 10 turbulent years.

Botha (72) became head of the white-minority government on September 28, 1978, when Parliament members elected him Prime Minister over more moderate and more conservative rivals.

## Dear

He had been in the Cabinet since 1961 and became Defence Minister in 1966. His first speech as Prime Minister stressed a theme that remains dear to him: the paramount importance of national security in the face of what he called a communist-led "total onslaught".

A year later, however, in one of his most quoted remarks, he sounded a different theme when he told whites: "We must adapt, otherwise we will die".

In his early years of power, Botha had a broad mandate from whites for his twin goals of maintaining stability while moving away from rigid apartheid.

The *Sunday Times*, a critic of the Government, commented this month, "Mr Botha's place in history is assured. It required courage to lead his people out of the cul-de-sac of apartheid, even if the final destination of their new course remains uncharted."

In 1984, Botha helped push through a new constitution that brought Asians and people of mixed race into the previously all-white Parliament, but continued to exclude blacks.

One result was black anger that ignited two years of nationwide political violence.

The constitution abolished the post of Prime Minister and Botha became State President. His critics say he has steadily increased the power of the executive branch since then, while weakening Parliament.

Since 1964, Botha has been credited with the repeal of several of apartheid's most hurtful laws, including those that banned inter-racial marriages and required blacks to have a permit to be in whites-only areas.

These reforms along with promises of limited power-sharing with blacks, triggered a wave of defections by Botha's fellow Afrikaners from the National Party to the extreme-right Conservative Party.

## Power

Botha's anniversary this month comes as the National Party verges on losing support of a majority of whites for the first time since it gained power 40 years ago.

The party won 55 percent of the vote in whites-only general elections in May 1987, while 26 percent went to the Conservative Party and 19 percent to Liberal candidates.

The Conservatives are believed to have gained strength since then, and could outpoll the National Party in nationwide local elections on October 26.

Anticipating setbacks, National Party officials question whether municipal balloting is a proper barometer of general election results.

This month, Botha made an emotional plea for Afrikaner unity. Foes on both flanks described the appeal as 'humiliating, and the Conservatives said unity could come only if Botha reaffirmed his support for undiluted white sovereignty.

"Few people realize how difficult it is for Mr Botha to go down in history as the man who split the Afrikaners," said Wynand Malan, an anti-apartheid Afrikaner politician

"He belongs to an older generation and indeed went way beyond what could be expected of him," Malan said. "It is now time for the torch to be handed to the new generation of Afrikaners".

Many liberals believe Botha has gone as far as he is willing to go toward substantive reform. The President has declared that some aspects of apartheid are non-negotiable. He rejects equal voting rights for blacks and insists that whites retain segregated neighbourhoods and schools.

At home and abroad, one of the most vivid images of Botha is that of a finger-wagging, defiant speechmaker, telling the world to stay out of South Africa's affairs.

His temper is renowned. Last year, he forced the lone coloured member of his Cabinet to resign, then telephoned the State-run television network during its evening newscast and demanded an immediate revision of a report which he deemed too favourable to the ousted Minister

Botha, whose government has detained thousands of black activists during a 27-month-old state of emergency, says most blacks view him favourably.

Opinion polls suggest otherwise, but the President — unlike his predecessors — has visited several black communities and apparently approves of subsequent news footage showing him cheered by flag-waving schoolchildren.

This month, Botha held his first summit meetings in black Africa. He visited Malawi, a long-time friend of South Africa, and Mozambique, a long-time adversary.

Some critics say Botha is more willing to take chances in the international arena than at home.

"One has to say that P W Botha lacks imagination," said Peter Soal, parliament member for the anti-apartheid Progressive Federal Party. "He has failed to deal creatively with black political aspirations." — Sapa-AP.

**Some critics say President Botha is more willing to take chances in international arena than here at home**



PRESIDENT Botha . . . adapt or die.

# 10 YEARS ON

FOCUS




Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Bishops urge 'conscience' in decision to vote

Cape Times 28/9/88

30 KA

JOHANNESBURG. — The forthcoming municipal elections present a situation in which people must decide "in conscience whether to vote or not", the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference said in a pastoral letter to Catholics.

The letter was read in some parishes at the weekend and will be read in others this Sunday.

The letter was signed by the president of the conference, the Rev Khosa Mgojo, and the president-elect, the Rev Stanley Magoba, and supported by the chairmen of 11 Methodist districts.

While the letter leaves it up to individuals whether they should vote or not it sets out in detail how the municipal councils and other local authorities will operate, and says "it is possible to boycott" the elections.

"Though representatives of all population groups will meet in regional services councils, local councils will be segregated by race," the letter points out, adding that "white control will persist".

"Apartheid with a slightly altered face, or perhaps we should say with two faces, will be unshakably entrenched.

"The present elections represent one of the weaknesses of the policy called total strategy in that it requires our collaboration.

"This in fact can be withheld. It is possible to boycott the municipal elections as a matter of consicience.

"Those who choose this option must exercise it in a peaceful, non-violent way.

"In our role as leaders of a Christian community we plead that the elections should not be an occasion of violence either on the part of the State or on the part of those who oppose the present State."

The letter stated that only municipal election canidates who are openly and sincerely committed to the abolition of apartheid are worthy of Christian support at the polls on October 26.

"These elections are being presented as an opportunity for all South Africans to vote for the candidate of their choice."

"This is far from the truth because they will take place under the drastic restrictions of the state of emergency, with many major organizations banned and their leaders in detention, thus denying the freedom of debate and the liberty of choice essential to the democratic process."

It is also noted that there is an "atmosphere of fear and threat in which people have been subjected to one-sided propaganda supported by severe penalties for any who express a dessenting voice or advocate non-participation". — Sapa

# 43 to fight Soweto elections

25/9/87 Citizen

304A

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE nominations of 24 candidates for the October municipal elections have been rejected by the Soweto City Council for irregularities ranging from being in arrears with rents to entering nominees outside their wards.

Six of the candidates were rejected because they had not paid their rent by Monday.

Last week the council withheld the names of 61 candidates until Monday to allow them time to produce proof that they had paid their rent and service charges.

All the Soweto councillors will stand for the elections except deputy-mayor Patrick Thami Ndaba, who is in custody facing a charge of murder.

Ndaba was arrested last week in connection with the alleged murder of Sofasonke Party candidate David Nkomo who was shot dead at his Chiawelo home last month.

Eight candidates were rejected because their names did not appear on the voters' roll.

Five were nominees who resided outside the wards. Four were not applicable and one had no nominators who supported him.

Soweto town clerk Nico Malan said the area has 35 wards of which 20 will be contested. Fifteen candidates are unopposed

# Intimidation in platteland — Van Eck

Cape Times 28/9/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MANY of the platteland towns were being subjected to a "shocking system of intimidation" in a bid to make residents vote in the October 26 elections, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

Mr Van Eck said that as part of "a massive intimidation campaign to make people vote", black residents of the new section of Bongolethu township in Oudshoorn who showed opposition to participation "have as punishment recently had their newly installed electricity meter boxes ripped out of the walls of their homes by the municipality".

Speaking during the debate on the Local Government in Free Settlement Areas Bill in Parliament, Mr Van Eck said that residents were also told that if they failed to register or vote they would "cease to exist".

Residents were also told that they would not receive any further services, repairs "or anything", he said.

# Forbes' election call from dock

South 22-28/9/88

By AYESHA ISMAIL

CONVICTED ANC guerilla Ashley Forbes called for a boycott of the October municipal elections in the Supreme Court, Cape Town this week.

Forbes, 24, said the people's leaders, including jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela, would not be able to participate in the elections because of their convictions.

He said whites would have more voting powers because of the structure of the elections.

"We have a hand-in-glove situation where the government is trying to camouflage the ugly face of apartheid by allowing everyone to participate," Forbes said.

The fundamental problems however were not being addressed.

Forbes said the elections were also aimed at destroying "peoples organisations".

"People are not allowed to call for the boycott of the elections which shows that people would be forced to vote," Forbes said.

Mr Michael Donen, for Forbes, asked him: "If you had the same choice which you had in November 1985 — to participate in the October elections or to join the military wing of the ANC — which one would you choose?"

Forbes replied that there was no option for him but to join the ANC as the demands of the people were not being addressed.

If he was to be released he would align himself again with the ANC.

The ANC stood for a nonracial and democratic South Africa and that negotiation would be welcomed by the ANC no matter how slow.

Forbes said he grew up in Wynberg, and was a member of the Wynberg Youth Congress. He also organised clothing workers, he said.

He became politically aware, during the 1980 school boycotts.

Forbes was active in the Committee of 81, which was the co-ordinating body of high schools in 1980 and became active in the activities of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983.

The 1980 boycotts were over a lack of facilities at "coloured" schools as well as the employment of unqualified teachers.

The killing of Bernard Fortuin and 16 people in Elsies River in 1980 had a great effect on the people in the Western Cape.

The funeral of Mathew Goniwe and three others were attended and felt by people all over the country.



Forbes, Peter Anthony Jacobs, 23, Nicklo Louis Pedro, 20, Nazeem Lowe, 24, Anwa Dramat, 19, and Clement Baadjies, 19, have been convicted of terrorism.

David Johannes Fortuin, 22, Jeremy Alan Veary, 22, Walter Rhoode Karriem, 23, Wayne Ingemar Malgas, 22, Collin Cairncross, 22, Ashraf Scott, 29 has been convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC.

Colin Clave Martin Petersen, 23, have been convicted under Section 54 of the Internal Security Act, and Leon

## Mrs Andrina Forbes outside the court on Tuesday

The events in 1984 at the University of the Western Cape had a great effect on Forbes, the court heard.

The students could no longer take the actions of the police. They countered by throwing stones and petrol bombs at them.

During 1985 the presence of the ANC was being felt by the people.

The Freedom Charter was discussed and the ANC became dominant.

"People started wearing the colours of the ANC and the ANC flag was hoisted."

The declaration of the State of Emergency meant war by the State.

It became difficult for people to express themselves and people started defending themselves.

"I became a member of the ANC in 1985. The ANC stood for the same things I stood for. A united nonracial democratic South Africa."

He saw a nun being assaulted in 1985 during the Pollsmoor march.

"I can't explain how I felt seeing a member of the clergy being assaulted."

Cape Province

(1) Yes

(a) (i) Northern Cape:

Sorghum Beer Personnel — 225
Other Personnel — 5

(ii) Eastern Cape:

Sorghum Beer Personnel — 82
Other Personnel — 26

(iii) Western Cape — 0

(b) (i) Northern Cape:

Sorghum Beer Personnel:
The staff are temporarily allocated to the Industrial Development Corporation as Administrators' officials until such time as the industry is privatized. The position of the affected staff will be addressed during privatisation.

Other Personnel:
One person is in the process of being transferred to a Black Town Committee, one to the Department of Manpwoer whilst the others are working at a hostel which will shortly be privatized.

(ii) Eastern Cape:

Sorghum Beer Personnel:
The staff are temporarily allocated to the Industrial Development Corporation as Administrators' officials until such time as the industry is privatized.

Other Personnel:
The persons concerned are being employed at small towns where posts, as a result of the abolition of functions, have not been created on the establishment of the Cape Provincial Administration and their services are currently being utilized at Black Town Committees.

(iii) Western Cape: Not applicable.

(c) (i), (ii) and (iii) It is not expected that the matter will be finalized before the end of 1988. The process of privatisation of the Sorghum beer industry is time-consuming, but 30 April 1989 has been set as the target date.

(2) A statement pertaining to the privatisation of the Sorghum beer industry will be issued at an appropriate time in which the position of the staff will also be dealt with.

Transvaal

(1) (a)

| Development Body | Number of Officials |
|---|---|
| (i) Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas | 1 208 |
| (ii) Development Boards: | |
| East Rand and Central Transvaal Development Boards | 685 |
| West Rand and Orange-Vaal Development Boards (Partial) | 633 |
| Northern-Transvaal Development Board | 225 |
| Highveld and Eastern Transvaal Development Board | 275 |
| Western Transvaal Development Board | 304 |

(b) (i) Serious consideration is being given in dividing local authority functions into own and general affairs. In view thereof that the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas is vested with local authority functions its future will be affected by decisions thereanent. As soon as finality is reached in this regard the staff will be properly placed.

(ii) The staff is in the employment of the Sorghum beer industry which is being privatized. In this process the position of the staff is being considered and the majority will be absorbed.

(c) The process of privatisation is time-consuming, but a target date of 30 April 1989 has been set.

(2) A statement pertaining to the privatisation of the Sorghum beer industry will be issued at an appropriate time in which the position of the staff will also be dealt with.



Hansard.



**Beach resort facilities: amounts to be spent**

1310. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) (a) What amounts is it estimated will be spent on the provision of beach resort facilities for Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Blacks, respectively, within the current financial year and (b) (i) on what projects and (ii) where are these amounts to be spent;

(2) whether any of these projects are in respect of more than one race group; if so, which of these projects are in respect of (a) integrated and (b) segregated facilities?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrators of Natal and the Cape Province respectively and they furnished the following information:

As a result of the recent allocation of additional funds for recreational facilities, the allocation of funds on a priority basis has not yet been finalised.

**Employees in full-time capacity**

1389. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Indians and (d) Blacks were in the employ of his Department in a full-time capacity as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

Information as at 19 August 1988

(a) 517

(b) none

(c) none

(d) 101

**Oukasie, Brits: residents**

1390. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

(a) How many Blacks are resident in Oukasie near Brits at present, (b) how many squatter structures have been erected there and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

This matter vests in the Administrator of Transvaal and he furnished the following information:

(a) 5 546

(b) 675 squatter structures have been erected since 1986.

(c) 5 July 1988.

**Computers: supply/maintenance**

1392. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

Whether a decision has been reached on the supply of computers to and maintenance of computers in all high and primary schools falling under his control; if not, why not; if so, (a) what decision and (b) what time-table regarding supply has been set?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

Yes

(a) The provision of computer systems for colleges of education enjoys priority.

(b) Provision depends on decisions taken by a committee of the CHED which was commissioned to inquire into the matter as well as into the availability of funds.

**African language as school subject**

1395. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Development Aid:

How many (a) schools falling under his Department were offering, and (b) pupils were taking, an African language as a subject as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

(a) 7 631

(b) 1 885 405

Information as on 3 March 1987.

# Intimidation in platteland — Van Eck

Cape Times 28/9/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

MANY of the platteland towns were being subjected to a "shocking system of intimidation" in a bid to make residents vote in the October 26 elections, the independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

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Residents were also told that they would not receive any further services, repairs "or anything", he said.

# PW tells of his hopes

28/9/88

**By TOS WENTZEL**

**Success in some important areas, but also frustrations and disappointments in others are some of the State President, Mr P W Botha's impressions of his 10 years in office, first as Prime Minister from September 1978 until he became President six years later.**

## 'Much achieved — and more reforms on way'

In a wide-ranging interview in his office in Tuynhuys, Cape Town, Mr Botha told me first of what he regarded as the "great success" that had been achieved.

This was "in spite of the attempts to belittle work done by the Government in the past decade".

He quoted a number of examples:

● Economically there was never a time of better co-operation between private and public sectors than during the past number of years.

This excellent co-operation was reflected in the Economic Advisory Council where some of South Africa's economic leaders were sitting and co-operating with the Government on many issues.

He had had several conferences with economic and business leaders as well as with trade union leaders.

Much had been achieved. The Southern African Development Bank had been established as well as the Small Business Development Corporation.

### Housing schemes

Regional development took place on a large scale.

"We launched socio-economic development programmes and we are responsible for big housing schemes together with the private sector.

"I am proud of what we have achieved in this field.

"Up to now South Africa has been capable of taking a successful stand against the threat of sanctions."

● In the security field it was any Government's primary task to try to guarantee the security of the State.

"The effective way in which our Defence Force and the police have been organised and the co-operation between the different security departments have delivered the goods.

"It is true that bombs explode in South Africa now and again, but they also explode in Britain and France and in many other countries. "But we are dealing with unruly and revolutionary elements effectively."

When it was pointed out to Mr Botha that it was said that a great price in civil liberties had been paid for the comparatively stable security situation, he replied:

"Most people in South Africa are free. Only people who transgress and break the law are not free.

"This is a country where papers say what they like about the President and Government. There's a vast difference between freedom of the individual and the irresponsibility of an individual."

When reminded of the restrictions on newspaper reporting, Mr Botha said there were restrictions on newspaper reporting in many countries, and especially in Africa.

"Our intention is not to destroy criticism, but we cannot allow the State to be overthrown by people who want to create chaos."

● As the third field in which there had been success in the past 10 years, Mr Botha pointed to the vast number of reforms that had taken place since he became Premier.

Every year Parliament had dealt with many a measure to bring about these reforms, "and we are still busy with future plans".

● Fourthly, Mr Botha said, South Africa was an "outstanding" country in the sub-continent as far as stability, growth and development was concerned.

"Why do people seek refuge in South Africa where they look for work and food if we are so bad?

### Foreigners flood in

"At least a million foreign workers from neighbouring countries are with us, because things are bad in their countries, but they find improved conditions in South Africa.

"In fact we find that the more we try to send them back to other countries, the more they continue to come for better facilities.

"People from Zimbabwe and from Mozambique and Zambia make daily visits to South Africa to come and buy ordinary essentials and commodities such as salt, sugar and soap, because they do not get it in their own countries."

● The fifth example he gave was of the opportunities for co-operation between southern African states.

South Africa today was taking the lead in providing health and transport services to neighbouring countries and technological know-how.

There was a growing desire in many an African country to seek closer co-operation with South Africa.

● The sixth example of success was the fact that, over a number of years and through the action of South Africa, opportunities had been created for South West Africa to seek its independence constitutionally and in a peaceful way.

### Constitution

Asked about further constitutional development he said: "The plans are on the books.

"There is the National Council, which has been created with the invitation to leaders to come and cooperate and deliberate.

"There is the tricameral Parliament, which can be improved as it has already been improved in the past eighteen months through changes of the rules.

Dealing with black political rights, Mr Botha said these already existed in third-tier government. On the second level, black leaders served on the executive committees of the provinces, and plans had already been made known to broaden democracy with regard to black communities outside the national states.

Just as America or Switzerland had not developed their constitutions in a decade or two, South Africa could not perfect its constitution within a few years.

"Some people who are critical want one to decide on something today with the structure being created the next day.

"A country which wants to develop safely constitutionally cannot overnight perform miracles. We have to do with people and with the prejudices and fears of people.

"South Africa is a diverse country which has to be led with care, otherwise everything could break down in chaos.

"We have a First World and a Third World to be reconciled with each other. There is a big gap between the abilities of the two and to breach that gap is a major task."

Looking at disappointments and frustration, he said there were mainly three.

● First there was the lack of real, honest appreciation on the part of some Western countries for South Africa's problems.

● Secondly there was the negative approach by a minority of people in South Africa who were prepared to harm their own country in spite of what had been done to improve the conditions of the population.

● Thirdly there was the lack of a real desire on the part of some South Africans to put their own country's interests before that of others.

"I reject the attempt by some people to call in support from outside South Africa to help them with their political aims here."

He laughed when asked how long he wanted to stay on.

"As long as my health is good and as long as the country wants me I will continue."

There would not be any any celebration of the 10 years. "There is no time to celebrate. There is work to be done," he said.

# Jewellery with a difference

UNDER the clock on St Georges Mall, a famous landmark in the heart of Cape Town you will come across an equally well known jewellery shop that for many many years was known as Stanleys Jewellers.

Today it is known as Philip Zetler Jewellers. Two years ago the business was bought by Philip Zetler when he decided to branch out on his own. Philip, a member of the jewellery Council, is well known as a jeweller to many Capetonians since he previously held a high position with a major jewellery chain for a number of years and has been involved in this field successfully for the past 15 years.

"Two years ago an opportunity arose whereby I gained the chance to express and develop my own unique concept of mixing both modern and antique jewellery successfully under one roof," declared Philip.

"With the development of the St Georges Mall we decided to take on a new image and this image compliments, and in turn is complimented by the new look given to the Mother-city," said Philip. "The Continental atmosphere that St Georges Mall now creates will draw many more visitors and shoppers to this area and we expect outstanding trading results once the entire project is completed.

"We have maintained and established an excellent rapport with all the long term clients of Stanleys Jewellers as well as attracting a large number of new lovers of 'real' jewellery," stated Philip.

Philip has created a business ideally suited to his own particular talents and anyone entering the store immediately becomes aware of the highly personalized ambiance. He has many unique pieces of jewellery both modern and antique. It is interesting to browse around in his store.

Philip Zetler Jewellers is situated near to the new Stuttafords Shopping Complex and offers services and items that can only result from Philips extensive buying trips abroad where his expert eye always picked up the latest trends in jewelery.

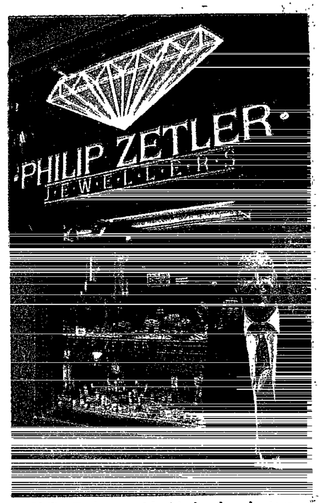
"We have a very specialised workshop where we can expertly manufacturer jewellery to your own designs, or to designs that we may suggest," Mr Zetler stated. "It is amazing what one can create out of old jewellery with a bit of imagination.

"We have also maintained the excellent watch repair service for which Stanleys Jewellers was always so renowned and Mr Pether still does all our repairs and maintenance," added Philip, "small repairs and the valuation of your jewellery are attended to on the spot as is the fitting of batteries to watches.

"We are also keen buyers of interesting and unique items such as antique rings, clocks and diamond brooches and old watches with famous names like Patek Phillipe, Jaeger LeCoultre and Rolex. So scratch through your jewellery boxes, those old and unwanted items may mean money in your pocket.

"We also buy modern jewelery items and offer a large range of all types of diamond jewelery, gold watches and gold chains at very reasonable prices," concluded Philip.

A special opening offer of discounts on pre-tax prices on all diamond jewellery and watches purchased during the next 14 days will be available to all customers visiting Philip Zetler Jewellers at 54 St Georges Mall. Phone 23 2771.




**Philip Zetler outside his landmark store.**

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APPOINTMENTS



Mervyn Key, chairman, Entercor.



Sam Feldman, director, Entercor.



Stander Jordaan, senior general manager, Volkskas.



C L (Louw) van Wyk, senior general manager, Volkskas.

METALS

# Gold set to turn with new Emperor

## Wooltru trading ahead of budget

By TOM HOOD, Business Editor

GROUP sales for the first nine weeks of Wooltru's current financial year are above budget at 25 percent ahead of last year, says the chairman, Mr David Susman, in his annual review.

Budgets for the year indicate a further growth in earnings but the rate of increase of the past two years is unlikely to be repeated, he said.

Group sales rose 23 percent to R1 668-million and pretax profit by 45 percent to R121-million, both after adjusting for Makro's acquisition.

The retail spending spree played a significant part in the record results but more important, says Mr Susman, the company is now seeing the benefits from its R250-million capital investment over the past five years.

The year ahead will be "an intensely competitive trading period," added the chief executive, Mr Tony Williamson, in his review.

"Coupled with a rise in interest rates, albeit hopefully not to levels of 1984, real profit increases are going to be earned only through more proficient management of our resources. Inflation will continue to be a key factor in our business. With the weaker rand and the wage pressure being experienced by clothing manufacturers, we expect inflation in clothing to reach an all-time high and inflation in foods to remain significant."

The group expected to invest nearly R77-million in the year ahead on new stores and refurbishment and on computer systems and equipment.

From JOHN SPIRA

JOHANNESBURG. — The gold price, battered by $20 in the past week, could turn around sharply on the death of ailing 87-year-old Emperor Hirohito of Japan.

London sources tell of speculation of a pending mammoth surge in demand for the metal should, as is likely, the Japanese decide to mint gold coins to commemorate the accession of the new Emperor, Hirohito's son, Crown Prince Akihito.

They draw attention to the 654 tons of gold that went into the minting of the Hirohito coins in 1986 and suggest that a similar tonnage would be ploughed into a new series of coins.

Following the issue of the Hirohito coins, Japanese demand for gold fell off sharply to 300 tons last year. Estimated 1988 demand is 350 tons.

Should Japan go head with a new commemorative coin issue, the gold market would be transformed overnight.

### HEIGHTENED DEMAND

Analysts point out that if the 650 tons of gold required for a new issue of coins is added to the heightened demand currently noted from Taiwan and other Far Eastern nations, offtake from that part of the world could reach an annual figure of at least 1 200 tons.

Non-Communist gold production is in the region of 1 500 tons a year, implying that demand from Japan for the minting of a new coin would have an electrifying effect on the gold price.

Emperor Hirohito, the world's longest-reigning monarch, has been bed-ridden since he vomited blood on Monday evening.

METALS

## No need for panic over gold — Barend

From MAGNUS HEYSTEK

BERLIN. — The authorities are watching the decline in the gold price carefully, but at this stage there is no need for panic, says the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

In an interview here yesterday he said a prolonged decline in the gold price, however, would inevitably necessitate a review of monetary and fiscal policy.

"While the drop in the gold price is mostly unexpected, experience has shown that the price can move back just as rapidly," he added. "One should also bear in mind that the gold price has reacted in recent weeks to further drops in the oil price and a lessening in the international rate of inflation, which, ultimately also benefits South Africa."

Of great concern to the South African monetary authorities wasthe effect of the lower gold price on the country's level of gold and foreign exchange reserves, already at very much depleted levels. This reduces the capability of the Reserve Bank to provide a foundation for the rand exchange rate, should pressure be brought upon the currency.

Mr du Plessis indicated that the exchange rate was likely to move down in weeks to come should the gold price not recover. But he warned against any self-fulfilling prophecy that a sudden and particularly sharp drop in the gold price must invariably lead to slower growth and possibly a recession.

"While in no way disregarding the adverse effect of a lower gold price on the economy, one should bear in mind that the gold mining industry's contribution towards the fiscus has declined steadily in recent years and now contributed only just over 10 perecent of government revenue.

Referring to the IMF meeting Mr du Plessis said that while it was unlikely that South Africa would have its former position at the international body restored (ie full access to funding) he did notice an unofficial warming of relations towards South Africa

● The International Monetary Fund and World Bank annual meeting opened yesterday with new proposals from Japan, the biggest creditor nation, and from Latin America to break the stalemate on Third World debt, reports Sapa-Reuter..

Mexico, the second largest debtor after Brazil among developing countries, called for a "Berlin Pact" which would help the Third World in way similar to the Marshall plan for the reconstruction of Europe after World War 2.

The Japanese proposal involves setting up a reserve account to be adminstered by the IMF. Foreign currency reserves of debtor nations would be deposited there and used to back bonds which they would issue and swap for old bank loans.


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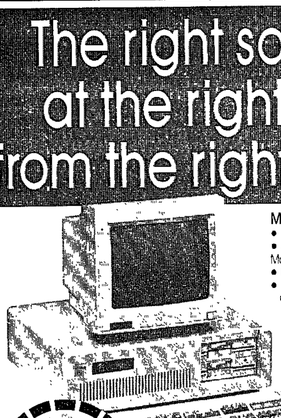

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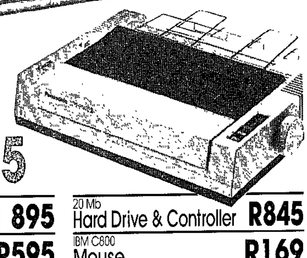

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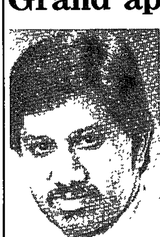
## Grand appointment



Prakash Hira

Business Staff

AFTER just three years in the wholesaling and retailing industry, Prakash Hira, 31, has been appointed financial director of Grand Supermarkets.

A B Com.C A graduate, Mr Hira joined Trador Cash and Carry, also art of teh Score Food Holdings Group in 1985 from a firm of chartered accountants.

### FIGHTING

Mr Hira said that fighting rising costs, inflation and the high cost of living was the great challenge facing Grand Supermarkets, which now has 24 stores throughout the Cape and Transvaal — 16 in the Western Cape, four in the Eastern Cape and four in the Transvaal — and further expansion on the drawing boards.

"We are determined to help the man in the street who almost daily sees his purchasing power and standard of living dropping. As a group we will aggressively pursue a policy of providing good merchandise at the lowest possible cost.

"This we hope will bring some much needed relief to our major customer who happens to be the person at the lower end of the market," he said.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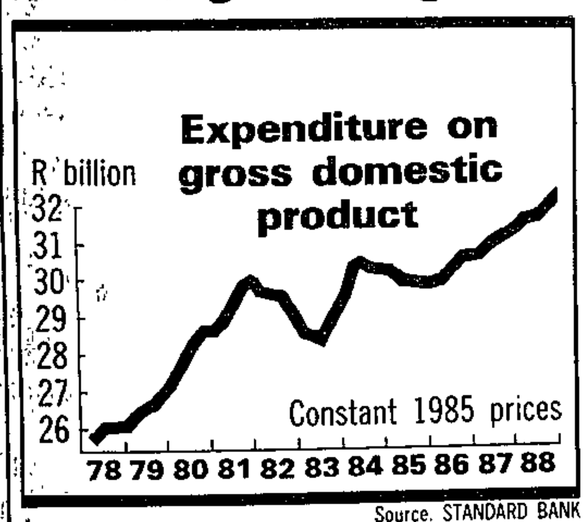
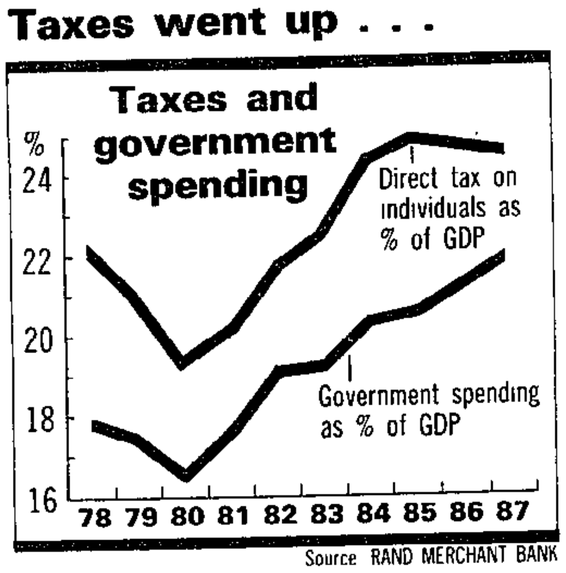
# Ten years of Bothanomics . . .

## . . . brought slow growth



Source. STANDARD BANK

## Taxes went up . . .



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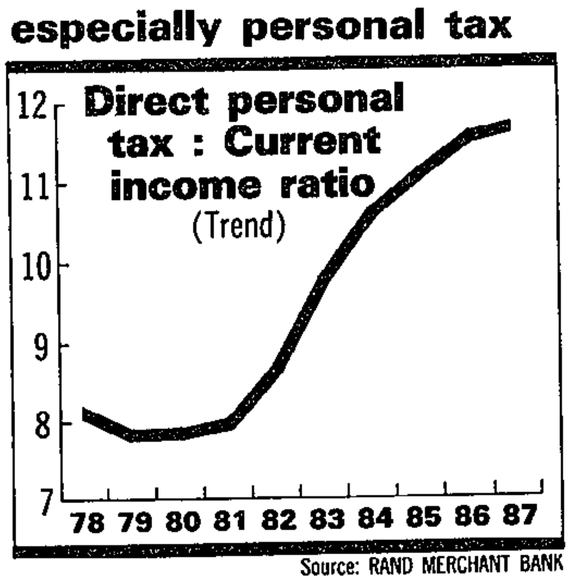
## especially personal tax



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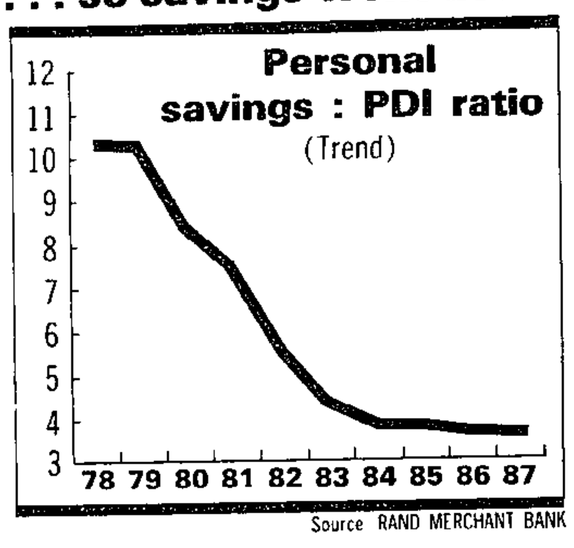
## . . . so savings went down



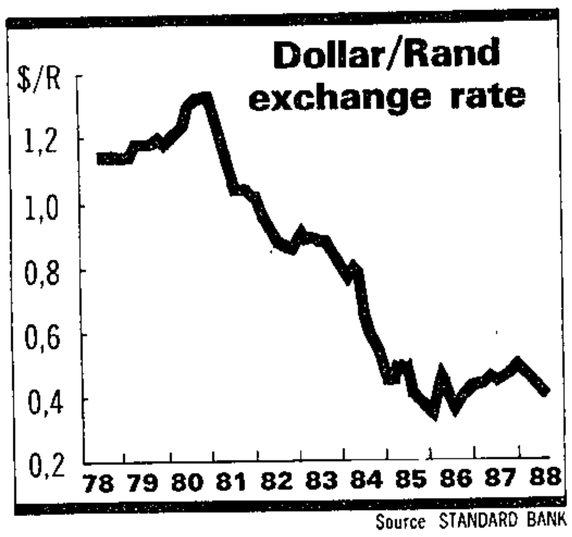
Source RAND MERCHANT BANK

## Debt cost a packet



Source: RAND MERCHANT BANK

## The rand fell . . .



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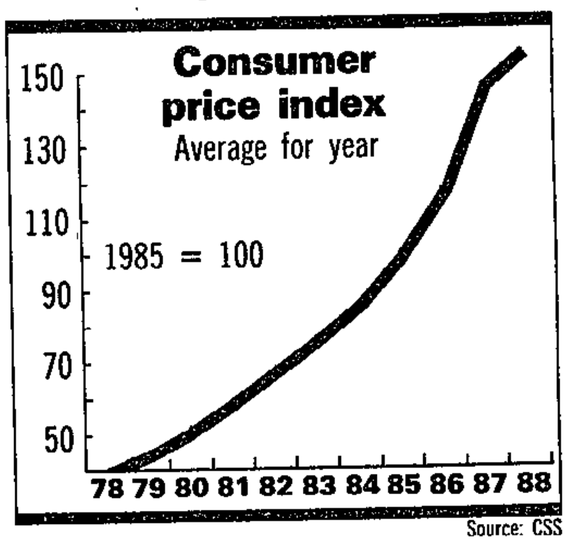
## . . . so prices went up



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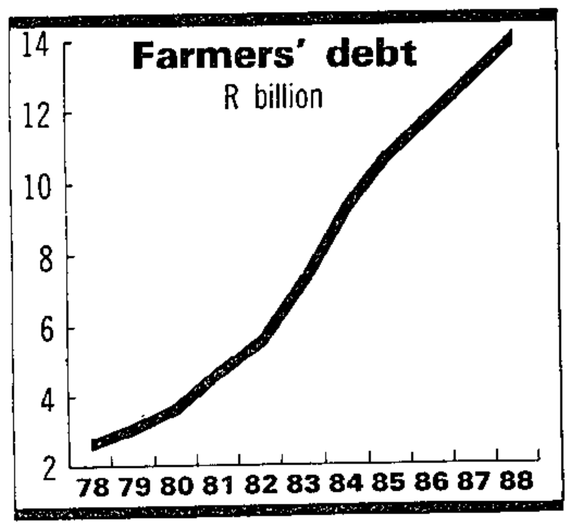
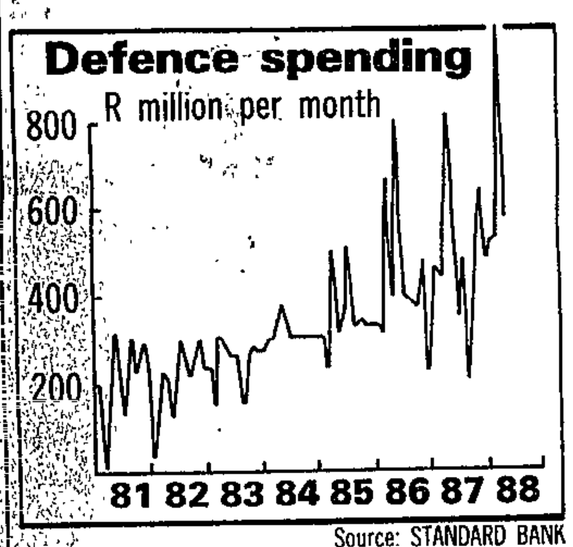
## Farmers borrowed madly




## Defence spending



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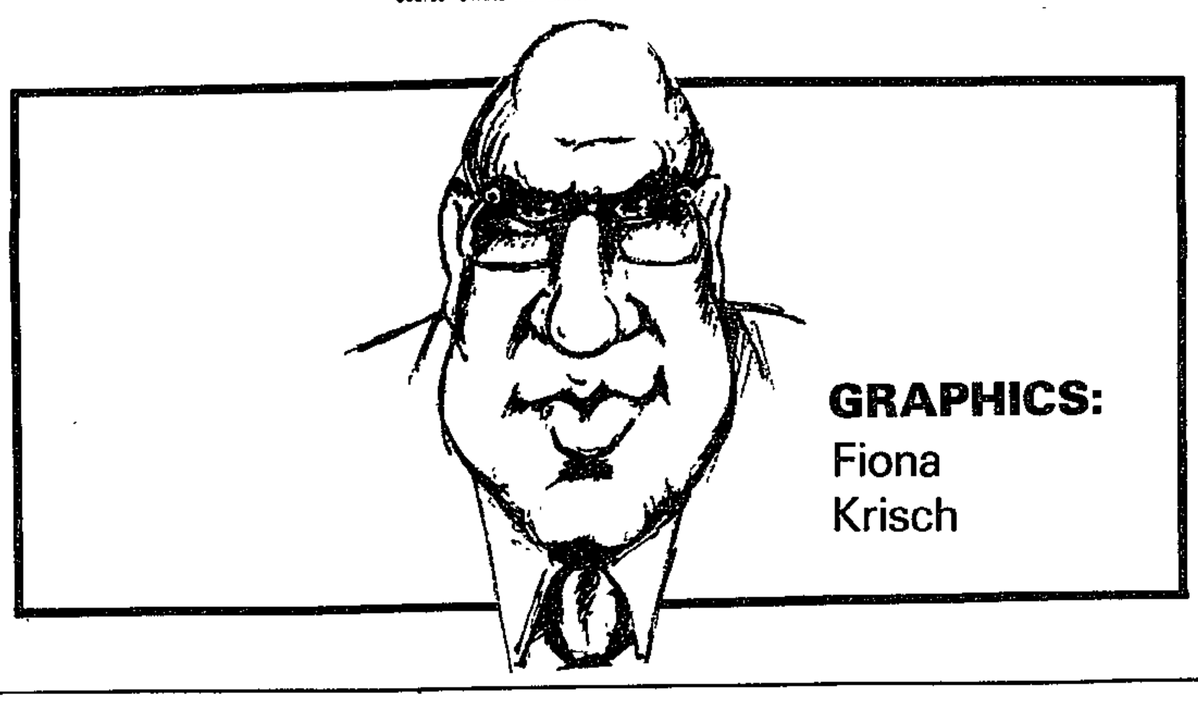
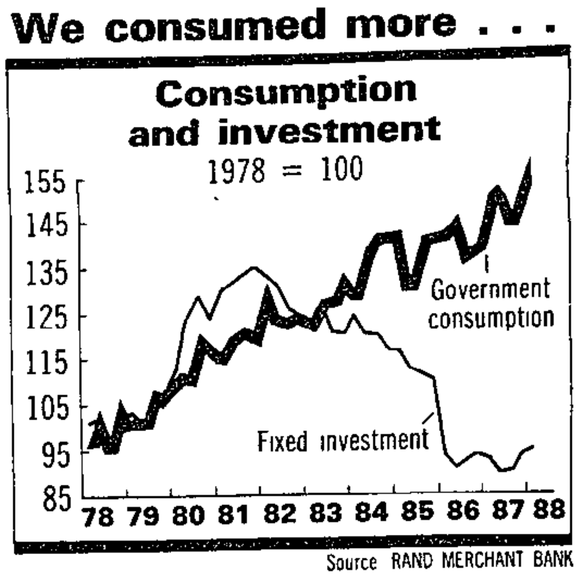
**Defence spending went up**




## We consumed more . . .



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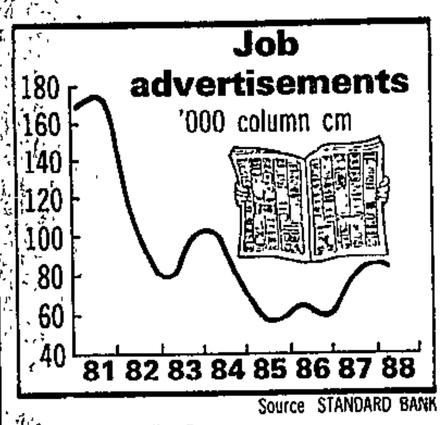
**. . . and invested less**

# IT ALSO BROUGHT . . .



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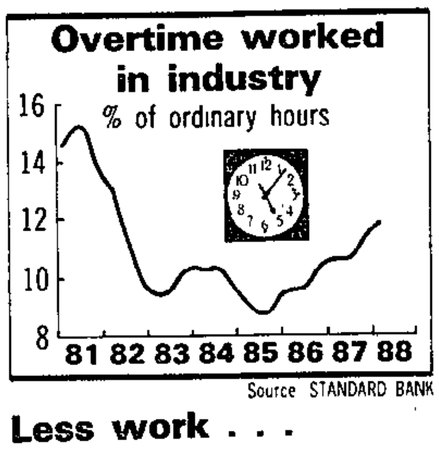
**Fewer jobs . . .**



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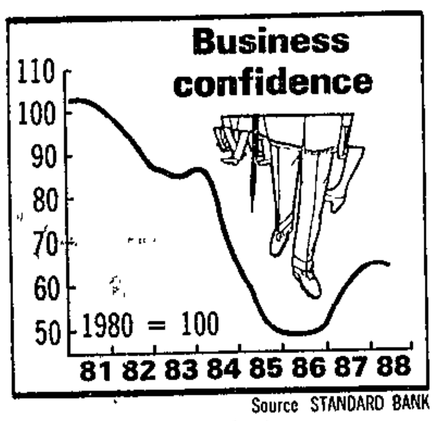
**Less work . . .**



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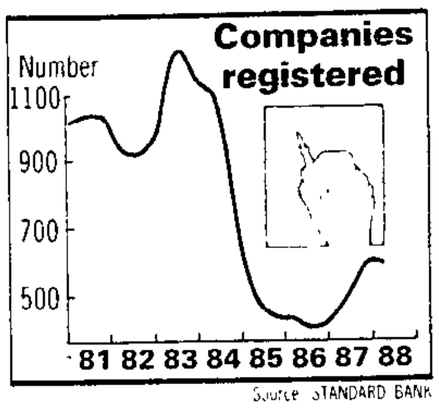
**Falling confidence . . .**



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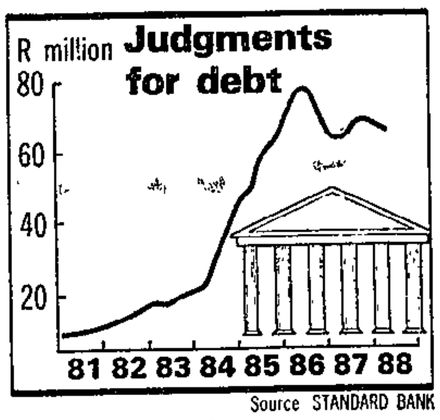
**Fewer companies . . .**



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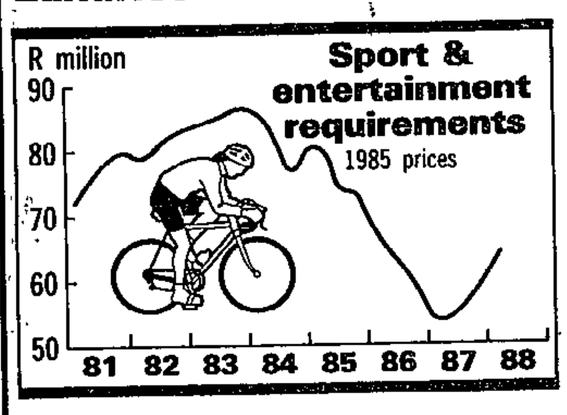
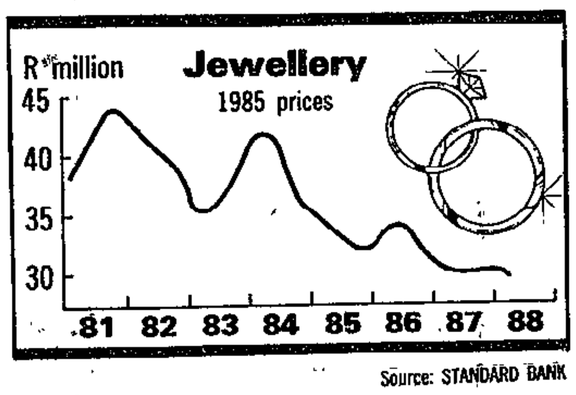
**More insolvencies**

# WE HAD LESS TO SPEND ON . . .

## Luxuries . . .



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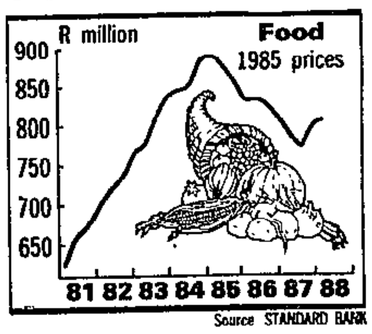
## . . . and necessities



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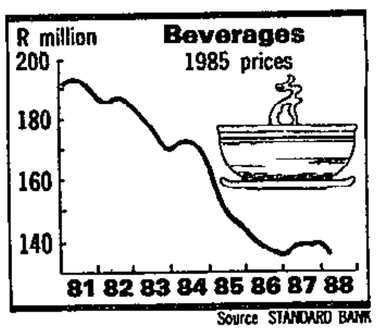

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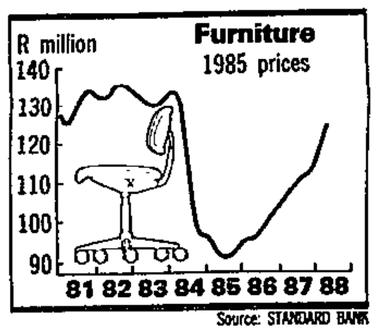

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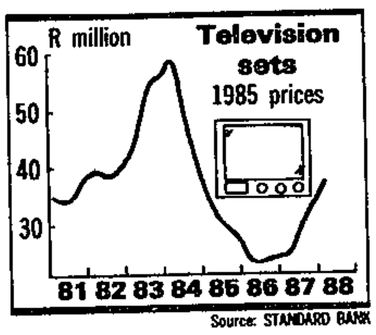

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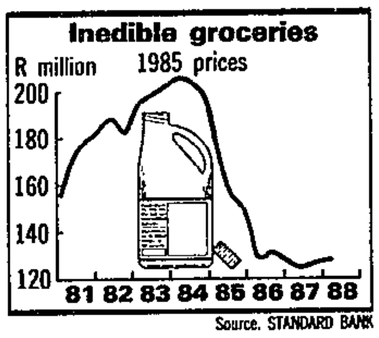

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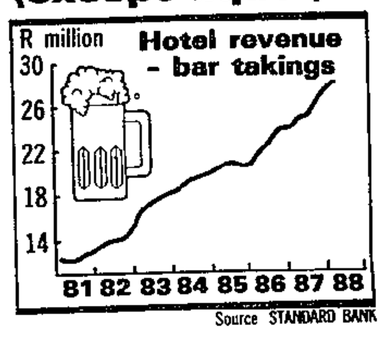
## (except liquor)



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# Milestone on road to unity

by ANTON KRUGER

A YEAR ago, a conference bringing together UDF affiliates and Cosatu with Black Consciousness groups and Nactu was unimaginable.

Yet, this weekend's Anti-apartheid Conference (AAC) goes further — from the New Unity Movement on the left to Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement on the right.

Major political actors will be joined by a wide range of interest groups ranging from taxi-owners and taverners to sports federations and religious bodies.

And purists may wince at invitations to bantustan opposition groups and Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement which rules KaNgwane.

Yet it is precisely this breadth of organisations which gives the conference its significance — the attempt to draw in organisations outside the traditionally defined "democratic movement" around a joint programme of action.

## Champion tiring

The AAC is a response to the continued State of Emergency, and its effect on mass organisations.

The champion is tiring, but the challenger has taken a hammering. Thus might a boxing commentator describe the present round of the clash between the government and its extra-parliamentary opponents.

The Government offensive appears to be running out of steam. The Angolan retreat, the growing impact of sanctions, lack of funds for the buying of hearts and minds and the failure to win over significant black "moderates" are but a few of Pretoria's problems. An increasingly strident right-wing has paralysed even the limited reform programme.

At the same time, there can be no doubt that the Emergency has severely affected the democratic forces.

A systematic programme of repression has almost eliminated the open campaigning which changed the face of South African politics in the mid 1980s.

## Responding to calls

Restrictions, detentions, treason trials and assassinations have driven the UDF and other organisations off the streets.

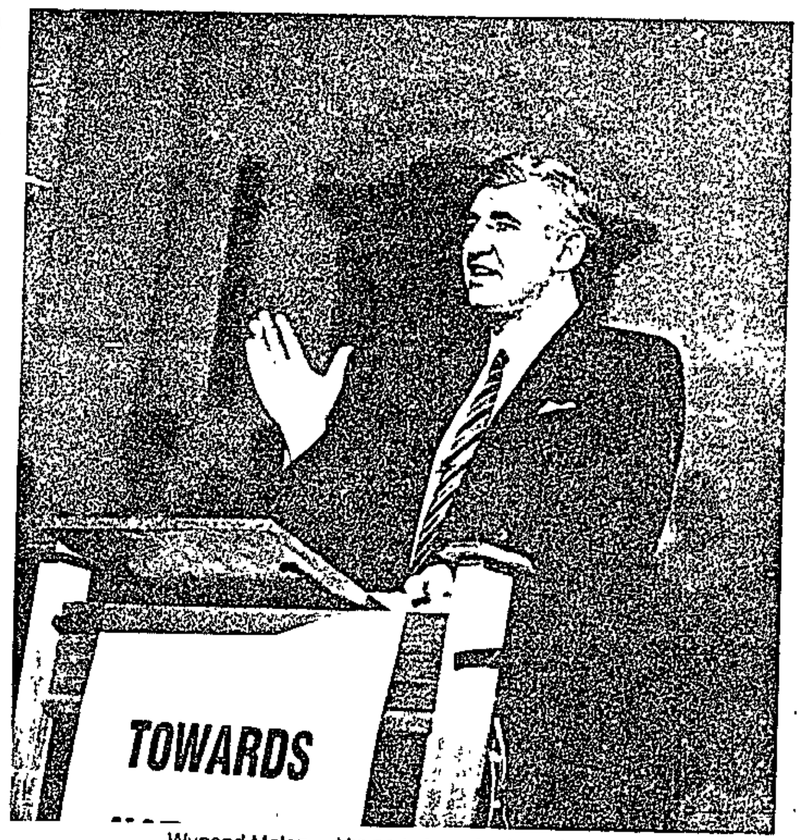
But it has failed to eliminate them. Activists in many parts of the country have regrouped, and are searching for new ways forward.

The three-day stayaway in June, the largest in South African history, showed that township residents are still willing to respond to calls for action.

The UDF's affiliates and Cosatu believe, however, that survival and progress demand a fresh approach, in which traditional political boundaries be reconsidered and perhaps re-drawn.

National gatherings of both Cosatu and the UDF over the past two years have emphasised the need for an ever-wider unity of purpose around the immediate objective of toppling the Nationalist Government.

Late in 1986, the UDF and Cosatu launched a National United Action campaign with the NECC and the SACC.




Wynand Malan ... His party has also been invited

Although repression minimised the impact of this drive, it laid the basis for the UDF-Cosatu "united front" during 1987 UDF-Cosatu unity was seen as the key building block of a popular alliance of the widest possible range of forces operating in the black community.

Furthermore, the "united front" would serve as the base from which the democratic movement could give more serious attention to isolating Botha within the white ruling bloc by bringing anti-apartheid white groupings (including those in parliament), closer to the "people's camp".

This "new thinking" provides the framework within which Cosatu and its allies have initiated the AAC.

While its ambitions are limited, the AAC clearly forms a part of a longer process: a milestone on the road to a broader unity.

Bantustan groups, black business and sports bodies, squatter committees and other "non-activists" groups invited to the conference are key targets of state co-option strategies.

This doubles the importance of their being brought onto the side of the democratic movement, even though they may not endorse all of its positions.

Activists argue the need to structure relations with these groups, rather than continue to approach them on an ad hoc basis.

Similarly, invitations to the NDM, Idasa and the Five Freedoms Forum sound notice of the democratic movement's intention to seek ways of influencing the anti-apartheid "middle ground" elements in the white community.

The difficulties faced by the AAC (if the authorities allow it to proceed) should not be underestimated. It is unlikely that all of those invited will even attend, let alone reach consensus on all matters.

Even within Cosatu, unions have debated different ideas on the type of unity required, with the metalworkers arguing for a narrower anti-capitalist unity rather than the broad anti-apartheid unity favoured by the mineworkers.

While the conference is a clear statement from Cosatu on the need for immediate anti-apartheid united action, other participants at the Conference might see things differently

The challenge of the AAC, according to sources close to the organisers, is to seek out and emphasise those issues which unite the participants, while taking account of their differences.

## October poll

If this process can generate a programme of action uniting the bulk of organisations at the Conference, it will have achieved an important objective.

Opposition to repression and the call for one-person-one-vote in a united South Africa are the bases around which the organisers hope to achieve that unity

Coming on the eve of the October municipal elections, the AAC is likely to have thorough discussions on the issue The Conference, however, is not a response to the October elections. It is the result of a long-term orientation of resistance politics towards broad united action of all opponents of apartheid

The impact of the AAC has already been felt, as a tremendous morale-booster In many parts of the country, including places that had fallen silent politically, the AAC has provoked new energy and initiative among activists

The spectacle of a range of organisations sinking their differences to take a common stand will certainly have a similar effect on masses of South Africans.

The AAC will offer an important opportunity to reach consensus on the present situation, and the way forward.

It strengthens the hand of the democratic movement, and extends its influence to uncommitted sections of the community If the AAC sees these groups drawn into sustained and co-ordinated action against apartheid, it will be an historic triumph.

Some writers have compared the AAC to everything from the UDF launch to the Congress of the People.

Clearly its objectives are a lot more limited than that, hoping primarily to arrive at a united programme of action.

While the conference will not launch new structures or fronts, it is nonetheless an historic attempt to unify millions of people behind a concerted anti-apartheid thrust.

22-28/9/86 304A South



# Some voters draw a blank

JOHANNESBURG. — Thousands of Africans may not be able to exercise their new "voting rights" in the October municipal elections. The reason? There are no candidates for whom they can vote.

Scores of municipal wards throughout the country will not be contested because there are not enough candidates.

Most of the 780 candidates nominated to fill the 629 vacancies in the Cape Province's 92 African local authorities are likely to be elected unopposed.

The number of candidates might even be lower — electoral officers are vetting the list to make sure all candidates qualify.

Candidates will be canvassing support from 499 889 voters who have registered in the Cape Province.

This amounted to 61,5 percent of the estimated voter potential, said the Provincial Administration's deputy director of local government, Mr J J le Roux.

Nominations in the Cape closed on July 29.

The government needs a high turn-out in black townships to repair the damage done in 1984-86, when dozens of councillors resigned.

In other townships, like Diepmeadow, the town councils have been dissolved and placed under government-appointed administrators.

Once it gets the cornerstone in place, the government plans to build on it. The newly elected township councillors will form electoral colleges to elect nine of the 15 African representatives on the proposed National Statutory Council.

If the poll is low, the credibility of the councillors and, by extension, of their representatives on the National Council, will be suspect.

However, Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last week the trend for participation, while "minimal", was at least positive.

He said there would be "meaningful elections" and hinted that the government would be forced to nominate administrators for those wards where meaningful elections could not take place.

This may be the case with several councils in the eastern Cape.

Cradock, where the town council collapsed in 1984, will not have elections. Not a single candidate was registered.

The same situation pertained in Motherwell, outside Port Elizabeth.

Only eight of the 16 required candidates registered in KwaNobuhle, outside Uitenhage.

KwaNobuhle's council collapsed in 1985 days after the last of the councillors in the area, Tamsanqa Kinikini, became the first victim of the dreaded "necklace" killing.

Port Elizabeth's Ibhayi Town Council has 42 nominees for 21 seats.

In 22 Eastern Cape town councils all the candidates are unopposed.

The government has reason to worry. In Soweto in 1977, the poll for the election of the Community Council was less than six percent; in 1983, less than 11 percent.

The closing date for nomination of candidates was Friday September16.

In Dobsonville and Diepmeadow, 39 candidates registered to contest 29 wards.

Five of Dobsonville's nine wards will be contested. Four wards were unopposed, including that of mayor Steve Nkatlo.

There are 26 candidates for Diepmeadow's 20 wards. Nine wards will be contested, three wards had no candidates, while candidates were unopposed in eight wards.

In Soweto about 20 candidates have registered, including former mayor and millionaire Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala.

Tshabalala and former Ibhayi mayor Tamsanqa Linda are the only candidates in the country known to have convened election meetings. Tshabalala has since been disqualified.



Tamsanqa Linda, former mayor of Ibhayi town council, assures pensioners at an election meeting that their Kwazakhele hostel will be upgraded if they vote for him

# 'Security cop ordered aged dad to sjambok son'

# 'Poll beatings'

SECURITY police in De Aar in the Northern Cape have threatened to assault members of a local youth organisation if they discussed the October municipal elections, the Supreme Court has heard in Kimberley.

And several youths said in affidavits they had been flogged because police believed they had "discussed" the elections.

The affidavits were filed in an application by the De Aar Youth Congress (Dayco) for an order restraining police from unlawfully assaulting, detaining or intimidating its members.

Dayco chairman Themba Steven Kampi said there had been repeated assaults on Dayco members over a long period.

The assaults had continued and no-one had been prosecuted despite complaints laid with the South African Police, he said.

"Three of our members have been recently assaulted and threatened. The security police have threatened to assault several of our members if we have any discussions about the elections, if any pamphlets against the elections are found on any person in the community, and if people do not vote in the elections.

Kampi said that on September 1 he was taken to security police offices where a Warrant Officer Gerber accused him of collecting anti-election pamphlets in Cape Town.

"Gerber told me if he saw any pamphlets in the township against the elections he would lock me up."

Kampi said his father had been called to the security police offices.

"Gerber told me to lie down on a table. He ordered my father to beat me with a sjambok. He and two other policemen watched.

"I was struck at least five times before my father was allowed to cease."

Felix Kampi said in his affidavit he had sjambokked his son because he was "terribly afraid of the police and confused".

Dayco member Mlungisi Voko said he was held by security police for several hours on August 31.

"They alleged that I was intimidating people on the question of voting in the forthcoming municipal elections," he said.

"When I denied the allegations, Gerber hit me with his fist in my mouth and one of my teeth was cracked from the blow.

"He struck me several times and threw an ashtray filled with cigarette butts in my face.

"He threatened to hit me with a sjambok. He grabbed me and forced me to sit on the ground between his legs and throttled me.

Voko said his father had been called and forced to beat him with a sjambok on his lower back and buttocks.

He said Gerber had threatened to beat up any person who discussed the municipal elections.

"He said he would blame me if people did not vote, because I was intimidating people. He would come and get me.

"The pending elections appear to be the reason for security police harassment and unlawful assaults on Dayco members and I fear for my own safety," Voko said.

Luyanda Brian Ngubo said he was taken from his home at 5am on September 7.

A security policeman, known only as Patsoane, had questioned him about Dayco discussions on the municipal elections.

"He punched me and slapped me three times on my face. I was also beaten with a quirt," Ngubo said.

"Patsoane threatened that I would be beaten again and locked up should any anti-election pamphlets or stickers be found in the township."

Nombulelo Lydia Hlithani said she was taken from her home on August 1.

A security policeman, Muller told her if any pamphlets or stickers were found in the township or community, he would "lock me up and throw away the keys".

# Churches call day of fasting

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

THE South African Council of Churches has declared today a day of fasting and prayer for the church in South Africa.

"It is clear the church in South Africa is entering the most difficult time in its life and we expect this might become worse in the near future ... we call upon Christians to fast and pray," Chikane said this week.

As examples of the church's "difficult time" he cited the recent bombing of Khotso House — and the fact that no-one had been apprehended — and the recent "persecution" of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"We are extremely concerned ... at the way the government and the SABC are manipulating the pastoral visit of the Pope for their own political ends; we believe these attempts are doing a disservice to the Pope's mission in Southern Africa," he said.

Chikane said the government and SABC had tried to drive a wedge between the views of the local church and those of the Pope.

Church leaders trace the government's recent attacks on them to their "Standing for Truth Campaign" when 29 church leaders defied Emergency regulations in issuing a call about the October elections.

At the request of local clergy an urgent meeting of church leaders from Europe, North America and Japan was held in Geneva last week

The Geneva gathering resolved that should action be taken against South African clergy they would "mobilise and galvanise protest world wide".

But the international church leaders also committed themselves to more immediate actions: to step up efforts to convince the European and North American governments to adopt stricter economic measures against apartheid, especially regarding the implementation of the oil embargo and the ending of aviation access to South African Airways.

They also pledged to persuade their governments not to reschedule loans to South Africa or to extend new financial arrangements, and to encourage their governments to closely monitor violations of the arms embargo against South Africa.

● Fifteen overseas church leaders were informed yesterday they had been refused visas to visit South Africa in order to express solidarity with clergy here.

# The flip side

## *Boesak on the Chissano/Botha indaba*

***South Africans were being force-fed an incorrect impression about the recent meeting between SA president P W Botha and Mozambican president Jaochim Chissano. Boesak told RYLAND FISHER that Chissano was definitely no Banda***

MOZAMBICAN president Joachim Chissano has not softened his stand on apartheid or backed down on his support for the struggle in South Africa.

Dr Allan Boesak says this confidently and convincingly after spending a week in Mozambique as part of a South African Council of Churches delegation which met Chissano last week.

"I am convinced, after speaking to President Chissano, that his talks with (SA president PW) Botha has nothing to do with his accommodating Botha," says Boesak.

"He is still as firm in his condemnation of apartheid and his support for the struggle in South Africa.

"It is part of the peculiarities of politics in the Southern African region that Chissano has to deal with Botha."

"Some people tried to create the impression that Chissano is selling out to Botha."

Chissano was not, "by any stretch of the imagination", like Malawian president Dr Kamuzu Banda.

***Kaunda spoke to Vorster. No-one accused him of being like Banda.***

"Banda has been a sellout ever since he came into power. He has never cared about South Africa's blacks."

Chissano had been invited by Botha to visit South Africa but he had not accepted the invitation.

"Even if he does, it should be judged against the background of the peculiarities of the Southern African region," says Boesak.

"(Zambia's President Kenneth) Kaunda spoke to Vorster. No-one accused him of being like Banda.

"We must remain cool. We must not let the liberal press tell us who our true friends are.

"I have been received almost like a head of state in Mozambique, both by the late President Samora Machel and Chissano. The same honour was not given to Botha."

Botha has never met the Mozambican president at the presidential quarters in Maputo. He met Machel at Nkomati and Chissano at Shongo.

"This says something of Mozambique's stand. We must watch these diplomatic signs.

"In the same way, I have never been invited by Reagan or Thatcher but Buthelezi has."

Botha's visit to Mozambique took place in a week the SA government and white South Africans in general saw as a week of diplomatic victories, says Boesak.

These included the Pope's landing in South Africa, even though it was unintentional, and his silence on apartheid, Botha's trip to Mozambique and Malawi and what they say as Jesse Jackson's softening on apartheid.

***I have never been invited by Reagan or Thatcher but Buthelezi has."***

"Botha's trip should also be seen against a background where South Africa has used Mozambique as a practice ground for military and political destabilisation," says Boesak.

"No other country in Southern Africa has suffered so much.

"After 15 years of war against Portugal, South Africa stepped in to take over where white Rhodesia had left off, by supporting Renamo, which was founded by Ian Smith.

"At the end of the Smith regime, South Africa became Renamo's chief backer.



Dr Allan Boesak

"Mozambique is more vulnerable than any other country. It has not only suffered under a colonial war, but it supported Robert Mugabe's Patriotic Front and went on to support the struggle in South Africa.

"South Africa has used Mozambique, not only to destablise and to open the pathway to destabilisation and intimidation, but also to make post-war development impossible, so Mozambique can be held up by South Africa as an example of what black rule means. It is bizarre but it is happening.

"As far as I understand it was necessary for Chissano to talk to Botha because of the Cahora Bassa dam. It is close to the South African border yet Renamo has been able to continue destroying pylons.

"Chissano wants South Africa to take responsibity for security and get some guarantees from South Africa.

"Eighty percent of Mozambique's foreign capital comes out of South Africa.

"South Africa, backed by Britain and the United States, is in an incredibly strong position as a superpower in Southern Africa.

"So, Mozambique is facing not only one enemy, but an array of enemies.

"Mozambique has, to a certain extent, been able to stop the Renamo bandits, but they want Renamo to get no outside backing whatsoever.

"Over the past few months, major Western countries have begun to realise that Renamo has no political base in the country.

"People who say Renamo is a people's organisation fighting a Marxist-Leninist regime, have been exposed, and Renamo have been exposed as merciless murderers.

"One can't believe what Renamo gets up to. It's only when one sees the people whose ears have been cut off and whose tongues have been cut out, that one realises what Renamo is.

"Fortunately, Western countries are beginning to see what Mozambique is facing.

"In the United States, there is no more official support for Renamo, and Britain is giving some military aid to Mozambique, but not enough.

"South Africa has emerged as Renamo's most important outside backer. It is not in South Africa's interest to be seen to be backing Renamo, and to be seen talking to Mozambique.

"Chissano, in the interest of his country and the region, has to talk to South Africa."

Boesak believes Botha is trying to buy time and to take advantage of the space created through the peacetalks on Angola.

"The central point of his agenda, albeit a hidden agenda, is how to buy more time for white rule in South Africa.

"The white press has portrayed the situation in Angola as a kind gesture by the South Africa government, a change of heart.

"I would be the happiest person if Namibia is free, but the military is too quiet.

"I am more hopeful now, not because I have more faith in the South African government, but because of three other factors.

"Ten years ago, South Africa took the Namibian issue out of the hands of the United Nations and over to the Western Five, who are friends of South Africa.

"What is happening in Angola and Namibia today is a vindication of our stand, that one must put enough pressure on South Africa if you want them to do anything.

"The two superpowers are putting pressure on South Africa. This has never happened before. The Angolan issue is important to President Gorbachev because he wants to show that what happened in Afghanistan can happen in Africa. He wants to show the Soviets are serious about their policy of peace throughout the world.

***Mozambique is facing not only one enemy, but an array of enemies.***

"For the United States, it is important because it will be their only foreign policy victory. They have failed in the Middle East, in Central America and in South Africa with their policy of constructive engagement.

"It is hoping to save some face in Angola.

"Secondly, the South African army has suffered substantial losses in Angola. The Cubans called their bluff and won.

"Thirdly, sanctions, even limited, have begun to have effect. The South African government does not have enough money to continue with the war in Namibia. About five years ago, they spent R1,3-m a day on the war in Namibia.

"Today it must be more than double. If one considers that they are in Nambia and Angola, and their support for Unita, it must be a staggering figure.

"These are the factors in play now, which were not in play 10 years ago.

"If one takes these factors into consideration, one can see that South Africa has no choice but to be at the negotiation table.

"If enough pressure is put on South Africa, it will negotiate with the African National Congress as it is doing now with the MPLA. Constant pressure is the only policy that works.

***"The government is hoping to save some face in Angola.***

"If we can get the major Western countries and maybe Japan to say to South Africa: 'We've had enough, we want you to negotiate with the ANC and the people of South Africa,' it will happen.

"What is happening in Namibia is not a wonderful gesture by the South African government. They are responding because they have no choice.

"That is why I am holding my breath. We must not get too excited. We must be vigilant.

"I am glad the UN is taking an active role and that general secretary Perez De Cuellar is making it a priority. But he should also be wise and not get misled."

# Boycott threat: All police on leave cancelled

By STEPHEN WROTTESLEY, Crime Reporter

ALL police leave has been cancelled for the run-up to next month's municipal elections.

This was confirmed today by a spokesman for the ministry of Law and Order who said the African National Congress was attempting to disrupt the elections.

An example of these attempts were the five bomb attacks in Cape Town in the past three days, he said.

"The ANC does not want the elections to succeed," he said.

"All police leave has been cancelled and we have taken a host of other steps, some of which are visible and some of which we cannot disclose," the spokesman said.

"This is being done to prevent disruptions."

Among measures being taken was placing more policemen in the field.

## Planned to disrupt

"Policemen who are normally desk-bound now have to do outside policing as well."

"We have identified a number of people who planned to disrupt the elections and they have been arrested. A number of people have been killed," he said.

"But we would be naive to believe the ANC will not continue their attempts and we appeal to anyone with information about intimidation to come forward."

"This information can be given anonymously," he said.

A man is under police guard in hospital after three blasts in Bonteheuwel and the Strand last night..

Police declined to name the man, who is in his early 30s.

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the man was injured when a bomb exploded near the Bonteheuwel rent office in Kiaat Road last night.

He is in a serious condition with leg and arm injuries.

Police said he was being guarded but was not under arrest. Possible charges were being investigated against him.

## Debris

Lieutenant Laubscher said the bomb caused slight damage to the rent office.

While explosive experts were sifting through the debris at the blast site, a second bomb exploded, at the Magistrate's Court in the Strand.

Captain Gys Boonzaaier, police liaison officer for the Boland, said it was not known what kind of bomb was used in the explosion at 8.40pm.

Damage was estimated at R1 000.

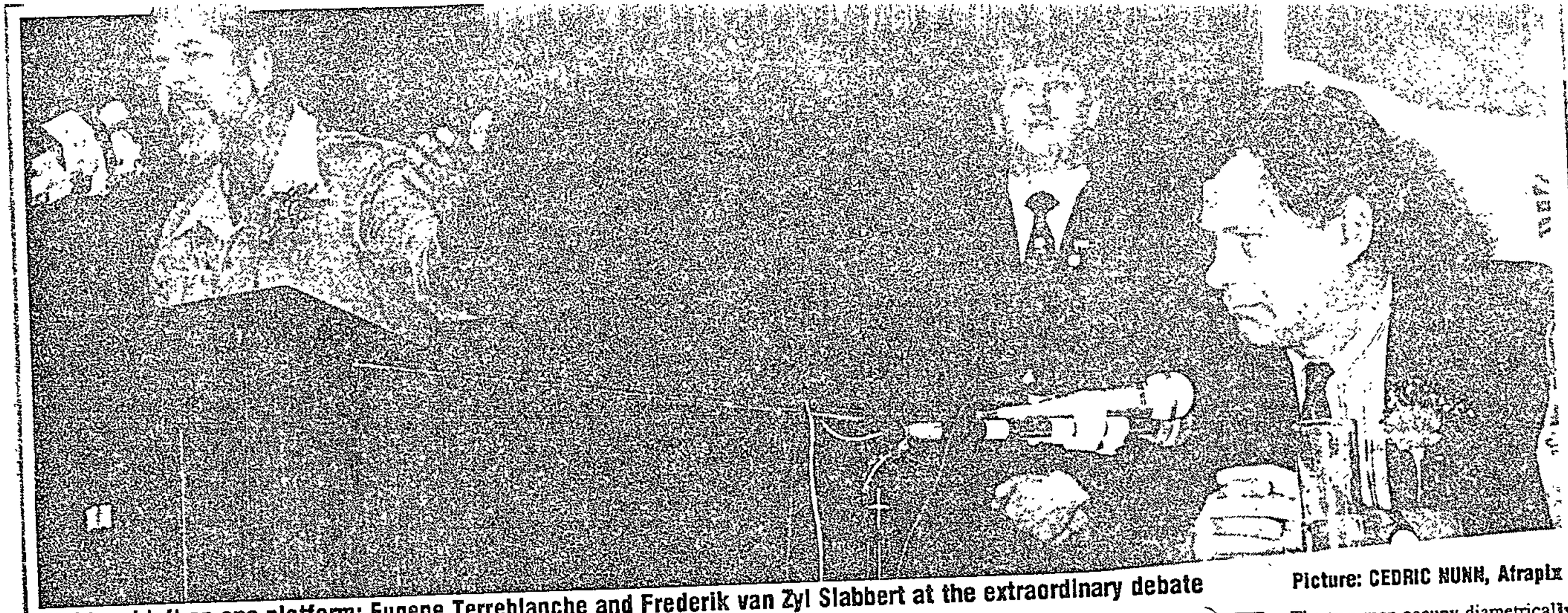
Soon after 10pm there was an explosion at the Strand municipal buildings, about 300m from the Magistrate's Court

Damage was estimated at R2 000.

He said no arrests had been made in connection with these explosions, thought to have been caused by mini-limpet mines.

## Press curbs

**In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted. Among others, restrictions apply specifically to reports and comment on the October 26 municipal elections.**



Right and left on one platform: Eugene Terreblanche and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert at the extraordinary debate

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

23-29/9/88

# Which one's boerewors? And which one's pap?

**AN UNLIKELY PAIR BATTLE OVER THE SOUL OF THE VOLK**

**SHAUN JOHNSON reports**

"I AM just as much an Afrikaner as Mr Terreblanche," shouted Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, one of the most charismatic figures in extra-parliamentary politics.

*"Ek is net so boerewors en pap"*.

This prompted a smile from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, in his way also one of the most charismatic figures in extra-parliamentary politics, and a deafening roar from the crowd of some 2 000 students.

Slabbert's claim, made during an extraordinary debate in the University of Pretoria's Aula Hall yesterday, appeared to divide the audience equally between those who barracked him for being a heretic, and those who hailed him for Afrikaner heroism.

It was a battle over rights for the soul of the Afrikaner.

"I come from the Afrikaner tradition," said Slabbert. "You lost it," bellowed an AWB heckler. "I also grew up on a farm," persisted Slabbert. *"Maar jy's 'n kaffirboetie,"* yelled another khaki-clad disciple of Eugene Terreblanche.

The often-alluded to divisions within Afrikanerdom were on public display. Although a feared outbreak of violence did not materialise, the political chasm between young Afrikaners favouring integration and the diehard segregationists certainly did.

Yesterday's *"blitsdebat"*, organised by the university's student council, brought the far right-wing leader face-to-face with the former leader of the opposition, and now director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

The question posed was "Where to with South Africa?" and, at their simplest, Slabbert's and Terreblanche's answers were "north" and "south" respectively.

Slabbert advocated the total democratisation of South Africa, so that Afrikaners could once more be proud of their heritage and hold their heads high in Africa and the world. Terreblanche insisted the solution was a *"volkstaat"*, a fortified bastion of apartheid within the white south.

The two men occupy diametrically opposing poles in national, and Afrikaner, politics. And, as Terreblanche impishly remarked, have not enjoyed the closest of friendships.

Their last communication, he said, had been in the form of a telegram sent to Slabbert on his return from a meeting with the African National Congress in Dakar. Its message was not welcoming.

But, for whatever reasons, he decided to face Slabbert on the podium yesterday. The Idasa leader seemed a little bemused himself: "My thanks go to Mr Terreblanche for agreeing to appear together on this stage. In 12 years of parliamentary politics I never succeeded in getting a cabinet minister to agree to it."

In his address, Terreblanche harangued Slabbert for consorting with the ANC. "My methods are different to his," he said. "We don't think you

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The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

# Boerewors debates with pap

●From PAGE 1

should talk with communists but blast them off the face of the earth.

"We demand a *volk's taat*, with borders that are respected. We won't share power, we will have power in our own area."

Slabbert responded by saying only two choices faced the Afrikaner people: integration or partition. Democracy could only be achieved through the former, and in pursuit of that goal he made no apologies for meeting "anyone who has a role to play".

He called on the young Afrikaners gathered to throw their weight behind this option.

In a breathless session where Slabbert and Terreblanche traded questions and answers, the AWB leader said South Africa had "totally lost" the war in Angola.

"What were we doing there in the first place?" Slabbert interjected. "It is not our country but we were trying to influence which government they would have. Now we're out."

"There is nothing wrong with going into another country if you are threatened by communism," answered Terreblanche, "but then you must do the job properly."

"Do you really believe we must escalate the war?" Slabbert asked the audience. "We must take over," came the reply from an AWB group.

Terreblanche said he had never doubted the sincerity of Slabbert's motives but that he had to be "woken from a deep sleep". Slabbert was making "a big mistake" in his commitment to negotiation, he said.

"You think that the bombers will give you as much love as you give them. I don't see the love — I just hear explosions. They are killing our people, and you think you can get the thing right by talking."

He committed the AWB to "fight for our land with the same commitment as our forefathers. If the price for peace is war, so be it".

Slabbert said only negotiation could prevent war. The conflict in Angola had become unpopular with right and left-wing whites, he said, and a settlement would save many lives.

The atmosphere of the packed meeting was civil but tense. AWB members were in evidence, sporting their khaki outfits adorned with the three-pronged insignia of the movement.

Whenever Slabbert said something they found particularly odious, they held up small orange placards bearing, in large black letters, the word *"TWAK"*. They were prolific hecklers: when Slabbert mentioned the Angolan negotiations and the role of the Cubans, he was answered with the shout *"Hulle het Aids!"*

The import of the meeting was far more symbolic than practical. It brought together the representatives of two important trends in Afrikaner politics — both shut out of the corridors of power. But it demonstrated the polarisation of Afrikanerdom.

It also contrasted polarised styles of politics — one emotional, almost demagogic, the other relying on dogged, logical persuasion. In this respect Slabbert had the last word.

Summing up his argument after listening to Terreblanche, and no doubt recalling previous AWB "bully boy" tactics, he commented: "You've now had a taste of what a decent *(ordentlike)* political debate can be like in South Africa."

MCGS 29/9/88

30 GP



# 'Silent revolution changing society'

A SILENT revolution was transforming the country, the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman, said today.

He was speaking at the annual conference of the South African Institute for Librarianship and Information Science at the Cape Town Civic Centre on the theme *Towards the 21st Century*.

"A silent revolution is transforming our society. It will be slower and less bloody than either the French or the Russian revolutions, but, like the industrial revolution in England, will be more profound," he said.

One of the major components of the revolution was urbanisation.

## "Swart gevaar"

Whites could either look at the phenomenon of black urbanisation as a "swart gevaar" threat or they could see it as an opportunity providing a huge concentrated consumer market which would bring jobs and prosperity.

Another component of the silent revolution, Mr Kane-Berman said, was the "Zola Budd phenomenon", so described because combi-taxis were often called Zola Budds (because of their speed).

"Apart from their importance as providers of jobs and incomes, and consumers of petrol and spares, black combi-taxis are now exercising 'the power of the grocery circuit'. Shopping centres are competing to be included on these circuits.

"Recently the Pietersburg City Council refused to establish a black taxi rank in the town, but supermarkets are providing taxi ranks because they won't otherwise get the black custom on which their survival depends."

"In the legislation currently causing such controversy in Parliament the government is trying to prevent the further erosion of the Group Areas Act. The chances are that its attempts will fail," Mr Kane-Berman said. — Sapa.

PARLIAMENT

# Backfiring on Heunis

**Constitutional** Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis two weeks ago tried to woo Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP) into accepting part of the controversial amendments to the Group Areas Act (GAA). This week, his secret rendezvous with two Labour members backfired when Hendrickse led his party out of a joint session before voting started.

In his proposed deal with the two MPs, Heunis suggested that the LP reject the amendment to the GAA, which was scheduled to have been debated on Monday, but, in return, support the Free Settlement Areas Bill, which was originally on the order paper for Wednesday. The two MPs, understood to be Peter Hendrickse, son of the LP leader, and Deputy Leader Miley Richards, told Heunis that they were not authorised to make such a deal.

According to sources, Heunis met with the two MPs in his Union Buildings office while they were in Pretoria to attend a meeting of the select committee dealing with foreign funding of political and other groups. Heunis's deputy Roelf Meyer was also present when the discussions took place.

This week, there was a sudden change in the programme for the joint session and the Free Settlement Bill was placed on the order paper for Monday. Labour Party chief whip Willie Diederichs was apparently only informed — not consulted — by parliamentary whip Alex van Breda of this change on Thursday.

However, government and Heunis must have expected the LP to reject their request. According to a source, the President's Council has already been instructed to convene on October 11 — no doubt to ram these Bills through.

The latest breakdown in parliamentary procedures once again put the life of the tricameral system in danger and has put a question mark on Heunis's ability to negotiate any settlement with political adversaries. As the *FM* went to press, Heunis was frantically trying to save face for the NP.

Hendrickse, however, remains stubborn. He regards the change in the order papers as a breach of honour and vowed not to vote on *any* of the remaining amendments. "We are using the platform now which was not available before. For the first time we get wider publicity," says Hendrickse.

In a stormy debate which followed Monday's fiasco, Heunis, at times losing his cool in the chamber, sharply attacked Hendrickse. "The dishonouring of agreements will not only disrupt the parliamentary proceedings. It will also be a flagrant breach of agreements which had been reached by supposedly honourable people," he said portentously.

This week's debacle during the joint session again underlines the wide gap between the ruling Nats and the LP, once seen as partners of the NP in the tricameral system and co-guarantors of its success.

As was forecast last week *(Current Affairs* September 23 1988), members of the LP used the session to point out to their NP



Hendrickse



Heunis

colleagues the hardship and unfairness which the GAA has wreaked down the years. In this they were supported by Indian members of the House of Delegates (HoD).

House of Representatives' opposition member Peter Mopp accused the government of basing the GAA on their and white people's fear. "Emanating from that fear and greed is a mass of laws to protect that fear and that greed," said Mopp, stressing that the Free Settlement Bill is but an offshoot of the GAA. "The NP's fancy-dressing and sidestepping in order to cling to power will not be supported by us," he declared.

HoD member Yunus Moolla appealed to members of the white chamber not to become totally insensitive to the emotions and feelings of people of colour. "They have suffered tremendously under the yoke of the Group Areas Act," he said.

Hendrickse was more severe in castigating Heunis. "I can now see why the honourable minister almost lost an election. He needs to do a special course in human relations . . . I believe this was an attempt in character assassination."

Hendrickse said his party takes part in the system in order to dismantle apartheid. "Any Act of Bill based on the perpetuation of discrimination and racism, people of colour will never support. You have no right to talk of morality. While God make me a man, the NP made me a coloured man."

As for so-called Free Settlement Areas, Hendrickse said it was a perpetuation of discrimination. "You insult me by having me accept your classification to live in prescribed (open) areas."

Hendrickse also denied that he had a vendetta against P W Botha (as charged by his axed former Education Minister Carter Ebrahim). "We have had five meetings this year, one this morning, and the atmosphere was cordial. We spoke man to man."

The debate also accentuated the quandary some verligte Nats find themselves in. In his speech, National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan, once a front-bencher of the NP, challenged his erstwhile colleagues (he mentioned Innesdal's Albert Nothnagel by name) — to stand up and be counted when the GAA is debated. Nothnagel's position must become untenable in the party. It is known that the maverick Nat, in his heart, opposes the Act.

"I can fully understand that no person belonging to the coloured community . . . could ever speak in favour of the Group Areas Act. In fact, I can see and I can sense the hatred among many of our colleagues and among many people in SA towards this legislation," Nothnagel said bravely during Monday's debate.

In Monday's debate it was clear that government was attempting to salvage the controversial Bill. In a briefing to the press, Roelf Meyer elaborated on the areas earlier named by Heunis as "free." But when questioned about the possibility of open government schools in these areas if so requested by the majority of residents, Meyer said the question should be directed to National Education Minister F W de Klerk (rather in the way P W referred questions as to the source of the R4bn for civil servants' salaries to Barend du Plessis). Meyer could only reiterate his government's policy that government schools will remain closed to multiracial schooling.

As the *FM* went to press, the debates raged on. In the end, the Nats will get their way — via the President's Council. The LP's actions will ensure, however, that passage of the Bills will be delayed by at least 14 days.

The week's session demonstrated just how wobbly are the wheels on which the tricameral train runs. Whether this government is able to reach reconciliation with Hendrickse looks highly unlikely indeed. ■

PARLIAMENTARY PAY

## Who do we thank?

**Unsurprisingly,** politicians may also benefit — though at a later stage — from President P W Botha's surprise announcement this week of a R4bn pay package for disgruntled civil servants. Botha left the door open for himself, Cabinet ministers and MPs when he said that the increases would apply to every-

LOCAL ELECTIONS

# Trouble devolved

If the Conservative Party (CP) gains control of a large number of municipalities at the October polls, government might well reconsider its devolution policy. This is one of the conclusions reached by Centre for Policy Studies researcher Richard Humphries in a paper on the forthcoming local elections.

In his study entitled *On the Beaches ...* Humphries notes that "not many governments comfortably tolerate competing centres of power when these are controlled by an opposition political party, which uses them for political purposes at variance with the goals of the governing party."

When the old United Party-controlled municipalities were once accused of obstructing the direction of Nat race policies, government simply removed influx control from municipalities and established the administration boards to "limit possible deviation from central policy."

Humphries concludes that government's devolution programme has been based on an unstated assumption that the National Party (NP) would retain control of the local authorities — an assumption that looks more tenuous by the day.

In terms of devolution policy, municipalities have been granted the power to make independent decisions on an important range of issues, including the opening of public facilities to all races. Local government has been restructured and regional services councils (RSCs) introduced. It also involved the abolition of elected provincial councils. Initially it was planned that only whites, coloureds and Indians would participate in the RSCs; but following the township upheavals which flared in 1984, government accepted the need to include the black local authorities.

The abolition of the elected provincial councils and the introduction of the RSCs encouraged the trend towards politicised local government structures, says Humphries.

The CP is enthusiastically contesting the October municipal elections along party lines, and regards the exercise as a test-run for the next general election. By controlling enough local authorities it hopes to gain control of a number of RSCs as a possible way to disrupt their operation. Should the CP be successful, says Humphries, the "smooth functioning of the RSCs in the Transvaal will be disrupted." They could, for example, veto budgets and so force the Administrator to take financial decisions on behalf of the councils.

The local elections will demonstrate the strength of the white Right. They will also be a test of whether the Nats can hold on to the English-speaking voters the ruling party gained during the general election last year.

The results in English-dominated areas of Natal and the Cape will be of major significance to the NP. Johannesburg and the northern suburbs will also be vital to the party's attempts to consolidate and retain its English support. The CP also aims to attract English voters and is fielding candidates in areas it has never tested before, like Maritzburg.

Bolstered by a number of local by-election successes over the past year — not only in the Transvaal but also in the Free State and Natal — the CP is entering the final stages of the campaign supremely confident. It is using the election to mobilise support for the party's policies and successfully strengthen its grassroots structures. CP branches in the Transvaal have increased 55% since the general election; in Klerksdorp 14 new branches were established in June this year, and 28 in Witbank during March. Party membership grew during May, June and July by a figure equal to the total membership enrolled during the first six years of the CP's existence.

Faced with the CP's aggressive strategy to turn the municipal elections into a de facto national poll, the NP is very much on the defensive. The Nats are relying on thinly disguised "independent" candidates to fight its cause in the Transvaal and Free State; and its manifesto sounds as though it was drawn up in response to CP policies.

Conflict within the black, coloured and Indian areas continues to centre on the issue of participation in government-created structures.

However, since the last election for the black local authorities in 1983 and 1984, the incorporation of-blacks into central government and other structures outside the homelands has become government policy.

Black local authorities are now deemed a crucial cog in the constitutional reform programme. The passing of the Promotion of Constitutional Development Act earlier this year has further increased their importance. Under this legislation representation on the proposed national negotiating forum will be drawn from regional electoral colleges, consisting in turn of representatives of the black local authorities.

Another low poll would again lead to questions about the legitimacy of these structures and the councillors serving on them.

Humphries questions the use of municipal councillors as a basis on which to secure some black representation on the proposed forum. He sees the nature of existing municipal leadership as a problem: "In the absence of national political parties contesting the elections, municipal leadership is localised to the specific township and is highly fractious and individualistic in nature. With few exceptions this results in almost continual leadership disputes around rival personalities and not on issues of substance or ideology."

He notes that attempts to form national organisations around this municipal leadership have not had a good record and concludes that "this conservative and moderate leadership could, therefore, not deliver any defined national, or even regional, constituency in the proposed forum." ■

ay September 30 1988

# CP could come into power — professor

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has the strongest base support of any white political party and could soon become the largest white party, political analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, has predicted.

The claim has been made in an article in the latest publication of *Indicator South Africa*, journal of the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal.

Professor Schlemmer drew his conclusions from by-election and opinion poll surveys.

He said the National Party, positioned in the centre of the white political spectrum, could still maintain an impressive general election provided it could retain the support of most of the floating vote.

The NP could face major problems however if "an image of the NP takes hold of the imagination of the voters in which it is seen as unable to manage the situation of stress in the country and the floaters drift away to the Right and to the Left".

**HUNG PARLIAMENT**

Professor Schlemmer said the NP, within a short space of political time, could end up as no larger than the liberal opposition parties to its left in a hung Parliament with the Conservative Party as the largest party.

"Under these circumstances, the sheer uncertainty factor in the minds of whites as well as inevitable disagreements among the centre-left parties will quite possibly enable the CP to force an emergency election and come to power."

Firm right-wing opposition now stood between 32 and 38 percent while the bottom line of the NP started at 28 percent, going up to 51 percent at the top, with a floating vote on the Right of between two and six percent and between six and 16 percent on the Left.

Professor Schlemmer said the October municipal elections would be "a dress rehearsal" for national political developments.

30/9-6/ W/ 304A



RY DIFFERENT FORMS IN BLACK AND IN WHITE AREAS

# A new prognosis: the CP won't do as well as it thinks

**Two newly published studies suggest that while the National Party will indeed be hurt in the elections, it won't be the knock-out the Conservative Party is boasting of. By SHAUN JOHNSON**

WITH less than a month to go before the nationwide municipal elections, two major reports just published suggest that while the Conservative Party is poised to make substantial political inroads, "the National Party may not do as badly as many people expect".

In a report which contrasts with many prevailing expectations, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer says while the election results will certainly have profound long-term implications, the cataclysm some expect is not likely.

The municipal elections — in which an estimated 7 536 councillors will be elected to some 1 126 local government structures — "will probably record significant gains for the Conservative Party but will not topple the dominant position of the National Party," he writes in the latest edition of *Indicator SA*, a quarterly journal published by the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal.

In the black elections — where the percentage polls achieved are more important than which candidates are successful — Schlemmer says the government may well secure polls of more than 25 percent in "less-highly politicised townships".

The report is the first comprehensive investigation of the likely results and implications of the much-publicised ballot, and includes a breakdown of special factors affecting different regions.

Within white politics the National Party will benefit from being "positioned roughly at the midpoint of all ... contradictory campaign accusations and expectations," says Schlemmer.

And, "as always before, the ruling party probably has a political card or two to play. President PW Botha's appeal for Afrikaner unity has not worked but his trip to Mozambique and Malawi will.

"If the Angolan negotiations go favourably and there is a time-table for Cuban withdrawal, the NP's image will also be enhanced."

While even the highest estimate of the poll in black areas is not particularly impressive, such voter turnout would mean no clear "negative mandate" had been achieved by those declining to participate in the racially-constituted structures.

There is little doubt the government would interpret such ambiguity as an endorsement of their brand of reform. This applies equally in African, Indian and "coloured" constituencies.

On the surface, therefore, the immediate practical results of the October 26 poll will be limited.

The National Party would retain effective, albeit impaired, control in the white arena, and would argue at the very least that its reformist building-blocks had not been rejected by the black population.

Interpreting the results of various opinion polls, surveys and by-election results, Schlemmer presents predictive voter "support ranges" for the white groupings.

The Nationalists, he says, could draw support ranging from 28 percent, at worst, to 51 percent at best. These figures include those Nationalist-linked candidates who are not campaigning under the party's banner.

Similarly, "firm" right-wing support will vary between 32 and 38 percent, with 2,6 percent of the voters "floating" between the NP and right-wing.

The "floating, liberal/fringe NP, plus emerging Independent Party support" will range between six and 16 percent. "Firm 'progressive' opposition", which embraces the Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Movement could span nine to 12 percent.

If these estimates — which refer to "potential voter turnout and not simply voter attitudes" — are upheld, Schlemmer argues, "the National Party ... can still command an impressive majority in any (subsequent) general election *provided* it can retain the support of most of the floating vote."

Such retention is certainly not guaranteed in the general election which will follow the municipal polls, he



**The Nats: all tied up in knots by the snapping CP**

suggests, but the figures speak against Conservative empowerment this time round.

So if the Nationalists are not going to lose, why then all the fuss about the elections?

Both Schlemmer's report and another — published simultaneously by University of the Witwatersrand Policy Studies researcher Richard Humphries — concur that the long-term implications for National Party rule and its reform programme are of deep significance.

Local politics are particularly closely intertwined with national political dynamics as the 1980s draw to a close, Schlemmer argues. There have been times in the past when this has been the case — in the 1920s, and again following the township protests of 1976 — but today's politicisation is probably unprecedented.

The issues are no longer "promises about grass verges, sidewalks, streetlights and refuse removal" — today the "politics of South Africa are once again turning on the hinge of urban African communities. This issue is the key to the October elections."

The real import of the upcoming polls lies insofar as they "will be a dress rehearsal of how voters from all race groups are likely to respond to national political developments ...

"None of the parties contesting (or boycotting) the elections have developed even a reasonably clear basis for responding to the challenges which lie beyond the local government elections. One could even go so far as to call the coming poll a test of strength under conditions of confusion."

The relative strengths which emerge once the votes are counted and percentage polls calculated, he says, will "set the stage for the next general parliamentary election. No single party or strategy will lose hope, but all will find that the challenge of clear policy formulation will become critical."

In his report titled "On the Beaches — South Africa's local government elections", Humphries says the results will act as indicators of national white political trends in at least five areas.

- The substance of the up-tempo mood of the CP, which has grown ever since the election of May 1987, will be put to the test. Rather grand prognoses have issued from CP representatives. They expect to take at least six of the Transvaal's RSC's, and are hoping for 10. If the promise is not fulfilled, the CP could lose its "winning party" image.
- The NP's commitment to the devolution of power as a means of dealing with intractable local problems will come into question if the CP strategy of gaining control of Regional Services Councils succeeds.

Humphries notes that the CP "has threatened to sabotage the operating of the RSC's". The government could not happily accept local authorities which blocked central designs.

- If it loses, the NP will have to draw lessons from its wholly "reactive" tactics in response to the CP threat. "The NP has been forced to find ways to respond to the CP's mobilisation at the municipal level, and the NP's municipal manifesto is virtually a point-by-point response to the major issues raised by the CP," says Humphries.
- The extent of the changes in the NP's voter base will be clarified. Humphries points to a marked loss of traditional Afrikaner support, especially in the "younger and poorer" categories, with concomitant gains among English-speakers, including Jewish voters.
- Similarly, the reported success of the CP in adding increasing English-speaking support to its traditionalist Afrikaner base, will be gauged. CP gains in certain areas of Natal and the Cape will be a crucial indicator.
- Finally, if there are any real prospects for the emergence of a "reformed (white) opposition grouping to the left of the National Party", these will be tested in October. The PFP's aggressive campaign in Johannesburg can be viewed as part of this effort to revitalise the "left", says Humphries.

In the black elections, besides being interpreted as a "mandate" for government policy, relatively high polls would be construed as a major setback for extra-parliamentary resistance organisations.

Says Humphries: "This would be read by the government as a sign that 'revolutionary change' in general, and the African National Congress in particular, are rejected by the majority of South Africans."

The real effects of the election results will take some time to be felt. But it remains certain that if there is to be tension while the votes are being counted on October 27, it will centre on who makes it in the white elections — and how many vote in the black elections.

The government and the extra-parliamentary movements will be watching the scoreboards with equal concern.

**Embassies, Pretoria: funds channelled**

1440. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he or his Department has been informed of reports alleging that funds for anti-South African activities are being channelled through certain overseas embassies in Pretoria; if so,

(2) whether he intends taking any steps in this regard; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) I and my Department are aware of such reports and rumours.

(2) If it can be proved that the allegations are true, suitable steps will be taken.

**Tax legislation: protection of businessmen**

1441. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether he is considering introducing legislation making provision for protection for businessmen against penalties incurred by them under tax laws as a result of negligence and/or unprofessional conduct on the part of their accountants and/or bookkeepers; if not, why not; if so, when?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Such legislation is not now being considered.

The taxpayer, or vendor under the Sales Tax Act, is personally responsible for the timeous rendition of and the correctness of information in his returns.

If, as the result of negligence and/or unprofessional conduct of his accountant or bookkeeper, he incurs penalties under the tax laws he will have a civil claim for damages under common law against such person. In fact, accountants are covered by professional indemnity insurance against such claims.

**Tax credits**

1443. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether any taxpayers have credits as far as their tax obligations to the State are concerned; if so, (a) what is the total amount involved, (b) how long have these credits been outstanding and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether such taxpayers receive interest at the same rate as that applicable to taxpayers who are indebted to the Receiver of Revenue; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) It has been the practice since 1986, in the case of companies, and 1987, in the case of individuals, to refund all tax credits. Credits relating to prior years have either been used to reduce provisional tax payments due in respect of subsequent years of assessment or have been consolidated and set-off against outstanding taxes.

The following credits representing advance payments by way of employees tax and provisional tax for the 1989 year of assessment are being held for set-off against assessments (debits) still to be raised:

Individuals:
Employees tax.... R3 474 685 563
Provisional tax ..... R106 730 575

Companies:
Provisional tax..... R2 826 975 473

(2) Interest is payable on provisional tax credits at a rate of 12 per cent per annum to taxpayers with taxable incomes in excess of R50 000 in the case of individuals and R20 000 in the case of companies. This rate was fixed at 15 per cent up to and including 30 September 1987, but, to prevent any abuse, the Act was amended last year to bring it into line with market-related rates in the private sector.

In the case of outstanding debits, taxpayers are charged interest at the rate of 15%. This rate was not also reduced, the reason being that it should serve as a disincentive to those who seek to delay the payment of their taxes unnecessarily.





**Defence headquarters building**

1455. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:

(1) What was the total cost of the new Defence headquarters building in Pretoria;

(2) whether tenders were invited in respect of this building; if not, why not; if so, what was the lowest tender received;

(3) whether the lowest tender was accepted; if not, (a) why not and (b) what are the relevant particulars of the tender that was accepted?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) The present estimated cost of the building is R191 770 000.

(2) Planning of the building is presently still in progress and tenders will only be called for after completion thereof. Minor preparatory site works have been done for which tenders were awarded.

(3) Falls away.

**Cairo: talks**

1459. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

With regard to the talks held by him in Cairo on 24 and 25 June 1988, (a)(i) how many persons accompanied him to that city and (ii) what are their names, (b)(i) who is or was the owner of the aircraft used to transport them and (ii) what was the cost of hiring it and (c)(i) who financed the trip and (ii) what is the estimated total cost thereof?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(a) (i) 69 people including media representatives.

(ii) It is not considered to be in South Africa's interest that names be furnished.

(b) (i) SAA.

(ii) The cost of the return air transport for the group amounted to R4 342,30 per person.

(c) (i) The relevant government departments involved in the peace talks and the media representatives who accompanied the delegation jointly financed the visit.

(ii) Falls away.

**Importation of second-hand clothing**

1479. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether any provision has been made for the importation of second-hand clothing into the Republic; if not, why not; if so, what is the (a) nature and (b) percentage of the duty and/or surcharge on such clothing;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

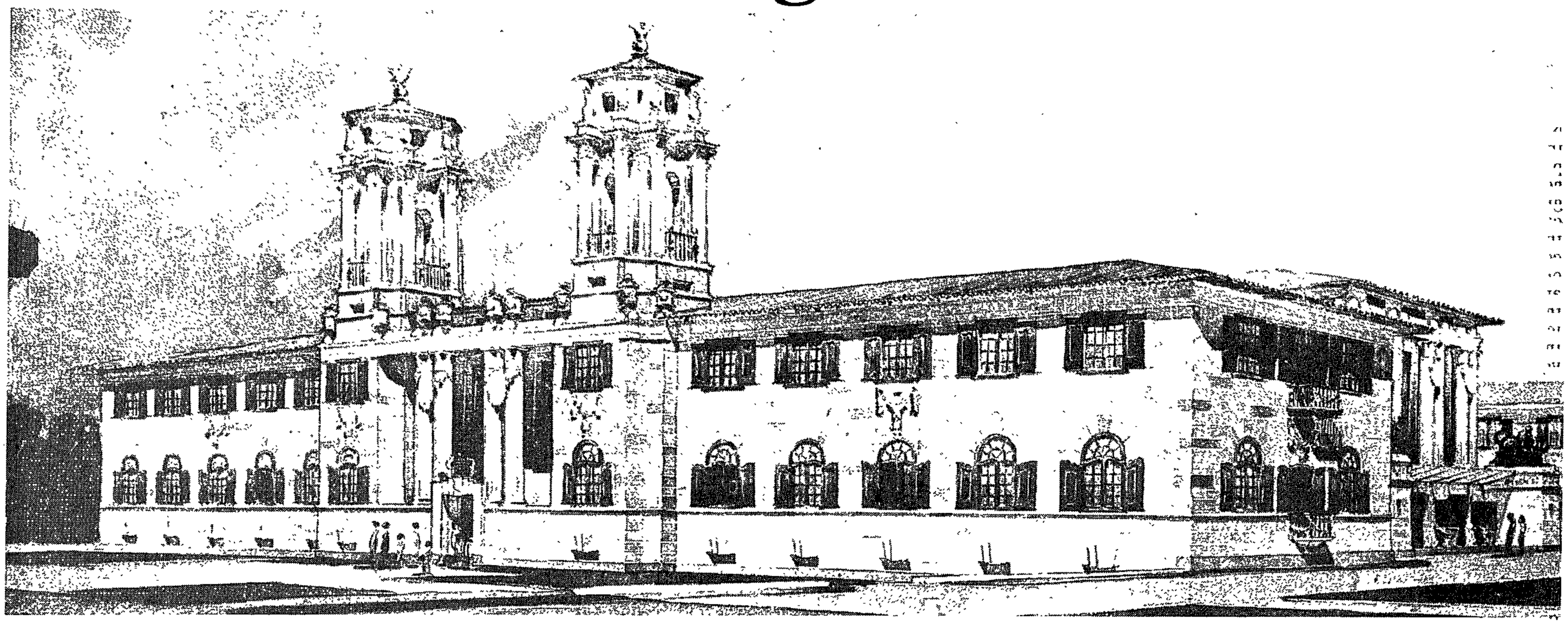
(1) Yes. Provision for the importation of worn clothing and worn textile articles which are put up (imported) in bulk packings such as bales is made in tariff heading 63.09 of Schedule No. 1 to the Customs and Excise Act, 1964.

(a) and (b) Worn overcoats in such packings are subject to Customs duty of 25% or 40c each and other worn clothing in such packings to Customs duty of 25% or 35c each. Both are subject to surcharge at 20%.

Other used (second-hand) clothing is classified in either Chapter 61 or Chapter 62 of Schedule No. 1 to the Customs and Excise Act and the rate of duty, which differs according to the type of clothing and the material from which it is manufactured, depends on the applicable tariff heading. Should the Honourable Member require any further detail in this regard he should please contact the Commissioner for Customs and Excise.

The importation of worn/second-

# It's 1948 all over again in the OFS



**Bloemfontein is festooned with strident CP posters, and the party is confident of getting some of its candidates into the City Hall. The Conservatives will certainly do well in some of some of the smaller towns.**

**By GRAHAM LINSCOTT**

The CP, which won 43 percent of Free State votes in last year's general election but not one seat, is hoping to improve its position in the province on October 26.

The local election battle for Bloemfontein is on in earnest, but it is rather like watching a boxer prancing about in the gym, peppering a heavy punchbag with blows but scarcely budging it.

The boxer wears Conservative Party colours. The punchbag has no particular colour except perhaps the sandstone shade favoured by so many punchbags and public buildings.

## Streets and drains

It calls itself the Ratepayers Action Committee (RAC) and the fact that it consists of sitting councillors, all of whom are members of the National Party, is by no means coincidental. The NP strategy of presenting the CP with a punchbag instead of giving it the satisfaction of a party political contest in full colour is probably a shrewd one.

That punchbag is filled with concrete. The Nats have been controlling Bloemfontein for close on 40 years and know a thing or two about municipal government. The RAC is made up of respected local leaders of a traditionally close-knit Afrikaner community.

It becomes less easy for the CP to introduce the hype and hoopla of national politics against men who insist on talking about streets and drains.

And the Nationalists believe the people of Bloemfontein will react with irritation to the CP's deliberate politicisation of what should be local issues. Bloemfontein is festooned with strident CP posters, and the lack of reply speaks eloquently enough, in its way.

"It seemed to us a good strategy," says Mr Inus Aucamp, general secretary of the Free State NP. "Free State people are moderate and dislike being divided in this way. We will evaluate our strategy in the light of what happens."

The CP are therefore left to skin their knuckles and expend their energy on the concrete punchbag, for small return. Small, because the CP seems unlikely to win more than five or so of Bloemfontein's 18 wards.

Elsewhere in the Free State, the picture is not quite the same, nor is the Nationalist strategy always quite the same. At Sasolburg, Parys, Steynsrus, Winburg and Koppies official NP candidates are fighting the CP.

Sasolburg is a blue-collar town (in a sense an extension of the Vaal Triangle rather than a part of the traditional Free State) whose parliamentary seat was once held briefly by the Herstigte Nasionale Party. The CP stands a good chance of taking control.

The CP could also take control of various small towns, especially in the south. Even the party organisers on both sides find such eventualities difficult to predict because of the small numbers of people involved.

Some of these local authorities are so tiny — often literally three or four streets crossing a main road — that a combination of the preferences of the butcher, the baker, the grocer and one other is enough to decide whether the council supports the Nationalists or the CP. Control would have to switch to the CP on a wide scale for real significance to be read into the results in these places.

Meanwhile the CP is unabashedly laying the groundwork for the next general election, official CP candidates fighting 90 percent of the province's wards.

Provincial secretary Mr Gustav Claassens (formerly private secretary to Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the NP) regards the municipal elections as a useful trial run and an opportunity to improve the party's organisation in the Free State and get it on to a general election footing.

"It is 1948 all over again," he says. "Nobody really knows what is going to happen after this election."

He speaks enthusiastically of a welling up of popular support and a rush of volunteers such has not happened in the NP for 20 years. As if on cue, an attractive young woman comes in off the street and asks if she can help in the CP campaign. A few minutes later the telephone rings with a similar request.

"The most important thing for me in this municipal election," says Mr Claassens, "is our percentage share of the vote. We could win Sasolburg; we will certainly win some of the small towns. We will win wards in Bloemfontein. But the important thing is whether we improve on our 43 percent of the vote in the general election.

"It's incredible. We got 43 percent but did not win a single seat. But we are almost there and these local elections should show what progress we have made."

## In the frontline

The campaign in the Free State is not at the same high pitch as in the Transvaal. This is due probably to a combination of the more restrained Free State character and the NP's strategy of not contesting the capital city in party colours.

But the stakes are high. Says the NP's Mr Aucamp: "This is a serious struggle. We are in the frontline."

If Bloemfontein itself is a concrete punchbag for the CP, the Free State as a whole could be seen as a shock absorber for the NP, absorbing any bumps that might emanate from across the Vaal. October 26 should show how resilient a shock absorber it is.

# Make-or-break for Nat Govt

**BY ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter**

**The October municipal elections are developing into a make-or-break struggle between the Government and the extra-parliamentary groups, says Mr Theo Bekker, a senior lecturer in political science at the University of Pretoria.**

The main issue at stake in the municipal elections was whether the Government could create support for its reform policies, Mr Theo Bekker, a senior lecturer in political science at the University of Pretoria, wrote in the latest issue of the International Freedom Foundation's quarterly bulletin *Southern African Freedom Review*.

If the National Party wanted to broaden the representative base of the political system, the involvement of legitimate political leaders and groups as well as the electorate was essential.

It was also essential that support was generated for evolutionary change and that political structures were regarded as legitimate.

## Struggle

Democratisation and constitutional reform could be initiated in Parliament by political parties or by the activities of extra-parliamentary pressure groups.

Against this background, the municipal elections were developing into a make-or-break struggle between the Government and the extra-parliamentary groupings.

"Both calculate that implementing their respective political strategies will largely depend on whether the elections are seen to have any credibility, particularly by South Africa's 27 million blacks," Mr Bekker said.

As the majority party in Parliament, the NP was the major vehicle for reform. Although inroads had been made into the abolition of apartheid and racial segregation, the question whether the Government was willing to accept non-racial rule had still not been answered.

The first phase of reform, from 1976 to 1988, had been characterised by low risk reform measures. However, these reform measures had been economically, socially and politically courageous initiatives for the NP.

In the second phase of reform, the Government would have to address high risk measures. The powerbase of the white ruling elite would have to be changed to provide for meaningful non-racial participation.

The Government, Mr Bekker said, was possibly unwilling or unable to adapt to changing community values and aspirations.

This might result in activity by extra-parliamentary groups that could drastically affect the relevancy of the Government as the major force behind political reform.

It was not impossible that violence and revolutionary activities might escalate to such an extent that instability could become a common phenomenon.

The danger for the Government, however, was that it could lose the direction of political reform by allowing revolutionaries to determine the course of the political system.

"It is therefore of vital importance the NP not only maintains the initiative in political reform, but it receives support for institutional arrangements and processes. The willingness of the community to participate in elections is therefore of vital importance."

Analysing the role of political parties and organisations in the municipal elections, Mr Bekker said the NP viewed the elections as an important step in the broadening of democracy.

The more liberal parties used the elections as a platform from where they could criticise the ineffectiveness of the Government to create legitimate political institutions and the Conservative Party demonstrated its resistance to integration.

A variety of strategies were followed by extra-parliamentary groups.

While some organisations actively supported a boycott, the ANC had instructed its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to "sabotage the polls".

On the other hand, some UDF affiliates such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) and the Natal Indian Congress accepted that political participation could influence the political system "from within".

In this respect the Five Freedoms Forum, which had publicly called for participation, was attempting to play a role in influencing businessmen, students, academics and other opinion leaders to "isolate the Government".

Mr Bekker concluded that the municipal elections could be an important step towards the eventual creation of an open society.

30/9/88 (304A) SDM

## ANC plans known — Wessels

# Police prepare for municipal polls violence

By Joe Openshaw

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels warned in Johannesburg yesterday that violence at the polling booths by the ANC and the radical Left in an attempt to disrupt the October 26 municipal elections would not be tolerated.

Speaking at a conference of urban terrorism at RAU, he said the police were aware of plans being laid by the ANC.

"The ANC has promised strikes on election day as well as bus boycotts to prevent people getting to work or to the polling booths.

"I can assure the public that we will not tolerate illegal interference in the elections.

"It is not police policy to kill and maim people, but we will not stand by and see defenceless people murdered and maimed by those who haven't the interests of the people and the country at heart.

"We have already taken action and detained and curtailed the free movement of radicals and instigators.

"I give candidates the assurance that everything possible will be done to ensure their safety and that of their families so they can take part in the election without fear."

He said it would be foolhardy for him to reveal precisely what plans and precautions the police have to protect candidates, voters and the polling stations, but he gave the assurance he police will be present and visible everywhere.

Measures were already being taken to protect central business areas by searching people and by roadblocks.

## SA warned of rise in urban terror

Acts of terror could be expected to escalate as the October 26 municipal election drew closer, Brigadier H D Stadler, head of intelligence in the Security Police, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said at a conference on urban terrorism at the Rand Afrikaans University that although acts of violence escalated from 1984, statistics indicated terrorist acts had decreased substantially since the state of emergency was imposed.

"Since 1974 there have been 1 006 acts of terrorism in which 178 people have been killed and wounded," said Brigadier Stadler.

"In 1985 there were 137 acts of terror, last year 235 and so far this year 138.

"Since the state of emergency this situation has changed and there is increased stability.

"The ANC has no permanent logistic infrastructure in the country and they have to operate from outside South Africa.

"For this reason they have had to establish local training camps, crash training courses and have had limited success with forming ANC cells here," said Brigadier Stadler.

"The highest incidence of acts of terror has been in Soweto.

"Now their attention is aimed at civilian targets and the whites are their soft target," he said.

Brigadier Stadler told delegates that the ANC's attempts at a guerilla war had never really got of the ground.

## Social norms 'contribute to incest'

By Janet Heard

The social mores and norms of society encouraged many of the characteristics found to contribute towards incest, Mr Clive Willows of the Maritzburg Child Welfare Society said this week.

He was addressing about 400 delegates at the South African National Council for Child and Family Welfare's national symposium.

Research had shown that 34 percent of women experienced some form of sexual abuse, where they had not consented, before the age of 18. About 90 percent of the victims were girls and around 95 percent of the perpetrators were men.

Mr Williams said most children's socialisation was based on gender, where boys were encouraged to be dominant, that the man was the head of the family and that power was in his hands, thus increasing the potential for abuse.

These norms were reinforced through the mass media and advertising where the man was portrayed as being inde-

## 'Thousands vote with their feet'

Political Reporter

One of the most significant characteristics of the "silent revolution" which was transforming South African society was that it was brought about by the man in the street, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, said yesterday.

..."While the Government and political activists were

# Accused general names '15 killers'

**A Ciskei general accused of murder names 15 'real killers' — including one of the investigating officers. SI NGOMANE reports**

A CISKEI police general charged with the murder of an Eastern Cape activist claimed this week he was framed and pointed out a member of the investigating team sitting in the Zwelitsha Magistrate's Court as one of the killers.

The mystery of the murder of Eric Mntonga began to unravelled with the surprise arrest of Ciskei's top security men. The second in command of the Ciskei Police Elite Unit, Major-General Zandisile Ngwanya, is facing murder charges along with head of Ciskei security police Major-General Phakamile Ngcanga, Major Mpekiseli Potwana, Colonel Mabandla Mbejeni and warrant officers Thamsanqa Hlulani and Khayalethu Ncandana, of Mdantsane police station.

Mntonga, former Border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, was found dead last year on a lonely dirt road near King William's Town a day after he had been summoned to Ciskei's Tamara police station. His ankles bore rope marks and he had been repeatedly stabbed through the heart after he was already dead.

Pandemonium broke out in court when Ngwanya named "the real killers" during a bail application on Monday.

Seized with emotion, he called out some of the names of the 15 who allegedly killed Mntonga — Warrant Officer Soci, Colonel Nonono, Colonel Bojana, Sergeant Hlela. He suddenly pointed to a man at the back of the gallery and shouted, "There is one of them. (Sergeant) Gola is the killer. He is now one of the members of the investigating team."

Ngwanya said the leader of the investigating team, Brigadier Fikile Zibi, was trying to cover up the tracks of the killers. Zibi was from the same town as Bojana and was protecting him. He said Hlela was also being protected as he was the younger brother of Major Hlela, of Mdantsane security branch, who is on the investigating team.

"Now I am suffering for the deeds of others," he continued as murmurs from the gallery grew louder.

Ngwanya said that co-accused Potwana had told him that he had seen Mntonga being interrogated by about 15 policemen from Mdantsane and Zwelitsha.

Potwana said he saw Mntonga, who was handcuffed, being suffocated by Bojana with a piece of plastic.

Potwana told Ngwanya that he had left the office but returned later and had removed the plastic. Mntonga allegedly said to him, "It is me, Bra Poti," calling him by the shortened form of his name.

Potwana told Ngwanya that he had left the office but was later phoned by Bojana, who told him that Mntonga was dying. Ngwanya said Potwana went back to the office to find Bojana trying to resuscitate Mntonga.

Potwana told Ngwanya that Brigadier Nhonhonho, who was worried about whether Mntonga was booked in at the police station or not, ordered that the office door where the body was lying be closed until it was dark.

Ngwanya admitted under cross-examination by Deputy Attorney General Viwe Notsha that Potwana suppressed important information by not reporting what he had seen. Ngwanya added that the investigating officers were suppressing information as they knew the killers.

A letter written by Idasa founder member Dr Alex Boraine to Ciskei President LL Sebe and the Ciskei commissioner of police featured in the hearing. Ngwanya said Boraine had mentioned the killers in his letter but he (Boraine) was never approached for help.

"If the investigating officer wanted to arrest the culprits he would have begun with the people mentioned in the letter."

Ngwanya repeatedly pleaded his innocence, saying the investigating officer, Brigadier Zibi, had refused to let him make a statement to the attorney general.

Ngwanya said Mbejeni, Hlulani, Potwana and Ncandana were approached by Zibi to make statements against him (Ngwanya) and co-accused Ngcanga.

Ngwanya assured the court that he would not jump bail as he had business interests in Ciskei to look after. He said he did not have a valid South African passport as he had sent it to Pretoria for renewal.

He told the court that he was a second year police science student with Unisa and pleaded to be granted bail. The case continues. — Elnews



Eric Mntonga ... murdered

# Controversial Alex Civic ends

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

THE Alexandra Civic Association, which endorsed a plan for participation in the October 26 municipal elections, was this week disbanded by a committee representing organisations supporting the Freedom Charter.

At a closed meeting in Alexandra on Wednesday night, the Alexandra Joint Working Committee said "recent events" — which amounted to a lack of direction in the ACA — had compelled it to disband the association and suspend its constitution.

The ACA's dissolution follows its recent approval of a plan to be put to residents should they opt to participate in the elections.

At Wednesday's meeting, attended by some members of the disbanded ACA, the JWC elected four of its members to serve on an interim committee whose task was to restructure the ACA and evaluate its constitution.

# PW off to jungle summit



President Botha



President Mobutu

Cape Times 30/9/88

30CA



**PRESIDENT P W Botha leaves tonight for his historic weekend jungle summit with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.**

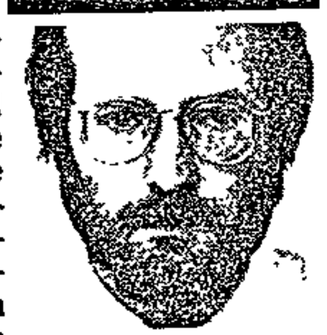
The summit will be held deep in Zaire's north-western jungle at President Mobutu's ancestral home at Gbadolite.

President Botha is expected to arrive at the luxury lodge tomorrow morning and leave by early evening, although a Foreign Affairs spokesman said last night that Mr Botha had yet to confirm that the visit was on.

However, a Zairean official was quoted on the national radio yesterday as saying the meeting would go ahead.

The summit will be the culmination of months of top-secret diplomatic activity and comes after a week of intense negotiations in the Congolese capital of Brazzaville. The negotiations are aimed at reaching a peace accord for south-western Africa between Angola, Cuba and South Africa.

Although the US-mediated talks, which began on Monday amid high expectations, ended



Political correspondent **ANTHONY JOHNSON** will be the Cape Times man-on-the-spot the



President Botha



President Mobutu

Cape Times 30/9/88

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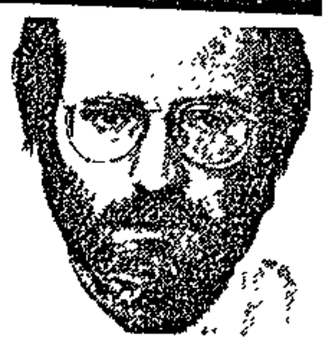

Political correspondent **ANTHONY JOHNSON** will be the Cape Times man-on-the-spot the Zaire summit.

Although the US-mediated talks, which began on Monday amid high expectations, ended yesterday without agreement, all parties involved said they would meet again in Brazzaville to break the deadlock on the timetable for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa's director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, said that progress made yesterday had exceeded expectations.

Sources at the talks, who declined to be identified, said the South African and Angolan delegations appeared to have accepted a compromise proposal for a phased withdrawal over 24 months. Cuban diplomats had, however, demanded more time, the sources said.

The talks almost broke down at one point when the Cuban delegation accused the South Africans of delaying tactics, but the crisis passed with all sides recommitting themselves to a peace accord.

As the negotiations drew to a close, Pretoria's diplomatic foray into Africa reached the Central African Republic with two South African Foreign Affairs officials meeting President Andre Kolingba to brief him on progress made in Brazzaville.

It was the first official visit by South Africans to the central African state since the fall of Emperor Jean-Bedel Bokassa in 1980. Ties between that country and South Africa were good under Bokassa.

The Botha-Mobutu summit will be

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From page 1

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the first meeting between the two leaders and Mr Botha's third trip this month to a black state, following his meetings with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano and Malawi's President Hastings Banda.

Mr Botha is likely to use the initiative to underline South Africa's role as a regional power and as a key player on the sub-continent.

Apart from cementing the already strong, although largely secret, economic and military relations between the two countries, the meeting is expected to focus on regional peace.

Top of the agenda will be the need to encourage African moves towards promoting reconciliation between the warring parties in Angola.

Both South Africa and Zaire have been backers of Unita and supporters of the rebel movement's bid to become part of the government in Luanda.

It is not clear at this stage whether any other African leaders will be attending the Zaire summit.

However, the propects for a broad African peace and development summit — along the lines proposed by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, this week — will also come up for discussion.

Zairean officials said the visit would lay the groundwork for the bigger meeting of African leaders to discuss Southern Africa issues. — Own Correspodent, AP and Sapa-Reuter

S.A. GOVT & POLITICS

1988

OCT.



# PW Botha's 10 years of lost opportunity

**Write On!**

Joe Latakgomo



THERE WAS so much to do, and so little time in which to do it. This could quite easily have been said by President P W Botha this week when he celebrated 10 years of being the bossman in this country.

Except, of course, very few people would have believed him. Yes, there was so much to do, and no, there was ample time for him to have done it. He did not do it and, for this, history will judge him.

A friend observed this week that it is amazing how the failures of Botha and his government have gone by, raising only a shrug of the shoulders. He was referring specifically to the economic disaster that Mr Botha's tenure has brought upon us.

Take gold production: this has plummeted by almost 40 percent. South Africa, which produced about 80 percent of the world's gold, now produces only about half of that. Taxes have gone up, especially personal tax. With less money to take home, savings have plunged to their lowest level in years. The rand has fallen to low levels against other currencies, particularly the currencies of countries from which we import heavily. This has led to increased prices.

Cars, for instance, are now only within the reach of the affluent. There are fewer jobs, and this has nothing to do with disinvestment. The flight of capital from this country is the result of Government policies. At the same time, defence spending has shot up.

Is it not strange that, while this country often boasts that it is the biggest consumer — and producer — of electricity on the continent (a sure sign of well-being), Eskom happily announces the closure or mothballing of power-stations without even a whimper? Considering that black townships in this country which have electricity can be totted up without much effort, it is curious, is it not?

And yet, business people still honour President Botha for his contribution to the country.

Politically, it seems that Mr Botha had thought that Mr John Vorster's Six Months would be enough to sort out the problems of the country. He came up with adapt or die, and when he did not adapt, and did not die, he decided that it was not worth adapting after all.

Only this week, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said that more than 100 people had been sentenced to death for "unrest-related" incidents in the past four years. This, surely, must be a serious indictment of this country and its people. What this says is that there must be something stirring in people.

It must be the desire for full participation in the political affairs of this country, and with the Government having failed to address the problem in its early days, it is not possible to make piecemeal concessions now.

The Great Tricameral Parliament, which Mr Botha could have boasted was his great leap out of the laager, has proved to be a great failure. It is not working and has, in fact, turned out to be the circus that the Government was warned it would be

But is the white population ready for fundamental change? It seems that if people can still use the threat of opening up areas to all races against their election opponents, there is something wrong.

One would have thought that the State President would at least prepared something to say on his 10th anniversary, but the interview with Johan Pretorious of SABC-TV was as lacklustre as anything else Mr Botha has said in the past 10 years.

He has managed to split Afrikanerdom, something, I guess, for which the Afrikaner will probably never forgive him. But, having done that, he failed to build.

Ten years gone, 10 years wasted. What a pity.

# NP becomes punchbag in Free State contest

Argus 3/10/88 (3084)

**Argus special writer GRAHAM LINSCOTT assesses the political mood in the Free State in the run-up to the municipal elections on October 26**

THE battle for Bloemfontein is on in earnest, but it is rather like watching a boxer prancing about in the gym, peppering blows on a heavy punchbag, scarcely budging it.

The boxer wears Conservative Party colours. The punchbag has no particular colour except perhaps the sandstone shade favoured by so many punchbags and public buildings. It calls itself the Ratepayers' Action Committee and the fact that it consists of sitting councillors, all of whom are members of the National Party, is by no means coincidental.

The NP strategy of presenting the CP with a punchbag instead of giving it the satisfaction of a party political contest in full colour is probably a shrewd one.

That punchbag is filled with concrete. The Nationalists have been controlling Bloemfontein for close on 40 years and know a thing or two about municipal government. The action committee is made up of respected local leaders of a traditionally close-knit Afrikaner community.

It becomes less easy for the CP to introduce the hype and hoopla of national politics against men who insist on talking about streets and drains.

And the Nationalists believe the people of Bloemfontein will react with irritation to the CP's deliberate politicisation of what should be local issues. Bloemfontein is festooned with strident CP posters and the lack of reply speaks eloquently enough in its way.

"It seemed to us a good strategy," says Inus Aucamp, general secretary of the Free State National Party. "Free State people are moderate and they dislike being divided in this way. We will evaluate our strategy in the light of what happens."

The CP men therefore are left to skin their knuckles and expend their energy on the concrete punchbag, for small return — small because the CP seems unlikely to win more than five or so of Bloemfontein's 18 wards.

Elsewhere in the Free State, the picture is not quite the same, nor is the Nationalist strategy always quite the same. At Sasolburg, Parys, Steynsrus, Winburg and Koppies, official National Party candidates are fighting the CP.

Sasolburg is a blue collar town (in a sense an extension of the Vaal Triangle rather than a part of the traditional Free State) whose parliamentary seat was once briefly held by the Herstigte Nasionale Party. The CP stands a good chance of taking control.

The CP could also take control of various small towns, especially in the south. Even the party organisers on both sides find such eventualities difficult to predict because of the small numbers of people involved.

Some of these local authorities are so tiny — often literally three or four streets crossing a main road — that a combination of the preferences of the butcher, the baker, the grocer and one other is enough to decide whether the council supports the Nationalists or the CP.

Control would have to switch to the CP on a wide scale for real significance to be read into the results in these places.

Meanwhile, the CP is unabashedly laying the groundwork for the next general election, official candidates fighting 90 percent of the province's wards.

Provincial secretary Gustav Claassens (formerly private secretary to F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party) regards the municipal elections as a useful trial run and an opportunity to improve the party's organisation in the Free State and get it on to a general election footing.

"It is 1948 all over again," he says. "Nobody really knows what is going to happen when we get this election."

He speaks enthusiastically of a welling up of popular support and a rush of volunteers as has not happened in the National Party for 20 years.

As if on cue, an attractive young woman comes in off the street and asks if she can help in the CP campaign. A few minutes later the telephone rings with a similar request.

"The most important thing for me in this municipal election," says Mr Claassens, "is our percentage share of the vote. We could win Sasolburg, we will certainly win some of the small towns. We will win wards in Bloemfontein.

"But the important thing is whether we improve on our 43 percent of the vote in the general election.

"It's incredible. We got 43 percent and we did not win a single seat. But we are almost there and these local elections should show what progress we have made."

The campaign in the Free State is not at the same high pitch as in the Transvaal. This is due probably to a combination of the more restrained Free State character and the National Party's strategy of not contesting the provincial capital in party colours.

But the stakes are high. Mr Aucamp says: "This is a serious struggle. We are in the front line."

If Bloemfontein itself is a concrete punchbag for the CP, the Free State as a whole could be seen as a shockabsorber for the National Party, absorbing any bumps which may emanate from across the Vaal.

October 26 should show how resilient a shockabsorber it is.

# Adverts urge blacks to vote

By Clare Harper

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) has budgeted R17 500 for the placement of five advertisements in The Star encouraging blacks to vote in the municipal elections.

Fida, which has offices in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, is a "peace-loving and Christian" organisation, according to co-ordinator, Mr Sidwell Mofokeng.

It has already placed two adverts in The Star at a cost of R3 500 each and intends running three more.

Mr Mofokeng says Fida has community councillors and youth and church groups among its members.

Its resources come from the low-cost housing projects funded by the organisation. The projects are sponsored by financial institutions and anonymous donors.

Fida has also produced a video, explaining what the elections are all about, which has the support of community councillors, Mr Mofokeng says.

The organisation has a youth, women's, political, community affairs and theological wings as well as a cultural wing which runs advancement programmes.

Fida's interest in the municipal elections is through its support for community councillors, for whom Fida runs training and other seminars, he says.

# Voters may cast special ballots

3049 Star 3/10/88

Vereeniging Bureau

Vanderbijlpark voters unable to cast their ballots on the day of the municipal elections on October 26 can do so by means of a special vote between October 10 and 22 at the following polling stations: Wards 1 and 2 — Health Department on the ground floor of the local municipal offices. Wards 7 and 8 — Department of the Town Electrical Engineer in the eastern block of the municipal offices. Wards 10 and 11 — Public Library auditorium.

These votes can be cast between 8 am and 9 pm from Monday to Friday, and 8 am to 5 pm on Saturdays and the public holiday October 10.

Voters are reminded that they must identify themselves by means of an ID book, passport or travel document.

# Some Nats rethinking race labels

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

Individual members of the National Party are toying with the idea of moving away from the traditional definitions of race groups.

This was confirmed today by the NP's director of Information, Mr Con Botha.

He was asked to comment on recent speeches by Parow MP Mr Hernus Kriel and Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe to the effect that the definition of groups ought to be looked at and made more flexible.

A report in an Afrikaans newspaper yesterday said more and more Nationalists were talking of an "open group" which people who did not want to be classified by race could join.

The idea is not a new one, as various Nationalist MPs, including Ministers, have in the past said the question of freedom of association ought to be looked at anew.

There has been a feeling in some Nationalist circles that if race classification was "deregulated", in the sense that it was made voluntary, most people would still want to associate themselves with their particular groups.

Mr Botha said in an interview today the Government encouraged fresh thinking within its ranks.

He said it appeared there were people within the party who were thinking along the lines of an open group.

"At present, it is still very much individual thinking," he said.

Dr Van der Merwe could not be reached for comment early today.

Election candidates may lose jobs

# Govt officials must tread warily

304A

Star 3/10/87

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

**Hundreds of government officials standing as "independents" in the October municipal elections risk losing their jobs.**

They may not, in terms of various regulations, become publicly involved in party politics. In fact, they may not make any political statement in public.

Senior government and party political sources this week said because third-tier government had become highly politicised, it would be virtually impossible for any candidate to contest seats on a non-political basis.

## Row erupts

A row erupted over the candidacies of civil servants and other governmental employees — including scores of teachers — after a Conservative Party admission last week that it had fielded about 200 "independents" in the white Transvaal elections.

In addition, it has come to light that these "independents" were asked to sign documents stating their support and also promising that they would side with CP caucuses in white local authorities after October 26.

Other political parties declined to give the number of their "independents", but both the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party admitted fielding such candidates.

It is also known that many candidates in the black, coloured and Indian elections are in government employment and therefore violating the rules.

White opposition parties this week said the Government was to blame for creating this "ridiculous" situation because it had politicised third-tier government.

Referring to the participation of government officials in the elections as "the thin edge of the wedge", PFP spokesman Mr Peter Soal said the Government had abandoned the golden rule of an impartial and non-political civil service.

"The Government has politicised the municipal elections but has not changed long-standing rules prohibiting them from participating in party politics. This policy is now rebounding to the detriment of government officials," Mr Soal said.

The CP's spokesman on national education, Mr Andrew Gerber, said his party did not agree with legislation prohibiting government officials from participating in politics.

"How can they participate in elections which have politics so high on the agenda if they are not allowed to express their political viewpoints? The Government has created this ridiculous situation; not the political parties. All our independents have received official permission to stand," Mr Gerber said.

The Public Service Act, the Transvaal provincial ordinances on teachers' political rights and regulations governing the rights of other government officials (for example the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications) stipulate that employees may be members of political parties and may stand for parliamentary or local government election.

However, they may not express themselves on party-political matters in public — neither in writing, nor verbally.

If found guilty of a contravention of these regulations, officials may, among other things, be fined R2 000 or be discharged.

The Star directed inquiries to the Commission for Administration, the Transvaal Education Department (TED) and various ministries. From those replies received, it was clear that various officials had received permission to participate in the elections.

## Action expected

Some ministries indicated that departmental action would be taken against employees contravening the regulations, while one ministry said the information was confidential. The Commission for Administration said it would not respond to hypothetical questions.

However, highly placed government sources conceded it would be impossible to stand in these politicised elections without contravening the regulations.

The white Department of Education and Culture said no formal complaints against teachers standing as "independents" had been received.

Teachers standing as candidates were aware of the ordinances and the consequences of disregarding them, a spokesman said.

SA's diplomacy starts paying off

# PW: Regional peace summit a step nearer

Star 3/10/88

304A

**The State President, Mr P W Botha's outward thrust into Africa is set to start paying handsome dividends for years of patient behind-the-scenes work.**

The glittering prize which Mr Botha now believes is within reach, following several meetings with his regional counterparts, is a summit of all southern Africa's leaders to discuss the region's problems and potential for development.

However, such a summit, repeatedly mooted by Mr Botha in recent years, is not considered an imminent possibility.

Several other bilateral meetings are likely to precede it, including visits to South Africa in coming months by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire.

Mr Botha believes the African climate is slowly changing in favour of a top level meeting of regional leaders, which would include him.

A lot now depends on the successful conclusion of the peace talks between South Africa and Angola-Cuba, as well as the granting of independence to Namibia.

Mr Botha was in a triumphant mood following a successful day-long meeting on Saturday with President Mobutu at the Zairean leader's jungle palace.

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

## Dream

Asked by The Star, on board his aircraft returning from Zaire, if his meeting with President Mobutu would contribute to his long cherished dream of a meeting of southern African leaders, Mr Botha said: "That is the next step."

Mr Botha said he would talk to any southern African leader any time in the interests of regional peace.

He said he had not been invited to the meeting with Mobutu but had gone there at the request of the Zairean President.

Zaire, Zambia, Angola, Congo and Gabon.

Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Mali will send observers.

The African leaders will be discussing ways of ending the civil war in Angola, something which is also of great interest to South Africa.

Mr Botha said he had always said South Africa had something to convey to Africa, especially southern Africa.

His meeting with President Mobutu and others recently indicated that southern African leaders were coming to grips with this idea.

Mr Botha said South Africa's Africa initiative would continue this year and next year.

Other countries would be visited.

The South African delegation to Zaire was elated with the apparent sympathy President Mobutu had for South Africa's current domestic situation.

Senior South African diplomats said it was highly significant that President Chissano of Mozambique and President Mobutu had taken cognisance of changes in South Africa in recent years.

Mr Botha said his recent visits to African leaders must take the wind out of the sails of those who favoured sanctions.

Southern African countries realised they had to talk to and trade with South Africa if there



## Miners thr over fatal

152 St

Miners throughout the country sidering stopping work every miner dies in an accident, the Union of Mineworkers (NUM) secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa Johannesburg at the weekend.

Addressing a memorial servic memorate the death of 177 mine Kinross disaster of September Ramaphosa said "the time has

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Mr Botha said he would talk to any southern African leader any time in the interests of regional peace.

He said he had not been invited to the summit meeting of southern African leaders to be held in Lusaka later this week. South Africa would be watching the meeting with interest, he said.

The summit, which has nothing to do with South Africa's own African initiative, will be a meeting of the presidents of

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

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Southern African countries realised they had to talk to and trade with South Africa if there was to be joint development of the region.

One spin-off of the Botha-Mobutu summit for South Africa is the possible exchange of trade representatives.

## Exchange

Trade representatives have become a euphemism for ambassadors in South Africa's formal relations with Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho.

Mr Botha was cautious when asked for comment on the possible exchange of trade representatives, however, saying such a decision required careful consideration, but that eventually he believed it would come.

A more certain spin-off is a return visit by President Mobutu to South Africa.

President Mobutu has accepted the invitation in principle.

● Zaire was claiming a diplomatic triumph yesterday after President Mobutu's summit with Mr Botha

Zaire Radio described the meeting as a further step in President Mobutu's efforts to bring peace to southern Africa.

● See Page 11.

# Frost wins at last



COLUMBUS (Georgia) — South African golf ace David Frost edged out Bob Tway in a sudden-death play-off to capture the US Tour's $400 000 (about R1 million) Southern Open championship yesterday.

Frost earned the equivalent of R180 000 for his win, boosting his earnings in America this year to nearly R1,25 million.

A perennial runner-up, the South African joined the US Tour four years ago and had been runner-up in nine tournaments. Until yesterday victory had always eluded him.

● See Page 24.

3/10/68

304 a

# THE GOVT IS BANKING ON HIGH TURNOUT

**THE Government intends co-opting "credible" black candidates into the central government structures provided these candidates received substantial support in the October 26 municipal elections to show that they enjoy legitimacy in their communities.**

This emerged from a six-month research project conducted at the Wits University Centre for Policy Studies by Mr Richard Humphries and released yesterday.

**By MOJALEFA MOSEKI**

But black election candidates are faced with the problem of overcoming the voters unexpected refusal to participate in the elections.

"For what appears to be the majority of blacks, the preferred political strategy is to undermine the attempt of the National Party to achieve legitimacy through the co-option of black people into the government through racially defined local government structures," Mr Humphries says.

He continues: "This will probably be achieved through an unofficial boycott, as state of emergency regulations make a formal boycott call illegal."

The high or improved polls were a vital factor in proving the legitimacy of the Black Local Authorities (BLA) councils. Mr Humphries adds that it was with the effort to make certain that many blacks voted unhindered that the Government banned 17 black political organisations during February this year.

He says that a high percentage poll would be read by the Government as a sign that the "revolutionary change" in general, and the ANC in particular are rejected by the majority of South Africans.

Mr Humphries says that pensioners and squatters have been given special attention as they represent the only two groups of blacks which could give the candidates the kind of high poll required to redeem their legitimacy.

Sofasonke Party in Soweto is credited with leading the best mobilisation campaign of squatter voters while the Government, which took decades to recognise urban blacks as a permanent community, extended the vote to people who have been three months in the urban areas.

There are 80 councils in the Transvaal manned by 596 councillors and 260 BLA councils countrywide with 1 763 councillors in office.

DFM-Times 4/10/88

# Fedhasa raps CP MP over knuckles

**EAST LONDON. — Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was severely reprimanded by the president of the Federated Hotel, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa) after opening the association's Eastern Cape and Border congress here yesterday.**

**Mr Derby-Lewis, who had been invited to open the congress in his capacity as a member of the parliamentary standing committee on trade and industry, said the CP was often misunderstood but was growing rapidly and would soon take power.**

**Both Fedhasa president Mr David Wigley and regional chairman Mr Bryan Robinson openly condemned Mr Derby-Lewis for assuming a political stance.**

**Mr Wigley said Mr Derby-Lewis had abused his privilege. He said the association had invited Mr Derby-Lewis to address the congress on aspects which concerned the hotel and liquor industry, and not on politics.**

**"You have offended your welcome and the trust we placed in you," he said to Mr Derby-Lewis. "We find it an affront to be addressed on a purely political theme which has nothing to do with our industry."**

**Mr Robinson said he regretted that Mr Derby-Lewis had taken a political stance.**

Next step southern African summit

# P W makes plea for peace, development

Star 4/10/88

304A

**By David Braun,**
**Political Correspondent**

GEORGE — The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night appealed to the leaders of southern Africa to come together to bring about peace and development in a region racked by conflict and poverty.

"South Africa has an important role to play in the region.

"Ideological differences cannot be allowed to thwart attempts at peace and co-operation," he said.

Mr Botha made his latest call for a summit of southern African leaders during his speech at the opening of the Cape National Party congress in George.

The two-day congress, starting today, is likely to focus sharply on President Botha's vigorous diplomatic thrust into Africa of recent months.

Mr Botha said after his weekend meeting with the President of Zaire, Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, that a conference of all the leaders of southern Africa would be the next step in his Africa initiative.

The State President devoted most of his speech to this theme last night, underlying the high priority he has given it.

He said the perception for years had been that South Africa was a belligerent power in a region of conflict. Events of recent months had, however, placed a serious question mark over this notion.

## Made call

Mr Botha said he called for closer co-operation in southern Africa throughout the 10 years he had been South Africa's leader.

In 1979, at the Carlton conference with business leaders, he had called for a constellation of southern African states.

At the signing of the Nkomati Accord he had again called for regional co-operation.

Since then, the Government had taken a number of concrete steps, such as establishing the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Two years ago, Mr Botha said, he had at the Free State NP congress called for co-operation in southern Africa in the following areas: military security and stability; economic development, support and mutual co-operation; agricultural and industrial development and the creation of jobs; and the conservation and supply of water.

Mr Botha said: "Allegations that South Africa is a destabilising and disruptive force in southern Africa are therefore not true. South Africa is the single most important stabilising factor in the region."

Mr Botha said there were encouraging signs of greater co-operation and understanding in the region. However, the leaders of southern Africa still had to take the big step of coming together.

"Our attempts at peace are based on principles we strive for. These include:

- That countries do not interfere in the domestic affairs of others.
- That alien forces are not utilised in southern Africa for military purposes.
- That countries do not accommodate international terror organisations which act against other countries."

# CP man sues Law and Order boss

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

Nominated Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis told the Krugersdorp Civil Court yesterday that an untrue statement in a National Party advertisement in the *Krugersdorp News* in May last year portrayed him as a type of Nazi lunatic.

Mr Derby-Lewis is claiming R5 000 in damages for defamation from the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels; the National Party and Mr L van Rooyen.

The advertisement alleged that Mr Derby-Lewis had advocated compulsory sterilisation of other races to stop their rapid population growth.

Mr Derby-Lewis claimed that this was defamation as it harmed his good name and reputation and caused him to suffer damages.

Mr Derby-Lewis told the court that he lost the General Election on May 6 last year by only 55 votes. He felt that the advertisement had influenced the result as the false quotation had encouraged many PFP supporters, who would not have voted, to vote against him because he had been portrayed as an aggressive Nazi-type character.

The hearing continues.

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The hearing continues.

# Boerestaat Party meets in Pretoria

The first South African political party to have as its main aim the establishment of a white homeland, the Boerestaat Party, was launched in Pretoria at the weekend.

About 85 mainly Afrikaans-speakers attended.

According to leader Mr Robert van Tonder, a wealthy Randburg businessman, the new party was formed two months ago but had not officially been registered.

This could only be done at a meeting attended by no fewer than 500 people, Mr van Tonder said.

He said the launch of the party was organised especially for 1988 — the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek. — Sapa.

# Cape Nats call for brave changes and leadership

## Govt not to have final say on privatisation

**Political Staff**

GEORGE — The Government would not reserve a final say over projects which were privatised, Dr Dawie de Villiers, the Minister in charge of privatisation, said yesterday.

Dr De Villiers told the National Party's Cape congress that if the Government retained a final say people would be loath to invest.

The privatisation campaign was going slowly, but the public could be drawn into the process soon.

He expected that South Africa would deal with the inclusion of the public in much the same way as in Britain, with shares being marketed "like a soap powder".

He also hoped that employees, as in Britain, would gain a major share in companies, but because of the special circumstances the issue had to be handled carefully.

Proper use had to be made of scarce capital resources.

Earlier, a number of delegates had raised doubts about the privatisation programme, particularly a programme of the Government's intentions and a timetable.

Dr De Villiers said that by subjecting enterprises to the rigours of the open market, efficiency within a particular enterprise would be improved, which, in turn, would contribute to improving the economy generally.

Replying to criticisms that there was an increased tendency towards monopolies, Dr De Villiers said there was also a need for large companies, because only they had the capital needed to invest in major projects. But there was no need for the big to exclude the small.

He agreed that there were many people in the public service, but said they could not all be thrown out.

He pointed out that a large segment of the public service was made up of teachers and the security forces.

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

GEORGE — Calls for drastic and radical constitutional changes and for a new and bolder leadership were made at the Cape National Party congress here yesterday.

In a soul-searching three-hour debate, delegates made impassioned pleas for further and clearer reforms, including a rethink on the Population Registration Act to create an "open" group and for adoption of the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, told the congress the present Constitution was never meant to be final.

He said the NP could no longer go it alone on the road of constitution making. It had accepted it could be only a co-author of a new constitution.

Mr Francois Beukman, a former University of Stellenbosch SRC chairman, said the party must seriously look at constitutional experiments such as the Indaba.

The fact that a moderate leader, kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, preferred to participate in the Indaba, rather than the Government's proposed National Council, meant that the party should take a serious look at it

Mr Beukman said: "The National Party must grasp solutions such as the Indaba before it is too late and we are forced to take what we are given."

Mr Chris Jacobs, another Stellenbosch student, called on the party to adopt the Indaba proposal for an "open" population group.

"We must look again at the Population Registration Act. The existing system of classification is too rigid and it makes no provision for an open group.

"Let us make such a group feel at home. It will give integrity to the NP's group policy."

Professor J Cilliers of the University of Port Elizabeth, who was applauded loudly by the delegates, said the time had come for the party to be innovative in its thinking.

Since 1970, the NP's style of approach had become a blueprint for national disaster. "Today's leaders have to be capable of radical action to choose new roads and to think the unthinkable"

# AWB chief warns NP: 'We are the rebellion'

stys 10/8

304A

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, last night entered the municipal election fray with stinging attacks on the Government and a call to the Right to "ensure that you win".

In an emotive address lasting more than an hour, Mr TerreBlanche told the 1 800-strong Pretoria City Hall audience that victory in the municipal elections was a step on the road to a *volkstaat*.

"We will vote you out", he warned the National Party, while cautioning his followers to beware of divisive party politics. He warned the Right not to "trouble the water it drinks from" by establishing new political parties.

"When you vote, bear in mind that revolution is imminent. (Minister of Law and Order) Adriaan Vlok is not able to stop that which he has allowed to go too far."

He dismissed recent speculation of divisions within the AWB itself as nonsense, saying: "There is no rebellion in the AWB; the AWB is the rebellion!"

The letters AWB also stood for "*Almal Weer Bymekaar*" (everyone united again), he said.

About the *volkstaat*, or homeland for whites, Mr TerreBlanche said Afrikaners did not want "our own hotel or our own swimming pools; we want a country where all the hotels and all the swimming pools belong to Afrikanerdom".

He devoted much of his speech to attacks on the National Party, the Government, and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha in particular: "He is our rottenest Minister. If he can find time between his travels P W Botha should run to his typist and have her type a letter of dismissal for Pik Botha," he said to enthusiastic applause.

The National Party had so bankrupted South Africa that it was forced to try to buy friends with "the sweat of our farmers", he said, referring to the State President's recent gift of thousands of tons of grain to Malawi.

This gesture had come under attack earlier when AWB chief executive council member Mr Chris Beyers slammed the State President for giving away grain while the AWB ran feeding schemes for poor white children in South African cities.

The city hall grounds were thick with Conservative Party election posters, while inside the hall the AWB's distinctive red, black and white banners festooned the walls, proclaiming the will to die in defence of apartheid.

Several newspapers came under attack. *Beeld* was told to leave immediately (it did not) and *Rapport* was threatened with a similar banning should it continue to refer to the swastika-like symbol of the AWB as "swastika-like".

"We are not Nazis. We're Afrikaners, we are Boere," Mr Beyers said.

5/10/88

# New regional legislatures on the cards

Star 5/10/88

30419

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

GEORGE — Multiracial regional legislatures which could include blacks and would deal with matters of mutual interest could be the next step in the Government's constitution-making.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, told the Cape National Party congress in George yesterday that he was in favour of regional legislatures to deal with general affairs.

"I think they are coming," he said.

Mr Heunis also told the congress that more people were participating in government processes since the National Party came to power in 1948 and still more would be participating.

Asked by The Star today for further details of what he had in mind for regional legislatures, Mr Heunis said he could not speculate further.

Asked if blacks would be included in the legislatures, he said he had nothing further to add.

"All I said was that I was in favour of regional legislatures . . ." he said.

Yesterday was not the first time Mr Heunis has indicated that regional legislatures are on the cards.

## PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

He has previously hinted that a system of legislatures was necessary to replace the provincial councils scrapped two years ago in favour of appointed executive committees answerable to Parliament.

In terms of the Government's current system, provincial administrations are multiracial because they deal with general affairs.

The executive committees therefore include whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks.

It would be logical that any legislatures which could be added to this system would include elected representatives from all four population groups.

● Calls from congress delegates yesterday for the creation of an "open" population group, which people who did not want to be racially classified could join, came on top of a recent speech in Parliament by the MP for Parow, Mr Harnus Kriel, in which he also favoured such a concept.

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe has also recently said the concept of groups should be made more flexible.

Mr Heunis has so far not reacted to these calls and party sources say the concept has not yet been discussed officially within the NP.

● See Page 6.

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Star 5/10/88

# CP MP sues over NP advert

304A

**By Glen Elsas,**
**West Rand Bureau**

"Johannesburg is a fully integrated and almost international city that has a need for mixed facilities that will have to be provided for the black businessman to use," said a CP MP who testified in a defamation case in the Krugersdorp Civil Court yesterday.

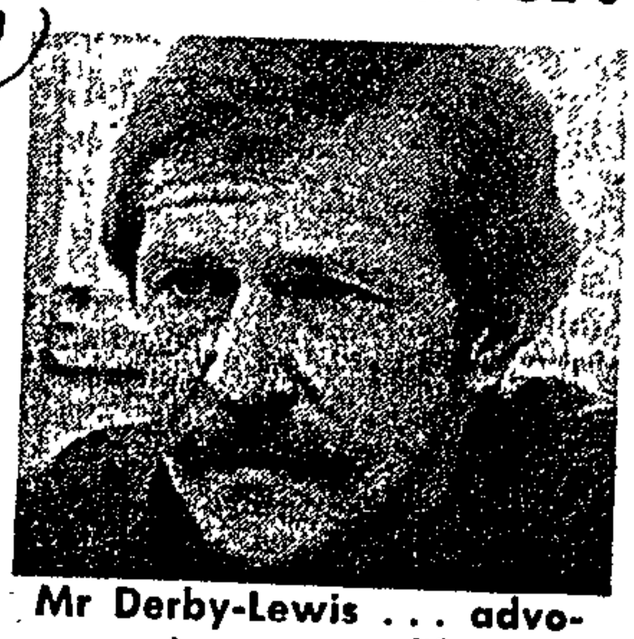
Mr Clive Derby-Lewis is claiming R5 000 in damages from the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, the National Party and Mr L van Rooyen after an advertisement in the *Krugersdorp News* before the general election in May last year.

Mr Derby-Lewis said the advert incorrectly quoted him as advocating compulsory sterilisation in an attempt to decrease the black population and so relieve the housing problem.

He claimed the damages, the costs for the trial and any further legal costs.

He said the advertisement had harmed his reputation and compelled several PFP members, who would have abstained from voting, to vote for the NP.

On the second day of the trial Mr Derby-Lewis, cross-questioned by counsel for Mr Wessels and the NP, testified that facilities would have to be created in Johannesburg for mixed races but there would be no "grey" cinemas.



**Mr Derby-Lewis ... advocates separate lifts.**

He was against the opening of theatres, trains and buses, and advocated separate lifts as integrated lifts caused a security problem. This was not founded on racism but was natural as every nation's customs differed and should be respected.

Whites had been "brainwashed by the Government into voluntarily reducing their population so that it now showed a negative growth rate".

The case was postponed to a date to be arranged.

# 'Road to future is in Africa'

Staff Reporter

The State President's current initiatives in Africa deserved public support, the National Democratic Movement (NDM) MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, said last night.

Speaking at the Durbanville Town Hall, Mr Malan said he believed the road to the future ran through Africa.

Mr Malan said he had recently accompanied political leaders and journalists to America.

"I had many discussions with colleagues from Africa and time after time one message was brought home to me.

"That message was: 'Recognise and accept us in South Africa as human beings and as equals, as fellow Africans.'"

# Threat to disrupt Trek festivities

Sun 5/10/86

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has vowed to disrupt official events commemorating the Great Trek if black people take part.

The movement's leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, told a Pretoria meeting yesterday it was scandalous that black people were invited to sing at the Voortrekker Monument.

3049

**CELEBRATIONS**

He announced that the AWB would "not allow" black people to appear at celebrations commemorating the Great Trek, even officially recognised celebrations, as opposed to the right-wing Trek festivities.

Mr TerreBlanche was reacting to an announcement that a Soweto choir had been invited to sing in the monument amphitheatre on December 16.

**BLOOD RIVER**

"We have built a house on Blood River's name and there is the house," he said, referring to the monument. "Keep your paws off it."

During the meeting in Pretoria City Hall, Mr TerreBlanche held the 1 800-strong audience's attentionwith a prose-poetry tribute to the Trek. — Pretoria Bureau.

3044 B/day 5/10/88

# Thank P W Botha for transforming SA in 10 years

## Dr STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, Minister of Information, comes to the defence of the State President

IN YOUR editorial of September 28 on President Botha's 10th anniversary as head of the government, you make a number of points. Firstly, you identify the visit of the Eminent Persons Group in February 1986 as the moment which historians may identify as the point at which "President Botha's leadership went from hope to disillusion".

Secondly, you give President Botha credit for the reforms which he initiated. Thirdly, you state that as far as constitutional reform is concerned, the tricameral system was a trap and that "President Botha could, had he wished to do so, have moved quickly to implement almost any reforms that he thought fit".

You identify the "exclusion of blacks" from the new constitution as its initial flaw. You claim this polarised the population and led to the unrest, international pressure and resultant "wholesale violation of civil liberties".

You then ascribe to the State President responsibility for all the financial woes which have since beset this country. Your view in this regard is strongly reinforced by economic graphs in the same edition on "Ten years of Bothanomics ..."

I should like to question some of your premises.

There is no reason at all to suppose that the State President has at any time gone from "hope to disillusion". On the contrary, he has been absolutely consistent in his adherence to his programme for the responsible evolution of our society.

Some of our most important reforms have been instituted since February 1986, including: the abolition of influx control; the establishment of Regional Services Councils serving all communities; the establishment of full property rights for blacks in the urban areas; the restoration of a uniform South African citizenship; provision for the establishment of regional organisations to represent black South Africans outside the national and independent states; the establishment of provincial administrations comprising members of all racial groups; the much maligned free settlement initiative, which will open some urban areas to members of all racial groups; and, of course, legislation for a national negotiating forum to discuss a new constitution for SA and which would make appropriate constitutional provision for all South Africans, including blacks at the highest level. None of this provides the slightest indication of a change of course or of disillusion.

It is also quite wrong to deride the important constitutional progress inherent in the tricameral parliament which has, in fact, succeeded in achieving an enormous extension of the political power for coloured and Asian South Africans.

The current confrontation and struggle within this system is not an indication of its failure but of its success. It attests to the new power which coloured and Asian South Africans enjoy in our system. Politics is not always a question of accommodation. It is often a process of conflict between parties representing the deeply-felt interests of their constituents.

The important thing is that this conflict should be resolved within a constitutional framework which should be supple enough to accommodate and evolve with the changing forces in our complex society. Healthy constitutions develop organically in this fashion.

Even during the campaign preceding the 1983 referendum it was stated that political rights for black people would be the next point on the agenda. As promised, that agenda point is now being actively addressed.

It is also inappropriate to ascribe our subsequent internal, international and economic woes to the introduction of the tricameral system. These were produced by a whole range of complex forces within, and outside, the Republic and not least of all by the expectations which were unleashed by the very process of ongoing reform.

As for government's response which you describe as the "wholesale violation of civil liberties," I assume you are here referring to the declaration of the state of emergency, which your newspaper has consistently criticised.

However, your "Bothanomics" graphs tell another story. As you will note, a number of them show a marked improvement from the date of the declaration of the state of emergency.

Apart from this, the much more grievous and wholesale violation by ruthless "comrades" of the civil liberties of millions of black South Africans (including murders, intimidation and the massive destruction of property) has to a large extent been checked.

The fact is that South African society has been dramatically transformed during the past 10 years — and it has been transformed for the better. This process is continuing and will bring about the further positive and peaceful evolution of our situation.

All this has been achieved despite what may well be the most complex socio-econimic problems ever to have confronted any society at any time in history. It has also been achieved in the face of the most vitriolic criticism and opposition, both internally and overseas, which any government has ever had to endure.

Nevertheless, SA today is an infinitely better country than it was 10 years ago and will be much better than it is now in another 10 years.

Under the circumstances, I think a few words of thanks to President Botha would have been in order.

Star 5/10/8
304A

## Judge supports call for Bill of Rights in SA

# Politicians 'hijacking' law

By Tim Cohen

**A Natal Supreme Court judge has strongly criticised politicians for usurping the judiciary's powers.**

Mr Justice J Didcott warned of the phenomenon in Johannesburg last night when delivering the Ernie Wentzel memorial lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said it was not surprising politicians should want to grab so much power.

"Politics has to do with power and most politicians are inordinately fond of it.

"What is astonishing, however, is their blindness to the consequences. They have done untold damage to our South African version of Roman-Dutch law, a law of which we lawyers rightly are, and they profess to be, most proud.

"Nor do our politicians appear to have learnt the lesson of history that just as liberty is indivisible, so is the protection of the law.

### Charter

"Weaken it today when it protects others against you and it will be weak tomorrow when you may require and want it to protect you against them."

What was needed was a major effort to salvage the law, he said.

The best way to salvage South African law was to enact a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights, Mr Justice Didcott said.

"Such a charter would dedicate our society to the principles it proclaimed and the standards it set, ensuring that th...





# Volkswag's motorised 'Great Trek' set to begin

CAPE TOWN — The Afrikaner Volkswag's motorised "Great Trek" starts from 1...

Own Correspondent

The 60 horses under Mr Chris Adendant's bonnet tow the restored kakebeen ox wagon away from a Press launch.

5/10/88

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"What is astonishing, however, is their blindness to the consequences. They have done untold damage to our South African version of Roman-Dutch law, a law of which we lawyers rightly are, and they profess to be, most proud.

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The best way to salvage South African law was to enact a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights, Mr Justice Didcott said.

"Such a charter would dedicate our society to the principles it proclaimed and the standards it set, ensuring that this was no mere ceremony but a binding and enforceable commitment," the judge said.

"Quite how the Government feels about the matter is not easy to tell. The messages coming from it are very confusing.

"It shows no present willingness, to say the least, to scrap such statutes as the Group Areas Act and the Internal Security Act which are quite incompatible with and could never survive the enactment of any Bill or Rights worth its salt, not even a modest one."

## Groups

On the other hand, the Government had instructed the Law Commission to go into and report on the very question of a South African Bill of Rights two years ago. The report was expected to be released fairly soon, he said.

"Trouble may well lie ahead on the question of group rights."

He said two existing drafts of a Bill of Rights recognised this problem.

"The Indaba draft says that a person belonging to an ethnic, religious or linguistic group shall not be denied the right to enjoy his own culture, to profess and practise his own religion, or to use his own language.

"And the recently revised Freedom Charter insists that the State shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people, that the constitution must entrench cultural, linguistic and religious rights for all."

Mr Justice Didcott said what emerged from both "ought surely to encourage one".

"For here we see an acceptance in principle of the concept of a Bill of Rights, the commitment to the cause of human rights which such a charter expresses, on the part of the two movements that between them command the allegiance of so many of our fellow-countrymen.

"Should a similar commitment by the Government ensue from the report of the commission, some light will at last be come visible at the end of our long and dark tunnel."

SA debt to be the subject of talks

# PW to meet bankers in Zurich

LONDON — President P W Botha is set to meet some Swiss bankers at the weekend to discuss SA's foreign debt position.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night he would accompany the President when he addressed a gathering in Zurich of Swiss business and banking leaders

He did not give any more details about the meeting.



● BOTHA

Sapa-Reuter reports that officials in Bonn said Botha might also have informal talks with West German government officials, although nothing had yet been planned.

Botha will fly to Zurich after attending the funeral of Bavarian leader Franz-Josef Strauss.

He will also chair a meeting of SA ambassadors and heads of mission in Western Europe. This is an event held at regular intervals and is usually chaired by the Foreign Minister.

Botha may also address a symposium. Although government spokesmen have not confirmed this, it is believed it will be a meeting of the Swiss-South African Association.

MIKE ROBERTSON

Although Botha's office would not elaborate on the bankers, it was thought they would include Swiss Bank Corporation, Credit-Suisse and Union Bank of Switzerland representatives.

These events are all scheduled to take place at the weekend, but government sources indicated there was a possibility Botha could remain on in Zurich.

If this happened, it would most likely be that a wider meeting, which was put off because high-ranking Swiss were not able to attend, would then go ahead.

It has been reported that Botha planned to ratify certain undertakings given to bankers by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis in order to obtain more loans.

□ Our Political Staff reports from George that Deputy Foreign Minister Kobus Meiring hinted yesterday that Botha would be making more trips into Africa as soon as the outward policy gained momentum.

He singled out Zimbabwe and Botswana as the only two neighbouring states with whom international relations had not improved in the recent flurry of diplomatic activity.

Meiring said hardly a week passed without him, Pik Botha or senior officials visiting some African state and the "reality" of SA was getting through.

export. — Sapa.

damage to people affected by the evidence.

# Ministry warns AWB

PETER DELMAR

THE Ministry of Law and Order issued a stern warning yesterday to the AWB and others that they would endanger themselves and the whole country by taking the law into their own hands.

Lt Peet Bothma, a spokesman for Minister Adrian Vlok, was responding to a speech on Tuesday in which AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said Vlok was incapable of stopping an imminent revolution.

"The onslaught of the international communists and the march of the ANC cannot be stopped by this government. In SA the only ones who can come to the rescue are the sons and daughters (of the AWB) who will restore SA's honour with violence in the name of God," Terre'Blanche said.

Bothma said groups such as the AWB were not trained to maintain law and order. "We would issue an urgent warning to people thinking of taking the law into their own hands that they will pose a danger to themselves and to the rest of the country".

Police spokesman Col Steve van Rooyen said police did not know of any crimes committed at Tuesday's meeting in the Pretoria City Hall or of an incident in which a Union Jack was reportedly burnt by AWB supporters. He said he doubted whether publicly burning a foreign flag was a criminal offence.

Terre'Blanche promised the AWB would prevent blacks taking part in official celebrations to mark the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek.

# Culpable homicide docket on crash

# OPPONENTS HELD AS POLL LOOMS

By MONK NKOMO

**SEVERAL people, including a high school teacher, were arrested in KwaNdebele yesterday morning in what is believed to be a major crackdown by the government on opposition groups and candidates for the December general election in the homeland.**

The detentions, which were carried out from Tuesday followed a directive from the authorities to frustrate and bar Government opponents from registering as andidates for elections, sources within opposition groups claimed yesterday.

Registration for the election will be held tomorrow.

Lieutenant M A Mahlangu, liaison officer for the police in KwaNdebele, yesterday confirmed that Mr Jabulani Sibiya, a teacher at the local Mthunzini Combined School and Mr Lucas Guy Mthimunye, a candidate from Kwaggafontein, had been arrested.

Both men were detained in terms of the emergency regulations Lt Mahlangu said

He did not know of any other detentions Lt Mahlangu also rejected claims that the government had launched a crackdown on candidates who planned to oppose government officials during the general election scheduled to be held on December 8, 9, 10 this year

The police action has forced a number of opposition members, most of whom were detained and released recently, to flee the homeland fearing that they might be arrested again

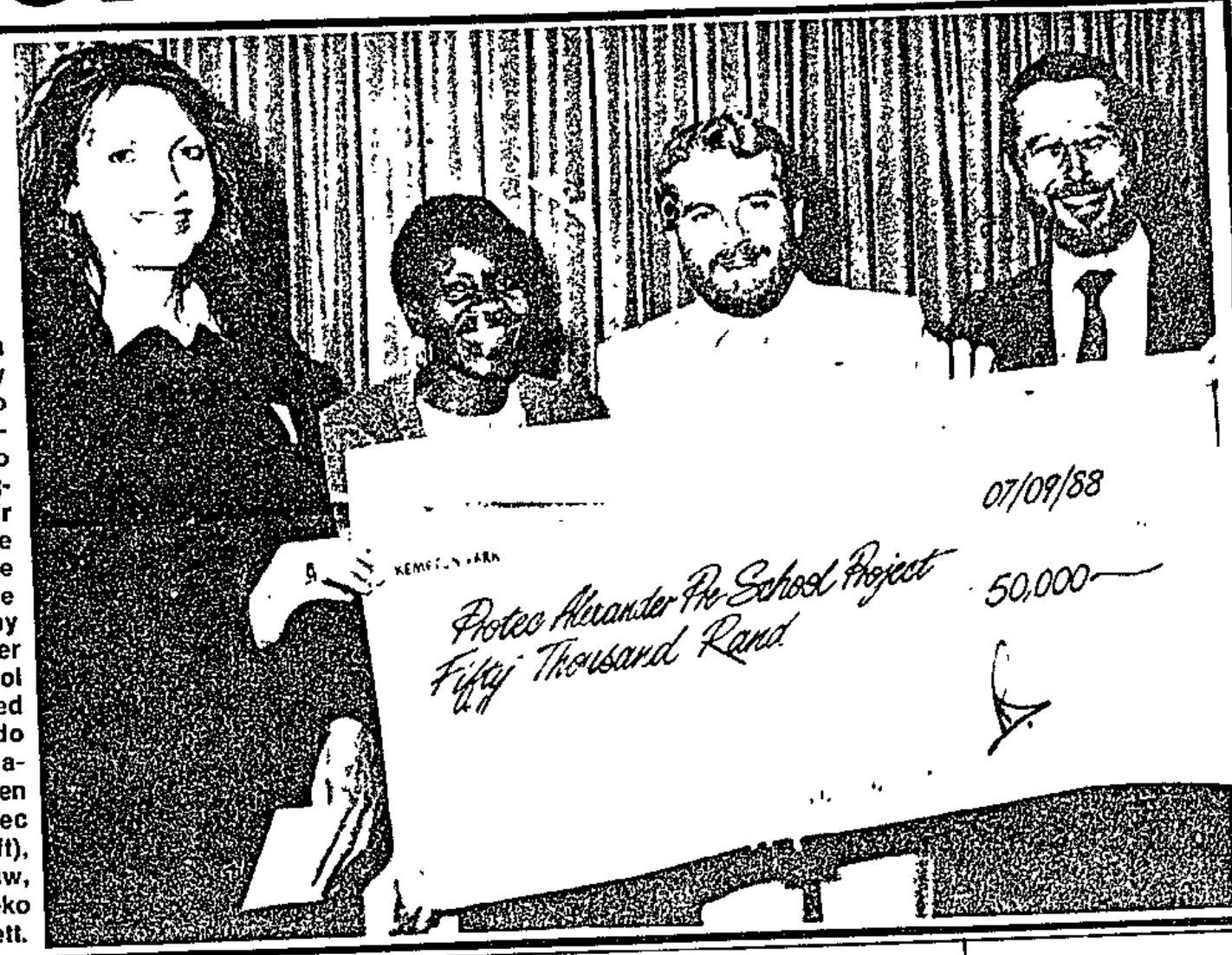
Sources within the opposition groups said they had been reliably informed that a directive had been issued by the authorities to harass and detain opposition candidates and make it impossible for them to register tomorrow

A spokesman for the Minister of Information said he knew nothing about the government's orders to detain or harass opposition groups or candidates

"All I know is that every man and woman here is now eligible to stand for election or to vote," the spokesman said

## Kids in Alex get R50 000 boost

**THE South African Breweries recently donated R50 000 to Protec, an organisation that strives to help Alexandra youngsters enrich their career potential. The organisation will use the money to improve facilities, buy equipment and other aids for pre-school children. Pictured above are Isando SAB regional manager Mr Rich Hogben (right) and Protec officials (from left), Miss Lente Louw, Miss Lucky Maseko and Mr Rod Barnett.**




# NO FINAL SAY FOR THE STATE

THE Government would not retain a final say in projects which it privatised, Minister in charge of privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, has announced.

Speaking at the National Party Cape congress, Dr de Villiers said if the Government retained a final say in decisions people would be loathe to invest.

Although at this stage the privatisation campaign was going slowly, the public could soon be expected to be drawn into the process.

He anticipated that South Africa would deal with the inclusion of the public in much the same way as had occurred in Britain with shares being marketed like "a soap powder".

He also hoped that employees, as in Britain, would gain a major share in the companies.

Because of the special circumstances in South Africa, the issue had to be handled carefully.

"A wrong decision can damage the economy".

Proper use had to be made of the scarce capital resources of the country, he said.

## Victim named

THE name of one of the six people killed in a road accident on the N3 near Nottingham Road at the weekend has been released.

He was Mr Themba Wiseman Bam (30) of Ntapankulu in Transkei.

Police said the victims, four men, a woman and a five-year-old girl died at the scene of the accident when a minibus carrying 16 people collided with a stationary truck.

## Aids talks

MBABANE — Swaziland's Prime Minister opened a Pan-African conference on Aids here by saying that delegates, who have come from all over the continent, should not waste time by trying to establish where the disease originated

He said it was not clear where Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome originated, but it was the aim of this week's conference to determine on action, rather than point fingers in blame.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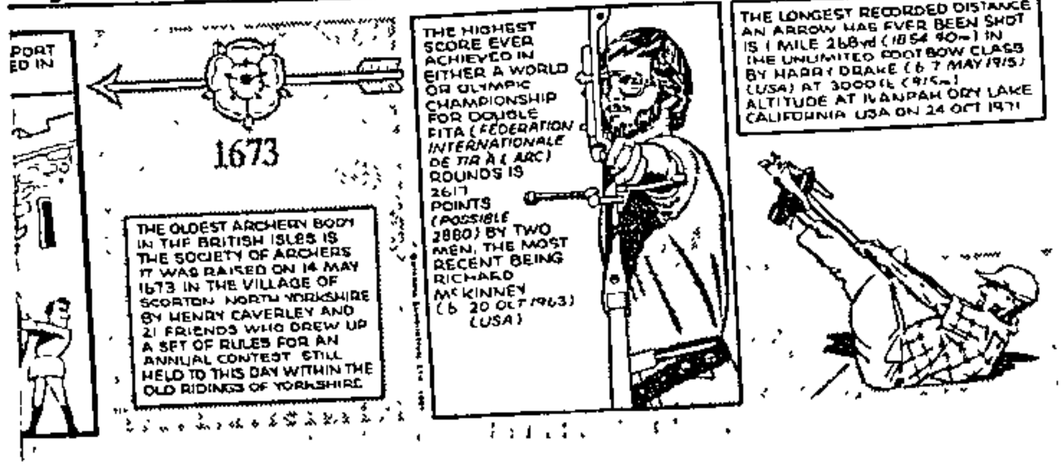
## by Norris McWhirter





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# Nothing will satisfy activists — Pik

(304A) Star 6/10/87

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Despite the Government's efforts to abolish apartheid, the world's anti-apartheid organisations would never acknowledge the progress made with political reform in South Africa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said last night.

"A whole generation has grown up in this international anti-apartheid civil service," he told about 250 people at a municipal election meeting in Roosevelt Park, Johannesburg.

Mr Botha launched a scathing attack on the supporters of the international sanctions campaign, accusing them of insincerity and ignorance.

Very little of America's foreign aid was channelled to Africa, a continent that was suffering from malnutrition, poverty, unemployment and a lack of education.

"Instead of developing Africa, they are forever shouting 'down with apartheid' as if the abolition of apartheid in itself will create jobs in Africa."

The Government refused to pay attention to criticism based on such total ignorance, he said.

Calling on voters to support the National Party in the municipal elections, he said internal unity was more important than ever before.

Mr Botha said he had received many African government Ministers in South Africa during the past few months and they had been impressed with developments in the country.

Elaborating on the Government's recent diplomatic successes in Africa, he said African leaders were realising the futility of sanctions.

# 8 Alexandra candidates elected

**By Kaizer Nyatsumba**

Eight out of 10 Alexandra township candidates for the October municipal elections have been elected unopposed, spokesman Mr P J Genis said yesterday.

The eight are Mr Timothy Vilakazi (Ward one), Mr Lucas Khoza (Ward two), Mr Prince Mokoena (Ward three), Mrs Jacobeth Agnes Poo (Ward four), Mr Moses Mkhonza (Ward five), Mr M Motshele (Ward six), Mr Titus Darky Rametsi (Ward seven) and Mr Simon Sebotha (Ward eight).

Two candidates, the Reverend Thomas Molepo (Ward eight) and Mr John Timothy Gwebu (Ward nine) have been disqualified.

**Police pursue**

diamonds from Namibia were sent to South ... R25 million. The operation would employ ... of this inform...

# Fresh ideas bubble up as Nats meet in Cape

Star 6/10/88 (304A)

**By DAVID BRAUN,**
**Political Correspondent**

Unorthodox thoughts were voiced during the Cape National Party congress which was held in George this week.

The Cape National Party congress this week put pressure on the Government to quicken the pace of reform and find new initiatives to solve the country's many problems.

Of the four provincial parties which make up the National Party, the Cape has consistently been in the forefront of change and new ideas.

So it was again this week when the party met at George for three days.

Unlike previous congresses, this one did not debate a seemingly endless series of often trivial resolutions, to which Ministers responded from papers prepared by their departments.

Instead, five broad themes of NP policy were set for debate: economic development, constitutional development, social and physical development, foreign policy and security.

Delegates were encouraged to speak freely within the broad context of these themes, and some interesting ideas bubbled to the surface.

It was refreshing to attend an NP congress at which the Conservative Party's name was seldom mentioned, and which did not go on and on about white interests.

## Unorthodox thoughts

The debate instead frequently centred on developmental problems, care of the aged and the need to raise living standards for everyone.

The debate on constitutional development yielded some unorthodox (for Nationalists) thoughts, including calls for the creation of an "open" population group for those South Africans who did not want to be classified as being members of a racial category (white, coloured, Indian or black).

The creation of such a group would require a change to the Population Registration Act and special arrangements to accommodate it politically in the various institutions of government.

Although the idea might sound bizarre, it does represent an important change in the National Party's traditionally rigid approach to groups as the basis for all political solutions.

Another idea which surfaced in the congress was the suggestion that the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba proposals should be adopted.

The argument in favour of this idea is that regional settlements could well provide a major part of the solution to South Africa's problems. In the case of the Indaba, a major moderate leader, kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, supports it. Adopting the Indaba would be one way of bringing Chief Buthelezi into the system.

There are no overt signs that the NP leadership is ready to take up these ideas.

However, the fact that they surfaced openly in the congress does indicate a certain current of thinking is taking place in the party.

The Cape congress placed the usual National Party emphasis on the need for order and stability in South Africa.

Hard-line speeches were made by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

Mr Vlok warned that the ANC was attempting to disrupt the municipal elections next month with a renewed campaign of violence

He announced that a reward of R5 000 would be paid for any information which led to the arrest of an ANC operative in South Africa before October 26.

General Malan singled out Zimbabwe and Botswana as two countries which were allowing their territories to launch a vendetta against South Africa.

He said Cuba was the factor which continued to bedevil peace efforts in south-western Africa. Until now Cuba had done little or nothing positive to demonstrate that it wanted peace.

Cuba appeared to be using delaying tactics in the peace talks. It was time now for it to state clearly what it wanted in Angola, he said.

## Regional legislatures

Other highlights of the congress were.

- The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced that regional legislatures, which could include blacks and which would deal with matters of mutual interest, could be the next step in the Government's constitution-making plans.

Mr Heunis said he was in favour of regional legislatures to deal with general affairs.

"I think they are coming," he said.

Asked in an interview if blacks would be included in the legislatures, he said he had nothing to add.

"All I said was that I was in favour of regional legislatures," he said

- Mr Heunis, who is also the National Party's Cape leader, said the party could not go it alone on the road of constitution-making. It had accepted that it could only be a co-author in the process of drawing up a new constitution.
- The Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, said good progress was being made in reducing the growth rates of all population groups.

He said that births prevented in the past two years because of declining growth rates totalled more than 500 000. The Government would have had to spend R5,7 billion to educate these people had they been born, he said.

# Reconstructing a liberal tradition for South Africa

Cape Times 6/10/88 (30yr)

**By ANDRÉ du TOIT**

IS LIBERALISM making a comeback in South Africa, even as the National Party celebrates 40 years of rule and the state of emergency, already in its third year, deepens further?

The attention it is receiving in these columns would appear to suggest something of the kind. The flurry of responses to my inaugural lecture on "Truth and Justice in South Africa", with Ken Owen (Cape Times September 19 and 26) and Charles Simkins (Cape Times September 27) rushing into print long before the lecture itself is published, is a case in point.

Interested readers will in due course be able to judge for themselves to what extent the point of my lecture was to "attack" prominent liberal individuals or rather to raise more general and important issues concerning the current plight of, and prospects for, the liberal tradition in South Africa.

This can hardly be done without referring, sometimes critically, to the public roles, positions and discourses of particular individuals. But such criticism is not the same as personal attacks.

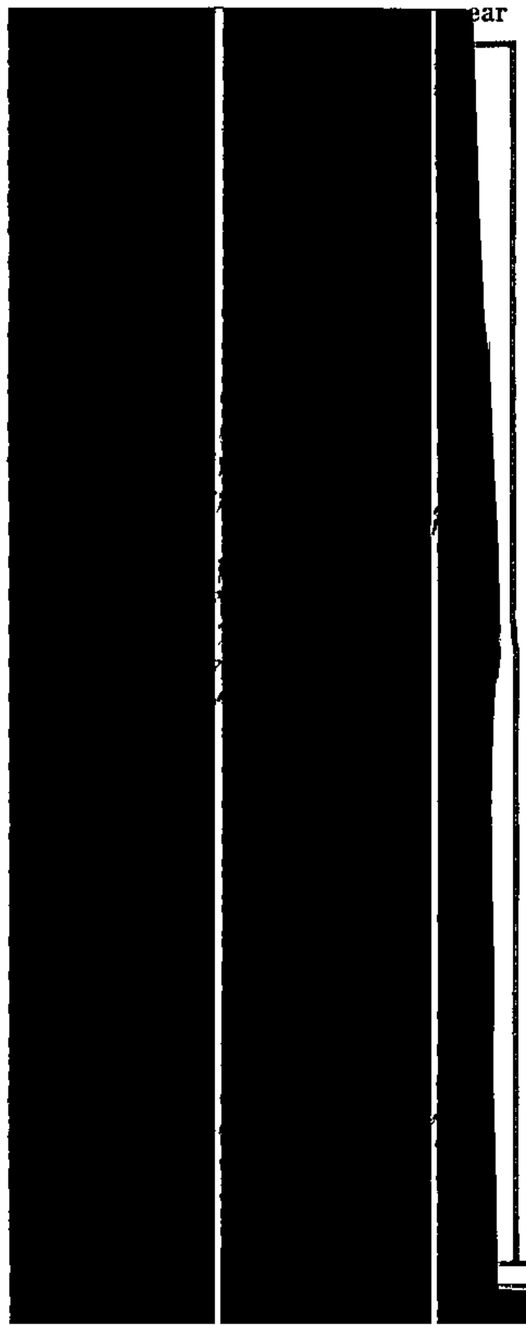
Meanwhile, methinks the gentlemen doth protest a little too much. It may be a sign of the times that some liberals have become

## SA liberals can translate their moral outrage into responsible practice

they overreact when they are taken seriously at all, even by a "clever Afrikaner" like myself who has defected from the ranks of Stellenbosch.

Certainly Mr Owen misleads his readers about the extent and function of my references to him. I don't know how Mr Owen feels towards academics, but I certainly bear no contempt towards what he calls "penny-a-line scribbling".

As someone who has tried my own



in our liberal press", this was meant as high praise indeed.

That is precisely why I take the nature of his public discourse seriously enough to bring it into a lecture dealing with the current plight of the liberal tradition in South Africa.

But this is not the same as attacking him personally. And it is quite simply and literally not true that I *began* my lecture, as Mr Owen claims, with such a personal attack on him as "a political device . . . to set a sleazy tone" for similar attacks on other leading liberals.

Readers may be somewhat surprised to learn that Mr Owen received only a rather brief mention and that towards the end, in my lecture *following* extended discussions of Hoernlé, Simkins et al. Perhaps Mr Owen is so upset because he did not figure more largely in my lecture. His surprising concern with my "selective quotations" from him might then be explained as a complaint that he deserves a fuller treatment.

If Mr Owen insists on "non-selective quotations" we may yet get a graduate student to do a comprehensive critical analysis of his political discourse, a relevant topic for a dissertation.

I for one believe that the results would be most instructive, not least to Mr Owen himself.

Meanwhile Mr Owen seems intent to demonstrate in my own case what I said of him in my lecture, viz that "it would not be unfair to say that (he) will not let any overriding concern for nuanced and uncomfortable *truth* spoil a good polemical sally".

Let us look at just one example of how he goes about his business of tainting the most unlikely opponents as Marxists and worse. In his response Mr Owen managed to suggest that this innocent abroad from Stellenbosch wittingly or unwittingly functions as some kind of crypto-Stalinist (!).

How does he do it? Well, at one point in my lecture I provided some examples of the historical experience of moral outrage at the injustices of apartheid, including resistance to forced removals, conscientious objection, etc. Hardly proof of my Stalinist inclinations, you might think.

Ah, but wait: in his response Charles Simkins commented that many of these issues have been "assembled by the popular-front politics in recent years". Still no evidence of Stalinism? Well, Simkins also went on to comment that, next to a liberal discourse, the Congress political tradition also includes a strong "Stalinist discourse". And there we are: together with the fact that I referred sympathetically to Albie Sachs, this provides the grounds for the Stalinist insinuation against me! It is, of course totally ludicrous, but it also is quite dangerous.

Mr Owen himself, in this context, refers to the infamous McCarthyite anti-Communist witch-hunt of the early '50s but not, be it noted, to distance himself from McCarthy's techniques and objectives.

It is a pity that Mr Owen should stoop to this kind of smear tactics, for there are important issues at stake. I have elsewhere called attention to the paradox that in South Africa liberalism as a distinctive tradition with an independent social base and political constituency has been all but defeated, though liberal notions of justice, rights and liberty continue to serve as a kind of "public conscience".

In these circumstances it is not enough to continue to blame the maverick Afrikaner Van Zyl Slabbert for the "wreckage" (Mr Owen's term) in which the PFP finds itself.

Nor is it enough to sound ringing declarations that what is needed is for liberal principles to be reaffirmed — and reaffirmed — and reaffirmed . . .

It does not take a Marxist to see that liberal principles of truth and justice should not be confused with political reality — though there is considerable food for thought in the Marxist critique of the *ideological* functions which such liberal principles have too often had.

My lecture was precisely an attempt to learn the lessons of the political defeats of the liberal tradition by critically rethinking the meaning and relevance of liberal principles in our present circumstances.

In doing so I was not so much aligning myself with what Mr Owen perceives to be the Marxist enemies of his liberal in-group. Rather, I was following the examples of critical self-examination of the liberal tradition set by such liberals as Hoernlé and Simkins.

As far as Simkins is concerned it would do him an injustice to take him at his word in what, for him, has been an overhasty and somewhat careless response. He is too acute an analyst not to recognize that I was not simply arguing that "local is lekker" in my plea that the intellectual history of South African political thought and tradition be recognized as vital to this discussion.

And he is too good a theorist not to discern that the concept of moral outrage is given a quite explicit definition by Barrington Moore as outrage at the basic violation of the implicit social contract, so that there is no need to attempt a "reconstruction" from my various examples.

More importantly, on reflection he will surely come to appreciate that moral outrage, in Barrington Moore's sense, is not primarly a *moral* category at all but refers to a particular social and historical experience vital to the very possibility of resistance and opposition.

This is also how the concept of moral outrage functioned in my lecture, which would be entirely misunderstood if it is taken as a "defence" of moral outrage as such. *Of course moral outrage alone is not enough.* Of course we must find ways of translating that popular moral outrage into responsible political practice and coherent moral argument.

That is precisely what the argument is about: in my lecture I argued that liberals in South Africa today should explore ways of relating traditional liberal principles of truth and justice to the social and historical experience of popular moral outrage which underlies opposition and resistance against apartheid.

The residues of the liberal tradition will not succeed in doing that by withdrawing to an ideologically barricaded fortress and branding every critic in sight as a "Marxist" enemy.

Let us leave these red herrings aside and get on with the hard work of reconstructing a liberal tradition that could make a constructive and relevant contribution to the political and ideological struggles of South Africa today and tomorrow.

3044




Harald Pakendorf

# CP's test of strength

By HARALD PAKENDORF

THE municipal elections on October 26 are remarkable for several reasons. One is certainly that for once all South Africans - black, brown, and white - will vote on one day, albeit if for separate councils.

That we can all vote contains a sybolism of the future which in itself is hope-giving.

But by now that has receded behind the quetion of how many people will vote, for whom will they vote and what the consequences of October 26 will be.

Remarkable about the elections too are the consequences all and sundry are predicting. The National Party will be thrashed is one view. Another is that the boycott of black elections will be hugely successful.

Be careful about both predictions, though.

Take the white elections first. It is generally assumed that the Conservative Party will do exceptionally well, particularly in the Transvaal and that it may end up controlling the majority of town and city councils in the most populous province.

It is also assumed that it will do fairly well in the Free State, northern Natal and northern Cape but not too well elsewhere.

Of course it will do better than it did in the general election last year. It has shown some growth since then, even though it was only moderate growth.

But to predict that it will swamp the National Party, even in the Transvaal, and that that will be a precursor to a general election victory for the party is just going too far.

The CP will do well, but not as well as it predicts itself or as some political pundits are claiming it will.

It says it will take some 70 percent of the Transvaal towns but it knows that it's an exaggeration.

Yet the impression may be created after October 26 that the CP has grown strongly whereas what will be shown is simply the growth the CP already has - and it won't be anywhere near enough for it to win a general election.

Again the CP threatens all kinds of dire consequences in the towns it will control. Fact is though that most of these "promises" it cannot fulfil because the power to do so still lies with the central government, like influx control which the CP wants to bring back.

Also, the CP threatens to make all CBDs white and disrupt the work of the RSCs. There is little sign of it doing either in the towns it controls.

The government is not only concerned with the possible advance of the CP but is also concerned that the elections in coloured and Indian areas be high but above all that there is a good turn-out in African areas.

## Stayaway

The ANC, UDF and other organisations - among them churches — have asked for a boycott of the elections. The government has acted against anybody trying to inspire a stay-away on October 26 - organisations and people have been banned, leaders arrested, a huge advertising campaign to make the election a success is running.

Yet the interesting thing so far has been the large number of people all over the country from all population groups who have been willing to come forward as candidates.

In fact, the number of councils where there are not enough conadidates to hold an election can be counted on one hand.

Similarly the percentage poll seems set to be higher than with any previous election in the African communities. Among Indians and coloureds very high polls - that is high for a local election - seem like a certainty.

Yet it must be remembered that polls for local elections are always low. In the case of Soweto, for example, it was just about eleven percent at the last election. It is certain that it will be much higher this time round - even if only because of the new system of prior voting.

This will mean that people can vote between October 10 and 22 and it will obviously make a boycott just that much more difficult.

Of course, one can argue - and righly - that the government's action in even banning a boycott campaign is undemocratic because it loads the dice in its favour.

Yet the fact remains if the present indications are correct and that more people than ever before will go and vote, it will be interpreted as a major victory for the government and a defeat for those who went for boycott politics.

A question which arises here and to which those who believe in boycott do not address enough is what happens on October 27, the day after the elections.

Does one then sit around and wait for the next government initiative to boycott, in the meantime being ruled at local level by people you dislike politically?

For the government, the elections are tremendously important. It has been unable thus far in getting its constitutional vehicle, the National Council, on the road.

Homeland leaders have said no it. But the government is now looking to the municipal elections to give it creditable leaders it can draw into the National Council on the one hand but on the other it also needs representatives to sit on the RSCs to help in the socio-economic upliftment of African townships.

It is on these two matters in particular that the government will concentrate after the elections.

Thus the elections are important because they will test the strong claims of the CP but also the ability of extra-parliamentary forces to engage the government in a contest for the support of the people.

# 'Yes'

## He knows 'very lit

# It's not poli

By MUNSOOR JAFFER

A CANDIDATE in the October 26 elections admits he knows very little of the local system of government for which he is contesting a seat.

Mr Shuraiz Ally, a candidate in the Wittebome/Wynberg constituency, said he had not yet examined the structure of the Regional Services Councils.

"I have been very busy and have really not had time to study these things," he told SOUTH.

That voting would be biased in favour of the wealthy was "really news" to Ally.

Asked where the money would come from to run the new local structures, Ally asked: "You tell me."

He believes he is not going against the religious teachings of Islam — irrespective of what the Ulema said.

"I feel the way I am doing it is divorced from religion."

Ally lives in Parkwood, near Cape Town. He is one of six candidates working as a team in the constituency.

He was initially hesi tant to speak to SOUTH because "as you know the climate is not good at all".

Did this mean he thought many people were opposed to the election?

"My friend, I don't THINK many people are against the elections, I KNOW many people are against it," Ally said.

"Just this morning I saw that someone had painted DON'T VOTE on a wall close to my house."

He wanted to serve the people. "It's no use sitting on your backside, doing nothing. We have to use legal avenues -

He inst interested

"Parkwo flats are broken, If I can then I wil

He was "I am a p poor man

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Ally sai had never

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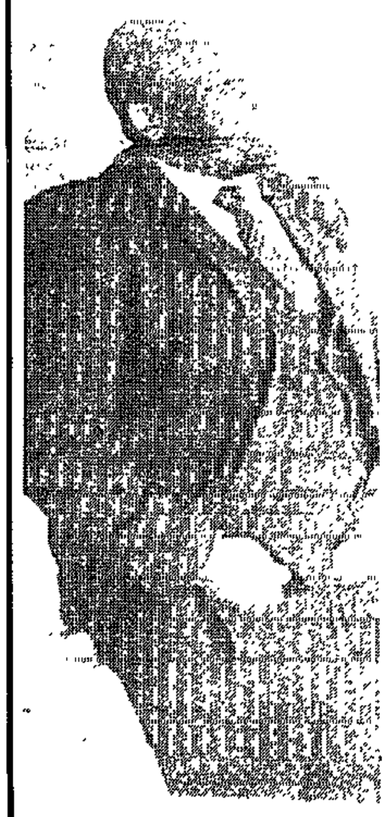
Ally's pharmac Basil K Ikey Ger



Tamsanqa Linda

## He's OU

# Linda's nai

From KAREN EVANS

PORT ELIZABETH. - Tamsanqa Linda, the controversial former Ibhayi mayor, narrowly escaped an end to his electoral career when he won an appeal against a Port Elizabeth Supreme Court ruling that he and ten candidates from his United Conciliation Party be disqualified from the elections.

The appeal, heard in the Grahamstown Supreme Court, followed an urgent application brought by Linda's rival party, the Port Elizabeth People's Party.

A full bench in Grahamstown overruled Friday's court order.

Mr Justice K reasons for th given later wh decided.

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According Section 3 (2) competent to of a local auth in arrears for a or longer.

A cheque of the council o

# Too late to pull out

From LOUISE FLANAGAN

**EAST LONDON. — A candidate here wants to pull out of the October municipal elections - but officials say he can't.**

**Murugas Coopoosamy, currently one of 19 candidates contesting the six vacant Indian Management Committee seats, announced that he wished to withdraw because of "increased business commitments".**

**However, election officials say it's too late.**

**Deputy returning officer Ms C O'Hara said candidates had to withdraw at least two weeks before election day.**

**She said although election day was the 26th, early voting began in less than a week and ballot papers had already been printed. — ELNEWS**



Basil Sagathevan

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Shuraiz Ally of Parkwood

to us."
he was "really not politics".
is a terrible place. The ing apart, the roads are e are very little facilities. something about this, very happy."
standing for the money. man and will remain a

doing I believe in and of Allah I will contin- work."
he knew the government many of its promises.
unable to achieve any- a year, he would resign

running mates" are Rodney Tyrone Rhoda, ijies, Alexander Rich, and John Bull Hoosain.

## then IN row escape

ion indicated that decision would be costs would also be

application, it was ination day Au- and his colleagues with payment of rges, rates or other the Ibhayi Town

the provisions of (1), no person is lected as a member ity if that person is iod of three months

/ 432,15 was paid to August 29 but the cheque was dishonoured by the bank the next day.

The amount was eventually paid into the Ibhayi account on September 7, a week after nominations closed.

The respondents denied they were in arrears on August 29 and Linda denied the cheque was dishonoured byt the bank for non-payment.

He said it was an oversight by the bank and not because of lack of funds.

In his judgment, Mr Justice Ludorf said the receipt of the cheque meant a cheque had been received.

If a cheque had been dishonoured, there was no payment.

## s in court

## fraud charge

son of Cravenby's Management committee, Basil peared in court last week on charges of fraud.
s not asked to plead and no evidence was led.
... Marais posptponed the case to November 16 for trial.
the charge sheet about R4 000 is involved.
candidate in this month's municipal elections, was first ar-
Cravenby hairdresser Sulaiman Moosa Valley last year, named as the "main man" in an alleged housing racket.

### In the dock

he is the man who should have been in the dock," Mag- said at the time, before acquitting Vallie of fraud.
ker Mogamat Jappie claimed at the time that he had given give to Sagathevan as deposit for a house.
d to have been the "middleman" while Sagathevan was he received all the money".
an unsuccessful candidate for the Solidarity Party in the the House of Delegates. He owns a roadhouse in Parow in the Reformed Church of Africa.

# 'No' vote

# 'It's un-Islamic'

JOHANNESBURG. — Delegates to an Islamic unity conference at the weekend condemned participation in "racist structures" as "un-Islamic".

This formed part of a lengthy resolution at the end of a conference on "Shariah (Islamic law) and South African law" at the Nur-ul-Islam Hall in Lenasia.

The conference was called by the co-ordinating committee of a new organisation, Campaign for Muslim Awareness, which invited all Islamic organisations to send delegates.

An estimated 800 people attended, but representatives of the Jamiatul Ulema were absent.

Natal sociologist Prof Fatima Meer, Maulana Ebrahim Moosa of the Muslim Youth Movement and Maulana Farid Esack of the Call of Islam spoke out against the proposed incorporation of Muslim Personal Law into South African law.

The conference rejected discriminatory legislation, in particular the Group Areas Act.

### Not fair

"We observe that the coming elections are neither free nor fair; they are merely another attempt by the regime to project itself as a so-called democracy", the resolution stated

Participation in racist structures, it said, was un-Islamic.

The conference noted that the Muslim community was divided and that "this division is being exploited by the enemies of Islam."

Delegates resolved to commit themselves to strive towards unity in Islam, and when differences occurred, to address them in a spirit of fellowship.

The organisers said the conference could "not be regarded as conclusive, only a beginning".

Muslim women, angered by what they say is a misrepresentation of their Islamic rights, have demanded an end to "quickie divorces".

About 100 women who attended the conference, called for an Islamic commission of inquiry into divorce under Islamic law.

A resolution passed unanimously called for an end to the "quickie divorces".




The graffiti war is on — but how many will turn their backs and vote

# Sonn warns teachers



Franklin Sonn

**THE Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa has threatened to act against teachers taking part in apartheid elections.**

**At the organisation's AGM at Bloemfontein last weekend delegates voted "to implement the necessary procedures of investigation and discipline" against members of affiliates who defy its explicit policy regarding participating in apartheid elections.**

**It further reiterated its rejection of the apartheid constitution, declaring its opposition to ethnic local authorities based on the Group Areas Act.**

**Many teachers are known to have made themselves available for the October 26 elections - with the full blessing of the Labour Party dominated House of Representatives which has granted them the necessary permission.**

**Said UTASA president Mr Franklin Sonn: "In a time of what is called economic recession millions of rands are going to be spent on promoting and administering the apartheid elections while no one can raise a voice of protest against it.**

**"That is what is known as democracy in apartheid South Africa.**

**"Only the dumb and insensitive will not see that the frustration which will be caused by blindfolding the opposition to the elections will in all probability spill over into actions that could so easily be averted."**

**Commenting on teachers who will be running for elections, some on a party political ticket, Sonn added: "We reject this action and give warning to those members of UTASA who demean the profession in this manner that they will incur the wrath of the profession and their position in UTASA will consequently become untenable."**

**He said there "can be no happiness in coming to terms with injustice and oppression for the sake of immediate material comfort".**

# Key wards with no candidates

From PHINDA KUZWAYO

DURBAN. - At least two key urban black wards in Natal are without a single nomination for the October 26 local elections.

A study of nominations results in the 18 Natal townships under the Natal Provincial Administration (previously under central government departments) shows that eight wards will not be holding any elections.

The reasons are that former councillors have been nominated and are unopposed or posts have been left vacant through residents not nominating candidates.

All six wards will be contested in one of the 10 areas where polls will be held.

No elections will be held in key urban black areas around the cities of Durban and Maritzburg where the government wishes most to see "Black Local Authorities" working well.

These areas include Sobantu (Maritzburg) and Klaarwater (Pinetown), where no candidate has been put forward. Others are Lamontville and Chesterville (Durban).

These townships are the oldest, built about 50 years ago, and among the most impoverished. For instance residents in Klaarwater still have to use bucket toilets.

An editor of a Maritzburg newspaper said residents in Sobantu did not put up candidates because they were demanding recognition of their civic organisation.

Similarly, Chesterville and Lamontville have strong and popular community-based residents' associaations. In both townships, only those former councillors who would not stand down, when a call was made to abandon the councils, have made themselves available for election.

Attempts to hold elections in so-called "trust" areas, where the old-style advisory board local government system is still practised, have gone awry.

Following persuasion by the local United Democratic Front grouping, four former members of the board in Clermont pulled out as candidates at the last minute.

A development department official confirmed this saying it extended the deadline for nominations twice after failing to get a full complement to fill vacancies on the board.

The government may also decide to appoint its own people in areas such as Sobantu and Klaarwater where no nominations were received to run township affairs, according to an NPA electoral officer.

Meanwhile, elections in the Maritzburg "trust" areas of Edendale and Ashdown are only scheduled for September next year, possibly because of the violent clashes between Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu alliance. - CONCORD NEWS.

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# Election crunch

304A South 6-12/10/88.

POLITICAL tension is mounting throughout the country as the controversial municipal elections draw near.

Several incidents have already been reported as campaigns for and against the elections swung into gear. Prior voting starts on Monday and polling day is on October 26.

Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa) has warned his organisation may act against teachers who "take part in apartheid elections".

A candidate in Cape Town's Bo-Kaap area, Mr Fuad Kariem, 49, has withdrawn from the election after receiving anonymous telephone calls which "gave me sleepless nights".

In Khayelitsha, outside Cape Town, pamphlets have appeared urging people to vote for "witdoek" leader Mali Hoza or face eviction.

**MORE STORIES PAGES 8 & 13**

Margaret Ruiters, aged 28, was fatally wounded in a shooting incident at an election meeting at Khayamandi township near Stellenbosch last week. Her funeral will be held on Saturday.

In Kraaifontein, near Cape Town, pupils at Scottsville Senior Secondary School this week damaged the car of a teacher, R S C Balie, who is an election candidate.

Pupils have refused to attend his classes and the staff is divided, according to sources. Some are refusing to use the staff room.

Balie confirmed he was teaching at the school and that he was a candidate, but he refused to comment further.

Franklin Sonn, president of the Union of

Police searched the offices of the Advice Office Forum in Hanover Park, near Cape Town, for about 90 minutes on Wednesday, according to spokesperson Mark Abrahams.

He said police confiscated documents related to the elections and the Forum's AGM this weekend.

Cravenby Management Committee chairman Basil Sagathevan appeared on a fraud charge in the Parow Regional Court.

Anonymous pamphlets discrediting church leaders Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu have been distributed in Saldanha on the West Coast.

The pamphlets, which bear no names of distributors or printers, urge people to vote in the elections.

# SA blows hot and cold

●From PAGE 1 SOLA WMAIL 7-13/10/88

But the most ominous indication of a change in Pretoria's tone on the Angola/Namibia question came in a fiery speech from Malan at the Cape National Party congress in George on Wednesday. The Cubans were playing for time, he said, and had not proved they were serious about a peace settlement.

He claimed Cuban military action displayed an aggressive bravado, "running counter to the spirit and content" of the talks.

Malan suggested Havana might even have designs on South Africa. "Where are they going?" he asked delegates. "Will they wipe out Unita and is South Africa their final goal?"

This aggressive attitude is out of step with the most recent Angolan assessment of the state of play. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said this week he was convinced an accord would result from the drawn-out peace process. Speaking in Gabon, where he was meeting the country's president, Dos Santos said: "There is a process unleashed towards peace ... Our intention is to make that process irreversible."

His interpretation was supported by diplomats monitoring the talks in Brazzaville. Some in the Congolese capital were openly optimistic about imminent agreement on a timetable for Cuban withdrawal — the biggest bugbear of the talks.

South Africa's senior negotiator, Foreign Ministry Director-General Neil van Heerden, is reported to be in Washington holding private discussions with US officials. In addition, US President Ronald Reagan is continuing talks with Organisation of African Unity head President Moussa Traore of Mali — and the Angolan question is high on the agenda.

Thus the peace process is still on track in important forums, and it is believed this week's South African diplomatic damper could be part of a strategy whereby ground is given and taken away simultaneously.

Malan's outburst, according to this view, could have as much to do with reassuring South Africa's white electorate in the run-up to the municipal elections as it does with real intent to scupper the peace talks.

Pik Botha's angry denunciation of Kaunda could have a similar genesis. Pretoria was no doubt angered by what they saw as the Zambian president's "arrogant" statement that there was "no way at all (he would have PW Botha in Lusaka) until I am satisfied he will keep his promises."

The foreign minister, speaking yesterday before departing for Zurich to take part in meetings with Swiss bankers along with PW Botha, said Kaunda was obviously attempting to distract attention from the "disastrous state of the Zambian economy".

Botha's ire was seemingly tempered by a conciliatory aside at a municipal election meeting the night before. Answering a question, he reportedly said it had been a mistake for South Africa to take over Namibia and had cost a great deal financially. "I do not think we did the right thing," he said, "It's not ours. Just think what we could have done with that (the estimated R5-billion spent on Namibia) inside this country."

Nevertheless, the attack on Kaunda could mean the Zambian leader is being included, along with Mugabe and Masire, among southern African leaders Pretoria has portrayed as "unreasonable".

There has been a recent concerted effort — not least on the SABC-TV — to drive a wedge between "recalcitrants" and "new-found friends", notably Mozambique's Joachim Chissano

It is not unthinkable, according to some analysts, that Pretoria believes it can achieve its aims in the region through fraternisation with selected African countries, to the exclusion of others.

# Stage set for a CP takeover




MOST people are watching the future of South Africa with trepidation.

The basis of this is to be found in the present trends in white politics. Needless to say white politics represent political power and political power is represented by the National Party. It does appear, however, that the National Party is no longer as comfortable as it was since it took power in 1948.

The concern about South Africa's future does not lie in the changing fortunes of the National Party, but in the fact that the Conservative Party appears to be on the ascendency.

To black observers, the Conservative Party represents the National Party as it was under the leadership of characters like Malan, Verwoerd and John Vorster.

The appeal by P W Botha for Afrikaner unity and the response by Andries Treurnicht are very revealing.

One need only to look at the recent history to unmask the demon that has possessed white politics since the arrival of whites in South Africa.

The demon is Afrikaner unity or Afrikanerdom. This behaviour can be traced to the so-called Great Trek, but more recently from the end of the Anglo-Boer War.

The opposite side of Afrikaner unity or superiority is the repression of black people.

The so-called 1909 National Convention which set the stage for the Union of South Africa in 1910 almost broke down because of the issue of black people.

Consequently the British left the fate of over 78 percent of the total population of South Africa in the hands of only 22 percent. Of course 22 percent were whites predominantly of the Afrikaner and English stock.

The bitter struggles between Louis Botha and J M B Hertzog illuminate this very fact. For Botha, South Africa meant English and Afrikaners living in harmony under British tutelage.

## Submerge

Hertzog on the other hand maintained that such harmony would submerge the Afrikaners, his language and culture, to British dominance.

Hence he argued and won on the ticket of English and Afrikaner parity while the tacit implication of his "South African first" policy was understood to mean Afrikaners at the top followed by the English, Coloured, Indians and at the bottom Africans.

Historians tend to overlook the fact that Louis Botha and Smuts on the one hand and Hertzog on the other were almost *ad-idem* on the question of blacks.

J M B Hertzog's fate was a sad one. The erstwhile champion of the Afrikaner cause was jettisoned by a more virulent type of Afrikaner nationalism. The efforts by Hertzog had placed the Afrikaner family on the road to supremacy.

## Civilised

He had succeeded in entrenching job reservation through his "civilized labour" policies, namely, whites equalled civilized and black uncivilized.

The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 was a fact and so was the Native Representation Act.

On the British dominance issue he could point to the statute of Westminster and the Status and Seals Act were a confirmation of the Union's sovereignty.

That the South African flag flew side by side with the Union Jack was sufficient testimony to the equality South Africa enjoyed with Britain.

South Africa's successes in the Second World War pulled the carpet from under the National Party. The United Party was riding on the crest of the wave particularly in the 1943 elections. But they forgot to look closely at what the D F Malans, the B J Vorsters and the Ossewabrandwag and Broederbond were doing.

The issue was so simple and emotive that the Afrikaners lapped it up. The issue was "swart gevaar".

After the war the blacks who were demobilized started clamouring for more rights and moving from petition and deputation politics to demonstrations, marches and strike politics.

## ANC

The African Native National Congress (formed in 1912 and renamed African National Congress in 1923) had hitherto been treated with disdain by Jan Smuts and even Hertzog.

The All African Convention had taken definite positions of boycott on dummy intitutions like Bantu Representative Council.

After all the blacks had seen people fighting under their respective national flags. They had seen other lands and most importantly they now knew that whites felt as much pain and anguish as their white counterparts did.

Back home they were expected to receive bicycles, an overcoat and a big "dankie hoor". That was not enough. They wanted a more meaningful say in the corridors of power, jobs and homes.

The National Party, and Ossewabrandwag interpreted all this as "swart gevaar" used it under the slogan of "apartheid" and trounced Smuts and his UP.

It may be argued that there were more factors at play but the issue of blacks was the main ticket upon which the National Party won the elections.

It is said history never repeats itself but what we think is a repetition is merely a chimera, a ring of *deja vu*.

However, if one substitutes the National Party of 1948 and the Ossewabrandwag with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging respectively, one finds very striking similarities.

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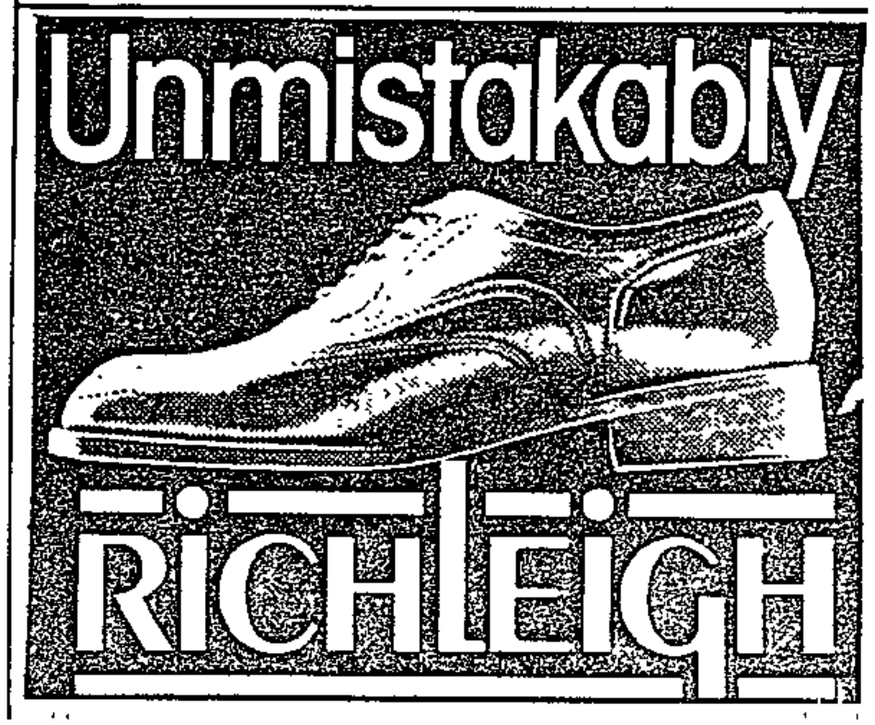


Star 7/10/88

# Are we getting the message?



**DR ZACH DE BEER,** leader of the Progressive Federal Party, gives his views on National Party and Conservative Party policies.

Cycling in the suburbs the other day, I was looking with interest at the election placards and posters. There is one that says: "The choice: Nat security or CP conflict". At first, I scarcely noticed it. I said to myself: what has a good Prog got to do with a squabble between two groups of racists?

But then I saw the same message again, and began to think. CP conflict: yes, of course the CP's policies are bound to maximise conflict and strife in South Africa. The CP stands for the defence and maintenance of white privilege. It cares not a fig for other South Africans.

It pretends, as Dr Verwoerd did 25 years ago, that a kind of justice can be achieved though partition. In relation to this, it may perhaps be that Dr Verwoerd believed what he was saying, but the CP cannot possibly believe what they are saying now. The proof of that assertion is quite evident. Dr Verwoerd was one of the most powerful Prime Ministers our country has ever seen when he tried, in the sixties, to initiate a partition policy. His successors, after his tragic death, tried to carry it through. It was a disastrous failure. In the end the pass laws — the principal mechanism through which apartheid was supposed to be made a reality — were repealed, because they were totally unworkable.

Now, if Dr Verwoerd could not do it in the sixties, then certainly Dr Treurnicht cannot do it in the nineties. There have been another 20 odd years of integration, of urbanisation, of the revelation of South Africa as a single nation of 35 million people of various ethnic origins.

Grand apartheid is simply not an option, if indeed it ever was.

So what the CP would do in practice as a government would be to deny political rights to the vast majority of South Africa's people, no doubt to push them about physically through forced removals, and generally to discriminate on grounds of race.

This is a certain recipe for massive, endless conflict, and the Nats are quite right to say so.

But what about the other half of the poster? What is this Nat security? First of all, does it exist? To the contrary, there is a great deal of evidence that the white people of South Africa feel extremely insecure.

Indeed, at every election of any kind the Nats tell the white voters how insecure they are, and then somehow get them to vote Nat on the strength of that insecurity, though it is perfectly plain that only the Nats — who have been in power for so long — can have caused the insecurity in the first place.

To say the same thing another way, the things that the CP would do to cause conflict are the very things the Nats have been doing for years. Political rights of any consequence are denied to Africans, and the parliamentary participation of coloured and Indian people is pretty well worthless — ask Allan Hendrikse or J N Reddy if you don't believe me.

The penalties for infractions of the Group Areas Act are to be savagely increased, precisely so that the Government can continue to push people around; and the own affairs mechanism in such services as education and health is there precisely so that white privilege can be maintained through discrimination.

In the last resort, I don't even have to rely on these arguments. If you want to know whether the Nats can offer security, reflect that we have now been governed in terms of a State of Emergency for well over two years; that the troops are still in the townships; that common crime takes place on a large and continuing scale, and that censorship forbids us to know what is going on in our own country.

If this is security, heaven help us. Rather let it be said that the conflict which CP government would certainly cause would look very much like what we have today.

At the end of the day, the cause of insecurity and conflict is simply injustice, generally in the form of race discrimination. And race discrimination is the basis of Nationalist policy, just as it is of the CP's approach. True, the Nats are less proud of their racism than the CP people are. A Nat, in many cases, is just a CP who is ashamed to admit it. As Helen Suzman put it correctly, the lesser of two evils is still an evil.

If the choice lay only between the Nats and the CP, it would not be a choice between "security" and conflict. It would be a choice between the present form of conflict and another, very similar form.

Security is possible only on the basis of justice.

# Peninsula unmoved by election tremors

Star 7/10/88 (304A)

BY GRAHAM LINSCOTT

Municipal Elections X October 26

It seems very likely that the Cape Peninsula, at least, will retain its traditionally liberal character when the municipal elections are over.

The further one travels from the Afrikaner storm centre in the northern Transvaal, the less intense is the electioneering, the less palpable the sense of encirclement by extremism.

Even the smallest towns of the Transvaal and Free State platteland are plastered with placards and slogans urging this and denouncing that — most of it not remotely connected with the day-to-day life of the communities being addressed.

In Cape Town there are plenty of placards, but not in party colours and they are restrained in tone. One has to inquire who the ladies and gentlemen depicted are and what they stand for — and not everyone seems to know.

In fact the Cape has managed, as far as possible, to keep overt party politics out of the main contests. As before, the Progressive Federal Party will put up a slate of "independent" candidates, the National Party and the Independent Party will do the same and there will also be a sprinkling of candidates who really are independent.

Notable exceptions are Uitenhage and Kuruman, where the Nationalists and the Conservative Party take each other on in gory technicolour, and Somerset West where Nationalists in full party colours are fighting a slate consisting mainly of Dr Denis Worrall's Independents — standing as independents.

The one-sided politicisation of this contest is possibly due to the huge inroads on the Nationalist vote made by Dr Worrall himself in last year's general election — an urge for revenge and a recouping of substantial losses. If so, Dr Worrall has failed to oblige by officially entering the lists.

A significant factor in Cape municipal politics is the corporate vote. Companies which pay rates have a vote in respect of each property.

The business sector tends to favour the PFP and political moderation generally, which is partly why the Mother City is likely to remain in "liberal" hands — members of the PFP, liberally inclined independents and "moderate" Nationalists.

Cape Town has 17 wards, each returning two councillors. Seven wards were unopposed and of the 14 councillors therefore automatically returned, two are Nationalists, one is non-aligned and 11 are PFP or PFP-inclined.

This gives an idea of the line-up. It would require a profound shift in voter sympathies for the Nationalists to take clear control.

Elsewhere in the Peninsula there are similar opposing slates of unofficial PFP and Nationalist candidates and contests could be closely fought. In Pinelands there is no election at all because PFP-inclined candidates were returned unopposed on a ratepayers' ticket.

In Port Elizabeth and East London a small number of official Nationalist candidates are standing, though the contests are otherwise between nominal independents and some genuine independents. Close contests are also expected here.

Besides Uitenhage and Kuruman, the Nationalists will be fighting full campaigns against the CP at Olifantshoek, Upington and Keimoes (in the Northern Cape), at Williston (in the Karoo) and at Mossel Bay and George.

The CP has 200 official candidates in the field and says it has hundreds more unofficially, whose position will become clear if they are elected. It aims to make an impression, to take control of rural councils where possible and demonstrate that the party is a growing force in the Cape.

It is certainly being taken seriously in the blue collar town of Uitenhage and in the sun-baked northern Cape constituencies. It could cause an upset in the railway town of De Aar.

But the seismic tremors centred on Pretoria and still detectable in the Free State are barely felt in the Cape Peninsula. Unlike their colleagues in Johannesburg, the PFP and Dr Worrall's Independents do not have to contend at local level with arguments such as: "Keep the CP out — support PW."

# Barend won't attend talks with bankers

Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis will not take part in the meeting between President Botha and Swiss bankers in Zurich next week.

The Department of Finance yesterday denied recent reports saying Mr du Plessis would join the meeting since he was already in Europe on other business.

The reported meeting between President Botha and the bankers was not arranged by the Department of Finance.

President Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha left South Africa last night and will attend the funeral in Munich today of Bavarian premier Dr Franz Josef Strauss, who died on Monday.

After the funeral President Botha is to visit Zurich for meetings with the Swiss/South Africa Association, with South African ambassadors in Europe and — according to some reports — with certain Swiss bankers. The State President is expected to return home late next week. — Political Staff.

ceived and "distributed.

# Step up pressure on SA, urges Fraser

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa News Service

VICTORIA FALLS — In a vitriolic attack on South Africa, former Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser yesterday described as an "obscenity" Pretoria's association with Israel.

He found it indecent that Jews, who suffered under the century's most racial regime, were lending some comfort to what he called the century's second most racial regime.

Mr Fraser told Commonwealth Press Union (CPU) delegates meeting at Victoria Falls that external pressure had to be maintained on Pretoria to bring it to the negotiating table. If this were not done, blacks would one day fight for the right to participate in their own government.

"They have the ultimate right to take up arms," said Mr Fraser, who was co-chairman of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that sought to bring the parties in South Africa to the negotiating table.

It had been established, he said, that words would not work. Only enormous pressure would make a "Boer" change.

If armed conflict were to eventuate, it had been estimated that 2 million people would die. He also claimed that the technique existed for breaking the power of the SA army within months, though he said that, in the nature of guerilla war, the conflict would last a long time.

Mr Fraser clashed with a Conservative MP from Britain,



Mr Malcolm Fraser . . blacks have right to take up arms.

Mr Ivan Lawrence, another guest speaker, who accused him of insulting the UK government.

Mr Lawrence said tighter US sanctions had resulted in increased repression in SA where there was substantial opposition among blacks to sanctions.

Mr Fraser said the argument that the Government was being forced into a laager because of outside pressure was a masterly piece of disinformation.

However, delegates from the CPU, whose members represent 750 newspapers, applauded Mr Lawrence's defence of Mrs Margaret Thatcher's policies.

In reply to the argument that blacks would suffer most under sanctions, Mr Fraser asked: "If people are near starvation, how can they be hurt by sanctions?"

CAPE NAT CONGRESS

# Swiss cheese

**President P W** Botha, still in buoyant mood after his weekend visit to Zaire, looks set to spread his wings even further. This week, secret arrangements were made at top-level for Botha to fly out on Friday for important talks in Switzerland.

However, latest reports indicated the meeting had been postponed at the insistence of the Swiss. Whether Botha will make the trip at a later stage is uncertain.

The trip, which had been arranged during this week's Cape National Party congress in George, was apparently cancelled after it became known that high-ranking Swiss would not be available to attend. Botha had planned to address Swiss bankers on SA's foreign debt position in an effort to obtain further loans. His proposed visit follows soon after Finance Minister Barend du Plessis attended the meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Germany.

Sources suggest that Du Plessis may have given the bankers certain undertakings which Botha wanted to ratify. The position of Nelson Mandela could also have been one of the matters on the agenda.

It is also understood that Botha wanted to attend the funeral of the Bavarian leader Franz Josef Strauss, a close friend of the SA government, who died suddenly on Monday. In his opening speech at the George congress the same night, Botha spoke warmly of Strauss.

There is also speculation that the visit may be linked to the present peace initiatives in southern Africa. It is not impossible that Botha wanted to use the visit to meet American and British negotiators.

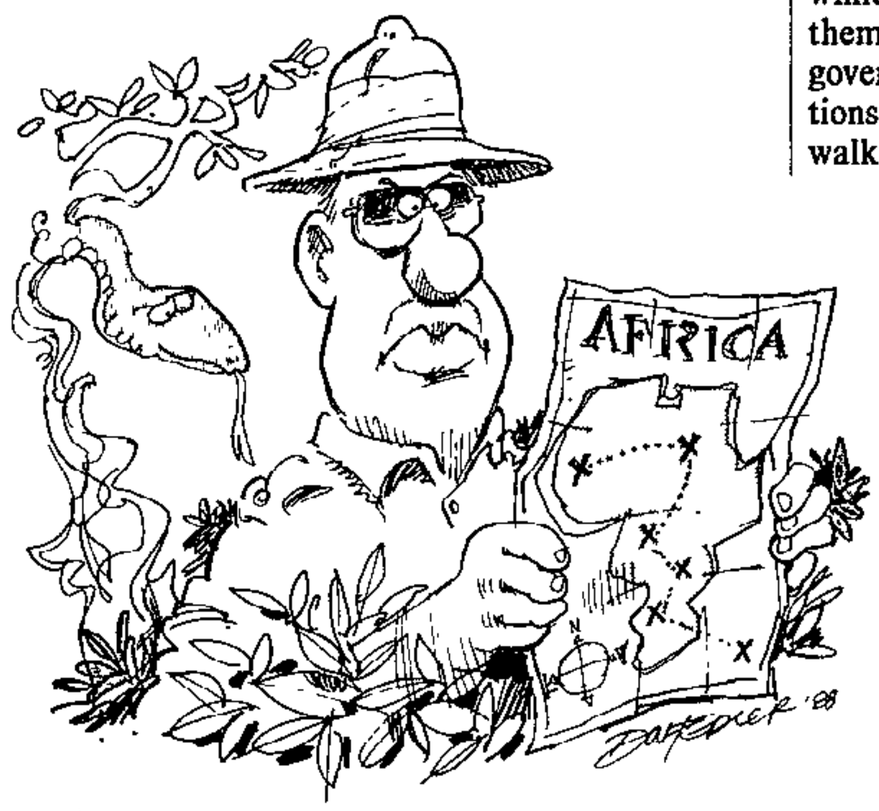
A meeting with Unita's Jonas Savimbi or his representatives could have been on the cards. Savimbi's fate has become a prickly pear for the SA and US delegations involved in peace talks. Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos has been reported as saying that there could be no peace with Savimbi.

Arrangements for the Botha visit were made in secret. Invited journalists were not told reasons for the trip. The *FM* was neither invited nor informed of the visit.

Botha's latest effort to venture out of SA is another sign of growing government concern about SA's increasing isolation. A senior Nationalist says the government is very keen to improve its international image before the October 14 meeting of the US congress on the Dellums sanctions Bill, as SA desperately needs foreign capital.

In his speech, Botha concentrated largely on his recent talks with Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano, Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko and other black leaders, stressing the importance to SA of these talks.

Botha is said to be very keen to improve his stature as a State leader. It is clear he is trying to establish himself as an elder statesman and create a working relationship with these leaders despite political and ideological




differences. "Africa must take the big step and get together; not to indulge in politics but to talk about southern Africa."

He undertook to support such a venture. "We will be there to discuss our common problems, to give advice and to listen to each other. I believe that these bonds of interdependence can be strengthened. Ideological differences should not be allowed to hinder co-operation."

Notwithstanding Botha's efforts to improve relationships across the border, some Nats are still unhappy with his leadership at home. They see Botha's missions as a smokescreen to hide the country's internal problems. These Nats point to the vast constitutional differences between government and Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, which were accentuated during last week's joint debate on amendments to the Group Areas Act (GAA).

At one stage is was thought that Botha might have used the Cape Nat congress to resign as the party leader, but he dispelled these rumours, saying D F Malan was only 74 years old when he became Prime Minister in 1948: "And I'm not nearly as old."

As with all Nat congresses in the past two years, there was a lot of speculation about who might succeed Botha in the unlikely event of his retirement. A senior Cape Nat says Barend du Plessis would get 98% of Cape support. He rejects any idea that Defence Minister Magnus Malan has substantial support and says Foreign Minister Pik Botha would only get 22 votes — the number in the controversial Club 22, whose existence was first reported in the *FM* after last year's Cape congress.

Cape Nat leader Chris Heunis, meanwhile, hammered away on the negotiation theme during his leadership speech. "The government has opted for negotiated solutions. It is a tiring and often isolated road to walk."

In a clear reference to his own failure to negotiate an acceptable agreement with Hendrickse over the GAA, Heunis said: "Let us act as leaders of communities and as South Africans . . . (solutions) will not be reached by cursing about the past. Let's join forces and build a unity among our groups but also a bigger unity."

Sources say Heunis is trying to arrange talks with black SA leaders on the government's proposed constitutional plans. His department has tried to set up meetings with leaders such as KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KaNgwane's Enos Mabuza.

Whereas Heunis at least recognises the importance of such talks, it is highly unlikely that he is the man to break the present political stalemate — as the recent parliamentary debacle revealed. Perhaps someone like black Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen should be earmarked for the constitutional portfolio. He, at least, seems to be trusted by these leaders.

P W, meanwhile, wants to roam across the borders. ■

SA-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

# New directions

**Zaire's President** Mobutu Sese Seko evidently put too much spin on the ball in announcing that his weekend guest, P W Botha, would attend Thursday's Lusaka summit — with Angola, Congo, Zaire, Zambia and Gabon — as a follow-up to their Gbadolite encounter. The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) denied it, just as Pretoria earlier had somewhat to modify Mobutu's suggestion that Nelson Mandela's unconditional release was imminent.

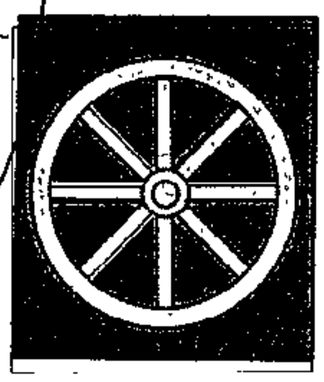
Flushed with the success of his African coup and at hitting it off personally with

7/10/88 → cont.

THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

# Shape of the future?

## ■ P W Botha has split the Afrikaners — and opened the door to rightwing victory



**When it** comes to white politics, there's really only one question: will the Conservatives come to power? Some believe that the issue could be refined further — *when* will it happen?

The Great Trek away from P W Botha and reform — however defined — is well under way. The next big test will come on October 26. After that it should be easy to project the results of the next general election — which some believe will be held next year.

Before addressing the kinds of scenario that can be sketched out around a Conservative Party (CP) victory, it is obviously of major importance to examine the roots of the current round of Afrikaner *broedertwis* and the way in which P W's remarkably ineffectual reforms have fed into white fears and hopes about the future. For, in many ways, it is the failure of reform which has highlighted the issues in their starkest form in the most visible forum available — parliament.

There, Allan Hendrickse and his allies have dramatically demonstrated that reform is useless unless it tackles the core issues of the Group Areas Act (GAA) — where people may live — and the race classification laws and land allocations that underly apartheid itself (**see *Current Affairs***).

So it was that another painful chapter in SA's political history came to an end in Cape Town last week when the three Houses joined in debate oin the controversial amendments to the GAA — but in debate only. The end-result was predictable, with only one winner after the stormy session: Andries Treurnicht's CP.

For totally opposing reasons, the CP opposed the amendments, along with Hendrickse and the Indian house. But the real significance of the debate does not lie in the Bills, which will now most probably be rammed through the President's Council. What emerged from the confrontation was yet another lost chance for the ruling National Party to invest in a broader constituency. The president underscored this failure when he was reduced to emotional appeals to Hendrickse who had accused the Nats of cuddling up to the CP and rightwing elements over the Bills.

Hendrickse was quite correct. The NP is terrified of losing at the polls — and appears to believe it can avert this fate.

Meanwhile, the CP boasts of doubling its paid-up membership in the Transvaal to 400 000 *in one year*. There is no reason to disbelieve this claim — white fears of black encroachment upon "their" suburbs and way of life is one driving force behind the appeal of the CP (**see table**).

But another is the decline of the NP, according to Stellenbosch University political scientist Hennie Kotze. And his UCT colleague David Welsh amplifies: "People are just plain tired of the Nat syndrome after 40 years in power."

The party's arch-conservative Rooinek Afrikaner (as he is called by his fellow colleagues in parliament), Clive Derby-Lewis, agrees. "(Further) evidence of the CP's growth comes from the NP's quarter," he



**Treurnicht ... emotions the key to success**

recently told a group of businessmen.

According to Welsh: "A strong ultra-Right element had been accommodated in, and enveloped by, the NP for decades prior to the CP split in 1982. Most of the ideological conservatives, however, took their cue from Andries Treurnicht, their spiritual leader. P W Botha's accession to the leadership and his more pragmatic attitude to some of the central planks of traditional apartheid soon forced the conservatives to declare their hand. It is a classic *broedertwis*."

Since then, he adds, this has transcended class distinctions — enticing the blue-collar worker, frustrated bureaucrats and impoverished farmers into the CP.

"The MPs who originally broke away were hardly distinguishable in class terms from those who remained behind, but the socio-economic grievances being generated by adverse economic conditions gave them a handy stick with which to belabour an NP that was increasingly becoming a 'middle-class' party.

"The decline of white living standards, the



settlement in the RSA in which a black majority government takes over. It will then exist as an independent volkstaat beside the RSA which may still exist as a mixed neighbouring State."

This is obviously not Treurnicht's idea. Welsh says: "The leak of the Boshoff report caused some embarrassment to the CP since it clearly implied a lack of confidence in the ability of a CP government to avoid capitulation to the black majority."

For his part, Derby-Lewis rejects the idea that the CP's policy would cost millions to implement. "On the contrary, it's the Nat policies of duplicating everything which place a burden on the taxpayer."

CP economic policy is vague, declares Welsh. "It expresses a belief in the free enterprise system, but qualifies this by saying that 'general political policy cannot be subservient to pure economic and financial considerations' — which means essentially that the restoration of apartheid will take precedence over market imperatives."

And he goes on: "If SA could enjoy peace and rising prosperity it is quite likely that the ultra-Right would find itself isolated and increasingly marginalised as a political force." That seems a faint hope: voters, to paraphrase John Vorster, are being led into a CP ambush by the Nats.

Can the rightwing flood be stemmed? Welsh is of the opinion that Botha's departure from the political scene is essential. "If Botha is to be succeeded, it could put a brake on CP gains. He symbolises to the electorate what is wrong with the NP."

Kotze warns against the perception that all the CP's support is necessarily support for its political principles. He sees a lot of the support as anti-NP sentiment.

This would be the bitterness factor, the chip-on-the-shoulder outlook inherited from the poor white past.

Kotze also believes that the changing class composition of white voters will counter a CP victory. The party's lack of political leadership in the Cape and its limited access to the mass media, particularly radio and TV, serve to handicap its future growth.

Both Welsh and Kotze, however, concur in the dilemma in which the Nats find themselves. "The more fundamentalist mindset of the ultra-Right could legitimately ask where the process of desegregation would end. And, once the principle of power-sharing with blacks was admitted, how could you guarantee that power-sharing would not give way to majority rule?" is how Welsh frames the question.

"Here the NP finds itself in a bind: it accepts that a new constitution will have to be negotiated with blacks, but it is unable to proclaim 'a new vision' until the negotiations have been completed."

Kotze sees it as a Catch 22 situation: "The economic wealth of the whites is dependent on foreign loans and investments. This, however, will only be forthcoming once blacks have achieved political rights, which the Nats cannot risk giving in the present political and economic scenario."

It would all demand a major gesture on the part of government — such as the release of Nelson Mandela. But the recent farcical — and tragic — debates on the Group Areas Act cast serious doubt on Botha's ability to come to terms with this reality.

HSRC researcher Nic Rhoodie — in *SA: The Challenge of Reform* — writes: "It is essential that (these) changes be introduced without delay. Promises of change must be accompanied by action. The longer the government drags its heels on the issue of desegregation the more it is seen to lose the initiative."

And he has this word of warning: "All this does not necessarily mean that the path towards desegregation in SA will be a smooth one. On the contrary, because of a long history of segregation, the transition will in all probability be characterised by confusion and even conflict."

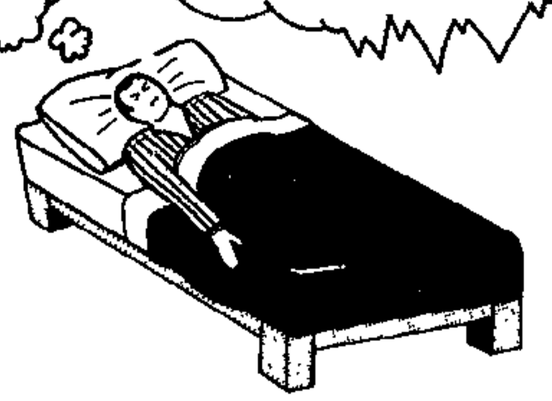
But, it's worth reflecting that a CP government would not merely subject the country to this "confusion and conflict" — it would bring unparalleled economic misery and certain social conflict. And again: the necessary pains of reform will not occur until P W Botha has left the scene and rationality is given a chance in our political life. ■

## The white nightmare

Urban whites' perceptions of conditions under black majority rule
(October 1987 country-wide survey)

| | % | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Agree | Disagree | Not sure |
| 1. The lives of whites will continue as before | 8 | 89 | 3 |
| 2. The physical safety of whites will be threatened | 75 | 20 | 4 |
| 3. The whites' way of life and culture will be protected | 11 | 83 | 6 |
| 4. White living standards will decline | 81 | 15 | 3 |
| 5. Crime will escalate | 84 | 12 | 5 |
| 6. Whites will be discriminated against | 86 | 9 | 5 |
| 7. Law and order will be maintained | 14 | 80 | 7 |
| 8. White women will be increasingly molested | 76 | 16 | 8 |
| 9. Communist policies will be introduced | 80 | 11 | 9 |
| 10. White property will be safe | 12 | 80 | 8 |

Source. HSRC



MINING EXPLORATION SECTOR

# Shares to the slaughter

■ Fundamentals remain sound, but sentiment has taken its toll

**Worst hit** of the JSE's mining boards in the wake of the October 19 equity crunch has been the mining exploration sector — where prices of some shares have dropped up to 80% from their peaks.

Such volatile performance justifies warnings issued as each new exploration share was listed, pointing out that these companies are high-risk and not for "widows and orphans."

However, if the exploration stock run-up to the peak last October was overdone, then the subsequent price implosion has also been overdone to the extent that some shares appear oversold.

There are now bargains in this sector, since the fundamental reasons justifying the existence of the companies have not changed. Simply stated, the economy remains gold-driven and mining houses are pushing ahead with major exploration programmes that could see some 15 new gold mines start up by the end of the century.

This exploration work will continue regardless of swings in the dollar gold price. The mining houses take a long-term view because the gold price is cyclical, and cutting back on exploration when the price drops temporarily will harm future business.

Experience also shows that, whatever happens to the dollar gold price, the value of the rand against the dollar has always adjusted to maintain rand revenues to the all-important gold industry.

Mining will become even more important to the overall economic future because most of its products are relatively immune to sanctions. They are either difficult to embargo effectively — such as gold — or essential requirements for the West, like platinum, rhodium and ferrochrome, where SA is the major supplier.

# Beea attacked on two fronts over elections

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

MIKE BEEA, chairman of the recently disbanded Alexandra Civic Association, has two political headaches for the same reason — the October 26 municipal elections.

Security police this week allegedly warned Beea against "interfering" with the nine Alexandra candidates contesting the elections, threatening to ban or detain him if he did not heed their warning.

And last week the Alexandra Joint Working Committee disbanded the ACA following the association's recent endorsement of a plan for participation in the elections.

The JWC also suspended the ACA's constitution. It elected an interim committee and assigned it to restructure the ACA and evaluate its constitution by October 30. A new civic association will then be launched.

According to Beea, two security policemen warned him on Monday not to interfere with or intimidate councillors participating in the elections.

The police also told Beea they were aware of a power struggle between him and the ACA's vice-chairman, Mack Lekota.

The issue of participation culminated in Lekota publicly labelling Beea an "opportunist", saying the ACA did not support participation. The two, however, buried the hatchet for "political reasons", Beea said.

Beea was then invited by the nine candidates to explain his participation plan that cost him his position in the community he had led for five years. The nine, all members of the newly-formed Alexandra Representative Party (ARP), will contest the elections unopposed.

Beea repeated his argument that his participation plan would prevent residents being led like "lambs to the slaughter". There was a real risk that residents could find themselves subject to a council they had not chosen.

Only 58 people were present at a meeting held a month ago to determine whether residents opted for participation. When the nine candidates asked the 58 to endorse their candidacy, hecklers told them to resign and obtain a mandate for participation.

A group known as "concerned residents" has released a statement condemning the nine candidates.

The statement said the fact that only 58 out of more than 120 000 residents turned up at the meeting showed residents were "not interested" in the elections.

Beea said unless the civic association envisaged by the JWC addressed the squatters' and hostel dwellers' problem, division might increase.

● A statement from the South African Police public relations division said: "The SA Police do not comment on actions which constitute normal police duties, ie the maintenance of law and order and the prevention of crime. For this reason we are not prepared to establish whether the allegations are true or not.

"Should Mr Beea be of the opinion that he has legal cause for complaint, we invite him to file a complaint so that his allegations can be investigated. Failing to do this will strengthen our view that he made his allegations to the media instead of to the police purely for propaganda purposes."

WMAIC 7-13/10/88

# Impatient PW likely to initiate new reforms

Star 8/10/88 3049

**DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent**

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, is likely to grasp the nettle of reform more firmly in coming months by launching several new initiatives.

There are strong indications that before the end of the year:

- ANC leader Nelson Mandela will be released without condition.
- The Government will tone down drastically the group areas legislation which is being processed by Parliament.
- Mr Botha will make a major reshuffle of the Cabinet.

National Party sources have indicated that Mr Botha has grown impatient with the lack of progress in getting internal dialogue between the various South African population groups off the ground.

The President said five years ago, after the 1983 referendum to bring coloured people and Indians into Parliament, that priority would be given to bringing blacks into a system of power-sharing.

Since then, the Government's proposed National Council, designed to include black leaders in formal negotiations to draw up a new constitution, has had a number of false starts.

The inability to get meaningful negotiations with internal black leaders started contrasts sharply with the major successes of the President and the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in their initiatives for dialogue with African leaders outside South Africa.

There appears to be growing acceptance that Mandela must be released soon in order to maintain the momentum of the success of the regional talks.

It seems certain that some sort of assurances were given in this regard to the President of Zaire, Field Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, when President

● TO PAGE 2.

# New reforms likely

3049 Star 8/10/88

● FROM PAGE 1.

Botha held talks with him last weekend.

Sources are saying Mandela could be re-leased well before Christmas and that it is unlikely he will be curbed in any way.

The issue of the group areas legislation has caused something of a row within the ranks of the National Party, particularly the way it was handled in Parliament.

While there is no suggestion that the Government is planning to scrap the laws, sources have indicated the harsh penalties proposed by the Group Areas Amendment Bill will be toned down.

The emphasis is to be placed on a constructive approach to group areas and no people are to be turned out of their homes where no suitable alternate accommodation is available.

There have been rumblings within the National Party about a Cabinet reshuffle for some months now.

One suggestion is that Mr Pik Botha will be appointed Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, with a mandate to get internal negotiations off the ground.

## Making contacts

Mr Botha, with his flair for making contacts with the most hostile of South Africa's opponents, would bring a fresh approach to the job.

The present Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, is being tipped by some to be moved to Finance or Economic Affairs and Technology.

Also being increasingly rumoured is that President Botha will create the position of Prime Minister, but that such a position will not have as much prestige or authority as it would normally have.

The President has frequently said his administrative load is too heavy.

The President is said to be unlikely to appoint one of the National Party's provincial leaders as Prime Minister, as this would cause resentment among the others.

Instead, he is likely to choose a prominent but less senior Minister.

One person being named is the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

# Tutu won't be arrested—govt

PRETORIA. — The government yesterday said it had no intention of arresting Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu or other prominent church leaders who call for election boycotts in defiance of emergency regulations.

However, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information, the Film Industry and Broadcasting Services, did not comment on the September 27 detention of a relatively unknown Methodist minister who passed on to his congregation the church's reservations about participation in the October municipal elections.

"Many people are expecting the imminent arrest of Archbishop Tutu. That is not going to be the case," Dr Van der Merwe told a news conference.

Dr Van der Merwe said it appeared that Archbishop Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak "were asking to be arrested" by calling for election boycotts.



Archbishop Tutu



Mr Van der Merwe

"Why should we do this and make a martyr of them when it was not the intention of the emergency regulations to act against those people?"

He said the regulations prohibiting calls for election boycotts were designed to prevent intimidation of those seeking to vote.

"There has been no threat" in Archbishop Tutu's call for a boycott, he added.

The government did not regard disciplining church leaders as its task, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe insisted that Archbishop Tutu distance himself publicly from the campaign of violence being planned and waged against the elections.

He also made an urgent call on Archbishop Tutu to ask organisations involved in the campaign to end the violence.

Dr Van der Merwe did not comment on the detention of a Methodist minister, the Rev Tom Mbabane, who was taken from his Soweto home after police alleged he advocated a boycott in a sermon.

Mr Mbabane's wife has said her husband did not call for boycott, but only conveyed the Methodist Church's appeal to its congregants to consider carefully whether they should vote. — Sapa and AP

# 'Open group' not ruled out by Govt

Star 5/10/88 (30cm)

BRUCE CAMERON

THE Government would consider the question of an "open group" as a constitutional building block if it developed naturally, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Mr Heunis expressed doubts, however, about whether such a classification would come about.

"The acceptance of free settlement areas, which implies the choice of free association, might also imply a new political grouping.

"I believe the final test as to whether such a definition as a political grouping is viable would be once the new areas are established."

Mr Heunis emphasised he did not believe that any political system would succeed in South Africa which ignored the multiracial or multi-ethnic composition of the country.

But this did "not imply that group or ethnicity should be the only definition of political entities".

The Government had already indicated this by abolishing the Improper Political Interference Act, Mr Heunis said.

But the result supported his doubts over whether an "open group" would develop.

"There has been no evidence of any major move to a non-racial or non-ethnic political party," he said.

Mr Heunis said he accepted that groups had experience or perceived racial or ethnic divisions as negative because there were cases where it had been negatively applied.

But he believed group political definition would finally be accepted when it became the instrument of equal opportunities.

# A chip off the Oubaas!



At 74, Dr Louis Smuts still cares for destitute

**SHE'S the daughter of one of South Africa's most famous statesmen, General Jan Smuts.**

But 74-year-old Dr Louis Smuts has made a name for herself in her own right. For 36 years the general's youngest child has given her medical expertise to patients at a black clinic north of Johannesburg — free of charge.

Named after her godfather, General Louis Botha, Dr Smuts has attended to the medical needs of the less privileged at the Witkoppen Clinic and Feeding Scheme since 1952.

She has helped make it a model clinic. And the septuagenarian says she will go on working until she can no longer do so.

This week the softly spoken, silver-haired woman said: "I feel privileged to be qualified to help the less fortunate members of our population. And besides, I enjoy it enormously."

Asked whether she had ever thought of following in her father's political footsteps, the doctor laughingly said: "All six of us children learnt early on, living in a house where politics played such an important role, to keep out of it.

"But I did work half-heartedly for the United Party at one stage."

Dr Smuts remembers how she used to go climbing Table Mountain with her father every weekend.

## Spartan

"He loved mountain climbing. When King George VI and the Queen Mother visited South Africa, they went up the mountain in a cable car. But my dad refused — he walked up and met them at the top!"

Her father, who died in 1950, had been a "very human person", said Dr Smuts.

"He loved children because they accepted him. Adults were in awe of him and consequently often treated him deferentially."

The "Oubaas" had refused to move into Libertas, the magnificent mansion built for him, she added.

"He insisted on living on our farm, Doornkloof, in Irene, where we had a wood-and-iron house that had been an officer's mess in Middelburg.

"My father bought it and had it transported to the farm. It was to have been a temporary home but we never moved out of it. I remember it being bitterly cold in winter and extremely hot in summer.



**General Smuts would have been proud ... his daughter is Witkoppen's Florence Nightingale**

**Report: CHARMAIN NAIDOO**
**Pictures: JAMES SOULLIER**

"We were a no-nonsense family. I was brought up in a spartan manner — no frills and fancy."

Dr Smuts graduated from the University of Cape Town's medical school at the end of 1939.

"It was the year the war broke out. I spent one year at Groote Schuur, then, in 1941, I joined up and spent five years as an army doctor.

"Most of the time I worked in an army hospital in Pretoria but I also spent some time in Egypt — which is where I met my husband, Denis McIldowie."

Mr McIldowie, who is vice-president of the South African National Olympic Games Association, has just returned from the Games in Seoul, Korea.

After she was discharged from the army in 1945, Dr Smuts bore three children and stayed home to look after them.

"By 1952 I wanted to start working again. A friend suggested the Witkoppen clinic, and I went there on a voluntary basis. I've been there ever since."

There have been many changes since Dr Smuts first joined the clinic.

"Two nurses started it in someone's backyard in 1947. When I joined, we moved to a classroom in a nearby school one afternoon a week."

In 1958, the clinic moved to an old farmhouse near Fourways, north of Johannesburg.

"The rats ate the corks of the bottles, there was no running water or electricity, we had to sweep down the anthills each morning.

"We stayed there until 1963, when President John F Kennedy was assassinated. The chairman of Rand Mines, Charlie Engelhard, wanted to build a memorial to him and I suggested he build us a clinic. He did.

## Growth

"Later, I wrote to Mr Engelhard to tell him the clinic had become too small and he agreed to pay for enlarging it. But now we're bursting out at the seams again."

"We see about 200 patients each morning.

"We also supply medicines and run a feeding scheme for a lot of the destitute people in the area," said Dr Smuts.

"We run mainly on donations."

The clinic had seen several major changes in health problems, she said

Today, stress, hypertension and high blood pressure were common while malnutrition was on the decrease.

"The stress comes from the worries created by unemployment and finding the money to feed a family. That's why I support family planning.

"A man came in with malnutrition the other day. He had a good job and earned enough money to support one or two children. But he had 10! I believe that if you can't feed them, it's best not to have them."

## Pik tipped to spearhead reform revival in surprise switch

# HEAVE-HO FOR HEUNIS?



CHRIS HEUNIS — sideways move?

**By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER**

**PRESIDENT P W BOTHA plans to inject new life into his reform programme — and Foreign Minister Pik Botha could be chosen as the man to get it going.**

Speculation was rife in Pretoria this week that Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis was on the point of being "promoted sideways".

He would then be replaced by the Foreign Minister, who would be encouraged to bring his negotiating skills — lately applied with much success in Africa — to bear on the country's most pressing internal problems.

Mr Heunis, in turn, would become Prime Minister, a post that is to be revived to lessen the administrative burden on Tuynhuys.

At issue is the Government's stalled reform policy. Lack of progress has caused confusion at home and intensified pressures from abroad.

President Botha, it is said, now plans to capitalise on recent breakthroughs in Africa to get momentum going again.

The man most affected by a top-level shuffle would be Mr Heunis. Many top figures in the National Party are holding him to account for failure to get negotiations under way for a new system of power-sharing with black South Africans.

He has made no visible progress in

PW MAY MEET SOARES: Page 2

## Nat MP out over Mafia man

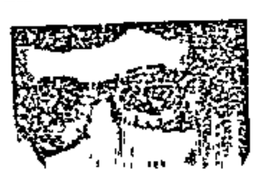
**By BILL KRIGE**

PEET DE PONTES, controversial MP for East London City, has been suspended from the National Party at his own request.

The dramatic move follows further revelations of his efforts to help Vito Palazzolo, a Mafia drug runner and escaped convict, to settle in the Ciskei.

Mr De Pontes said he had discussed the matter yesterday with Minister of Constitutional Affairs Chris Heunis.

He also revealed that when



## Adman woos back his wife with an ad

**By RUTH GOLEMBO**

A LOVELORN advertising man has won back his estranged wife — by wooing her with a newspaper ad campaign.

Darryl Fine, separated from his wife Lauren for a month, booked a near-blank, full-page advertisement costing R5 500.

He sent her the page wrapped around a gleaming gold watch — costing [illegible] — to give her the "space and time" she wanted.

Mr Fine also showered his wife with loving messages and lavish bouquets.

She is a director of a Cape Town advertising agency Gainswater and McMillan, where he is creative director.

The advert said in big letters, "La, here's space", at



## SECRET AUTHOR OF ANNELI'S ROMANTIC SONG IS REVEALED...



# Pik of the pops!

**By JANINE LAZARUS**

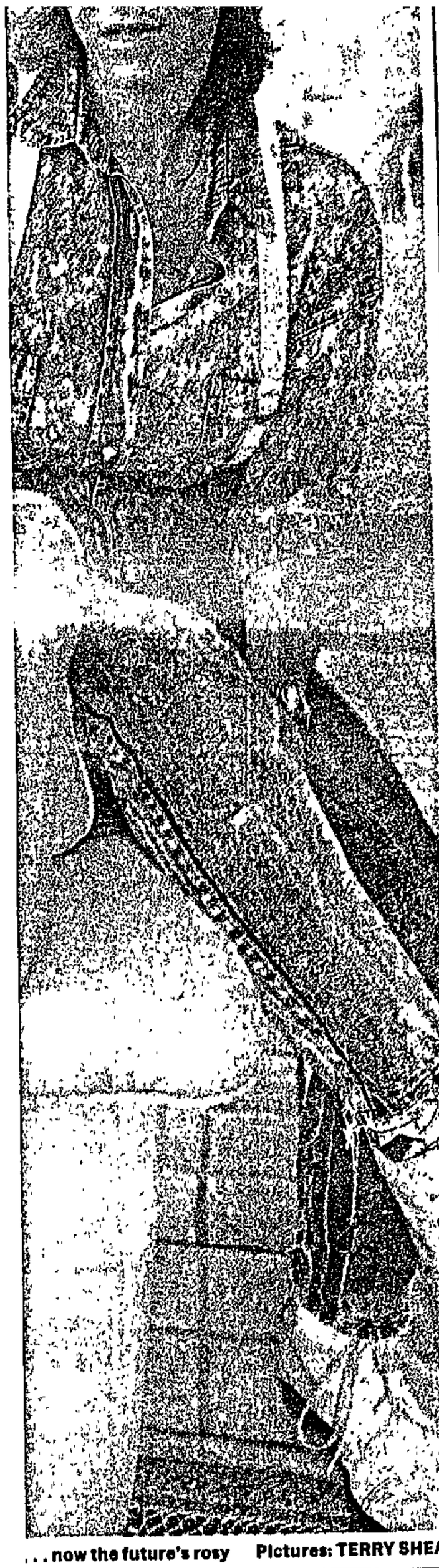
**PIK BOTHA was revealed this week to be... a secret pop songwriter! A ballad written by the Foreign Minister is being performed around the country by singer Anneli van Rooyen.**

It is called Hierso in die Soutpansberg — and Mr Botha confessed he wrote it after a "beautiful experience, a romantic



SINGER ANNNELI

09/10/88



. . . now the future's rosy Pictures: TERRY SHEAN

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PW MAY MEET SOARES: Page 2

establishing a National Council of leaders from all races, first mooted more than a year ago.

The council is meant to be the forum where a new "general affairs" deal will be worked out.

Yesterday Mr Heunis told the Sunday Times reports that he might be relieved of his portfolio were "utter disinformation".

"I have no knowledge of any possibility that I will be shifted from my post," he said.

Asked to comment on reports that there was dissatisfaction about his inability to get black leaders involved in constitutional discussions, Mr Heunis said: "You can't expect me to comment on this sort of rumour."

There is a growing awareness in NP circles that the ruling party allowed itself to be put off its stride by fears that the Conservative Party would make inroads into its white support base.

Now, after months of assessment, Government strategists are said to have concluded that their way out is more — not less — reform.

## Threat

Also affected by the shift in opinion is the NP's Transvaal leader, F W de Klerk.

While Mr De Klerk himself favours a "more, not less" approach to reform, his support base is threatened by a massive CP onslaught in his home province — an attack that could imperil many of his provincial MPs.

His standing in the Cabinet — and his aspirations to succeed President Botha — would be weakened by a CP municipal election triumph in the Transvaal on October 26.

Presiding over the tense currents in the Cabinet is President Botha. Government sources say he has set the new tone of urgency for reform

The President's own standing has been greatly boosted by successful trips in recent weeks to Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire, West Germany and Switzerland. SA's role in seeking peace in Angola and independence in Namibia has also been applauded internationally.

The message from abroad has reached Tuynhuys: There is a place for SA in the international community — but more meaningful domestic reform is a prerequisite.

Many Ministers are also known to feel now that the Government went too far in its attempt to stiffen the Group Areas Act.

Government sources believe President Botha has opened the way for a Cabinet shuffle by reviving the idea of a Prime Minister.

# State win till go down

llant effort State will Cup B Sec- — unless le otherwise meeting.

rthern Free second leg tion/relega- rom, but fell t of the re- eeks ago the 40-14.

According to competition rules, Free State had to win by 27 points to remain in the A Section.

The game was marred by incidents and referee Jimmy Smith-Belton appeared to lose control at times.

With so much at stake both packs were guilty of persistent niggling and many late and high tackles went unseen.

● Full report — Page 28

## PICK 6

**TURFFONTEIN:**

**There were 105 winning tickets. The net pool was R1 034 854 and the dividend R9 853,80. Numbers: 1; 11; 14; 5, 6, 7; 8; 6, 7.**

**SCOTTSVILLE:**

**There were 36 successful tickets. The dividend was R6 935,70 from a net pool of R249 685. Numbers: 1, 4; 1; 5; 2, 3; 1; 8.**

Times ● WIN R60 000! See Magazine

# Poll: Bishops urge 'prayerful response'

Religion Reporter

A PASTORAL letter from Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his bishops-suffragan urging Anglicans to consider certain aspects of this month's municipal elections has been read out from all Cape Town pulpits.

The letter, signed by Archbishop Tutu, Bishop Charles Albertyn, Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan and Bishop Edward MacKenzie, reminded churchgoers that the Church of the Province of Southern Africa (CPSA) had on several occasions declared its total opposition to apartheid and in 1982 had declared it a heresy.

"We, the bishops of the Diocese of Cape Town, urge you to make a prayerful and thoughtful consideration of your response to the election."

The Bishops said that in formulating their thoughts about the election their parishioners should take into account that the bodies for which South Africans would be voting on October 26 were racially based; that the government was using the October elections as one of the stepping stones towards the establishment of a national council, an "undemocratic body"; and that the election was accompanied by an "unprecedented level of repression against government opponents."

## Bannings

"Organisations and leaders, even if they wanted to take part in the elections, are prevented from doing so by bannings and imprisonment. While the government claims it is organising 'democratic' elections for October, it is using all the instruments of a totalitarian state".

"We believe it is of critical importance to our country's future that the government should be given a very clear message that its vision for the future, as well as its specific plans to achieve that vision, are wholly inadequate ..."

The bishops recognised that the election of "white" local authorities had implications which differed from those of "black" local authorities. The fundamental issue for black South Africans was the right to vote and to participate fully and fairly in Parliament.

# Bishops call for boycott

**AS the country-wide municipal elections kick off today when polling opens for prior voting, the Anglican bishops of Cape Town called on people not to voter because the election endorsed apartheid.**

**The call came in the form of a pastoral letter to the Diocese of Cape Town. It was included in priests' sermons at dozens of churches in the Peninsula.**

**For the first time in local government elections, voters can apply to cast a prior vote between today and October 22.**

**Bishops' call — Page 7**

# Heunis to be sidelined? 'Ask president'

Cape Times 10/10/88 30(A)

**Political Staff**

MR Chris Heunis, facing rumours that he was to be sidelined in a cabinet reshuffle, said yesterday that the only person who knew if there were about to be changes in the cabinet was President P W Botha.

"Why don't you phone him in Switzerland," said Mr Heunis, who last week was unanimously re-elected Cape leader of the National Party.

Speculation about Mr Heunis's future in the cabinet started after his 39-vote victory in last year's elections. Rumours increased after last month's constitutional crisis over the group areas bills in Parliament.

The latest speculation was published yesterday in two Johannesburg-based Sunday newspapers.

It has been suggested that the reports were planted deliberately to weaken Mr Heunis's position.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, was tipped as his likely successor in the constitutional portfolio in the hope of greater success in drawing blacks into the planned national council.

Mr Heunis has for long been seen as one of the front-runners in the presidential stakes but appears to have lost ground to Mr F W de Klerk, the Transvaal leader.

But if the NP in the Transvaal does badly in the municipal elections, it could harm Mr De Klerk.

# Hippo sends terrorists to their death

Star 10/10/88

Crime Reporter

Seven alleged ANC terrorists drowned last month when a hippo overturned their rowing boat on the Zambezi River, police have revealed.

It seems the men were on their way to South Africa to disrupt the municipal elections, said Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order.

He said an eighth man escaped.

All were armed at the time.

The exact location of the incident has not been revealed, but it is a well-used infiltration route from Zambia to Botswana.

Police learnt of the deaths through their own sources, but Radio Zambia is also understood to have carried a report on the drownings.

The names of the dead men are known to the police but have not been released.

# Personalities not the issue, says PFP, Malan, Worrall

Star 10/10/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Opposition parties on the political left yesterday shrugged off speculation in the Sunday press that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, could soon be entrusted with the portfolio of constitutional development and planning in a governmental attempt to boost its yet unsuccessful attempts at starting meaningful negotiations about political reform.

Reacting to speculation in two Sunday newspapers that Mr Chris Heunis could be "promoted sideways", either to a newly-created post of Prime Minister or to take over the country's financial reins, they agreed that a governmental change of attitude about political reform was necessary before black leaders would be persuaded to take part in negotiations.

While senior Nationalists yesterday refused to discuss the possibility of a major Cabinet reshuffle, Mr Heunis dismissed the speculations as "utter disinformation".

The leader of the PFP, Dr Zach de Beer, said personalities would not determine the effectiveness of the Government's reform initiatives.

"That Mr Pik Botha may perhaps have more charm than Mr Heunis is interesting, but hardly relevant in this very serious business."

## DETAINEES

Dr de Beer said the momentum of the reform process would be determined only by "what the Government is prepared to do for our black citizens".

"If the Nats are prepared to release Mr Nelson Mandela and other key detainees, and to negotiate on the basis that black people have equal dignity as South Africans, there will be progress," he said.

The leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, doubted the Government's sincerity about reform by putting Mr Botha in charge of constitutional reform.

"It can only be an expression of frustration because they just cannot get negotiations going."

What was needed, Mr Malan said, was a "radically fundamental" shift in attitude by the Government. It should commit itself to a democracy which was not based on a group definition

The leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said the Government's inability to get the negotiation process started did not depend on personalities.

"I can understand that Mr Botha would be a more likely person than Mr Heunis from a personality point of view.

"But the problem is that the National Party has simply lost credibility. This fact is highlighted by the NP's handling of group areas," Dr Worrall said.

Star 10/10/88

304A

# New colour added to Nats' 'rainbow policy'

**BY DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent**

All citizens have to be classified according to a population group. Now there is emerging a new line of thought on racial labelling.

GEORGE — An interesting current of thought is flowing through the National Party of late — and it involves a concept which could add another colour to South Africa's "rainbow policy" on racial grouping.

A number of Nationalist thinkers are proposing a new look at the traditional way of identifying groups, so that provision can be made for those people who do not want to be classified according to a particular race category.

For want of a better term, these thinkers are talking of an open group.

The idea is an extension of the concept of an open area, which is currently in the process of being provided for by law.

Open-areas, or, to use their legal name, free settlement areas, are residential suburbs where people of all race groups may own and occupy property.

In South Africa, the law distinguishes between about a dozen groups. But, for political and group areas purposes there are four basic groups: whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds.

Every citizen must be classified according to a population group. Once a member of a group, one may live only in areas which are zoned for the exclusive use of that group.

As a South African you are usually born into a particular group, unless your parents come from different groups, in which case you become a member of the coloured group or, in practice, the lower group.

Mixed-group couples must live in an area zoned for the lower of the groups.

The creation of free settlement areas is primarily intended for the use of mixed-group couples and their offspring. However, members of any groups may live in such areas.

To cater for the political rights of people who live in such groups, the Government is setting up local government bodies which will be elected by residents of open groups on a common or open roll.





Mr Chris Heunis (left) and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe say racial grouping should be more flexible.

Children living in open areas may go to private schools, which the Government will subsidise and allow to be legally integrated.

Nationalist thinkers believe the concept of open areas ought to be extended to create a whole new category of South Africans — members of an open group.

At this stage this is only an idea being tossed about by individuals in the party, and it has not yet been taken up seriously by any of the NP's policy-making bodies such as the provincial head committees, the congresses or the parliamentary caucus.

However, even Ministers are known to be toying with the idea of creating such a group.

Both the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, have gone on record as saying the basis of defining groups ought to be made more flexible.

The National Party has learned from the experience in Namibia, where some years ago voters were given the choice of registering according to a particular group or as a member of a special open category.

The special category was intended for those who did not know what they were or who wanted to make a political statement by not associating with any group.

Less than 2 percent of the voters apparently chose to be members of the non-group.

South African nationalists believe similarly very few South Africans would choose to belong to an open group.

If an open group should ever come about, it is likely that its members would be restricted to those people who live in open areas.

Once a white, for example, renounces membership of the white group to be classified as a member of the open group, he or she would no longer qualify to live in a white group area.

In theory, a member of the open group would also not be able to move to a coloured, Indian or black group area, although in practice these groups are unlikely to ever enforce the segregation of their group areas.

Members of the open group living in open areas would be accommodated on a common voters roll to take part in elections for every tier of government.

They could have open representatives in Parliament, although there is no talk at this early stage of a separate chamber of the legislature for them.

The open group need not necessarily be a small one.

The coloured community, for example, which after all is largely the product of integration between the race groups, is likely to opt en masse for membership of the open group.

There would be nothing to stop the coloured community from holding a referendum of its members and declaring its group areas free settlement areas.

Members of the other population groups who wanted to live in those areas would be free to do so, and, in so doing, become members of the open group.

Such a large open group would presumably be given powers to govern its own affairs, while having a share in the decision-making of general affairs.

There could even be open own affairs Ministers.

The proposal is not necessarily as farcical as it sounds.

Contrary to Government expectations, the great majority of blacks, coloureds and Indians and a significant proportion of whites may opt for open membership (provided they can get their residential areas declared open).

This could ultimately result in two groups sharing power in South Africa: The whites and the open group.

## Councillors-elect await their call in the wings

# No polls excitement in Alex

Star 10/10/88

**By Kaizer Nyatsumba**

On October 26 the people of Alexandra Township outside Johannesburg will go about their business as usual. For them it will be just another day, and the election fever and excitement which will be sweeping through neighbouring Sandton will be conspicuously absent.

In Alexandra the October municipal elections are a *fait accompli*. There is no euphoria here, and there never was. The elections were won long before election day, and the councillors-elect are only waiting for October 27 to assume their duties for which they have been "chosen".

Ten people completed nomination forms and formally applied for candidacy in Alexandra, and all but two of them were approved — seven unopposed.

Only ward eight was contested, with the candidates having been Mr Simon Sebotha and the Rev Thomas Molepo. Alexandra town clerk and electoral officer Mr P J Genis said Mr Molepo had been disqualified as a candidate, but he refused to give any reason for the disqualification.

### Candidate out

The only candidate for Ward 9, Mr John Timothy Gwebu, was disqualified "because he was not on the voters list", according to Mr Genis. When the new council takes office on October 27, there will be no councillor from Ward nine.

Mr Genis said that, with the approval of the Transvaal Aadministrator, a by-election will be held in the ward early next year.

At 131 14th Avenue, where Mr Molepo lives, The Star found him relaxing at home. He was still a candidate, he said, and he knew nothing about his disqualification.

"I am still waiting to hear from them, because I must be told officially. That I have been disqualified is news to me, and I cannot think of any grounds on which I could be disqualified. I owe no rent, and I have no criminal record," Mr Molepo said.

Mr Molepo said he had continued to be a councillor until 1986 when, with the rest of the Buti administration, he was forced to resign.

"If I were a criminal I would have been suspended from the council then," he said. He could not understand why he was said to have been disqualified "when they still retain my R300 deposit".

Back at the town clerk's office, Mr Genis was hesitant. Mr Molepo had been officially notified about his disqualification, he said, and later contradicted himself when he said: "We will inform Mr Molepo soon."

Pressed for the reason for Mr Molepo's disqualification, Mr Genis said: "No comment."

The eight candidates elected unopposed are Mr Timothy Vilakazi (Ward 1), Mr Lucas Khoza (Ward 2), Mr Prince Mokoena (Ward 3), Mrs Jacobeth Agnes Poo (Ward 4), Mr Moses Mkhonza (Ward 5), Mr M Motshele (Ward 6), Mr Titus Darky Rametsi (Ward 7) and Mr Simon Sebotha (Ward 8).

Two weeks ago these councillors-elect held a meeting with the chairman of the Alexandra Civic Association (ACA), Mr Mike Beea, and adopted an alternative "community-based democratic structure catering for a universal grass root leve of community participation" in council affairs.

Drafted by Mr Beea, who was assigned to study and prepare a plan for participation in the October municipal elections to be presented to Alexandra residents, the "alternative structure" says:

- Before declaring themselves candidates, people should consult with and obtain mandate from the people of Alexandra.
- Residents would be free to elect ward committees to consist of 20 people from each ward, five of whom would be ex officio members of a community central committee.

### Friendly message

- The community would also be free to choose a person to participate in the Regional Services Council, and another one to participate in the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA).

The ACA's working document also carries a message for would-be councillors: "Power lies with the people who elect you to be their representative; you become a councillor because people have faith in you, believing wholeheartedly that you will represent them honestly, harmoniously and efficiently.

"Bear in mind that self-appointed people carry no weight whatsoever — they are naked and/or semi-naked candidates who do not follow democracy and its rules, and such people will be rejected from the onset by the masses of any colour and race."

# Bishops call for boycott of election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN's Anglican bishops yesterday threw down the gauntlet to the government by calling on whites and blacks to boycott this month's local government elections on the grounds that the nationwide poll represented an endorsement of apartheid.

The call — in the form of a strongly worded pastoral letter to the Diocese of Cape Town — was included in priests' sermons or made available to congregations at dozens of churches around the Peninsula yesterday.

The protest letter — signed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Charles Albertyn, Bishop Geoffrey Quinlan and Bishop Edward Mackenzie — submits that participation in the white municipal elections under the current dispensation would "underscore the ghetto mentality of our society . . ."

The bishops' letter comes soon after protest about government double standards in applying the emergency regulations which explicitly prohibit calls for election boycotts.

While 300 people, including churchmen, have been arrested in connection with the October 26 elections, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, indicated at the weekend that the government had no intention of arresting either Archbishop Tutu or Dr Allan Boesak for calling for a boycott.

Yesterday's protest follows an earlier appeal by 26 prominent church leaders from a variety of denominations for Christians not to vote or stand for election on October 26.

The latest pastoral letter from the bishops stated: "We do not intend participating in the elections in October.

"We urge black Anglicans to do the same and we hope that white Anglicans will join them."

The bishops, in urging congregations to make a "prayerful and thoughtful" consideration of their response to the election, ask them to take the following points into account:

● "The bodies for which South Africans will be voting on October 26 are racially based.

● "The election is accompanied by an unprecedented level of repression against government opponents. All meaningful political organisation outside narrowly defined parameters laid down by the government has been outlawed.

"Organisations and leaders, even if they wanted to take part in the elections, are prevented from doing so by bannings and imprisonment.

● "The government is using the October elections as one of the stepping stones towards the establishment of a national council, an undemocratic body which is unlikely to produce just or representative constitutional proposals."

The bishops say they recognise that the election of white local authorities has implications which differ from those of black local authorities.

"The fundamental issue for black South Africans is the right to vote and to participate fully and fairly in Parliament as the central decision-making body in the country.

"Since black people are denied this right in the land of their birth, participation in the election undermines this fundamental principle and in fact endorses apartheid."

The letter continues: "Whites already have the right to vote and we are aware that some of you are anxious that whites who oppose apartheid should be elected to city councils.

# Boesak accuses govt of double standards

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Allan Boesak said the government was guilty of double standards in implementing the emergency regulations by not taking action against Archbishop Desmond Tutu and himself.

He was reacting to Dr Stoffel van der Merwe's announcement that he and Archbishop Tutu would not be charged and other church leaders not acted against for contravening emergency regulations by calling for a boycott of the October 26 municipal elections.

Dr Boesak said that an estimated 300 people "who are less known than the archbishop and myself" were being held for opposition to the elections.

However, Dr Van der Merwe said the government saw no reasons why it "should help to grant Tutu and Boesak the publicity and the claim to 'martyrdom' which they evidently are so avidly seeking".

# Nothnagel makes colleagues think the unthinkable

Argus 10/10/88 304A

By PETER FABRICIUS of The Argus Political Staff

IN SPITE of being slapped down by his party time and again, the Innesdal MP, Mr Albert Nothnagel, still bounces back to play the risky role of pathfinder in the National Party.

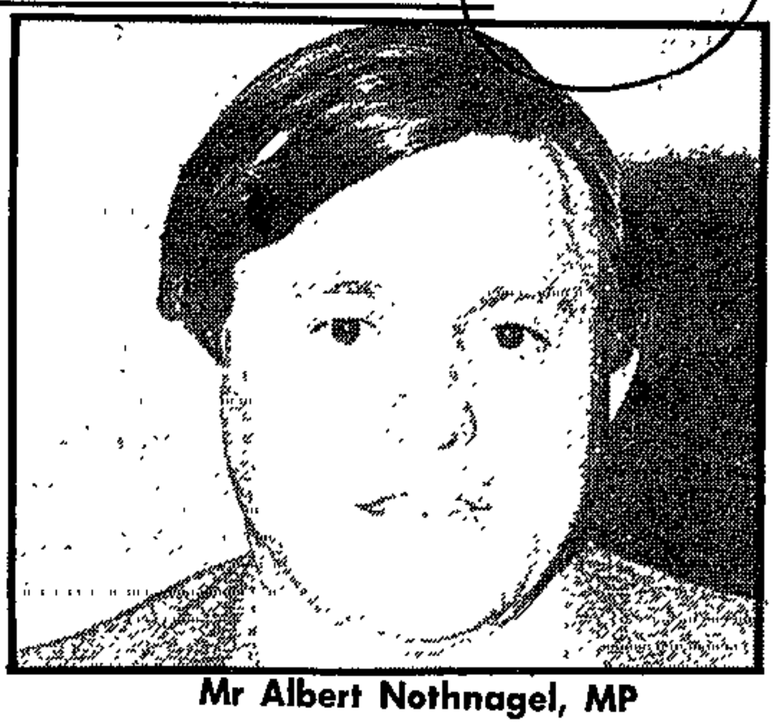
After a series of controversial remarks running contrary to the party line, it seemed that Mr Nothnagel might have already spent eight of his nine lives.

But recently he did it again by saying in the parliamentary debate on the Group Areas Amendment Bill that if he were a coloured or an Indian, he would "hate the Group Areas Act with all my heart and soul".

The remark was a balm to the wounds of his coloured and Indian MP colleagues but acid to his own Transvaal party leadership, especially on the eve of a major contest with the Conservative Party — the October 26 municipal elections.

Many National Party colleagues privately admit that they congratulated him on his stand. The NP leadership have so far remained silent. But it is probably safe to assume that they were not overjoyed with the remark, which was quite clearly tantamount to a rejection of fundamental party policy — at least as it stands now.

It was as recently as April this year that Mr Nothnagel was last sticking his neck out.



Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP

He then defiantly repeated in Parliament a statement — which he had apparently reconsidered — that no solution for the South African problem was possible without the African National Congress.

The CP made merry with the remark in Parliament and later in their propaganda. Mr Nothnagel's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, announced that this and other statements by Mr Nothnagel would be submitted to the NP's Transvaal executive for scrutiny.

However, before that could happen President Botha rather unexpectedly entered the debate to defend "my good friend Albert" and the whole matter was dropped.

There was much speculation at the time that the reason the party had refrained from disciplining Mr Nothnagel was that he threatened to resign his parliamentary seat — thus forcing yet another unwanted by-election in a constituency vulnerable to the CP.

## Article

Mr Nothnagel's remarks in Parliament echoed an article he had written in the magazine *Inside South Africa* in January, 1987, which nearly caused his expulsion from the party.

He then stated several unpleasant truths at odds with NP gospel including the assertion that no lasting solution to the South African problem was possible without the ANC or without releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

He also insisted that it was impossible that the "ban on political organisations could last for ever" or that "blacks could be accommodated politically without representation in Parliament".

Mr Nothnagel's remarks — indistinguishable in essence from Progressive Federal Party policy — came at a particularly bad time, just as the NP was veering right before the May 6 elections, and he was severely chided.

But he survived once again. How does he do it? Part of the reason is that in spite of straying further than anyone else from the party fold, he always comes back in the end.

In his speech on the Group Areas Act, for instance, he ended by pleading with the coloured and Indian people not to stress the "conflict potential" in the country but to look to what was good for all.

This sort of anti-climactic ending is obviously frustrating to many who otherwise sympathise with his sentiments.

In the debate, for instance, a Labour Party MP, Mr John Douw, said that Mr Nothnagel should say that even as a white he also hated the Group Areas Act. This remark seemed to express a suspicion that Mr Nothnagel was — probably unintentionally — playing the role of "nice guy" in the National Party, keeping alive the false hope that it was capable of fundamental change.

Many in the PFP voice the same disquiet, believing that Mr Nothnagel helps to give the NP a reformist image it does not deserve. But it is probably fair to say that over the years Mr Nothnagel has helped to push forward the frontiers of National Party policy.

## Early career

Every time he has made an apparently outrageous remark and survived, he seems to have made the unthinkable a little more thinkable — and attainable.

Mr Nothnagel's present thinking is the more remarkable because in his early political career he earned a reputation as a hardline NP ideologue.

His attitude began to change at about the time of the 1976 Soweto uprising when his public statements began to reflect an awareness that government policy wes not meeting black aspirations.

He came into politics after 12 years as a public servant in the then Department of Native Affairs, which gave him first-hand experience at the rockface of NP race ideology.

From 1963 he worked at Parliament for the same department, serving as secretary to the then Bantu Affairs Commission and to the then Deputy Minister of the department, the hardliner M C Botha.

In 1970 he entered politics proper by winning the Innesdal provincial seat for the NP and in 1974 the parliamentary seat, which he has held since. In spite of being a noted verligte in a conservative seat, in 1981 and 1983 he won the Ludenburg Trophy for the Transvaal NP candidate winning the most votes expressed as a percentage of registered voters.

He serves on the joint parliamentary committee on home affairs and on the committee for co-operation and development. He is chairman of the joint committee on Parliament.

# Palazzolo: Nat MP asks to be suspended

EAST LONDON. — The MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, has asked to be suspended from the National Party until his alleged involvement with convicted Italian drug dealer Roberto Palazzolo is "sorted out".

Attempts had already been made to use the affair as "a political football".

He said yesterday that he would continue as a Member of Parliament but wanted to avoid embarrassing his party. He insisted the suspension was at his own request and that he had not sought suspension earlier this year, when his involvement with Palazzolo became public, because of the way evidence was being given to the Harms Commission.

Mr De Pontes's involvement with Palazzolo came under the spotlight again last week when a Narcotics Bureau officer gave evidence.

Mr De Pontes said the commission hearings had created uncertainty and questions about him. It was impossible for him to make public what he knew or to comment fully on evidence before the commission because the matter was sub judice. He would be able to do so only once he had given evidence himself.

He said he had also asked for suspension from the Commission of Co-Operation and Development and would today ask the Speaker about his duties as chairman of the Standing Committee on commerce and industry.

He said his decision followed meetings with the NP's Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis, and the State President and a local district council meeting. Mr De Pontes said that after Palazzolo's arrest in January, the Minister of Law and Order had informed him of Palazzolo's true background.

"At that stage we were already busy separating our business interests. I immediately withdrew as his attorney and broke all further ties with him."

A statement by the NP's East London district council said Mr De Pontes's request had been accepted reluctantly. The council had faith that Mr De Pontes would resume his place in the party.

Mr De Pontes dismissed as "absolute nonsense" allegations in a Sunday paper that he suggested Palazzolo escape from a Swiss prison. The paper also reported that Palazzolo might soon be released by the Swiss and testify in South Africa with indemnity. — Sapa

# 'No let-up on SA in sight'

South Africans should not think that the well-orchestrated international campaign against this country will stop until one-man one-vote has been achieved, Mr J J Bouwer, a leading credit insurer, said in his address at the "Development '88" seminar.

Mr Bouwer, chairman of the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of Africa, said while "informed" people overseas might be satisfied with reform measures other than one-man one-vote, the majority of those who "shout" with their own political goals and advancement in sight will never be satisfied.

They are interested neither in what one-man one-vote would mean for South Africa nor in whether it would be the best solution for the country, he said.

The State must then busy itself "in the most productive manner" with security, health, education and administration, and not with activities which can be made liable to the capitalistic system, Mr Bouwer said.

# Ordinary man used as 'pawn' by all parties

Star 11/10/83 (30th)

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The municipal elections had been reduced to a "mere prelude to the full-scale political onslaught in the 1989 parliamentary poll", two independent candidates said yesterday.

Mr Sam Moss, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party in the Johannesburg City Council, and Professor Harold Rudolph warned in a joint statement: "The ordinary man is being used by all political parties as a pawn in the political game and the losers are the ratepayers, while the entire structure of local government is being seriously undermined.

"Council decisions are made on what is best for the political party, not the city, dating back to 1982 when the PFP's top hierarchy banned three members of the PFP from sharing the management committee with two Nats and Mr Francois Oberholzer.

"Without a doubt Johannesburg would have been well along the road to reform if party interference had not been placed above the interests of the city."

Mr Moss said independents who had rejected politics in council had done so at great personal and financial cost, with his own council salary dropping from R3 000 as leader of the opposition to R1 000 as an ordinary councillor.

He added that "the PFP should stop bluffing itself it has an exclusive franchise on human dignity, the maintenance of the rule of law or the removal of discrimination, which are fundamental principles worldwide".

# 'CP taking soul of the Afrikaner'

**The Star Bureau**

LONDON — The battle for the soul of the Afrikaner is being won by the Conservative Party, according to a major report on South Africa's New Right, in *The Financial Times* today.

The writer, Jurek Martin, says there is a "universal expectation" in the country that the party will make major gains in the municipal elections.

"They may even, symbolically, take the national capital Pretoria and force a general election within a year which might, say some, result in a hung parliament."

He adds: "Western diplomats, businessmen, CP leaders, what is left of South Africa's liberals, Government MPs and non-white politicians seem to disagree only on the speed of the Conservative advance."

If Dr Verwoerd were alive today, he would be a Conservative, Martin observes, adding, "and so, according to conventional wisdom, would an awful lot of current National Party MPs if ever push came to shove.

"Only the military, it is said, can stop the rot and it might choose not to."

The prospects other than "hope against hope" seem bleak, concludes Martin of the CP rise.

# Slow start to prior voting

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Prior voting for the October 26 municipal elections got off to a slow start in Johannesburg yesterday, where the National Party, Progressive Federal Party, Conservative Party and some independent candidates are locked in a fierce battle for local government support in the city's 51 wards.

Polling booths were almost deserted today on the second of 11 prior voting days.

The PFP chairman in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, said he expected Saturday to be a good polling day, while NP council chairman Mr Danie van Zyl predicted a better turn-out next week, once voters had become more aware of the newly introduced prior voting system.

Mr Leon estimated yesterday's turn-out at about 100 voters per ward.

He said the PFP out-polled the NP at the Patterson Park Recreation Centre, Berea and Bez Valley, while the NP fared better in Joubert Park.

Mr van Zyl gave a higher estimate for yesterday's voting, saying about 300 voters per ward had cast their votes, of which most were senior citizens.

CP leader Mr Fred Rundle said voting was brisk in Ward 30 (Joubert Park), but at some other polling booths less than 10 votes were cast.

At the Civic Centre polling booth, a minor incident occurred when Mr Rundle reported one "very prominent NP supporter and organiser" who was armed, to the police.

● Johannesburg has eight polling stations: Hofland Park Recreation Centre in Bez Valley for wards 31 to 34 and 36 to 39; wards 4 to 7 and 14 at Parkhurst Recreation Centre; wards 1 to 3, 10, 11 and 13 at Roosevelt Park Recreation Centre; wards 8, 9, 17 to 19, 28 and 29 at Patterson Park Recreation Centre; wards 45, 46 and 49 to 51 at Mondeor Civic Centre; wards 15, 16, 25 to 27, 30 and 35 at Braamfontein Civic Centre; wards 40, 42 to 44, 47 and 48 at the Union Rugby Club in Pioneer Park; and wards 12 and 20 to 24 at the Westlake Rugby Club in Mayfair West.

# PFP hits out at Nat election 'half truths'

Star 11/10/88 304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Shirley Woodgate

The Progressive Federal Party yesterday lashed out against the National Party's municipal election campaign, dismissing it as "reactive and lacklustre" and consisting of "distortions, half truths and blatant lies".

Commenting on full-page NP advertisements appearing in suburban newspapers last week, PFP campaign organiser Mr Peter Soal slated the advertisements for their "distortions, half truths and blatant lies".

He said it was clear why the Nats had opted to attack the PFP rather than presenting NP policy.

"They have squandered our money over the past 40 years to the extent that South Africa is almost broke and they have isolated us so that there is no investment in this country.

"Bombs are going off virtually every day and safety and security has become a myth," said Mr Soal.

"Allegations in Nat smear advertisements that the PFP boycotted the recent parliamentary debate on the Group Areas Act are a blatant lie. Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, Professor Nic Olivier and myself not only took part in the debate but voted against the disgraceful, discriminatory bills.

"It is significant the Nats quote Mr Llewellyn Landers MP to undermine the PFP. Who does he represent since he was elected in an 8 percent poll, while Mrs Suzman and myself were each elected by almost 10 000 votes.

"The Nats use Hillbrow against the PFP, but fail to highlight that their own leader, Mr Danie van Zyl, ran away from Newlands to a safe seat in Linden for fear of being beaten by the Conservtive Party.

"I believe the voters will not be misled by NP lies."

The PFP leader in the Johannesburg town council, Mr Tony Leon, said the NP's municipal campaign was "reactive and lacklustre" compared with that of last year's general election.

# Industrial towns set for right turn to CP

11/10/84 30(A) Star

By THERESE ANDERS,
Highveld Bureau

Along with most of the Transvaal platteland, a sharp right turn is expected on October 26 in the eastern highveld industrial towns of Witbank and Middelburg.

The two towns are today run by Nationalist-controlled councils, but hardly anyone expects that situation to remain after election day.

The big question is not whether the Conservative Party will take control, but whether it will be a CP landslide.

The Witbank CP chairman, Mr Johan Lessing, is very confident of a healthy majority in council.

He says the party has "three in the bag" with unopposed candidates, even if one of these — a school principal — stood as an "independent".



**Middelberg's coat of arms**

Mr Lessing says five more of Witbank's 11 wards are "safe" CP wins with the remaining three theirs "with a bit of luck".

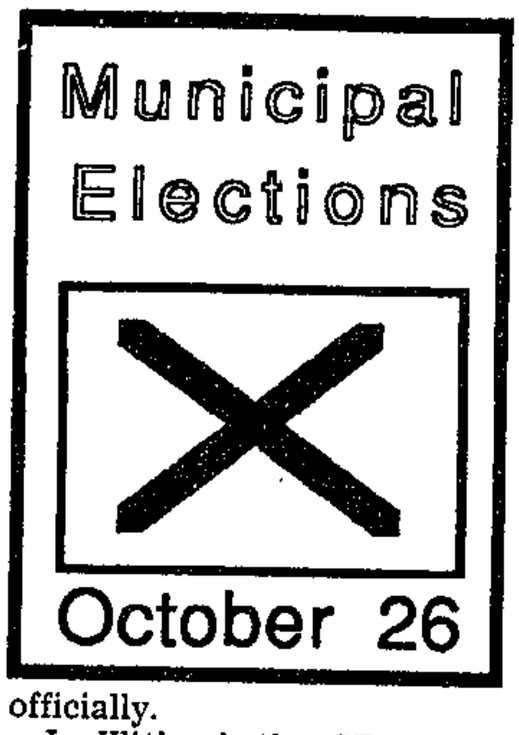
However, this scenario is not supported by the town's longest-serving councillor, Mr Joseph Shill, who says he is standing purely as an individual with no affiliation to any party.

Mr Shill believes the CP does not stand a chance of taking Witbank.

"They are in for a shock," he predicts.

The CP has put up candidates in all wards — with two other teachers standing as "independents".

Meanwhile, the National Party — once powerful in this region — is nowhere to be seen,




officially.

In Witbank the CP candidates are mostly up against members of the non-political and recently formed Witbank Development Society, most of whose candidates happen to be National Party men.

Of the issues, Mr Shill says 98 percent of the voters in his ward are not interested in talking politics, but rather local matters such as how the council is to prevent potholes during the rainy season.

But his CP opponent, Mr Mathiam Hoffman — best-known for launching the clemency campaign to get policemen Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe off death row — says the opposite.

Mr Hoffman says the first thing residents ask when he knocks on the door is which party he represents.

Keeping Witbank white is the issue closest to most voters' hearts, say the CP campaigners.

The CP's Mr Lessing says Witbank residents are also unhappy about the way the town "appears to be deteriorating".

Further down the N4, in Middelburg, nobody is accusing the Nat-controlled council of letting the town deteriorate.

Middelburg is known as one of the best managed and most prosperous towns east of Johannesburg.

Once again though, the big issue is that of segregated residential areas.

The CP have been playing on this to such effect that the Nat council recently felt it necessary to state in a resolution that mixed suburbs had never been considered in Middelburg during its tenure.

A non-political matter which has got the town in a tizz is the proposed Iscor opencast colliery, just 1,5 km from Middelburg's plush suburb of Gholfsig.

Although existing councillors say Middelburg's CP member of Parliament, Mr Pikkie Coetzee, began negotiations with Iscor before he went to Parliament last May, the CP are leading the charge on the mine protest.

Sitting councillors are taking heavy flak from irate residents and unless the planned mine is scrapped before October 26 they will suffer on polling day.

Privately, two Nat councillors — who are standing as independents as are all the town's non-CP candidates — say they doubt if the mine will ever go ahead. But they are unable to state this publicly before Iscor finishes an environmental impact study.




**Witbank's coat of arms**

Middelburg's mayor, Mr Rex Hilligan, who is standing as an independent, feels voters have lost sight of the real issues.

"These municipal elections shouldn't be about open areas and mixed schools — that's for government. Voters should be concerned about electing men who will manage the town for the betterment of all."

Mr Hilligan is one of the few who are not convinced the CP will take over control of the town. He rates their chances as 50-50.

But CP spokesmen predict an easy victory in six of Middelburg's nine wards, with outside chances in the remaining three.

# Foreign disinvestment is fuelling the far right

**PETER TAYLOR in Pretoria listens in to a debate between the opposite sides of Afrikanerdom and meets South Africa's poor whites, unskilled, unclever folk, too poor even to be "blue collar" and now a natural constituency for the far right.**



The University of Pretoria debate between Van Zyl Slabbert and Eugene Terre'Blanche ... "The Prince of Darkness versus Goody Two Shoes".

STUDENTS at the all-white Afrikaans-speaking University of Pretoria recently enjoyed a rare treat The most reactionary of Afrikaner leaders, Eugene Terre'-Blanche of the para-military AWB agreed to share a debating platform with Afrikanerdom's most radical spokesman, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Had it been a wrestling match between these two burly characters, it could have been billed· The Prince of Darkness versus Goody Two Shoes

The only thing the antagonists have in common (apart from being raised on farms) is a profound contempt for President P W Botha's tricameral parliament. Slabbert quit the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party because he thought the legislature was a sham, while the AWB regards parliamentary democracy itself as an "Anglo-Jewish conspiracy".

The 3 000 noisy students seemed equally divided in their support for Terre'-Blanche, who argued for a smaller all white Volkstaat somewhere within the existing boundaries of South Africa, and Slabbert, who believes in negotiating a multiracial democracy with the ANC.

But it was very much an Afrikaner event (Slabbert was hissed when the chairman said he had attended an English-speaking university) and both men invoked the kind of bucolic analogies popular even with an educated audience

Referring to Terre'Blanche's dictum that even animals live separately, Slabbert noted· "I have seen with my own eyes how a baboon brought up a piglet. I have also seen a blue ape sitting on a bull mastiff." Constitutional discussion in South Africa sometimes takes strange forms.

Behind Terre'Blanche on the platform, however, were six young men who, judging from their expressions, were untroubled by intellectual ferment When Slabbert spoke, they looked as if they might be sick. They were AWB bodyguards, wearing the swastika-like insignia of the "triple seven", and belonging to a white underclass politically more significant than any number of privileged students.

## Poverty

Seven kilometres from the ivy-covered campus, in the dilapidated suburb of Danville, the AWB distributes clothing and food parcels to whites too poor even to be "blue collar". They aré unskilled, unclever folk, and the scrapping of job reservation has made them the natural constituency of the far right.

"Not long ago there was always a white lady behind the till at the supermarket," said the white lady from the AWB Volkhulpskema "Peter, now it is only blacks"

The poverty is certainly as bad as anything in the black townships In house after house (they are just breeze block huts with corrugated-iron roofs) the faces are ravaged and resigned They have ended up there because the rent is only R50 a month, but water and electricity are extra and both are regularly cut off for non-payment For many of them the AWB, which hands out small sacks of mealie meal, is the only dependable source of food

It is an odd experience to travel round in the AWB van, plastered with that evocative and worrying insignia, and be welcomed by such people.

Sarie (27), who had her three children taken into care in February because they were sleeping on the uncarpeted floor in sub-zero temperatures, has a cheap painting of a voluptuous oriental woman on the wall Barefoot and grubby, she looks at it with a kind of longing

Next door, Janette, who is 38 but looks 58, says that every morning she starts to wait for sunset There are no mealtimes to structure the day, for there is only dry bread in the house The electricity has been cut off, so at night she lights candles "Peter, they have nothing to do, so they make babies," whispers the AWB lady helpfully.

Lenie (26) has a carpet and some pot dogs on a small sideboard, but as she talks she flicks the cockroaches off her two-month-old child (her fourth). She thinks the government "gives everything to the blacks".

Helena (49) is a devout Christian. Little plaques read "Hoop op God" and "Waak en Bid" There are also two gaudy prints — of a clear stream bubbling through mountain peaks, and of surf crashing on to a beach. But since her living conditions are worse than those of most blacks, would she mind living next to them? "No blacks," she replies sharply "I live in a white community."

## Inflation

The scheme depends on the support of sympathetic, wealthy whites "Peter," said the AWB lady, "some farmers are getting rid of their blacks, and we are sending them our young people I sent a chappie and his wife and kids to a farm in north Transvaal the other week The farmer pays him a little salary and they are very happy."

The reality, of course, is that there is no hope for South Africa's poor whites without an expanding economy. White wages are on average three or four times black wages, but the gap is eroding Whereas white wage increases have recently trailed a couple of points behind inflation, wage increases for unionised blacks have kept a couple of points ahead.

The government has been spending more on black housing and education, but with a stagnant economy such expenditure is inevitably at the expense of white living standards. What South Africa needs to import most of all is money, the absence of foreign investment fuels the rise of the right.

In the debate at Pretoria University, which ended with the lusty singing by all of the national anthem (not the sort of thing that happens on a British campus) this elementary point was not made

The ideas of Slabbert and Terre'-Blanche are mutually exclusive, but one came away with the feeling that, emotionally, they represented separate but equal parts of the Afrikaner identity

If the students were pondering this, or the plight of their fellow Afrikaners on the other side of town, it did not show They stepped lightly across the sunlit lawns, talking gaily of the arrival of summer.

CAPE TIMES 11/10/88 (30kA)

# Stormy start to the Volkswag's 'hi-tech' Trek

**Staff Reporter**

THE Afrikaner Volkswag's re-enactment of the Great Trek set off in gale-force winds from the foreshore yesterday complete with an ox-drawn wagon, participants in Voortrekker dress and two of the organisation's 13 "symbolic wagons".

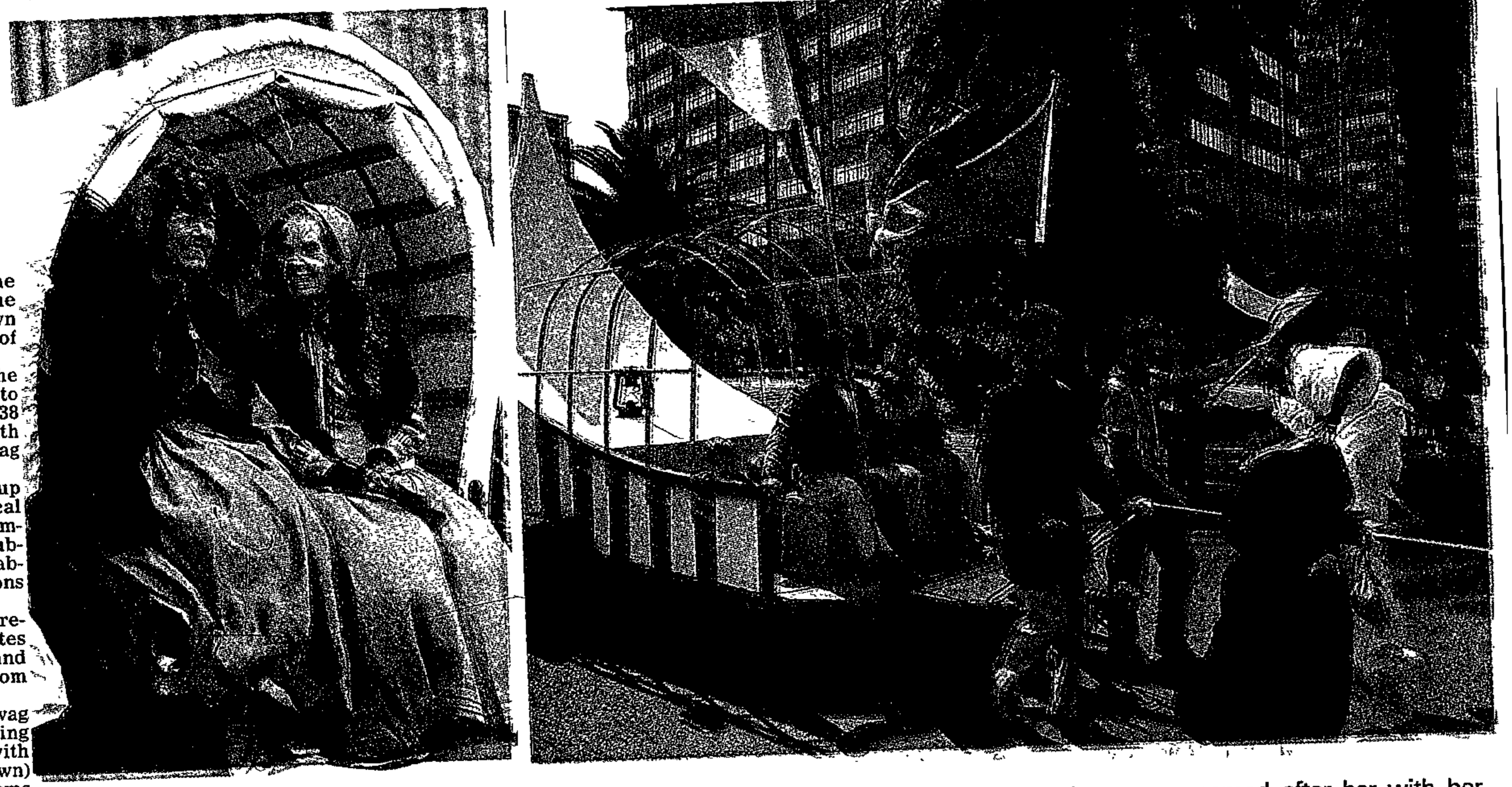
About 500 people gathered on Kruger Day at the statue of Jan van Riebeeck on the Heerengracht to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the 1838 Great Trek and to send "their" trek on its two-month journey to Pretoria, where a combined Volkswag ceremony will be held on December 16.

Braving both a south-easterly wind that gusted up to over 90km/hour and a large contingent of local and foreign cameramen and journalists, the assembled gathering waved flags of the old Boer republics, prayed, sang hymns, mounted a historical tableau, released two doves and sent the three wagons off to Bellville on trailers.

In centres throughout the country, similar ceremonies were held at the start of the different routes to Pretoria to send off 11 other symbolic wagons and 11 ox-wagons. Two routes will be followed from Cape Town.

The two symbolic wagons — used by the Volkswag to overcome the logistical problem of not having enough ox-drawn wagons — were emblazoned with the slogan "Op trek na ons eie" (On Trek to our Own) and were pulled to and from the ceremony by teams of women and children in period dress.

A group of about 15 supporters of the white supremist Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB — White Liberation Movement) attended the ceremony and followed the trek procession.



**RIGHT:** Mrs Betsie Verwoerd (right), widow of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, sits on the wagon named after her with her daughter Mrs Anna Boshoff, wife of the leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff. **LEFT:** The Afrikaner Volkswag's modern-day wagon arrives at yesterday's ceremony.

Pictures: BRENTON GEACH

12/10/88



From page 1

half of the Ciskei government to secure a R1bn loan from a financier in Vienna.

He said Mr De Pontes asked for $25 000 for a "raising fee" demanded by the unnamed financier to secure the loan. After arranging this, Palazzolo states, he asked that the money be paid in full to Ciskei president Mr Lennox Sebe. Later he heard that Mr De Pontes had paid over only R20 000 of this amount.

In subsequent evidence submitted to the commission, it was disclosed that Mr De Pontes had placed R42 000 of the money he received from Palazzolo in a National Party campaign fund held with Volkskas Bank in East London.

## 'Smuggle'

Palazzolo said that during discussions over the manner in which Mr De Pontes would help him settle in South Africa the latter had offered to help "smuggle" him out of jail.

"I repeat and I declare that he (De Pontes) offered me the possibility of sending a helicopter to get me out of the penitentiary."

Palazzolo said he refused the offer because he did not believe he was a criminal and wanted his case reviewed so he could leave Switzerland legally. He even refused a second offer by Mr De Pontes to spirit him out of Switzerland by car and on to an SA-bound jet because he did not want to break Swiss law or "sell my soul to any devil".

## Passport

Palazzolo said he gave Mr De Pontes his passport to get his hoped-for permanent resident status sorted out and had to use a passport belonging to a fellow inmate, Stelio Frapolli, to enter South Africa illegally in December 1986 — after he had escaped from Switzerland while on a 36-hour pass to visit his family for Christmas.

Palazzolo's affidavit spelt out details of a company, Papillon International, which he established in Ciskei with himself and Mr De Pontes as sole directors. He said Mr De Pontes placed no share capital into the company but had tried to have R1m released from Papillon to buy property. This transaction was blocked by Boland Bank on Palazzolo's instructions.

Palazzolo maintains that from that time on he was blackmailed by Mr De Pontes.

## 'Assistance'

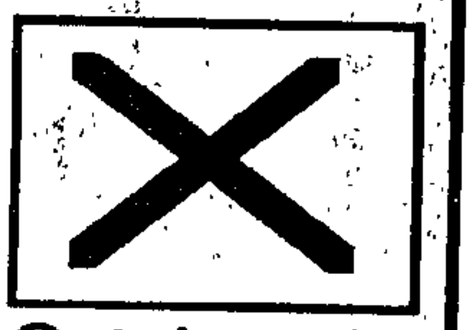
Evidence was also given to the commission about the "assistance" Mr De Pontes obtained from Home Affairs official Mr Johan Scheffer to enable Palazzolo and his two sons enter South Africa.

Mr Scheffer, in a sworn statement, said he removed in January two files dealing with the Palazzolo issue from the Home Affairs office in Pretoria on the express request of Mr De Pontes. WO Fouche said they were given to Mr De Pontes in East London the same month and have not been recovered.

WO Fouche will give evidence again today.

# CP in white collar test-run

Municipal Elections



October 26

By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

A Roodepoort municipal election poster features a painter being grabbed at the neck by a vicious bulldog, paint spattered in all directions. The slogan: Vat hom, Dawie!

This is the story of Roodepoort's Ward 22, being fought by independents Mr Quinton Painter and Mr Dawid Ludick.

A splash of humour in the bitterly contested local-authority elections that could change the face of politics in South Africa.

Says Roodepoort city secretary Mr Eugene Albertse: "Here in Roodepoort we don't read the newspapers anymore; we only read the lamp-poles."

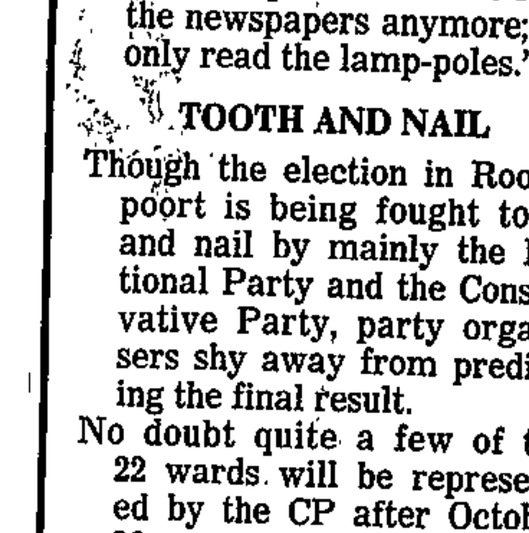
## TOOTH AND NAIL

Though the election in Roodepoort is being fought tooth and nail by mainly the National Party and the Conservative Party, party organisers shy away from predicting the final result.

No doubt quite a few of the 22 wards will be represented by the CP after October 26.

CP divisional chairman Mr Hennie Coetzee believes firmly that his party, contesting the municipal elections for the first time in the West Rand city, will do very well.

On the other hand, NP chairman Mr Hennie van Zyl refuses to speak to the media. When told via his wife that his opposition had spoken to The Star, his wife replied:






Roodepoort's coat of arms.

Says the CP's Mr Coetzee: "We're testing our support for the first time, but we are convinced we're going to do very well at the polls. White interests are the main factor in the election. Roodepoort has become a black township, with the blacks penetrating every facet of town life. The whites are disgruntled."

The CP confidently tells voters that they will "clean up" the town. It will put a stop to racially mixed hotels and discos, and will immediately remove black businesses and squatters from the central business district.

"We'll put a stop to it," Mr Coetzee says.

## DETERMINED

City secretary Mr Albertse says Roodepoort has a 70 percent white collar and 30 percent blue collar population.

This factor increases the challenge for the CP. Frequently dismissed as being able to woo support only from farmers and blue collar workers in dire financial straits, the CP is determined to prove that its power base extends to white collar voters.

The election goes beyond municipal affairs such as barking dogs and dirty pavements. Though some of the 49 candidates are standing as independents because of job-related reasons (the CP has 17 official candidates and five "independents"), the election is a clear-cut political contest.

The outcome will be a pointer to future white political developments.

# Few whites turn out for prior voting

Staff Reporters

While prior voting for the local government elections got off to a brisk start in some places yesterday, progress was less encouraging in others and percentage polls among whites were generally low.

In Durban, petrol bombs, vandalism and a fight involving a woman candidate marked the start of voting.

And voting got off to a slow start in Johannesburg where the National Party, Progressive Federal Party, Conservative Party and some independent candidates are doing battle.

Polling booths were almost deserted yesterday.

The PFP chairman in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, said he expected Saturday to be a good day, while NP council chairman Mr Danie van Zyl predicted a better turnout next week, once voters become aware of the newly introduced prior voting system.

CP leader Mr Fred Rundle said voting was brisk in Ward 30 (Joubert Park), but at some other polling booths less than 10 votes were cast.

Voting got off to a brisk start in the Pretoria area with significant numbers of people voting in Eersterus, Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

A city council spokesman said 2 023 people voted at the five prior vote polling stations in Pretoria.

This is 0,79 percent of the total number of 256 149 registererd voters in the city.

Prior voting got off to a slow but steady start in Verwoerdburg with 199 people voting at the town's two prior voting venues.

# 'Business must help bring political change'

Star 12/10/88

South African business must play a more direct and prominent role in the socio-political affairs of the country to facilitate change, says Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies.

He was speaking on "The Social Role of Business in SA" at the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa's (Seifsa) 45th annual general meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. (300 words)

In South Africa, where politics was about power, solution, redemption and salvation, business's social and political involvement needed to be more direct and targeted if it was to have as great an effect on government as business had in Western countries, he said.



President Botha at his press conference in Zurich yesterday with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

Star 12/10/84 30(+4)

# SA is talking to blacks, says PW

**By David Braun,**
**Political Correspondent**

ZURICH — South Africa was making headway with consultations with black leaders at every level of government, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He told a conference of European journalists at his Zurich hotel that many black leaders were talking to the Government.

"Many black and coloured leaders are coming forward to talk. It is simply not true that we do not have black co-operation," he said.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told the meeting the Zion Christian Church had a membership of between 4 million and 5 million blacks in South Africa and the Reformist Alliance of Free Churches of Bishop Mokoena also had about 5 million members.

These two churches between them had about 10 million adherents.

The black membership of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's church was insignifi-cant compared with this, he said, yet Europeans tended to think the archbishop represented the black people, said Mr Pik Botha. This was simply not true, he added.

Mr P W Botha also criticised the use of the expression "Frontline states" at the conference.

He did not know what they were a front line against, as not one of the countries involved was prepared to start sanctions against South Africa.

# Court postpones defamation lawsuit

Str 12/10/88

**Pretoria Correspondent**

The Randfontein Town Council's defamation lawsuit against the Conservative Party has been postponed in the Pretoria Supreme Court until October 25.

The town council alleged that the CP was distributing defamatory pamphlets.

In his affidavit, Mr L M Brits, Randfontein Town Clerk, denied that the council was using voters' money to advance the candidature of its councillors.

3049

Mr C W Vermeulen said he compiled the pamphlet without the knowledge of the CP because he felt unhappy with the council's behaviour and wanted to bring this to the attention of voters.

Mr Vermeulen denied the pamphlet was defamatory.

# Flying visits give ANC a degree of acceptance

Stars 12/10/88

304A

**BY BRUCE CAMERON**

While the Government and those to the right of it see the African National Congress as anathema, it is clear that other factions within the country and outside regard the organisation as, at the very least, a major factor in any future peace negotiations.

The Government may consider the African National Congress to be nothing more than a communist-inspired, terrorist organisation, but to many it is an alternative government.

Despite the strong condemnation by the Government of the contacts with the ANC, Zambian Airways continues to fly a variety of groups and individuals to the ANC headquarters.

Some go with a lot of publicity — like the visit of members of the Indian community at the weekend. Others go quietly, like the group of black businessmen from Nafcoc, who were also in Lusaka last week.

They range from opponents of the ANC to some who are as close as allies can be. They include politicians, businessmen, trade unionists and educationists.

Even while the President, Mr P W Botha, was threatening at the Natal National Party congress to label as traitors those who talked to the ANC, representatives of the South African Rugby Board was turning to the ANC in an attempt to find a way out of its international isolation.

There is little doubt that many of the plans made by the progressive forces (as they like to be known) in their anti-apartheid campaigns, are made in consultation with the ANC.

The problem for the Government is that many of the individuals and organisations speaking to the ANC do not see the organisation in the same way as the Government.

At the least, it is a major player on the stage of South Africa's future, but to many others the ANC is the saviour and the Government the enemy.

This was quite clear at the weekend meeting between the ANC and members of the Indian community as, one after the other, speakers aligned themselves with the cause of the ANC while being careful to stay within the law by not endorsing violence.

An example is the forthcoming municipal elections in which many political organisations have decided not to participate.

The outcome of the elections is being seen as a major test even though many of the organisations have been restricted by the state of emergency regulations from campaigning as they would wish.

Even communism was seen by many of the delgates as the lesser evil, with the man the Government likes to paint as the nastiest of all, Mr Joe Slovo, secretary-general of the Communist Party of South Africa, receiving a rousing welcome and remaining the centre of attraction.

The Government is trying everything it can to discredit the ANC and expose it as a thuggish, terrorist organisation.

Its latest attempt is a booklet published by the Bureau for Information with gruesome pictures of people being necklaced.

But as long as apartheid exists the ANC, as was repeatedly indicated at the talks here, holds the moral and political high ground.

One Indian delegate summed up the position by saying the ANC did not make people inferior or make them second class citizens because of their colour.

"Anyone is better than someone who does this."

If the Government is on the soft ground internally, its position is even worse externally.

In Zambia, the ANC is treated almost with reverence by locals and diplomats alike.

If something is needed in the country which is almost crippled by shortages, invoking the ANC works like magic.

The ANC, which has many more diplomatic missions than South Africa, has free reign in Zambia with its members being given a remarkable status and the status is also reflected in how the diplomatic corps treats it virtually as a government in exile, a label the ANC tries to avoid.

And diplomats in Lusaka made it clear that they were more prepared to accept the word of the ANC rather than that of the South African Government.

All this is apart from the mounting sanctions campaign and South Africa's general isolation in sport and culture.

Even in these campaigns the ANC has a major say, and this was acknowledged by the visits of the South African Rugby Board.

The ANC also told the Indian delegates that it would consider and advise on boycotts on their merits.

As they were aimed at apartheid South Africa and not at those forces fighting apartheid, exceptions could be made.

It is quite clear that with the sort of clout the ANC has locally and internationally, the Government is not convincing sufficient people about how it sees the ANC.

## SA elections could affect tactics

**The forthcoming municipal elections could lead to a major change in the strategy of the ANC and other organisations such as the virtually banned United Democratic Front.**

**The ANC as well as organisations in South Africa have, since the introduction of the tricameral system, attempted to block every effort by the Government to bring blacks into bodies created by itself.**

**ANC sources indicated in Lusaka that if the elections were a significant success in black areas and there were polls in the region of 60 percent, there could be a rethink of the current strategy of total non-collaboration.**

**This could include various organisations taking part in future elections, with the structures being used to oppose the Government and to destroy the structures themselves.**




One voter who was not put off by dull skies yesterday was Mrs Martha Oppenheim. On the second day of prior voting for the October 26 municipal elections she visited the Paterson Park Recreation Centre in Johannesburg to cast her vote for the PFP, the party she has supported and worked for since 1959 (then the Progressive Party).

● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

● See Page 6.

Star 12/10/88

3049

# Prior votes a 'ridiculous waste of time'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Johannesburg's polling booths were virtually deserted yesterday, the second day on which prior votes could be cast for the October 26 municipal elections.

Although election officials attributed the bad turn-out to the weather and the fact that voters had never before had the opportunity to cast prior votes in a municipal election, one election official dismissed the newly introduced 11-day prior voting system as "ridiculous" and "a waste of time".

At the city's eight polling stations, the officials and their helpers braved the cold, armed with computer print-outs, telephones, election pamphlets and colourful posters.

Most of them waited in vain for voters to pitch. At 2 pm, one campaigner at the Paterson Recreation Centre in Norwood disheartedly said she had not registered one vote.

Other organisers claimed a turn-out of up to 200 at lunch time.

With the Johannesburg City Council election a battle primarily between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party, a Conservative Party poster evoked a few smiles. Displayed at the Civic Centre, it defiantly stated: "Even Red Riding Hood does not believe the NP any more".

One PFP supporter who was not put off by the cold was Mrs Martha Oppenheim.

She visited the Paterson Recreation Centre at lunch time to cast her vote for the party she has supported since 1959 (then the Progressive Party).

Mrs Oppenheim (78) is a resident of Our Parents' Home in Gardens.

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South African records were fit, he would still not take part because of the standard of the opposition. "It would not be worth my while," he said. "If I were up against someone who could run a 3 min 33 sec or 3:34 1 500 m, then it would be worth it."

Fourie's US counterpart, Ray Wicksell, has yet to break the 3:34 barrier.

Springbok colours will not be awarded to athletes who compete against the rebels. Professor Nieuwoudt said he did not want the foreigners to get involved in official contests against a Bok team "as we don't want to create more problems".

The first meeting is at Pilditch Stadium on

## 'Candidates opposed to mayor harassed'

# Court restrains the police from interfering with voters

ARGUS 12/10/88



**SOCCER STUNNERS:** Adding glamour

**Staff Reporter**

MUNICIPAL police in Kaya Mandi, Stellenbosch, were being used as a private army to harass election candidates opposed to the mayor of the Town Committee, it has been claimed in the Supreme Court.

In terms of a court order granted yesterday, by agreement, the committee and municipal police are restrained from assaulting, intimidating, harassing or interfering with any voters or supporters.

They are also not to interfere in any way with the election campaign being conducted by Mr Thomas Donald Mosomothane, Mr Gerald Mzamo Mtshanga, Mr Johannes Mtwalapha Mjandana, Mr Peter John Swartz, Mr Joseph Ndaba Ngubane, Mr David Lithule Swartbooi and Mr General Thabisa Hlwempu.

In addition, they are not to support the election campaign of any of the candidates for the Kaya Mandi Town Committee. They are barred from taking unlawful action at meetings or in relation to the securing and/or registration of votes.

The Kaya Mandi Town Committee and the commander of its municipal police force have undertaken to take all reasonable steps to prevent any of its officers from taking part in the assault, intimidation and harassing of voters and supporters and from taking unlawful action against them.

The Kaya Mandi Town Committee, the commander of the committee's law-enforcement officers and nine others have until November 8 to show why the order should not be made final

In papers Mr Thomas Mahlomola Mosomothane, an elected member of the Kaya Mandi committee, said he and fellow-member Mr Gerald Mzamo Ntshanga became "firm opponents" of the town Mayor Mr V V Myataza, who commanded a clear majority in the present Town Committee.

Mr Mosomothane said he and Mr Ntshange recorded "futile protests" against "blatant corruption and intrigue" in the allocation of housing and licences, deployment of municipal police and "in short, in every area where power and privilege are dispensed".

Their stand had been seen as a threat to the political aspirations of the mayor and the six others standing for election.

He and Mr Ntshange had joined forces with the five other applicants to stand for responsible, clean administration.

However, they and Kaya Mandi people in general were now "terrified" of attending any election meeting at which the municipal police were present.

Municipal police were introduced in Kaya Mandi about July 1987.

Mr Mosomothane said "numerous complaints" were lodged with him about "the erratic and often violent behaviour" of the police.

Now the police were acting as — and being viewed as — the private force of a political faction headed by the mayor.

In one incident municipal police with shotguns ordered an election meeting closed, without authority

The municipal police have continued to identify themselves "blatantly and publicly" with the political cause of the mayor and his candidates.

Supporters had been shot or beaten up.

Last month one of Mr Mosomothane's supporters, Tamara Ruiters, was shot dead at an election meeting.

The three weeks remaining to election day were "absolutely crucial".

Mr Justice Williamson was on the Bench Mr P A L Gamble, instructed by Chennels Albertyn, appeared for the applicants

# 'Messiah' of Khaye

Sowa South 13-19/10/88

PRINCE GOBINGCA, a Khayelitsha candidate in the October municipal election, believes he is a Messiah deeply concerned about the plight of the people.

The "Green Point" candidate hopes to usher his people into a "land of milk and honey" by participating in the elections.

"The people asked me to stand for them so I can protect them from hardship caused by Mali Hoza," he declared.

Hoza, who has close government links, is said to be the "witdoek" vigilante leader in Site B.

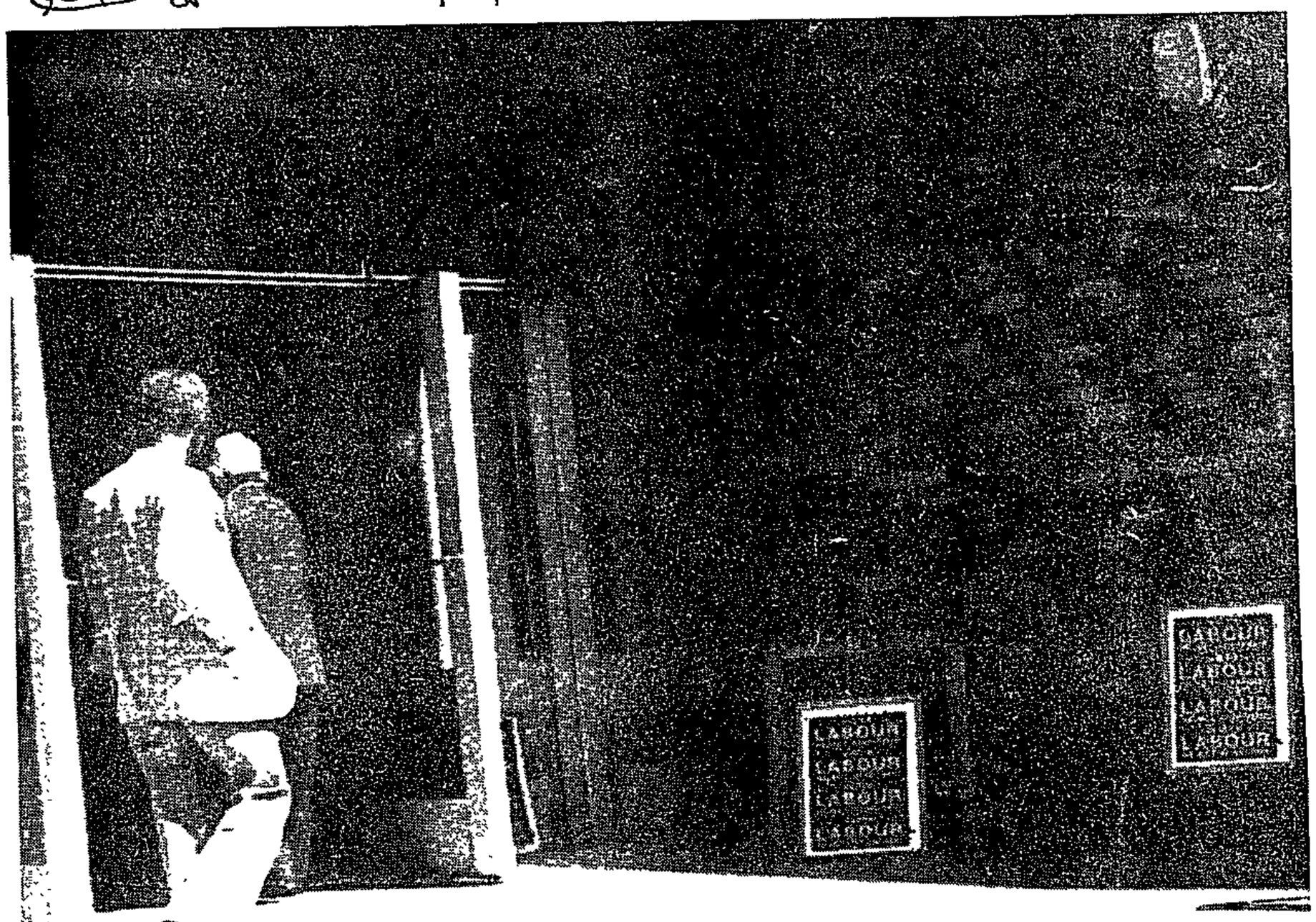
Gobingca said his candidacy was a response to his people's pleas.

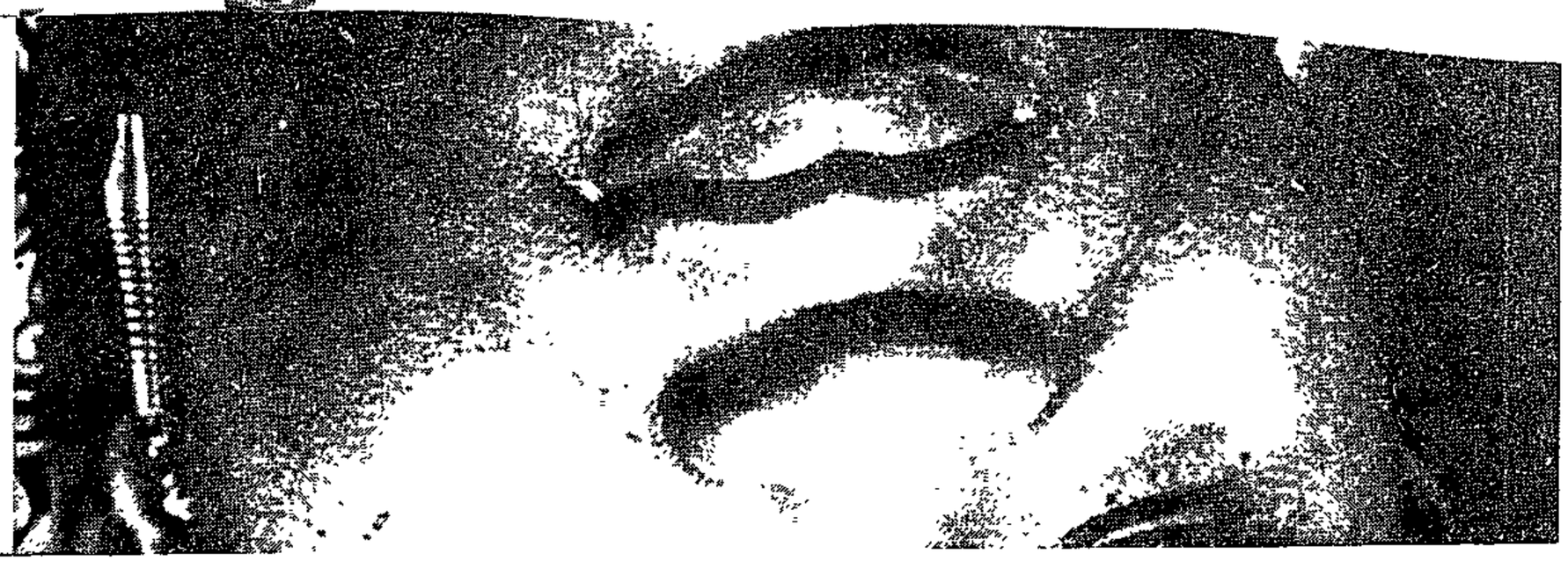
"I did not have money so they collected the R300 I needed to register as a candidate," he said in a wide-ranging interview.

Oozing with confidence, the fast-talking Gobingca scorned suggestions that he was a government puppet.

The father of nine owns a shop in Khayelitsha and has a fleet of taxis operating in Transkei.

"Those who criticise us do nothing to end our plight. They remain silent



inviting the country to oust the still-resident PNM with "Turn on the Pressure". ("Who tell the PNM they could stay in power/Since the Doctor dead, the party gone sour/ Raise your foot, raise your hand/Kick them out from the land.")

Says Rose without modesty: "I turned the tide in 1985." (Her mentor, Sparrow, had also sung on that theme and Gypsy's "Sinking Ship" became an election battlecry). She is a cousin of prime minister Arthur Robinson whose coalition government did indeed kick out the PNM the following year.

# Election pressure is no example of democracy

STAR 13/10/88

304A

**BY FRANZ AUERBACH**
**Educationist Dr Auerbach is a past president of the SA Institute of Race Relations.**

All political systems organise elections and call them democratic.

In communist countries all effective power lies with the central committee of the Communist Party, yet the countries concerned call themselves "people's democracies" although their elections and parliaments don't amount to much.

Right-wing dictatorships also run elections, often with 90 percent polls.

## Emergency rules

Our forthcoming municipal elections are also being publicised as examples of democracy.

Emergency rules and other laws restricting freedom of assembly, of the press and of public debate affect all the elections, yet white local authorities do have a fair measure of power to run municipal affairs: their white residents feel it's worth putting up candidates and debating the issues.

But conditions "elsewhere" are somewhat different: the elections for "other" local authorities are not examples of democracy. Some evidence:

● Any open-air gathering can be declared illegal by police — and instantly dispersed — without their giving any reasons.

● All manner of deaths, disappearances, injuries and their causes cannot be investigated freely by journalists or members of the public even though such events may have happened to their own family members or close friends.

Where township police ("greenbeans") may have been involved, this actually touches the responsiblity of the local councils, which are the employers of the policemen concerned, but no open questioning or debate is possible. People have to accept official handouts on what may have happened in each case.

● The perfectly democratic option of deciding to abstain from voting may only be advocated by those who are candidates — those who want people to vote for them. It is hard to imagine a more Alice in Wonderland rule.

There are many thousands of South Africans in all population groups who believe local authorities in our country should not have to be ethnically based.

Johannesburg City Council should have representatives from all residential areas in this metropolis, including Eldorado Park, Soweto and Lenasia.

Many have forgotten that Cape Town did once have limited representation of, and by, people classified as "coloured". There, too, people in Bonteheuwel and Guguletu and Kayelitsha should be allowed to vote for people to represent them on the Cape Town City Council. (I suspect white municipal candidates in Cape Town might even be largely in favour of this, but they have no say in the matter.)

There is no way in which one can propound the idea of non-racial local authorities in these elections through the existing system. Tens of thousands of South Africans favour this option.

● Their only way of expressing this is to abstain from voting for race-based structures and to urge others to do so. One doesn't have to be an ANC supporter to understand or even to favour this.

● However, the Government has chosen to criminalise this viewpoint, even though it is perfectly democratic (abstention is a normal option in any democracy), it is very widely held, and it is certainly not new.

Banning the peaceful expression of the view that one should abstain actually encourages those who hold the view strongly to express it unpeacefully. Hence the many explosions recently: many have been targeted at people and places involved in the forthcoming elections.

● The powers exercised by Indian and so-called coloured "management committees" are limited; this is an additional reason for many people to regard them as "toy telephones", and hence not wishing to vote for those who serve on them.

● Non-voting for institutions perceived to have little real power has a long tradition in South Africa, as those who remember advisory boards may recall. It is not a new idea.

It is quite true that the present African local councils have much greater powers than had the advisory boards, but these councils still have too few sources of income to function effectively — as anyone living or working in Soweto cannot fail to know.

Nor do these greater powers touch the fundamental objection to race-based municipal authorities.

● In spite of this long history of abstention, employers have now been asked by the Government to urge their workers to "exercise their democratic vote". (Decoding: white employers to urge their black workers), and it's been suggested to employers that they should do this because "unlike in white communities the concept of local government is relatively new to blacks".

## Poor services

Yet obviously most workers living in their "own residential areas" will know all about how poorly many normal municipal services function there (water supply, refuse collection, public transport, local clinics, sewerage systems). You would need to persuade them that voting for local authority candidates was likely to improve such services. To say they know little about such authorities is really rather naïve.

● In many places, only one candidate has been put forward who will be returned unopposed. So there will be no test of the level of popular support. And whether "prior votes" which you have been "urged" to cast by your employer have much bearing on the democratic process is highly questionable.

● Perhaps the real measure of how democratic these municipal elections are has been provided by the state: it expects so much "active" opposition to this democratic process that all police leave throughout the country has been cancelled until the elections are over.

No, these managed elections are not an example of democracy.

## Candidates attacked on East Rand and Soweto

# ELECTION VIOLENCE

(304A Sowetan 13/10/88)

## Quick to the draw

By MZIKAYISE EDOM and MOJALEFA MOSEKI

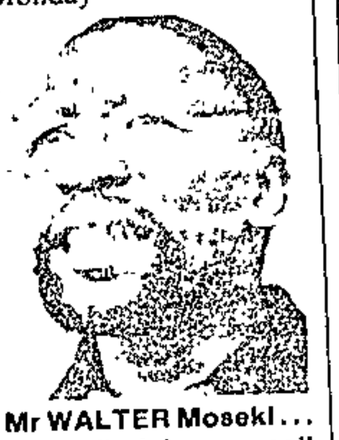
**THE administrator of Tsakane, Brakpan, Mr Raymond Radebe, is fighting for his life in hospital after he was attacked by a group of unknown men in the township on Monday night.**

The house belonging to the administrator of Duduza in Nigel, the Reverend Simon Mahloko, was attacked with what is believed to be a limpet mine.

Another man, Mr Walter Moseki, claims he was assaulted by council police at his Mzimhlophe, Soweto, home on Monday night.

All three are candidates in the forthcoming municipal elections.

Mr Radebe is in a critical condition at the Far East Rand Hospital in Springs. He was admitted to the hospital just before midnight on Monday



**Mr WALTER Moseki... "assaulted by council cop".**

A spokesman for the East Rand police yesterday confirmed that they were investigating the attack on Mr Mahloko's home and the assault of Mr Radebe

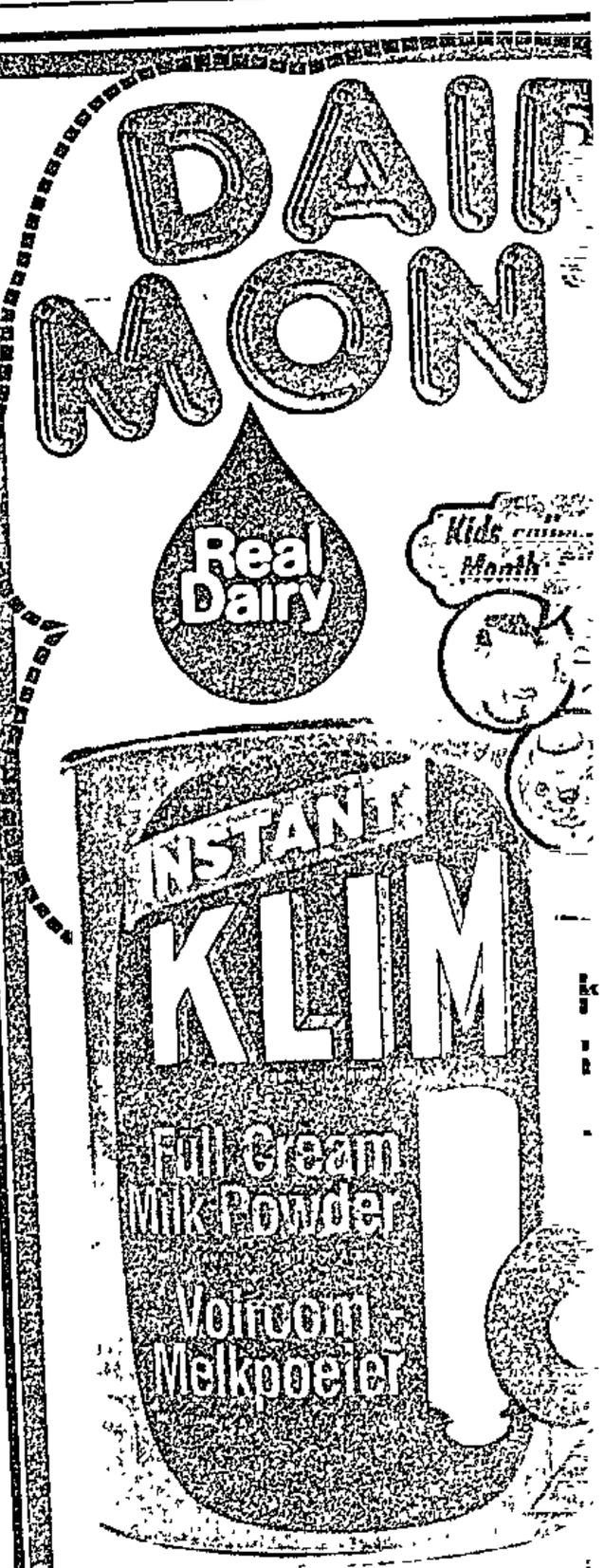
Major Fanyana Zwane, public relations officer for the Soweto police, yesterday confirmed that Mr Moseki has laid a charge of assault with the Meadowlands police.

He said police were

• To page 2



**YESTERDAY'S cold weather caught many people by surprise. Little Portia Mokoena (left) and Innocentia Motaung were quick to adapt to the situation to don plastic "raincoats." This picture was taken along Soweto's Potchefstroom Road by MBUZENI ZULU.**




P.T.O.

# MP explains Palazzolo link

AKGU's 13/10/88 3041

**Staff Reporter**

AFTER hearing rumours from "far-left and far-right" political opponents that his client, Vito Palazzolo, had entered the country "illegally", East London National Party MP Mr Peet de Pontes asked a Home Affairs clerk to bring him the Italian's file so he could see everything was in order.

The clerk, Mr Johan Scheffer, was booked into an East London hotel under a false name at Mr de Pontes' suggestion.

However, he did not bring the file because he was not allowed to remove it from the Department's Pretoria offices, Mr de Pontes said in an affidavit handed in to the Harms Commission yesterday.

Mr de Pontes, suspended from the National Party, made a detailed statement to Detective-Warrant Officer André Fouche this year about his association with Palazzolo, in a Swiss jail for organised crime and Mafia drug activities.

Mr de Pontes said he did not know Palazzolo when he was approached by the Mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange, to act for the Italian and advise him about investments and residence in South Africa.

"I thought he had foreign exchange problems and was at no stage before my arrival in Switzerland told he was in prison," Mr de Pontes said.

It was later explained to him that Palazzolo had been jailed for handling funds which had been channeled to him from America.

On Palazzolo's instructions he applied for a visa for him at the South African Embassy in Bern and in Ciskei when he returned home.

He personally discussed the matter with President Lennox Sebe, who said he would let Palazzolo into Ciskei on condition he settled and invested.

He also discussed the matter with Mr Stoffel Botha, who said the application was being considered.

On December 26 1986 he received a call from Mr de Lange to say Palazzolo had arrived.

Palazzolo's permanent residence in the Ciskei was completed on March 4 1987. He said his application for permanent residence in South Africa should be processed.

Palazzolo changed his name to Von Palace Kolbatschenko, his old family name.

Mr de Pontes enlisted the help of Mr Scheffer, who he knew from the Department of Home Affairs, to help Palazzolo in his residence application.

In January 1988 he heard rumours spread by "far-left and far-right political opponents" that Palazzolo had entered South Africa illegally.

"I wanted to be sure and asked Mr Palazzolo to send me his passport. There was no entry stamp and he told me he showed officials at Jan Smuts a letter from President Sebe and was let in to the country."

# CP could take over control of the cities, warns Vlok


Mr Vlok

**The Argus Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, addressing a National Party in Pretoria last night conceded that the Conservative Party might control city councils after the October elections and even to govern the country after the next general elections.

"The CP can win the municipal elections, they can control city councils, and they can, with the help of the AWB, win a lot of seats in the next general elections."

Mr Vlok said the CP's policy was tragic but voters believed in it.

According to the Minister, the CP policy could lead to an "explosion of racial hatred".

## NATS COPED BEST

Mr Vlok said the National Party coped best with South Africa's "realities".

One of the realities was that whites and "anderskleuriges" would remain in the country even if the CP came to power, Mr Vlok said. He added that it was vital to vote because the National Party had to win.

Mr Vlok said the NP had governed the country in a "stunning way" and need not be ashamed.

He said it was impossible to find a political solution which would please ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo and AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

But the government had found a political solution for moderates — the tricameral parliamentary system.

Mr Vlok admitted that the one constitutional policy of the government which had failed was the homeland policy.

The government, however, was correcting this by allowing blacks to vote in the October elections, but, he said, the ANC was dissatisfied with the new policy and was intent on disrupting it.

Replying to a question, Mr Vlok said South Africa had three constitutional options — whites could stay in power by means of violence, to divide the country into 13 areas as the CP proposed or to share power.

Mr Vlok said power-sharing was the only viable solution. By that the government meant sharing power with different population groups and not with 30-million people.

The meeting accepted a motion proposed by the MP for Innesdal, Mr Albertus Nothnagel, to distance the party from the CP's racial policy.

"We distance ourselves from the CP's rejection policy of fellow South Africans, and we as the NP would like to see the country and this city as the rightful place for all groups," Mr Nothnagel told the audience.

# kwaZulu-Natal Indaba urges selective voting in municipal elections

Staff Reporter

The kwaZulu-Natal Indaba has appealed to its supporters to vote in the municipal elections — but to vote selectively.

In a statement issued on behalf of the Indaba steering committee, Indaba director Professor Dawid Van Wyk stressed the importance of the forthcoming elections and their relevance in the context of possible reform.

"Those who are elected on October 26 will in a very real way affect the lives of millions of urban residents all over the country.

More significantly, for the first time they will have the power for a full five years.

"During a period this long, much can change or be retarded — and during this period the process of day-to-day decisions of the town and city councillors.

"There is no doubt that the process of reform can be speeded up or slowed down by municipal authorities. They will have a great responsibility — as will all those eligible to elect them.

"We appeal to supporters to exercise their rights by casting their lot with candidates who support real reform.

"Such candidates may be representing any of the political parties or standing independently. Their political affiliation is irrelevant — only their genuine desire to work towards equality and powersharing is important," he said.



Prof van Wyk . . . call

## ATTITUDES

He urged the public to take the elections seriously, to speak to candidates or at least telephone them and ask about their attitudes towards reform.

"And we appeal to you to then go out and vote, according to your conscience," he said.

# Nats urged to join the IP

Star 13/10/88

Political Reporter

By accepting the reality of a non-racial South Africa, young Afrikaners had left the National Party leadership behind, the Independent Party's national organiser, Mr Jannie Swart, said yesterday.

Speaking at the party's launch meeting at Potchefstroom University, Mr Swart invited enlightened Afrikaner youth within the NP ranks to join the IP.

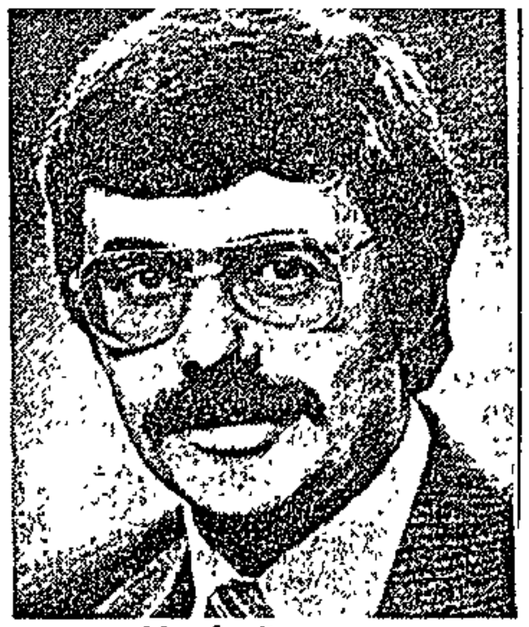
"The IP invites those young Afrikaners in the NP, who without any doubt will be disappointed and disillusioned within the next few months, to move to their alternative political home where they will be able to express their non-racial ideals."

The NP was entangled in racial politics which only marginally differed from the Conservative Party's politics.

A growing number of young Afrikaners played a leading role in political parties to the left of the Government, Mr Swart said.

During the recent Cape provincial NP youth congress, he said, NP youth leaders had openly rejected the Population Registration Act and appealed to their seniors to accept non-racial regional initiatives such as the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

"Young Afrikaners, who in the early 80s observed the completion of the exclusive Afrikaner life cycle, have started to reach beyond the boundaries of colour in an active and purposeful way," Mr Swart said.



Mr de Pontes

# Gold chain, wine for clerk who helped Palazzolo

Staff Reporter

**NATIONAL Party MP Mr Peet de Pontes promised that if he became a Cabinet Minister he would make an immigration clerk his private secretary for processing a fraudulent residence permit application for Vito Palazzolo, the Harms Commission was told.**

**Mr Johan Scheffer, a clerk in the Department of Home Affairs, was also given a gold chain, a case of wine and an all-expenses-paid holiday in Cape Town after helping Palazzolo and his two sons fill in their application forms.**

**Mr Scheffer said yesterday he knew some of the information he had entered was false and that he had committed fraud.**

**JEWELLERS**

**Mr Scheffer said he was telephoned in July 1987 by Mr de Pontes, who said he had a good friend who wished to immigrate but who needed help in filling in forms.**

**Mr de Pontes, MP for East London City, asked him to come to Cape Town and paid for his ticket.**

**He met Vito Palazzolo, his two sons and others at Ben Smit Jewellers (partially owned by Palazzolo) and helped them to complete the forms.**

**Mr de Pontes told him Palazzolo was an influential man who could help South Africa and had been instrumental in the deal involving the release of Captain Wynand du Toit from Angola.**

**All the forms were filled in accurately except those of Palazzolo.**

**CRIMINAL RECORD**

**No mention was made of his criminal record and the form was made out in the name of Roberto Van Palace Kolbatschenko.**

**Mr de Pontes said he wanted only Mr Scheffer to process the forms and take them before the Immigration Board.**

**His holiday was paid for and he was promised by Mr de Pontes that when he became a minister or deputy-minister he would appoint Mr Scheffer his private secretary.**

**The forms were processed in Pretoria and the residence permits approved and passed on to Mr de Pontes.**

**Mr de Pontes asked him to come to East London and to bring two files — Palazzolo's file in the name of Van Palace Kolbatschenko and that of the investigation by Home Affairs into Palazzolo when he initially applied for a residence permit from Switzerland which was refused because of his criminal record.**

**NEW CLOTHES**

**Mr Scheffer accompanied Mr de Pontes to Cape Town, where he spent 10 days at Palazzolo's Clifton beach-house and on his luxury farm at Franschhoek. He was given new clothes.**

**After his return to Pretoria he was told someone was looking for the files. Mr de Pontes' secretary brought them to Pretoria, where he entered a date of arrival for Palazzolo (Kolbatschenko).**

**She took the files away again, saying "Mr de Pontes will sleep better if he knows the files are in his possession," Mr Scheffer said.**

**Mr Scheffer said that in September 1988 he was convicted of fraud, perjury and possession of pornography.**

**MP explains link with Palazzolo, page 6.**

## Two views on Pretoria diplomatic offensive in black Africa

# GREAT EXPECTATIONS

**PRESIDENT P W Botha's African excursions had brought heightened expectations of real reform which would have to be fulfilled now, otherwise revolutionaries would dominate in black South Africa, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.**

He also warned the Government's denial of the existence of a black majority was standing in the way of progress towards a political solution.

"This blindness to reality is both deliberate and destructive," the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told the South African Institute of Management in Johannesburg.

Everyone knew there was an underlying process towards securing agreement on a unified South Africa under one sovereign parliament, he said. But the Government was attempting to deny it.

"Not only does it deny that there is a black majority and then go on to develop political structures as though there are only 10 black minorities, one white minority, one Indian minority and one coloured minority, but it goes on to deny that there could even be a multiracial majority.

Without black cooperation it was impossible to negotiate a new constitutional future which would stand the test of time and de-escalate violence.

But there was no leader inside or outside the country who could get massive black cooperation while denying that blacks did form a political majority.

"You can have all the minority group protection that such groups may feel they require," Chief Buthelezi said.

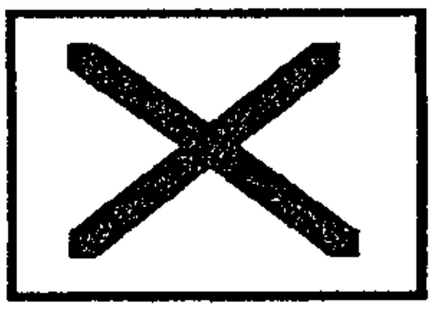
"You may have a federal system with a lot of devolution of power to first and second tier levels of government, but unless you aim at equality before the law and the constitution you will not gain massive black support." — Sapa.



CHIEF Buthelezi

# It's all go and stop at polls

Municipal Elections



October 26

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON and MCKEED KOTLOLO

The most striking municipal election posters in the Pretoria townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville are to be found at street intersections: stop signs bearing the slogan "Don't Vote!"

Otherwise, only one candidate of the 50 men and two women standing has put up genuine election posters — in Mamelodi. And only one public meeting has been held in either town — in Atteridgeville — where the candidate was shouted down and told not to stand for the council.

Outside the hush-hush hustings, with little communication with the electorate beyond house meetings, the candidates face a pamphlet onslaught from the don't-vote faction.

In turn, the don't vote campaign is bedevilled by leaflets urging people to vote and claiming the authorship of the United Democratic Front or anonymous groups.

Both sides are confident.

Anti-voting activists picked up in a recent Atteridgeville swoop told reporters after their release that they were not concerned about detention. "We have done our job. We are satisfied with the reaction," one says.

But Mr Koos Nel, town clerk of Mamelodi, predicts a 40 percent poll, as does Atteridgeville

Cont.

13/10/88

3049

Anti-voting activists picked up in a recent Atteridgeville swoop told reporters after their release that they were not concerned about detention. "We have done our job. We are satisfied with the reaction," one says.

But Mr Koos Nel, town clerk of Mamelodi, predicts a 40 percent poll, as does Atteridgeville Community Services director Mr Dan Mouton.

Both sides attribute any possible increase over the low 1983 poll to the prior voting system.

The first day of prior voting in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville this week brought 1,3 percent of the about 130 000 registered voters to the polls, according to estimates by Mr Nel and Mr Mouton.



**Mamelodi's coat of arms.**

No sign of intimidation has been noticed in either township, they say.

Mamelodi's overall percent age poll could be affected by the emergence of an emotive local issue from among the general topics of rent, housing and amenities.

The three-year-old wound of the "Mamelodi Massacre" is still raw , and opposition candidates to the present council are making political capital from the killings.

"A vote for the present councillors would justify the shootings," said candidate Mr Obed Mbalati, a former mayor and head of the Malamulela ("Rescuers") Party, referring to the death of at least 14 people when a group of residents marching on the council offices was fired upon in 1985.

The Vukani Vulamehlo ("Awaken") People's Party has put up candidates in all 14 Mamelodi wards.

The VVPP's stand is typical of the many large and small parties that have emerged to fight the election.

Mamelodi mayor and VVPP president Mr B Z Ndlazi says its platform promises better amenities for the elderly and more housing for Mamelodi.

Mr Mbalati's comments that the council should be "concentrating on national political and social issues. It should stop thinking of things like local housing only".

Mr Ndlazi dismisses any negative fallout from the shootings. "My people know I would not have given the order to shoot," he says.

He predicts a 50 percent poll, and claims support from old and young.

Three seats are uncontested in Malmelodi and two in Atteridgeville.

# PFP leader's bombshell: 'Consider voting for Nats'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Douglas Gibson, has dropped a bombshell in PFP circles by suggesting that party supporters who do not have a PFP candidate in the October 26 elections should consider voting for the National Party.

His opinion clashed strongly with that of other PFP officials, who say they would rather vote for the Conservative Party than for the ruling NP, or abstain from voting.

The PFP is contesting the municipal election under the official party banner in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton only.

The PFP leader, Dr Zac de Beer, and the party's MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, have been quoted in the Press as warning voters not to vote NP to "keep the CP out".

Mr Gibson, addressing a meeting in Rustenburg last night, told supporters: "A few years ago, some PFP voters were tempted to vote CP or even HNP for the sake of casting an anti-Nat vote.

"This cannot now be countenanced and I would urge PFP supporters never to fall into the same trap.The CP is bad, its policies are selfish and stupid and its leaders, given half a chance, will lead our country to war and to destruction."

He said while the PFP's leadership did not give directives or instructions to voters who did not have a PFP candidate to vote for, each PFP supporter had the right to decide how he or she wanted to vote.

"For my own part, in a really close fight I could be persuaded to vote if there was a margin of preferability between the candidates and the better of the two was not a racist."

He added: "The Nationalist concerned would have to convince me that he really was committed to real reform."

● A call to Catholics to think deeply about the issues involved in the municipal elections has been made by the South African Catholic Bishops Conference Commission for the Laity.

The commission said in a statement the elections were of great concern to many people in the country. The situation demanded that the Catholic laity of Southern Africa considered their consciences in the elections.

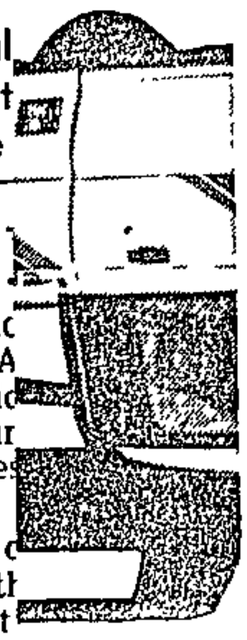
In exercising its right and duty to help people form their conscience on matters of social justice, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference had published a pastoral letter outlining the background to the elections.

The bishops called on Catholics to think deeply on the issues involved, leaving it to individuals to decide whether to vote or not.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus

**TON-UP VOTER:** Still making her mark at the age of 101, Mrs Theodora Jones of Green Point vote during prior voting for the municipal Lending moral support on Mrs Jones's first t city in six months is candidate Mr Clive



# Arms cache found after

PRETORIA. — Two SPM limpet mines, two F1 hand-grenades and five AK47 magazines were found at Khanya House, the Pretoria-based headquarters of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, soon after fire badly damaged the building in an arson attack.

Police are investigating the origin of the cache.

The bishops' conference yesterday condemned the attack on Khanya House.

In a statement the SACBC said the church leaders were subjected to abuse, accusations

"Much of the vic afflicting South A result of apartheid be no peace in our til apartheid is de

"We also wish who attack the c standing up for th violent intimidat

**south NEWS**

SO

# Court restrains municipal cops

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13-19/10/88

**SUPPORTERS of candidates opposing the mayor of Kayamandi in the October elections were beaten up and at least one was shot dead by municipal police.**

**This emerged in the Supreme Court, Cape Town this week in an application to restrain the municipal police brought by seven candidates in the elections.**

**Mr Justice Williamson ruled that the municipal police should refrain from assaulting, harassing or interfering with the election campaigns of Mr Thomas Mosomothasne, Mr Gerald Mzamo Ntshinga, Mr Johannes Ntwalapha Mnjandana, Mr Peter Swartz, Mr Joseph Ndaba Ndungane, Mr David Sawartbool and Mr General Thabisa Hlwempu.**

**The municipal police were also barred from supporting the election campaigns of Kayamandi Town Committee candidates.**

**Mosomothane told the court he and Ntshanga opposed the mayor, because they were against corruption and intrigue in the allocation of houses and licences.**

**The two men and five other candidates decided to join hands for a clean administration.**

**"But people in Kayamandi are terrified of attending any election meeting at which the municipal policemen were present.**

**"On one occasion, the municipal police ordered a meeting close without authority. And last month one of our supporters, Miss Tamara Swarts, was shot dead," Mosomothane said.**

# Why Mitchells Plain won't vote

(SOWA South 13-19/10/88)

RESIDENTS of Mitchells Plain, South Africa's biggest "coloured" township, are not voting in the municipal elections because the area does not have a management committee.

Cape Provincial Administration official Dennis Barker said the CPA would appoint a management committee.

"We are sorting out a few technical details like boundaries and hope to have a nominated committee in Mitchells Plain in less than two months," he said.

"The initial committee will be appointed but we hope to have elections as soon as possible."

A spokesman for the House of Representatives confirmed a management committee would be formed in Mitchells Plain soon.

The news has been greeted with surprise by Labour Party member and Mitchells Plain Ratepayers Association chairman Stanley Fisher, who is tipped by many to lead the committee.

"We only know there is no election in Mitchells Plain. None of our members have been approached to serve on any management committee."

Fisher, who claims his association is non-political, said he would "work with a management committee if it assisted the community more than we are being assisted at the moment".

"If it does not have powers and does not uplift the community, we will have to reject it," he said.

No comment could be obtained from the Mitchells Plain Co-ordinating Committee (MPCC), which is alligned to the restricted United Democratic Front.

MPCC secretary Ms Theresa Solomon and assistant secretary Mr Willie Simmers, who is also chairman of the Rocklands Ratepayers Association, were both detained under emergency regulations last month.

# 'R5 for elections' claim

• FROM PAGE 1

Ngxobongwana, named in a court case as a witdoeke leader, is one of six candidates nominated unopposed. The seventh seat is to be contested in a by-election following the recent assassination of Mr Alfred Soga.

Residents, who refused to be named for fear of reprisals, said the decision to collect the money for the "elections" was announced by Ngxobongwana at a meeting at Noxolo school.

They said the money was being collected by area committee members on a door-to-door basis.

The members were mostly women who belonged to one of the seven sections of Crossroads.

"They approach the people with rent-cards and do not even issue receipts to those who pay. So far, some have paid as they fear possible action against them. But most don't have the money as they are unemployed," said a woman staying in the camp since 1984.

Another said she was tired of paying "unnecessary monies."

In August she paid the R10 collected to prepare for the "welcoming party".

"But now I cannot afford this. I have to pay rent which is R11 althouth we get receipt for R7. We are told that the other money goes to person using the loud-hailer," she said.

Others believed the collection of money was a ploy to eliminate persons who did not agree with Ngxobongwana.

**PEOPLE'S HISTORY**

# BOYCOTT!

# VOTE!

# AT

DEPOSED CCD mayor Johnson Ngxobongwana is allegedly asking some Crossroads squatter camp residents to pay R5 each for the October municipal elections, according to several residents.

They also allege they paid R10 each towards the "feast" when State President P W Botha visited the camp in August.

Shacks of about 18 residents who refused to pay for the P W feast were demolished and the families evicted, they allege.

The building materials were allegedly confiscated and stored at the office of the Crossroads town committee.

Ngxobongwana was not available for comment but his wife denied that any monies were collected for the elections or for P W Botha's visit.

• TO PAGE 10

**ADVERTISEMENT**

*"BLACK PEOPLE DO NOT REALLY WANT A VOTE" WITHIN THE PRESENT APARTHEID CONSTITUTION. THEY ALSO AND ESPECIALLY WANT A SAY IN DETERMINING WITHIN WHICH CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES THEY CAN EXERCISE THEIR VOTE.*

*AN APARTHEID CONSTITUTION BASED ON SEPARATE GROUP AREAS IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM. THEY — EVEN THOSE WHO JOINED PARLIAMENT TO COME AND CHANGE THE GROUP AREAS ACT — HAVE LEFT, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT DO THAT.*

*BECAUSE OF THIS, THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT AND ITS LEADERSHIP THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA AT THIS STAGE ARE TELLING ALL VOTERS NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE APARTHEID REGIME'S RACIST LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS IN OCTOBER. THEY ARE TELLING THEM 'DO NOT VOTE AND DO NOT STAND FOR BLACK TOWN COUNCIL AND COLOURED AND INDIAN MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ELECTIONS. BOYCOTT THESE ELECTIONS. BY PARTICIPATING IN THESE ELECTIONS YOU WILL NOT BE WORKING FOR THE LIBERATION OF OUR PEOPLE. INSTEAD, YOU WILL BECOME THE APARTHEID REGIME'S PARTNER IN OPPRESSION".*

*THAT IS THE MESSAGE BEING SENT THROUGHOUT THIS COUNTRY BY THOSE PEOPLE NOT REPRESENTED HERE IN PARLIAMENT.*

*'BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT ONLY BANNED AND RESTRICTED MOST LEADERS AND ORGANISATIONS OF THE OPPRESSED, BUT HAS NOW ALSO MADE IT ILLEGAL FOR THE PEOPLE TO CAMPAIGN PEACEFULLY AGAINST SUCH PARTICIPATION IN THE OCTOBER ELECTIONS — IT IS NOW ILLEGAL TO SAY OUTSIDE THIS HOUSE THAT PEOPLE SHOULD BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS — I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY — AFTER HAVING MADE THE NECESSARY CONSULTATIONS OUTSIDE THIS HOUSE — TO CONVEY THIS CALL MADE BY THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY...*

**JAN VAN ECK — INDEPENDENT M.P.**

**HANSARD 29-8-88**

[redacted]

*ISSUED BY THE FOLLOWING ORGANISATIONS:*

*NATAL YOUTH CONGRESS (NAYCO)*
*FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN (FEDSAW)*
*ATTERIDGEVILLE/SAULSVILLE RESIDENTS ORGANISATIONS (ASRO)*
*CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF SA (CONTRALESA)*
*NATAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC)*
*EAST RAND PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (ERAPO)*
*CAPE AREAS HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE (CAHAC)*
*MAMELODI CIVIC ASSOCIATION (MCA)*
*ORANGE FREE STATE YOUTH CONGRESS (OFSYCO)*
*NATAL WOMEN'S ORGANISATION (NAWO)*
*TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS (TIC)*
*AND ALL AFFILIATES OF THE UDF: NATAL, BORDER, BOLAND, KAROO, EASTERN CAPE, NOTHERN CAPE, WESTERN CAPE, TRANSVAAL AND ORANGE FREE STATE (EXCEPT THOSE SPECIFICALLY RESTRICTED BY LAW AND THOSE RENDERED NON-FUNCTIONAL BY MASS DETENTIONS)*

[redacted]

From page 1

Mr De Pontes estimated that the value of these assets were about R600 000.

Meanwhile a Department of Home Affairs clerk, Mr Johan Scheffer, told the Harms commission yesterday that he, Mr De Pontes, and his secretary, Mrs Jacomaria Scholtz, changed the contents of two files on Palazzolo which were stolen from the department in January this year.

Mr Scheffer admitted this during a cross-examination yesterday by Mr Nic Treurnicht, for Mr De Pontes, and Mr De Bruyn, SC, for Palazzolo.

Mr Scheffer said he did not mention the fabrication of letters and documents in an earlier police statement because he did not want to implicate himself.

He said the department had two files on Palazzolo. One was under his name and contained a 1986 visa refusal by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The other file was under the name of Robert Kolbatschenko (Palazzolo legally changed his name to Kolbatschenko after his arrival in SA) and contained a permanent residence permit, but with no details of his overseas criminal record.

Mr Scheffer said Mr De Pontes told him to remove the files after rumours began circulating last year about Palazzolo's presence in South Africa.

If the files were missing in the event of a query, the authorities would not be able to make a connection between the two, he said.

Mr Scheffer said Mr De Pontes also wanted to make sure exactly what was in the files. He flew to East London with the files on January 8 this year.

He said that Mr De Pontes decided to fabricate a record of correspondence on Palazzolo/Kolbatschenko for his personal attorney's file.

Mr Scheffer said Mr De Pontes would not allow him to take the files to Cape Town. They would be returned to him when the "dust settled".



POLICE ON CAMPUS . . . Police on the UCT campus yesterday.



POLICE CONVOY . . . A convoy of police vehicles De Waal Drive at the entrance to UCT.



UCT RALLY . . . Part of the 500 students who attended a rally on the campus yesterday.

Cape Times 14/10/88 (304A)

# Police seal UCT

By PETER DENNEHY and CHRIS STEYN

**POLICE yesterday sealed off the UCT campus, allowing only students carrying registration cards entry.**

The university made an urgent Supreme Court application to force the Minister of Law and Order to remove the blockades, but at 1.45pm, a half-hour before it was due to be heard, the police withdrew and the application was postponed.

The Vice-Chancellor of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, said the university was taking legal action to ensure right of access to the campus was secure.

The police blockade coincided with a rally in Jameson Hall concerning the municipal elections.

Speakers at the rally, which started more than two hours late, said many people "from various parts of the Western Cape" had been turned away.

Eventually more than 500 attended. As students were about to disperse at the end of the rally, a member of the audience announced that "five women comrades" had been detained.

"We want them released and we want that now," he said. "People are angry, and anxious for action. What are we going to do now?" → cont.

## 'Agents provocateur'

Shouts of "march, march" came from the crowd Hundreds of students left Jameson Hall and moved towards De Waal Drive.

When they reached upper Woolsack Drive above the UCT Sports Centre they were addressed by student leaders who urged them "not to go on a

## Drug shock in Rapport cycle tour

JOHANNESBURG. — A former winner of the Rapport cycling tour, Jannie van den Berg, has been tested positive for taking the anabolic steroid Decadurabolin.

The chairman of the South African Cycling Federation, Brigadier Arno Combrink, said Van den Berg had taken the steroids during the first stage on Monday.

He finished third in yesterday's fifth stage between Mossel Bay and Oudtshoorn and was placed third overall before the announcement.

An SABC reporter on the tour reports that Van





LY . . . Part of the 500 students who attended a rally on the campus yesterday.

Tim ES 14/10/88 (304A)

# UCT



to improve
the largest
windfall are
lport, Hilton

Picture: OBED ZILWA

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## 'Agents provocateur'

Shouts of "march, march" came from the crowd. Hundreds of students left Jameson Hall and moved towards De Waal Drive.

When they reached upper Woolsack Drive above the UCT Sports Centre they were addressed by student leaders who urged them "not to go on a suicidal mission".

"We are aware that there are agents provocateur among us," one said.

A police helicopter hovered overhead throughout the march, sometimes so close that it was difficult to hear what was being said.

The depleted column of students wound its way back to Jameson Hall, where there was more dancing. Police then came on to the campus itself, but there were no confrontations.

Dr Saunders said students and staff had "every right" to full access to the university "and I see no reason why the public with bona fide reasons to be there should be prevented from doing so".

Lieutenant Denise Benson said police had taken precautionary measures, "acting on information received regarding an illegal gathering on the campus". She said police had not detained any students during the operation.

VOTE SOFASONKE FOR YOUR FREEDOM, SAY THE POSTERS, AS THE PARTY FAITHFUL ARRIVE ...

# Under the 'you can make it happen' posters, *kitsies* doze off

**The elderly vote for Tshabalala, the youth for his rival. But most of the time, clerks and kitskonstabels sit beneath the huge posters, looking bored. MUSA ZONDI reports on the first week of voting**

OLD Sofasonke diehards hobble and limp into the rent offices at Merafe, Soweto, assisted by young officials of the party.

It's the second day of prior voting for the October municipal elections, and a handful of voters trickle into the rent offices.

*"Inyaniso, iqiniso, nete!"* ("truth" in Xhosa, Zulu and Sesotho) with a thumbs up is the rallying cry for Sofasonke supporters, who can easily be identified by their red caps or red stickers on their clothing saying 'Vote Sofasonke for your freedom! *Inkululeko*' (freedom)."

The Sofasonke party, headed by Ephraim "ET" Tshabalala, draws most of its support from Soweto's old people. And today, the party faithful have started to exercise their "democratic right" to vote. A handful of voters for the party queue at the gate at the Merafe rent offices.

On Monday, the first day of prior voting, residents claim that more members of the security forces than voters were present at the polling station.

MaKubheka voted for Sofasonke. She believes Sofasonke will help her with her biggest problem — rent arrears amounting to R1 500.

Tshabalala has promised residents that he will not demand rent owed to the council, she says. Residents will only start paying rents of R15 after the elections — R5 for ash removal, R5 for water and R5 for the house — she maintains.

MaKubheka has been staying at Zola "since it was nothing but bush. I cleared that place 28 years ago.

"We were promised that we would become owners of the houses after 15 years, but nothing happened. If what Tshabalala is saying is true, then it may be our dream come true," she says.

To back her statement, she says Tshabalala helped recover belongings confiscated because she had not paid her rent. Her view is supported by pensioner Baba Khuzwayo, who voted on Monday for Tshabalala.

"The other councillors have been in office for five years, you see, and they have done nothing. They live in Power Park, but Tshabalala is with us here in the township.

"In these last five years, they have never reported back to us.

"But if you go to house number 1408 here at Moletsane and ask the owner about what happened when his belongings were taken by the council, he will tell you that Tshabalala recovered them for him," says Khuzwayo, a true believer

An old station wagon screeches by. Through a loudhailer, an occupant shouts the rallying cry of the party:

Sofasonke party officials, wearing red caps, jerseys or ribbons around their heads, stand near the gate in a larger group than voters.

*"Votela iSofasonke, uvotele iqiniso"* (vote for Sofasonke, vote for the truth), a middle-aged woman standing next to the gate shouts at the top of her voice. She falls silent, then a while later breaks into a song of praise for the party.

Municipal policemen thoroughly search people going into the offices. Excited party officials talk to each other in loud voices.

A small girl at the gate is selling oranges. Flies buzz.

"You must get more of those oranges. It's going to be a long day," a red-capped party official shouts.

Inside the gate, there is an office with people mainly in white, who are definitely not pro-Sofasonke. A handful are voters, but most are officials organising for Letsatsi Hadebe, who is opposing Tshabalala in Naledi Extension.

Comments one of them: "They're lying. They won't reduce rents as they promise."

Significantly, the people voting for Hadebe are younger than Tshabalala's supporters.

Also in the vicinity is a group of kitskonstabels. Between naps, one bored kitsie looks around with a fatigued expression. There is not much activity.

Old people are helped into the offices to cast their votes. Almost all the clerks sitting in the front of the counter look bored. A long interval passes before someone else comes to vote.

From time to time, two or three SA Defence Force vans pull up and soldiers jump out. They hang around for a few minutes, and then move on.

The same thing happens with the South African Police. They arrive at intervals of two hours and leave soon after.

"Now, what do you say they want?" asks MaKubheka, referring to the arrival of the security forces. She limps away.

Two young men who had arrived earlier shouting "sell outs" decide to keep quiet when the soldiers pull up.

Schoolchildren pass by as if nothing is happening. The same goes for the people who are rushing to the trains.

Despite occasional outbursts by party members near two huge posters saying "You can make it happen", it's a non-event.



Sofasonke Party supporters gather in Soweto over the weekend in the build up to the municipal elections

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON, AFP

# As prior votes begin, police probe poll fraud claims

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

A SPECIAL police unit is investigating allegations of electoral fraud in Lenasia as prior voting began in municipal elections this week.

This confirmation by Soweto police PRO Major Fanyana Zwane has come as no surprise to the residents of Johannesburg's Indian group area. Previous polls in Lenasia have brought alarming cases of fraud to light.

The most prominent were during a House of Delegates by-election in Lenasia last year. Transvaal Indian Congress lawyers successfully brought a supreme court application asking for a number of votes to be set aside

Last week, the Pretoria Supreme Court disqualified two candidates in the Lenasia South East Management Committee by-elections after finding that the signatures of some of their nominees had been forged.

The House of Delegates by-election recorded a 16 percent turnout of registered voters. But some 80 percent of that figure was by way of special votes, prompting a South African election expert, Unisa's Professor Willem Kleynhans, to speculate that it might be a world record

The TIC, which opposes participation in the tricameral system, uncovered fraudulent votes by publishing the names of all those who had allegedly cast special votes.

Among the "voters" were people who were long dead, said the TIC, a United Democratic Front affiliate.

For this month's municipal elections, the government made it illegal to publish voters' names claiming that such a move would prevent intimidation. The government needs to secure a large turnout of black voters.

The TIC argues that far from preventing intimidation against those who want to vote, the regulation assists those unscrupulous candidates and their supporters who intimidate vulnerable people into voting — and open the way for fraudulent votes.

More fears of fraud were raised when it was learned that while white rolls in Johannesburg reflected voters' identity numbers, rolls for the city council's junior "coloured" and Indian management committees did not show these numbers.

With the vast majority of younger people showing an "active disinterest" in voting, some candidates have targeted illiterate of semi-literate senior citizens.

In one ward, residents complained that a candidate's backers gave unsolicited food hampers to the senior citizens, whose names were taken. "We fear that supporters of the candidate want our names to cast votes for him," said one of them on condiditon that his name was not published.

In another ward, a candidate's backers made house-to-house deliveries of floral bouquets. Some residents claimed a candidate promised to renovate their homes. Other residents have claimed that older people feared rejecting hard-sell offers of being driven to the polling station.

None of this surprises TIC president Cassim Saloojee. "In House of Delegates elections, this type of canvassing was detected by us. Some older people cast votes without knowing it. They believed they were signing application forms for houses or pensions."

The system, says Saloojee, breeds corruption. With so much electoral fraud — actual and speculated — in the Lenasia air, little credibility would be given to turnout figures at the end of election day.

Few Lenasians — including most candidates — will quibble with that sentiment. And if past patterns are anything to go by, the Lenasia elections won't end on October 26

Somebody, somewhere will start a court action ...


Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons until **31 October 1988** for appointment to the following posts:

**School of Education**
**Department of Biology**

**Lecturer**

Candidates should have at least a Master's degree in Biology with specialisation in Plant Physiology. Preference will be given to candidates having a broad teaching base and being able to offer some genetics and microbiology.

**Department of English**
**(Special English Unit)**

**Lecturer**

Candidates should have either a post-graduate qualification in Applied Linguistics or TESL or a post-graduate qualification in the humanities, science, law or commerce and a desire to apply this to the teaching of English for academic purposes. Experience in teaching English for academic purposes, the ability to teach ESL methodology, and experience in the organisation and supervision of teaching practice would also be an advantage.

SALARY:
R21 408 x R1 260 — R22 668 x R1 380 — R28 188 x R1 548 — R35 928 x R1 596 — R37 524

In addition to salary, the university offers a 13th cheque, membership of the pension fund and medical aid society (optional), subsidy toward education and housing, removal allowance and generous leave benefits.

The appointment may be on contract or permanent terms.

Applications with detailed CV and the names and full addresses of three professional referees should be sent to the Assistant Registrar (Staffing), University of Bophuthatswana, Private X2046, Mmabatho 8681, from whom application forms and further particulars may be obtained.

University of Bophuthatswana

Kinck & McCormac Recruitment 28275



**THE DURBAN NETWORK**

The Durban Network is a co-ordinating structure for a group of community-based and support organisations operating in the Greater Durban Area. It aims to assist victims of the current unrest Applications are invited from mature people with extensive experience in community work and proven organising ability for the position of:

**CO-ORDINATOR**

The Co-ordinator will be responsible for:

1. Fund raising, administration and documentation for the Network
2. Liaising with all affiliates of the Network and encouraging them to be fully involved in its work and promoting co-ordination of efforts in responding to crises
3. Identifying ways of mobilising moral, material and other support for affected families and individuals
4. Undertaking any other tasks that will enable families and communities to develop self-reliance and independence in responding to crises

The Co-ordinator will work closely with a fieldworker and bookkeeper-typist in co-ordinating all aspects of the Network's operations.

Fluency in Zulu and English are essential as well as possession of a valid driver's licence.

The Network Executive hopes to fill this post as soon as possible.

Please write for an application form and further details to:

DURBAN NETWORK

The Secretary
Durban Network
P.O.Box 1879
Durban
4000

Closing date for applications: 31 October 1988.

3044

# Exodus: The Great Trek into a better past

*These are people with a mission, a burning sense of betrayal. But they are no lunatic fringe. They are courteous, salt-of-the-earth Afrikaners who dream of a better future by re-inventing the past.* **IVOR POWELL** *reports from the far-right ceremony at Blood River*



**Fuelled by a mission and a helping of koeksusters, the AWB's wagon hits the road**
Picture: GARTH LUMLEY, Afrapix

THE ox wagon — in the Maritz style for those who know about these things — is an exact replica of one dating from 1830 It rattles and sways its way along the dirt track and into the brooding, overcast sky. You could imagine yourself in another century."

However, this wagon, as it makes its stately way from the historic site of Blood River, is not being pulled by oxen. It is being pulled by humans. All the way to Pretoria.

There are half a dozen young men; there is an ageing *poppie* tottering in red high heels as she takes the strain with the best of them; there are children in khaki with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's (AWB) triple-sevens emblem emblazoned on their arms.

They are all singing *boereliedjies* while they march along in step. And at the head of the procession walks a beautiful little blonde girl, gazing ahead with clear blue eyes as she waves the AWB's red, black and white flag.

It is a sight to chill the warmest blood.

This is an unofficial team of wagon-pullers, who are taking the AWB's symbolic Great Trek wagon from the site of its ceremonial launch to the main road where real, uniformed and disciplined AWB teams will pick it up.

The wagon has been built from nine different types of wood. Two of them had to be imported, Frik Swanevelder, the Rustenberg cabinet-maker who built the thing, admits sadly.

But he brightens when he tells you that the other woods — *kaffir wag 'n bietjie, Transvaalse khakibos, blinkblaar, tamboti* and suchlike — were all grown at home.

These people mean business — this much was clear throughout last weekend's *volksfees* at Blood River.

The extreme right-wing AWB and the Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) were launching their 150th Great Trek anniversary wagons, which are due to reach the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria in early December and compete with the government-backed Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuur (FAK) festival on the Day of the Vow, December 16.

By contrast, a faint sense of embarrassment permeates the FAK's version of the Great Trek, which left Cape Town a few weeks earlier. The oxen don't even pull the rickety little wagon along any more; the whole affair lacks purpose and direction.

The AWB/AV people are people with a mission, fuelled by a burning sense of grievance and betrayal. But most of all they are people who are high on the feeling that their time, at last, has come.

They wear badges which show interlocking jigsaw pieces, one black and one white, and carry the legend *"apartheid pas"* (apartheid fits). Some of them are dressed in T-shirts with a picture of a fierce, bearded Boer looking down the barrel of a smoking rifle and the words: *"Die Boere is hier om te bly"* (The Boers are here to stay).

They fly the flags of the old Boer republics along with the sinister emblem of the AWB from their caravans and motor cars, and their promised land is Eugene TerreBlanche's *volkstaat*, a modern-day union of the those republics.

This will be strictly whites-only, and "foreigners" — for example, English-speaking South Africans — will only be allowed to live in it if they adopt Afrikaner customs, dress and national identity.

Their programme seems scarcely sane. But at the Festival Grounds on the battleground of Blood River, it all seems strangely possible, almost reasonable.

A mood of elation pervades the camping site — but few of these people have the faces of fanatics. Warm, simple, courteous, salt-of-the-earth people, they welcome the hostile press around their campfires; they share their *boerewors* and *koeksusters* without reserve.

They are, in a word, the Boere of history, who during the Anglo-Boer War were the heroes, rather than pariahs, of the outside world. They are rustic, plain-speaking, tough, self-reliant and God-fearing.

. After 10 years in the wilderness of PW Botha's reformist leadership, of national self-doubt and (as they see it) self-abasement, they have found a way of holding their heads up high again.

Their simple formula is to turn back the clock. They want nothing to do with the complexities of the present and the future. They want to be Voortrekkers again, snug in the bosoms of their Voortrekker Republics, secure in the power of their *voorlaaiers* (muzzle-loaders) and their God.

In part, this perception is nothing more than a trick of the 19th Century fancy dress which so many of the people wear. In part, it derives from all the masquerades, the horseback commandos, the flaming torches, the puritanical rituals. But it also goes far deeper.

On the Sunday, as part of the festivities, a historian of the Battle of Blood River addressed the gathering amid the ghostly steel wagons that make up the memorial.

He spoke reasonably. He mentioned, among other things, the presence of approximately 100 Port Natal blacks in the forces of the trekkers. He talked about disorganisation amongst the Zulu, tactical lapses, the basically hopeless inadequacy of the assegai against the *voorlaaier*. He all but came to the obvious conclusion that, given the circumstances, the Boers had to win.

They didn't lynch him, but there was muttering afterwards. For the AWB, Blood River is not about history or fact — it is the Boers' Book of Exodus. It celebrates the covenant the Boers made with their God, guaranteeing not only victory against impossible odds in the battle itself, but their status as a chosen nation.

It was left to the *hoofleier* of the AWB, Eugene TerreBlanche, to set the record straight.

Looking down at the floor, he stood tensed and hunched like a boxer before a fight, waiting for the applause to die down. You don't hear at first what he is saying, just a low rumble coming from some primeval depth, a low bass rising hypnotically in volume and timbre

And then, suddenly, TerreBlanche the poet, the prophet of the past, had taken off. The audience, in a moment, was transported to the Blood River of a 150 years ago. Small scattered settlements were dotted about the plains which they had bought, honestly, by contract, from the Zulu kings, and developed for posterity with the sweat of their toil

Suddenly, from out of the darkness, the Zulu came down And they massacred the innocent, stabbing and stabbing and stabbing again.

You could almost hear the screaming and the wailing as he told it.

Then the voice fell again This is our land, TerreBlanche said, *"ons bloedland, ons traneland"* (our land of blood, our land or tears). And the people could feel the blood in their veins and taste the tears in the soil.

This is the version of history — and of themselves — that these people want to hear. Ironically it was the National Party, when it was forging the Afrikaners into a nation, who invented it; now its revival by the impassioned rightwing of Afrikanerdom may well mean the NP's defeat at the polls later this month.

Never mind that Eugene TerreBlanche cuts an unimposing figure, that he wears high heels to make him seem taller. When he gets on stage he is like a man speaking in tongues. And of course he is speaking in tongues, those of his childhood and indoctrination, his fear and confusion.

And, for the same reason, his people are like people possessed His people. In their thousands. No longer the fringe of Afrikanerdom, the beautiful father-fixated youths he gathers about him, but increasingly the backbone of Afrikanerdom.

As I watch the wagon moving off into the distance I can't help thinking of Yeats' lines about the Beast slouching towards Bethlehem to be born. Or was that Pretoria?

ROBIN HOOD COLLEGE
GOD MY STRENGTH & SALVATION
D. E. T. REGISTERED EXAMS CENTRE

# 'Vote for Nats' bombshell for PFP supporters

(304A)

Star 13/10/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Transvaal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Douglas Gibson, last night dropped a bombshell by advising supporters who did not have a PFP candidate in the October 26 elections to vote for the National Party.

His opinion clashes with that of other top Progs who have said they would rather abstain. But a PFP election candidate in Johannesburg said he would rather vote for the CP than for the NP, so as to weaken the Nats' power base.

The Transvaal PFP is contesting the municipal election under the official party banner only in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton.

MP Mr Peter Soal, the PFP's municipal election campaign organiser in Johannesburg, said: "I would be reluctant to vote for the NP. Hell, we're fighting them."

The PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, and the party's MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, have been quoted as warning voters not to vote NP to "keep the CP out".

## 'Lesser of two evils'

Mrs Suzman told a meeting in September: "The lesser of the two evils is still an evil." Dr de Beer said at a house meeting a Nat was nothing but a "shy Conservative".

Mr Gibson told supporters in Rustenburg last night: "A few years ago, some PFP voters were tempted to vote CP or even HNP for the sake of casting an anti-Nat vote.

"This cannot now be countenanced and I would urge PFP supporters never to fall into the same trap. The CP is bad, its policies are selfish and stupid and its leaders, given half a chance, will lead our country to war and to destruction."

The PFP's leadership had not given directives to voters who did not have a PFP candidate, he said.

"For my own part, in a really close fight I could be persuaded to vote if there was a margin of preferability between the candidates and the better of the two was not a racist," he said.

## Committed to reform

"The Nationalist concerned would have to convince me that he really was committed to real reform."

Although Mr Gibson's advice to voters was carefully worded, he told The Star that he was advising them to vote NP.

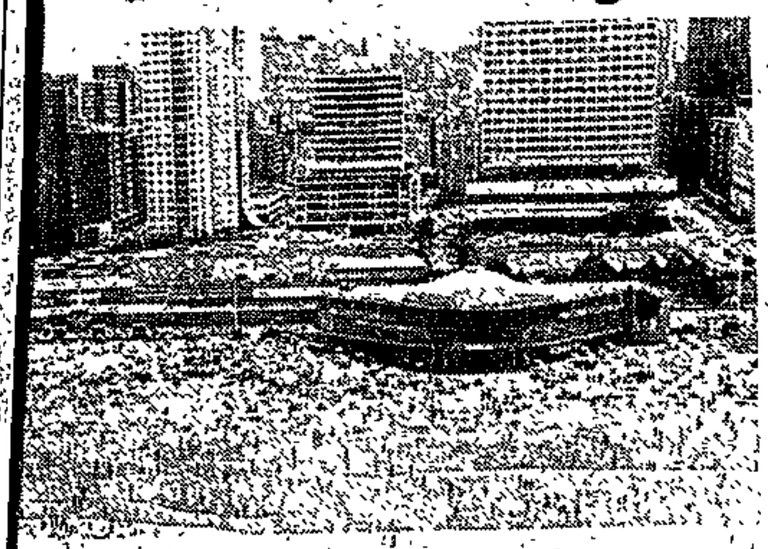
Mr Soal, asked to comment last night, said that while he would never vote for the CP, he would be "reluctant" to vote NP — but would support NP candidates known to be enlightened.

"But I would rather abstain than vote for a NP candidate who was not outspokenly verlig," he said.

Dr de Beer said the party had never given a directive in this regard. "From that you can conclude that every one is free so speak his mind."

# unreality surrounds Natal election battle

SO COME ON INTO THE NBS AND GET YO



stest growing centres in the world.

Durban is South Africa's third largest city.

It is one of two debt-free cities in the world (the other being the City of Westminster, in Greater London). It has remained debt-free and kept rate increases below inflation for the past five years, in spite of an ambitious programme of redeveloping the beachfront and revitalising the city centre.

One might have imagined control over Durban would have been something worth fighting for, yet the Progressive Federal Party — which has exercised a loose, informal, control for years, in alliance with like-minded independents — appears to have wearied of running such a city.

The PFP has stepped back from the fight, in spite of a massive effort by the Nationalists, who make no bones about their intention of capturing Durban in the name of the party.

Where the Nats have put forward 19 official candidates to fight Durban's 30 wards, and have at least another 10 in the thinnest of disguises, a grouping known as Durban 2000 — PFP, Worrall Independents and other independents — has put forward only 11.

## Pension punchline

This hardly makes for a battle royal. It is possible, of course, that Durban 2000 could hang on to control in alliance with other non-Nationalist candidates because the slate then totals 21.

But such an outcome would surely be a major surprise.

Then there is the question of pensions. Consider this sequence:

The National Party pushes through Parliament an Act providing for municipal pensions. The PFP opposes the measure. The principle is then accepted practically nationwide (Port Elizabeth being a notable exception) and certain Durban councillors, perhaps unwisely, take advantage of the Act's provision for a more than generous buying back of pensionable service.

**Continuing his series on the national local government elections, Special Correspondent GRAHAM LINSCOTT reports on the mood in Natal.**

The pensions issue causes a furore in Durban. Newspaper advertisements are placed, an angry public meeting is held in the city hall.

Who is waiting in the wings to replace the present council? Why, a phalanx of members of the National Party, which gave us the pensions scheme in the first place.

And if things look gloomy for those who believe the situation demands less rather than more emphasis on group differences, consider the fact that the Conservative Party has four candidates in the field and the Civic Action League five. The CAL is a localised, highly conservative organisation which opposes such things as racially integrated beaches and parks. The CP and the CAL could pick up a ward or two.

Oddly enough, the Nationalists themselves have a few qualms about Durban.

The Natal vote is highly volatile. Nationalist electoral advances, such as last year's, have invariably been followed by violent swings in the opposite direction.

White Natal voters used to split their vote consistently. They would vote Nat or PFP on the national ticket and overwhelmingly for the now defunct New Republic Party on the provincial. The effect of these provincial sentiments in politicised local elections is untested.

All the same, having so many candidates in the field plus party organisation may prove decisive. The Nationalists may take control of Durban, largely by default.

Matters appear to be delicately poised in the Natal capital of Maritzburg between a PFP-inclined grouping and Nationalists, with a possibility that independents will hold the balance of power.

A group calling itself Put Pietermaritzburg First (PPF) has put up nine candidates for the 15 wards; a further three independents would back them in council.

The Nats have four official candidates (plus one who was returned unopposed) and can rely on the support of at least three independents, while the CP support six — three official and three in mufti.

Altogether, 16 independents are standing.

A feature of the election line-up is the number of three-cornered PPF-Nat-CP contests where a splitting of the conservative vote seems likely to benefit the PPF.

Elsewhere in Natal, the CP is putting up a strong challenge to the Nationalists. It claims to have most of northern Natal in the bag (northern Natal is in a sense an extension of the Transvaal platteland) as well as Amanzimtoti, on the South Coast, and Richards Bay, in Zululand.

## Testing ground

Natal might have been expected to be the great testing ground of the Government's constitutional plans among black South Africans, but in fact most of the province's blacks are not involved in the municipal elections at all.

Umlazi, kwaMashu and Mpumalanga, the vast, sprawling dormitory towns which supply the labour of Greater Durban and relax on the city beaches every weekend, are theoretically part of a different system — they belong to KwaZulu. The same applies to Imbali, adjoining Maritzburg, and other populous townships in northern Natal.

Only 16 minor townships controlled by the Natal Provincial Administration are involved and the response has been less than fevered.

If ever there were an air of political unreality, it is in Natal.

# Police warn students meeting is illegal

**Education Reporter**

POLICE entered the University of Cape Town yesterday and warned students, who had met to discuss the municipal elections, that their gathering outside the Jameson Hall was illegal.

They sent a message through UCT vice-chancellor Professor James Leatt ordering students to disperse.

After long negotiations police agreed to withdraw to the "peripheries of the university if students left the campus in groups of two and three", Professor Leatt said.

Early yesterday police blocked off all entrances to UCT, allowing only students with registration cards on to the campus.

Their action prompted the university to seek an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court for the blockade to be lifted. The matter was set to be heard at 2.15pm, but was postponed *sine die* after the blockade was lifted at 1.45pm.

UCT said in a statement that "on the morning of October 13 the SAP put a blockade around UCT which required students entering campus to produce registration cards before being allowed on to university property".

Because "bona fide visitors and others were denied access the university went to the Supreme Court to try on an urgent basis to get an order against the Minister of Law and Order, the Divisional Commissioner of Police and others".

At lunchtime more than 500 people, including students from UCT, the University of the Western Cape and high school pupils, met two hours later than scheduled in the Jameson Hall to discuss the municipal elections.

At the end of the meeting the crowd resolved to march to the police to call for the release of five students they believed had been detained.

About 300 chanting students set off down University Avenue. When they reached Ring Road marshalls tried in vain to persuade them not to head towards the university entrance.

A compromise was reached as a police helicopter hovered overhead and the marchers agreed to return to Jameson Hall. However, after resuming the march, a group of students wanted to continue down Ring Road.

More discussions followed between students and marshalls, one of whom appealed to the marchers "not to go on a suicide mission".

The marchers agreed to return to Jameson Hall to sing the "national anthem".

Police arrived in seven vehicles as students were milling around outside the hall.

# Election candidates assaulted, bombed

JOHANNESBURG. — The administrator of Tsakane township in Brakpan, Mr Raymond Radebe, is fighting for his life in hospital after he was attacked by a group of men in the township on Monday night.

In another incident, a house belonging to the administrator of Duduza in Nigel, Rev Simon Mahloko, was attacked with what is believed to be a limpet mine.

Another man, Mr Walter Moseki, claims he was assaulted by council police at his Soweto home on Monday night.

All three are candidates in the forthcoming municipal elections.

Mr Radebe is in a critical condition at the Far East Rand Hospital in Springs.

A spokesman for the East Rand police yesterday confirmed they were investigating the attack on Mr Mahloko's home and the assault on Mr Radebe.

Mr Moseki said two uniformed council policemen came to his house at about 7pm. He said they accused him of intimidating people and telling them not to vote for another candidate. One of them punched him in the face until he fell to the floor.

"He kicked me all over my body. The assault continued for about 30 minutes," Mr Moseki said. — Sapa

# No forced silence — Esack

MOULANA Faried Esack, who yesterday slipped on to UCT campus to address a rally on the municipal elections despite police blockades at every entrance, vowed that ordinary people would not be "Stoffelled into silence, acquiescence and cowardice".

"We are gathered here to endorse the call of the SA Catholic Bishops, the SA Council of Churches, the Muslim Judicial Council and others," said the moulana, who is national coordinator of the Call of Islam and a honorary vice-president of Nusas.

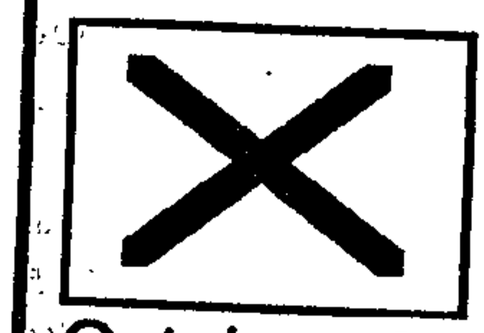
Religious leaders were an intrinsic part of the struggle, he said. Archbishop Tutu, the Reverend Allan Boesak and himself would not be where they were today "were it not for the struggle of our people".

"To be civilised today means to be part of the struggle against apartheid," he said.

Briefing

# Nats go all out to woo voters

Municipal Elections



October 26

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

As candidates move into top gear for the municipal elections in Germiston, it has become clear that October 26 is going to be the toughest battle the city's Nationalist Party-dominated council has faced in many years.

The Conservative Party has 15 candidates contesting 23 wards. Of the 14 independents, two are CP supporters.

The Nationalists have 20 candidates in the field and are backing three independents. The party has in the bag Ward 9, where pensioner Mr J J van den Berg is unopposed.

One of the biggest issues needling the Nats is the Group Areas Act, which has sparked off great interest among local voters in this election.

CP spokesman for Germiston Mrs Bessie Scholtz says her party is very confident about Leondale, which has a 50 m buffer zone separating it from a new, developing black area, SpruitView, and new extensions of Katlehong.

Mrs Scholtz remembers the fervour of 1948 and says the CP is experiencing in 1988 what the NP experienced then.

The CP says that if it loses the city, it will be by a narrow margin. The NP is working frantically to hold its support.

Brigadier Kobus Bosman, MP for Germiston District, is confident the NP will take Germiston. But his party is taking no chances. Where NP candidates are standing as independents, the NP has put up opposing candidates, which has resulted in a three-pronged battle in three of the wards.

In Ward 14 the NP is backing Mr Hennie Loots against Mrs Kelly Morris, a Nat standing as an independent. Both are sitting councillors Mr Dirk Fourie will contest the ward for the CP.

STAD GERMISTON
CITY OF GERMISTON



Germiston's coat of arms

In Ward 10 Mr Fred Botha, an independent and a sitting councillor who is a member of the NP caucus in the council, is opposed by the NP-backed Mr Gerhardus du Plooy. Mr Gabriel Lüttig will contest the ward for the CP.

In Ward 21 Mr Petrus van Wyk (NP) is opposing an independent, Mr Corrie Oberholzer. He is a sitting councillor who is also a member of the council's NP ruling group.

The third ward where is a three-pronged battle is Ward 20, where independent Mr John Oxley. Mr Dirk van den Berg (NP) and Mr Benjamin Stemmet (CP) are standing.

The elections will hopefully bring new blood into the council. Residents have complained bitterly that the council has been dragging its feet in terms of development in the city.

Unlike Johannesburg, which took a hard-and-fast stand about not having a tollgate on one of its highways, Germiston has been sitting back and adopting a wait-and-see attitude. If it does not act soon, the R77 tollgate will be erected whether residents like it or not — and they do not.

Statistics show that the city's newest councillor, Mr Leon Louw, made more requests for his ward (Ward 11) in his brief term of office this past year than some councillors had made in the six or more years they have served the city.

Mrs Winnie Haveloh is standing independently in Tedstonville and Elsburg, where she has been a councillor for the past 12 years. "It's a pity that local authorities have become political," she says.

Her aim is to keep her ward "100 percent white no matter what the Govermnent decides".

# Election pamphlet angers council

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

The Krugersdorp Council decided at a special meeting held yesterday that a Conservative Party election pamphlet in the form of a newspaper be referred to the police for possible action.

The masthead read: "KP — Krugersdorp Municipality — CP."

The meeting had been convened by Krugersdorp's mayor, Mr J H Balt as he felt the council should "discuss the possible institution of legal action in connection with an election publication of the Conservative Party compiled and issued by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, MP, purporting or creating the impression of having been officially issued by the Town Council of Krugersdorp and also lacking the address of the compiler and issuer."

Mr Balt said that the impression among the readers when first receiving the publication was that it was an official municipal publication. The name of and the address of the printers appear on the back page and not on the first page, as required by law.

Mr Chris Viljoen said the whole issue was a political ploy of the council to which Mr Balt replied that he as an independent councillor had convened the meeting and no other councillor had done so.

Councillor Bill Greyvenstein put forward an amendment expressing the council's displeasure and distancing itself from the "propoganda content" of the publication. Mr Gert Visser seconded the amendment.

The amendment was accepted by six recorded votes to three.

# Crowd cheers Andries after court victory

**West Rand Bureau**

Dr Andries Treurnicht was given a standing ovation when he greeted a crowd of about 400 Conservative Party supporters at a public meeting in Krugersdorp Town Hall last night.

Dr Treurnicht, Leader of the Opposition, said his appearance at the town hall was a happy victory for the Conservative Party after an application brought against the meeting in the Rand Supreme Court was dismissed with costs to the applicants earlier in the day.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated Conservative MP, said the applicants were people linked to the National Party.

Dr Treurnicht said that Conservatives were often called racists, but said that if being loyal to one's people, culture and language meant that one was a racist then he was one, and proud of it.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was not blnd or full of hate towards other races but said they should govern themselves and be responsible for their own actions.

He promised that the police and defence force would have more power should the Conservative Party be elected. Stories that there would be a revolution if the CP were ruling the country were unfounded, he said.

He said more and more English-speaking South Africans were supporting the Conservatives.

# Judge overrules bid to stop CP meeting

Star 14/10/88 (304B)

By Cathy Stagg

An urgent application to stop the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, from addressing a political meeting in the Krugersdorp town hall last night was dismissed with costs just hours before the meeting was due to begin.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, MP and CP organiser, described the applicants as mainly people linked to the National Party.

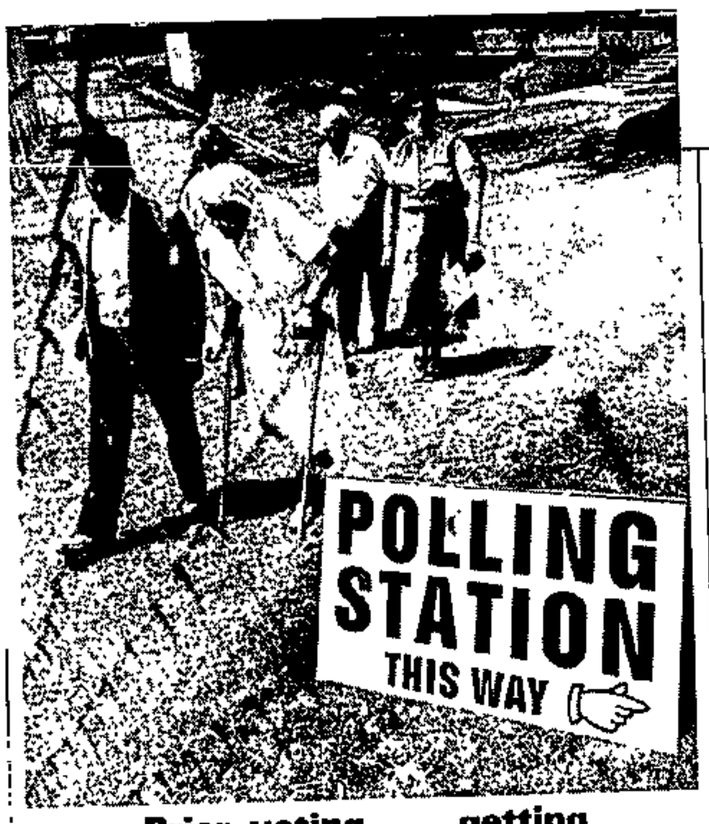
Handing down judgment in the Rand Supreme Court at about 5 pm, Mr Justice N M MacArthur said the basis of the application was that the voting booths for people wishing to make prior votes for the municipal election were close to the main entrance of the hall where the political meeting was to be held at 7.30 pm.

"The applicants, who are in political camps not associated with the CP, say they will be prejudiced by the meeting. I have a fundamental difficulty accepting that," the judge said.

"There is no evidence of just how many voters during the past three days have taken the opportunity to vote between 6 pm and 9 pm. I do have evidence from Mr Derby-Lewis that very few voted during the day. If hundreds voted every evening, the applicants might have had just cause for complaint," he said.

He suggested that the CP use a side entrance.

The applicants were Mr R S Martin, Mr G P Visser, Mr C Peyper, Mrs C E Pretorius, Mr N P Boshoff and Mr D J Vorster.




**Prior voting ... getting to the booth in time**

lems in the black areas," Leon points out, "but it is not of great relevance to Johannesburg."

The Labour Party's Peter Hendrickse, however, supports the concept, but thinks the two-week period is too long. Three or four days would have been sufficient — to accommodate factory workers, for instance, who can vote only from 6 pm-9 pm.

Alternative forms of voting played a big part in the last three by-elections for the House of Representatives, where special votes accounted for more than 50% of the poll, says Hendrickse.

An indication of the success of prior voting was that on day one 1 250 voters out of 8 300 cast ballots in (coloured) Uitenhage West, says Hendrickse.

In the black townships, where 1 851 wards are up for grabs, 126 have put up no candidates at all — for example, Lingelihle at Cradock. Uncontested are 808 wards, including all in Alexandra and Evaton. This means an effective poll will be held in the remaining 1 043.

The significance of uncontested wards is that the overall percentage poll will be determined on the basis of the number of registered voters in contested wards only.

There are two real tests being played out in these elections: one concerns the performance of the Conservative Party against the Nats; the other centres on whether blacks will participate and so signal credibility for black local authorities and government's constitutional plans generally.

It is too early to draw conclusions of voter turnout based on the first day. Some indications from the townships, however, were as follows:

In Diepmeadow — where eight wards out of 20 are being contested — 362 votes (0,8%) were cast on Monday; Dobsonville, two out of nine wards — 164 (4,5%) votes cast; Soweto, 25 (35) wards being contested — 1 399 (0,5%) votes cast.

In Lekoa in the Vaal Triangle, 36 (44) are being contested — 1 738 (1,4%) votes were cast on Monday; Khutsong, five out of eight wards being contested — 377 (7%) votes cast. Nearby Kokosi, where four of the five wards are contested, saw a relatively high turnout on Monday — 275 (14,4%).

Kagiso, Krugersdorp has three out of 11 wards being contested — 268 (4,7%) votes cast; Bekkersdal, Westonaria has two (seven) wards being contested — 40 (1,8%) votes were cast. In the southern Free State more than 5% of black voters reportedly turned out on Monday.

□ The day was marred by unrest incidents. In Durban two petrol bombs were hurled at the Chatsworth home of Johnny Govinthu, an independent candidate. The Phoenix home of PFP candidate Omi Singh was firebombed. ■



LOCAL ELECTIONS

# Giving them priority

**By introducing** the concept of prior voting in the municipal elections, SA is identifying more closely with the rest of Africa where elections lasting more than one day are common. Voting began on Monday and for the first time voters have an effective 13 days in which to vote.

The official reason for introducing prior voting is to give more people the opportunity to vote. Government is placing much importance on this tactic to boost the polls, especially in the black, coloured and Indian areas.

A Transvaal provincial spokesman says that the most important reason is the difficulty black workers face in finding the time to vote. Of course, another reasonable view is that the prime reason is an attempt to offer security to voters who may feel intimidated in the face of calls to boycott the polls.

Whatever the reason, the logistics of keeping polling stations manned and voters' rolls updated for two weeks are immense and costly. More than 12 000 candidates of all races are contesting 7 600 council seats throughout the country.

Prior voting differs substantially from postal and special votes used in parliamentary elections — when the latter are only available in exceptional circumstances. Anyone can apply for a prior vote. But voters must present themselves in person with identification at the polling stations.

The consequence of this is that hundreds of polling stations all over the country must be manned by officials for the duration of the prior voting period. The cost will be borne by the taxpayer.

Arrangements for voting fall to the electoral officers in each area. In general voters have a single venue which allows for tight control of the voters' rolls. Ballot boxes are locked away each night and are to be sealed at the end of the prior voting period on Saturday October 22 and opened for counting on October 26, the official election day.

Because of transport problems, however, councils in the black townships have established more than one prior polling station. For example, Diepmeadow has six, including one in the centre of Johannesburg. The task of ensuring that voters do not vote more than once is thus more complicated. Each time someone votes all the other polling stations must be contacted by radio or telephone to make sure that the voter's name is simultaneously eliminated from all the rolls.

The exercise has had a mixed response.

Johannesburg PFP leader Tony Leon regards prior voting as a huge drain on resources, saying: "We have a huge overtime bill coming our way because of municipal employees being involved in manning polls for two weeks." Another problem, he notes, is that it ties party volunteers to manning tables at the polling booths.

"Prior voting was set up because of prob-

## SA diplomats ecstatic over success of European mission

# PW plans Ivory Coast visit

(2044 Star 14/10/88

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Geneva

**The State President, Mr P W Botha, is likely to visit an African country on his way back to South Africa at the weekend.**

Diplomatic sources last night revealed that negotiations were under way to allow for a brief stop-over in the Ivory Coast.

Mr Botha is expected to meet the president of the Ivory Coast, Dr Felix Houphouet-Boigny, for about three hours tomorrow evening.

The Ivory Coast has for several years maintained discreet but cordial relations with South Africa.

Its possible inclusion in Mr Botha's current foreign tour is being seen by South African diplomats as the cherry on top of a highly successful diplomatic exercise.

The current diplomatic foray by Mr Botha has, according to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, exceeded all expectations.

What started as largely a private visit to Switzerland by the State President has broadened considerably and now includes Germany, Portugal and the Ivory Coast.

Mr Pik Botha has also included other countries on a top secret basis.

He left President Botha for two days in Switzerland, visiting other capitals.

Mr Botha said on his return to Geneva last night: "I am not prepared to say publicly exactly where I was, except to say I visited one or two countries in the East in Africa."

It was not in South Africa's interests to disclose this information, he said.

Much was at stake for South Africa in the negotiations he had held in the past two days, he said.

Mr Botha's visit to Europe is being seen by South African diplomats as a major triumph.

A senior South African diplomat told The Star last night the Europeans had been very impressed with President Botha's recent diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa.

### Message

Southern Africa was sending a message to Europe of a region that was getting to grips with its differences, the diplomat said.

President Botha continued to meet several European businessmen and bankers while in Switzerland yesterday.

Sources said there were highly encouraging signs that foreign investment could again start to flow to South Africa, particularly for joint projects between South Africa and its neighbouring states.

Such projects, it is believed, would be less politically objectionable than investing in South Africa alone.

President Botha, it is understood, is expected to meet a senior member of the Swiss government later today.

This follows successful informal meetings in Germany last week with the Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, and the heads of state of Togo and Niger.

Mr Botha also had a brief discussion with the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr Turgat Ozal.

President Botha is expected to meet the Prime Minister of Portugal, Professor Annibal Cavaco Silva tomorrow.

● Sapa reports that yesterday President Botha addressed the heads of South African missions in Europe.

# In search of a dream

14/10/88 FM 304A



**Afrikaner Volkswag leader Professor Carel Boshoff is former chairman of the Broederbond, son-in-law of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd and heads the Afrikaner rightwing's Great Trek celebrations.**

***FM:* What led you to the idea of an Afrikaner homeland?**

**Boshoff:** It was the government's way of mixing things that cannot be mixed. Mixing diverse cultures is no solution for SA.

**It is reported that the CP and NP reject your Boerestaat dream.**

I did not ask for their support. The CP stands for partition and self-determination of the Afrikaner, so they have no alternative but to support the concept of an Afrikaner homeland if they are sincere.

**Does this mean that members of any race group which adopts Afrikaner culture will be accepted and how do you hope to solve your labour problems?**

The Afrikaner State will accept anybody with the same beliefs, culture and heritage as long as this does not endanger the identity of the Afrikaner nation. On manual labour, it would be racist for the *volk* to expect blacks to do their work. It is time the Afrikaner did his own manual work.

**Is there a link between your vision and that of Robert van Tonder's Boerestaat Party?**

The only link is that Van Tonder and myself share the same idea of Afrikaner freedom. I disagree with most of his strategies to realise this dream.

**Do you share Van Tonder's notion of a "Boer country" encompassing the old Transvaal, Free State and Vryheid republics?**

The re-establishment of Boer republics is not practical, because the whole infrastructure of these areas is built on foreign money and labour.

It is impractical to unscramble the situation and remove the 80% black work force in these areas.

**When will you accomplish your dream?**

Observing current political trends, I see this taking place in the next 10 years. At the same time, I do not see every Afrikaner participating in the process. It is, of course, no easy road.

**If your efforts are thwarted, will you and your supporters resort to violence?**

Every nation has the right to self respect and to realise its goals in a peaceful way. But if the Afrikaners are pushed too far, the only alternative will be to take up arms. I hope this will not be necessary.

**If you realise your dream, what will happen to the rest of SA?**

SA will be a commonwealth of republics, with different nations coming together on economic issues, health and resources — for instance, agriculture and minerals.

**Have you any links with the AWB?**

Officially no. The only link is that we communicate with each other.

**Do you support their violent methods?**

I wish not to comment on other organisations.

**Should Nelson Mandela be released?**

Not until he rejects violence.

**What is your opinion on sanctions?**

In the present system, where the minority dominates the majority, it would be naive for SA to expect outside world sympathy.

**Is P W Botha's overture to the CP a sign of a leader who has lost direction?**

Looking from outside, P W is trying to unite Afrikaners on sentimental grounds rather than on grounds of principle. I cannot see vision in this regard.

THE PRESIDENT ABROAD

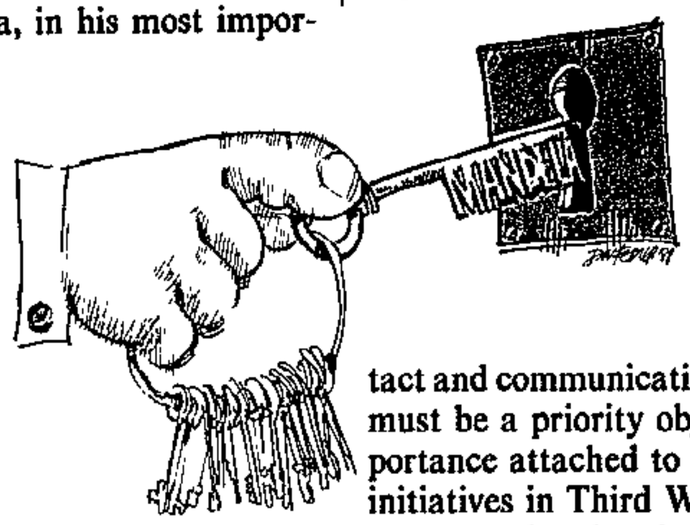
14/10/88

# Freeing Pik Botha

304A

**There is** every indication that Nelson Mandela will be a free man before the end of the year — possibly before November 8, the date of the US presidential elections; but almost certainly after SA's municipal elections on October 26, when the outcome of the National Party's crucial local government battle against the Conservative Party is known.

President P W Botha, in his most important diplomatic foray overseas to try to rescue the ailing SA economy, virtually said as much to the Swiss-SA Association in Zurich this week. "My conscience and my duty must guide me. I do not want old people in jails," he said.




Botha, who may have commenced negotiations with top Swiss bankers as the *FM* went to press, probably realises by now that a free Mandela could pave the way to at least some renewed foreign capital investment — and loans desperately needed to boost the economy and, thus, reform.

He needs Mandela's co-operation to be able to free him, Botha explained. At the moment the ANC leader, recuperating from TB in a luxury Cape Town clinic, *is* "co-operating with the authorities" — whatever that means. And Botha, significantly, added: "I hope he will continue to do so and not turn back to a policy which could lead to violence."

This would seem to suggest that Botha is satisfied with Mandela's stance on violence. A source at the Department of Justice tells the *FM* that Mandela does not necessarily have to issue a press statement on his viewpoint. "He has the opportunity to convey anything to the head of the Pollsmoor prison who often visits him," he says.

Botha blames the ANC for Mandela's continued detention. It suits the exiled organisation to present him as a martyr, he told his audience.

So what does Mandela think? The *FM*'s source says that the ANC leader has voiced his appreciation for what has been done for him to both Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Police Commissioner Hennie de Witt during visits to him. The 26 years he has spent behind bars and various reports on him will all be taken into account when a decision is finally made, says the source.

That something is in the air became clear when Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse predicted over the weekend that Botha will inform SA envoys in Europe about Mandela's release. Hendrickse told his eastern Cape congress that he had received information that the diplomats would be asked by Botha to prepare themselves for the release.

Botha's Swiss visit, first announced by the *FM* last week and hot on the heels of his trip to Zaire, must be seen as an all-out effort to regain some recognition for SA as a regional power — and project himself as a respected African statesman. Back home, this was voiced through an SABC editorial praising Botha's latest cross-border forays: "The fostering of contact and communication with our neighbours must be a priority objective. Hence the importance attached to the present diplomatic initiatives in Third World Africa — an importance that has been highlighted by the personal role the State President is playing in the initiatives.

"As, within the country, South Africans continue with the task of building the new SA, our external relationships must similarly be built upon with vigour and purpose. There is a need to consolidate friendships in Europe, as (Botha) is doing at the moment."

It may be that Botha, with SA becoming increasingly isolated, has seen the light. As Koos van Wyk, director of the International Studies Unit at Rhodes, writes in the June issue of the journal *Politikon*: ". . . it is probably true that the SA government is the target of a total onslaught, but not for the reasons advanced by the rulers of apartheid. It is not communism but apartheid which motivates the international isolation of SA. And as long as apartheid prevails, further sanctions will be introduced."

The inroads which Botha made during his recent discussions with Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko and Mozambique's Joachim Chissano are important for the entire region. This was fuelled by speculation that a proposed meeting between Botha and Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda was to be a forerunner to a larger summit of Frontline leaders with Botha. Kaunda, who visited Mobutu last Monday, reiterated his conditions for meeting Botha — and those no doubt include Mandela's release.

Botha was at great pains to stress SA's potential economic role in the region during his speech on Monday. Appealing to European bankers to use their influence with political leaders to stop sanctions, he said: "The way to rapid economic and political development and renewal is to ensure that SA's economy flourishes. If SA is allowed to reach its natural potential, the whole region will benefit."

Former Pretoria and RAU political scientist Gerrit Olivier, now at Foreign Affairs, echoes Botha's sentiments. "As far as the rest of the region is concerned, refusing to normalise relations with SA and refusing to co-operate with it economically are at best a holding action, which is possible only with the assistance of massive foreign aid, far greater than that which the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference has yet succeeded in mobilising.

"Thus in order for southern African states to achieve economic strength and political stability, without a part being played by SA, seems to be like trying to play Hamlet without the prince."

Back on the home front, Botha's absence, together with Pik Botha, has further highlighted renewed speculation that the Foreign Minister may be the one to replace Chris Heunis as government's chief constitutional negotiator. After his spate of recent diplomatic breakthroughs, it is felt that Pik Botha may be able to break the current deadlock in attempts to get black leaders to participate in the National Council.

Heunis, still feeling the after-effects of his near election loss against the Independent Party's Denis Worrall, has failed to rally black and coloured leaders around him. To make way for Pik, Heunis may be kicked upstairs to become P W's new administrative prime minister.

If all this takes place, it is not impossible for Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — who did some behind-the-scenes preparations for P W's meeting with the Swiss bankers — to move into the Foreign Affairs slot. Du Plessis' deputy, Org Marais, a recognised economist and respected in certain financial quarters, could then take over at Finance.

It all sounds plausible. But with Mandela still technically behind bars, even a charismatic negotiator like Pik Botha could go the same way as Heunis if he is not armed with some bargaining counter. And what better than a free Nelson Mandela — risky as that may have seemed for Pretoria up to now? ■

# Volk feeds under AWB banner

Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — No Afrikaner child should go hungry.

So says Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

That's what he tells colleagues as he strides through Pretoria's poorer suburbs and sees starving whites.

"But, one hand should not know what the other is doing," he adds.

For the original intention with what is now a massive, whites-only feeding scheme was that no one should know the AWB gave it impetus.

The AWB's *Volkshulpskema*, nearly three years old, provides more than 14 000 white children with a meal each day.

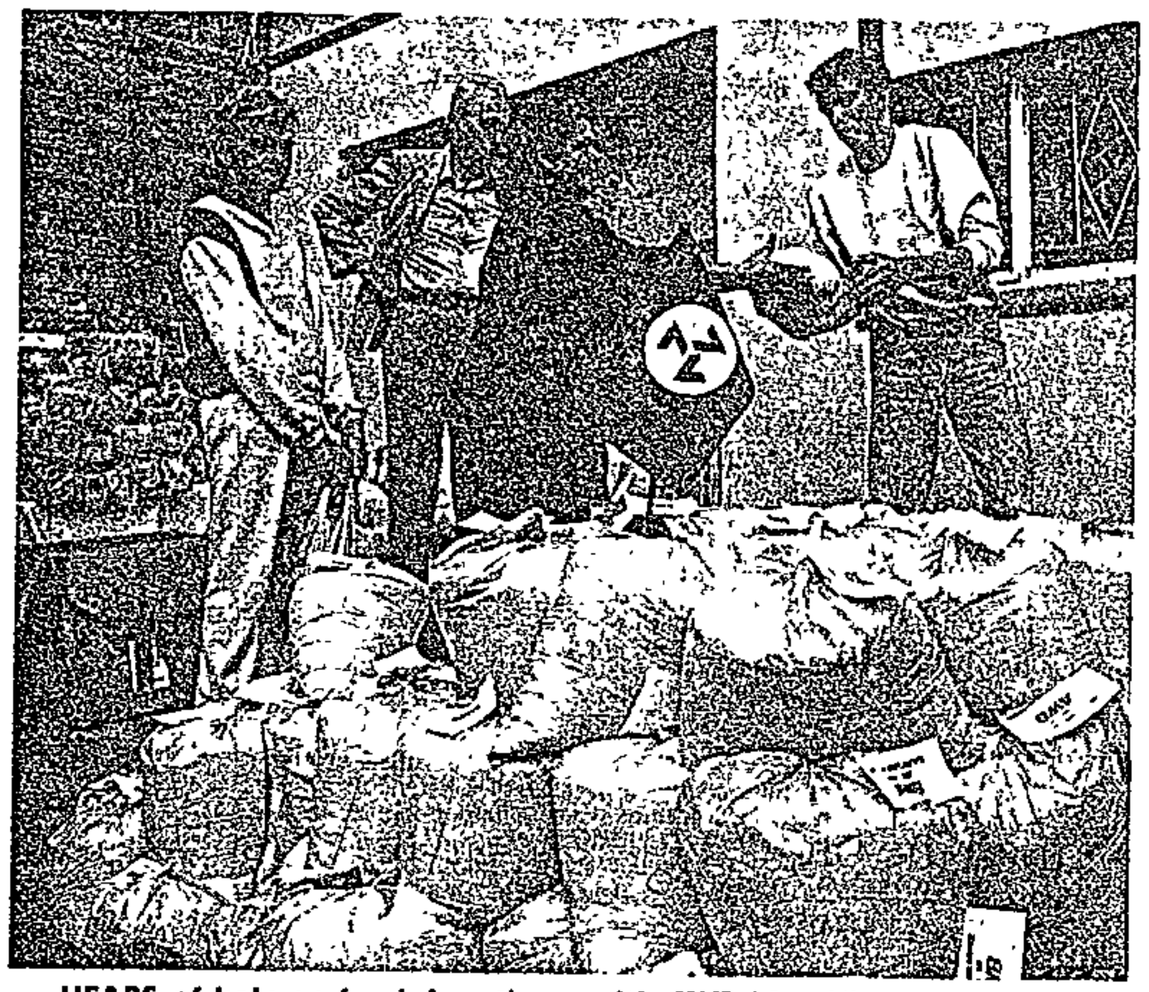
In Pretoria, where the scheme was started, families swallow their pride and queue for food twice a week at the house of an AWB member west of Pretoria.

## Depend on scheme

More than 200 people, some barefoot and dressed in tattered clothes, throng Brand Street in the less affluent suburb of Danville, about 7km from the city centre. Most depend on the *Volkshulpskema*.

Locally, the scheme operates in Pretoria West and Pretoria North.

On the Rand, AWB members feed about 2 000 impoverished families

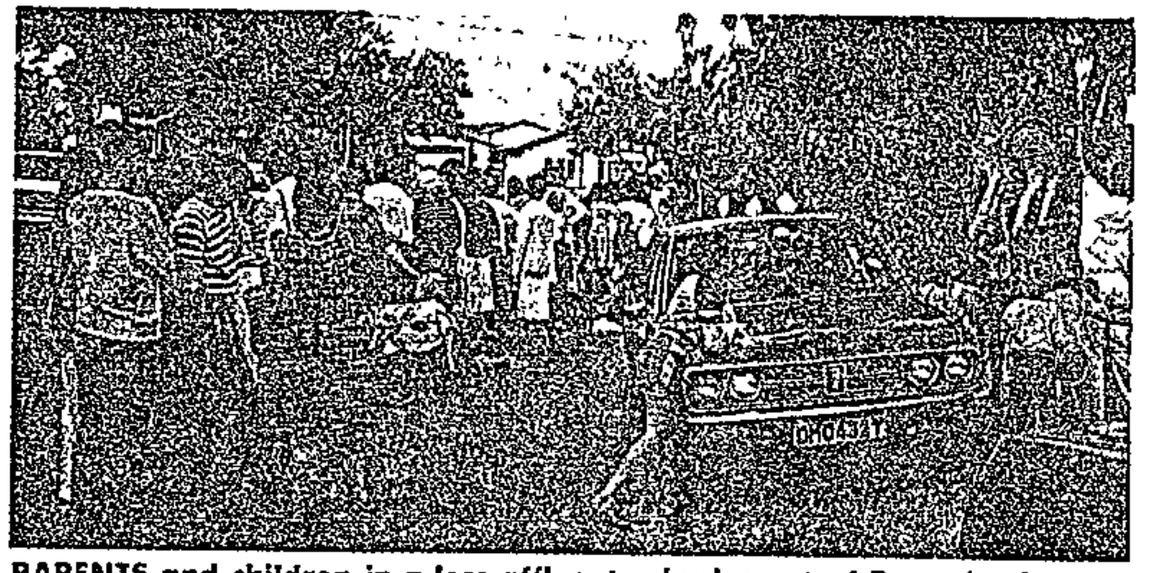


**HEAPS of help as food donations, with AWB identification, pile up.**

It all began when Mr Giel Groenewald approached the AWB leader at a public meeting for help. He saw the need for a "backer" following involvement in a feeding scheme for 230 children at the Willie Snyman School in Hercules.

He told Weekend Argus: "The scheme is aimed at the child. In the beginning we felt no one should know the AWB was behind it, but then we learned people believed the government was feeding them.

## These people are Afrikaners. We help any white, says Eugene Terre'Blanche



**PARENTS and children in a less affluent suburb west of Pretoria city centre wait for food from the hulpskema.**

"Then, we started attaching the AWB's name to the *hulpskema*

"We are not talking about intimidation here, although some believe so. Not even two percent of those we feed are AWB members.

"Because it's aimed at the child, one cannot talk politics. Children don't understand."

West Rand organiser and long-time AWB member Mr Leon van Rensburg has been feeding the poor for five years — since his wife saw starving children at a school in Roodepoort

Critics of the AWB may find it hard to believe it is involved in charitable work.

"Who else is going to look after these people if we don't? Government is pre-occupied with its reform programme," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

He believed protection of "the volk" was vital. "His" people were being impoverished by government's "forced reform programme".

The AWB emphasised that the people it fed and clothed were all Afrikaners in Pretoria. Some walked several kilometres twice a week for food.

Care of destitute whites in Pretoria is organised by Mrs Susan Pellincin. She is helped by Mrs Lenie Pretorius, at whose Danville home people queue for food. Both are members of the AWB Boerevroue.

The *hulpskema* also operates in schools and churches.

Areas covered include Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, Johannesburg and Mayfair.

The scheme has also been expanded to the Free State and parts of Natal.

Mr van Rensburg said: "These people need not be members of the AWB. They are Afrikaners. We help any white person, in spite of their political beliefs.

"The scheme has nothing to do with politics. It is to do with Christianity and a welfare service."

Main links in the contribution chain are farmers, many of them AWB members. Individuals also give money, food and clothing.

## R1 000 a week

In Roodepoort, one businessman contributes R1 000 a week, said Mr van Rensburg.

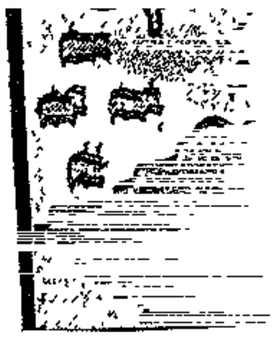
On the West Rand, 30 tons of food a week is said to be brought by truck from Thabazimbi.

Though the organisation denies the *hulpskema* is a ploy to win support, AWB banners proclaiming *"sterk, jonk en dinamies"* and the organisation's emblem is pinned to food bags. AWB emblems line the Danville distribution point.

Mrs Pellincin said: "This is only to make them aware the AWB cares."

by Grinaker Ltd of Johannesburg —
Pretoria — was turned down because it would have had a detrimental impact in the zoo and on the suburb. "It was completely unacceptable."

He said the parks department, which appealed for ideas for the privatisation of parks, was "tempted" by the financial side of the deal. The council would have received 10 percent of the net annual income before repayment of loans or interest and could have made, according to the proposition, R2,4 million in five



# Cautious Europe waits for peace with SA blacks

**DAVID BRAUN**
**Political Correspondent**

GENEVA — The European visits of the State President, Mr P W Botha, in 1984 and in 1988 had one important element in common: both took place in the wake of South African diplomatic successes in Africa.

The 17-day eight-nation tour of 1984 followed the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique.

European leaders were then pleased to meet Mr Botha and to encourage him along the road of regional peace.

The nine-day three-country (excluding the stop in the Ivory Coast) visit of 1988 took place this week after President Botha's flurry of summit meetings with major African leaders and in the wake of what looks like real progress in the peace talks between South Africa and Angola/Cuba.

## Deterioration

Once again, according to diplomatic sources, there has been appreciation in Europe for what is perceived to be a dynamic new South African approach to the region's problems.

South Africans should however be under no illusions about the differences between the two visits.

Between 1984 and 1988 South Africa's international image has deteriorated enormously. South Africa has imposed a nationwide state of emergency and many countries around the world have retaliated with tough sanctions.

If the Europeans have been listening to the South Africans this time it is with a great deal more caution and skepticism than they did in 1984.

Furthermore, what contacts there have been have for the most part been very informal and in secrecy.

In Germany, at the funeral of Bavarian Prime Minister Dr Franz Josef Strauss, President Botha took the opportunity to brief the federal Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl.

He also rubbed shoulders with the heads of state of Togo and Niger and with the Prime Minister of Turkey, Mr Turgat Ozal.

So isolated is South Africa internationally that these brief meetings were seized upon by South African diplomats as diplomatic breakthroughs.

More significantly, perhaps, Mr Botha met a large number of European bankers and businessmen.

## Lobbied hard

Contrary to certain reports, he did not go to Switzerland to plead for extensions for South Africa's debt repayments. Instead, he lobbied hard for additional capital to be invested in South Africa and in southern Africa, particularly for joint projects between South Africa and its neighbours.

According to sources there are encouraging signs that European businessmen are ready to invest in the region, but what is needed to really persuade them are some dramatic developments inside South Africa.

Europeans are making the point that it is all very well and encouraging for President Botha to be making peace with his neighbours, but what is really needed is for him to be making peace with his own people.

If Mr Botha can have dialogue with southern African leaders, why can he not have negotiations with the leaders in his own country, they ask.

Another point which has been raised with President Botha in Europe is the question of the continued detention of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

If this issue is addressed by the President, South African diplomats believe South Africa will make a major breakthrough in its anti-sanctions and anti-isolation diplomacy.

Star 15/10/88

# PW and Pik in high-level talks during stopover in Lisbon today

304A

GENEVA — President Botha winds up his European visit with a stopover in Lisbon today.

Mr Botha, accompanied by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and senior officials of his office and of the Department of Foreign Affairs, are at the end of a nine-day stay in Europe.

The President will meet Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva this afternoon.

A separate meeting has been scheduled between Mr Pik Botha and Portuguese Foreign Minister Mr Joao Pinheiro.

The talks are expected to centre on the Cahora Bassa hydroelectric scheme and recent developments in southern Africa, including the peace talks between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

**DAVID BRAUN**
**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT**

The State President is scheduled to stop over at Abidjan on the Ivory Coast on his way back to South Africa tonight.

He will meet Ivory Coast President Mr Felix Houphuet-Boigny to discuss the situation in south-western Africa and the need for peace in Angola.

The State President and his entourage are expected back in South Africa early tomorrow.

He spent most of yesterday in Berne where he held unofficial high-level talks with representatives of the Swiss Government.

He lunched yesterday with a senior member of the Swiss Federal Council, Mr Rene Felber, who is in overall charge of Swiss foreign affairs. Mr Pik Botha was also at the lunch, as were officials of the SA and Swiss Foreign Ministries.

A statement said the President and Mr Pik Botha conveyed a perspective on the political, social and economic situation in SA and southern Africa, in particular the need for project-related development aid.

The State President told Mr Felber that, in his recent meetings with African heads of state, a common interest had been established, namely the need for economic co-operation, if southern Africa was to avoid a worsening of its economic problems.

This common interest was

# Everyone's a poll



**OPTIMISTIC: Peter Soal believes there are 18 PFP certainties.**

PREDICTION is the name of the latest game in Johannesburg politics.

Spokesmen for the parties in the coming municipal polls are outdoing each other, forecasting their own wins and opponents' losses.

PFP confidence has soared. Campaign manager Mr Peter Soal forecasts 18 "certainties" and seven strong possibilities.

This would give the party the balance of power in the city council.

Such confidence flies in

## If you can believe the politicians

**SHIRLEY WOODGATE**
**Municipal Reporter**

the face of lask week's Saturday Star report on the assessments of highly placed academics and political sources, who warned that the PFF could lose seats.

But Mr Soal was adament: "We will take 18 wards in the northern suburbs, with every Hillbrow and inner city suburb almost certain to remain PFP, and James Dryja in Joubert Park likely to be the surprise of the election.

"Add to those wards, Mr Paul Bosch in The Parks and Deon van Greunen, who has an outstanding chance of ousting National Party heavyweight Mr Johan Fick in Melville.

"The Conservative Party will win no more than four or five wards."

But NP campaign manager, Mr Alwyn Marx, claimed his party would win outright control, collecting 30 to 35 of the 51 wards, including three in the PFP's traditional northern stronghold.

He asserted: "We will take Ward 28 (Orange Grove), 29 (Linksfield) and 34 (Cyrildene). The Parks Ward 11 is back within our grasp and we will make a clean sweep in the south."

Mr Marx thought the PFP might win eight to 15 wards and added: "The predicted CP walkover in the Transvaal will not be carried into Johannesburg.

"Though their support is greater than anticipated, I see them taking no more than four north western wards."

Mr Fred Rundle, regional chairman of the CP, warned Mr Marx there was a lie factor of up to 65 percent. He explained: "Civil servants scared of jeopardising their jobs and senior citizens protecting their pensions are the major group saying they will back the NP but voting for the CP.

"The CP will do well — beyond our wildest expectations".

Professor Harold Rudolph (Ind) predicted this breakdown: 27 Nats, 13 Progs, five CP, 2 Ind NP, 3 Ind and 1 IRA.

Mr Francois Oberholzer said he was battling to find more than 23 seats for the Nats.

He thought the PFP would return with 12 councillors, the CP six to eight, the IRA would see Mr John Fossett and Mr Rodney Janit winning easily and the Independents would have six representatives.

# Probe told Nats got Swiss trip and loan

Weekend Argus Reporter

**EVIDENCE of an all-expenses paid visit to Switzerland for two top East London National Party members and a R42 000 loan to the National Party were the two items that dominated the Harms Commission this week.**

The man who picked up the tab for the 14-day visit by suspended East London City MP Mr Peet de Pontes and the city's Mayor, Mr Robert de Lange, was jailed Mafia drug trafficker Vito Palazzolo, says Mr de Lange.

And the R42 000 loan was made to the National Party by Papillon International, of which both Mr de Pontes and Palazzolo were directors, according to police evidence.

The cheque was signed by Mr de Pontes and made out in favour of the overdrawn East London City National Party's election fund account.

It was cashed on June 10 1987, a month after the general election.

And, yesterday, Palazzolo's legal representatives confirmed their client is suing Mr de Pontes in Ciskei for the return of all shares and assets of Papillon International.

## Corruption

The Harms Commission, sitting in Cape Town, is inquiring into alleged cross-border irregularities by South Africans following the findings of two commissions in Transkei which probed corruption in the homeland.

Palazzolo is currently in jail in Lugano, Switzerland, serving the remainder of a five-year sentence for financing a R6-million heroin deal and his involvement in a R70-million drug deal.



**East London Mayor Mr Robert de Lange leaves after giving evidence before the Harms Commission.**

He was arrested in February on a R3-million farm near Franschoek, for illegally entering the country in December 1986, and was deported.

He is also wanted by American drug authorities for questioning.

Yesterday Mr Robert de Lange, who said he was a National Party member, told the commission he asked Mr de Pontes to help Palazzolo obtain permanent residence in South Africa after he was asked by a family friend to assist.



Pictures: LEON MÜLLER, Weekend Argus

**Mrs Tirtza Centner, the girlfriend of jailed drug trafficker Vito Palazzolo and daughter of South African businessman Mr Marcel Grunfeld.**

Before they left South Africa to visit Palazzolo he learnt that Palazzolo was in jail for illegal currency exchange.

He asked Mr de Pontes to help with the application as he was a lawyer and an MP He believed that as an MP Mr de Pontes would be able to "speed things up because he had contacts"

In Switzerland he and Mr de Pontes visited Palazzolo in jail. Mr de Lange denied that Palazzolo had told them he was in jail for drug-related offences.

Mr de Pontes undertook to make the necessary application and Mr de Lange said he did not hear of Palazzolo again until he called him from Jan Smuts Airport on December 26 1986 looking for Mr de Pontes.

Their expenses and air tickets were paid for by Palazzolo.

Mr de Lange said he saw nothing wrong with the free visit and was not ashamed to say he had been a friend of Palazzolo.

Earlier in the week the commission heard Mr de Pontes promised to make an immigration clerk at the Department of Home Affairs his private secretary if he became a cabinet minister.

The clerk, Mr Johan Scheffer, helped fill in forms for Palazzolo after he had already been refused a permit by Minister Stoffel Botha because of his criminal record.

In the application, six months after Palazzolo had entered South Africa illegally on a false passport and had changed his name to Von Palace Colbatschenko, no mention was made of his criminal record.

This was "fifty-fifty" the suggestion of Palazzolo and Mr de Pontes, the clerk said.

Mr Scheffer said he removed two files illegally from the Department of Home Affairs and gave them to Mr de Pontes at his request. The files were tampered with by a secretary in Mr de Pontes' presence, but were never returned to him.

Mr de Pontes said he did not want anybody to make a connection between the file of Palazzolo and the file of Colbatschenko

The hearing resumes on October 24.

# Court to act on election

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE former mayor of Dobsonville, Don Senye Mmesi, and the president of the township's residents' association, Vincent Vusumuzi Thusi, will today ask the Rand Supreme Court to nullify the municipal elections to be held in Dobsonville.

Summonses have been served on the director of local government, J van der Walt, town clerk Alec Conn, president of the United Councils' Association of SA, Steve Kgame, and 10 candidates standing for election.

The applicants will ask the court to declare that:

- All voters' lists for wards one to nine in Dobsonville be nullified as no certified voters lists were available or opened for inspection before the closure of nominations for the elections.
- All votes cast are of no legal effect for wards one to four.
- The election of all members to the Dobsonville Town Council be null and void.
- In the event of the court finding that the voters lists for Dobsonville were properly prepared and certified by the electoral officer, the applicants will ask the court to set aside the nominations of Sandile Eric Tonjeni and Isaac Benedict Mashao as candidates.
- The applicants will also ask the court to set aside the electoral officer's decision which disqualified Thusi as a candidate for election in Ward 7.

# Administrator's job in balance

30/11 By Kaizer Nyatsumba

While elections are theoretically over in Alexandra, with all eight councillors-elect having been elected unopposed, there is one man whose future is in doubt.

That is Mr Steve Burger, the present administrator of Alexandra whose job, according to Alexandra town clerk Mr P J Genis, ends on October 25. Mr Burger has been administrator of Alexandra since July 1 1986, when all town councillors and the then mayor, the Rev Sam Buti, heeded the community's call and resigned en masse.

After October 25, whither Mr Burger? Star 14/10/87

That is the question frequently being asked in Alexandra.

The overwhelming majority of people who spoke to The Star would like to see Mr Burger stay on as a council employee. They argue that Mr Burger has been solely responsible for the improvement of the township.

Alexandra Puthadichaba Luncheon Club for the Aged founder and chairman of the Alexandra Society for the Welfare of the Aged Mr Linda Twala said he would like to see Mr Burger retained. Speaking a month ago urging people to vote, Mr Twala said: "We should choose people who will say loudly that we must retain Mr Burger, because he has been responsible for the little progress we can see around here."



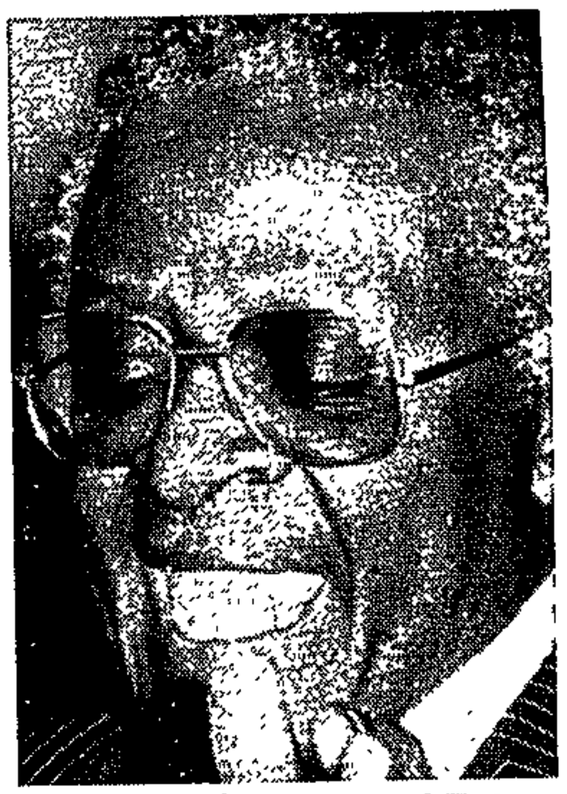
Mr Steve Burger . . . council will decide whether he stays on.

However, some have argued that houses being put up were too expensive for to the average Alexandra resident. The place, they say, is being turned into a middle class area to which wealthy people will flock and leave Alexandra natives frustrated.

But Mr Burger's fate lies with the seven men and one woman who will make up the next council.

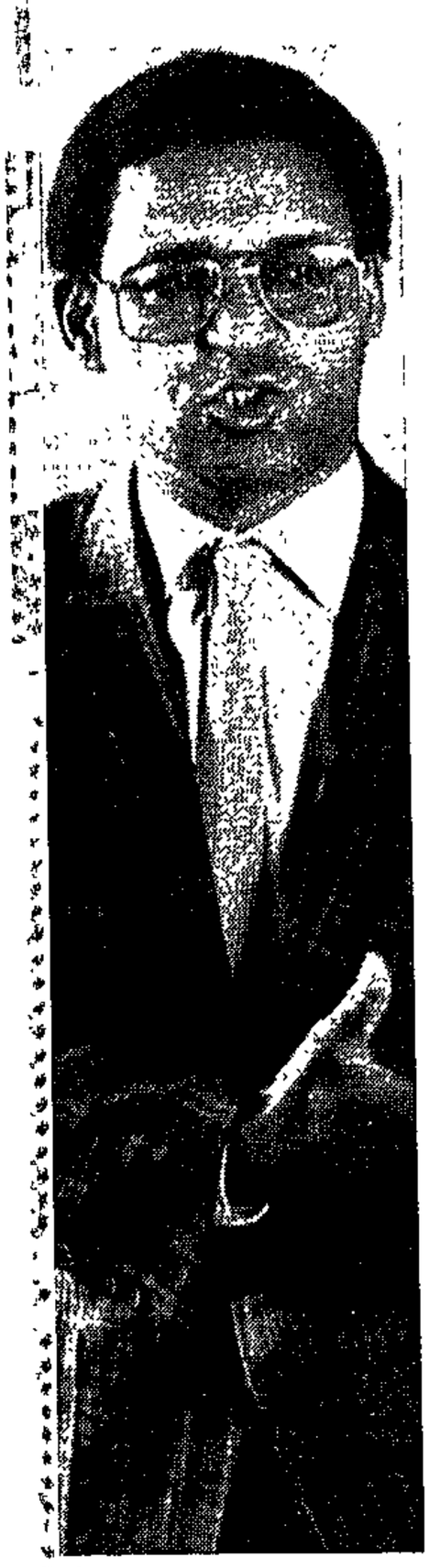
3044 Clues 16/10/88

# Leaders reject elections



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

## Academics, clergy, urge October boycott



Rev Allan Boesak

ACADEMICS and clergy – among them Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the moderator of the NG Sending Kerk, Allan Boesak, Unisa academics and Islam and Muslim theologians – this week again called for a boycott of the municipal elections on October 26.

In a statement to Sapa, the academics and clergy said their respective traditions were unanimous in their demands for justice and equality in human society.

"To respect all people and to protect their quality of life are religious duties incumbent on us."

They said the present political dispensation in South Africa was based on the division of people and the domination by one group over tne rest.

"The Nationalist government in their obsession with group identity use this as a base of tricameralism. We are warning that, as long as the obsession with groups and groups rights continues at the expense of the nation, peace will elude us."

The signatories said the forthcoming municipal elections were meant to strengthen racial separation and militate against freedom of association.

"Having witnessed the failure of the present tricameral system of parliament, it will be disastrous to promote and support a system of local government based on the same principles. The oppression and dehumanisation of the majority of the people will simply continue.

"We believe that for as long as the majority of people are denied equal participation in central government they have the right to abstain from voting for a system that will only perpetuate the reality of divide and rule. We as leaders and as adherents of different faiths urge our people not to vote.

"By taking this stand we regard ourselves as positively and peacefully involved in creating a new South African nation. We furthermore advise the government to regard the abstention from voting on October 26 as the unintimidated expression of the will of the people. We believe that a society based on the respect of common humanity and freedom of association in a unitary state is what this nation wants and needs.

"We share a common belief that God is on the side of the oppressed and calls upon us as religious leaders and adherents of different faiths to become God's witness-bearers against injustice and inequality."

Last week the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in Pretoria the government would not prosecute Tutu or Boesak to deny them the martyrdom they so urgently sought.

The statement was signed by:

Rev A Bhiman, Institute of Contextual Theology, Dr A Boesak, Rev F Chikane, general secretary SACC; Dr GC Cuthbertson, dept of history, Unisa; M Dangor, Acstop; F Dawjee, editor Al Qalam; Maulana Esack, Call of Islam; Sheikh F Gamielden, head of Institute of Islamic Law; Dr AM Grundlingh, dept of history, Unisa; Imam Y Harris, Muslim Judicial Council; Dr L Hulley, dept of systematic theology, Unisa; Dr E Jasset, Central Islamic Trust; Rev JN Kritzinger, dept of missiology, Unisa; Dr J Lambert, dept of theology, Unisa; Rev GJA Lubbe; Prof SS Maimela, dept systematic theology, Unisa; Prof F Meer, director of Institute of Black Research; Dr KE Mgojo, president of Methodist Church; Father S Mkhatshwa; Rev S Mogoba, general secretary of Methodist Church; Rev M Mohabi, St Andrews Presbyterian Church, Pretoria, Dr M Moore, moderator Presbyterian Church of SA; Rev Z Mokgoebo, Beelydendekring; Sheikh N Mahammed, president, Muslim Judicial Council; Maulana E Moosa, Muslim Youth Movement, Dr B Naude, Eucumenical Advice Bureau; Dr E van Niekerk, dept systematic theology; Father A Nolan, Institute of Contextual Theology; Archbishop TW Ntongana; Rev D Olivier, dept systematic theology, Unisa; Imar R Umar, Muslim Youth Movement, Prof WA Saayman, dept of missiology, Unisa; Prof C du P Le Roux, dept of science of religion, Unisa; S Satgar, president, Veda Dharma Sabha, Maritzburg; U Satgoor; Y Sooka, World Conference on Religion and Peace; Molvi M Suliman; Archbishop Tutu. – Sapa

# Big guns are out in the fight for Pretoria

Star 17/10/88

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON,
Pretoria Bureau

A month before the first vote was cast in the Pretoria municipal elections the Conservative Party appeared to have won its first seat on the council — jubilantly hailed as an omen by the CP camp.

Three weeks later that unopposed seat was snatched from the party when the National Party's man — one of eight candidates to have their nominations rejected — was back in the fight after a Supreme Court ruling.

**FIGHT FOR CONTROL**

Several candidates joined the election late before Pretoria could at last settle down to watch the gloves-off fight between the country's two most powerful white political groupings for control of the capital.

The CP hopes Pretoria — the "psychological capital of Afrikaner nationalism" according to party leaders — will crown an expected string of victories in smaller Transvaal towns.

Pretoria has long been traditionally, solidly behind the NP; party organisers dismiss any CP claim to the city as "laughable" — but some have expressed private concern.

Testimony to this, and to the importance of the election, is the number of Cabinet Ministers addressing meetings.

The big guns are out: The right wing kicked off with an impassioned plea from Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche for voters to support right-wing candidates, by implication the CP.

The party's leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will address the party's final meeting before election day.

On the sidelines of the battle royale are two peripheral parties to the right and left of the main opponents — the Herstigte Nasionale Party and a non-affiliated grouping established for the election, Pretoria 2 000.

Pretoria 2 000 is standing in seven wards, and has an excellent chance of taking at least two, those fought by Mrs Mary Hammond-Tooke and veteran Progressive Federal Party councillor Mr Tertius Spies.

The NP is trying, even in constituencies such as these, where the CP has little support, to scare voters into its own camp with the threat of the right.

But a possible backlash from reform moves such as opening of all trains to all races and the introduction of free trading areas may actually erode the NP support base to the advantage of Pretoria 2 000.

Mrs Hammond-Tooke lost to the NP




by only 42 votes in a 1986 by-election; the CP fared badly.

The number of Pretoria wards was increased from 36 to 42 for this election — said to favour the PFP at the time of the announcement, but also hailed by the CP as ensuring victory in at least 19 seats.

The Government being the main employer in Pretoria, the NP should be confident of victory. But public servant support has been sharply eroded in the past two years by pay disputes.

These left such a bad taste that not even recent, last-minute promises of pay hikes may be enough to keep that support.

The CP has also managed to place at least the perception of a distance between itself and the far right recently, gaining respectability with the title of Official Opposition in the general election last year.

The election saw not one CP MP represent Pretoria — but it was openly acknowledged that the CP suffered from sharing the right-wing vote with the HNP.

That factor is scaled down considerably in the municipal election. The HNP has put up only four candidates, not enough to rob the CP of a majority.

**'TRUTH TRIUMPHS'**

Posters bear a sometimes unclear message: many NP posters are selling "Truth", as in "Truth triumphs! Think! Vote Nat". This is countered by the CP's: "Yes! Truth triumphs. That is why the CP will win!"

On a more specific level, the Group Areas Act is the main arena, with the NP being forced to react to a range of CP attacks on this front, some posters sounding an almost desperate note with assurances that "Own areas *is* NP policy".

This followed a rash of CP posters appearing early in the campaign showing a graveyard, mourning Hillbrow integration and stating: "No Hillbrow slum for Sunnyside!".

# Palazzolo link mayor rejected

Cape Times 17/10/88

304A

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The National Party had rejected the mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange, as a candidate in the municipal elections because of his involvement in the Palazzolo affair, the MP for East London North, Mr Callie Badenhorst, said last night.

He said Mr De Lange was "trying all sorts of things" to link himself to the NP's candidate in Ward 6 (Vincent), Mr Chris Winterbach, and secure election in that way.

He said when Mr De Lange found himself rejected by the NP in his old ward, Ward 1 (West Bank), he "came running" to Ward 6.

He said he could only conclude that Mr De Lange was trying to get on to the council "on our backs".

● Nat quits over Palazzolo — Page 5

## State President enthroned among splendours of Black Africa

# Royal welcome from Ivory Coast

STAR 17/10/88 3049

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

YAMOUSSOKRO — The State President, Mr P W Botha, received a formal and friendly welcome during his five-hour late-night visit to the Ivory Coast at the weekend.

His chartered South African Airways Boeing 747 touched down at Yamoussokro, the birthplace of Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and designated capital of this West African state, 40 km inland from Abidjan, shortly before 11 pm South African time on Saturday night.

Mr Botha and his entourage were returning from a nine-day visit to Europe, where he had met several political and business leaders as well as taking a brief break with friends at a resort on Lake Geneva.

President Houphouet-Boigny was the fourth African leader President Botha had met in as many weeks.

It was the first visit to the Ivory Coast by a South African head of government since Prime Minister Mr John Vorster went there more than a decade ago.

The South African aircraft was met at Yamoussokro airfield by the Foreign Minister of the Ivory Coast Mr Simon Ake.

A mass band of more than 200 players, including several bongo drummers, greeted the South Africans.

A young girl presented Mrs Botha with a bunch of flowers, and received in return a toy panda and a hug.

The State President was ushered past a guard of honour, members of the Ivory Coast presidential guard who wore thigh-high black boots, Roman centurion-type gold helmets and full-length scarlet-and-white capes.

Each pair of soldiers Mr Botha passed raised long curved swords in salute.

Mr Botha was then driven to a Government guest house in the grounds of the palace of President Houphouet-Boigny.

### 15 km of armed troops

The 15 km from the airport to the palace was lined with armed soldiers.

President Houphouet-Boigny's palace is a most impressive complex. It comprises several marble buildings set in vast grounds which are surrounded by a four-metre-high white wall.

Huge ornate gates bear the initials HB in an imposing archway.

Inside the guest house, in a room which was easily more than 800 sq m and hung with French tapestries and massive oil paintings, President Houphouet-Boigny received Mr Botha.

After welcoming the Bothas to his house, the Ivory Coast leader departed for his own residence, about 2 km away in the palace grounds.

Mr P W Botha and Mrs Botha sat on chairs in the room which were more like thrones.

They were told the room had been built so that state guests could take their tea in it.

There was much joking in Afrikaans among the South Africans about the relative slum conditions the State President and Foreign Minister lived and worked in.

South African journalists quipped that the politicians should not get any ideas.

President Botha and his entourage then left for President Houphouet-Boigny's residence, a labyrinth of wood-panelled rooms and showcases of jades, ivories, Chinese porcelain and other magnificent treasures.

President Houphouet-Boigny took President Botha on a tour of his most precious treasures which included a huge jade carving and a 1 000-year-old Chinese sculpture.

The two presidents and the foreign ministers then took dinner separately so as to be able to discuss matters of state in private.

Their wives sat in another room while the rest of the South African party, including the media, dined with the Ivory Coast Cabinet in a mirrored salon.

A sumptuous four-course meal was served on gold-leaf crockery, again bearing the initials HB.

The dinner and discussions between the two presidents went on for so long that the rest of the South African party and the Ivory Coast Cabinet retired to the large reception room to wait for them.

Several Ministers told the South Africans that President Botha's new policy to reach out to Africa was the best thing that South Africa had done for a long time.

One Minister told The Star that it was time all African countries settled their differences so that the continent could develop as a whole and compete effectively against Europe and America.

### Accepted as equals

Another said South Africans were welcome to holiday in the Ivory Coast and they should be encouraged to do so so that they could see how a black capitalist country operated.

He said it was with great pleasure that his Government had received the South Africans. The fact that the South Africans wanted to come to Ivory Coast was proof that they had accepted black Africans as equals, he said.

"You must realise that when people are stupid they are stupid regardless of their colour. Black and white stupid people are all the same, just stupid," he said.

The talks between the two heads of state over, President Houphouet-Boigny greeted his guests, saying he was so sorry they could not stay the night.

President Botha then went through various departure ceremonies.

At the airport he told the media he and his host had agreed not to make a substantial statement on their discussions.

He said he had come to Yamoussokro because the goodwill that existed between him and the Ivory Coast leader did not allow him to bypass the country on the way home.

President Houphouet-Boigny was one of Africa's wise elder statesmen and it was always a privilege to meet with him, he said.

Mr Botha said they had discussed in general terms various matters concerning Africa, and particularly southern Africa.

The visit over, an obviously extremely satisfied Mr Botha boarded the aircraft for his return home.

The visit to Yamoussokro had been the cherry on top of a successful diplomatic exercise that started in Europe more than a week ago.



The State President, Mr P W Botha, meets President Felix Houphouet-Boigny — his fourth meeting with an African leader in as many weeks.

# No polls in four areas 32413

**Mr Olaus van Zyl, MEC for Transvaal today said there would be no elections in three Eastern Transvaal towns and in Tembisa on October 26.**

**He said the four towns did not have enough candidates to form a council.** Star 17/10/88

**The towns affected are Silubela in Carolina, Emgwenwa in Watervaalboven, Siazenzela at Pardekop near Standerton and Tembisa on the East Rand.**

**"There are three ways in which we can solve the situation in this towns.**

**"We can appoint administrators as is the case in Tembisa, appoint councillors or hold by-elections.**

**"Because we believe in democracy we shall opt for the holding of bi-elections during the first half of next year,"Mr van Zyl said.** — Staff Reporter.



President Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha are welcomed back at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after their 10-day trip to Europe and Africa.

# PW to concentrate now on more domestic issues

Star 17/10/84

30471

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

With foreign travel over for the time being, the President, Mr P W Botha, is now likely to turn his attention to pressing domestic problems.

Mr Botha and his entourage arrived back in South Africa yesterday after a triumphant nine-day tour of Europe and the Ivory Coast.

Almost the entire Cabinet, under the leadership of Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis, was on the tarmac at Jan Smuts Airport to meet President Botha and his wife.

A contingent of the State President's Guard was also on the tarmac, and a South African Police band played the national anthem.

President Botha has every reason to be pleased with his travels abroad. They yielded substantially more than had been expected.

What started off as essentially a private visit to Switzerland, was broadened to include stops in Munich, Lisbon and Yamoussokro — home town of Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha used the President's trip to make a secret visit to an unnamed country which does not have diplomatic relations with South Africa.

During his travels, President Botha met West German Chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl, the heads of state of Turkey, Togo and Niger (all at the funeral of Bavarian Prime Minister Dr Franz-Josef Strauss), the Swiss Foreign Minister, Portuguese Prime Minister Professor Anibal Cavaco Silva, Mr Houphouet-Boigny, and many influential European bankers and businessmen.

South African diplomats said there had been great interest in Mr Botha's plea for a Marshall Plan-type infusion of capital into southern Africa for joint projects between South Africa and neighbouring states.

South African diplomats believe the President's visit to Europe has gone a long way toward defusing the international sanctions campaign against South Africa.

But they caution that the excellent progress made by South Africa in its international diplomacy in recent weeks can now be consolidated and developed further only if impetus is given to it by progress in South Africa's domestic politics, a subject to which Mr Botha is now likely to give close tention.

● See Page 6.

# Moves for PW to meet Fidel Castro

By James Tomlins, The Star's Foreign News Service

PARIS — President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast is playing for high stakes — nothing less than a P W Botha-Castro summit.

African diplomatic sources here said that the Cuban leader would fly to see Mr Houphouet-Boigny before the end of October to discuss the matter.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday he had no comment to make on the summit speculation.

The State President, Mr P W Botha's meeting at Yamoussoukro could turn out to be the most important of all his recent overseas trips, the sources said.

Mr Houphouet-Boigny sees such a summit as the crowning success of his unceasing efforts to promote black-white peace on his continent.

"He has more prestige and muscle with Castro than Mobutu, who is looked on by Havana as a US puppet," sources said.

"We presume that Mr Botha was told about such a summit at Yamoussoukro."

An Ivory Coast source said that his president initially planned to arrange for Mr Botha to meet Dr Castro last Saturday, but "there was too much flak from French diplomats and he was forced to drop the scheme".

A French official said: "Only a summit at this level can break the present logjam, but Houphouet-Boigny would have to use all his great charm and persuasiveness to bring about such a meeting."

## Four held by Transkei police

Star 13/10/86

UMTATA — Four people have reportedly been detained by the Transkei security police.

According to district surgeon, Dr A T Mtimkulu, his son, Mr Mvula Mtimkulu, a third-year B Juris student at Turfloop University, was detained at the weekend.

Dr Mtimkulu said his son was to have started his end-of-year examinations, which he was now likely to miss.

He missed the examinations last year after being detained in November.

Also believed to have been detained are Miss Pumla Ramcwana and two other men.

Police were not available for comment. — Sapa.

# CP candidate claims R500 000 over letter

Star 17/10/86

**Pretoria Correspondent**

A Pietersburg Conservative Party (CP) candidate in the municipal elections has claimed R500 000 from a local newspaper, its editor and a resident.

Mr J J Kemp alleged in an affidavit handed to the Pretoria Supreme Court that a letter from Mrs Yvonne Davel published in the *Noordelike Review* had defamed his "good name and reputation".

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Mr Justice Van Dyk ordered that Mr Kemp pay the costs of the application and answer Mrs Davel's request for further particulars within seven days of the order being served on Mr Kemp's lawyers.

Mr Kemp was to pay the costs of the application and Mrs Davel was to be allowed to continue with the same documents to obtain legal advice should Mr Kemp not supply further particulars.

Mrs Davel requested further particulars from Mr Kemp in order to prepare for the defamation case.

These included:

- What is the official policy of the CP regarding the presence of blacks in towns like Pietersburg?

- Is the applicant in favour of a white homeland which would include Pietersburg and how is the amount of R500 000 damages calculated?

## Police influenced, me — MP's friend

**By Celeste Louw**

A former flatmate of suspended National Party MP for Hillbrow Mr Leon de Beer appeared before a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday on nine counts of fraud and four counts of contravening the Electoral Act.

Sergeant Jan Petrus van der Merwe (25), told the court he had been influenced by police to make two statements about alleged irregularities during last year's elections.

The defence has objected to the statements.

The sergeant told the court that a Major William Deerans had told him that he would not be prosecuted if he made the statements.

The hearing continues.

# SOFASONKE IN COURT - AGAIN

## Bid to reinstate candidates

**THE Sofasonke Party is once more taking the Soweto City Council's electoral officer, Mr Nico Malan, to court. The case is to be heard in the Rand Supreme Court tomorrow.**

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

Sofasonke Party spokesman Mr Isiah Nxumalo, one of those who have been reinstated, said the disqualification of his party's candidates was due to the voters' roll which "is in a mess". He said some people who died as long ago as 1964, were still on the voters roll. Among the four examples he quoted was that of his mother-in-law.

The party is asking the court to set aside the disqualification of seven of its candidates. The seven were among about 20 Sofasonke members who were disqualified when nominations closed on September 15.

The party has already won the reinstatement of eight of its candidates who are now campaigning in the prior voting arrangement which started on October 10. Special voting closes on October 22.

# Time for a switch of focus in battle against apartheid

**KEN OWEN**

IF YOU believe that power will be transferred from white South Africans to blacks within, say, five years, or if you believe that the release of Nelson Mandela will achieve a negotiated settlement of the race conflict in the same time span, or if you think sanctions will bring the country to its knees, don't bother to read the rest of this column.

It deals with the more likely prospect that a South African solution will have to be wrested from the future bit by painful bit.

For the moment, the political situation is deadlocked, and it does little good to deliver oneself of pious exhortations to the Nationalists to "reform". Except for repeal of the Group Areas Act, it is very difficult to see what major reforms can be achieved unless the constitutional problem — the question of power — is resolved.

Even repeal of the Group Areas Act would be more symbolic than real. Only a tiny minority of black people could, or would want to, move into the white suburbs. Similarly, integration of the school system would, in practice, leave most black children at all-black schools, and most white children at predominantly white schools. As we know from the experience of English and Afrikaans communities, natural segregation tends to be tenacious.

The Nationalists' problem in repealing the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts, not to speak of the integration of schools and hospitals, is that it would play strongly into the hands of the Conservative Party, which is already dauntingly powerful. The NP simply will not do it.

President Botha, had he dared, could probably have repealed the Group Areas Act three years ago. Had he done so, we would by now have been able to observe (as Claire Pickard-Cambridge discovered in her study of residential de-segregation in Harare and Windhoek) that not much happens when the barriers come down. But he missed the chance to reform boldly, and now the CP has scared the voters so thoroughly that he has a real political problem.

People who brush aside that problem, one suspects, would not mind seeing a CP government in power, perhaps on the theory that worse is better, and that reform is the enemy of revolution. But the Nationalists, who alone have the capacity to act, have persuaded themselves — just listen to the municipal campaign rhetoric! — that they cannot remove the Group Areas Act without losing office. Therefore they are instead tightening the controls.

The conclusions to be drawn from this analysis are implacable: the whites cannot for the foreseeable future be displaced from power, either by sanctions or by violence; the Nationalists can be displaced from office only by the Conservative Party; the great reform process initiated by President Botha has, for the moment, exhausted itself; the only political reforms — apartheid reforms, if you like — that lie immediately in prospect are trivial, and will do nothing much to resolve the political crisis; and the prospects for negotiation for a transfer of power are exceedingly remote.

Faced with this kind of deadlock, one can either do things which are useless but emotionally satisfying, like exploding bombs or calling on foreigners to make us poor, or like being abusive; or one can try to shift the battle to a more promising front.

The liberal Institute of Race Relations has in fact been charting such an alternative course by trying to identify the triggers of past changes in order to determine how more change may be achieved.

For example, the recognition of black trades unions followed (inexorably!) on the acquisition of essential skills by black workers, initially in the textile industry. When employers tried to sack illegal strikers, they found that their factories came to a halt. The Wiehahn reforms that followed simply recognised, and formulated an appropriate response to, changes which had already occurred in the labour market.

Similarly, the recognition of the permanence of black urban dwellers followed (rather more tardily) the realisation that the society itself could no longer function without them. The tide of black people to the cities was supposed to be turned in 1978; but 1978 has come and gone, and the tide flows stronger than ever.

Influx control collapsed simply because the police could no longer enforce the pass laws. The task had become immense, and it exceeded the capacity of the white society to keep black people out of the cities. Repeal of the pass laws simply formalised the position, and made sense of it.

I do not denigrate the importance of President Botha's reforms in these matters. Unlike many of his critics, I think the reforms have made an irreversible and revolutionary change to the character of South African society. But the trigger was, in almost every case, the actions of black people acting in response to the incentives of an expanding economy.

There was, of course, a time lag. The on-the-ground changes of the Seventies followed the rapid growth of the Sixties; the law caught up only

11/10/88

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in the following decade. Conversely, the recent weakening of the labour movement and the reversal of some earlier gains — including the political reversals implicit in the rise of the CP — have followed the stagnation of the Eighties.

The implications are plain. Instead of expending energy uselessly in attacking the Group Areas Act, reformers might find it more fruitful to look to strategies of black empowerment.

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, has recently been telling black businessmen to act as the Afrikaners acted two generations ago; to favour their own; to develop and exploit their own markets. That, though I do not wish to prescribe to black people, is one such strategy.

For whites, the best strategy, I think, is to work for the democratisation of the economy. Obstacles to black participation in the economy are thrown up more often by businessmen protecting selfish and narrow interests than by government itself. The opposition of vested lobbies to deregulation is an obvious example; opposition to privatisation is another.

Prospects for change, for the time being, lie not in the deadlocked political arena, but in the more flexible economic sphere where strategic shifts can give black people the opportunity, as workers or consumers or managers, to liberate themselves.

Neither government nor big business can house the homeless, nor employ the unemployed, nor feed their families, nor control their behaviour. If big business stopped lobbying for protections, favours, concessions and monopolies — if it stopped using government as an instrument of oppression — the poor would have a better chance of looking after themselves.

The social forces that collapsed the pass laws and swept away job reservation and breached the group areas will sweep away the rest of the system soon enough. All it requires to help is to shift the focus from the restrictions of apartheid to the opportunities of a free economy.

Picture by Gerhard Forgierer.

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# Treisman rejects quit call over group areas

**Municipal Reporter**

The Progressive Federal Party municipal candidate in Yeoville has challenged his National Party opponent to resign from the NP or the Transvaal Law Society, alleging his political views clash with the society's legal objections to the Group Areas Act.

Mr Martin Sweet (PFP) said: "On the one hand, Mr Stan Treisman is a politician supporting the Group Areas and Free Settlement Acts, but on the other he is a lawyer supporting his society's objections to the same legislation.

"He cannot have it both ways. The objections to which he is a signatory appear in the September issue of *De Rebus*, the Law Society magazine, yet back in Yeoville he has issued a pamphlet offering the voters the choice of living in a whites only or mixed area."

Mr Treisman dismissed the call, saying the legal profession objected to some aspects of group areas legislation, not the principle.

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# PFP 'must state its plans for Hillbrow'

**Municipal Reporter**

Mr Danie van Zyl, leader of the National Party in the Johannesburg City Council, has challenged the Progressive Federal Party to tell the electorate whether it plans to open the entire city to all races if it wins control of the council on October 26.

"Without a doubt this election is an informal referendum on desegregation," said Mr van Zyl on Friday.

"The PFP has been saying for years that it favours integration and it is now time that their council leader, Mr Tony Leon, and his candidates spell it out to the voters.

"The Conservative Party must also come clean and tell the people what its plans are for the already mixed area of Hillbrow. Is it going to evict all the black tenants and bear the consequences?

"NP policy is clear on open areas but neither the PFP nor the CP have explained in simple terms how they will approach this question if they are elected to power in Johannesburg," he said.

man rejects quit

# How you can help SA!

Star 17/10/87

**How can South Africa be saved from decades of racism and violence?**

**How can South Africans find peace and prosperity together?**

**What do YOU believe to be the best route to follow?**

**Who should lead us?**

**What are the priorities?**

**Should there be major compromises?**

**Is our polarised society still capable of finding common interests on which to base negotiations?**

**In an attempt to answer these questions, The Star has gone to the people to test their views.**

**It is a novel — almost unprecedented — approach because seldom in our history has public opinion been fully consulted on political issues.**

**White voters are often consulted. The views of "coloureds" and "Indians" have been tested through elections and several polls. The views of blacks have very occasionally been looked at on specific issues.**

**All, of course, are constantly polled about their consumer interests and their political "own affairs".**

**But South Africans seem incapable of looking at normal public opinion for what it really is — the sum of individual opinions of adult citizens.**

**Instead, we colour-code everything, and thus often distort normal human values and judgments.**

**The Star has researched the opinions of a scientifically-assessed representative sample of all the people living in the Pretoria-Greater-Johannesburg-Witwatersrand area.**

**This is an area accommodating nearly 6 million people in the largest metropolitan complex on the sub-continent and the biggest industrial region in Africa.**

**These urbanised citizens of South Africa's economic heartland have responded to the challenge "How can we save South Africa" — but we did not record, or even ask them to tell us, their official racial classification.**

**We categorised people as people — people of different**

17/10/88

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save South Africa — but we did not record, or even ask them to tell us, their offici racial classification.

We categorised people as people — people of different languages, different levels of income, different standards of education and from different urbanised regions ... everybody, from millionaires to squatters.

The synthesis of their opinions makes interesting — often startling — reading. It is bound to have an impact on the political strategies of every party and extra-parliamentary organisation.

The combined (but never uniform) views of these 6 million people offer renewed hope for South Africa.

BUT ... being South Africans, you (and all respondents) will wish to know how each "group" felt.

Political decision-making is seen by too many South Africans as irrelevant if "group" interests are not charted. So, by means of Group Areas and language, the survey of views on saving the country can also be analysed in terms of race.

The "PW" metropolitan area differs from the national population ratios in that approximately equal numbers of blacks and whites are resident in it.

However, our charts will not even mention race where it is not relevant.

Often we shall be listing as Afrikaans-speaking people some who are officially classified as "coloured", and many whom we have recorded as "home-language, English" may be people whose families came from Europe, India or some other continent.

However, every African (with the exception of one respondent) claimed an African home-language.

The poll was conducted over two weeks in five languages. The unique methodology, adapted to South Africa's polarised society, had already been developed by our researchers — and its accuracy proven against actual results of local political polls.

From tomorrow, you can learn from The Star what people in this region really believe — irrespective of race or political slogans.

You will learn about the firm views which your countrymen have on the way to save the country.

— Editor-in-Chief

● See Page 2.

tive Constable van der Watt at (011) 839-3322.

# Whites lag in Lowveld prior voting

(3044) Star 17/10/88

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

Indians and coloureds have so far dominated prior voting in municipal elections in the Lowveld.

By closing time on Saturday more than 54 percent of Nelspruit's coloured voters at Nelsville had cast their votes.

Indian voting at Valencia Park was brisk at 42 percent.

In Barberton 45 percent of the coloureds and 15 percent of the Indians voted.

White voting was slower, with 7,5 percent at Nelspruit, where seven of the nine seats were particularly quiet, and 10 percent at Barberton.

At White River, where only white voters are taking part in the elections, only 13 percent of the voters have so far indicated their choice of candidate.

CM Times 17/10/88

# Nat quits over MP's links with Palazzolo

**Own Correspondent**

EAST LONDON. — The former chairman of the National Party in East London, Mr Michael Nel, resigned his position after learning that the MP for the constituency, Mr Peet de Pontes, was involved with convicted drug dealer Vito Palazzolo.

Mr Nel, who is running for the city council, confirmed yesterday that his resignation in June this year was directly caused by disclosures of Mr De Pontes's connections with Palazzolo.

"I was not prepared to stay on as divisional chairman with everything that was going on," he said, adding that he also feared that his business could suffer as a result of the disclosures.

"I try to walk the straight and narrow."

He said there were more reasons for his decision to stand down as chairman, but he could not disclose them at this stage.

Meanwhile, the Sunday Star reported yesterday that Mafia money helped the NP to run an extravagant general election campaign in East London City in May last year.

The paper quotes Mr De Pontes's PFP opponent in the election, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaighte, as saying that the campaign was "a razzmatazz of the highest order".

According to evidence before the Harms Commission, a cheque for R42 000 which was paid into the East London City NP's overdrawn election account had been drawn on a company of which Mr De Pontes and Palazzolo were directors.

Mr Bassingthwaighte said Mr De Pontes had run an extravagant campaign which included lavish parties, a large number of posters, a vast number of newspaper advertisements — including comic-strip cartoons — and many pamphlet drops.

Mr Bassingthwaighte claimed that Nationalist supporters were abandoning the party in East London in the wake of mounting evidence against Mr De Pontes, and other Nationalists like the Mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange.

The MP for East London North, Mr Calle Badenhorst, last night said it was "not true" that the NP was losing support over the Palazzolo affair.

# Harms: 'No knowledge of second mafioso'

**Own Correspondent**

EAST LONDON. — A Ciskei government spokesman said yesterday that he had no knowledge of a second Mafia businessman who had plans in the homeland to launder money obtained from international drug sales.

According to statements submitted to the Harms commission, the man, a Singapore magnate named Mr Howe Kwong Kok, had been the guest of the MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, on several occasions.

It is claimed that Mr De Pontes had helped Mr Kok, who was said to be the main link between the Italian Mafia and the Chinese Mafia, to apply for a permanent resident's permit in South Africa for one of his daughters.

Details of Mr Kok's alleged dealings in Ciskei were published in Rapport yesterday.

Ciskei's deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, said a proposal to establish a Ciskei-Swiss bank had been on the table in 1985 "but it never got off the ground".

He said he had never heard of Mr Kok, and he was not certain if Mr De Pontes had been involved in negotiations for the proposed bank.

Mr Somtunzi said he also had no knowledge of another allegation made in a statement by Palazzolo that Mr De Pontes had earned R450 000 in overseas commission for a deal to dump nuclear waste from abroad in Ciskei.

"To my knowledge Douw Steyn (Ciskei's former ambassador plenipotentiary) was the contact man in that proposal and the project was rejected by experts called in by Ciskei," he said.

Mr De Pontes could not be reached for comment yesterday.

# Many townships untouched by election build-up

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

While most of the country is involved in election activity in the run-up to October 26, life goes on quietly in a substantial number of black townships where either an insufficient number of candidates have been nominated or where no candidates have been elected unopposed.

In some areas, a start has been made on arrangements for local authority by-elections early next year.

The assistant director of black local authorities in the Transvaal, Mr Piet de Beer, yesterday said too few candidates had been nominated in four Transvaal townships to form a town council quorum.

They were Tembisa on the East Rand, Silubela in Carolina, Emgwenya in Waterval Boven and Siyazenzela near Standerton.

In addition, he said, there were nine other townships where elections had been unopposed.

In Alexandra, for example, candidates had been elected unopposed in eight wards.

Mr de Beer said this phenomenon did not indicate a lack of interest in local authorities, but he said: "They often have their own way of chosing candidates. Once the candidates have been chosen, they are often not opposed."

Blacks were "generally satisfied" with the local authority system, he claimed. "This is demonstrated by the fact that 457 sitting councillors have been nominated, again compared to 629 new candidates."

**NO NOMINATIONS**

In the Cape, no nominations had been received in four townships — Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, Lwandle in the Cradock, and Worcester's Strand and Worcester's black township, Mr Joppa le Roux, the province's deputy director of local government, said.

A by-election was already being organised in Motherwell, he said.

A spokesman for Natal's chief electoral officer said no elections were taking place in a number of townships.

For example, no nominations had been received in Sobantu, Maritzburg's black township, or the five wards of Klaarwater near Pinetown.

# Lively run-up to elections in P'burg

3064 Star 18/10/88

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

Lively political debate has marked the run-up to the Pietersburg municipal election, with so-called independents coming under increasing pressure to show their true political colours.

The 18 candidates standing in the town's nine wards are from many different walks of life — there are several academics, company directors, attorneys and contractors, an estate agent, a dentist and two pensioners.

The capital of the north, with 17 000 registered voters, has grown rapidly in the last 10 years, but the election issues are political, not economic. It is clearly a straight battle between the Conservative and National parties for control of the town council.

The fireworks started two months ago when a CP candidate, Mr Koos Kemp, sued a local newspaper and one of its readers for defamation, claiming R500 000 damages.

The action is being opposed, and last week Mr Kemp was ordered by a Supreme Court judge to answer the questions put to him by the reader in a letter published in the *Northern Review*. He also has to detail how his R500 000 claim is made up.

Last month the two candidates in Ward 3, Mr Schalk Schalkwyk and Mr Hannes Engelbrecht, both sitting town councillors, crossed swords during a council meeting over a proposed fence to keep blacks from an industrial area out of an adjoining white suburb where they had been buying food.

This month the local NP news




Pietersburg's coat of arms.




paper launched a scathing attack on the mayor, Mr Mars de Klerk, who is a CP candidate, alleging he was not practising what he preached, and that he had wrongly politicised the office of mayor.

Of the so-called independents, three openly support the CP, and have allowed their election posters to be grouped with those of the other rightwingers at the election polling centre. They are Mr Hennie van Vuuren, a headmaster, Professor Willie Botha of the University of the North and Mr Thys Cornelius, principal of the Pietersburg Technical College.

The CP candidates say they are against the relaxation of influx control and the establishment of free trading areas and grey residential areas.

Some of the NP-supported independents have tried to strengthen their bona fides with slogans such as "vote for your own interests", and "throw out politics", but their opponents claim this is just a smokescreen.

One independent, Mr Johan Stemmet, had to put up with questions by five CP candidates when he held a meeting in his ward.

The local NP office, inundated with inquiries about the political loyalty of candidate Mr Apollo Kellerman, issued a letter informing voters in this ward that Mr Kellerman was, in fact, a Nationalist.

Voting in Pietersburg has been quite brisk with 20 percent of the voters having made their choice by yesterday. In nearby Westenburg, 50 percent of the coloured ratepayers have already cast their votes, but in the Indian township of Nirvana all the candidates are unopposed.

Voters in the townships have expressed fears that an increased CP majority in the white town council could signal the end of meaningful dialogue between the various population groups.

# Scrapping of apartheid seen as central SA issue

Star 18/10/88 3044

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The abolition of apartheid is seen by an overwhelming majority of people in South Africa's industrial heartland as the most important step to be taken to avert national disaster.

That central point emerges in a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) for The Star on what must be done to avoid potential catastrophe.

Nearly a quarter of people of all races see the scrapping of apartheid as the fundamental national priority.

The next most important urgent issues in the public mind are the right of all people to participate equally in the administration of the country — a phrase which includes the granting of universal adult suffrage — and the need to overcome the country's economic problems, particularly inflation, and to improve the standard of living.

But these issues weigh far less heavily on people's minds than their belief that apartheid — defined loosely as enforced racial separation — should be consigned to the historical rubbish heap.

Only 6,3 percent of the 1 052 people interviewed — not much more than a 20th — rate the vote as the most important issue, against 26,1 percent who perceive apartheid as the main problem.

## Economy

Coincidentally, exactly the same proportion, 6,3 percent, believe that the most important issue to be tackled is the country's economic problem.

These three issues emerge as the most prevalent among the responses obtained from a scientific sample of 1 052 people in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand area to an open-ended question.

They were told that South Africa faces a "number of serious problems" and then asked: "What do you personally believe is the single most important issue to be dealt with in order to save our country?"

Their replies cover a wide range of issues and remedies. The perceived first requirement for curing South Africa's ills varies from immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act (or, in fewer cases, to its retention) through elimination of radicals (with Archbishop Desmond Tutu cited as an example) to further restrictions on the media.

Generally, those who speak an African language at home are the staunchest supporters of scrapping apartheid.

Thus 36,6 percent of African-language respondents see abolition of apartheid as an immediate priority, while only 11,9 percent of those whose home language is Afrikaans share that view (Afrikaans-speakers may include Afrikaans-speaking coloured people).

One apparent anomaly in the replies is that support for the immediate repeal of apartheid is four times as great as support for the extension of the vote (26,1 percent against




6,3 percent).

As denial of an equal parliamentary vote to Africans is a cardinal element of apartheid, it follows logically that, on the face of it, there should be a strong correlation between wanting to eliminate apartheid and wanting the vote.

Perhaps the explanation for the discrepancy is that apartheid in its socio-economic dimension — the laws and practices which humiliate people and deny them equality of economic opportunity — weighs more heavily on the everyday lives of many people than apartheid as a vote-denying policy.

Surprisingly few respondents see abolition of the state of emergency as an immediate prerequisite for averting disaster: only three of the 1 052 respondents, a minuscule 0,3 percent.

In a related question the repondents are asked to list the three most important problem areas to be solved. But, unlike the first question, it was not open-ended.

Instead, the respondents are given 14 issues or problems to choose from. They ranged from Group Areas to deficiencies in the educational and voting systems.

Here education emerged as the area identified by most as the one most likely to yield the best results in resolving the national crisis.

## Crucial issue

More than four in every 10 respondents, 40,6 percent, name education as one of the three most crucial issues.

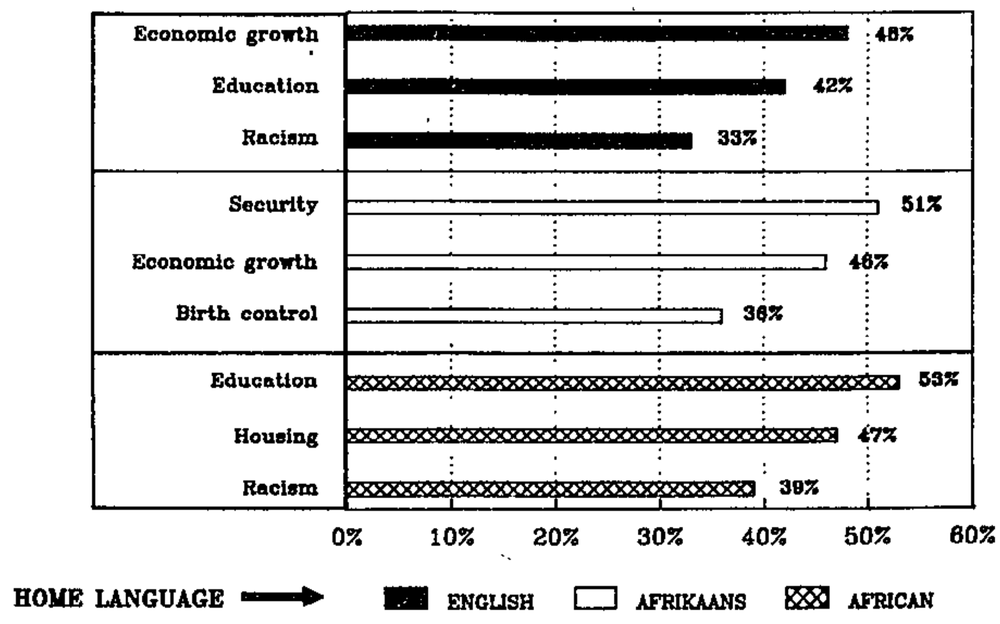
The next most frequently identified issues are the economy — where there is a strong feeling about the need for sustained economic growth — housing and racism. The rating on these issues is 40,1, 33,7 and 31,5 percent respectively.

Universal franchise, 16,9 percent, is relatively low down the list. So, too, are security and the "border war".

English-speakers put economic growth first on their list of issues to be dealt with, with education and racism receiving the next highest mention.

By contrast security was of most concern to Afrikaans-speakers, followed by economic growth and birth control. Those speaking a black language at home felt that education followed by housing and racism were the most important problems to solve.

### 3 MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR DIFFERENT SUB GROUPS

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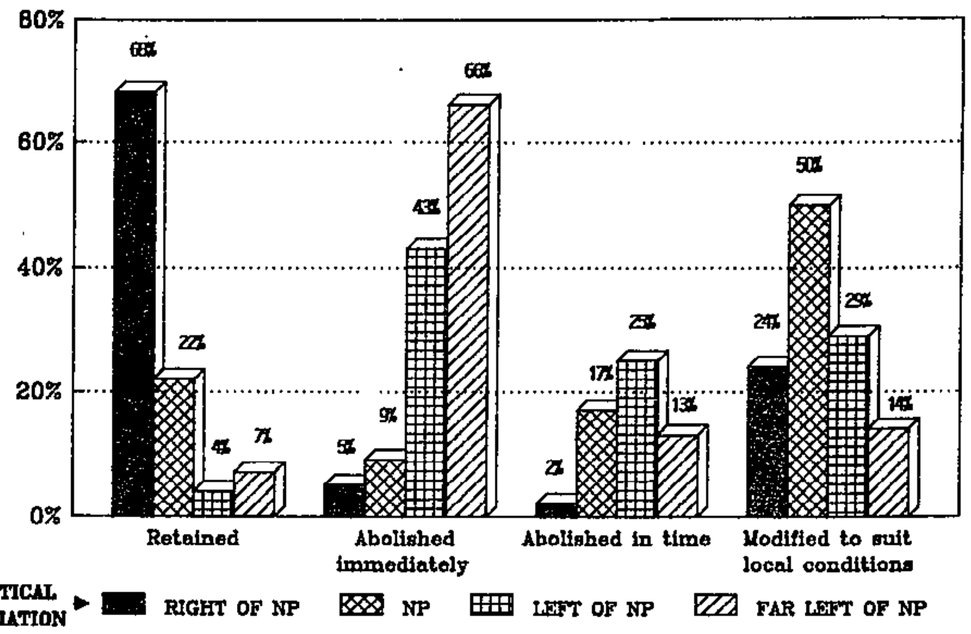
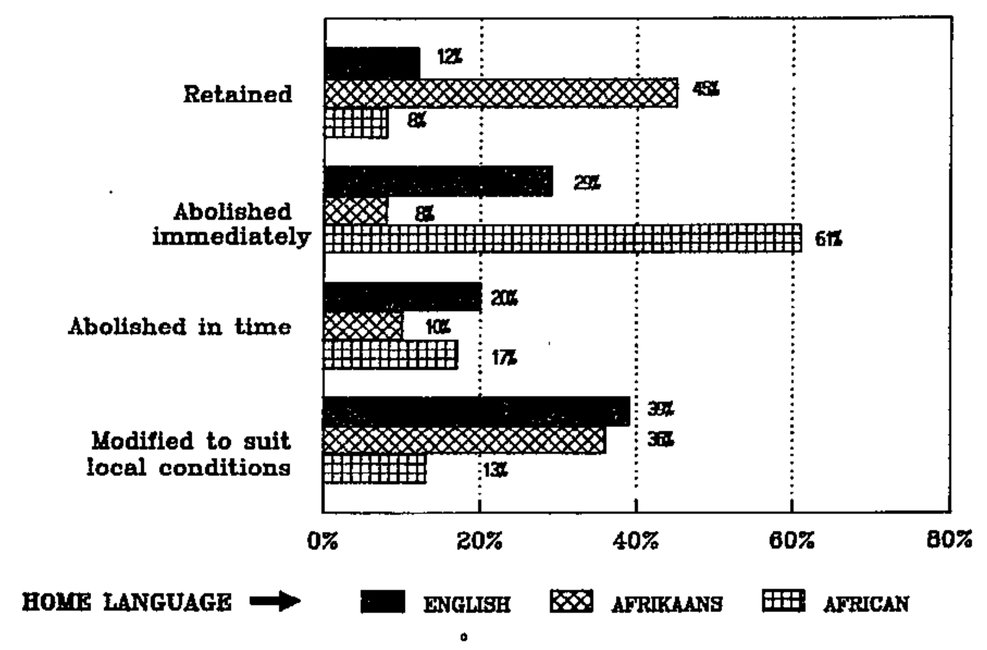



### THE GROUP AREAS ACT SHOULD BE :



# Conflict of interests is mirrored

Star 18/10/88

30 FA

**PROFESSOR LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**, of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits and one of South Africa's best known political scientists in the field of testing public opinion, was invited by The Star to monitor, analyse and comment upon its long-planned and extensive "metropolitan people's poll". Here is the first of three instalments, setting out his analysis.

At least two prominent newspaper editors have recently become sufficiently concerned about events surrounding them to launch initiatives.

Mr Aggrey Klaaste of the *Sowetan*, distressed by the breakdown of community organisation and morale in black communities, under the impact of apartheid and the state of emergency, recently committed his newspaper to spearheading community re-mobilisation and nation-building, from the ground up, through positive, realisable development goals.

Mr Harvey Tyson of the Star, viewing our economic malaise, our "seemingly intractable problems" and our mutually destructive political commitments, launched his newspaper's own inquiry into ways of "saving South Africa".

## No simple answers

The initiative is at an early stage. It has, however, already forged beyond the round of fanciful or "quick fix" solutions that some readers and contributors have preferred. A number of important points have been suggested, and no doubt these will be developed.

South Africa's main problem is itself, however. As Harvey Tyson has said, people may offer over-simple "solutions" but there are no simple answers. Our different political leaders will persist in seeing each other's solutions as threats or problems and, in turn, perpetually present their own non-negotiables and political holy cows as ultimate panaceas.

Harvey Tyson, as a consequence, quite correctly has turned to ordinary people to see whether these great, silent majorities, in whose name our politicians make their strident claims, can agree on what to do to save South Africa.

Accordingly, the Argus company's own research division, Marketing and Media Research (MMR), conducted an inquiry among more than a thousand adults — 400 Africans, 500 whites and 120 coloured people and Indians — throughout Johannesburg, Pretoria and the Reef between August 9 and 22 this year.

Sampling conformed to sound standard practice: clusters of dwelling units were selected in all suburbs and townships, and one in five of these households was systematically selected for interviews.

The interviews used MMR's well-tested "secret ballot" technique to ensure frank and honest answers, where by the person interviewed seals his or her own completed schedule on which no identifying detail appears, and inserts it into a sealed box.

It was this technique which ensured that MMR was able to predict the outcome of the May 1987 election with remarkable accuracy in a range of marginal or uncertain constituencies. Interviews were conducted in the respondent's home language.

Subjects were asked to name spontaneously what they considered to be the single most important issue to be dealt with in order to "save our country". They were then given a choice of various solutions to over 30 key socio-political problems and issues. Finally there was a question on the leader whom people would like to see in power to solve the country's problems.

In perusing the results, one is impressed by the honesty and directness of the replies, by the fact that people interviewed obviously took the exercise seriously and by the manifest concern to find solutions to our problems.

As expected, the deep conflict of interests in South Africa is abundantly reflected in the results. The following are issues on which overwhelming majority disagreement exists between significant groupings such as white Afrikaans-speakers, white English-speakers, Africans, and coloureds and Indians taken together:

- One person, one vote — understood as referring to an undifferentiated political system.
- Banning and restrictions on certain extra-parliamentary political organisations.
- The unconditional release or otherwise of political prisoners.
- Respect for, or rejection of, world opinion.
- Non-racial versus separate schools for different races.
- Forced removal of squatters.
- Methods of ending the township rent boycott.
- The retention, reform or abolition of the Group Areas Act, in cities as well as in farming areas.
- Continued segregation or integration of hospitals.
- The state of emergency.

As one would expect, respondents from the townships took the lead in endorsing rapid and unqualified change, and Afrikaans-speakers in defending retention of the status quo; with English-speaking whites, whites in general, and coloured and Indian people in various and often divergent midway positions.

On virtually all these issues the National Party supporters' views coincided very closely with the average views of whites in general.

It is perhaps worth noting that on all the issues listed above, the NP has a stand varying between defence of the current system on the one hand to cautious and controlled change on the other — a view rejected by the mass of people from black areas, as one would expect.

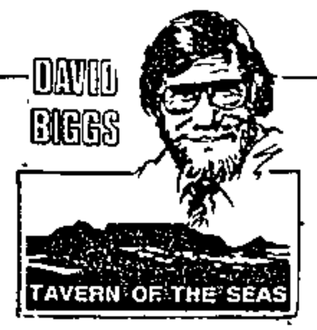
Perhaps the clearly defined position of the Government on these issues has helped to weld the fairly cohesive views of whites or vice versa. This type of chicken-and-egg problem is always impossible to answer, however.

## World criticism

As already suggested, coloured and Indian people took a middle position on many of the issues:

- Nearly 50 percent supported a negotiated end to rent boycotts, as opposed to Africans who generally endorsed reducing rentals or writing off rental debt.
- Slightly more than 50 percent felt that South Africa should not be influenced by world opinion, thereby edging towards the position of most whites, in opposition to the views of Africans who generally embrace world criticism of South Africa — for understandable reasons.
- Nearly two-thirds felt that restricted organisations could not be unbanned unconditonally, and only roughly one-third supported the unconditional release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

**Next instalment: "Consensus".**




## Wheel out the insect cripples

ALL OVER the world, people have realised the value of eye-catching symbols for use on sign-boards. Well designed symbols can cut right across the barriers of language.

Many of these symbols are easily recognisable and have become standardised — everybody recognises the symbols for toilets for men and women. A picture of a spanner indicates mechanical service is available, a crossed out cigarette means smoking is forbidden and the outline of a telephone guides you to a call-box.

Some signs are less obvious.

For some days now I have been puzzled about a rash of strange traffic signs that have appeared on Cape Town's streets. They depict what appear to be three three-legged ants on roller skates. The last ant seems very angry. I suppose that's because it has lost half its quota of legs.

Above the ants is the slogan: "I'm your beacon."

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Which raises several interesting questions. Why

# SA call to scrap apartheid

THE abolition of apartheid is seen by an overwhelming majority of people in South Africa's industrial heartland as the single most important step to be taken to avert national disaster.

That central point emerges in a survey conducted by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) for The Argus, and its sister newspaper The Star, on what must be done to defuse the growing crisis and to avoid potential catastrophe.

Nearly a quarter of people of all races see the scrapping of apartheid as the fundamental national priority

The next most important urgent issues in the public mind are the right of all people to take part equally in the administration of the country — which includes the granting of universal adult suffrage — and the need to overcome the country's economic problems, particularly inflation, and to improve the standard of living.

But these issues weigh far less heavily on people's minds than their belief that apartheid — defined loosely as enforced racial separation — should be consigned to the historical rubbish heap.

Only 6,3 percent of the 1 052 people interviewed — not much more than a 20th — rate the vote as the most important issue against 26,1 percent who perceive apartheid as the main problem.

Coincidentally, exactly the same proportion, 6,3 percent, believe that the most important issue to be tackled is the country's economic problem.

These three issues emerge as the most prevalent among the responses obtained from a scientific sample of the 1 052 people in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand area to an open-ended question.

They were told that South Africa faced a "number of serious problems" and were then asked: "What do you personally believe is the single most important issue to be dealt with in order to save our country?"

Their replies cover a wide range of issues and remedies. The perceived first requirement for curing South Africa's ills varies from immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act (or, in fewer cases, to its retention) through elimination of radicals (with Archbishop Desmond Tutu cited as an example) to further restrictions on the media.

Most replies are spread out, tending to converge only on the need to rescind apartheid and, to a lesser extent, on the need for one man, one vote and a resolution of economic problems.

Generally those who speak an African language at home are the staunchest supporters of measures to scrap apartheid, presumably because they are its main victims.

Thus 36,6 percent of African-language respondents see the abolition of apartheid as an immediate priority while only 11,9 percent of those whose home language is Afrikaans share that view (Afrikaans-speakers may include Afrikaans-speaking coloured people).

One apparent anomaly in the replies is that support for the immediate repeal of apartheid is four times as great as support for the extension of the vote (26,1 percent against 6,3 percent).

As denial of an equal parliamentary vote to Africans is a cardinal element of apartheid, it follows logically that, on the face of it, there should be a strong correlation between wanting to eliminate apartheid and wanting the vote.

Perhaps the explanation for the discrepancy is that apartheid in its socio-economic dimension — the laws and practices which humilitate people and deny them equality of economic opportunity — weighs more heavily on the everyday lives of many people than apartheid as a vote-denying policy.

Surprisingly few respondents see abolition of the state of emergency as an immediate prerequisite for averting disaster: only three of the 1 052 respondents, a minuscule 0,3percent.

In a related question the repondents are asked to list the three most important problem areas to be solved. But, unlike the first question, it was not open-ended.

Instead, the respondents are given 14 issues or problems to choose from. They ranged from Group Areas to deficiencies in the educational and voting systems.

Here education emerged as the area identified by most as the one most likely to yield the best results in resolving the national crisis. More than four in every 10 respondents, or 40,6 percent, mention it as one of the three most crucial issues.

The next most frequently identified issues are the economy — where there is a strong feeling about the need for sustained economic growth — housing and racism. The rating on these issues is 40.1, 33,7 and 31,5 percent respectively

Universal franchise, 16,9 percent, is relatively low down the list. So, too, are security and the "border war", a surprising result in view of the growing number of terror attacks and the attention given to figting along the frontiers in the media. They rank sixth and 13th.

The least important of the issues in the minds of the respondents is one which many historians believe lies at the root of South Africa's conflict: maldistribution of land between white and black. But only 7,8 percent regard redistribution of land as a crucial issue.

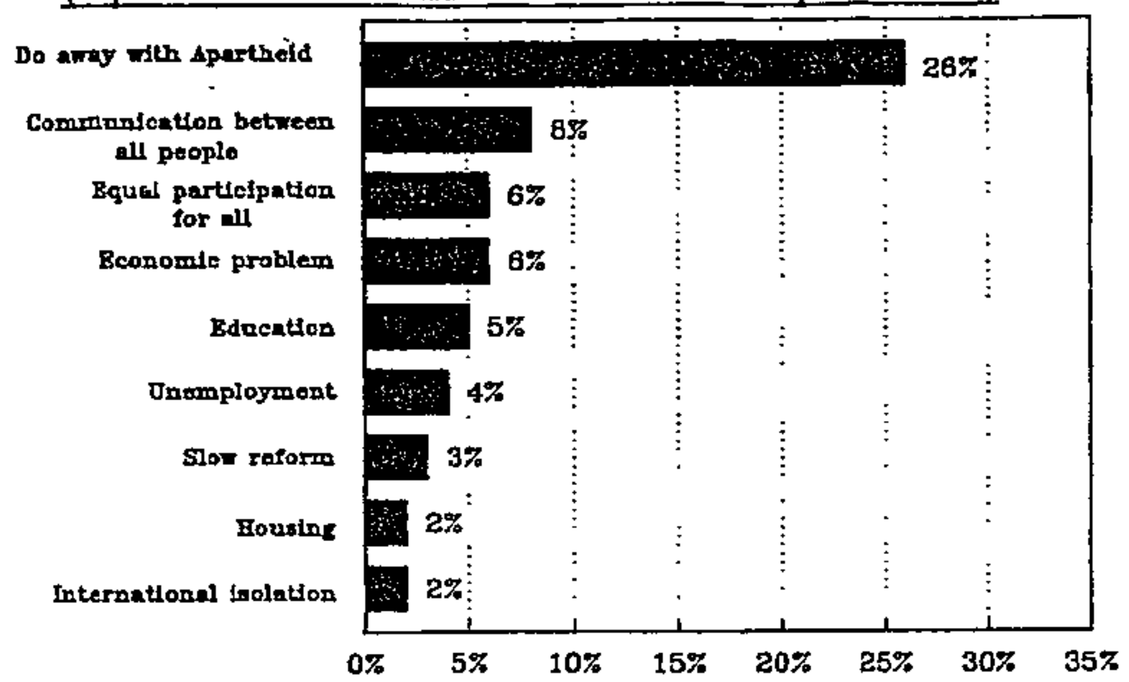
English-speakers put economic growth first on their list of issues to be dealt with with education and racism receiving the next highest mention

In contrast, security was of most concern to Afrikaans-speakers followed by economic growth and birth control Those speaking a black language at home felt that education followed by housing and racism were the most important problems to solve.

Graduates and post-graduates had different ideas on how to save the country from those with little or no education. The former saw economic growth for all and constitutional reform as the major issues to be solved, while uneducated people ranked housing and education above the 11 other issues.

Over 55-year-olds went for the economic growth for all and housing issues, while 18- to 24-year-olds had education and racism as priorities

### SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE TO BE SOLVED
(Spontaneous answer to first question)

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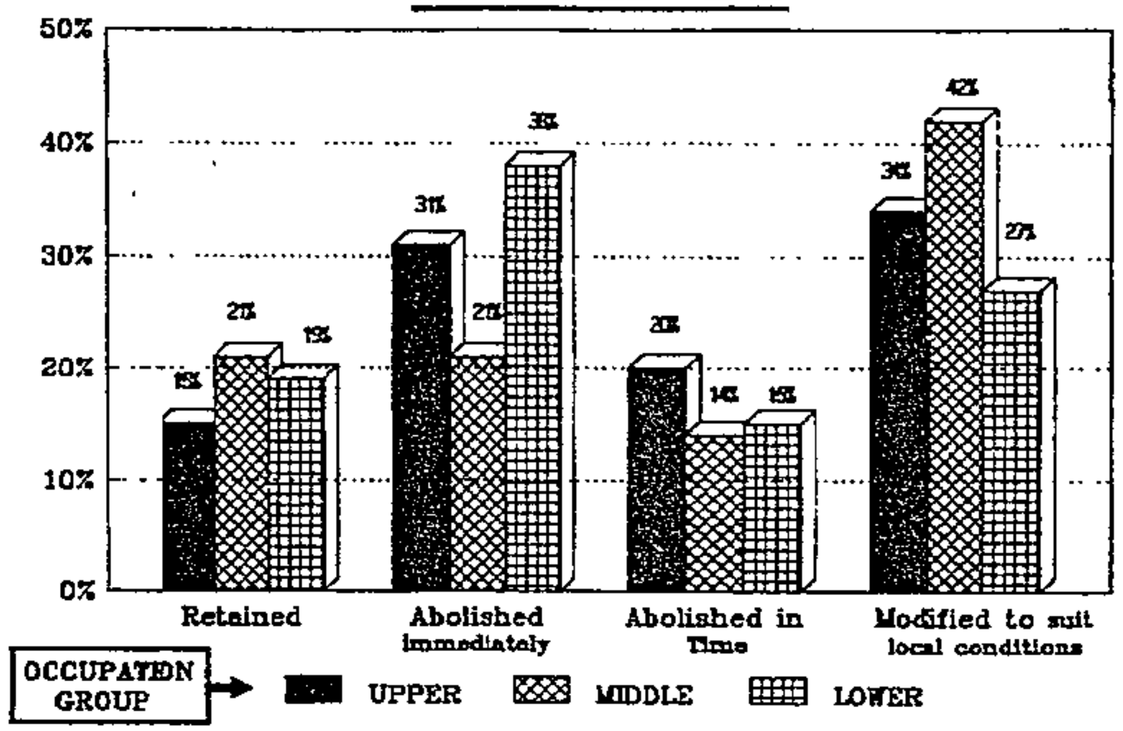


These graphics show people's responses to the issue of apartheid in general and the Group Areas Act in particular.

## Previous polls conducted on major issues in SA

MARKETING and Media Research, which conducted the survey of what people thought should be done to save the country, has been conducting opinion polls for more than eight years across a wide range of issues. Some of the polls conducted by MMR were:

February, 1980 — public attitudes to the Silverton bank robbers. About 75 percent of Soweto respondents felt obliged to sympathise with the than for his continued imprisonment.

November, 1980 — A poll before the Soweto Council elections gave Dr Nthato Motlana overwhelming support over his main rival, Dr David Thebehali.

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Which raises several interesting questions. Why should ships or aircraft need to be guided on to our busiest highways? Is the harbour becoming congested? Is the runway at DF Malan cracking up? What happened to the ants' other legs?

Will motorists be warned when the ships and aircraft come in, or must we simply keep a careful watch on the sky whenever we see three-legged ants on roller skates? Do we get "two secs" of advance warning when a ship or a Boeing is moving into the fast lane?

Two seconds may be plenty of warning if it's a ship, but Boeings move fast.

And what are we supposed to do when the ships and planes do move in? Whos has the right of way?

In these times of too many rules and regulations one wants to be as law-abiding as possible. But what does one do when the authorities suddenly throw three-legged roller-skating insects at us and say: "You've got two seconds"?

Reach for the aerosol spray?

## Festival

THE organisers of the Stellenbosch Festival, which runs all this week, really have arranged an interesting and varied programme.

This evening, for example, visitors have the choice of a concert starring mezzo-soprano Hanneli Rupert and pianist Lamar Crowson, and a comedy play in the Libertas Theatre.

Tomorrow there's a lunch-hour concert, an evening piano recital and a play.

There are puppet plays for children, chamber music in wine cellars, guided tours of Stellenbosch and demonstrations of handcrafts.

On Saturday there'll be stalls on the Braak, bands and Malay singers marching through the streets and craft stalls in Andringa and Church Streets.

Sounds like fun.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

YOU KNOW you're still young when the morning after the night before still makes the night before seem worth the morning after.

The Wanderer

tion, and to improve the standard of living

But these issues weigh far less heavily on people's minds than their belief that apartheid — defined loosely as enforced racial separation — should be consigned to the historical rubbish heap.

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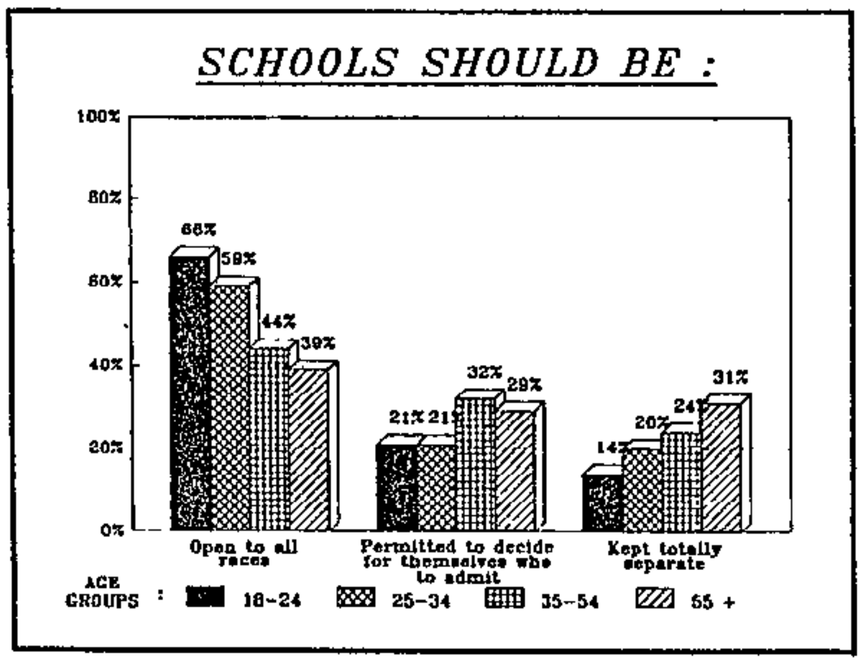
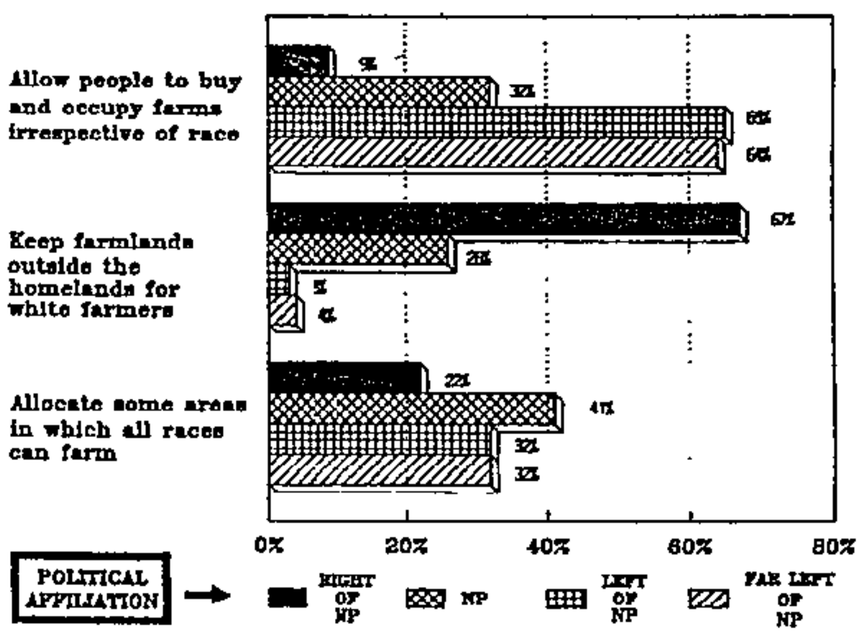
November, 1983 — a national poll among urban blacks indicated strong support for the African National Congress.

February, 1987 — results of the election were correctly predicted in all six constituencies polled. Among these were that Mr Chris Heunis would pip Dr Denis Worrall, that the NP would win Bezuidenhout and Port Natal and that the independent, Mr Wynand Malan, would be the clear winner in Randburg.

March, 1988 — a snap poll was conducted to determine the perceived winner of the much-heralded television debate between Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr F W de Klerk. Apart from the fact that a great number of people didn't watch, Afrikaans viewers were divided in their rating — it was the English-speakers who gave Dr de Klerk his winning percentage.




# 'Secret ballot' used in survey

THE survey on what people think should be done to save the country was conducted along the lines of a secret ballot.

Respondents completed their questionnaires anonymously, placed them into envelopes which they sealed themselves and then deposited into sealed boxes.

Jos Kuper, managing director of Marketing and Media Research (MMR), which was commissioned to conduct the research for The Argus, and its sister newspaper The Star, said "This was necessary because it has been shown that our society is very sensitive when it comes to admitting to certain beliefs, certainly when it comes to doing so to an interviewer and where the responses could be traced back.

"This sensitivity can result in highly inaccurate predictions and that is why we chose to go the secret ballot route."

MMR interviewers distributed questionnaires to 1 052 respondents over the age of 18, of all race groups, throughout Johannesburg, Soweto, the East and West Rand, Pretoria and surrounding townships.

The Witwatersrand and Pretoria area has just over a fifth of the population of South Africa It is known as the vital economic hub of the country, consisting of a large portion of the country's decision makers

Interviewing was conducted between August 9 and August 22.

The sample of 1 052 respondents (representing about six million people) was obtained using a technique known as "area stratified random sampling" — a scientific method increasing the reliability and accuracy of the results. A cluster of houses within an area and a respondent within a household were chosen at random from every fifth house in the cluster.

Population statistics were obtained from *Towns of South Africa* (Davies, Bristow and Assoc) which uses 1980 and 1985 census figures to determine household data

Interviewers canvassed areas where people of their own race group lived Questionnaires were available in English, Afrikaans, Zulu and Sotho

In cases where respondents were illiterate they could elect to be interviewed face to face, but the interviewers were then trained to avoid introducing bias into the questioning.

The municipalities which were polled were Pretoria, Verwoerdburg, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve/Mabopane/Winterveld, Laudium, Eersterus, Kempton Park, Edenvale, Bedfordview, Tembisa, Benoni, Daveyton, Boksburg, Vosloorus, Germiston, Alberton, Katlehong, Johannesburg, Soweto, Lenasia, Randburg, Sandton, Alexandra, Roodepoort, Azaadville.

The MMR's well-tested secret ballot technique ensured that the organisation was able to predict the outcome of the May, 1987, election with remarkable accuracy in a range of marginal or uncertain constituencies Interviews were conducted in the respondent's home language.

Subjects were asked to name spontaneously what they considered to be the single most important issue to be dealt with to "save our country". They were then given a choice of various solutions to more than 30 key socio-political problems and issues.

Finally, there was a question on the leader whom people would like to see in power to solve the country's problems.

What was impressive was the honesty and directness of the replies — the fact that the people interviewed obviously took the exercise seriously and by the manifest concern to find solutions to our problems.

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# Guilty MP may hang on to Hillbrow seat

Cut this 17/10/86 3064

**Political Correspondent**

**HILLBROW MP Mr Leon de Beer may be able to hang on to his seat despite having been found guilty of 70 counts of electoral fraud this week.**

**Constitutional experts said yesterday that clarity on Mr De Beer's fate may have to wait until the end of the month when sentence will be passed.**

**Mr De Beer, who was suspended from the National Party in August last year, said he had no intention of resigning. However, he would be forced to resign if sentenced to a prison term of at least a year without the option of a fine.**

**In terms of the Electoral Act, he could also be unseated if he is not only convicted of a corrupt practice, but also debarred from registering as a voter for a period of, say, two years.**

# LESSON GOVT DOES NOT WANT TO LEARN



THE late Jimmy Kruger . . . Minister of Police at the time.

THERE is an expression that goes: "Repression increases the resolve of those whom the authorities seek to oppress".

This manifested itself into a lesson of history which the Government has refused to accept and learn from.

In 1960, the Government banned the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, the outlook of the organisations hardened and they formed their military wings — Umkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army — in exile

On October 19, 1977 — 11 years ago today — the Government felt threatened by the growth of the Black Consciousness movement and banned 18 organisations and three publications — the *World*, the *Weekend World* and *Pro Veritate*.

In the months of repression leading up to the bannings, hundreds of people were killed in political violence which racked the country from June 16, 1976 onwards.

The violence started when black schoolchildren protested against the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in their schools because the language was not acceptable to them.

Police opened fire on protesters and battles ensued in the streets of the townships. Funerals were commonplace and martyrs were made everyday.

Thousands of young people, radicalised by the Black Consciousness movement, left the country and swelled and revitalised the ranks of the ANC and PAC.

However, many who could not align themselves to the policies of either the ANC or PAC, formed the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and later its armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army.

## Divided

The existence of the ANC, PAC and BCMA abroad, reflected the divided nature of resistance politics at home.

The ANC's political outlook is based on the Freedom Charter which proposes a mixed economy of capitalist and socialist structures

PAC is politically an African nationalist organisation and the BCMA has committed itself to an economy based on socialism

The membership of the organisations is also different. The ANC and PAC recruit blacks and whites while the BCMA is exclusively black

On the day of the October 19 bannings, the police were dispatched across the country to seize the property of organisations that the Government had banned and to place banning orders on a number of officials belonging to these organisations.

The accounts of the organisations were frozen and the Government took all the assets which amounted to hundreds of thousands of rands. The assets were distributed to organisations the Government favoured.

## Stopped

Police marched into the offices of the *World* and *Weekend World* — predecessor to the *Sowetan* and stopped production.

Police issued the then editor — Mr Percy Qoboza — with the order to stop production and that the newspapers were banned. The staff were shocked when this was announced to them.

They milled around the offices of the newspapers in Industria not knowing how to handle the situation of jobs taken away by State decree.

News crews descended on the newspapers to hear the views of the journalists on the frontline

The then Minister of Police, Mr Jimmy Kruger, apparently felt uncomfortable with the attention and ordered the arrest of Mr Qoboza and Mr Aggrey Klaaste who was then news editor of the *Weekend World* and is presently editor of the *Sowetan*.

They were held at Modder Bee Prison in Benoni for five months The bannings did not stop political activity however.

The Azanian People's Organisation was launched in 1979 and the United Democratic Front in 1983.

Internally Azapo and the UDF intensified their activities in 1984, 1985 and 1986 and the Government clamped down again with the state of emergency on June 12, 1986

This did not prove effective enough and the State stopped the organisations from engaging in any legal activities of resistance with severe restrictions on February 24 this year

The State refuses to lift the state of emergency because it says the "climate of revolution" has not abated

Clearly the lesson of repression has not been learned — and the resolve to continue is unabated

FOCUS

By MIKE TISSONG

## *Fight for rights won't stop*



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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## We want our own Volkstaat — TerreBlanche

# AWB chief says 'join the white revolution'

(304A) Star M 19/10/88

More than 1 000 people gave a standing ovation to Mr Eugene TerreBlanche in Johannesburg last night when he begged them to join the "white revolution" through which Afrikaners would be prepared to take political control.

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was speaking at the Portuguese Hall in Turffontein under a banner proclaiming "We will die defending our cause".

### 'Right-wing majority'

He said the right wing would obtain a majority in the next general election.

"And then we will march down to Cape Town and we will say 'Now we secede, now we want our own *volkstaat*'.

"And if there is no election next year, and the Government capitulates, ... when law and order disintegrate, then I will fetch you from pavement to pavement and

**By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter**

we will take control of South Africa."

Mr TerreBlanche said the "petty infighting" in right-wing political circles should be replaced with the "noble ideal" of Afrikaner freedom in their own *volkstaat*.

The AWB's deputy leader, Mr Jan Groenewald, apologised for the absence of Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, who was to have addressed the meeting on next week's municipal elections but cancelled "due to urgent other commitments".

Mr TerreBlanche slated the State President, Mr P W Botha's, recent African initiatives and the continuing negotiations about Namibian independence.

Referring to Mr Botha's meeting with Zairean president Mr Mobutu Sese Seko, he said: "What does Mobutu's bankrupt banana republic have which South Africa needs?"

And speaking on Mr Botha's recent meeting with Mozambique's president, Mr Joachim Chissano, he said: "Machel has barely fallen — and what a fortunate fall it was — and PW runs to Chissano to sign another treaty."

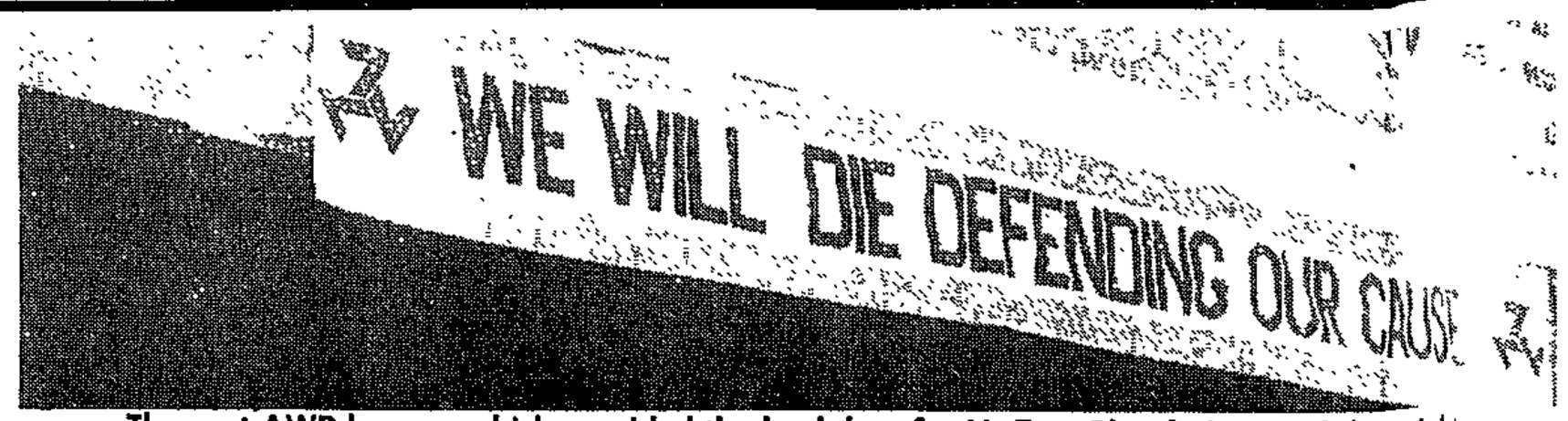
Dr Danie Craven's ANC talks were slammed as a "conspiracy with terrorists".

Mr TerreBlanche angrily asked Dr Craven if he knew the difference between a rugby ball and a bomb, and said the Government's sports policy had been eroded since "the first Maori was allowed into the country 15 years ago".

"It started with a Maori and has ended with a terrorist," he said.

The Government should demonstrate its dissatisfaction with various groups' talks with ANC delegates by introducing legislation prohibiting such talks, he said.

Mr TerreBlanche also warned the Government that should people of colour be invited to take part in the Great Trek festivities at the Voortrekker Monument on December 16, he would "take the total AWB to the nation's monument on our holy day".




The vast AWB banner which provided the backdrop for Mr TerreBlanche's speech last night.



Pointing the way ahead . . . Mr TerreBlanche, flanked by two khaki-clad AWB guards, in full voice.

Higher rates, new controls coming

# Economic crackdown after polls

304-A
B/day
19/10/88

A TOUGH package of new economic restrictions, including higher interest rates and further import controls, is to be announced immediately after the October 26 election.

After yesterday's meeting between Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock and top commercial bankers in Pretoria, it emerged that:

- ☐ Bank rate is set to rise by one percentage point;
- ☐ Further import controls are being considered;
- ☐ Stricter hire purchase terms are being examined;
- ☐ Tighter control of housing bonds, limiting the percentage that can be advanced, is possible; and
- ☐ A package of fiscal measures is thought to be likely.

The higher bank rate is likely to be imposed at month end, but details of the other restrictive measures have yet to be finalised.

At the end of October the Reserve Bank in concert with Treasury is expected to announce further monetary and fiscal measures aimed at cooling the economy and relieving pressure on the fragile balance of payments (BoP).

After the elections, the Bank will discuss with the Finance Minister this joint package as well as the fiscal measures necessary to finance the 15% hike in the public service wage bill.

The full austerity package cannot be finalised until the means of funding the R4bn additional expenditure has been decided.

KAY TURVEY

Bankers say the overdue increase in Bank rate will no longer be adequate to curtail the excessive demand for credit, particularly in the light of the stimulatory rise in public service pay-packets and the Christmas spending spree only 10 weeks away.

At yesterday's meeting banks were asked to co-operate and wait until after the elections for the full package to be unveiled.



● DE KOCK

Bankers said yesterday the suggested one percentage point rise in Bank rate would not serve to curb demand; they had been urging an increase of at least 1,5% to 2% in Bank rate to protect their margins. Money market rates had already discounted a full percentage point rise in Bank rate.

One banker said one percentage point was not enough to cool credit demand, as high inflationary expectations and a depreciating currency combined to encourage spending and the build-up of inventories.

● To Page 2

## Economic crackdown after elections

● From Page 1

A leading economist criticised the proposed increase as insufficient.

He said politically government was too scared to allow interest rates to rise and was looking for inappropriate, alternative measures to dampen credit demand.

Standard Bank economist Nico Czypionka said that proposed direct control was "merely tinkering" but not correcting SA's economic problems.

He urged that Bank rate be raised the full two percentage points to 14,5% with all bond rates following this pattern. Positive interest rates would encourage savings.

"Only measures which will impact directly on the individual's cash flow would help contain consumer spending," he said.

Neither De Kock nor other Reserve Bank officials were available for comment last night.

B/day
19/10/88
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# CP woos the English-speakers

By Dirk Nel (30(A)
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night invited English-speakers to join Afrikaners "to ensure the survival of a First World community in South Africa".

Addressing an audience of about 800 people at the Pietersburg stadium, Dr Treurnicht spoke frequently in English, and referred to CP enthusiasm for the municipal elections as a tide which would simply wash out "all the little Nationalist votes".

He said Afrikaner unity was important to him, and the State President's gesture earlier this year could not be summarily dismissed. However, he felt true unity could only be achieved on the basis of separate development and separate freedoms for all groups in South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht raised a laugh when he said that Mr Adriaan Vlok's recent remark that the CP could possibly win the municipal elections, was in fact an admission of defeat.

"He obviously also believes that the CP could possibly win the next general election as well, and all he could offer was a plea for realism by the CP, in the event of such a victory."

The CP was, in fact, realistic about the South African situation, and it was the NP which had lost touch with the realities.

Earlier in the meeting Dr Willie Snyman, Conservative MP for Pietersburg, introduced the party's municipal candidates to the audience, saying these elections were not all about pavements, refuse removal and tartan athletic tracks, "but about the Goverment's new constitutional deal".

The mayor of Pietersburg, Mr Mars de Klerk, a CP candidate, told the cheering audience that plans were already afoot for the CP to take over the Transvaal Municipal Association in November, in the same manner as the party had already grabbed control of the Northern Transvaal Association of Local Authorities.

# Viljoen floats 'open' group plan

Staff Reporter

South Africans should consider the possibility of an "open" population group being established to accommodate people who did not attach value to living in their own group areas, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, said yesterday.

Addressing the Maria van Riebeeck Women's Club in Johannesburg, Dr Viljoen said people in the open group could live in free settlement areas, receive education on a multiracial basis and "live together".

He emphasised however that the alternative system could exist only if the maintenance of the present system of "own, exclusive options" in education, residential areas and political management was safeguarded.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen . . . vision for the future.

Dr Viljoen, who was asked to talk about his vision for the future, said there was a great reservoir of goodwill between population groups despite existing tensions.

"There is a realisation among all population groups that we need each other and cannot do without each other," he said.

The vast majority of the population wanted peaceful solutions, dialogue and negotiation.

There was a need for a new constitution which would give blacks a say in all levels of governments, including the highest central, national government level.

Provision also had to be made for a non-political, problem-solving arbitration body which would prevent domination of one group over the others and solve related problems.

Dr Viljoen said he saw a future based on group participation in the political process rather than a mere counting of heads in a one man, one vote system which "simply cannot work".

## NEWS BRIEFS

# No prior votes for four days

PRIOR voting in the Peninsula has slowed to a trickle.

In one area no votes were cast on at least four days.

Voting was "distinctly down" after an apparent "brisk" start last week when many voters were bussed to polling stations by candidates.

City Council's Mr Gys Hofmeyr said voting figures for all management committee areas under the council, Wittebome/Wynberg, Athlone, Kensington, and Schotsche Kloof, had dropped substantially.

No votes were cast for four days at the Schotsche Kloof poll. "The polling stations, in terms of the law, have to be kept open," he said.

Officials this week refused to disclose voting figures for individual African areas for fear that it would put "pressure" on candidates. They also refused to give the votes in figures, instead giving percentages.

# Catholic mass

THE Catholic Archdiocese of Cape Town is holding a special service on Sunday in support of the Catholic bishops of South Africa.

The mass, at 3 pm at St Mary's Cathedral, Roeland Street, is open to all.

The service follows the attack on the Catholic Bishops' Conference headquarters at Khanya House, Pretoria.

# Cosatu warns bosses on voting

JOHANNESBURG. - The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has warned employers of shop-floor anger if they encourage workers to vote in the municipal elections.

At a central executive committee meeting in Soweto at the weekend, Cosatu reaffirmed its rejection of the elections.

Information officer Frank Meintjies said: "We are aware that employers have been urged to use their powers to 'encourage' workers to go to the polls.

"It's disgraceful that pensioners and the homeless are being intimidated to vote under the guise of canvassing."

Government reform had failed to address the poverty, homelessness, gutter education, and poor health facilities.

Of the candidates, Cosatu said: "They are prepared to work in a system where they will be responsible for evicting people and imposing rent hikes."

# Candidate on theft charge

IQBAL Dawood, a candidate for the municipal elections in Cravenby Estate, appeared in the Bellvile magistrate's court this week on charges of theft.

Dawood was not asked to plead and no evidence was led.

The case was postponed to December 12.

# Court bid on UDF seven

AN application was filed in the Supreme Court this week for the release of seven people detained last month under the emergency regulations.

The application was brought by UDF's Trevor Manuel, Zolli Malindi, Mountain Qumbela, Willie Simmers, Neville van der Rheede, Salim Mowzer and Teresa Solomons.

They were among about 10 detained last month on the eve of the banned Anti-Apartheid Conference.

The application was postponed to allow the State time to respond.

UDF's Willie Hofmeyr and Cape Democrats' Amy Thornton, have since been released, but restricted. Harold Harvey has also been released.

United Woman's Congress' Nomo-india Mfeketo is now being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.



Khayelitsha's election dream merchant Mali Hoza

# 'Anything for a vote'

By HENRY LUDSKI

KHAYELITSHA election candidate Mali Hoza has refused to be drawn out on his controversial background which last year landed him at the centre of a "Kangaroo court" scandal.

All he would say this week was that people "should join me, and not fight me".

Last year about twenty people were allegedly assaulted in a "torture chamber" and then fined R300 in a "kangaroo court" run by balaclava-clad men in Khayelitsha.

The assaults were allegedly carried out by homeguards of Hoza.

However, he has refused to speak about the activities of his men.

Hoza has emerged as one of Lingeletu's main election dream-makers offering to "give people anything they want".

"If they want toilets or anything I will try to give them," said Hoza, presented to the media by the Bureau for Information as one of Khayelitsha's most "popular" candidates.

He said he would "look after" people whether they voted for him or not.

He also claimed that people who were initially against him were now among his staunchest supporters.

Thirty-nine candidates are contesting 20 seats in Khayelitsha.

Another candidate is Million Goniwe: "I don't have a lot of money, my father only gave me that name."

A Cape Provincial Administration spokesman claimed this week that by early this week about 12 000 out of the 67 000 registered voters had voted.

The voting at four polling stations in Khayelitsha is taking place amid tight security at polling stations with police "screening" people at entrances.

A CPA official stopped SOUTH from speaking to people at polling booths saying it was "illegal". He also refused to allow pictures to be taken of the bag checks at polling station entrances saying police permission was need.

# Polling station blown away

**IN Khayelitsha it's not a case of hearing it through the grapevine, it blares at you through the radio.**

**And this week several residents pitched up at polling stations in the township after hearing on the radio that voting "will get you everything your heart desires".**

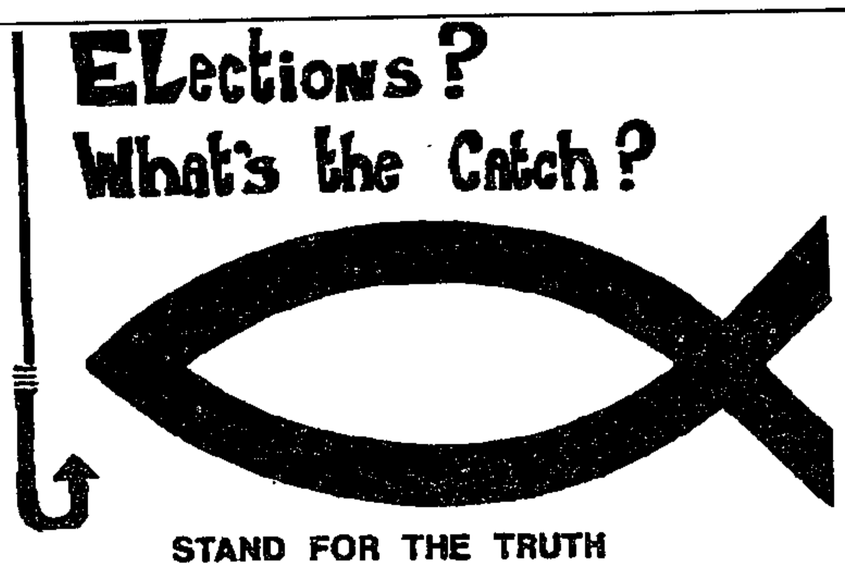
**"The main thing I want is a house," said Enoch Mbobo.**

**Lloyd Ndlebe heard that voting "will make all your dreams come true". He also wants a house.**

**What candidates in "Green Point", Khayelitsha, must surely have been "dreaming" about after this week's blistering South Easter, was a more solid polling station.**

**The last one they had, a marque tent, blew away within the first few hours of voting.**

**According to a Cape Provincial Adminstration spokesman "make-shift" arrangements have been made and "Green Point" now has a new polling station - a SADF tent.**




South
20-26/10/88

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*Dear*

*On July 29, 2 elections. We doing so sinc boycott of the have made a through Mr S Archbishop ai Minister has such thing as should chang people to take*

*Why? The re that these ele This is not it Many are in are not in fa elections can with prison organisations understand o tell you the democracy?*

** The Gover democracy". "Democracy African peop achieve that make no diff will not give the affairs of cannot throu Group Areas single, non-r jobs for our their vote in elections are which has fa They are init for Africans for the Trica already has*

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*Something democracy. In fact, thes Management for the real Council (SS Committees, Government democracy. and all of ou*

** The Gover The Govern real power. They are als provision of*

# ...anding for truth!

## Brothers and Sisters

...church leaders issued a statement on the October 26
...d this knowing full well that we were risking prison by
...he government has made it an offence to call for a
... elections. Subsequently, both Archbishop Tutu and I
...ilar call. After weeks of inaction, the government,
...ffel v.d. Merwe, announced that in spite of the law, the
... I would not be arrested. I take this to mean that the
...fact conceded that the law has no validity. There is no
...n exception under the law. But even if the Minister
...his mind, it is still my Christian duty to call on our
...a stand on these elections.

***...ons are clear and very simple. The government claims ...ions are democratic.***

... The elections are taking place in a state of emergency.
...ison. As many as 300 have been detained <u>because</u> they
...ur of the elections. Only those who agree with the
...peak publicly. Those who do not agree are threatened
...tences of 10 years and are detained without trial. The
...who would have worked peacefully to make our people
... side of the issue, have been banned. The press cannot
...uth and news and views are severely censored. Is this
...o. The Government is lying.

***...t claims that the elections will "broaden***

...ans the full and meaningful participation of <u>all</u> South
... at every level of government. These elections will not
...d are not meant to achieve that. These elections will
...fence whatsoever to the way our country is run. They
...black people a decisive say, on the basis of their vote, in
...arliament. We will not affect or change a single law. We
...h these elections secure non-racialism, or remove The
...ct, or annul the Bantustan policy, or bring about a
...ial, united educational system, or secure legislation for
...ople or any of the other things other people <u>can</u> do with
... genuine democracy. The Government is lying. These
...tended to revive the Black Local Authorities system
...ed so miserably and which our people have rejected.
...ded to open the way for P W Botha's National Council
... which we rejected. They are intended to win legitimacy
...eral Parliament which we not only rejected but, which
...sad history of shame and moral bankruptcy.

***...re about the claim that these elections will broaden***

...elections will strengthen the National Security
...System. There is a shadow network which is responsible
...isions made in our country. From the State Security
...to the SCC Work Committee, to Inter-departmental
... Joint Management Committees all linked with
...rom central to local level. October 26 will not broaden
...will strengthen covert military control over our country
...mes.

***...nt claims that the elections will give you "power".***

...t is lying. None of the local authorities will have any
...e Government can overrule any decision they make.
...dependent on Regional Services Councils (RSCs) for the
...vices and the development of their areas. RSCs are made up of nominated (not elected!) representatives from the different racial municipalities. These RSCs are not elected by the people. They are controlled by white municipalities who buy more services and therefore have greater voting prior.
Local Authorities also have no control over the security forces in their areas. The Government's secret National Management System controls security through among others, Joint Management Centres. These JMCs gather information about political activities in an area, target those who oppose apartheid and give information to the Government about them.

**** The Government claims that these elections are part of "reform"***

The elections re-enforce the racial, ethnic structure of our society. They are designed to preserve white minority rule, while futhering imposed divisions among our people. These elections do not provide the voter with a choice between apartheid and non-racialism. They are designed to prevent non-racialism democracy. The Government is lying. <u>* "You can make it happen,"</u> the government says. What can you make happen? Stop detention without trial? Release those in prison? Get your homes back? Stop the army in the townships? Or to lift the State of Emergency? No, none of these we can "make happen". If the Government is honest, let them say now that after October 26, these things will happen. But they can't.

***You will, with your vote, do this:***

- Give apartheid acceptability, it must never have;
- give the Government legitimacy it does not have and does not deserve;
- support a politically and morally corrupt tricameral system;
- waste more money to maintain apartheid;
- give the Government more time to avoid real negotiations with the majority of our people;
- help prolong our oppression and bring the bloodbath closer.

***If you are a Christian — remember:***

- The vast majority of churches have called apartheid a sin, a heresy, a blasphemy.
- Participation in apartheid elections is to participate in the sin that apartheid is.
- To be in the struggle against apartheid is a matter of <u>faith</u>, of confession.
- One cannot be a Christian and support apartheid and one cannot be a Christian <u>not</u> participate in the fight <u>against</u> apartheid. Voting on October 26 is supporting apartheid.
- Many are saying: "It is hopeless. Let us take up the gun." I say: "This is a non-violent way of resisting evil.
- A vote on October 26 is a vote against our people.
- A vote on October 26 is a vote against our dignity.
- A vote on October 26 is a vote against our freedom -
- A vote on October 26 is a vote against the memory of those who died.
- A vote on October 26 cannot take the command to be more obedient to God seriously.
- A vote on October 26 is a vote against our democracy.

May God guide you in your actions,
ALLAN A BOESAK

# Why did SA score a try for the other side?

**BY ALAN ROBINSON**

Even hardline anti-SA activists began to see a chink in the isolation curtain — but the South African Government soon put a stop to that.

LONDON — With impeccable timing the South African Government has come to the aid of its enemies dotted around the globe.

Just when the minions of the anti-apartheid industry in London, Paris, Dublin, Cardiff, Wellington and Canberra were beginning to wonder where their next pay cheque was to come from, Pretoria intervened like a rich benefactor.

Indeed, just when the frightening prospect of redundancy was suddenly looming for the Sam Ramsamys and John Mintos and Mike Terrys of this world, up stepped fairy godfather Mr F W de Klerk to give the assurance that their jobs were safe, probably for another lifetime.

Conversely, at a time when South African sport's many friends abroad had been given a sizeable injection of hope by Dr Danie Craven's summit agreement with the African National Congress in Harare, the Education Minister's expression of shock and horror has shattered newly kindled dreams.

## One marvellous night

"For one marvellous night I dreamed of seeing the Springboks again at Twickenham," one South African exile told me. "I should have known that, like so many dreams, it would be ruined when I woke up to reality in the morning."

For 24 hours South Africa had more favourable exposure in the British media than all the De Beers diamonds in the world could buy. Dr Craven's venture into Africa was front-page news here and in Europe. It was hailed in national newspapers, on television and radio, in trains and pubs as "just what rugby needs".

Bill Beaumont, captain of the last British Lions rugby side to tour South Africa, told BBC radio listeners: "It is a very brave and far-sighted move. All of us in rugby wish Dr Craven well."

Even Mr Peter Hain, the man who led the campaign against the last Springboks to visit Britain (in 1969/70) and who is generally credited with being the most successful sports isolationist of them all, acknowledged the potential of the Harare accord.

Writing in *The Guardian* Mr Hain said: "If Dr Craven is allowed to implement his agreement with the ANC that could be an historic breakthrough."

No wonder there was consternation in the ranks of anti-apartheid organisations.

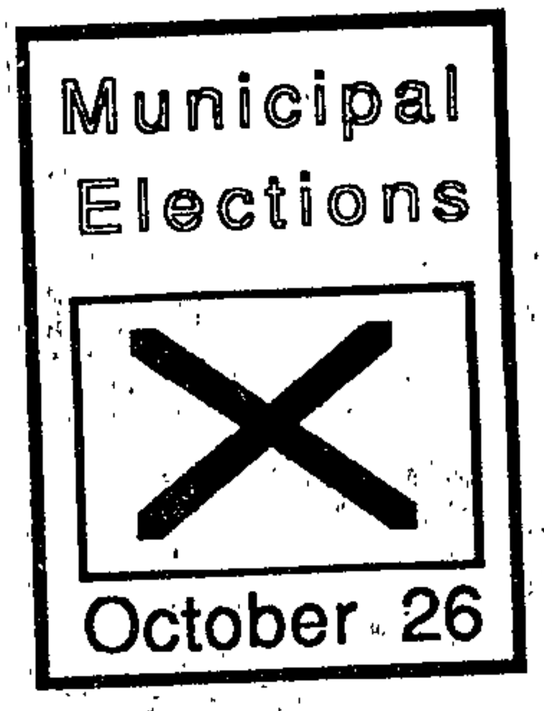
There was division, too, with some taking the hard line of vowing to fight to the very end, while others such as Sanroc, possibly the most influential and certainly the most effective, were more cautious and even faintly conciliatory.

None wanted to cross swords with the ANC, itself apparently battling to resolve differences in approach between its moderate leadership and extremist support.

But now, it seems, awkward decisions may not have to be taken and ambiguity can be expunged from press statements.

For a few brief hours the end of an industry was nigh. Until Mr de Klerk, with municipal elections in mind, appeared on his white charger.

# Battle is on for key wards




By SHIRLEY WOODGATE,
Municipal Reporter

Randburg has for the past 30 years been seen as a barometer of South African politics, with control of the council see-sawing regularly from right to left but regularly reverting to the National Party which presently holds nine of the 13 wards.

Since its inception in 1959 until 1972, the town council was ruled by a ratepayers' council sympathetic to the NP. Then the United Party briefly took over until the Nats grabbed power again in 1977, only to be shocked out of office in 1982 when the Progressive Federal Party won eight of the 13 wards.

In-fighting in the PFP caucus and its ill-advised race survey, which the NP used to its own advantage, assisted in the PFP's downfall in by-elections less than two years later as the NP swept back into power in 1984.

## VOTER—MIX

PFP council representation dwindled to the present three headed by Mr Andre Jacobs, and Mr Wynand Malan's Randburg-based National Democratic Movement got its first councillor when Mr Dick Muller crossed the floor from the PFP.

Since the town has no slums, and has made no provision for low income groups, the voter-mix is strictly middle to upper class.




Randburg's coat of arms.

This is characterised by white-collar workers living on an average of 1 500 sq m stands from Blairgowrie to Randpark Ridge and from Jukskei Park to Ferndale, in the vast Windsor flatland, or on smallholdings ranging from Honeydew to North Riding and Farmall.

Compared with the mud-slinging in next-door Sandton and Johannesburg's four-pronged PFP/NP/CP/Independent onslaught on voter sentiment, Randburg has generally played this election low key.

In view of the see-saw history of the council's political rule, the obvious question is whether the 40 000 voters will swing back "left", putting the PFP once again firmly in the saddle after October 26.

"Definitely not," said long-serving Nat management committee chairman, Mr Frans Lourens.

"The NP will not only win but increase its present majority to 10 with three Progs making up the balance. But the NDM will be wiped out, all the independents, whatever they represent, will lose their contests and possibly two of the three CP's will lose their deposits," he said.

## "REASONABLE CHANCE"

Dr Humphrey Farrer, deputy leader of the three sitting PFP councillors, said the PFP had a "reasonable chance" of taking power, but as the race would be very close, it was difficult to predict.

Former UP management committee chairman Mr Cyril Ford (Ward 12), who referred to himself and Mr Conrad Plange (Ward 8) as "the genuine thing" in terms of just how independent they were, predicted:

"The NP will win but some of the five independents will hold the balance of power.

It is believed at least two of the independents are sympathetic to the NDM cause.

Three candidates have already been elected unopposed: Mr Lourens (NP), Mr Ockie Oosthuizen (NP) and PFP leader Mr Andre Jacobs.

# Delegates critical of govt spending

Delegates yesterday criticised the Government for over-spending and ad-hoc economic decisions which jeopardised business.

During the open debate on the economy, speakers attacked excessive government and called for a more cost-effective civil service.

Mr A J Cowell of the Witwatersrand described the import surcharge as a subterfuge, a measure designed to raise cash.

It had caused chaos in the private sector and would be responsible for putting companies out of business.

Mr A C Coombe of Cape Town warned that the state's need for funds was going to increase again in the next Budget and that another rise in sales tax was possible.

Mr Hennie Viljoen of the Witwatersrand said there was concern about the rift developing between the Government and the private sector.

Commerce could have made an important contribution, if it had been consulted prior to implementation of the surcharge.

Mr P J Krawitz of Cape Town said the cost of government was far too high — the price tag of the new structures was R450 million — the equivalent of 15 percent of SA's gold and foreign exchange holdings.

Despite assurances that government was being reduced, 42 000 more employees had been taken on.

Mr D F Rowland of OFS Goldfields said the cost of living had increased by 370 percent over the past seven years. Over the same period, the cost of nominated and elected government had increased by a mammoth 1 520 percent.

# Polls head for flop

SOWA South Oct 20-26 1988

JOHANNESBURG. — The municipal elections for coloured and Indian management committees here are heading for a flop.

By Tuesday, only 2 350 Indian and 6 040 "coloured" had cast prior votes.

The Johannesburg City Council said the coloured figure represented 28,1 percent of registered voters, and the indian figure 19,6 percent.

This was based on 21 500 coloured registered voters and 12 000 Indian figures.

Extra-parliamentary organisations ridiculed these figures. They said the coloured population was way in excess of 100 000, as was the Indian population.

They believed the actual percentage of votes cast for the two communities was about five percent. — *INDICATOR*

304A

# Institute opposed to voting campaign

By Mike Siluma,
Labour Reporter

Government attempts to harness business into helping get black workers to the municipal polls has come under criticism from the Institute for Industrial Relations.

The institute's director, Mr Mike Miles, cautioned employers not to become involved in the campaign.

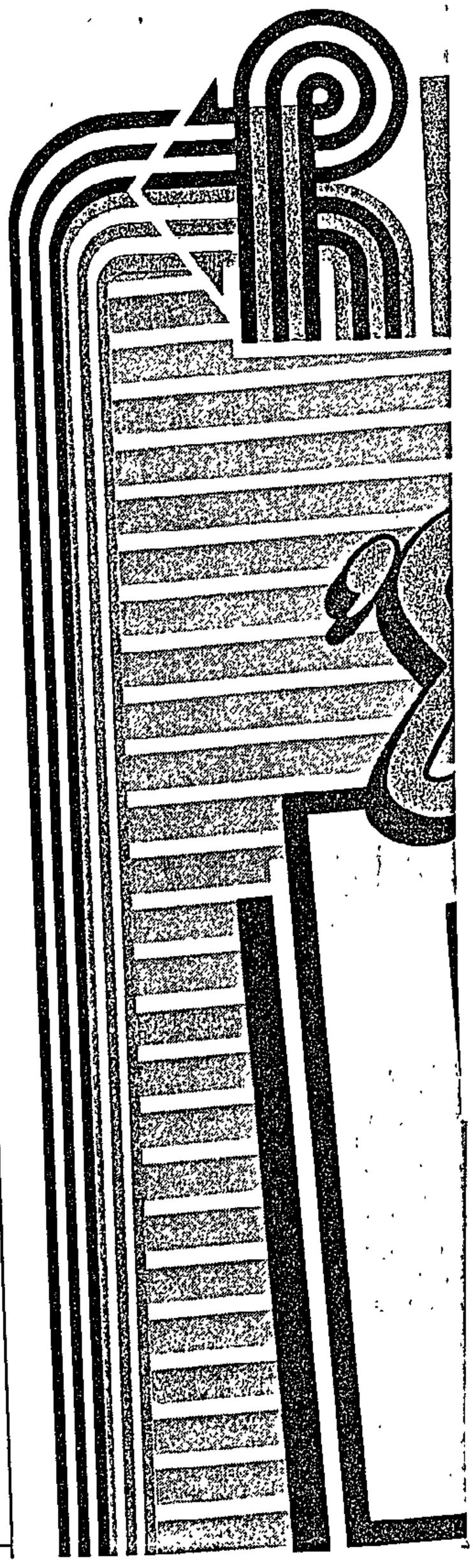
"The institute believes that in the interests of sound labour-management relations, employers ought not to become involved in the municipal election campaign," he said.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has, in a letter to employers, urged them to "assist and encourage their black staff to register as voters and later to exercise their democratic right to vote".

South Africa's two main black worker federations — the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) — have not urged members to participate in the poll.

Nactu secretary-general Mr Phiroshaw Camay challenged the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola) to state its position.

Saccola spokesman Mrs Frieda Dowie said she could not see how Saccola could involve itself in party politics.



Cape Times 20/10/88 30pt

# MP refuses to resign



Mr Peet de Pontes

**Political Staff**

THE embattled Nationalist MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, has refused to resign from the party because of evidence before the Harms Commission linking him to jailed Mafia boss Vito Palazollo.

However, top provincial leaders no longer consider him a member.

His refusal to resign his party membership comes amid controversy over his decision to continue standing as MP for East London City and calls by the Citywide Ratepayers' Association of East London to President P W Botha to prevent him and others, including the Mayor, Mr Robbie de Lange, from holding public office.

Mr De Pontes said: "I don't think anything the Citywide Ratepayers' Association says is worthy of comment. They are a small pressure group of probably not more than 20 members opposing a specific development project in East London."

He said that when all the evidence had been heard at the Harms Commission he was sure he would be exonerated.

Mr De Pontes also rejected a statement by the Cape secretary of the National Party, Mr Sakkie Pretorius, that he had resigned from the NP.

He said he had offered to "suspend" his membership on October 8 after an agreement was reached with the Cape leader, Mr Chris Heunis.

While Mr De Pontes does not feel he has relinquished his party membership, it is clear from Mr Pretorius's statement that the party is making no distinction between "suspension" and "resignation" and does not regard Mr De Pontes as a member any more.

Mr Pretorius said rumours had been circulating for a few months about "improper transactions" in which Mr De Pontes was allegedly involved. A party committee had investigated, and in the absence of concrete evidence had not recommended any action.

However, Mr De Pontes and Mr Heunis had agreed that "should any evidence be forthcoming or if other circumstances were to arise whereby the interests of the NP could be harmed, he would relinquish his membership".

After evidence at the commission, he was told his membership was not in the party's interest.

# Three held in protest rallies

Cape Times 20/10/88

By ANDRE KOOPMAN and PATRICK COLLINGS

THREE people were arrested at the city hall and police manned roadblocks at the University of Cape Town last night in an attempt to thwart a protest rally organised by two local youth congresses.

The city hall "Rally for Democracy" was aborted in spite of Mr Justice H L Berman having overturned an earlier police ban.

Mr Justice Berman's ruling came some 35 minutes after the rally was due to have started.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Roy During, ordered the ban earlier in the afteroon.

Police set up a roadblock at the entrance to UCT for two hours from about 7pm and asked students to show their registration cards before entering the campus, for the second time in under a week.

When asked last night, police initially said it was a "crime-prevention roadblock and that it would soon be moved to another location".

Later, police confirmed that the roadblock was erected to prevent people from gathering on campus in case the rally was moved there.

At the city hall scores of people were turned away from the meeting while police set up roadblocks at the corner of Darling and Adderley streets and at the corner of Strand and Buitenkant streets.

A crowd-control water cannon tanker and a police bus were parked on the Parade in front of the city hall.

One of the people arrested at the city hall last night, Ms Heather Marshall, said she had been standing outside the hall to tell people that the meeting had been banned when she was arrested. Ms Zora Ebrahim was arrested while telephoning attorneys to find out about the application.

Another man known only as Mark was later arrested. The two women were later released, Ms Marshall said.

Police did not confirm the details of the arrests last night.

# Police act on anti-poll school posters

304A

South Oct 20-24/1987

AT LEAST 12 pupils are believed to have been held at two high schools in Athlone near Cape Town this week.

Nine were picked up at Rylands High School and the other three at Alexander Sinton High School.

At Sinton, parents arrived by car to remove their children after three pupils were detained and anti-election posters removed.

Police ordered pupils to return to their classrooms.

## Wire fence

Security forces had kept the school under surveillance from a field opposite the school from as early as 7am, teachers claimed.

Pupils hung anti-election posters on a wire fence at the side of the school facing Hewat Training College at 7.45 am.

Teachers claimed security force members climbed over the fence to remove the posters before returning to their vehicles.

They entered the schoolground a second time and are believed to have detained a 16-year-old.

Police warned pupils their meeting was illegal. An anti-election banner put on the fence by pupils was confiscated after a second pupil was detained. A third pupil was later held.

Police warned they would act if teachers did not talk to the pupils.

Police later entered the school and detained nine pupils.




(304A) South Oct 20–26/1988.

**AS** it appears on television, it's a rather appropriate advert for a very unfortunate event.

That's the two squirrels on strings promoting next Wednesday's municipal election.

They symbolise what participants in the local government system will merely be — puppets of the apartheid system.

In the end, the Botha government will still pull the strings.

And what better proof than the failure of tricameral participants to change the Group Areas Act.

Politically and economically this country's in an abysmal mess.

With unemployment soaring and a seemingly uncontrollable cost of living, further rent and sales tax increases will only drive more and more to poverty.

This is what we are asked to vote for!

Repressive State of Emergency conditions persist, hundreds are detained and restricted, and campaigns against the elections outlawed.

The vote is offered under these conditions!

To quote rock star Bruce Springsteen: "We are a society at war with itself, under a government at war with its own people. There can't be much worse than that."

Yes, we can make it happen on October 26.

By saying NO to the squirrels symbolising puppets of the apartheid system.

By saying NO to ethnic and apartheid elections.

30pts Sowetan 21/10/88

FOCUS

# Will 'nuts' or squirrels win polls?

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

NEXT Wednesday sees the culmination of a municipal election exercise which has not lacked in an atmosphere of the bizarre — squirrels urging people to vote, clergymen (but only clergymen) apparently being allowed to speak against.

Yet it is most important. Quite apart from being a dress rehearsal for deciding who will control the white House of Assembly (and therefore the country) next national election, it should tell us much about how blacks, coloureds and Indians see the future and whether they see any possibility of progress via the tricameral system.

It could also give a firmer outline to strategies within these communities for opposing the Government's constitutional plans from within.

## Rejection

It seems the Government could face two problems: a strong stayaway vote signalling utter rejection of the constitutional formula; and the election of black councillors who intend linking up with leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the coloured and Indian MPs to frustrate its plans.

The black, coloured and Indian communities are invited to elect representatives to 610 different local authorities of varying influence, mostly limited. But a presence on these authorities does give them representation on the regional services councils (except in Natal, where RSCs have not been established), which in effect redistribute wealth, channelling funds from the developed (white) sector for the upliftment of black, coloured and Indian residential areas.

There is, of course, a sizeable constituency within these communities which says "nuts" to the squirrels and will have nothing at all to do with the present system. It will claim the stayaway vote as its own.

But the voice saying "nuts" has been silenced. It would belong normally to the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, but they have been gagged by the emergency regulations; many of their leaders are detained or restricted. Only those who have taken holy orders are bold enough to urge a voter to boycott.

Ironically, this handicap will serve to amplify any stayaway which might materialise. Add to this the fact that, in the black townships particularly, the very concept of municipal elections is unfamiliar and it will be difficult anyway to persuade people to vote; then that in certain black townships — in the Cape especially — people are more concerned with keeping body and soul together in the face of economic hardship and rampant, violent crime than with abstractions such as representative government.

Once the results are out, these factors will serve the arguments of those who opposed participation.

There were stirrings in Alexandra Township for the "anti-system" control and proclaim a "people's council."

Repeated countrywide this would, if necessary, probably have been less welcome to the Government than a large stayaway. But apparently it was never much more than a beguiling thought, very localised. Such a campaign would, however, have provided a clearer idea of the line-up in these communities.

It would be foolish (and probably illegal in terms of the emergency regulations) to attempt to predict how many blacks, coloureds and Indians will actually go to the polls.

But it will be interesting to see whether the Labour Party's confrontation with the Government in parliament over Group Areas has won it kudos: whether various shenanigans and high-jinks in the House of Delegates have had any effect on the Indian community's ideas on participation.

In the black townships, the main contest in the Transvaal and the Free State is between the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) led by Steve Kgane and the breakaway United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) led by Tom Boya, though the entirely localised Sofasonke Party could win control of Soweto itself from Umsa.

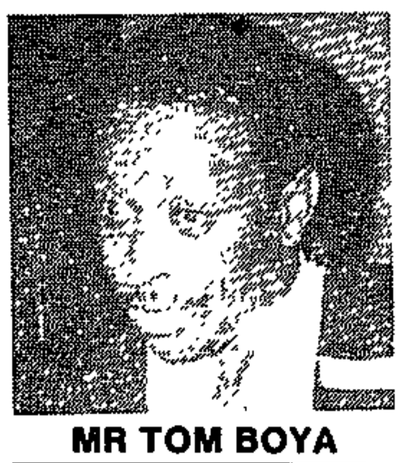
## Loosely

Ucasa and Umsa are not political parties — they are loosely organised associations of sitting councillors — but they operate very much like parties. Ucasa will be contesting the elections countrywide, Umsa only in the Transvaal and Free State.

But here is the Government's other problem. Many black councillors who will be elected on Wednesday are no more likely to support its constitutional plans than coloured and Indian MPs support Group Areas.

Mr Tom Boya, mayor of Daveyton and president of Umsa, is explicit: "We reject the National Council," he says. "We also reject Mr (Chris) Heunis' plans to establish regional councils for blacks. We will have nothing to do with them. We want to be elected so that we can serve our communities and at the same time exercise leverage against such ideas.

"We want political prisoners released and we



MR TOM BOYA



MR CHRIS HEUNIS



MR STEVE KGAME

## FOCUS ON DETENTIONS

**THE effort to highlight the plight of detainees and the fight for their unconditional release have just began for the "Kine Three" who on Wednesday walked out of the United States consulate after 35 days of taking refuge there.**

**Mr Murphy Morobe summed it up when he emerged from the consulate in Johannesburg:**

**"We freed ourselves from state of emergency detention and it is up to the hundreds of those still inside to face up to the challenge and do likewise. We will support them all the way by appealing to the international world and our community to focus on the ills of detention-without-trial in South Africa."**

**He was speaking for himself and on behalf of his former fellow detainees and refugees Mr Vusi Khanyile and Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa.**

**Mr Moosa read the trio's Press statement: "We are painfully aware that there are approximately 1 300 people in detention in terms of the emergency and security laws, of which 10 percent are children; many face long terms of imprisonment for political offences while others await execution at Pretoria Central Prison".**

***Compiled by THEMBA MOLEFE***

# 'Tell workers about election'

Star 24/10/88 (304A)

By Paula Fray

The East Rand regional office of the Transvaal Provincial Administration is urging employers to inform their black workers about the municipal elections and to give them time off to vote or supply them with transport to the voting polls.

In a letter addressed to employers, East Rand regional director Mr P J V du Toit said that "in spite of an advertising campaign, many people, especially black people, are still uninformed about the October municipal elections".

He appealed to employers to inform their black workers and said it was important for workers to know they could make use of prior votes.

He asked employers to give their black employees the opportunity to vote either during the prior voting period or on October 26.

A small pamphlet also urged employers to supply their workers with transport, if possible.

The Government has already assured State employees that they would be given time off during working hours to vote in the municipal elections.

The Minister for Administration and Privatisation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, has said the Government wanted to ensure that all public-service members had an opportunity to vote.

# October 26 poll 'vital to business'

By Sven Forssman (304A) Star 21/10/85

DURBAN — Business must make its presence felt in the municipal elections whatever the personal affiliations of businessmen, the new president of Assocom, Mr Sydney Matus, said yesterday.

Mr Matus, who was educated at Pretoria Boys' High and Wits University and is today executive director of Spar, said the shape and functioning of local government were assuming far greater importance to the business sector.

"Municipal and regional authorities are becoming a focal point for both national and local issues, and it is in the interests of business to help shape the debate.

"The important role of local government goes beyond how business decides to exercise its influence on October 26. The issues are on-going and will have to be addressed once municipal elections are over."

Mr Matus said the growth of the informal sector, the implementation of privatisation and deregulation at local level, the role of regional services councils, the efficacy of local government, and the matter of finance and municipal rates were local matters of great importance to businessmen.

Mr Matus said his theme for next year would primarily be the "fate of Assocom and the chamber movement".

"This does not mean that I will not be deeply involved in national issues as well, but I propose to give communications with chambers top priority."

Mr Brian Kurz is the new deputy president and Mr Peter Hugo is chairman of the executive council.

# Other groups will not rule us — Treurnicht

Star 21/10/81 **Vereeniging Bureau** (30cA)

The Conservative Party is not interested in governing any "non-white" race groups in South Africa as it is "difficult enough for their own leaders to try to rule over them," CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

"However, if any of these race groups think they will ever rule over the boerevolk, they are making a big mistake," he told a capacity crowd at the Meyerton Town Hall.

Dr Treurnicht stressed that the CP did not want to "bulldoze" members of other race groups all over the country. The party merely wanted to help them expand their powers so that they could govern themselves in their own homelands.

He criticised the Government for claiming a bloodbath would result if the CP came to power.

PRIOR VOTING

# Scraping the rolls

As the second week of prior voting in the local elections draws to an end the question is: was it worth it? Week one was marred by attacks on black candidates, bombs at the municipal buildings in Alexandra, and a student protest at the University of Cape Town where police moved on to the campus to break up a meeting of about 800 students demonstrating their opposition to the elections.

The home of Duduza's administrator, the Reverend Simon Mahloke, was bombed. Mahloke was not at home at the time, but his house was extensively damaged. The administrator of the Brakpan township, Tsakane, Raymond Radebe, is fighting for his life in hospital after he was attacked by a group of unknown men.

There is little doubt that the exercise has been a costly one involving the staffing of polling stations for two weeks, including Saturdays, for over 1 000 authorities. Councils face huge overtime bills because of the decision to keep the polls open until 9 pm during the week. The election is also tying up a number of employees from the four provincial administrations who are keeping a watch on the elections and compiling daily statistics. Final details of these, however, will only be available next week.

Government believes the expense is justified. Officials believe that it is not only the final poll that counts, but also the educational mileage gained from the prior voting exercise and the advertising campaign.

"A comprehensive publicity campaign was launched to bring home to all residents of the 80 black towns in the Transvaal the purpose of a municipal election and how it works," says Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl.

"Towards this end a few million election pamphlets, the existing newspapers, radio and television networks are being utilised to carry across the information message." Van Zyl adds that the province is satisfied with the progress of the election.

The prior voting campaign is primarily aimed at black voters to provide safety for them to vote. By the end of the first week, according to the Bureau for Information, 10,3% of registered voters had cast prior votes. The percentage poll in the Free State was 17,4%; in Natal 7,8%; the Cape 11,5%; and Transvaal 8,5%. In order to read some significance into these percentages it is necessary to wait until the final tallies for individual local authorities are available.

Prior voting is proving a relative success in a number of coloured and Indian areas. But government will not like one effect it is also having — in the Transvaal the Conservative Party (CP) is taking advantage of the time to ferry voters to the polls. As part of its attempt to take control of Pretoria, the CP is aiming to get 100 voters per ward to the polls on each prior voting day.

"We are making extensive use of prior voting all over the Transvaal to get out those people we think will not go to the polls on their own on October 26," says CP director for organisation, Kobus Beyers. ■

SA DIPLOMACY

# Surfin' RSA

**The euphoria** of P W Botha's overseas trip has subsided. This week it was back to the hard realities of SA's political arena for the aged Nat leader.

Botha has now tasted the faint flavour of international recognition and already there

*Continued on P57*



*Continued from P55*

is talk of follow-up visits. A Nat source claims that diplomatic relations with Mozambique will be clinched within days — which could mean an exchange of ambassadors and a shot across the bows of Frontline State hostility to Pretoria.

However, Botha's diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa and Europe underline the fact that an internal solution must be found before SA will be allowed to take its rightful place in the international community. Three issues — the amended versions of the Group Areas Act (GAA), the continued detention of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the furore over rugby supremo Danie Craven's visit to Harare — illustrate Botha's predicament at home.

Botha is currently the only leader within the NP who can unravel the political knot in which his party finds itself. And as Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse warned at an election meeting near Roodepoort this week: "If the State President launches these amendments (to the GAA) through the President's Council (PC), he will forever lose the friendship of the coloured people."

The deadline for a vote on these Bills by the Indian and coloured Houses expired this week. It is up to Botha to make the choice that Hendrickse has laid before the door of Tuynhuys. Some political commentators think the president may instruct the PC to water down the amendments; whether even that would alter Hendrickse's hard stand is difficult to see.

Transvaal Nat leader F W de Klerk admitted at a Lichtenburg meeting on Monday: "We have made mistakes, maybe many." And in the same breath: "We cannot accept that 4m people be treated as first class citizens and, at the same time, accept that 17m should be content. It's a recipe for revolution. The history of the world has proved this."

The government-supporting Johannesburg daily *Beeld* has again taken up the issue of the GAA — no doubt much to Botha's chagrin: "(We don't believe) in a regimented society in which people live in fear and where hatred is being cultivated," it said. Between the lines — the choice is Botha's to make.

Mandela's position is again an open question. In a speech to the SA-Swiss Association in Zurich, Botha, in effect, praised Mandela for his "co-operation." This angered the ANC leader, according to his wife Winnie who visited him in his luxury clinic outside Cape Town at the weekend.

*Beeld* says government has advanced so far with procedures towards Mandela's release that there can be few problems still blocking the way. "It is only a question of *when* instead of *if*," it argued. In short, Botha's regional successes must be backed up at home — even at the expense of losing those still wavering between the NP and Andries Treurnicht's CP.

"We are riding a wave," Botha said to SA's European envoys during his trip. But he should at the same time take care to avoid what surfers call *wipe-out*. ■

# Buthelezi has gone too far, says 'patient' PW

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Star 21/12/88

The State President, Mr P W Botha, last night launched a scathing attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu for blocking negotiations on constitutional reform while accusing the State President of being unable to negotiate with black leaders.

At a public meeting in Benoni Mr Botha said he had been patient with Chief Buthelezi, who had repeatedly chosen to attack him personally.

"I did not seek confrontation with Mr Buthelezi, but I have to tell him that he cannot have his cake and eat it. I think he has now gone too far."

Mr Botha was reacting to Chief Buthelezi's remarks at Assocom's annual congress in Durban this week.

Chief Buthelezi had on numerous occasions been invited, with other black leaders, to negotiate on constitutional reform, said Mr Botha. However, he had refused to attend a meeting between Mr Botha and other black leaders in August last year.

"I have up to now been very patient with him because I believe he is often being misled and misused by people who do not have South Africa's best interests at heart."

The Government had achieved significant breakthroughs during the past few weeks, much to the dislike of many who wished to see conflict and chaos in the country. Something, therefore, had to be done to show that the Government was in confrontation with the country's black leaders.

Mr Botha also accused the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, of spreading false rumours about a recent meeting between the two of them.

Mr Hendrickse had said the State President had pleaded with him to co-operate with the NP to keep the Conservative Party out.

In fact, he said, he had told Mr Hendrickse not to allow the right wing to usher him (Mr Botha) out of power, since no Afrikaner leader would ever again have the opportunity to implement reform.

Cape Times 21/10/88 (3044)

# Calls for a nationwide protest on voting day

JOHANNESBURG. — Anti-apartheid organisations yesterday called for a nationwide protest next week on the final day of voting in the segregated municipal elections.

Officials of churches, trade unions and human-rights groups said in a statement that the protest next Wednesday was intended to demonstrate opposition to "these apartheid elections in the clearest possible way".

State of emergency regulations prohibit calls for politically motivated strikes and work stoppages, but previous national protests during the 28-month-old emergency have taken the form of widespread general strikes.

The government has outlawed calls for an election boycott. This prohibition has been defied openly by anti-apartheid clergymen, including the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu.

Wednesday is officially designated as Election Day, but the government, seeking to maximise the turnout, has allowed voters to cast votes in advance during a 12-day period ending Saturday.

The elections mark the first time that South Africans of all races are voting at the same time, and the government depicts the balloting as an important extension of democracy. Anti-apartheid groups reject participation in local elections until blacks get voting rights on the national level. — Sapa

# Louw puts poll statistics on hold

**Municipal Reporter**

DAY-BY-DAY statistics on how the prior voting is going will no longer be provided by the Provincial Administration, Mr Gene Louw announced yesterday.

He said it would be "virtually impossible" to make daily statistics available during the critical days before the election on the 26th.

In view of the announcement, the Provincial Administration's assistant director of local government, Mr Michael Brevis, declined yesterday to provide black voting statistics.

The Cape Town City Council provided voting statistics for its areas as usual yesterday (for the previous day).

The general trend in these was that voting was falling off. Athlone and District management committee still had 222 votes, but this is fewer than on several earlier voting days. Schotsche Kloof had 12 votes, Wittebome-Wynberg 37, Kensington 32, ward 3 had 35, ward 4 had 37, ward 5 had 44, ward 6 had 139, ward 7 had 84, ward 9 had 24, ward 10 had 86, ward 11 had 68, ward 13 had 44 and ward 17 had 59.

• Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Gene Louw will appeal against a recent Supreme Court decision against the exclusion of Khayelitsha from Cape Town City Council area, and against the establishment of the Lingelethu West local authority there.

# Councillors' pensions still on people's minds

**Staff Reporter**

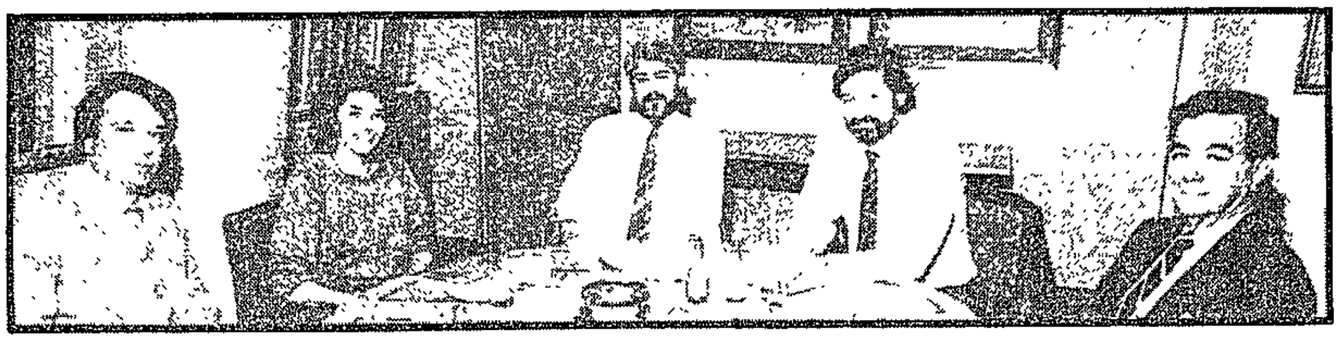
SOME voters have definitely not forgotten the councillors' pensions issue — one of them lined up his three candidates at the polling station recently and asked each of them their thoughts on the matter before judiciously casting a vote.

Mrs Patricia Sulcas, who tells this story, is strongly opposed to the pension scheme. She believes the ratepayers' contribution is out of proportion with the average contribution made by employers in SA.

The buy-back scheme should not be implemented at all, in her opinion, and the funds could better be spent on a civic patrol.

(3044) B/day 21/10/88

# Liberalism in practice in SA



☐ The debaters (from left): Charles Simkins, Ann Bernstein, John Kane-Berman, Duncan Innes, Zach de Beer

**Can the principles of liberal theory be translated into practice in a changing SA? In search of answers, Business Day this week arranged a debate on liberal values. It was chaired by John Kane-Berman, executive director of the Institute of Race Relations, and participants were liberal economist Charles Simkins, PFP leader Zach de Beer, Wits sociologist Duncan Innes and Ann Bernstein, policy director, urbanisation, of the Urban Foundation. These are edited extracts . . .**

**KANE-BERMAN:** Liberalism in SA has recently lost white support. Why?

**DE BEER:** This has been due to real factors inside and outside the country — industrial relations tensions, what happened in Zimbabwe — but overwhelmingly due to the sedulous cultivation of fear among white voters by government, assisted by the Conservative Party.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Have liberals made any successful or real attempts to deal with these fears?

**BERNSTEIN:** Traditionally, liberals have been less concerned with white fears and more with righting injustices in SA. That is starting to change. A lot of people and organisations who now work on the basis of liberal principles are trying to respond to the legitimate fears of both white and black people in a violent and unjust society.

**INNES:** One reason why liberalism seems to be losing support is that a lot of people who previously supported liberal views were not necessarily liberal. As the crisis over the last few years intensified, a lot of them who previously perhaps voted PFP, but were further right, went back on to government's side.

## The Nationalist government and liberalism

**BERNSTEIN:** There are additional factors. There has been a very significant movement in the last few years in government policy towards what you could call the application of certain liberal values to practical politics. Take just recognising the permanence of black people in SA. We now have more white people who accept that proposition than before. There are other dynamics going on, and we need to unpack what we mean by liberalism and how we should be applying that in society.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Have white voters turned against liberals because they fear what liberals might do in power, or because they disagree with what some liberals are currently doing in opposition?

**SIMKINS:** White voters generally think the prospect of liberals being in power to be so remote as not to be seriously considered.

**KANE-BERMAN:** How do you explain the fact that many more people seem to support the PFP's constitutional proposals than actually vote for the party?

**DE BEER:** That is not my impression. Central to the PFP's constitutional proposals is a universal franchise, and it will remain so. I think the position is rather that there are a lot of people who don't believe in a universal franchise who actually do vote for the PFP.

**INNES:** I am not convinced by this argument that genuine liberals are supporting government. At the same time as this swing away from the PFP, government has shown itself committed to a state of emergency, to detention without trial, to separate racial institutions.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Is repealing the pass laws, for example, not a genuinely liberalisng act?

**INNES:** It is a reform, clearly a step forward, but this government is nowhere near experessing genuine liberal views. I don't dispute that there are liberal trends — the pass laws, the labour reforms, those are genuine, they are important, and one is pleased they are there. But that is a long way from what I understand liberalism to be. It comes back to Zach's point of universal franchise.

**SIMKINS:** People in the NP who are not genuine liberals nonetheless show up on the liberal end of the spectrum when it comes to a whole series of quite specific issues.

**DE BEER:** Group areas and release Mandela, for example.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Do liberals not face something of an identity crisis? If one looks at the pattern of change, is government in some sense stealing the clothes of liberal parties?

## Liberalism in a transition

**BERNSTEIN:** Aren't there two issues here? The one is how liberal goals differ from those of a reforming National Party; the other is how liberal values are translated into how you should behave in a transition. It seems to me goverment has not come very close to the core issue of votes for all. But what I question is how people of liberal values have been applying those values in the last few years in the area of transition, the area of strategy and tactics to get from here to there.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Should a liberal government allow the AWB to exist?

**DE BEER:** Yes.

**KANE-BERMAN:** The Communist Party?

**DE BEER:** Yes.

**INNES:** Should there be any conditions attached to their legalisation?

**DE BEER:** Yes. It is a difficult line to draw, but you have got to define subversion. There cannot be anything wrong with holding the views of either the communists or the AWB as a vision of the kind of world you want to see. But if in the process of attaining that your conviction is that there has got to be violent revolution, and if you plan, plot or preach violent revolution, then I believe you should be proceeded against by proper legal process.

**KANE-BERMAN:** The track record of communist parties around the world is the moment they get into power they destroy democracy and that is the last election that is held. Should we run that risk?

**DE BEER:** I think it is a risk worth running. I know this country is different from others, but look what has happened to the Communist Party in Britain and America and indeed in Western Europe. It was defeated by normal processes of liberal politics.

**BERNSTEIN:** Surely that's a risk you run with many parties? Not only the communists could do that.

## Desegregating schools and suburbs

**KANE-BERMAN:** It's axiomatic among liberals that freedom of association is a right that must be guaranteed constitutionally. What about freedom to disassociate? Ann, for example, would you as the head of a liberal government compel all government schools to desegregate?

**BERNSTEIN:** Yes, I believe that facilities paid for with public money need to be open to all the citizens. But that doesn't mean I don't believe in the right to disassociate. Individuals or groups should have the right to disassociate if they want to, with their own money, if it doesn't impact the rights of other people.

**DE BEER:** Yes. If you want to have a King David School or a convent or a school for lefthanded whites with red hair, I have no objection — but the taxpayer mustn't be asked to fund it.

**KANE-BERMAN:** The answer to that from the Afrikaans-speaking community is that there is no tradition of private schools, and that a great many whites would face their schools being closed down if they had to finance them themselves. Is there no space for any taxpayers' subsidy to any such schools?

**SIMKINS:** What about the view that every child is entitled to a certain amount of support for its education, either in the form of attendance at a government school or as a subsidy towards a private school? Then Afrikaners can spend this money on their education as they desire. Then an exclusively Afrikaans school becomes a private school.

**DE BEER:** If you did adopt that method it would facilitate what I have been talking about — you could choose freely. That's the Milton Friedman method of financing education. I have never committed myself to it, but I have always regarded it as interesting.

**KANE-BERMAN:** What about whites-only suburbs under a liberal regime?

**DE BEER:** There is no place for any law or regulation that forbids any citizen in the country from buying any property that is for sale. If 200 whites can buy 200 plots which are contiguous you have a white suburb. But there mustn't be any law or regulation preventing a black from buying in that suburb.

**KANE-BERMAN:** In the US they tried to desegregate schools through bussing. Could one do that here?

**SIMKINS:** The US was aiming at spreading a small number of black children evenly around a predominantly white education system. If we were to bus in SA we would have to bus white children, and in some senses there aren't enough to go around. I think in practical terms it wouldn't be much of an issue.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Should steps be taken to prevent blockbusting?

**SIMKINS:** If by blockbusting you mean the creation of panic by estate agents to buy up houses from one group cheaply and then sell them more expensively to other groups, that should be unethical behaviour for estate agents. It would be a market transaction formed by racial animosity. I don't think any institute of estate agents should tolerate that.

**KANE-BERMAN:** And if they did, you would legislate to stop them?

**BERNSTEIN:** The practical reality if you look at other countries is that desegregation is going to be a lot harder to implement than that. One has to look at the role of key actors, two of which are estate agencies, and banks and building societies. The US experience is that estate agents can play a very insidious role in keeping suburbs white and pushing up prices to keep blacks out, and so can financial institutions. There have been cases in the US where banks and building societies have started redlining areas. This is starting to happen in Hillbrow now; I believe some banks and building societies are not lending for properties there, so that becomes one of the factors tipping neighbourhoods to become slums.

21/10/88

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# Liberalism and the state of emergency

**KANE-BERMAN:** Does government have the right to suspend the rule of law, for example by declaring states of emergency and by detaining people without trial?

**INNES:** Yes, if there is an attempt at a violent overthrow of the State. The problem is to define exactly when that comes into play. It clearly is a measure of last resort, and should be overcome very quickly. Also, even under a state of emergency there should be some attempt to continue some form of democracy. Existing political parties which are not part of the attempt at treason or violent overthrow should advise the State on what's happening and when to stop the emergency, and the State should go along with that.

**KANE-BERMAN:** What about circumstances of severe civil disturbance not necessarily aimed at overthowing the State or which have no realistic chance of doing that? Would you rule out emergencies then?

**INNES:** Yes. Civic disturbances should be put down by legal methods. If these were not successful one could call an election, a snap plebiscite, on the issue. Democratic alternatives have to be sought at all times.

**KANE-BERMAN:** What about use by a liberal government of troops to quell civil disturbance?

**SIMKINS:** There are a series of principles accepted in liberal democracies of the West. Faced by this kind of situation you start with the police and civil agencies to try to deal with it. Then there are a graded series of steps government will go through in availing itself of military power. Right at the top is the state of emergency, but there are other intermediate steps where the army can be involved in quite a minor capacity, really as a technical adjunct to the police working under police orders.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Government has claimed more than once that, if not the majority, then many black people welcome the presence of troops in the townships. Is this simply to be dismissed as untrue?

**DE BEER:** There's an onus on government to produce some proof.

**SIMKINS:** But there has been something in the way of polls. Are they to be discounted? The HSRC have gone in and taken polls showing almost implausibly high percentages of people who say they welcome the troops.

**BERNSTEIN:** I think there's a principle and a practical issue. Could the claim they make be a very sad commentary on the state of our police, that anything would be better than them? In a sense it could be the choice between two evils rather than a positive comment. The principle is that we should have a well-run and disciplined police force able to handle civil situations.

**DE BEER:** No one has mentioned the courts. In the circumstances described, government should be able to avail itself of emergency powers, but subject to court approval within a prescribed period. And the court should have the power to make the State withdraw the emergency.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Is there any justification for the state of emergency declared by the present government?

**INNES:** No. The prerequisite is a democratic state. This emergency is an attempt to suppress the majority.

**SIMKINS:** It's a Hobbsian consideration which does lead some people in the townships to favour troops. That is to say, even given its illegitimacy, it may be better to work with the state of emergency for a period of time because the alternative is likely to be a much harsher and much more disorderly outcome than the one we face.

**KANE-BERMAN:** What about the criticism by the right that liberals who call for the withdrawal of police and army from the townships would want the same army and troops back in to protect their own property if violence moved to white suburbia?

**BERNSTEIN:** Aren't we in the situation that I was referring to earlier? It's one thing to say how a liberal government should be constituted and another to show isolated incidents and say, well now, how do liberals respond to that? If there were a liberal government you would have a comprehensive liberal strategy to get us out of this situation. Yes, of course, if white people's lives and properties are threatend they are going to call the police, just the same as some black people have done.

**INNES:** Clearly, the police have a very important and very legitimate role to play in society in terms of protecting property and human life. But that is not a long-term solution. What is government's long-term strategy is to get rid of the problems that have generated the violence. The strategies put forward strike me as thoroughly inadequate.

**DE BEER:** This country is making a great many sacrifices of civil liberty and in very real economic terms. One should be prepared to make sacrifices if there is light at the end of the tunnel. We made great sacrifices in the Second World War and we were told we would win in the end, and we did. But these sacrifices being made now ... for what? For nothing but the prospect of continuing to make them.

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ZOLA

21/10/81

# Tyranny of the majority

**KANE-BERMAN:** In a one-man, one-vote situation, how does one set about protecting the minority against the tyranny of the majority?

**SIMKINS:** There are two devices: one is a bill of rights enforced by the courts; the other is to allow groups to reconstitute themselves as political parties and then any party receiving above a certain threshold of support is entitled to representation in the executive and legislature.

**DE BEER:** Would you not agree that a federal structure constitutes an additional brake on tyranny? The mere fact that power is exercised at different points, provided the right to exercise that power is entrenched in a constitution, makes more difficult the desire of the tyrant to dominate everything and obliterate civil liberty.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Chris Heunis says federalism doesn't take us anywhere near solving the problem because there is no way that you can draw the map of SA in a realistic way that is not going to have a series of federal states, each black dominated.

**DE BEER:** He is deliberately misunderstanding. But yes, your federation must be geographic, and there would be a black majority in every state. That is still a barrier in the way of tyranny.

**BERNSTEIN:** The whole role of the cities seems to me to be an interesting additional division of power. As SA has bigger and bigger cities and becomes more urbanised, I would think we need to look at them having independent taxing powers and greater autonomy.

**KANE-BERMAN:** How does one answer the point that it's all very well to talk about bills of rights and federal constitutions but the moment a black government gets to power it tears those up?

**SIMKINS:** In very poor countries the prospects for straightforward political dominance are very good. In a semi-industrialised country which has the potential economically to go forward to advanced industrial country status in a short time you may already have sufficient divergence of interests for checks and balances. The question is: are we far enough down that economic development route? I think it's touch and go.

**KANE-BERMAN:** You are asking white voters who see themselves as a diminishing proportion of the population to accept a hope, a risk, something that is touch and go. You are really asking them to make a leap of faith. Is that realistic politically?

**SIMKINS:** I think so, if you percieve the alternatives.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Ann, I think you're aware of Professor Carel Boshoff's proposals for a mini-homeland. Is there is any merit in that?

**BERNSTEIN:** I think his proposals are totally impractical and I simply don't support secession. However, I am committed to a process of negotiation. If the cost of the rest of SA getting on with the business of becoming a non-racial democracy was that a substantial number of people were prepared to go off and live in a small white homeland, that's certainly worth discussing.

**DE BEER:** I am told this is more or less where the good professor's thoughts are going, that he says the only future for SA is a non-racial democracy based on equal rights, but that a number of Afrikaners just won't have it. I have been told that he estimates the number at about 250 000, and that a suitable area should be found for these people to go and live. As Ann says, if in a negotiation process that's the bargain you can strike it is well worth looking at. The trouble with all sorts of political solutions which defy economic reality is that you have to try them before you know what's wrong with them. And that would be the trouble with a Volkstaat or a Boerestaat.

**KANE-BERMAN:** Do you see the free market system as a basic liberal principle?

**BERNSTEIN:** For me the issue is the efficient and as equitable as possible production and distribution of goods, and my favoured method would be a market system. But that does not mean I am a free marketeer. The precise role of the State and the private sector will differ from sector to sector — for example, housing, transport and health.

**DE BEER:** I have said the free market is simply an aspect of personal freedom, which must include economic freedom.

**SIMKINS:** I would go along with the notion that a predominantly capitalist system at this stage in SA is a likely way to maximise the position of the least well-off.

**INNES:** No, I would argue for a mixed economy. I don't think there is any contradiction between a mixed economy and liberalism. What we are seeing from the socialist experience in Europe and from the so-called communist experience in Eastern Europe is that a market plays a crucial role in the development of an economy and a society and if you take it away, as they have done in Eastern Europe, it leads to all kinds of problems. What that should tell us is that in a future SA the market should play an important role. The problem with a market is that it does not always allocate resources to where they are needed, but to where there is a demand for them. That worries me because of the great inequalities of wealth in this country. So I think, initially, we will need the State to guide the economy, to lay down certain constraints, certain limitations around the market, and to ensure the allocation of resocures to where they are needed.

**KANE-BERMAN:** And the question of nationalising, say, the mines — is that compatible with liberal principles?

**INNES:** I don't see nationalisation of certain sectors as necessarily being illiberal. I think there is a strong argument to be made for essential services to be nationalised. But the experience of the last few decades has been that nationalisation is not a terribly efficient way to go about redistributing wealth, because it has tended to restrict the generation of that wealth. I would prefer to see the State operating through indirect influence and controls than direct ownership.

**SIMKINS:** I would like to go back to white trust and whether the conditions for a liberal democracy are present. At least we have political organisations with whom one can deal. Trust has to be built up in the negotiation process. If we can get to a deal which looks like liberal democracy I think there is a very good chance it will stick.

## CRITICS' CHOICE

**CINEMA:**

**JEAN DE FLORETTE (Ster-Kinekor):** Moving tale of greed triumphing over rural innocence.

**MANON OF THE SPRING (Ster-Kinekor):** "Jean de Florette" continued and complemented to make a satisfying and complete work of art.

**UNBEARABLE LIGHTNESS OF BEING (Ster-Kinekor):** Long but not protracted study of the passions of politics and the politics of passion set during Czechoslovakia's 1968 flirtation with freedom.

**WHITE MISCHIEF (Ster-Kinekor):** A fascinating, almost horrifying, portrait of the decadent lifestyle adopted by upper-class whites in Kenya in the early Forties.

**HOUSEKEEPING (Ster-Kinekor):** Touching portrayal of a relationship that begins in suspicion and ends in unquestioning trust.

**PHILLIP ALTBEKER**

**THEATRE:**

**NUNSENSE (Alhambra Theatre):** Breezy, well-cast and directed comic musical about a fund-raising concert starring nuns.

**ROBERT GREIG**

**ARTICHOKE (Dalro, Windybrow):** Nutty intellectual returns to rural farming community and upsets the applecart — plenty of humour and pathos in a play that scintillates with outstanding performances.

**JOHN MICHELL**

# PW heads for fierce new clash on Areas

Star 21/10/86

304A

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**Nothing the State President said or did with regard to legislation to tighten the Group Areas Act would change the Labour Party's total opposition to it, the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said today.**

He was reacting to the speech by Mr P W Botha last night in which he indicated that the Group Areas Amendment Bill would go to the President's Council for consideration.

Mr Botha confirmed the Government remained determined to enact legislation to tighten the Group Areas Act.

Addressing a public meeting at the Benoni town hall, Mr Botha said reports that he had not sent the Group Areas Amendment Bill to the President's Council for a decision, had been blown out of all proportion.

## Surprise decision

He was referring to reaction yesterday from political leaders that the decision not to send the Bill to the President's Council represented broader thinking within the National Party that the Group Areas Act should be scrapped.

The reaction followed the surprise decision by Mr Botha to refer to the President's Council only two of four Bills which had been at the centre of heated controversy during this year's session of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview today that if the State President proceeded with the legislation, it would be difficult for those who wanted to help South Africa to continue to do so.

He said this would be particularly unfortunate at a time when South Africa was making progress with its relations with Africa, and when the US Congress had postponed its sanctions legislation.

Progressive Federal Party civil rights spokesman Mrs Helen Suzman said today it appeared Mr Botha was keeping open all his options on the legislation.

"It seems likely that a lot is going to depend on the municipal elections next week If the Conservative Party makes even more gains than expected, I think he will run for cover and send the Bill to the President's Council for ratification," she said.

"If the CP does not do so well, then he might take courage and listen to the strong protest of all the important industrial, financial and legal bodies, let alone those concerned with human rights, who have expressed their opposition to the Bill."

Mr Botha should also be concerned about the effects the Bill would have on South Africa's international relations and the further isolation of the country.

The President has referred only the Bills providing for free settlement areas to the President's Council, but has withheld the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill.

The free settlement areas Bills provide for the creation of mixed residential townships in which people of all race groups may own and occupy property.

The Group Areas Amendment Bill provides for a drastic toughening of the existing law to protect racially segregated suburbs, while the remaining Bill tightens existing squatting legislation.

All four Bills were accepted by the House of Assembly but rejected by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates after a series of acrimonious sittings of Parliament this year.

Last night Mr Botha said speculation by individual correspondents would not prescribe how he did his constitutional duties.

"I will decide when the Bills go to the Council after I have thoroughly considered the matter. I cannot do everything at once," he said.

The media had speculated that the Government might order changes to soften the Group Areas Amendment Bill by toning down its penalties. The speculation was based on leaks from several senior Goverment sources.

## Election's foundation

There has never been any suggestion from the Government that the principle of group areas would be abandoned. Segregated areas has been a major plank in the National Party's current municipal election platform.

There was no clarity today about when Mr Botha would refer the two Bills to the President's Council and on what basis he would do so.

In the case of the two free settlement areas Bills he has instructed the President's Council to give him a decision on whether they should be made law or not (after they were rejected by two of the three Houses of Parliament).

Mr Botha has the option to ask the President's Council for



Drum majorettes Kim Cramer, parade by Northcliff High Scho burg, tomorrow to help raise f Prizes in a consumer club ca

## Homes show o latest design c

The Star Design for Living Expo, consecutive weekends, opened today

The show — with six designer bracket — signifies a return to the of the early 80s and offers the innovative in architectural concepts.

The show is open to the public Fridays and 10 am to 9 pm on Saturd

The entrance fee is R5 for adults for children under 14.

To get there take the N1 Western the Fourways Bryanston interchang Fourways Gardens Estate along the ing directly through the fourway st turning left into Uranium Drive. The before turning right into Fourways

With the benefit of generous bu

'Joining OAU'

21/10/88

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Mr Botha has the option to ask the President's Council for advice with regard to the remaining two Bills.

The President's Council may recommend changes to the Bills and the draft legislation would then have to be re-submitted to Parliament for the approval of the three Houses of any amendments.

Mr Botha could also simply ask the Council for a decision on whether the Bills should be made law or not.

The President's Council went into recess today until October 31.

It will hold two sittings later this year, from October 31 to November 11 and again from November 21 to December 2.

The sessions will be used to process the free settlement areas legislation and any other matters referred to it by the State President.

● See Page 3.

## 'Joining OAU is logical'

Star 21/10/88

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South Africa would in due course seek to join to Organisation of African Unity, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said at a public meeting in Benoni last night.

Elaborating on his recent African and European tours, he said Africa's salvation had to be found in the wisdom and interaction between the continent's leaders.

South Africa had quietly played a massive role in uplifting the continent's nations economically.

"This logically implies that we shall in due course strive to become a member of the Organisation of African Unity," he said.

# Who's who in Sandton?

Star 21/10/88

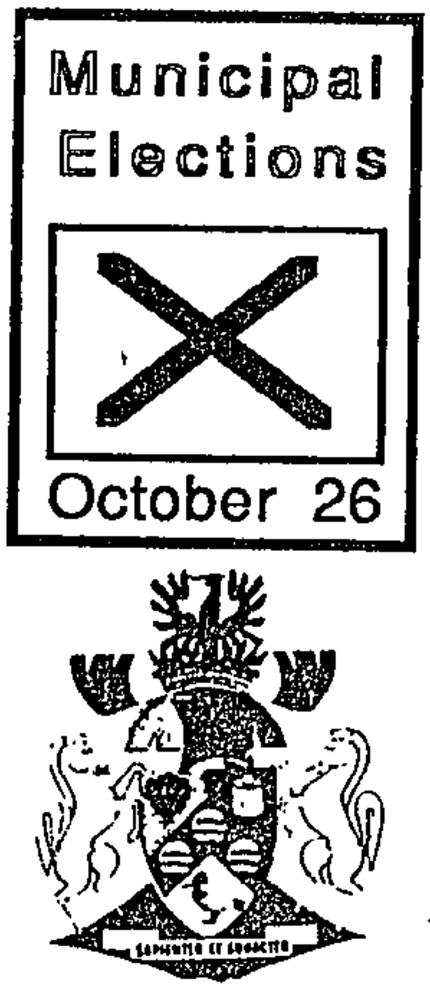
By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

Sandton's 39 400 registered voters have a tough time figuring out which political line of thought they are supporting in next week's municipal election.

There are 20 candidates: one for the National Party, five for the Progressive Federal Party, seven for the Sandtonians and seven independents. The independents could be sympathetic to any of the official groups, according to party spokesmen.

The talk of the town is the election pact between the PFP and the Sandtonians, the latter an organisation claiming to be non-political and interested only in a "best-man council".

Despite the controversial pact, announced only after nominations have closed, the stable-mates are contesting one another in four of the nine contested wards. The town's 11 unopposed wards seem to be more or less equally divided between the two partners and a number of "independents".




## ENLIGHTENED

Mr Peter Jardine, PFP chairman in Sandton, believes the council — the only council in the country at present controlled by the PFP — will still be dominated by the party after October 26.

"We will still be the largest single grouping and we will be backed by some independents. There will be at least 18 politically enlightened, like-minded people in the Sandton council."

Sandtonians leader Mr Perry Oertel holds a different opinion.

"From the outset we wanted to ensure a non-political, best-man council in which debate can be free and open and in which no caucus situation will prevail. We have succeeded in that."

Before the pact was reached, the Sandtonians tried to reach a pact with the NP, according to the NP leader in Sandton, Mr Costa Babich.

He is now critical of the pact: "The Sandtonians have all along claimed to be opposed to party politics in local government. I regret that was not the object of the exercise. It was sheer power-play."

He claims at least six of the independent candidates are Nat supporters in addition to the one official NP candidate, Mr Blyth Thompson, who will contest Ward 16.

Mr Ricky Valente, the management committee chairman who resigned from the PFP under a cloud of controversy earlier this year and is now contesting Ward 18, also raises serious questions about the pact.

He says the Sandtonians say their group is composed of people from the "left, right and centre" while the PFP says it has made a pact with like-minded people.

"No matter how one looks at it, this is a very strange pact that has nothing to do with being 'like-minded', but is merely an arrangement of convenience," says Mr Valente.

Mr Jardine hits back: "A lot has been made of the 'like-minded' issue. We don't agree on everything with the Sandtonians, but we are politically like-minded.

"Even before the pact was formed the PFP decided not to oppose certain independents. It is senseless to oppose people who are on the same political wavelength as us. In the end it is a matter of the best candidate."

# Does the Jewish Nat betray his roots?

**A rabbi estimates that almost half South Africa's Jewry supported the National Party in the last elections. The shift to the right embarrasses liberal and radical Jews who consider any identification with apartheid a betrayal of religion and history. By FRAN BUNTMAN, of the Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand**

THE "Jewish vote" has become an issue in next week's white municipal elections.

People such as Gerald Leissner, national chairman of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (BOD), deny a "Jewish vote" exists in South Africa. He believes Jews tend to follow the general voting pattern within the broader community.

In the Johannesburg ward of Yeoville/Bellevue, Jewish candidates Martin Sweet (Progressive Federal Party) and Stan Treisman (National Party) both claim to want to "leave the Jewish issue out of it".

But at this point, it's probably impossible. Their election contest, as those of other Jews standing for the Nats, has aroused interest from beyond the constituency itself. For many in the Jewish community, it raises the fundamental questions of what does it mean to be a Jew, and to whom does the Jew owe his/her allegiance?

Rabbi Selwyn Franklin, until recently the rabbi of the Orthodox Green Point and Sea Point Hebrew Congragation in Cape Town, estimated that almost half of the Jewish South Africans supported the NP in the 1987 white general elections. Although this estimate is debatable, rabbis, Jewish leaders, educationalists and politicians do not deny the general Jewish swing to the Nats.

Liberal and radical Jews are outraged and embarrassed by this shift. It stands in contrast to Jews involved in opposition to apartheid. For many, this trend is a betrayal of history, culture and religion.

But the shift to the NP is not really surprising. Not because Jews are particularly racist, but because they are a part of the broader white, English speaking, Nationalist-supporting community and therefore increasingly reflect its ideological trends.

Furthermore, says Orthodox Chief Rabbi Cyril Harris, the swing of Jews to the right of the political spectrum "is part of a world-wide trend".

The tragic history of Jewish persecution often forms the basis for Jewish allegiance with the oppressed. Religious law also provides a strong basis for Jewish opposition to apartheid, says Harris.

Rabbi Lewis Furman is another socially concerned Orthodox rabbi. At a Sabbath sermon prior to New Year, he discussed Judaism's rejection of discrimination, and why it is unacceptable for Jews to represent institutionalised discrimination. It was arguably a carefully worded criticism of Jews who are standing as NP candidates in the October elections.

But, the rabbinate and Jewish communal bodies as a whole have done little to decisively oppose the government's policies. This contrasts starkly with the outspoken church and Moslem groups.

Significant leaders and organisations within the Jewish community have consistently denounced apartheid — although the BOD only did this in 1985 after it became government policy to reject apartheid. More liberal Jews argue that the problem lies in lack of deeds.

Jewish leader Howard Sackstein says, "The board's condemnation of apartheid tends to reflect its general approach: a passive commentator rather than an active participant. But they've begun to address that problem by encouraging a young leadership grouping, intended to be activist on everything from anti-semitism to apartheid."

An important reason for Jewish communal (rather than individual) silence, says the vice-chairperson of Jews for Social Justice (JSJ), Dr Franz Auerbach, is that unlike the Christian and Islamic communities, the Jewish community in South Africa does not have black congregants. This further distances many Jews from the cruel reality of apartheid.

Where the religious leaders do take a stand, they often become victims of their conservative congregants. Franklin is one example of Orthodox commitment to justice in South Africa. He was active during the Crossroads crisis, doing much to heal Jewish-Muslim antagonisms and joined Jewish, interfaith, and secular human rights campaigns.

Franklin's contract was not renewed by his congregation this year. The committee denied it was a political firing but there is no doubt that he was perceived as "too radical".

The real surprise of Jewish political sentiment in South Africa is how Jews, as whites, held on to relatively liberal sentiments and practices for so long. There are a number of reasons for this. Until recently, there was a strong overt anti-semitic trend in white South African politics, and in the NP. Secondly, many of the early Jewish immigrants were politically active as communists and liberals, and had a radicalising effect on the community. Thirdly, the "ghetto" mentality and lifestyle of Jews in South Africa slowed down the influence of mainstream white culture.

What changed? Jewish wealth grew, as did the conservatism that goes with wealth. Harris says he suspects the Jewish swing to the right has "something to do with affluence". The Right became increasingly dominant in Israeli politics and Zionist ideology. The NP and Israel embraced, and the Nats threw out overt anti-semitism.

Ironically, the Botha government now represents a protection against the anti-semitic ultra-right to many Jews.

Rabbi Assabi notes that for many Jews, the vote on October 26 will be a "panic vote ... the search for what the majority of the Jewish community call 'their stability'." Assabi, an active opponent of injustice, is rabbi within the more liberal Reform Jewish movement.

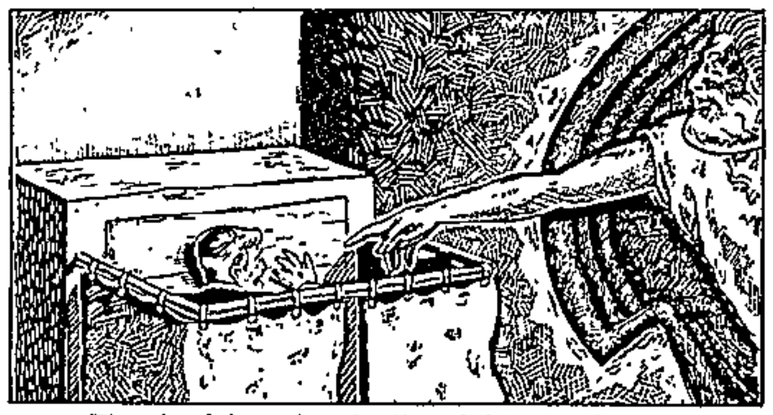
The pivotal point for many Jews was the beginning of the Nat "reform" programme. There was for many a genuine belief in PW Botha's sincerity in 1983.

Treisman says, "I am very, very strong on human rights, both as a Jew and a jurist." He writes, "Jews in South Africa are turning to the NP in greater numbers because it abandoned ... apartheid many years ago."

Orthodox Rabbi Norman Bernhard epitomises the belief in Nationalist sincerity. He ended a sermon two years ago calling for anti-apartheid action from his community by assuring his congregants that they should not be scared to engage in such activities, because the government too opposed apartheid. What is at stake is redefining of apartheid. Sweet says that "Treisman's party's policies are still underpinned by the Population Registration Act by which all groups are forcibly classified into separate racial groups. And that is the essence of apartheid".

There are a number of Jews who recognise the moral problem of racism but support the Nats because they believe the NP will protect the Jews. It is a strategy of short-term protection, not long-term security.

What feeds this is the fear of alleged black anti-semitism and anti-zionism, and links between the African National Congress and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. The majority of the Jewish community cannot distinguish between Judaism and Zionism, and remain loyal to Israel.



The Jewish swing to the right — a betrayal?

Jews often look to hostile trends within opposition groups to justify their fears of persecution. They point to certain Muslim groups who call for the exclusion of Jews from the anti-apartheid struggle, black American anti-semitism which followed Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement; and Stalinist purges of Jewish revolutionaries. These are seen as the "traditional betrayal" of Jews involved in "alien causes".

Many fear persecution as Jews under black rule. Yet the community risks a self-fulfilling prophesy when they align themselves with the state and not the oppressed. Auerbach says "the Jewish community needs to show its opposition to apartheid in such a way as this becomes credible to the victims".

Like other whites, some Jews hide behind clichés of persecution. This is epitomised by a BOD member who told an American Jewish delegation that sanctions were destroying Jewish communal and family life. He ommited to mention that his business was importing luxury goods, and his family was splitting up because his son, one of the 143 who refused to serve in the South African Defence Force, was in self-imposed exile.

**THE ODD COUPLE** — **By ABE BERRY**



Scores of affidavits, rulings, around country (304A)

WMAIC
21-27/10/88

# One week from polls, rich crop of fraud claims

By GAYE DAVIS, THAMI MKHWANAZI, SI NGOMANE, and CARMEL RICKARD

THE prior voting system for the municipal elections has produced many ballots — and a rich crop of allegations of misconduct and fraud.

The Bureau for Information says that 173 097 people — or 11,8 percent of registered voters — have already cast "prior votes" for the black local authorities.

However, allegations of abuses of the electoral system are flowing in from all over the country. Many of these are backed with substantial evidence — including court rulings.

● Khayelitsha candidate and squatter leader, Mali Hoza, is alleged in court records to be in control of an informal police force known as "Hoza's gangsters" and a network of sub-chiefs who run "bush courts".

These allegations were contained in an affidavit supporting an application by a 23-year-old Khayelitsha resident for a supreme court interdict restraining Hoza and his men from interfering with him.

An interim interdict was issued earlier this month.

This week candidates competing for Khayelitsha's 20 seats alleged that Hoza supporters on Sunday assaulted people and threatened to demolish their homes if they did not vote for Hoza and his 19-person committee.

They also claimed that young women employed at Khayelitsha's four polling stations were Hoza supporters who were "telling people where to make their crosses".

Hoza could not be contacted by the *Weekly Mail* to answer these allegations and government officials denied knowledge of any such abuses.

In the earlier matter, Solomzi Mzamo, a matric student, alleged in an affidavit that he was harassed, molested, assaulted and interfered with by Hoza's "unofficial policemen".

He said the men were armed with pangas, knobkieries and sjamboks and operated as vigilantes, imposing a 9pm curfew and allegedly assaulting anyone on the streets after that.

Hoza's "policemen" forcibly escorted him to hearings, Mzamo alleged,

● To PAGE 2

P.T.O

POLITICS

# Liberals, involve yourselves: Van Eck

by DALE LAUTENBACH,
Political Staff

**PEOPLE who professed to be liberals should involve themselves in the struggle against apartheid if important liberal values were to be relevant and believable in a changing South Africa, said Claremont independent MP Mr Jan van Eck.**

Delivering a 22nd Feetham Memorial lecture at the University of the Witwatersrand, he shared the platform with Mr Vusi Khanyile, one of the three former detainees who left their refuge at the US Consulate earlier this week.

He said it was not enough to merely position oneself against the present regime: "One must also choose positively for the oppressed."

This did not mean that one necessarily agreed with all the strategies adopted by those organisations representing the oppressed, he said, singling out the violence of the armed struggle as an issue with which many would have a problem.

"It is quite possible to side with the oppressed without getting involved with those who are in the armed struggle. But while one doesn't have to join the armed struggle, one has to show an understanding of why the oppressed have virtually been forced into resorting to counter-violence. It is, after all, the state's violence that is producing the counter-violence."

Some who called themselves liberals argued that they chose to remain neutral, free to criticise the left and the right.

"I believe this is naive and just another way of opting out of the present political crisis.

"One wonders whether those who are trying so hard to remain neutral because they are scared of siding with the majority really know what the actual demands and aspirations of the majority are. We whites have after all for so long been indoctrinated into believing that black and white aspirations are incompatible that even those many white South Africans who have taken the step to distance themselves from the government have not even considered it possible that they could align themselves with the black majority."



■ JAN VAN ECK

MR van Eck spoke of his personal experience of involvement in the black community and that, in spite of the anger and the sorrow, the hatred was directed against the Nationalist regime and not against whites generally.

"The role of the ANC and the UDF in establishing this non-racial attitude deserves to be documented fully.

"There is no doubt in my mind, after more than three years active interaction with black communities and reading documents such as the Freedom Charter, that the aspirations of black and white are basically the same and completely compatible."

If only this was understood, whites would find it so much easier to side with the oppressed in their struggle.

"Liberals should not be passive observers but should show through their involvement in the struggle that liberal values are — as indeed they are — relevant in a changing society.

"The failure of liberals to do so will not only make them irrelevant but will also result in the oppressed questioning the relevance of the very values liberals believe in."

He cautioned though that siding with those who believed in a just, non-racial and democratic society could not be taken up merely as a duty.

"We should do so with enthusiasm and dedication."

All spheres of society were challenged by this dilemma of choice, of taking sides. Even Dr Danie Craven's initiative was a taking of sides.

"What else is Dr Craven's historic visit to the ANC other than a courageous taking of sides by him — for non-racial sport, against apartheid sport."

CHURCHES especially had been landed with the bulk of the work in providing the oppressed with venues and opportunities to give vent to their frustrations and aspirations. Churches provided some last remaining space in which people could organise and mobilise and those who bemoaned the politicisation of the church should look to the church's proud history in many countries — especially in facist repressive societies — of being in the forefront of the struggle for justice.

In South African society in which virtually all majority opposition political organisations and leaders had been banned and detained, the church had no choice but to fill the vacuum. Not to do so would be the same as the Catholic Church in Nazi Germany refusing to harbour escapees.

Universities too could not escape this choice, and faced with the physical reality of South Africa and with growing numbers of black students, English-speaking universities had in fact already made the choice and were embarked on the course, traumatic as it was.

"In continuing on this road, in learning how a university comprising both the First and Third World students of South Africa's total population can succeed, a university can act as an example to the rest of our society of how we can allay fears and prejudices and how we can accomodate the needs and aspirations of black and white in one institution."

This learning process the universities were going through was somehting each and every white South African would have to experience as well.

# claims under fire

Star 22/10/88 (304A

## Council takes credit for city improvements

**SUE VALENTINE**

A NUMBER of organisations and businesses are angry that the National Party is taking sole credit for certain improvements to parks and recreation facilities in and around Johannesburg.

Among the claims, being made in an election manifesto pamphlet issued by Ms Juli Coetzer, the NP candidate in Ward 11 (The Parks), are the following — all of them said to have been brought about through the NP-controlled council in the last three years:

- Completion of our art gallery.
- Gold Reef City.
- Standard Bank Arena.
- Polar bear habitat.

### Father helped

"My father helped me draw up the pamphlet," said Ms Coetzer. "You should ask him the details about the polar bear habitat."

Her father is Mr Danie Malan, head of Parks and Recreation on the Johannesburg Management Committee.

Following protests from the Polar Bear Trust, which built the habitat entirely from money raised by the trust, Saturday Star established that several of the listed facilities were provided with the substantial assistance of private enterprise.

Vice-chairman of the Polar Bear Trust Mr John Parker said it was not correct for the Johannesburg City Council to claim credit for the polar bear habitat.

"The city council turned down the polar bear enclosure as a centenary project in 1985 and would not give us a cent for it. The council agreed to provide bridging finance for the habitat but only on condition it was guaranteed by an underwriter.

"The late Mr David Lewis, head of the Johannesburg Centenary Festival Association, secured that backing for us from Mike's Kitchen."

Another trustee, Mr Graham Knight, said the Polar Bear Trust had registered as a fundraising organisation in order to collect money and they had to "fight like hell" to get the proposal approved by the council.

On the subject of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, a spokesman from Anglo American Corporation's communication department, Ms Shelagh Blackburn, said Anglo had given R2 million for enhancements to the gallery and R4 million for the endowment fund to purchase works of art.

"The enhancement side of the project included the re-establishment of some of the elements that were missing from the original building as well as the upgrading of the ventilation and humidifying systems to make the gallery conform to international standards."

The assistant director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, Ms Rochelle Keene, said the city council had given substantial assistance to the gallery to an amount of R7 million.

Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, said it was an absolute disgrace for the NP to claim credit for the art gallery when it was the initiative of Anglo American.

According to senior general manager of First National Bank Mr Jimmy McKenzie, Gold Reef City would not have been launched had the bank not picked up the original costs.

"We put up an amount totalling R14 million to get Gold Reef City off the ground and subsequently wrote off the amount owing to the bank as a gesture to the city of Johannesburg and the people of South Africa."

He said the city council had some involvement but not in any substantial financial terms.

A spokesman from Standard Bank Investment Corporation Ltd (SBIC), who did not wish to be named, said the Standard Bank Arena had been a joint venture of the city council and their bank.

"The council provided the land at Ellis Park and R2,7 million, while SBIC put up the balance of the R6,9 million — an amount of R4,2 million."

"I had no intention of misleading anyone," said Ms Coetzer. "We listed the achievements of the council to show people some of the things their rates and taxes are used for."

"People think they are paying just for keeping the pavements and verges neat and tidy. We wanted to show that the city council does much more. The Standard Bank Arena was a project initiated by my father in a speech to the council.

### Socialist state

"Private enterprise has to be drawn in because if it does not become involved we will become more like a socialist state. We did credit big business by listing it as the 'Standard Bank Arena' instead of just as 'the Arena'."

Ms Coetzer's father, Mr Malan, said the council had given a loan of R125 000 to the Polar Bear Trust in 1985, which had since been repaid by the Trust. He said he only discovered this "a few weeks ago".

According to the Polar Bear Trust the final repayment was made on July 4 this year.

# Group to talk to Soviets

Several Afrikaner academics left South Africa on Friday for talks in West Germany with Soviet officials.

The meeting in Leverkusen, near Cologne, follows signs of an unofficial thaw in Soviet relations with South Africa.

West Germany's Friedrich Naumann Foundation, a partly state-funded educational body run by the West German Free Democrats, said about 35 people were expected to attend the four-day meeting from Monday.

Organisers said Soviet professors Vassily Solodovnikov and Irina Filatova would brief the South Africans on the Soviet perception of their region and its problems.

Moscow recently admitted three parties of South African journalists, the first to visit the Soviet Union since diplomatic relations were severed about 30 years ago.

Former parliamentary opposition leader Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said he and about 15 other South Africans had been invited to meet Soviet academics and other unnamed guests.

He said the group included some Afrikaner academics who met ANC leaders in Dakar last year. — Sapa-Reuter.

Star 22/10/81

# 'Waste of time, money and effort'

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

WHITE opposition political parties this week lashed out against the Government's 12-day prior voting system, introduced for municipal elections for the first time this year, which ends today.

The Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party said it was "a waste of money and time" to have 12 prior voting days, and for polling stations to be open from 8 am until 9 pm on weekdays.

At Johannesburg's eight polling stations for the city's 51 wards, there were more election officials than voters virtually throughout the prior voting period.

Until Thursday, 4,5 percent of Johannesburg's white voters cast their votes, compared to 29,5 percent of coloured and 20 percent of Indian voters.

The leader of the PFP in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, described the prior voting system as "an absurdity and a shocking waste of money".

"Voting was slow at all the polling booths where council staff and candidates had to man tables for the full 12-day period.

"All these council employees will have to be paid overtime while their own work piles up at the civic centre. The system is a complete waste of time, money and effort."

The PFP's Johannesburg campaign organiser, Mr Peter Soal, said officials were "complaining and bored".

Asked to estimate the cost of manning election booths for 12 days, he said there were at least 20 officials at each of Johannesburg's booths.

"This whole system is duplicated and quadruplicated throughout the country. It must cost an arm and a leg."

The CP's Johannesburg chairman, Mr Fred Rundle, said the system had been introduced to "appease blacks" by preventing intimidation at black polling stations.

"But the Government did not want to discriminate against whites. Whites are wary to make use of prior votes because of the National Party's fraud in Hillbrow during last year's general election," Mr Rundle said.

● A spokesman for the Bureau of Information yesterday said throughout the country 213 000 (14,6 percent) of registered black voters in townships, where elections were held, had cast votes by Wednesday.

This figure could be divided as such: Transvaal 12,2 percent, Free State 24 percent, Cape Province 16,1 percent and Natal 11 percent.

Other available figures were the following:

In the Free State, 15,4 percent of whites and 60,3 percent of coloureds had voted by Wednesday.

In Natal, the comparable figures were 8,2 percent for whites, 15,4 percent for coloureds and 17,6 percent for Indians.




# WHAT IF SA WERE RUN BY WOMEN!

Weekend FOCUS 1

6/1 ARGUS 22/10/88 30KA

**WHAT sort of country would South Africa be if women ran it? GORRY BOWES-TAYLOR put the puzzler to women who Run Things and got answers on the trot. Helen Suzman was hot favourite (State President, Law and Order), followed by Dr Mampela Ramphela (Health), Jane Raphaely (Natural Resources, Finance) and Albertina Sisulu (Information).**


MRS SUZMAN


ADELE SEARLL


BEVERLEY ROOS


PROF NGUBANE

**Peace, prosperity, and no child would go hungry . . . !**


DR BERMAN


MARY BURTON


MRS TREURNICHT


ROZANNE BOTHA

✓ **HELEN SUZMAN,** "It couldn't be worse than a South Africa run by men!"

✓ **JANE RAPHAELY,** publisher, editor: "I don't feel comfortable with thinking only in terms of women — there are some good men around! The first who spring to mind are Herman Gilliomee, Jan Steyn and HV van der Merwe of the Centre for Intergroup Studies. I would not like to see any government that excluded them.

"If women ran South Africa there would be peace and prosperity and no child would go to bed hungry. Who would I trust to implement that? I believe in a triumvirate, which is a woman's way of doing things: Professor Harriet Ngubane, Mary Jane Morisi (the UCT Sociology graduate and 100 Club bursary winner, who has come back to this country from a year's Fellowship at Harvard, followed by a year in the UCT fund raising office in New York. There she obtained a pledge from the Allied Steelworkers which she will use to set up Early Learning Centres and food gardens in the Karoo). Helen Suzman, of course, I mention her last because she is an obvious choice.

"Job generation, too, is absolute top priority, for that I'd like Rowena Bradley, who started her business from the boot of her car and now employs over 100 people. Literacy is every child's right and there's no-one better than Jenny Neser of Prolit."

✓ **ENGELA TREURNICHT,** (wife of): "Not such a good idea. No doubt the women would do a good job and would be able to govern our country, but what would we do with the men!"

✓ **MARY BURTON,** Black Sash. "Rather than see South Africa run by women, I'd like to see the country run by the best people for the job. I do believe that many women could play an important part. I'll start by saying that I'd like to see the President and Prime Minister's jobs shared by Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela. Then I'd include in the cabinet: Helen Suzman as Minister of Law and Order; Dr Mamphela Ramphele (Health); Sheena Duncan (Constitutional Development); Albertina Sisulu (Information); Di Bishop (Social Welfare); Dr Neville Alexander (Education), Dullah Omar (Justice).

"It would be very good if a new administration including women would set up a ministry specially for children. And I'd like to see women right now playing a more important role in all departments — the Black Sash and other organisations could make an important contribution."

✓ **DENE SMUTS,** managing editor, Leadership "Which women?"

✓ **ANITA MARAIS,** director, Western Province Servicemen's Rehabilitation Fund: "I'd like a woman in charge when it comes to deciding on liveable pensions for disabled people, or pensioners as a whole. She would have to be a person with enough discipline and compassion to bend the rigid rules in appalling cases. I also want subsidies for homes for the disabled, the current subsidies are not keeping pace with rising costs.

"The funding for all this can come off the gravy train."

✓ **ROZANNE BOTHA,** singer, and daughter of: "It doesn't matter whether its men or women running the country, it depends on the person."

✓ **BEVERLEY ROOS,** NDM political worker, doing her doctoral thesis on sexism and racism: "The work I do is aimed not at a society which is controlled by women, but one in which all forms of oppression have been eliminated, and in which the fulfilment of womanhood and manhood can be valued equally.

"Mrs Thatcher is admired precisely because in spite of being a woman, she is tougher than the men. It is this model that I reject. Women have strength, determination and resolve, the necessary guts to truly confront problems which need solutions, but that is not the same thing as aggression, and the last thing we should desire is to inherit a male-aggressive world and the destruction which that causes.

"Dr Mamphela Ramphele as Minister of Community Medicine and Social Servies, please, and Helen Zille as Minister of Information."

✓ **DR JOS KANE-BURMAN,** Chief Medical Superintendent, Groote Schuur Hospital: "I am not in favour of women only in charge of the country, I'd like people purely on merit — men or women. Perhaps Nelson Mandela as Prime Minister, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, Health, Anna Starcke, Finance; Van Zyl Slabbert, Defence; Helen Suzman, Justice, Police, Prisons, Law and Order."

✓ **PROFESSOR HARRIET NGUBANE,** Anthropology, UCT: "All this is absolute fantasy of course! Nomvenda Mathlane, writes for *Frontline*, for having the courage of her convictions, she should have a very important position — President or Prime Minister. Sheena Duncan, Finance; Audrey Allen (Intergroup Studies at UCT who has negotiated conflicts), Central Planning; Sally Frankental (Social Anthropology at UCT), Agriculture and Co-operatives; Zora Khumalo (lives in Tembisa, represents Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Johannesburg in the townships), Rural Development; Jane Raphaely, Natural Resources; Muriel Horrell (used to work for Race Relations), Constitutional and Legal; Mary Simons (I know her political teaching at UCT and I admire her concerns), Foreign Affairs; Helen Suzman, Home Affairs; Nadine Gordimer, Defence and Security; Albertina Sisulu, Information and Transport; Ellen Kuzwayo, Sport and Culture; Sibongile Nene (a youngish person working at the University of Zululand), Women and Youth; Bernadette Mosalla (started her school in Soweto), Education; Di Bishop (Industry and Commerce); Lucy Mvubeleo (Manpower and Development of Labour); Jo Thorpe (Tourism).

✓ **JENNY LE ROUX,** judged one of the Best Dressed Women 1988: "The mind boggles. I'd say Helen Suzman for State President; Jane Raphaely, Finance; Adele Searll, Health.

✓ **GEORDIE RACTCLIFFE,** president, Student's Representative Council, UCT: "The principles that guide Nusas in working against apartheid are non-racialism, non-sexism and democracy. When these are realised the country that we will all share must be governed by democratically elected and accountable leadership, *regardless* of colour or sex

What changes will this bring?

At present our society is one governed almost exclusively by men. Because we live in a patriarchal society where unequal power relations exist between men and women, which are reinforced by dominant idealogy, men are unable if indeed they ever desire to represent the needs of women that arise from their position in society.

It stands to reason therefore that women will only take the positions of leadership as our society confronts this ideology and replaces it with something new.

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|---|---|---|---|
| Hillbrow | 42 | Booysens/Turffontein | |
| Pullingerkop | 43 | Forest Hill/Chrisville | |
| Berea | 44 | Robertsham | |
| Yeoville | 45 | The Glens | |
| Bellevue | 46 | Mondeor/Ridgeway | |
| | 47 | South West | |

| | |
|---|---|
| 5 Parkhurst/Parktown | 14 Parkview/Saxonwold |
| 6 Craighall Park | 15 Parktown |
| 7 Melrose | 16 Houghton |
| 8 Waverley | 17 Highlands North |
| 9 Kew/Lombardy East | 18 Glenhazel |
| 10 Newlands | 19 Sandringham |

# Funeral 'can show solidarity'

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) yesterday called on all Witbank businessmen to attend the civic funeral this weekend for the three victims of the town's bombing earlier this week.

Fida's president, Mr John Gogotya, launched the appeal in the belief that their presence would show that all South Africans, irrespective of race, were appalled by these acts of terror.

"This united front will also show that all citizens support democracy and that South Africans are determined to seek a solution to the country's problems through non-violent means," Mr Gogotya said in a statement. — Sapa.

# Explosive device found

MBABANE — More than 200 travellers were evacuated from a Swaziland-South Africa border post yesterday afternoon when police found an explosive device in a telephone booth.

The device was found at the Oshoek border post and was apparently wired to a telephone at the border gate.

All border traffic was halted and the area cleared before a policeman removed the device. Traffic resumed a few minutes later. — Sapa.

# Why the coming municipal elections are so important

ARGUS 24/10/88. 30 CA

**Argus special correspondent GRAHAM LINSCOTT discusses the political mood on the eve the country-wide municipal elections. This is his final article on the issue.**

WEDNESDAY sees the culmination of a municipal election exercise which has not lacked elements of the bizarre — squirrels urging people to vote and clergymen (but only clergymen) apparently being allowed to speak against.

Yet the election is most important.

Quite apart from being a dress rehearsal for deciding who will control the white House of Assembly (and therefore the country) after the next national election, it should tell us much about how Africans, coloured people and Indians see the future and whether they see any possibility of progress through the tricameral system.

It could also give firmer outline to strategies within these communities for opposing the government's constitutional plans from within.

It seems the government could face two problems:

- A strong stayaway vote signalling utter rejection of the constitutional formula; and
- The election of African councillors who intend linking up with leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the coloured and Indian MPs to frustrate its plans.

The African, coloured and Indian communities are invited to elect representatives to 610 different local authorities of varying influence, mostly limited.

But a presence on these authorities does give them representation on the regional services councils (except in Natal, where RSCs have not been established), which in effect redistribute wealth by channeling funds from the developed (white) sector for the upliftment of African, coloured and Indian residential areas.

There is, of course, a sizeable constituency within these communities which says "Nuts!" to the squirrels and will have nothing at all to do with the present system. It will claim the stayaway vote as its own.

But the voice saying "Nuts!" has been silenced. It would belong normally to the United Democratic Front and its affiliates, but they have been gagged by the emergency regulations. Many of their leaders are detained or restricted. Only those who have taken holy orders are bold enough to urge a voter boycott.

Ironically, this handicap will serve to amplify any stayaway which may materialise.

Add to this the fact that, in the African townships particularly, the very concept of municipal elections is unfamiliar and it will be difficult anyway to persuade people to vote and also that in certain townships — in the Cape especially — people are more concerned with keeping body and soul together in the face of economic hardship and rampant, violent crime than with abstractions such as representative government.

Once the results are out, these factors will serve the arguments of those who opposed participation.

There were stirrings in Alexandra township near Johannesburg for the "anti-system" grouping to take part and wage a campaign to win control and proclaim a "people's council".

Repeated country-wide this would, if successful, probably have been less welcome to the government than a large stayaway. But apparently it was never much more than a beguiling thought, and very localised. Such a campaign would, however, have provided a clearer idea of the line-up in these communities.

It would be foolish (and probably illegal in terms of the emergency regulations ) to try to predict how many Africans, coloured people and Indians will actually go to the polls.

But it will be interesting to see whether the Labour Party's confrontation with the government in Parliament over group areas has won it kudos and whether various shenanigans in the House of Delegates have had any effect on the Indian community's ideas on participation.

In the African townships, the main contest in the Transvaal and the Free State is between the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) and the breakaway United Municipalities of South Africa (UMSA), although the entirely localised Sofasonke movement could win control of Soweto from UMSA.

UCASA and UMSA are not political parties — they are loosely organised associations of sitting councillors — but they operate very much like parties. UCASA will be contesting the elections country-wide; UMSA only in the Transvaal and Free State.

But here is the government's other problem. Many African councillors who will be elected on Wednesday are no more likely to support its constitutional plans than coloured and Indian MPs support group areas.

Mr Tom Boya, Mayor of Daveyton and president of UMSA, is explicit: "We reject the National Council," he says. "We also reject Mr Heunis's plans to establish regional councils for blacks. We will have nothing to do with them.

"We want to be elected so that we can serve our communities and at the same time exercise leverage against such ideas.

"We want political prisoners released and we want their movements unbanned. We intend linking up with other black leaders like Chief Buthelezi and Enos Mabuza to put maximum pressure on the government. We want a climate conducive to national reconciliation."

This looks like an obstacle to any ideas the government may have of doing separate deals with urban and rural Africans.

# No polling at these schools

Municipal election polling stations at schools in at least one black township — kwaThema near Springs — have been moved to other venues at the request of school principals.

They are said to have experienced "pressure from pupils who objected to schools being turned into polling booths".

Voting would now take place at the township's civic centre and Habedi offices, a spokesman for the town council said.

# 'Resurgence of interest' in Indaba proposals

By Lloyd Coutts (304A) Star 24/10/88

Indaba co-ordinators are gratified by a resurgence and broadening of interest in the Indaba proposals and their implications, according to the co-convenor, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

In a published review and director's report, Dr Dhlomo said a new mood of acceptance had become obvious in all areas critical to the future success of the Indaba's endeavours.

"On the streets and in homes all over the land there is an increased awareness and support for the Indaba, clearly proven by independently-conducted scientific market research.

"The latest results confirm that the Indaba proposals are firmly supported by a clear majority within each race group in kwaZulu-Natal and also enjoy wide support throughout the country," he said.

Dr Dhlomoo claimed that there was an increased willingness in boardrooms of the corporate sector to support the Indaba materially and invest for the future in its pragmatic vision, thereby underwriting the continuance and viability of commerce and indusry in a developing, free-enterprise environment.

"Among those in government we detect a new mood of increased accommodation and preparedness to negotiate.

"Whereas in previous days the Indaba and its proposals were rejected out of hand by the more outspoken of our Government critics, today we find the 'spirit and process' of the Indaba applauded and only certain areas of the 'detail' criticised."

The fact that no other real options existed explained the resurgence of interest, Dr Dhlomo added.

# We'd be tough on terror — PFP

Star 24/8/88

The Progressive Federal Party would be tough against terrorists if it came to power, according to party leader Mr Zach de Beer. 3045A

Mr de Beer said that, in its stance against terrorism, a PFP government would "stick to the rule of law".

"The Nationalists simply bypass the courts and ban organisations by a stroke of an official's pen," he said in a statement. "We, unlike the Nats, respect the courts and respect liberty.

"Only a court should be allowed to deprive a person — or an organisation — of its liberty. That is the essence of the PFP approach."

He said his party also believed that no organisation or individuals should be permitted to engage in, foment or advocate violence, terrorism, insurrection or revolution. — Sapa.

# 30 OFS families out in the cold

(802) (304) By Peter Malherbe Star 24/10/88

When voters of all races go to the polls on Wednesday, 30 Indian families in Bloemfontein will be left out in the cold.

With no polling station in the Free State capital and no representation on any public body, the group of Indians feel like foreigners in their own country.

They cannot even be buried in the province — their dead are transported to Natal and the Transvaal where there are cemeteries for Indians.

Once completely barred from living in the Orange Free State, the small group of pioneering settlers moved to Bloemfontein last year after being granted the right to occupy three buildings in the city centre.

Now the group, who are mostly Muslims, are battling against all odds to establish a community in Bloemfontein.

They have set up their own little school, mosque and clinic in the first-floor offices of a shopping centre.

Requests for aid for their school from the House of Delegates have been turned down and they are still fighting for an Indian residential area to be proclaimed in the city.

"We don't know who to turn to with our problems," said Mr Younus Bata, chairman of the Bloemfontein Muslim Jamaat.

He said the 110-strong Indian community paid a high price to live in the OFS.

Flats in the three blocks were at a premium — and some families paid more than R600 a month for accommodation.

He said most Indian businesses were struggling.

Members of the community confirmed this, saying they had signed leases on their businesses and were now committed to living in the province.

They said there had been little racial friction. The major problem was living in a segregated society which made no provision for Indians.

Mr Flam van Deventer, a spokesman for the Bureau for Information in Bloemfontein, confirmed that there would be no polls for Indians in the province.

A spokesman for the OFS Provincial Administration said special permits had been issued permitting Indians to live in the city.

# Pension pull-out offers 'just an election ploy'

Municipal Reporter

A new Johannesburg row over membership of the controversial buy-back pension scheme for city councillors has been labelled by former management committee chairman, Dr Patrick Lewis, "a cheap election gimmick and a feeble attempt to win votes".

National Party council leader Mr Danie van Zyl has told PFP council chief Mr Tony Leon that if he were given a written undertaking that the PFP would pull out of the scheme his caucus was prepared to pull out too.

Dr Lewis said council pensions would be obligatory from November for all councillors voted in on October 26. He said the sitting councillors would fund their buy-backs by cash gratuities equal to 12 months' pension on leaving the council.

"This means their buy-backs will cost them virtual ly nothing."

# SA-USSR academics to offer perceptions

Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — An unusual, high-powered political think-tank composed of South African and Soviet academics gets down to business in West Germany this afternoon.

Sixteen of South Africa's leading liberal academics, most of them Afrikaners, have come here for an exchange of views and ideas with some of the Soviet Union's foremost Africa experts.

They will be seeking a clearer view of Soviet perceptions of southern Africa and its future, and outlining their vision for the resolution of the region's problems.

Also present is a delegation from the ANC, which is expected to table for debate its guidelines for South Africa's constitutional and economic development.

The conference opens officially this afternoon with addresses by Dr Alex Boraine of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and Dr Gerhard Reichler of the liberal Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Munich, which has helped to organise and finance the talks.

Prominent in the South African delegation are Idasa founder Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, Dr John Barratt of the Institute for International Affairs, verligte Stellenbosch academics Dr Sampie Terreblanche and Professor Willie Breytenbach, Professor Herman Gilliomee of UCT, Professor Susan Booysen of RAU and Professor Deon Geldenhuys of Unisa. Dr Beyers Naude and exiled writer Breyten Breytenbach are also attending.

CAR Trips 24/10/88
30KM

# CP still optimistic after Botha's speech

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha's announcement that tough group areas legislation would still be referred to the President's Council would not swing voters the way of the National Party in Wednesday's municipal elections, Conservative Party leaders said yesterday.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said he was still optimistic that the party would make major gains, particularly in the Transvaal.

CP chief secretary Mr Kobus Beyers said all indications were that the party's boast of controlling 60 of 84 white local authorities in the province after Wednesday would still be realised or even surpassed.

Dr Treurnicht said President Botha's Benoni speech on Thursday would have little or no effect on the outcome of the elections, which were generally being seen as a prelude to a general election.

President Botha indicated the Group Areas Amendment Bill, which provides for harsh penalties for contraventions of the act and the tough Prevention of Illegal Squatting bill would still be referred to the PC for a decision after their rejection by the House of Reprentatives and the House of Delegates.

His announcement was widely interpreted as an attempt to placate right-wing voters after speculation that the harsh provisions of the unpopular bills might be toned down.

Mr Beyers described President Botha as "our best trump card". His speech would have little bearing on the poll as voters were already tired of waiting for the government to make up its mind, he said.

● The latest bid to persuade blacks to vote in the elections surfaced in the townships yesterday under the heading: "Boers change their tactics: Call their bluff!"

Issued by Contralesa the pamphlet states that "Comrade Mandela's release could depend on your vote".

● An SADF spokesman yesterday denied that units would be on a special standby or that the Defence Force had called up extra personnel for the municipal elections this week.

He was responding to rumours that the SADF was calling up large numbers of citizen force members to supplement the SAP in peace-keeping tasks during the country-wide elections.

"The SADF has no need to go on standby because it is always ready and fully prepared to meet any contingency," the spokesman said.

Almost 50 incidents of violence directed against the elections have been recorded.

# SA profs meet Soviets, ANC

Cape Times 24/10/88

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Talks between a delegation of SA academics, Soviet experts on Africa and the ANC start today just outside Cologne.

Dr Philip Nel, director of the Institute of Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, said the talks reinforced the view that the Soviet Union could play a constructive role in national conciliation in SA.

The ANC and Soviet delegations were expected to arrive in Cologne today.

Sixteen academics from SA left for Cologne on Friday. The group is led by Idasa directors, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine. Included are Stellenbosch academics Prof Willie Breytenbach, Prof Hennie Kotze, Prof Sampie Terreblanche, Prof Gerhard Erasmus and Prof Jannie Gagiano; Prof Lawrence Schlemmer and Mr Mark Swilling of Wits; Prof Deon Geldenhuys and Ms Susan Booysen of RAU; and Prof Herman Giliomee from UCT.

Also taking part are Mr John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs and NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan.

The Soviet representatives include Africa expert Mr Appolon Davidson, Mr M Zavgorodny and Mr N Tetiokum of the Soviet Capital Solidarity Committee, an influential think-tank on Soviet-African policy.

The ANC delegation is understood to include top-ranking ANC members.

# Left, right, or straddle? That is the choice

**KEN OWEN**

THE POLITICS of white South Africa can be reduced to a single core question: partition, or integration? Anything between these extreme polls is transitional (which is the reason for the instability of the State) and the difficulty of political analysis is to discern where the cleavage lies.

The municipal elections on Wednesday will perhaps clarify the main questions of the closing years of this century: is the National Party a separatist party, tending towards a permanent racial partition? Or is it a modernising institution, tending towards a single South African nationhood? Or is it an unhappy marriage of both?

That it has abandoned Verwoerdian apartheid is certain. That policy is now the property of the Conservative Party, but not of the more extreme and outspoken groups on the far right. As Professor Carel Boshoff has pointed out, Verwoerdian apartheid implies perpetual domination of an overwhelming majority by a dwindling minority, which is a political nonsense.

In fact, Verwoerdian grand apartheid was an attempt to achieve the benefits of partition without paying the price. That price, of course, is a loss of sovereignty over a very large part of the country and its resources, leaving whites in the permanent vulnerability that faces the Isrealis.

There is another reason why Verwoerdians flinch at partition. Modern precedents — Palestine, India and Pakistan, Cyprus, Lebanon — suggest it cannot be achieved without war, whose outcome is always unpredictable. The Greeks in Cyprus, for example, lost control of a third of their island when they provoked Turkish intervention; Lebanon may end up being swallowed by its neighbours.

The modern Nationalists, having abandoned their cruder separatist fantasies, now mock the CP for nurturing those fantasies. But the voters are not so sure: at least half of all Afrikaners, and perhaps some English voters, have already decided that anything it takes (fascism? oppression? war? isolation?) is better than a common, multi-racial society.

The choice may have been inchoate, instinctive and anti-intellectual, but that makes it no less real. We need to know how far we are committed to it.

Therefore, it is as important for opponents of the CP as for the CP itself that right-wing voters should vote their honest convictions. The strength of the right wing will dictate, at least in part, the proper course of action for all other parties.

Modern voting, indeed, is much less an instrument to control political leaders than a means of communicating with them. That is why everybody should vote, and why so-called tactical voting is usually a mistake.

If separatism is plainly the property of the CP, the vision of a common society based on non-racial, liberal principles belongs mainly to the PFP. The questions surrounding a common society are, indeed, no less insistent and no less daunting than the questions surrounding partition.

It's as well to know what kind of common society we are being offered, and by whom. The issue is complicated by the misleading terminology of the hard left, which claims to support a "non-racial democracy," using the term "democracy" in the Marxist sense of a totalitarian majority.

It is not quite a dictatorship of the proletariat, but close enough to it. The "people's courts," lynch mobs led by Stalinist thugs, have demonstrated to South Africans how the "non-racial democracy" works in practice.

In any event, the task of defining the common society that might win the allegience of white voters has hardly begun. The contribution of black people to the debate ranges from the conservative brand of liberalism espoused by Inkatha, to the Marxist theory that underlies the Freedom Charter, and to the Negritude of black consciousness. But the theory is remote from day-to-day political debate.

In the main, black spokesmen communicate with whites by demands and threats — emotionally satisfying, perhaps, but politically useless. Among white liberals, all is confusion; but a sorting-out is taking place, and it is important that whites who look to a common society should be aware of what is taking place.

White liberals, if I may over-simplify, are divided between those who, responding to demands and threats, give primacy to their identification with angry black people, and those who seek, even at the risk of alienating black radicals, to construct a platform of liberal principles on which black and white may meet as equals.

The latter will vote, in the hope of preserving a power base from which to try to exert influence on the politics of transition; the former will boycott the elections, in the hope of discrediting transitional mechanisms. Joe Slovo, writing in Sechaba, has sounded the classical warning to the left against accepting reforms lest they soften the revolution.

If the first important indicator from Wednesday's voting is likely to be the strength of that right-wing vote, the second will be the size of the "liberal" — that is to say, the PFP-IP-Malanite — vote. If the right-wing vote grows substantially, and the "liberal" vote collapses, we may expect the flight of capital and the emigration of the English community's intellectual and cultural elite to increase very sharply.

That leaves the Nationalists. Left, or right? Towards partition, or towards a common society? In fact, the Nationalists straddle the great divide.

For the past 10 years the party has been moving, more swiftly than most people acknowledge, towards the common society. That indeed is why the CP came into existence. But the party remains ambivalent, a coalition of uncertain separatists and uncertain integrationists. Like the Romans on the bridge, those behind cry "Forward!" and those before cry "Back!"

The result is the most astonishing intellectual and political confusion, both in the party leadership and among its rank and file, where there is little clarity and less agreement on any subject. Clear fracture lines have even emerged between the State President and the leading Nationalist newspapers, despite the recent discarding of "verligte" editors.

On every issue — whether group areas or the release of Mandela or the Angolan negotiations or privatisation or urban development or education — Nationalists are taking up positions at one pole or another, like filings around a magnet. The party can give no clear lead; its voice is muffled, its moral authority lost, its intellectual energy absorbed by the tactical needs of the day. As often as not it operates by blatant expediency, and it has become a vehicle for greed — the gravy train.

At the end of this road lies schism, but the nature of that schism will be determined by what happens on either flank. The National Party is torn between rival visions of the future of SA; the outcome will be decided not by the Nationalist leaders themselves, but by the credibility and the attractiveness — to white voters — of those rival visions: unity, or division.

# Civil servants hold key to government

MGW 24/10/88 306A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

KEY indicators in this week's local government elections will include areas where voter strength is dominated by civil servants.

A swing towards the white rightwing movement in such areas could have enormous consequences for white politics, according to the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

A research officer at the centre, Mr Richard Humphries, said the key indicators of the relative strengths of the Conservative Party and the National Party lay in the East and West Rand, the Vaal Triangle and Pretoria.

## Civil service

Should Pretoria and Verwoerdburg fall to the CP, it will probably mean that the civil service vote is increasingly going to the CP in spite of the recently-announced salary increases for civil servants and teachers.

Mr Humphries says the CP already has support among the lower echelons of the civil service. Should they do well in Pretoria, this support will probably have taken hold in middle and senior levels as well.

It will also mean that the CP is increasingly appealing to the white middle-class voter.

## General election

The National Party is expected to analyse the election results closely before deciding whether to call a general election.

A postponement will possibly benefit the CP.

Mr Humphries says NP-supported independent candidates can be expected to win a number of rural towns in the Transvaal, some in CP-held constituencies. These towns include Nelspruit, White River, Barberton, Delmas, Christiana and Wolmaranstad.

Such victories for the NP will be due to specific local characteristics such as a large English-speaking presence in Eastern Transvaal towns.

However, should these towns be won by NP supporters, it will not mean that CP support in those areas is necessarily on the wane.

Mr Humphries's analysis shows that the municipal elections will provide no indication of political opinion among people living outside municipal boundaries, particularly farmers.

"Transvaal farmers now generally seem to support the CP.

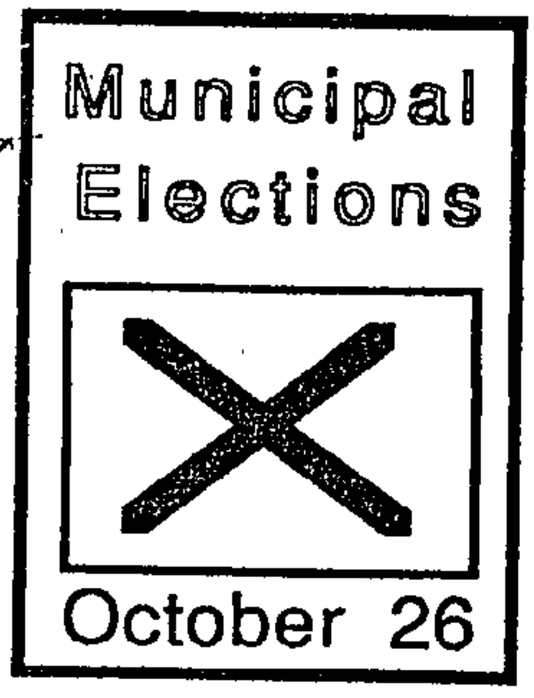
## Unclear correlation

"An accurate assessment of CP strength among farmers in the other three provinces will not be provided by the elections."

He also notes that there is an uncertain and unclear correlation between municipal and constituency boundaries.

The abstention by the NP and PFP from formal open involvement in large areas across the country will make it difficult to assess accurately their standing among the electorate.

# Where parties wear true colours




By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Mud-slinging, personal attacks, vague threats and only one real issue — the Group Areas Act — have dominated the 1988 municipal election campaign in Johannesburg.

It is said South Africa's future direction — accelerated reform or back into the laager — is likely to be mirrored by the results of this election in Johannesburg which is the only region openly contested by all three major political parties wearing their true colours.

But ironically, six months of hard campaigning by 193 white, coloured and Indian candidates have left the voters little wiser about the real options open to them, and worse, totally ignorant of the real consequences of their vote on October 26.

Chiefly at stake in the coloured and Indian areas is the credibility of the candidates. A high poll will ensure their standing in the community, a low poll will reinforce the leftist view that they are yes-men who have sold out their people to the establishment.

Indications are that the Government's R5 million voting campaign has got through to the electorate as far as prior votes are concerned, with about 30 percent of coloureds having gone to the polls and just over 20 percent of the Indians in Johannesburg.

The figure for whites is about 5 percent.

The PFP go into the white

election with 17 councillors, a brand new style built on the cult image of Mr Tony Leon, waiting for an electoral miracle to retain or increase their council representation.

The downfall of this strategy



may be that he was too young, his meteoric rise to the top of the party came too late and happened too fast — mainly because of a dearth of leadership material and the loss of public support.

His party has embarked on one of the most expensive poster campaigns ever seen in Johannesburg, their sometimes idealistic "pole talk" promising voters a brave new world, an oasis straight out of "Camelot".

The NP with 18 councillors and needing 26 for outright control of the city council, reverted to the worn old "swart gevaar" tactics for its main thrust backed up by a vigorous press advertising campaign, alternating attack with self-satisfied back patting.

Management committee chairman-elect, Mr Danie van Zyl, went straight for the kill, aiming his kick below the belt where he knew it would hurt most and attract most votes, turning the entire election into a huge group areas debate.

Homing in on the Act, he suggested "A vote for the PFP us a vote for an open area", totally eclipsing his temporary setback over the toll plaza debacle. Cynics said it represented reform: The old "Do you want your daughter to marry a black" had been taken out of the bedroom and into the garden with "Do you want your neighbour to be a black".

The Conservative Party making its first bid to get on to the city council took "swart gevaar" back to its roots, the bad old days of the 1940's, conveyed to a stunned public mainly in press statements by its leader, Mr Fred Rundle.

His threat to remove blacks from Hillbrow "block by block and street by street" was dismissed in some quarters as right-wing lunacy, in others as the kind of reality the Nats had achieved in Sophiatown in the late fifties.

A round-up of informed predictions indicates a low poll (38 percent in 1982) in the 51 wards.

24/10/88

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For South Africa

# Poll evoked strong feelings

Referring to The Star poll on what should be done to save the country, Helen Tyson, research director of Marketing and Media Research, said: "Never before have we conducted a survey that has evoked such strong emotions and provoked such widespread reaction."

Mistrust, suspicion, paranoia — and even open aggression directed towards interviewers — were among the most common feelings displayed when selected respondents were approached and asked to fill out their questionnaires.

"Even when people were assured that the poll had not been commissioned by any political organisation, that the respondents had been selected at random, that they could complete the questionnaires personally, place them in secret ballot type envelopes and boxes and that they were not required to give any form of identification, there was still a frightening level of mistrust," she said.

In some areas, Roodepoort and Kempton Park in particular according to Ms Tyson, people said they "did not want to get involved in politics" and, in other areas, such as Soweto, some residents believed that the questionnaire was a disguised method of forcing people to vote.

In isolated cases when questionnaires were presented to respondents, they were taken to be vetted by township street committees or other political organisations. Only if they received approval from these organisations would the respondents fill them in. This was despite the fact that, on every multiple-choice question, all shades of opinion were represented.

One interviewer was threatened with a gun by an irate respondent who felt outraged at seeing the ANC mentioned in his questionnaire.

And, in a similar incident, the name "P W Botha" evoked such anger and suspicion that the respondent rounded up friends to question the interviewer about what she was doing.

At the other end of the scale there were the enthusiasts who submitted literally pages of suggestions on how to save the country, and others who telephoned with comments — and even congratulations — on the project.

Others, similarly inspired, wanted the interviewers to come in for tea to discuss the survey, the country and the future.

A policeman approached declined to complete his questionnaire. Even though it was anonymous, he still feared he would lose his job if he did so. He apologised to the interviewer.

Young journalists barred

Star 24/10/87

# AWB leader refuses interview to blacks

304A

By Rashida Dhooma

Two aspiring journalists were barred from interviewing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche this week — because they were black.

For three days Lebohang Chanza and Comet Mnisi, both 17 and matric pupils, prepared to interview Mr TerreBlanche for a feature for the new monthly publication *Early Times* aimed at teenagers.

*Early Times* editor Ms Robin Comley said she set up the interview with Mr TerreBlanche through his secretary earlier in the week.

"Lebohang and Comet were excited about the interview. Then, on Thursday, Mr Terre-Blanche's secretary called to make sure I was not sending black reporters to the interview.

"I pleaded with the man to give Lebohang and Comet a chance but he was adamant Mr TerreBlanche did not want to be interviewed by black journalists.

"I then had the unpleasant task of informing the two of Mr Terrablanche's decision," Ms Comley said.

But Lebohang managed to slip a letter to Mr TerreBlanche via the two white journalists whom he allowed to interview him — Toni Loizides and Jean Heeley.

Part of the letter asked Mr TerreBlanche why he hated black people so much, to which, Ms Comely (who was present at the interview) said, he replied that that was not the case. She said his reply was: "I do not hate them. I merely have nothing to say to them."

Lebohang also told Mr TerreBlanche in the letter that she did not understand his reasoning for his decision. She asked him to reconsider.

Lebohang said she and Comet decided to interview Mr TerreBlanche



Jean Heeley.



Lebohang Chanza.



Comet Mnisi.



Toni Loizides.

# Introdu Costs Le

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Lebohang said she and Comet decided to interview Mr TerreBlanche "because his politics are very interesting".

She said: "We wanted to talk to the man to find out what makes him tick. We were not going to see him in our personal capacities, but as journalists — and planned to tackle the interview objectively."

Lebohang said she was disappointed at Mr TerreBlanche's attitude but his refusal to see her had not changed her mind about journalism.

Ms Comely said Mr TerreBlanche's decision demonstrated the types of attitudes in this country.

Mr TerreBlanche was not available for comment.

Womanen

National Party faces strong challenges

# Parties wind up election campaigns

By David Braun and Esmaré van der Merwe

**Political parties are pulling out all the stops as the countrywide municipal election campaign reaches its climax.**

In the white election campaigns, final shots in the campaign will be fired tonight at big political meetings in areas where the elections are most keenly contested and where the results are in the balance.

In coloured, Indian and black elections, campaigning has been muted in the face of strong opposition to the elections Many voters have used prior votes ahead of the election to avoid intimidation, but percentage polls may still be low.

As the white election campaigns peak, the National Party is seeking to repulse a strong Conservative Party challenge in the Transvaal and Free State platteland as well as on the Reef and in Pretoria.

In Johannesburg, the Progressive Federal Party has mounted its strongest challenge.

The CP's director of organisation, Mr Kobus Beyers, has forecast a 10 percent swing to the right, and reiterated predictions he made earlier that the CP would control at least 60 of the Transvaal's 84 white local authorities after October 26

The State President, Mr P W Botha, will wind up the Government campaign at a public meeting at Smithfield, in the Free State, tonight

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht speaks at the Pretoria City Hall. The CP is confident of winning control of most of the white local authorities in the Transvaal and the Free State and the party believes the main prize, the city council of Pretoria, is within reach

The PFP's campaign in Johannesburg will be wound up at two meetings addressed by party leader Dr Zach de Beer, veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman and the party's leader in the city council, Mr Tony Leon.

All three will address meetings at the Glenhazel Primary School and the Greenside Primary School.

Both meetings start at 8 pm, with Dr de Beer speaking first in Glenhazel and Mr Leon in Greenside.

## Scandals

The NP's main rally in Johannesburg, which will start at the city hall at 7.30 pm, will be addressed by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs and NP leader in Johannesburg.

The PFP's campaign manager, Mr Peter Soal MP, said the meetings were aimed at consolidating support and emphasising the need for clean and open government following two "NP scandals" involving Mr Leon de Beer and Mr Peet de Pontes.

CP spokesman Mr Kobus Beyers said "An enormous shock awaits the NP if we get all the people who have promised to vote CP to the polls."

The CP had fielded 1 211 official candidates in the province and backed about 200 independents, he said

The NP's chief secretary in the Transvaal, Dr Lucas Nel, dismissed CP claims as presumptuous, and warned of "some nasty surprises for the CP" — even in CP parliamentary strongholds

"The result will show that there is no real swing to the right However, it would be absurd to interpret the results as indicative of shifts in political support, because you cannot compare a ward in Soekmekaar with a ward in Johannesburg."

The NP was fielding more than 800 official and independent candidates

## NP in Joburg 'riddled with racism and incompetence'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party accused Johannesburg's ruling National Party today of being a "racist municipal regime riddled with internal dissension" with a history of neglect and maladministration in the city council

Launching the fiercest indictment yet against NP "incompetence", Mr Tony Leon, PFP leader in the council, said Johannesburg had lagged behind other cities because of its politically conservative leadership.

Mr Leon said the NP had introduced no political reform in the city over the past 15 years

"For example, all applications by people of colour for group areas exemption permits have consistently been turned down

"People of colour are constantly being kicked off white buses. Johannesburg's segregated bus system has cost ratepayers R120 million over the last six years."

He referred to the controversial group areas statements by Mr Danie van Zyl, NP leader in the council, who had said the NP would keep Hillbrow white if it won control in the city's multiracial flatland.

"Mr Van Zyl's racist remarks have sparked off dissent within the NP caucus. There is, in fact, a drive within the caucus to get rid of him."

He cited examples of financial mismanagement, including:

- The council bought town clerk Mr Manie Venter a "magnificent" house with six lock-up garages.
- The management committee announced that assessment rates would not be increased this year. However, business assessment rates were increased by 14 percent.
- A financial surplus of R48 million was realised in the 1987/88 book year which Mr Leon claimed was used as "an election slush fund".
- An amount of R3,5 million was budgeted for roads in wards in the current financial year, but the bulk was spent in the south of the city in order "to gain votes"
- Mr Leon said that R140 000 was wasted in March this year when the council started building a recreation centre in Lenasia and had to stop because it was on the wrong stand



## Expo luxury houses are snapp

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The Star Design for Living Expo, a housing show with the accent on designer living, kicked off with great success at Fourways Gardens Estate this weekend

Three of the six luxury designer houses were snapped up in the first three days as more than 15 000 people visited the show. Prices ranged from R280 000 to R291 000; 17 stands costing an average of R55 000 each were sold.

Mrs Elize Rosenmann, managing director of Montagu Homes, sole managing agent for the developer, Anglo American Property Services, said the success of the show was unmatched in her eight years of experience in home shows.

"The offers just kept pouring in. We were so busy we had to ask people to come back later," she said.

Visitors to the unique kept traffic officials busy throughout the first three day show and additional p provided.

Exhibitors in the seven tion halls boasted great bu ranging from carpets and tage furniture selling at a

Visitors to the show w pressed and exclaimations "outstanding" were clear the groups roaming from next.

The show will open to on Friday October 28 at n two consecutive weeken November 6.

## SA-USSR academics to offer perceptions

Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — An unusual, high-powered political think-tank composed of South African and Soviet academics gets down to business in West Germany this afternoon.

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## Pension offers 'j election

Municip

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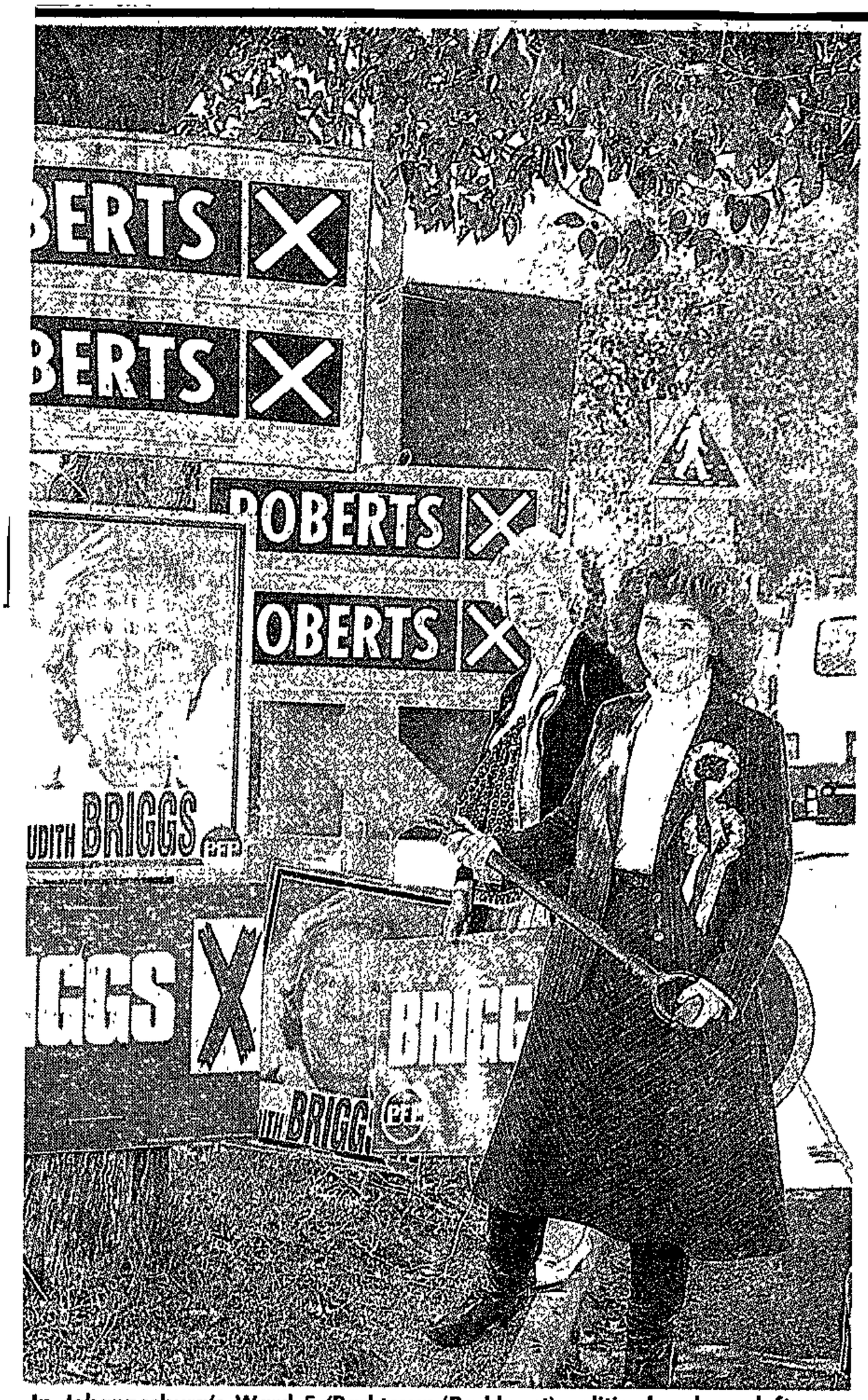



In Johannesburg's Ward 5 (Parktown/Parkhurst) politics has been left entirely to the fairer sex with the PFP's Mrs Judith Briggs (left) opposing Mrs Nan Roberts (NP) in the Progressive Federal Party's traditional northern suburbs stronghold.

# PFP slams claims of security hypocrisy

Star 25/10/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe

(304 words)

The Progressive Federal Party last night attacked the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the National Party.

At rallies before tomorrow's municipal elections, speakers accused the NP of a campaign to taint the PFP as being hypocritical about security.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the NP had campaigned on the fact that former PFP councillors had resigned and emigrated.

Dr de Beer said: "I would far rather have candidates who may one day emigrate without dishonour than candidates who subsequently get found guilty of electoral fraud, or candidates whose Mafia connections form the subject of evidence before commissions."

He quoted from a recent *Financial Mail* article: "There is a way out of this mess: tight money, no exchange control, rapid deregulation and privatisation. But those are policies that take political guts and require an understanding of economics. P W Botha manifestly has no stomach for the former and no head for the latter."

# Big crowds hear PFP's closing salvo

Star 25/10/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

(304 words)

The Progressive Federal Party last night fired the final shots in its election campaign for tomorrow's municipal elections in which voters of all population groups will go to the polls throughout the country.

Capacity crowds totalling about 1 000 people attended two simultaneously held rallies in Greenside and Glenhazel in Johannesburg. The meetings were addressed by PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman and the party leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon.

Dr de Beer said the PFP's hallmarks were hope, confidence and inclusive patriotism as opposed to the racial fear, despair and selfish exclusivism of the National Party and the Conservative Party.

"White and black will forever live and work together in our country. Success demands fruitful co-operation between us, while alienation between the different population groups will lead to poverty and failure. Apartheid is driving us downhill, but an inclusive South Africanism can take us up into the sunshine again."

Mrs Suzman said the municipal elections were a testing ground for the national issues that would be paramount in the next general election.

Mr Leon said the real problems of ordinary people in Johannesburg did not revolve around the skin colour of their neighbours. Crime, overcrowding, noise and health hazards were the result of poor urban management.



Mr F W de Klerk ... NP supports own group areas.

# Students heckle De Klerk

By Deborah Smith
Pretoria Bureau

Rowdy Conservative Party hecklers constantly interrupted Minister of National Education and Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk at the University of Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing a sharply divided NP and CP audience of about 250 students, Mr de Klerk slammed the CP and other right-wing organisations, saying they were on a road to a "make-believe land" and their leaders knew it.

If the CP's policy could work it would be good for whites but it was impossible in practical terms, he said. Even CP leaders could not say where the borders would be or how millions of people would be moved against their will and at enormous cost.

Whites had never been alone and never would be alone in this country so a common road had to be found together.

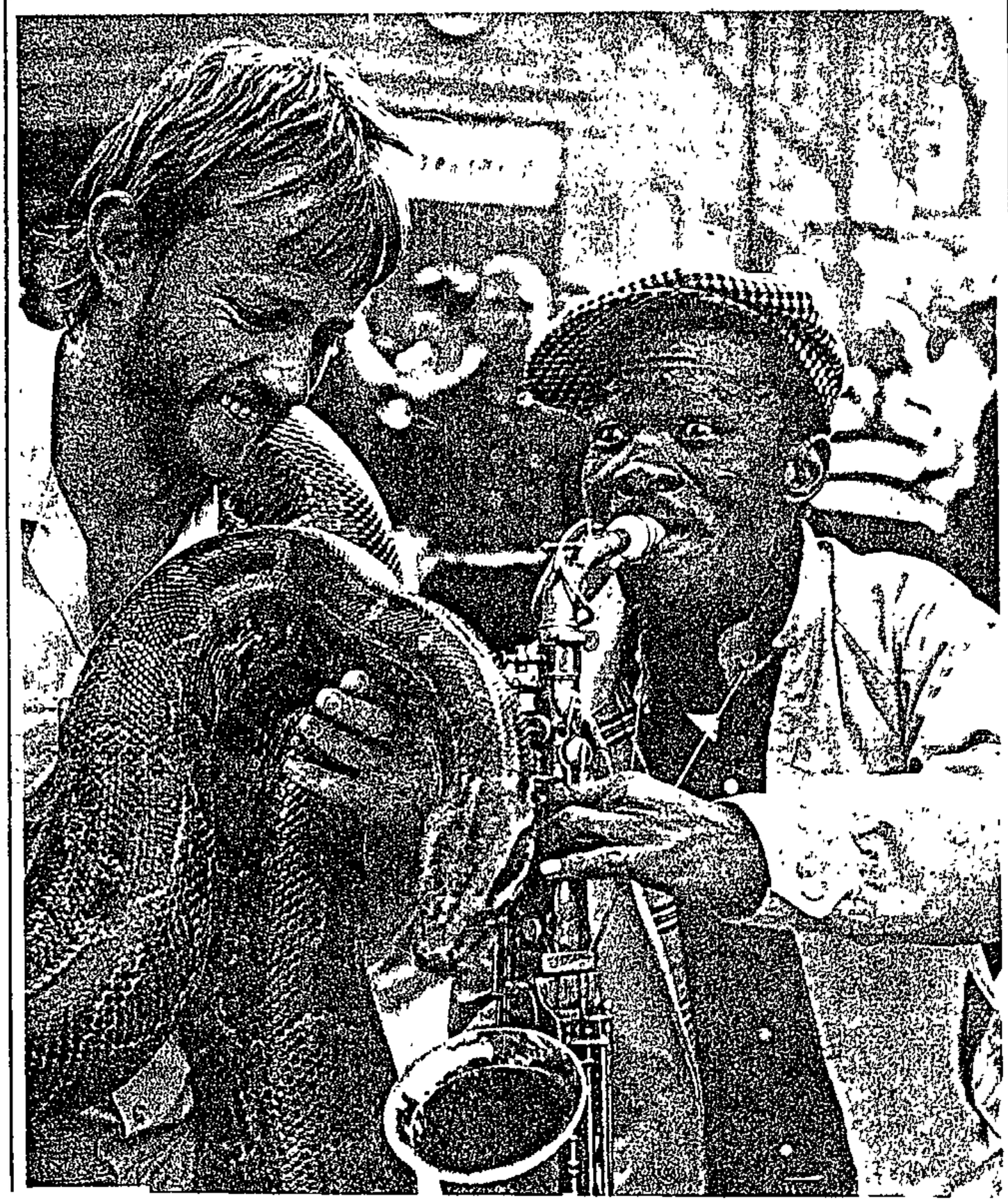
Mr de Klerk emphasised that the National Party supported own schools and own group areas as far as possible.

In reality, despite the Government's attempts, they could not succeed in separating integrated people in certain historical areas such as Woodstock, he said.

Whites could survive only if they developed a system giving all people their rights in South Africa.

# Stonings, fire at UWC

Capt Timks
25/10/88



By JIM FREEMAN

**POLICE vehicles and fire engines were stoned, teargas grenades were fired and three hostel bedrooms at the University of the Western Cape were damaged by fire yesterday after a student demonstration against tomorrow's municipal elections.**

No one was arrested during the police action, which came as students marched between the hostels towards the university's main entrance and threw stones at police vehicles parked across Modderdam Road just after 2pm.

Police confirmed that a number of their vehicles and those of passersby were damaged in the stone throwing

The vice-rector of the university, Prof Jaap Durand, said last night a full statement on the incident would be issued today

However, he confirmed that he had spoken to the riot police commander after the three bedrooms had been set alight

The police had promised him the incident would be investigated, said Professor Durand

Police fired teargas grenades which caused fires in three hostels, according to campus personnel Barricades littered access roads to the hostels after the confrontation, they said.

## Books destroyed

Two of the bedrooms, both in men's hostels, were badly damaged The third bedroom, in the women's "Cassinga 2" hostel was only slightly damaged

Fire engines were stoned by students as they tried to get to the fires, forcing the vehicles to leave the campus grounds, a fire brigade spokesman said

The occupant of one room, Mr Clarence Oliver, said his all his books and a large number of his belongings had been destroyed in the blaze, caused when the grenade detonated on his mattress

A second male student, who declined to give his name, was asleep when a grenade shattered the pane of his window and set the room alight

Campus fire-fighters dragged burning furniture and bedding into the corridors before dousing the flames with teargas swirling around them

After the police vehicles left the students crowded outside the hostels to allow the teargas to disperse.

A spokesman for the police's public relations directorate said last night the incident would be dealt with in today's unrest report

Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, last night refused the Cape Times permission to publish photographs of the fire damage in the hostels

# Election result won't be clear-cut

By Esmarévan der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Although tomorrow's countrywide municipal elections are regarded as a pointer to future political developments, a analysis of the results will not be an easy task.

Most Conservative Party candidates in the Transvaal are contesting the elections under the official party-political banner, while the National Party is fielding many "independents", especially on the platteland.

The Progressive Federal Party is contesting only the elections in Johannesburg, Sandton and Randburg on a party-political tag and is fielding some independents in other areas.

In an attempt to co-ordinate the results, the Transvaal Provincial Administration will provide a 24-hour service at its Pretoria head offices where all Transvaal results will be announced.

TPA spokesman Mr Fanie Terblanche said yesterday the first results were expected at 11 pm on Wednesday. However, the latest results would be available only on Friday morning, he said.

Platteland results would be available first, with city results coming out later.

Mr Terblanche said prior votes would not be announced separately.

● Although prior voting closed last Saturday, final prior voting percentages were not yet available when The Star went to press last night.

A spokesman for the Bureau of Information said the percentages could be announced late yesterday.

# Nation will lose, says Treurnicht

Star 25/10/84 (30(4))

Whites should support the Conservative Party (CP) in tomorrow's municipal elections because the nation would lose everything if it lost political control, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Pretoria last night.

He told 1 200 people at a public meeting in the city hall that the CP had not politicised local government. The constitution had, because whites now had to fight for their rights on all levels of government.

Dr Treurnicht said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had caused uncertainty by failing to forthwith refer to the President's Council two Bills on Group Areas and Free Settlement Areas that had been rejected by the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

The Government was guilty of the discriminatory enforcement of laws by stating it would not touch Anglican Church leader Archbishop Desmond Tutu and by failing to enforce the Group Areas Act.

He said Mr Botha was guilty of "political hawking" if he was seeking ties with African states on the strength of promises of political reform.

Turning to the row over rugby administrators Dr Danie Craven and Dr Louis Luyt's contacts with the African National Congress, Dr Treurnicht was applauded when he suggested that Dr Craven should resign.

"Talks with the ANC go too far and are unacceptable."

He mooted the possibility of racially segregated sports bodies, founded along the lines of CP policy, being put to the test once again.

Referring to an appeal by Mr Botha to Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse to prevent Mr Botha from being "pushed out by the rightists," he said he assumed Mr Hendrickse would be required to neutralise a majority CP vote among whites.

Coloureds would therefore be used to stop the CP from assuming power. — Sapa

# Prior votes not genuine, says TIC

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The refusal of municipal election candidates to respond to a challenge to address voters at public meetings organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress raised questions about the candidates' commitment towards a democratic future, the TIC said yesterday.

"None of these candidates seem to have the courage to face the very people who they expect to vote for them. The TIC believes this is because these candidates know that local management committees are unable to address the real problems facing our people, like housing shortages and the lack of facilities," spokesman Mr Ismail Momoniat said.

He claimed the prior voting system had provided for "massive voting fraud" while some candidates had wooed voters by telling them voting was compulsory.

"The TIC is unable to expose these electoral abuses because of the prior votes legislation. For example, we were refused permission to inspect the list of prior voters. Under the law, the public does not have the right to inspect the list.

"In the past, the TIC has uncovered many cases where votes were fraudulently cast in people's names," the organisation said in a statement.

"The TIC does not regard any prior votes cast as genuine votes. We believe that the polls are going to be very low on October 26. Over 90 percent of all the votes cast will be prior votes. This makes it a postal election.

"Congress calls on all churches, mosques and temples to organise prayer services to pray for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. We call on shopkeepers and businessmen to close their shops and give their workers the day off," the TIC said.

# Four days of Idasa talks dispel some mutual suspicions

BY SUE LEEMAN,
The Star's Foreign News Service

**The historic meeting between Soviet and Afrikaner academics and an ANC group has ended with all sides affirming their commitment to building a non-racial democracy in South Africa.**

BONN — Four days of frank talking in Leverkusen near Cologne have dispelled many of the myths that Soviet and Afrikaner academics and a party from the ANC believed about each other and this has become the basis for future talks.

While the ANC has indicated that its armed struggle will continue, there are signs that the organisation is placing increasing emphasis on negotiated political solutions. And the Soviet delegation has made repeated references to the desirability of a negotiated settlement.

Most South Africans at the talks have said they are going home with a much clearer understanding of ANC perceptions of the South African question and a definite conviction that the banned organisation is a vital player in South Africa's political future.

Further rounds of talks between liberal South African whites and members of the ANC leadership are planned and Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine, convener of the Leverkusen gathering, said the next meeting would probably take place within a year.

In his closing remarks at a press conference here, Dr Boraine said the Leverkusen talks had succeeded in breaking down stereotypes

"I think we came a little closer to the development of a climate that could lead to negotiations, the end of apartheid and the birth of a non-racial democracy in South Africa."

The five Soviet delegates, all academics specialising in southern African issues, stressed that the Soviet Union had no intention of establishing relations with Pretoria until apartheid was dead

However, team leader Dr Vasili Solodovnikov said they remained committed to talking to whites "who support the liberation struggle".

Some observers are reading this as a shift in emphasis and believe there is a growing Soviet awareness that whites are an important part of the peace process.

A buoyant ANC publicity chief, Mr Thabo Mbeki, is clearly delighted at the contact between Afrikaners and the Soviet academics.

Idasa chairman Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said he believed the value of the conference lay first in the discussion of attitudes to apartheid and, secondly, in "placing the position of the Soviet Union and the ANC in perspective to bring about change away from apartheid"

He clearly does not hold out much hope of a softening of President P W Botha's opposition to talks of this nature, but said Idasa's task lay in communicating what had happened at the talks to the broader South African community.



Talking of the future in South Africa ... from left are Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC secretary for information, Dr Alex Boraine, director of Idasa, and a Soviet expert on South Africa, Dr Vasili Solodovnikov, at yesterday's Bonn press conference.

# NP 'will control 9 big cities'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party seems likely to gain or retain control of most local authorities in the major centres in tomorrow's municipal elections, according to an article in the October edition of the NP's journal, *Nationalist*.

More than 2,5 million whites live in the 10 biggest cities, representing more than 55 percent of the total white population of about 4 563 000.

*Nationalist* claims that NP-affiliated councillors are likely to be in control of nine of the 10 cities, a significant factor because key elements of government policies will be implemented in big cities.

In spite of the Conservative Party's "confident claims", it will not succeed in making major inroads into the cities, it says.

Councillors allied to the Progressive Federal Party are likely to be in the majority in Cape Town which has a white population of 543 000.

In the remaining nine urban centres "the Nationalist superiority is unlikely to be challenged", the *Nationalist* article says.

# Polls will be pointer to path of the future

Star 25/10/81

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter (304 A)

Voters go to the polls tomorrow in municipal elections which will be a pointer to future political directions.

Polling booths open at 7 am and close at 9 pm.

Transvaal results are expected from about 11 pm tomorrow, with last results by Friday.

All parties wound up months of intensive campaigns last night.

● The State President, Mr P W Botha, made a strong call for South African solidarity in the face of economic and political problems.

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, urged voters to support the party's policy of hope, and confidence as opposed to the racial fear and despair of the NP and CP.

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reiterated the party's policy of racial separatism and the right of Afrikaners to be governed by their own people in their own country.

● In coloured, Indian and black elections campaigning has been muted in the face of strong opposition. Many voters have used the newly-introduced prior voting system to avoid intimidation.

# 'Things have changed . . . you dare not hold back'

Star 28/10/88 (3044)

How far must businessmen involve themselves in South Africa's politics? On the eve of his 80th birthday, South Africa's top businessman told his colleagues: "Things have changed . . . you dare not hold back." Mr Harry Oppenheimer was addressing the country's economic leaders, and international bankers, at the 150th anniversary banquet of First National Bank. The accompanying article is an excerpt from his speech.



South Africa's business leaders have been given a clear message . . . political reform in its broadest sense has become a vital requirement.

That the apartheid system must go, either because it has become, as the State President has said, outdated, or because it was always fundamentally wrong, is now accepted by the National Party and by all the political groupings to the left of it.

Only a comparatively small number of South Africans will therefore be disposed to condemn businessmen for saying that they aim to eliminate apartheid from their organisations.

But the word "apartheid" means different things to different people and how far are directors and managers of public companies justified in involving themselves in political issues remains a controversial question.

When I was at the head of the Anglo American and De Beers groups, this question greatly exercised my mind. I drew a distinction between what I was entitled to do and say as an individual, and what was proper for me in my capacity as a chairman of large public companies.

I felt fully justified in involving my companies in issues which directly affected the efficiency of their operations.

Matters covered for instance, by the labour legislation, by job reservation, by the need for security of tenure for black workers living near their place of work, in regard to pass laws and so forth. Most of the injustices have now been remedied but there are still laws, of which the most important is perhaps the Group Areas Act, which are direct restraints in various ways on the proper running of business.

## Draw a distinction

Between such matters as these, and those wider issues which were outside the immediate field of business, I used to think it possible to draw a distinction, a delicate one no doubt, but one which was, I think, valid and capable of practical application. But now things have changed as a direct result of our rapid economic development which the protagonists of sanctions against this country are trying to bring to an end.

We have progressed to a stage when, in my opinion, such a distinction can no longer be maintained. It is no longer enough, in order to meet the requirements of black workers to remove grievances and hardships in the social and economic spheres. Political reform, involving the sharing of political power at the centre, is no longer a distant aspiration of the black workforce which is becoming more and more skilled and sophisticated, but an immediate and justified demand.

Yet the manner in which political power at the centre is exercised belongs, in its essence, to the stuff of pure politics from which it used to be thought that businessmen in their capacity as businessmen, ought to hold themselves aloof. But it is no good trying to fool ourselves.

There will be no peace in industry until such time as a way of sharing political power between South Africans on a non-racial basis has been found, agreed upon and put into effect. The old distinction between reform which directly affects business and reform in a more general, national sense, has broken down and political reform in its broadest sense, has become a vital requirement from which businessmen, as businessmen, and as directors of public companies, cannot and dare not distance themselves.

## Fundamental change

And this fundamental change is making itself felt in the government and public administration of the country as well as in private sector business. It used to be generally felt, even if it was not often clearly expressed, that South Africa would not go too far wrong, because however wild and irresponsible the generality of our ruling politicians might be, there would always be enough technical skill, commonsense and goodwill at the Treasury and the Reserve Bank to keep us on an even keel.

And so to a considerable extent it used to be, and the politicians became so used to this idyllic state of affairs, that they tended to lose sight of their own responsibility in relation to the prosperity and stability of the national economy.

Fortunately there is still plenty of wisdom at the Treasury and the Reserve Bank; but, just as private businessmen can no longer run their affairs efficiently without regard to the general political situation, so the authorities in charge of our monetary and fiscal affairs can no longer save South Africa from the results of policies which are leading to violence at home and provoking hatred and contempt abroad.

Of course South Africa is changing, and nothing should or could stop that process. Indeed it is just the fact of change, however uncomfortable it may be, that gives us real reason for hope.

But how are we going to ensure that change takes place with the minimum of violence and loss?

That depends on the conduct of all of us; of the government in the first place of course, but on all individual South Africans also, particularly all those who carry the responsibility for the running of our large businesses and industries. It depends too on the wisdom, patience and sympathetic understanding of the friends of South Africa overseas.

# SA-Soviet academics agree on negotiation

Star 25/10/87

304A

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — A consensus is emerging from the unprecedented talks in this West German town between leading Soviet and Afrikaner academics: Negotiation is the only road to meaningful change.

The Soviet academics have been at pains to point out that while they abhor racial discrimination they are not seeking anarchy in South Africa but a "democratic, non-racial future".

In a statement issued before the talks, the Soviet academics stressed they did not view SA "as an arena for confrontation between East and West".

The meeting has been organised by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Dr Irina Filatovafrom Moscow State University said the Soviet Union had been hampered for many years by a lack of facts about South Africa.

However, in recent years South Africa had been constantly in the world's headlines and there was a growing Soviet awareness of South African issues.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Department of Political Science at Rand Afrikaans University summed up Pretoria's official view of Soviet policy.

He said he believed cooler heads in Pretoria had now recognised that the Soviet Union could "play a potentially stabilising and thus beneficial role".

But Professor Geldenhuys stressed that the "Boer-versus-Bear" image was still deeply ingrained.

# Call for peace on eve of elections

CAPE TOWN TUESDAY OCTOBER 25 1988

By KAREN STANDER, DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and ANTHONY DOMAN, Staff Reporters

As protest and violence marked the eve of the municipal elections in the Western Cape, Archbishop Desmond Tutu today made an urgent plea for peace on polling day tomorrow.

He called on the government not to provoke violence and on "all those responding to the elections, whether supporting or opposing them" not to allow intimidation.

He also called for a day of prayer and fasting for peace.

Police leave has been cancelled throughout the country to help maintain law and order.

Captain Reg Crewe of the police public relations division in Pretoria said police would do everything in their power to ensure the safety of voters.

● More election reports, page 5.
● Candidates and polling stations, page 13.

He warned that police would act quickly and professionally to deal with anyone intimidating voters.

In the Cape Town municipal area polls will be open from 8am to 8pm.

All ballot boxes will be taken to the Civic Centre, Hertzog Boulevard, on the Foreshore, where counting starts about 8 30pm.

Results will be announced regularly in the concourse by the returning officer, Town Clerk Dr Stan Evans. First results are expected towards midnight.

Yesterday security forces broke up a protest march with batons and teargas as students stoned their vehicles and fire-engines at the University of the Western Cape.

Two security force members were slightly injured, police said.

Three rooms at the university's residences were set alight. The fire was put out by students.

The source said no one was arrested.

Students from UWC and colleges in the northern areas and pupils from schools in the area held an anti-municipal election rally in the university hall yesterday.

They decided to embark on a protest march around the university before returning to the hall to sing Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica.

As the students neared the university entrance some stoned passing vehicles.

## Teargas, batons

The source said police intervened, firing teargas as students fled.

Police said police vehicles were stoned many times and teargas and batons were used to disperse groups.

At Modderdam High School pupils walked off the premises yesterday in protest against police action at the school last Friday when seven pupils and two teachers were detained.

All except Mr Don de la Harpe, a teacher, have been released.

Mr de la Harpe appeared in Goodwood Magistrates' Court yesterday and was released on R300 bail, according to his attorney, Mr Joe Ebrahim.

Youths burnt tyres near Cathkin High School, Heideveld, yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu said a meeting of representatives of community organisations had been held at Bishop's Court yesterday "to discuss the situation created by tomorrow's elections".

"Among other issues we discussed a call made in Johannesburg last week for a national day of peaceful protest to be observed tomorrow.

"In the past such calls have often been seen as implicit appeal for work stayaways. It became clear during the meeting that this is not necessarily the interpretation being placed upon the call by democratic organisations on this occasion.

"We in the church cannot speak for the community organistions. They must be allowed to speak for themselves and we reiterate our past demands for free political activity so they can articulate their views.

"However, as leaders of our church, we wish to make the strongest possible appeal that whatever expression is given to the call for a day of peaceful protest, organisations and individuals should be free to act without fear of violence.

## Choice

"People must be free to exercise their choice without intimidation on whatever side.

"I want to make an urgent call for a peaceful response to the elections I call on the government not to provoke violence during the polling and on all those involved in responding to the elections, whether supporting or opposing them, not to allow intimidation.

"I also call on our diocese and all others who wish to join us to fast and pray for peace tomorrow," he said.

● Archbishop Tutu yesterday condemned the Witbank car-bombing as morally abhorrent and counter-productive.

● See page 3.

## SABC to carry election results

Staff Reporter

SABC TV and radio will carry tomorrow's municipal election results on national and regional news bulletins but coverage will not be on the same scale as for a general election.

Programmes will not be cut into for individual results.

A spokesman for the SABC said results would be broadcast on all radio services during news bulletins and national radio and TV news bulletins would provide summaries of the results.

"We will not be broadcasting individual results as they come in."

National TV and radio bulletins would concentrate on the results from cities and large urban areas, while regional radio would provide regional results.



Archbishop Tutu

## SA may take the place of USSR as the world's 'bogey man'

# Taking glasnost seriously

Star 25/10/88

**It is foreseeable that the Soviet Union and the United States could in the near future join ranks in applying pressure against South Africa, says University of Pretoria law lecturer, Mr Christof Heyns, who recently returned from a conference in the USSR. TIM COHEN reports.**

Reform in the Soviet Union might mean that those South Africans who previously feared that Moscow controls the ANC can now possibly start hoping that this is the case, according to senior University of Pretoria law lecturer Mr Christof Heyns.

Mr Heyns, who recently returned from attending an International Bar Association conference in Russia, said it was forseeable that the USSR and the US could in the near future join ranks in applying pressure against South Africa.

Speaking at a public meeting in Johannesburg last week, Mr Heyns said: "If glasnost and perestroika is only a publicity stunt, it must be the most successful publicity stunt of this century, because it has created the worldwide perception that the USSR is finally changing."

Mr Heyns said at the meeting, organised by Lawyers for Human Rights, that South Africa must accept the possibility of increased orchestrated pressure from the USSR and US.

He said his fears that this could happen were confirmed after speaking to an American on the flight back from Leningrad.

"I mentioned to him, more or less in jest, that it was in a sense a pity Russia was reforming. I said to him that the world needs a bogey man, someone against whom James Bond can fight."

The American replied: "Don't worry too much, we've still got South Africa."

Mr Heyns said the conference dealt with East-West trade, "which is a manifestation of perestroika or economic restructuring", and with human rights, "which is in essence a manifestation of glasnost".

Regarding economic restructuring, Mr Heyns said, state enterprises could now engage directly in trade with foreign partners, which meant that the foreign trade monopoly had been suspended.

State enterprises were also now responsible for their own budget and were therefore obliged to make a profit.

In order to do so they could now diversify their payment of employees, and if they failed to make a profit they could go bankrupt, Mr Heyns said.

"The emphasis is now on reaching a certain quality, not on supplying certain pre-established quantities.

"One often cited example of the consequence of not manufacturing quality products is that more than 50 percent of household fires in Moscow are caused by locally made, exploding television sets.

He said one aspect of the pursuit of quality was to de-control prices. One participant at the conference remarked: "At present the rouble is more a unit of accountancy than a reflection of worth."

Mr Heyns said one of the less well-known but possibly more far-reaching economic reforms was that associations of Soviet lawyers, called co-operatives, could now also manufacture goods and supply services. "More than 20 000 such co-operatives, which in effect compete with state enterprises, have already been registered."

"The cherry on the cake, however, has been that these private co-operations have also been allowed to engage in joint ventures with Western corporations."

The second part of the conference dealt with human rights and this section was dominated by the question of the estimated 25 000 Jews in Russia who are not allowed to leave the country.

He said a professor from Jerusalem and the head of the visa department of the USSR participated in a discussion on the right to leave one's country.

"The mere fact that they were prepared to talk about this is in iteslf already an advancement, but the reasons the Soviets provide for their action remain incomprehensibly high-handed and in fact, if the situation was not so tragic, laughable."

He said one reason given was that Jewish families would be broken up. Another was that while in Russia all citizens were provided with social services, the Soviets said they would have no guarantee that their citizens would also be well looked after in other countries.

CP and PFP will be watched

# Election turnout will be biggest ever — professor

3044 25/10/88 B/days-

TOMORROW'S white municipal elections would record the highest voter turnout ever, analyst Prof Willem Kleynhans predicted yesterday.

For the first time, voters of all races will go to the polls on the same day to elect more than 7 500 local government representatives. National issues are dominating the white elections, with all major parties actively taking part.

In the black, coloured and Indian elections, the main focus will be on the percentage polls, which will be used to measure the acceptability of representative structures for those races.

Kleynhans said the poll would be the highest in municipal elections but would probably be lower than for a general election.

He said although municipal boundaries in most cases did not coincide with parliamentary constituencies, the results of the elections would give an important indication of trends and tendencies in white politics.

Of particular interest would be whether the CP had maintained the progress it had made in last year's general election, and the performance of the PFP which was taking part only in

PETER DELMAR

three municipalities — all in the Transvaal.

Kleynhans said the NP had mostly opted not to tackle the CP officially, but would be measured by the performance of its independent and official candidates.

Opposition to party politics in local government could cost the NP and PFP, but was unlikely to have much effect on the CP, which had mobilised its supporters particularly well.

The municipal elections could show that the CP had made significant gains, particularly with the decline in fortunes of the HNP.

Kleynhans said the timing of the next general election would probably also depend largely on how well the CP did. A good performance by the CP could persuade government to delay calling a general election for as long as possible.

□ A Weather Bureau spokesman yesterday predicted sunny weather for the whole of the country tomorrow.

□ GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that the NP and the CP will clash head-on in that city's 42 wards — and there is a good chance that the CP will win.

## Joint alliance unlikely, says Magid

# Woman's touch for Jo'burg management?

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

A woman on Johannesburg's management committee? This now seems a distinct possibility with Mrs Marietta Marx — wife of campaign manager Alwyn, the mastermind of the National Party's election success — taking a seat on the six-person executive.

With the NP in control of the council with a slender one-vote majority, it is also clear Mr Danie van Zyl may ask Mr Eddie Magid, who was elected as an opposed independent in Fairland, to join the committee.

Asked if he would agree, town planning expert Mr Magid was cautious. "It seems unlikely the 18 PFP, the four CP and the three independents would ever jointly oppose the Nats who may therefore not need to augment their 26 councillors.

### No pushing

"I would consider an offer if it was in the interests of the city, but I would certainly not push for it," he said.

Informed sources said Mr van Zyl should retain sitting management committee members Mr Cecil Long and Mr Jan Burger, and invite senior NP councillors Mr Ernie Fabel and Mr Koos Roets to join him.

He could bring in a promising younger councillor, such as Mr Theuns Oosthuizen, a tried and trusted man like Mr Magid or highly qualified Mrs Marx.

Mr van Zyl could not be contacted for comment early today.

## CP to control Potchefstroom

Own Correspondent

KLERKSDORP — The Conservative Party has ousted the National Party and taken control of the Potchefstroom Town Council

The NP is still in the driving seat in the Klerksdorp Town Council, the only town in the western Transvaal it has retained.

Six of the 11 wards contested in Potchefstroom produced majorities of less than 50 votes, with the biggest shock in Ward 7, where Mr Pieter van Wyk drew 577 votes to defeat Mr Jan du Raan by three votes

Mr Du Raan, chairman of the management committee and a former mayor, is one of the town's three aldermen.

He is the outgoing president of the Transvaal Municipal Association which met here for its annual conference at the beginning of September

With the support of sympathisers, the CP will rule with a majority of seven to five

The number of wards in Klerksdorp had been increased from 11 to 13 and the NP, with its independent candidates, is in control by seven seats to six.

# UN denounces elections as entrenchment of apartheid

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Members of the United Nations voted 146-0 in the General Assembly yesterday to denounce Wednesday's municipal elections in South Africa as an entrenchment of apartheid. Britain and the US abstained.

American diplomats were strongly critical of the vote, a source said, calling the resolution flawed because it did not address the issue of violence committed by anti-apartheid organisations.

Britain argued that the resolution would confirm suspicions in South Africa that the UN was incapable of playing a constructive role in issues relating to the Republic.

Deborah Smith of The Star Pretoria Bureau reported yesterday that the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, hinted that steps would be taken to close desegregated central business districts in towns where the CP had gained control of councils in the elections.

At a press conference in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht said the CP was against the basic approach of open areas in white towns because it was contrary to white authority.

Steps would be taken to return the situation to normal in CP-controlled towns, he said

# Change coming to Tzaneen

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Sweeping changes are likely in Tzaneen after the resounding National Party victory over the Conservative Party in Wednesday's municipal elections

"We are planning to scrap the controversial pension scheme for town councillors, which is a waste of taxpayers' money, and have promised the people their money will be spent in a responsible manner," NP spokesman Mr Vic Borchers told The Star yesterday

He said better management of the town's affairs was a top priority, and hinted that several decisions made by the previous town council were likely to be reversed.

Mr Borchers ascribed the NP candidates' victories in all nine wards in Tzaneen to teamwork and clearcut handling of local and political issues

### DEFEATED

"The CP would have been defeated in several other towns, if candidates had opted to stand unequivocally as Nationalists," he claimed

His sentiments were echoed in Pietersburg by prominent far-north nationalist Mr Burger Lategan, who is a member of the President's Council.

Mr Lategan insisted that official Nat candidates would have defeated the CP in Pietersburg (The CP gained a 5-4 majority, polling 5 668 to their opponents' 5 474)

He pointed out that in Pietersburg's Ward 8, the CP's Mr Koos Kemp beat NP-backed independent Mr Jan Stemmet by only 41 votes. A 21-vote swing away from the CP would have deprived them of their fifth seat on the council, and put the Nats in control of the town, he explained

But the town's Conservative MP, Dr Willie Snyman, saw the result as confirmation of a meaningful swing to the Right since the general election last year. (The CP got home by 1 100 votes, in a poll which included the outlying areas of Dendron, Haenertsburg and Zebediela.)

# 'Coloureds more interested in polls'

The Star's Africa News Service

WALVIS BAY — Interest in the municipal elections in the South African enclave of Walvis Bay was much higher in the coloured community than among white voters, according to poll results just released

In the coloured township of Narraville, 70,5 percent of the 2 609 registered voters cast their ballots for 19 candidates contesting six seats on the management committee.

By comparison, 51 percent of the 5 500 white voters in Walvis Bay itself cast votes for 18 candidates standing for nine seats in the city council.

In the enclave's black township of Kuisebmond, poll turn-out was a low 27 percent of the 1 405 registered voters asked to select candidates in the only two contested management committee seats

In the white election, which was said to be one of the hottest contests in recent years, the two candidates put up by the Conservative Party failed to win election.

The men stood on a platform of opposition to any form of integration in Walvis Bay The current mayor, Mr Christo de Jager of the National Party, said before the election that the whites in Walvis Bay were solidly behind the National Party.

He himself was re-elected to the council after defeating Mr Neil van der Merwe by 389 votes to 173.

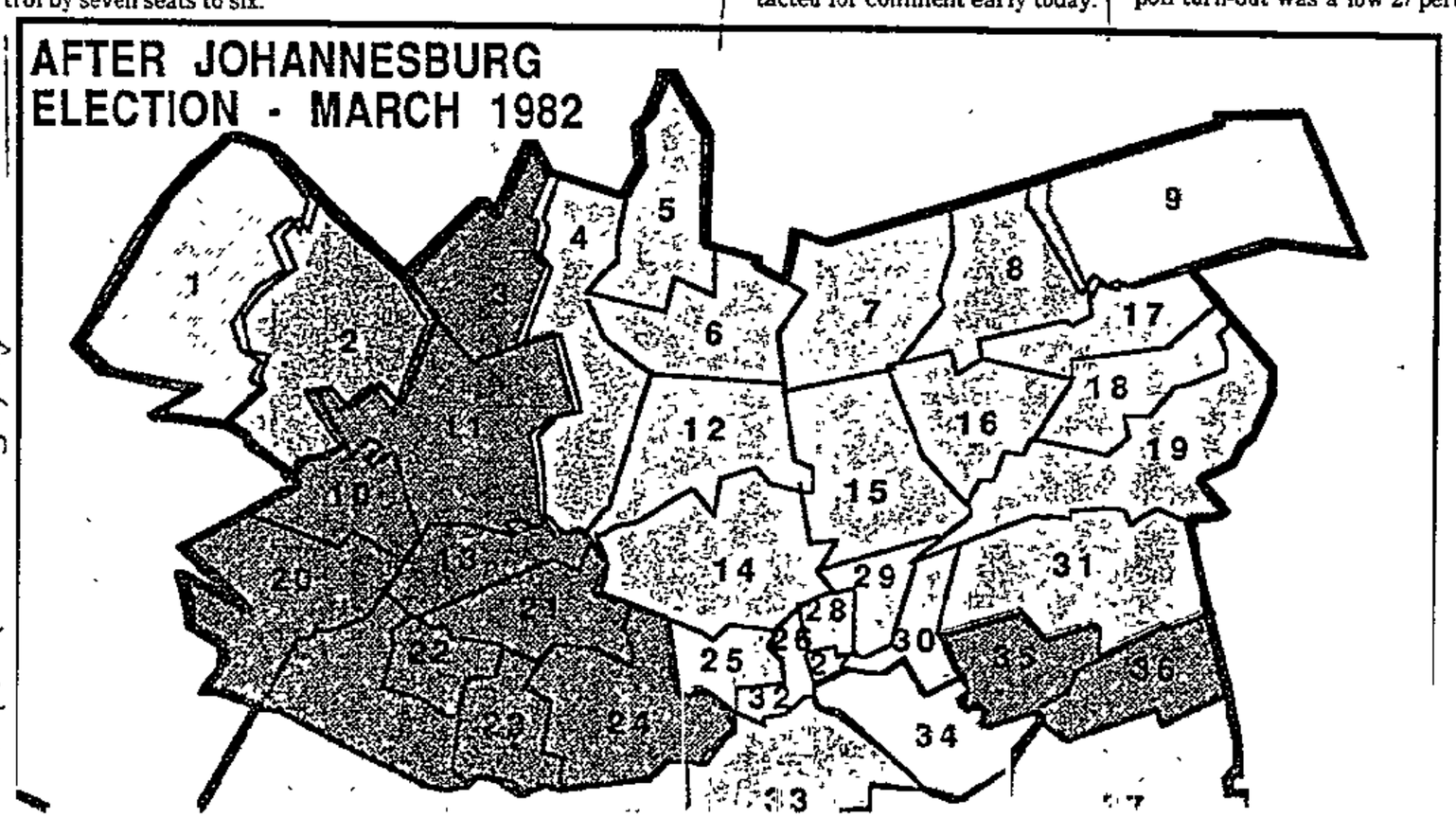
# Dramatic drop in PFP seats compared to 1982

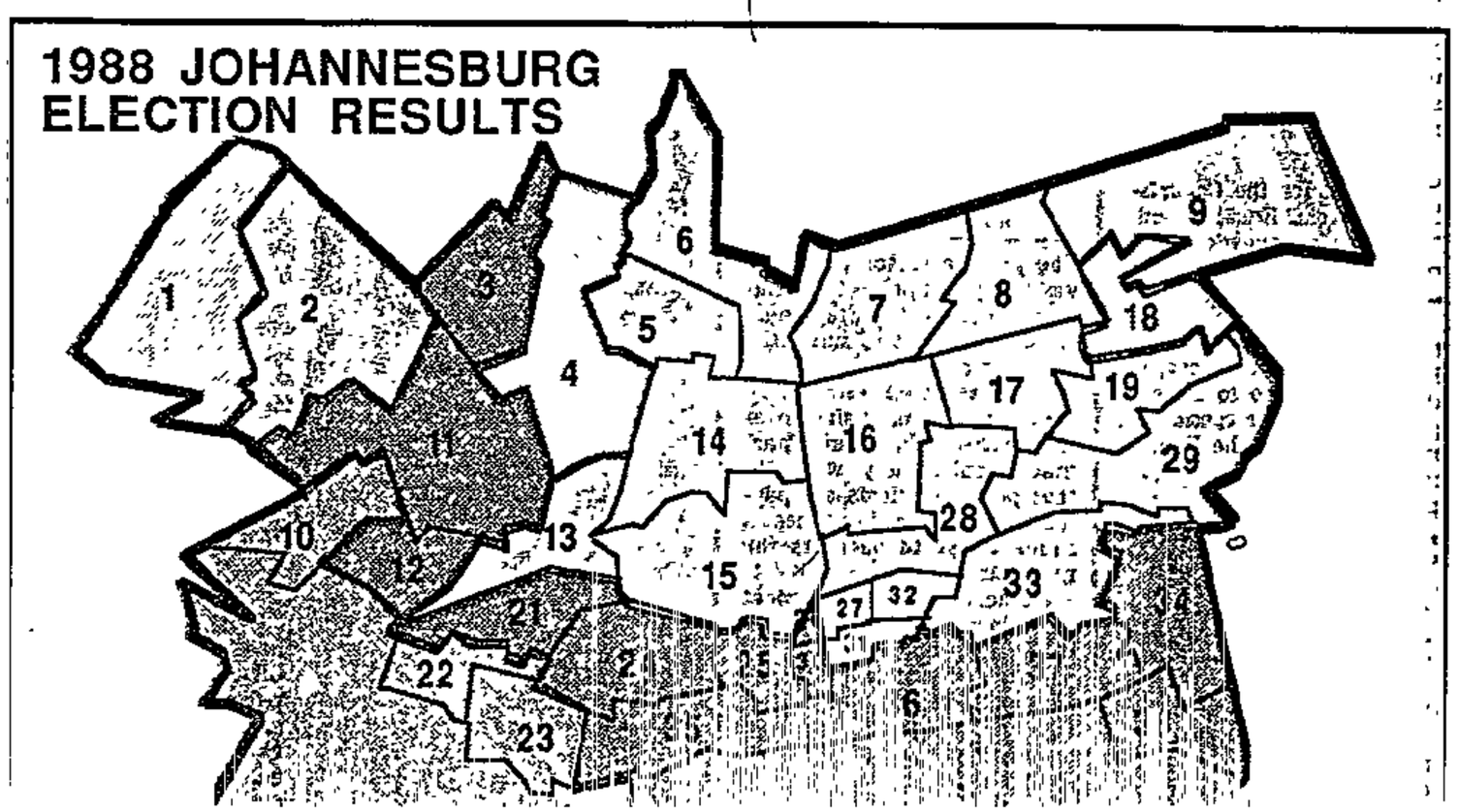
**A comparison of yesterday's municipal election results with those of 1982 shows a dramatic drop in wards controlled by the Progressive Federal Party from 23 to 18, while the National Party increased its share of the seats from 16 to 26.**

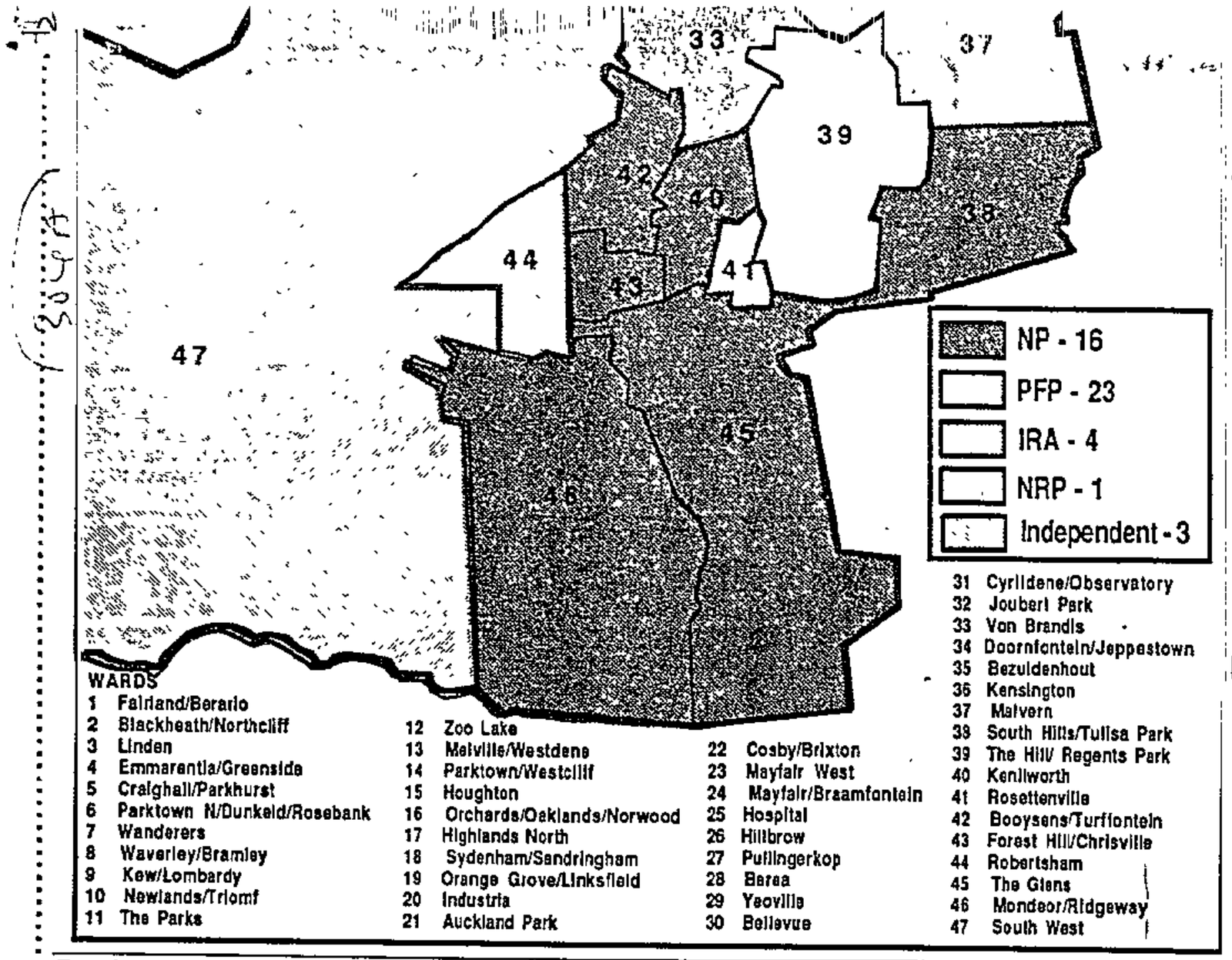
**The PFP's share of the votes was similarly slashed from 47,37 percent to about 33 percent while the NP pushed its 27,55 percent up to about 42 percent, at the same time shedding some 16 percent to the Conservative Party.**

**The Independent Ratepayers' Association lost all its wards and — spelled out in percentages — its voter support was down five to only seven, while the independents' share of the overall vote was up from about five to nine percent.**

● See Maps Below.

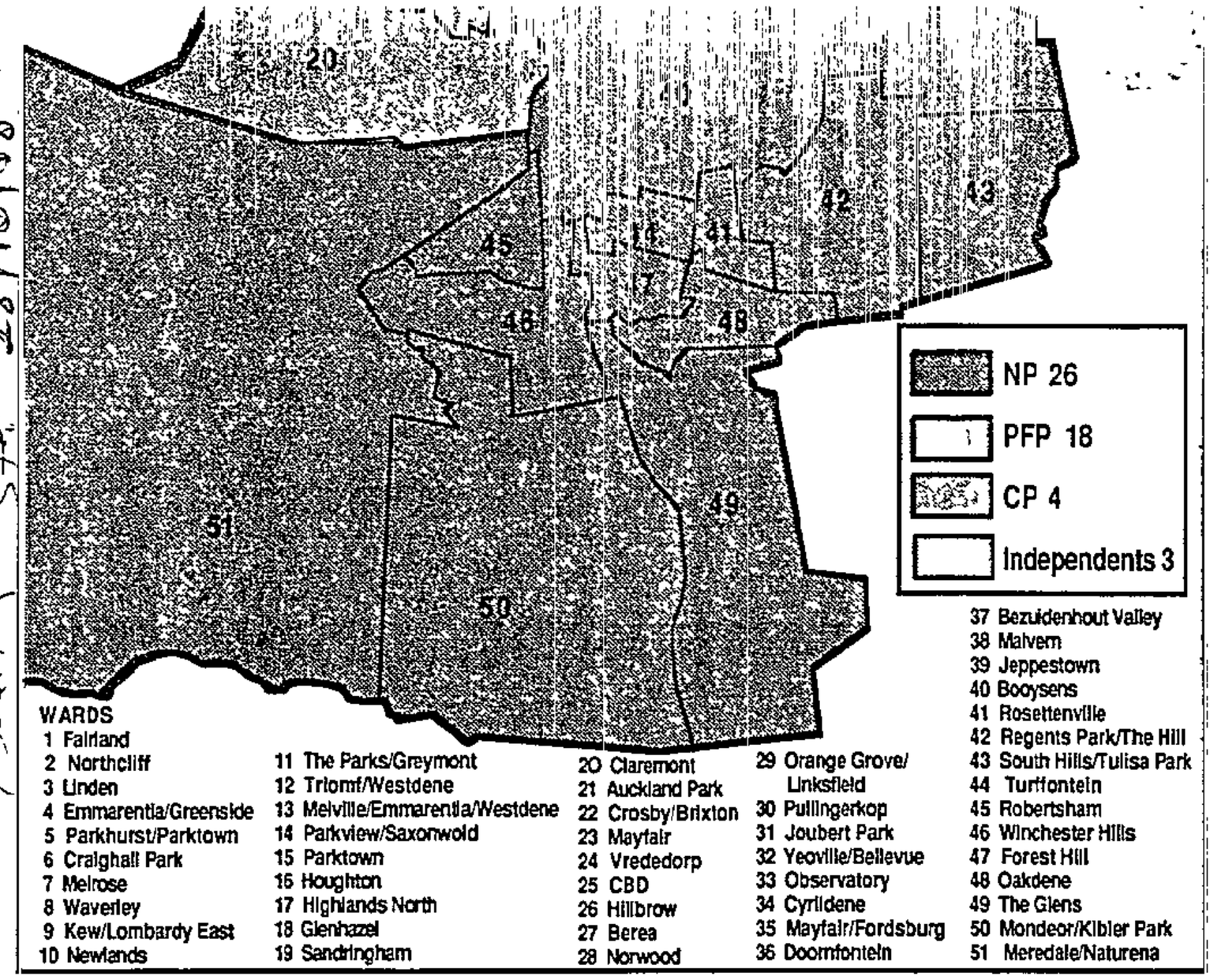





WARDS

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




WARDS

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

# Misappropriation claim hearing

By Cathy Stagg

A civil case in which a company director, Mr Andrew Aristides Bassil, is being sued for alleged misappropriation of funds will begin in the Rand Supreme Court on Monday.

Initially, Mr Bassil sued Phoenix Chemicals (Pty) Ltd for R80 454, which he claimed was owing for services rendered as a financial consultant between July 1984 and November 1985.

Phoenix has two shareholders the Francis George Hill Trust, on whose behalf Mr Oliver Hill acted, and the Hahn Family Trust.

The Hahn Family Trust intervened in the court action and issued a counter claim.

It was alleged Mr Bassil misappropriated R82 000 in March and April 1985 An amount of R75 782 was allegedly misappropriated in January 1986 and R71 780 repaid, leaving a balance of R3 901,65.

Mr J F Kruger appeared for the Hahn Family Trust

# Funeral 'can show solidarity'

The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) yesterday called on all Witbank businessmen to attend the civic funeral this weekend for the three victims of the town's bombing earlier this week.

Fida's president, Mr John Gogotya, launched the appeal in the belief that their presence would show that all South Africans, irrespective of race, were appalled by these acts of terror.

"This united front will also show that all citizens support democracy and that South Africans are determined to seek a solution to the country's problems through non-violent means," Mr Gogotya said in a statement. — Sapa.

# Explosive device found

MBABANE — More than 200 travellers were evacuated from a Swaziland-South Africa border post yesterday afternoon when police found an explosive device in a telephone booth

The device was found at the Oshoek border post and was apparently wired to a telephone at the border gate.

All border traffic was halted and the area cleared before a policeman removed the device. Traffic resumed a few minutes later — Sapa.

# Ian MacPherson of Saan dies

Mr Ian MacPherson, a former chairman of South African Associated Newspapers (now Times Media Limited), died in Johannesburg on Wednesday after a brief illness

Mr MacPherson, who was 73, was born in Johannesburg.

He was a captain in the SAAF during World War 2

"He was a great character and his death is a sore loss to his many friends and to the business world to which he made a huge contribution," Mr Max Borkum, a former president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, a former partner and a close friend of Mr MacPherson said yesterday.

He is survived by his wife, Heather, and three children

The funeral service will be held at 3 pm on Monday at St Martin-in-the-Veld Church, Dunkeld.


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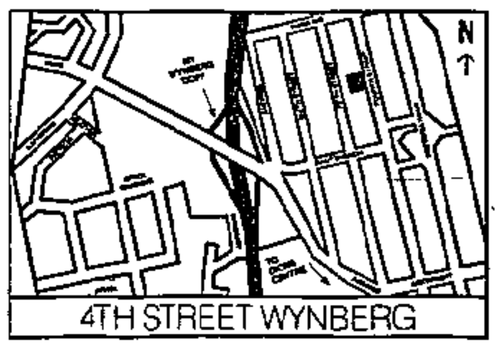


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# Results show potential for consensus

# Many support talks with ANC

Star 25/10/87

304A

By Lawrence Schlemmer,
Centre for Political Studies.

**Professor Schlemmer, one of South Africa's best known political scientists in the field of testing public opinion, was invited by The Star to monitor, analyse and comment upon its long-planned and extensive "metropolitan people's poll". Here is the second of three instalments, setting out his analysis.**

On the basis of the scan of results presented in The Star's survey, the situation in SA might appear to be one of intractable and fundamental conflict.

Surprisingly, however, other issues reveal what might be the beginning of or at least a potential for growth towards consensus. Our standard for identifying these issues is where a substantial proportion (over one-third) of population groups who would be expected to take an extreme position on an issue endorse views supported by majorities in other groups.

The following trends are significant:

- Majorities of nearly 6 out of 10 or more in all groups reject the division of South Africa into self-governing racial territories. Among Afrikaners 55 percent rejected the suggestion.
- More than 6 out of 10 across the spectrum support the constitutional protection of "group rights".
- The protection of individual rights is more clearly understood and supported by over 8 out of 10 in all sections of the population.

## New constitution

- On the design of a new constitution there may be possibilities of agreement. Only some 3 out of 10 Africans insisted on a single chamber non-racial Parliament with a majority party in control Between 40 and 60 percent of people in all groups endorsed compromise options.
- On the issue of whether the ANC should be involved in negotiations, there clearly are strongly opposing views. Surprisingly, however, over one-third of Afrikaans-speakers and over 40 percent of all coloured people and Indians, as well as 46 percent of whites and National Party supporters would seem prepared to countenance the ANC's involement in negotiations under certain conditions, presumably the cessation of sabotage and violence. The conflict around the issue must not be underestimated, however, since 4 to 6 out of 10 whites are categorically opposed to dealing with the organisation

Star 25/10/87

- There seems to be a clear-cut majority position to sanctions and disinvestment across the spectrum of population groups and political affiliations, with the possible exception of African graduates.

## Defence and security

- On issues of defence and security the replies are complex. There is no majority in favour of an increased presence on South Africa's borders. More than a third in all categories, including Afrikaners, and over 45 percent of NP supporters favour a de-escalation of border tension.
- A rather surprising result is that less than 12 percent of respondents, from the far right to the far left, believe that national service should be compulsory for whites only. Compulsory service for all races is favoured far more by everyone, although the bulk of Africans support voluntary service.
- No category of respondents except the white right-wing opposition has a majority which favours tougher legal restrictions and police action to secure internal stability Socio-economic and political reform on its own or in combination with security control, is the dominant position from Government supporters right across to the left. Obviously Africans favour reform without coercive control but over 40 percent of whites and over one-third of National Party supporters endorse reform alone as a route to stability.
- A welcome sentiment, endorsed by at least nearly 7 out of 10 people or more from the far right to the far left is that government should spend as much on a black child's education as on that of a white child. Almost similar consensus exists for the same curricula for all children irrespective of race. Neither Christian National Education nor People's Education seems to have much appeal.
- Another surprising finding is that some 50 percent or more in all groups, irrespective of political persuasion, consider that newspapers should not be restricted but rather left to operate under normal laws of the land.
- On the tempo of political change and reform one would expect very wide polarisation Great differences there are, but people are not as radically opposed as one might expect. Obviously most African people want an immediate shift to a non-racial system but this justifiable impatience is expressed by no more than between 5 and 6 out of 10 A *gradual* change to an open society, on the other hand, would be accepted by the very substantial remainder of over 40 percent.
- At the same time, however, the results also show that over one-quarter of whites and over 40 percent of Afrikaans-speakers want a return to the principles of separate development. The crucial dividing line in our politics, therefore, runs through the white community.

**By Patrick Lawrence**

Seven in every 10 people in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand complex believe that negotiations should be held with the African National Congress.

On the future of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, 40 percent — easily the biggest single response — want him released unconditionally.

These findings emerge in a survey of public opinion on what should be done to save South Africa from possible disaster It was conducted by Marketing and Media Research and commissioned by The Star.

A small majority of those in favour of negotiation with the ANC — 37 percent against 33 percent — think that negotiations should be held under certain conditions only

Faced with a three-fold choice between ending the restrictions on outlawed organisations, removing them under certain conditions and maintaining them, nearly four in 10 of the more than 1 050 respondents favour unbanning

Another third support conditional unbanning; against a third who want the prohibitions maintained.

Nearly half, 47 percent, of National Party (NP) supporters want Mandela to be released under certain conditions.

Coincidentally, on the left of the NP — in the ranks of organisations ranging from Inkatha through the Progressive Federal Party to the Labour Party — the same proportion are in favour of Mandela's conditional release

But there is an important difference between the NP and the parties on its immediate left while only a tenth of the NP's supporters favour his unconditional release, four in 10 of those supporting parties to the left of the NP favour unqualified release.

The strongest demand for his unconditional freeing comes from people on the NP's far left — from the outlawed or restricted extra-parliamentary opposition.

Eight in every 10 people in the extra-parliamentary opposition demand Mandela's immediate release.

Support for unconditional release is strongest among households who speak an African language (nearly 80 percent) and weakest in Afrikaans-speaking households (less than a tenth)

Support for unconditional lifting of orders proscribings opposition organisations is highest among African language households (nearly three-quarters) and lowest in Afrikaans-speaking households (less than a tenth).




This is a guide to how, when and where The Star's survey was conducted and by whom.

UNIVERSE: All residents of voting age in Johannesburg, Soweto, East and West Rand Pretoria and surrounding townships, representing about 6 million people

SAMPLE SIZE: 1 052 men and women aged 18 and over

TIMING: Conducted between August 9 and August 22 1988

SAMPLING METHOD: Area stratified random sampling based on household statistics from "Towns of South Africa" (Davies, Bristow and Associates) This is a scientific sampling method whereby every person in the defined universe has an equal chance of being selected for the sample — hence the sample is representative of the people in the above metropolitan complex

INTERVIEW METHOD: "Secret ballot" type questionnaires in which no identification was required The questionnaires were of the self-completion type and were in the language of the respondent's choice (illiterates were interviewed face-to-face) Respondents placed the questionnaires into self-sealed envelopes and these placed into sealed boxes. Election predictions and opinion polls conducted in the past using this interview method have had good predictive validity

CONDUCTED BY: Marketing and Media Research

PROCESSED BY: Markanal (Pty) Limited




# Big security operation will protect voters

Star 25/10/88

**By Craig Kotze and Toni Younghusband**

**A massive operation by security forces country-wide to prevent disruption of the municipal elections moved into top gear today as voters prepare to go to the polls tomorrow.**

This follows a spate of terror blasts in the country, the latest at a Wimpy Bar in Potchefstroom this morning. Yesterday a car bomb in Witbank killed two men and injured 42 other people.

Nobody was injured in the 7 am Potchefstroom Wimpy blast, which happened in the Eland building just before peak hour, police said

Brigadier Leon Mellet, press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, said security forces were operating on all fronts — at polling booths and on the intelligence front, building up information on possible terrorist activity -- to make polling day safe for the public.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan last night warned neighbouring states not to allow their countries to be used as springboards for attacks on South Africa

## Protection

Those which did so should not "whine" when South Africa's security forces went to remove terrorists from their territories, he said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu condemned the explosions, saying that while he regarded the struggle to end apartheid as legitimate, violent methods were "abhorrent in moral terms and counter-productive in practical terms".

Brigadier Mellet said: "We are moving into top gear with plans, made long in advance, to prevent disruption of the elections."

A black woman was still in a serious condition today after the Witbank blast.

The Witbank bomb went off at 8.14 am outside the NBS building near the OK Centre parking lot, on the corner of Delville and Botha streets. It caused damage estimated at about R2 million

Mr Elias Masina of Ackerville died shortly after he was admitted to the Witbank Hospital. Mr Jacob Samuel Matsuka (47) of Linville died at the scene.

The hospital superintendent, Mr W Snyman, said a woman was transferred to Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital where she underwent plastic surgery.

A Tembisa Hospital spokesman said that Miss Prieska Vilakazi, who was transferred from Witbank to Tembisa yesterday, was in a stable condition.

The bomb went off within metres of an office block housing SAP detectives and security police personnel.

Had the bomb gone off 15 minutes later, when the shops opened, hundreds of people could have been killed or injured.

The most serious damage was to the NBS, the consulting rooms of a doctor and a furniture store. Eighteen cars were damaged.

Police said they had not yet identified the explosives used in the blast.

According to hospital sources, 23 of the injured were white and 19 black.

Police said that among the seriously injured was a woman who had her left foot blown off above the ankle.




Inset: The force of yesterday's blast flung the stolen Co wreck of Dr Peter Clark's new Mercedes Benz which was pa

## In hospital

The names of those admitted to the Witbank Hospital were Mr Elias Masina (who later died), Ms N Coetzee, Mrs C Horn, Mr O D J Jonker, Mrs E Pinkham, Mrs S J Prinsloo, Ms N P Snyman, Mr J J Verheen, Miss K Pitzer, Mr J J Ladeira, Mr L G Ladeira, Mr J Heunis, Mr P J Viljoen, Miss C E M Trollop, Mrs Booyens, Ms B D Vorster, Ms A le Roux, Ms S Bath, Ms M Joubert, Ms R Strilingh, Ms M du Plooy, Mr M Groenewald, Mrs J van Heerden, Mr Pasca Vilakazi, Mr Simon Nkosi, Mr Nelson Mfombo, Ms Gladys Nkomo, Ms Wilhelmna Tafona, Mr James Radebe, Joachin Masulu, Mr Moses Tshabalala, Ms Brenda van Rooyen, Ms Violet Lewiseh, Mr K Nkosi, Mr C Mngomezu, Mr Richard Mngumi, Ms Emma Masilela, Ms Susan Ngubeni, Ms Betty Makula, Ms Johanna Thwala, and an unknown black woman.

Witnesses said they were told by police that at least 30 kg of explosive was packed into the vehicle.

The explosion followed a series of terror incidents on Friday and over the weekend.

● See Page 3

# Doc ready until the b

By Tim Cohen

"There is going to be a fight and my gloves are off. I am going to fight to the bitter end," South African Rugby Board chairman Dr Danie Craven said at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Chile last night.

Dr Craven was referring to next month's meeting of the SARB which may split over his talks with the ANC.

He said he had not contacted any of the other board members and wanted the board's Novembe "where everyone can have i it from there."

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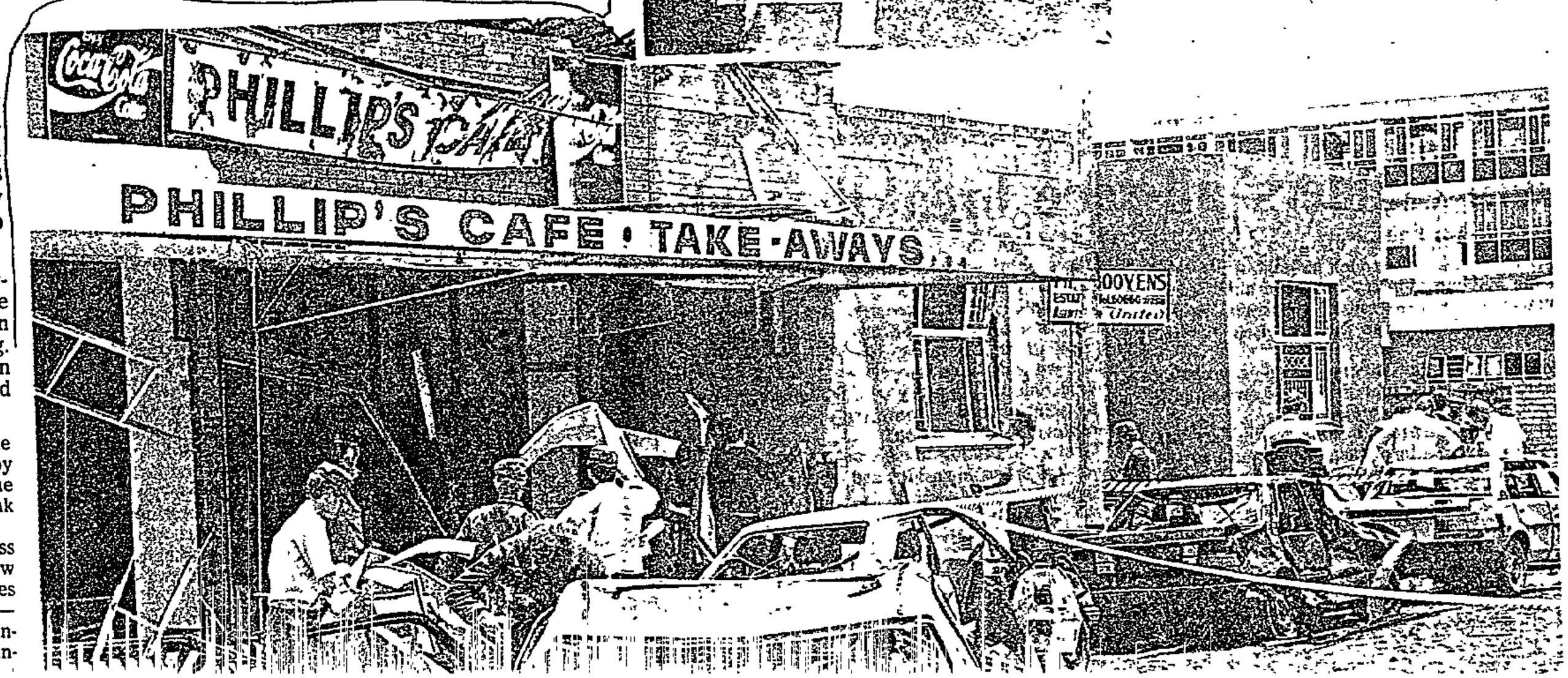
"We are hoping that next interference from anybod year of total integration," he

## Resti

The Star is being produ tions of the emergency

after wave of terror attacks

# security ration will tect voters




## Helluva noise, says doctor

A Witbank doctor, Dr Peter Clark, thought there was something suspicious about the white Cortina parked carelessly outside his Delville Street surgery at about 8 am yesterday.

Ten minutes after he parked his new Mercedes Benz next to the car, Dr Clark heard "a helluva noise" as buildings shook for three blocks. He did not go into his "white rooms" yesterday morning, instead he walked to the black section of his racially-segregated surgery, which probably saved his life.

The clock inside the devastated "white" surgery had stopped at 8.14 am Dr Clark ran out of the building to see employees from the corner NBS building running and screaming into the streets

"Some of the people were untreatable — I think at least three. The black security guard inside the NBS was dying and another black woman's lower leg had been severed," said Dr Clark.

He said he treated several people for glass in their eyes and minor cuts.

Dr Clark said it was a miracle the estate agent sharing the building with him was alive. The passage through which Mrs T Pinkham walked as the blast occurred was buckled and strewn with glass and debris.

"In retrospect, the car looked suspicious, but people stop there to draw money and so I did not act on it."

A pawnshop owner, Mr Chris du Plessis, whose shop stands two blocks from the blast area, said he knew immediately he heard the explosion it was a bomb. He described how his shop shook.

"I ran out and saw debris flying through the air and people running, crying and shouting. I called the police but they were already on their way."

Mr Eric Viana, the service manager at a video hire store, said the ceiling of his shop lifted at least 5 cm. "I thought the building was going to take off. You cannot explain how bad it is. When you see it happening on television, you have no idea how shocking it really is," Mr Viana said.

Two blocks away from the blast, Miss San Pereira's fiancé, Mr Carlos Silva, feared the worst when he heard the blast and realised his intended bride was very close to the scene. He rushed to the area but was stopped by police and for a frantic half an hour he did not know whether his fiancée was alive or dead.

The Witbank Magistrate's Court, only half a block from the car bomb site, had most of its windows blown out.

"We thought we must be a target, too, so we all ran out of the building as fast as we could," said a court official.

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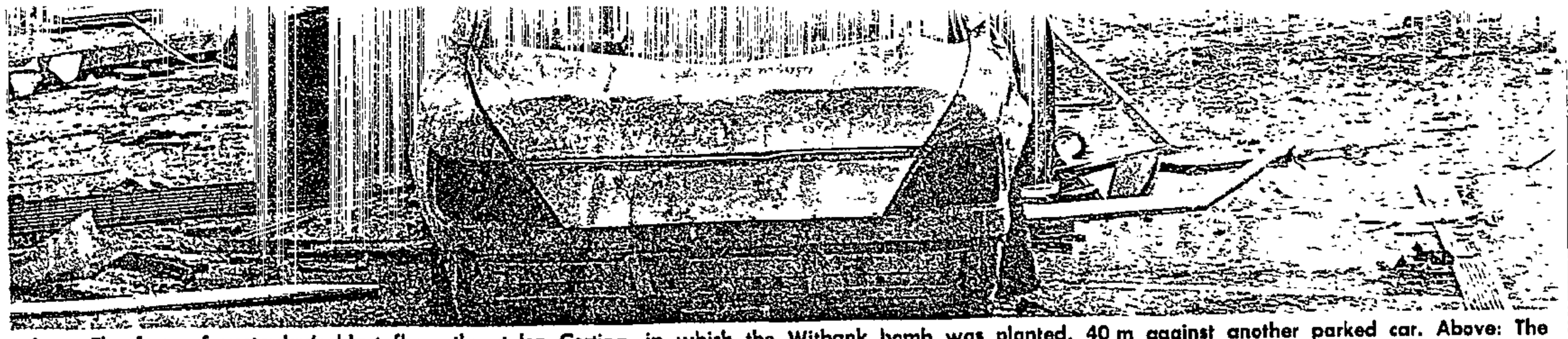

Inset: The force of yesterday's blast flung the stolen Cortina, in which the Witbank bomb was planted, 40 m against another parked car. Above: The wreck of Dr Peter Clark's new Mercedes Benz which was parked alongside the car containing the bomb. ● Pictures by Stephen Davimes.

identified the explosives used in the blast.

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Police said that among the seriously injured was a woman who had her left foot blown off above the ankle.

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By Tim Cohen

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Dr Craven ... "1 000 percent against violence".

Dr Craven was referring to next month's meeting of the SARB which may split over his talks with the ANC.

He said he had not contacted any of the other board members and wanted the board's November 11 meeting to be an open one "where everyone can have their say and then we can take it from there."

He said his party had the approval of the whole executive of the board to go through Africa "but just because it did not mention that there could be ANC members, now people are saying they didn't give us permission to work with the ANC.

"But I am not working through the ANC. People want to believe badly of the whole affair and not look at the positive side."

Asked for his reaction to yesterday's Witbank bomb blast he said he was "1 000 percent" against violence of that nature.

"We are hoping that next year we will be one body without interference from anybody else. Next year must be the year of total integration," he said.

## Restrictions

**The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.**

# Polls will be pointer to path of the future

Star 25/10/88

By Esmare van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Voters go to the polls tomorrow in municipal elections which will be a pointer to future political directions.

Polling booths open at 7 am and close at 9 pm.

Transvaal results are expected from about 11 pm tomorrow, with last results by Friday.

All parties wound up months of intensive campaigns last night.

● The State President, Mr P W Botha, made a strong call for South African solidarity in the face of economic and political problems.

● The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Zach de Beer, urged voters to support the party's policy of hope, and confidence as opposed to the racial fear and despair of the NP and CP.

● CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht reiterated the party's policy of racial separatism and the right of Afrikaners to be go-


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whether to give my order direct to t
host which dishes I'd like. But I'm
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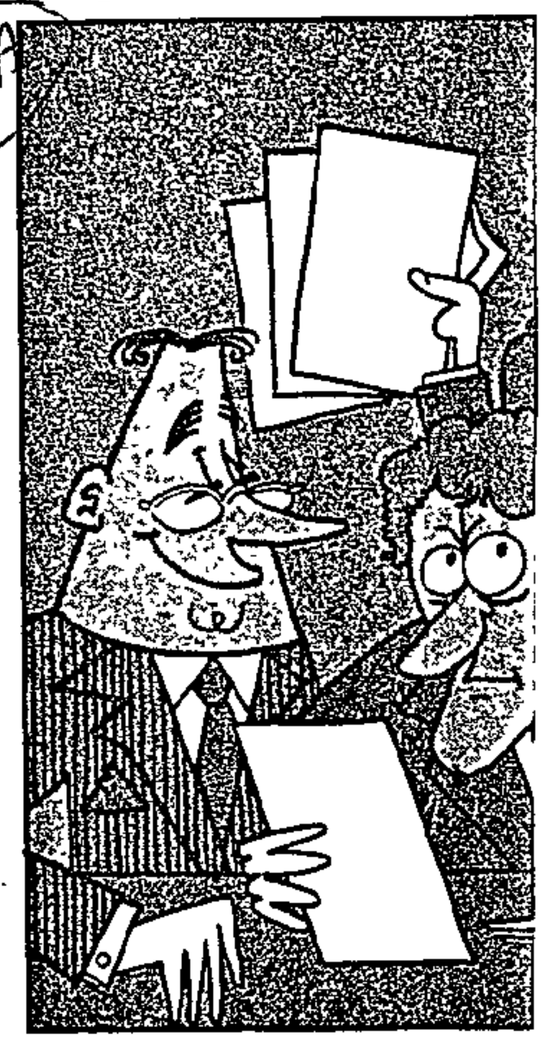

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Mills

# Prior voting a success in black areas

Municipal Reporter

THE Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) claimed yesterday that prior voting in the Cape had been so successful that "any rumours of the elections being a failure" had been "squashed".

Some black areas would be reasonably represented even without today's voting, it said

Groups opposing the elections, including the UDF, are unable to respond to these claims in the press because of government restrictions

Dr Annelie Rabie, a public relations officer for the provincial administration, said in a press release yesterday that 20,9% of the 264 562 registered black voters in Cape wards where elections were being held had already cast votes.

"This in itself is a significant percentage in view of the historic tendency of municipal elections to record low voting percentages," she said.

In the Western Cape, where elections were being held at seven black towns, 27 265 or 36% of the 75 589 registered voters in wards where voting was happening had already cast votes.

She did not mention that Khayelitsha, which has a total population officially estimated yesterday at some 200 000, is the only Cape Town township where voting is taking place. It has 67 000 registered voters, 35% of whom have already voted, according to figures before a court this week

A possibility exists that the Khayelitsha election may be declared invalid if the Appellate Division upholds a recent Supreme Court decision setting aside the separation of the Khayelitsha local authority from the Ikapa one, which runs the other black Cape Town suburbs.

In Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and Crossroads there will be no election because not enough candidates could be found.

In the Northern Cape, Dr Rabie said, the average black voting percentage was 45,3% so far. One town recorded a 76,5% vote.

In the Eastern Cape, excluding the 144 342 voters of Ibhayi at Port Elizabeth, 21 towns recorded an average percentage poll of 46,3% of registered voters, she said.

This was an "exceptional achievement", considering that two years ago the councillors of 42 local authorities resigned because of the actions of "leftist elements".

The CPA said 16 different coloured management committees in the Cape had registered a prior voting percentage of over 61%; and 19 white councils already had percentage polls between 21% and 30%.

Black polling booths open today at 7am and close at 9pm. Others open at 8am and close at 7pm, unless other times have been fixed by local authorities

The first results are expected to come in at 10pm tomorrow.

Tomorrow's Cape Times will carry most of the results and an assessment of how the voting went.

Liquor outlets will be open for business as usual today

# Police guard 'guns down candidate'

PORT ELIZABETH — A candidate in today's Ibhayi City Council election was fatally wounded by an Ibhayi policeman early yesterday morning, police said.

PE People's Party candidate Mr Morris Zipotete Thomas, 35, was shot outside his Zwide house.

There are as yet unconfirmed reports that an Ibhayi municipal policeman, who was on guard at Mr Thomas's house, was shot in the head. Police said the matter was under investigation.

A 30-year-old member of the Ibhayi municipal police appeared briefly in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with the death of Mr Thomas.

He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to November 23

According to Mrs Nozuko Thomas, the wife of Mr Thomas, her husband went to investigate after he had been woken by shots fired outside his house

"After he had opened the back door we heard him calling for help, saying: 'They have shot me', before he collapsed."

"I noticed a municipal policemen who had been guarding the house standing outside the door of the kitchen. He said he had been shot in the head," Mrs Thomas said.

Police said Mr Thomas was allegedly shot when he went to an outside toilet about 12 25am.

"Shortly after midnight, Mr Thomas left his house, apparently to go to an outside toilet," police said.

"A person was seen moving around in the backyard of the house by a guard, who allegedly thought the person was an assailant. Shots were fired."

# Vote, urges Assocom

JOHANNESBURG. — The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry appealed to the business community yesterday to be aware of its stake in the outcome of the local government elections today.

It said that whatever the personal views of businessmen in regard to the elections in general, or in relation to particular political parties or groupings, the business community had to make its influence felt by voting in the elections.

"Local and regional authorities are rapidly becoming a focal point for both national and local issues and are a sphere in which business can have a positive impact on the quality of government.

"Where practicable, and if requested, businesses should give employees sufficient time off from work to cast their votes, and to use to good effect the corporate vote available to them. — Sapa

# Randburg a test for PFP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PFP's political future is on the line in today's Randburg town council elections

PFP claims that it has largely overcome the crushing setbacks of last year's general election will be severly tested in this town and the adjoining northern suburbs of Johannesburg

In 1982 the PFP won Randburg, but lost control after a series of resignations. The chairman of the town's NP-controlled management committee, Mr Frans Lourens, believes that debacle and the NP's smooth administrative record have all but killed off the PFP's chances.

Complicating the local election scenario is the CP, which has put up three official candidates for the first time The NP already has two unopposed candidates and the PFP one. Seven seats are needed to control Randburg's 13-ward council, one of the few municipalities not to be enlarged by delimitation.

PFP leader Mr Andre Jacobs believes the CP will fail to take any wards and are only of "nuisance value".

The PFP is in with a definite chance, he says.

# TODAY's first nationwide local government poll — which takes place against a backdrop of bombs, protests and a national security alert — has developed into a battle on two clearly divergent fronts.

In the contest for the 530 white local authorities, the bitter fight between the National Party and the fast-growing Conservative Party — in the Transvaal and northern Free State in particular — will largely override other issues.

For the 2 430 coloured, 767 Indian and 2 577 black candidates, the issue is not so much who will win but what level of support the pro-participation lobby can muster.

The Commissioner of Police, Gen Hennie de Witt, assured South Africans last night that police were geared to cope with any eventuality.

## Three bombs

A huge operation by security forces countrywide to prevent disruption of the elections moved into top gear yesterday after a spate of blasts in the country.

Three bombs exploded yesterday — bringing the number of bombings this month to 22.

A policeman was slightly injured in one of the blasts in Potchefstroom yesterday, while in Parys the property of two township councillors was damaged by limpet mine explosions.

The latest blasts come after Monday's Witbank car-bomb explosion in which two men died and 42 people were injured.

Meanwhile, massive preparations were under way yesterday to post thousands of policemen at every polling station in SA.

Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet said police would present a "high profile" at polling stations.

With 7 000 posts up for grabs, today's colour-coded emergency election will be the largest in the country's history.

The government is confident that sufficiently high polls will be obtained in today's black elections to boost the flagging credibility of these local authorities.

According to the Burea of Information, 19,3% of registered black voters have already cast prior votes.

The figures given for the Transvaal are 16,5%, compared with 30,8% in the OFS, 20,9% in the Cape Province and 15,8% in Natal.

In the case of the white elections, the focus is on the Transvaal where the CP claims it will capture between 60 and 70 of the province's 84 municipalities, including Pretoria.

The National Party is confident of retaining the balance of power in Johannesburg, with the PFP determined to hang on to its 17 seats.

In the OFS, the CP says it will capture more than half of the municipalities, a claim that is disputed by the NP.

Other areas in which the the CP is expected to do well are Richards Bay and Newcastle in northern Natal, in Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape and in several Northern Cape towns.

Cape Town is likely to remain one of the few cities under liberal control after the election.

# THE CITIZEN

Cape Times 26/10/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

# Tight security for voters




Picture. DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

**POLL PLEASANTRIES:** Conservative Party candidate Mrs Lente le Roux wishes her opponent well in Ward 4 today. She opposes Cape Town's Mayor, Mr Peter Muller.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

**Staff Reporters**

AGAINST a background of controversy, thousands of voters went to heavily guarded polling stations throughout the country today in South Africa's first simultaneous local government elections.

In spite of protests against the poll and a ban on calls for boycott action, the Bureau for Information claimed today that 19,3 percent of registered black voters had recorded prior votes in the past fortnight.

Nearly 21 percent of registered black voters in the Cape cast their votes in prior voting, according to a statement by the Provincial Administration.

Elections are being held in seven black towns in the Western Cape where prior voting produced 27 265 votes out of 75 589 registered voters — 36 percent.

There is a head-on clash between the National Party and the Conservative Party in the Transvaal and Free State, amid indications that the right wing might not do as well as it predicted.

In the Western Cape the elections are largely non-party political and CP efforts are not expected to come to anything. In Cape Town a largely Progressive Federal-minded group of councillors is expected to be elected.

## Elected unopposed

Countrywide there are 3 439 seats for white councillors, 1 539 coloured, 1 851 for black and 410 for Indians.

There are 6 154 white, 2 425 coloured, 2 724 black and 739 Indian candidates.

A number of candidates have been elected unopposed while in black areas there are many wards where there have been no nominations and by-elections will have to be held.

After the tough election struggle between the National Party and the CP in the Transvaal and the Free State the CP was today not as confident that it would have a sweeping victory, especially in Pretoria.

Nationalist sources said there seemed to

the other.

The party remained confident of doing well in Johannesburg but it seemed that its efforts in Durban will be beaten off by a PFP-minded group.

The CP is especially hopeful of making breakthroughs in the Transvaal and Free State country areas but the National Party is dismissing its claims as exaggerated.

## Taunted

The CP is the only party to stand under its own colours in most municipalities in these provinces and it has taunted the NP, which has often supported local ratepayers' associations, for "running away" from the elections.

The Argus Correspondent in Durban reports that the city was set to retain its moderate government, but Richards Bay, Newcastle and Amanzimtoti could be under right-wing control tomorrow.

In Maritzburg and a number of smaller centres people sympathetic to the National Party appeared to be in line to win.

Cape Town City Council's public relations officer, Mr Ted Doman, said voting got off to a quiet start at polling stations around the city.

"I would like to remind people that our polling stations are open until 8 tonight," he added.

The first Cape Town results are expected from 10.30 tonight.

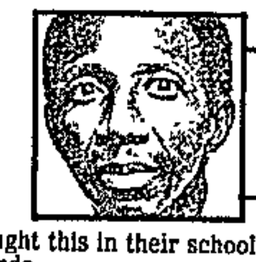
Voting began slowly and without incident at the six management committee areas

*(Turn to page 3, col 6)*

# Time ripe for nation building in S Africa

NRGS 26/10/88

304A



**These are extracts from a recent speech by AGGREY KLAASTE, left, editor of The Sowetan**

WHILE our rivals and some of our detractors wish to make believe that nation building is a flash-in-the-pan idea, I can say without equivocation that the idea took years to manifest itself.

Nation building is many things. In the final analysis it is something like a unilateral declaration of independence in style, in shift of thought and in the crucial role that blacks will play in this country's future.

After Sharpeville in 1960, the first paradigm towards a phenomenon I have been able to identify began After the first shock of the tragedy, we were thrown into uncontrollable waves of anger, which anger was just as ruthlessly smashed by the State.

In the meantime, the white communities were being told a rather different story Lulled into a sense of false security by the government and its powerful organs, white South Africa was made to believe everything was under control.

The next terrible explosion happend 16 years later, in 1976. This time the cost was much higher. People were seriously beginning to question the legitimacy of the apartheid system.

Our children caught most of the flak and became the heroes and martyrs of the struggle. It hurt and hurt badly. Once again the media and the opposition political organisations saw it as their duty to fan the silent flames systematically for the next round.

Once again the white community was told that things were under control. Law and Order only needed to be put in place for life to hum cheerfully forth.

Blacks lost many things. Worst of all we lost the innocence of our children. We also lost their respect for us.

## Phenomenal intensity

The scars of 1976 were on the way to being healed when the next conflagration struck with phenomenal intensity. That was in September, 1984 After that it became clear to me that something desperate, something unusually creative would have to be initiated.

It took the security forces and the police a longish time to deal with the violence unleashed in 1984 and onwards. They looked on with sadistic fascination as the black community was seemingly engaged in tearing itself apart.

That hurt as well, and the scars are still raw. Some of that insanity is still being played out in the shades of the lovely hillsides of Natal.

As if we were a nation accursed, there is a swing to the right in white politics which is perhaps as frightening as the necklace phenomenon of the '80s. It is in its own appalling crudity fanning race hatred. Apartheid is not dead at all No, it is about to stalk the streets of our townships in all its dreadful menace

There is therefore a holding of an angry breath in the black community. It is probably unconscious, but I can feel it in my bones. There is the silent preparation from blacks for the next inevitable explosion.

Quite clearly somebody has to do something to stop this madness. Or at least cushion the blow if or when it will fall

While the anger from the dispossessed is becoming simply too powerful to ignore, the monolith of Afrikanerdom is cracking. That has taught us, the nation builders, another bitter lesson. For if the Afrikaners had done all the things they did to build themselves, done them for all of us, for South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today.

That, I believe, is the crux of the matter

It is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to help this country from certain ruination. It is our responsibility because it is also our country, and we are after all in the majority. Even more pertinently, we have something within us, something not easily definable that makes us equal to saving this country.

It stirs in the very depths of my soul, the certainty that blacks have a unique and remarkabe humanity called *abuntu* that others do not have. We have this indescribable ethic, to forgive and to forget.

We would thus be able, after the reconstruction of collapsed power structures, to do the good things, not for ourselves, but for all South Africans.

The Afrikaners are hoist with their own historical petard. They encumbered their people with a baggage of race supremacy, an almost passionate claim to the ownership of this land and overlordship eternally over blacks. They taught this in their schools, through their religion, and by propaganda.

They kept on massaging what should have been badly bruised consciences by pointing to the general debacle in the continent.

Not that South African blacks helped to nullify this stereotype. We tend to act like Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde. One moment we are bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the baas's hand.

The next thing we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence. And more irrationally against ourselves How could the average white person have confidence, nay respect for such people?

The Afrikaner broedertwis has become a reality. The Afrikaners have revolted against the so-called reform process. In their eyes this is first a sharing of the spoils of a powerful country they believe they built solely through Afrikaner sweat and blood, and in the end of fear of handing over to violent blacks. They will have no truck with that. And who can blame them?

The more dangerous thing is that they are a very frightened people. For this reason we have studied the danger signs and something had to be done.

On some of my travels I was told by worried black South African expatriates they were tired of protest politics, of the one impotent continual cry against oppression. By some coincidence many of us feel exactly that way.

I said nation building is profoundly timeous for I fear some of my compatriots inside the country have also become battle-weary. We are tired especially that the cost in every upheaval is heavy on us

So everything seems to indicate there has got to be another movement to be spurred on. But what should it be? It has been risky. It has been very difficult to shift the focus from the political struggle

In the end we are saying to our brothers and sisters who are actively involved in the struggle that they need to build strong people A strong following of thinkers and doers. Not simply a vast number of angry and plainly dangerous people.

## Political kingdom

We say the political kingdom will look after itself. It will look after itself particularly if it has strong people behind it. We are saying that instead of fanning the flames for the next explosion, implosion in fact, let us start the building now.

Why is it possible to do the building now? For many years we have quite naturally been obsessed by politics. We have said to ourselves, to our children significantly, and to the world that the only leaders who are of consequence among us are the political leaders. That has been a shameful thing to do in many ways

Those who are politically active had to bear all the attacks from the State Many of them have died. Many of them are in exile. Many of them are in detention.

We have been asked many times to search for black leaders. We are asked in times of crisis: *Aphi amadoda*? Where are the men? The answer almost pathetically as always been that they are in jail, in detention, in exile.

What an insulting thing to say about the many black men and women who are doing excellent work that can make them wear the cap of leadership effortlessly!

Nation building is about the recognition of such leadership.

We need to have the type of black leadership that will decrease the fear in the hearts of the young Afrikaners. They are afraid of our numbers. They are convinced by the perception that we are a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by communists and other radicals

We have to show those people that when we talk of building we include them in that happy future. We have no secret agenda. We will start helping rebuild the structures in all forms in our societies.

When we run out of ideas, out of money, out of managerial skills, we will ask for help from our white friends. We are prepared to go to Pretoria and Stellenbosch University for such help.

But we will continue. The ultimate ideal is that we, who are in the majority, will build ourselves, by seeking help internally and externally for that matter, to build South Africa for all its people.

# National black ballot touches 20pc

Political Reporter

Nearly 20 percent of registered black voters have cast prior votes, the Bureau of Information said yesterday.

In the Transvaal, 16,5 percent have voted, compared to 30,8 percent in the Free State, 20,9 percent in the Cape, and 15,8 percent in Natal.

A spokesman for the bureau said these percentages referred to the number of eligible voters, and also excluded voters in wards where no voting was taking place because candidates were elected unopposed, or no nominations were received.

The total number of eligible voters was 1 464 198.

The provincial breakdown was 968 529 in the Transvaal, 25 679 in the Free State, 264 562 in the Cape, and 25 428 in Natal.

Final prior voting percentages for the other population groups were not available yesterday at the time of going to press.

● The Star's Pretoria Bureau reports that Mamelodi had received 14 205 prior votes by Saturday — the last day of prior voting — which represents 17,5 percent of registered voters.

Mr Koos Nel, the Town Clerk of Mamelodi, Pretoria, said he was happy with the figure.

He added that a percentage poll of 35 percent was hoped for. In 1983, 28 percent of voters went to the polls.

Atteridgeville, Pretoria, recorded 5 225 prior votes — 11 percent of those registered.

# Bitter election battles in P'burg, Tzaneen

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal
Bureau

As voters go to the polls in northern Transvaal towns today, there are indications that Pietersburg and Tzaneen will be the fiercest battlefields.

In both towns the election run-up has been marked by bitter verbal exchanges in the local press, and several incidents at polling stations, while three defamation cases — one in Pietersburg and two in Tzaneen — are still unresolved.

To add to the tension, the Conservative Party was granted an urgent application to stop circulation of *The Letaba Herald* in Tzaneen on Friday, when it became known that the newspaper would be reporting alleged electoral contraventions by two CP candidates.

But the editor, Mr Lukas Groenewald, said the court order had come too late to have any serious effects, as all but 500 copies of the paper had already been sold.

Tzaneen is the only country town in the Transvaal where National Party candidates are standing for election under the official party banner.

Pre-voting among whites in the far north has been brisk, with Phalaborwa (58 percent), Potgietersrus and Messina (57), Warmbaths (53), Louis Trichardt (45) and Pietersburg (42) recording the highest polling.

The black townships of Nancefield, Messina (46 percent) and Bellabella, Warmbaths (50) have also seen a steady stream of voters visiting their polling stations.

In Westenburg township near Pietersburg, 60 percent of the coloured voters have cast their votes.

The CP seems likely to be defeated in Messina and Tzaneen, while close contests are predicted in Warmbaths, Phalaborwa and Pietersburg.

But all other towns in the region are almost certain to have CP majorities.

In Naboomspruit five CP candidates are unopposed, while in Potgietersrus the rightwingers are likely to make a clean sweep of all the wards.

# 'Fair' Soweto prior-vote turnout

STW By Stan Hlophe 26/10/88

About 20 000 voters had made their crosses when prior voting closed in Soweto on Saturday, electoral officer Mr Nico Malan said yesterday.

This represented about 5,8 percent of the 347 000 registered voters, a result Mr Malan described as "fair".

If the prior-voting results are anything to go by, the 10,7 percent poll achieved in the 1983 elections will be difficult to reach — let alone surpass.

It seems, however, that this year's percentage poll will be higher than the six percent recorded in 1978 when the first black local authority elections were held.

Mr Malan was optimistic that this year's percentage would be higher than 10,7 percent.

He said that he was hoping for a 20 percent vote. (30%)

"We are quite happy at the rate things are going now and we expect more voters coming into the polls today.

"Polling will be faster than the prior voting because there won't be any forms to be filled in," he said.

Mr Malan said members of the SA Police and security forces would be on standby at the four polling stations, but he did not anticipate any problems.

Fifty-seven candidates are contesting 25 wards. Ten candidates, six of them from the Sofasonke Party, have been elected unopposed.

Mr Malan said he did not expect that the full results would be known until midnight tonight.

# Homeland policy 'dividing blacks'

BY SUE LEEMAN

LEVERKUSEN — The former Soviet ambassador to Zambia, Professor Vasily Solodovnikov, has told Afrikaner and Soviet academics meeting in this West German town that he believes South Africa is moving along the road towards a unitary state.

But in a nod to the revisionist views on nationalism now surfacing in Russia, he said attention would have to be given in South Africa to the question of different national identities.

Yesterday, the first full day of the talks, was devoted to a Soviet explanation of the concepts of glasnost and perestroika as well as a look at Russian foreign policy as it affects South Africa.

Professor Solodovnikov, a former vice-chairman of the state-run Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, said capitalism in South Africa and the existence of a single economic market coupled with urbanisation trends had "triggered a rapid process of the convergence of different ethnic groups into a single African nation".

An "overwhelming majority" of the black population, he said, had lost their ethnic identity. They considered South Africa, and not the homelands, to be their "motherland".

However, he said, the progress towards unity was far from complete.

"There are real racial, tribal and ethnic distinctions and the policy of the formation of the Bantustans attempts to highlight them and to resurrect tribal divisions."

Professor Solodovnikov admitted there was a school of Soviet thinking which held that several nations — Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana — were in the process of formation in South Africa. He did not agree with this, he said, "but on the other hand the presence of tribal, ethnic, linguistic and historical distinctions among the African majority in South Africa cannot be dismissed".

He stressed that the Soviets did not want to export their social system — a union of republics — to South Africa.

"We uphold the views of the ANC and the South African Communist Party that regard the current state of the struggle against apartheid as a stage of the national liberation struggle for a non-racial democratic state in which all nations and races would have equal rights," he said.

# Mozambique and SA must stand together — Pik

Star 26/10/88

MAPUTO — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha opened a new trade office in Maputo yesterday and presided at a memorial service for an Afrikaner pioneer who died in Mozambique 150 years ago.

Permission for the service was granted by Mozambique's Marxist-oriented government following a meeting last month between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Mozambican leader, Mr Joaquim Chissano.

The summit marked a major advance in the gradually improving relations between Mozambique and South Africa, although Mr Chissano's government continues to charge that South Africa is aiding Mozambican rebels.

The South African Foreign Minister was joined by Mozambique's Co-operation Minister General Jacinto Veloso at a ceremony inaugurating a new office for South Africa's trade mission in Maputo.

General Veloso, in a speech, said he hoped South Africa would live up to a 1984 accord in which it pledged to halt support for the rebels. He expressed hope that trade with South Africa would increase and said the new trade office "will gain even more significance as we eliminate the differences and barriers which separate us".

Mr Botha said South Africa and Mozambique, which have maintained extensive trade ties despite their adversitive relationship, "must stand together to help our peoples develop".

Earlier, Mr Botha gave a brief speech at a monument in Maputo honouring Louis Trichardt. The monument was built in the 1960s when Mozambique was a Portuguese colony.

Trichardt was one of the leaders of the Great Trek. Most of the trekkers set up communities in what is now central and northern South Africa, but Trichardt and 52 others continued into present-day Mozambique, where he died of malaria in 1838.

Mr Botha described Trichardt as "our first diplomat", saying he maintained good relations with the African chiefs through whose territory he passed. — Sapa-AP.

# Wit and goodwill abound as Boer meets Bolshevik

Star 188
26/10

By Sue Leeman
The Star's Foreign News Service

LEVERKUSEN — The man who President Botha once called the "big devil" behind the ANC was waving nothing more demonic than a pencil, and he was smiling and joking with a professor from Stellenbosch University.

Joe Slovo, leading light in the South African Communist Party and co-founder of the ANC's military wing, revealed a keen sense of humour at the opening session of the Leverkusen talks but he was more than matched by the quick-fire wit of Stellenbosch's Professor Jannie Gagiano.

As Mr Slovo posed for photos with those seated on either side of him at the conference table — poet Breyten Breytenbach and Professor Willie Breytenbach, also from Stellenbosch — he quipped ... Mr Slovo is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.

Professor Gagiano quickly capped Mr Slovo's comment to the great amusement of everyone within earshot.

Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement enjoyed a more private joke with the ANC's Jackie Selebi and Soviet Professor Viacheslav wisecracked about his female colleague Dr Irina Filatova being late.

By Sunday night more than 30 delegates had arrived at the ritzy Ramada Hotel in the heart of Leverkusen.

And as the first round of talks got under way there were repeated bursts of laughter from the conference room — a signal, perhaps, that glasnost and toenadering are bringing Boer and Bolshevik together.

## 297 detentions since September — Human Rights Commission

# Group studies Govt 'repression'

304A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

In contrast to "genuine elections ... by free voting procedures" — which the the Universal Declaration of Human Rights holds to be a fundamental freedom — the present elections take place under heavy State repression and amid a range of intimidatory actions, a report issued by the Human Rights Commission states.

The Johannesburg-based organisation, launched over a month ago, has monitored reports of election-linked repression in various parts of the country.

The foundation upon which the State built its pre-election crackdown was the banning of all activities of 17 community and political organisations in February and the continued detention of key activists, the report says.

Had these leaders not already been in detention "the number of pre-election detentions would have been significantly higher. With one or two exceptions, none of the long-term detainees were released in this period".

The commission says it knows of 297 new detentions since the beginning of September Of those whose organisational affiliation is known, 33 percent belong to youth organisations; 18 percent are students or pupils; 21 percent are members of civic organisations, and the remainder are linked to trade unions (15 percent) and church groups (13 percent).

Many of these detentions took place in co-ordinated operations, the report states. For instance, more than 20 street committee members in the Soweto areas of Naledi, Zola, Emdeni and White City were held in a single swoop; 30 civic and youth activists were picked up in several Pretoria townships on September 7 and in the Vaal 16 people were held in a three-day period.

"The State has made little attempt to disguise the fact that detentions are linked to the elections — the apparent aim being to intimidate those who oppose them," the report states. It cites as an example the detention of Soweto Methodist minister, the Rev Tom Mbabane.

"His house was raided by police looking for anti-election pamphlets and although none was found he was nevertheless detained. Police told the press that Mr Mbabane had preached against the elections and said to him that he should not allow anti-election meetings to be held in his church."

Restrictions of various kinds have reinforced the absence of an anti-apartheid leadership at election time, the report points out.

### Repeated threats

It places great emphasis on the fact that advocating a boycott of the polls was made a "subversive" activity in terms of the emergency regulations and carried a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail or a R20 000 fine.

"Although no one has actually been prosecuted under the regulations, repeated threats of court action against such vocal opponents of the election as Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Rev Allan Boesak, are clearly intended as a deterrent."

Other laws have been used to prosecute anti-election activists. In Waterval Boven, the report records, 12 youth congress members were charged with disturbing the peace and holding an illegal gathering after holding a demonstration against the polls.

Eight people in Potchefstroom and Carletonville have been charged with malicious damage to property. The charges related to anti-election graffiti.

Freedom of assembly has also been severely impaired in the run-up to the elections. The national anti-apartheid congress convened by the SA Congress of Trade Unions was banned and key figures were issued with special two-week restriction orders.

At least three rallies planned by the National Union of Mineworkers to discuss the elections were also banned.

Coercion of voters is depicted as an activity undertaken by a whole range of people. While some accusations against policemen have been made, employers, councillors and other council officials are reported to be involved in such activities.

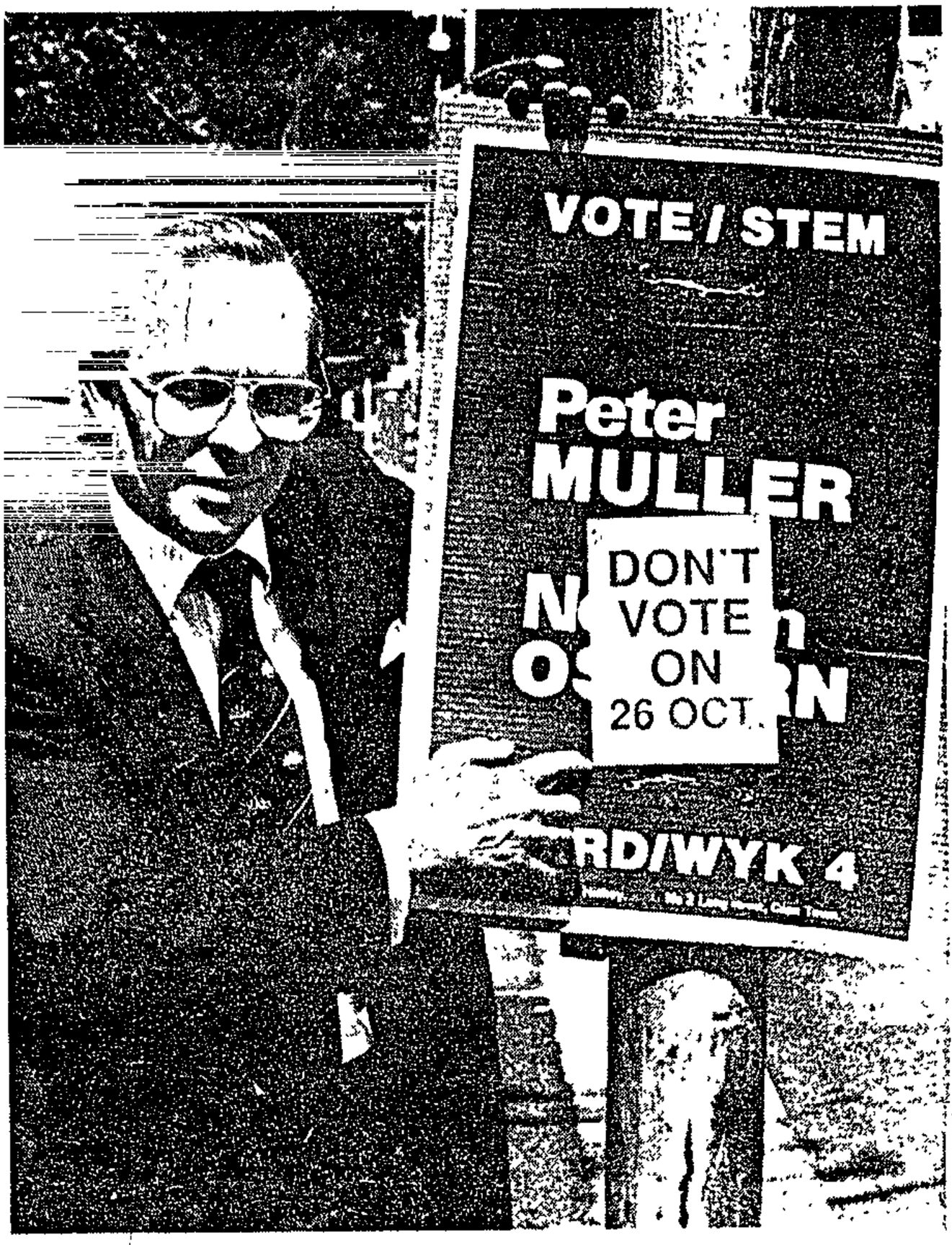
"The poorest and most vulnerable sections of the community seem to have been the main targets for coercion," the report states.

Using the words of MP Mr Jan van Eck, the report points that the 10-day prior vote period gave ample opportunity to those who wanted to "bombard, bully and cajole those poor people into voting".

Instances of coercion cited included the alleged threat to Witbank squatters that they would be prosecuted as illegal squatters if they failed to vote.

It is also reported that trade unions in Potchefstroom intervened to stop certain employers pressurising their workers to vote.

In Oudtshoorn's township of Bongolethu electricity metre boxes were allegedly removed from the homes of people who were not registered to vote. Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer denied this, saying the boxes had been installed "by mistake". Later council members, speaking through a loudhailer, allegedly told Bongolethu residents that they would "cease to exist" if they failed to vote and their services would be cut off.




**DEFACED** ... Mr Norman Osburn, running mate of the Mayor of Cape Town, with one of his election posters on which vandals have superimposed an illegal message. Mr Osburn urged voters in the Gardens area to reject racism in today's election.

Picture: GLENN SHERRATT

# E Cape township election postponed

**GRAHAMSTOWN. — The Supreme Court here has ruled that all prior votes in the municipal election in the black township of Dukathole at Aliwal North are null and void, resulting in the postponement of today's election in the township.**

**These developments follow a successful court application by three Aliwal North residents, after the local electoral officers had refused to accept their nominations as candidates for election to the Dukathole Town Council.**

**In a decision handed down in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown, on Monday, Mr Justice Van Rensburg ordered the electoral officers to accept the nominations of the three applicants.**

**The three applicants are Mr John Lietsiso, Mr John Jika, and Mr Mark Mohelepi.**

**The co-ordinator of black municipal elections in the Eastern Cape, Mr Danie Bezuidenhout, says that in the light of the court ruling, the Administrator of the Cape has decided to postpone today's election for the Dukathole Town Council. — Sapa**

# Votes, not seats, the issue

**Political Staff**

VOTES and not seats will be the overriding political factor in today's nation-wide municipal elections for more than 7 500 local representatives.

The outcome of the NP and CP battle could determine immediate government strategy and could decide the pace of the reform programme.

Political observers, divided on the prospects of the various parties agree there should be a record poll.

# 'Mandela freedom' leaflet

A leaflet that declares "A vote in the municipal elections will be a vote for Mandela's freedom" has been circulating in Reef townships.

It is purportedly issued by an organisation called Contralesa, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front.

But a spokesman for the organisation stated emphatically that Contralesa had not issued any pamphlet of the sort.

"We suspect that in the case of these pamphlets, like many others that have been issued in names of organisations, the Government is responsible."

The pamphlet declares: "Boers change their tactics. Call their bluff!

"The broad democratic alliance has learnt that the apartheid regime plans to use a poor voter turnout in the municipal elections as an excuse not to release Comrade Nelson Mandela ..."

(Sapa) B/day 26/10/88

# The importance of who controls Johannesburg

**PFP Johannesburg city councillor PAT ROGERS examines what today's poll means for the city**

BEYOND all the rhetoric, does it really matter who runs Johannesburg after today's municipal election?

A lot of intelligent voters appear not to know, and some not to care. The endless political debate in South Africa seems to have produced finally a kind of numbed apathy, a silent majority hardly mindful of the slogan posters and appeals lining commuter routes.

For those who are tired of politics and don't believe they belong in city councils, it is worth recalling that the first elections for the Johannesburg municipality were nearly multi-racial. They took place after the Transvaal government published draft voting laws which did not discriminate on the grounds of race or colour.

There was immediate protest from white voters, based on an assurance in the Treaty of Vereeniging that there would be no change in the political status of blacks until some form of self-government had been granted to the conquered Boer republics.

The protesters argued that council elections were essentially political. They still are.

True, city council is not Parliament. But equally, Johannesburg is not Bloemfontein. Should it not have a different kind of team in charge, aware of wider horizons and more representative of social change and a dynamic business community?

Let's leave aside for once the enduring obsession with race, which is the dividing line in party politics. Political parties are distinguished not only by policy but by attitudes and style, and sense of values.

Increasingly the style of the National Party has become authoritarian and secretive. It knows best, on the basis on information which it is not prepared to reveal, in the national interest. It is a style which contributes to incompetence, nepotism and corruption, and which is essentially incompatible with meaningful communication.

That style, with even less justification, characterises also the management approach of the NP in local government.

Because many voters are not clear on this, or on the part played by politics in council, it is worth examining.

City councillors are elected by wards to represent the interests of the residents in the management of the city in its provision of services financed by rates and service levies. There were 47. The new council will have 51. The PFP has been the largest single party in council. However, with the support of miscellaneous "independents", the NP has had a narrow majority.

The majority party or coalition elects the six members of the management committee, where real power lies.

The mayor's role is largely ceremonial, though he also chairs the monthly meetings of the council, which may be attended by members of the public. The custom has been that each of the major parties in turn has the opportunity to nominate the mayor for election without opposition.



● ROGERS

Each councillor attends a number of committee meetings (such as health and environment) where there is generally good co-operation across party lines. But perhaps the greater part of his time is devoted to residents' queries and complaints, received directly or through residents' associations.

Politics enter at the monthly meetings of the full council, where larger issues are open to debate. Questions can be submitted beforehand for written replies at these meetings, petitions are handed in and councillors can also make a positive input through the submission of motions.

But much of the business on the agenda relates to the report of the management committe, which has come to be confined largely to routine town planning items referred for rubber stamping.

This is because the management committee has delegated powers to decide what items should be submitted to the full council. It is the PFP's contention that it has abused these powers to withhold from council items which are of public concern and should be subject to public scrutiny and discussion.

They are frequently not referred to either in the management committee's own agenda (which might alert a councillor to request attendance) but are dealt with under "general". They are then given the briefest possible mention in the minutes several weeks later — when it is too late to do much about them. The N13 tollgate, the SAAN building sale and Sunday cinemas come to mind.

The NP-dominated coalition has carried this abuse further by preventing discussion on motions which they might find embarrassing — like those dealing with park security, group areas and more open city management. Some of these have been on the council agenda since April.

They are not dealt with because time is taken up with dinner, trivia and routine business, and then the application of the guillotine.

Quite apart from policy issues, it is this closed style of management which would be changed most radically by a PFP win at the polls. One of the motions not dealt with by council makes the point.

It calls on council to recognise that it may not always be in step with public opinion and that where this can be demonstrated it should be guided by a municipal referendum. The move would need to be responsibly motivated by a petition signed by not less that 10% of municipal voters.

Predicably, the NP-dominated management committee has indicated that it will oppose the motion.

It could be the voters' turn to apply the guillotine today. A different city council could mean a different Johannesburg — not just another laager.

# Confident

Voting in Sandton got off to a slow start but candidates from all parties remained confident the day's turnout would be good.

In Ward 16, which is being contested by Independent candidate Mr Bruce Stewart, Sandtonian Mr Rafael Fredman and the only National Party candidate in Sandton, Mr Blyth Thompson, fewer than 20 voters had cast their ballots by 7.30 am.

Leader of the NP in Sandton, Mr Costa Babich, said 139 prior votes had been cast in Ward 16.

There was a heavy security presence at the polling station at the Sandton Fire Department.

There were very few voters in Eldorado Park and Lenasia this morning. There was no evidence of a work stayaway.

In Eldorado Park, voting for the South Western Management Committee was slow. One candidate in Ward 4, Mr E Pop (Ind), said only 404 people had used the prior vote system and he expected about 200 people today. There are 1 102 registered voters in the ward.

Other polling booths reported a similar situation. There are seven wards in Lenasia, each being represented by at least three candidates.

"Slow but steady" was how the town clerk of Thokoza on the East Rand, Mr H A Combrinck, described voting in the township.

In Katlehong, the town clerk, Mr Fanie Maré, said people were arriving at the polling stations in "dribs and drabs".

In Germiston, security was evident at 22 of the 23 wards as voting got off to a slow start.

In some wards, prior voting has been brisk with up to 30 percent of votes already cast.

Tension was high at the polling stations where a neck-on-neck battle is being fought between the Conservative Party and National Party candidates.

The street block around the Danville polling booth in Pretoria was cordoned off and a strong police force searched the trickle of early voters.

The ward is being contested by Mr D du Plessis (NP) and the sitting councillor Mr Japie Leeuwner (CP) who agreed that they were running neck and neck.

Polling in the centre of Witbank was slow amid stringent security two blocks away from the cordoned-off site of Monday's massive car bomb explosion.

Witbank's Town Hall, where the polling station is situated, was closed off to incoming traffic and barriers around the building prevented parking near the voting hall.

At 7.30 am fewer than 20 voters had arrived.

Candidate Mr Andrew Bennick, supported by the Conservative Party, said the car bomb might keep voters away.

Witbank's town clerk, Mr Dawie Steyn, said he was satisfied with the security at the eight polling booths.

Voters were queueing at some polling stations in Pietersburg and Potgietersrus at 6.30 am this morning, and voting there was brisk during the first hour.

In Tzaneen voting was slower, but there were many early early voters in Phalaborwa.

● See Pages 3, 11, 4M

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Sporadic bombings mar start of election

# Security blanket descends on voters

30(A Star 26/10/88

**Staff Reporters**

**Voters went to the polls today to elect councillors to more than 1 000 municipal authorities in an election marked by tight security, sporadic bombings in black townships and some school stayaways on the Reef.**

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

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

The South African Transport Services reported that occupancy on trains in the PWV area was normal and Putco said early reports indicated that services were operating normally but with a slight drop in passengers.

Putco spokesman Mr Robin Duff reported incidents of stone-throwing in Soweto this morning

Voting got off to a slow start in the western areas of Johannesburg under the heaviest security presence yet seen in the city.

Truckloads of police arrived at the Mayfair polling station as voting started and there was an army presence up to two blocks away from the booth.

Mr Ian Davidson (PFP), in Ward 14, complained that a security ban on parking near the Parkview polling booth would have a detrimental effect on voting.

In Melrose and Parkhurst, candidates reported queues when the doors opened, but candidates in Mayfair and Brixton expected little action until after work.

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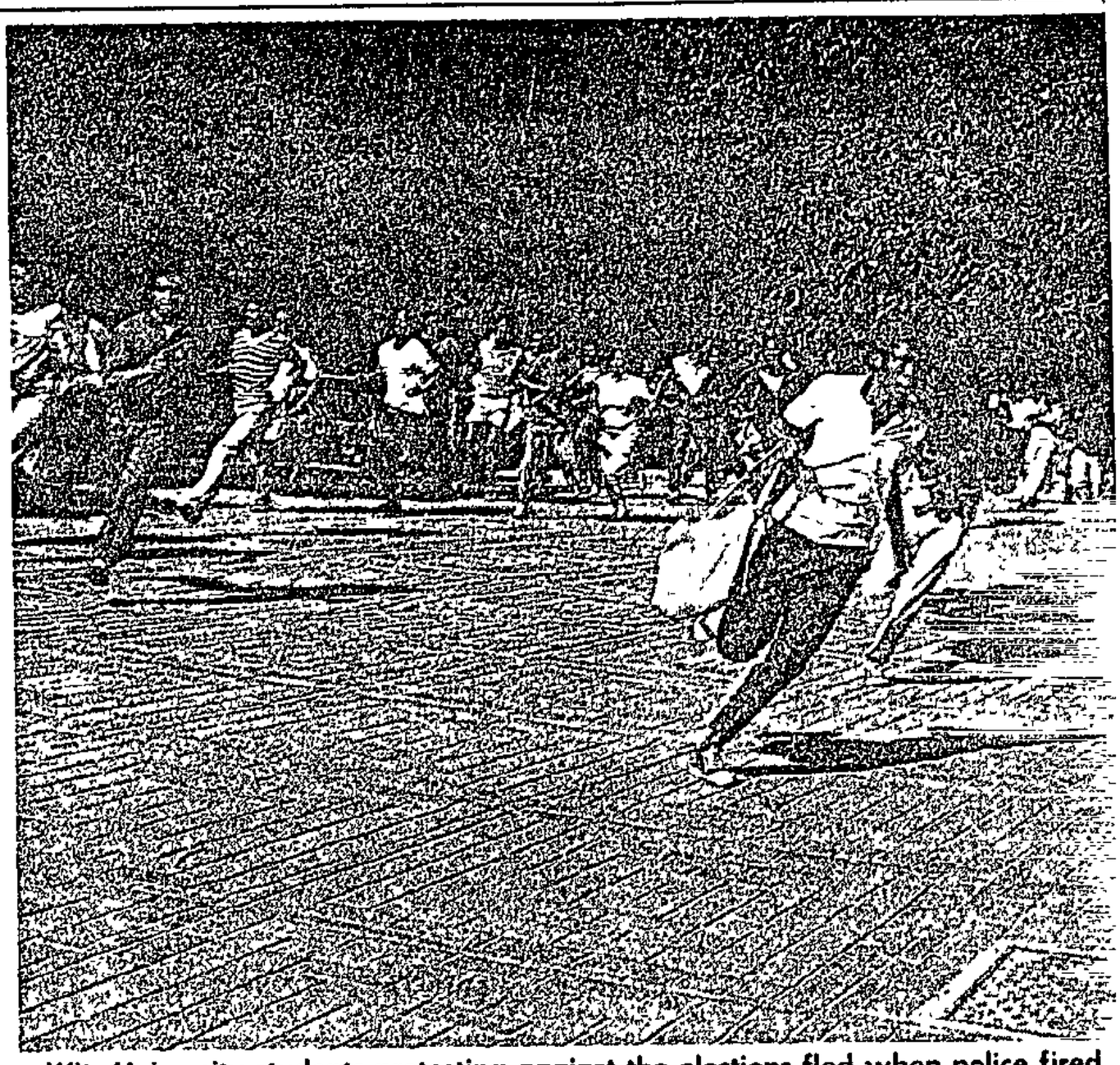
In Eldorado Park voting for the South



Wits University students protesting against the elections fled when police fired One student left a shoe behind while escaping teargas after rocks and bottles ...

# Dam faces cyanide pollution

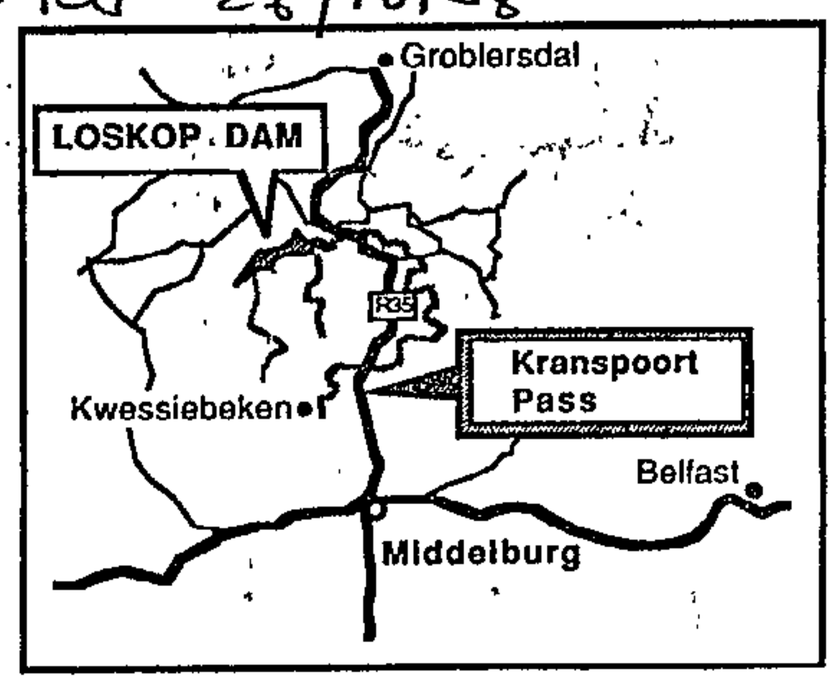
Star 26/10/88

By Therese Anders, Highveld Bureau

LOSKOP DAM — Last night emergency clean-up crews were still trying to clear the spruit which runs into the Loskop Dam of contamination by deadly poisonous calcium cyanide granules.

Some of the 230 drums containing the granules burst open when they landed in the spruit after the truck carrying the deadly cargo was involved in an accident on Monday night.

It has been estimated that between two and three tons of the dangerous chemical may have been washed into the




for SA Cyanamid, the chemical's manufacturer, said there was no danger to the local population.

A Department of

ried, but we believe that the cyanide that has been washed downstream will have been quickly diluted," he said.

# Police with whips break up demo

Cape Times 26/10/88 3064

**Staff Reporter**

POLICE using sjamboks whipped and allegedly injured 14 school children at Alexander Sinton High School in Athlone yesterday after an anti-election placard demonstration.

Liaison officer Lt Attie Laubscher said police used teargas and sjamboks after vehicles in which they were monitoring the demonstration were stoned by pupils.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who visited the school soon after the incidents, said independent accounts from different people at the school were that 14, children, some as young as 13, were "attacked and beaten" by police.

Bishop Tutu said he had sent a message to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, protesting and "asking for an explanation".

He said he was told police had entered the school premises "without any provocation at all".

Lt Laubscher disputed this, saying Alexander Sinton pupils had stoned the police vehicles.

"They left us with no option but to chase them out and we used sjamboks to do that," he said.

He said pupils had stoned police again once they were on the grounds and had also thrown a petrol bomb.

He said a policeman was slightly hurt when a stone hit him on the leg.

A senior teacher at the school said 14 children were treated for large welts and bruises by a doctor. Four children were referred to the day hospital with large welts and bruises to their faces and heads, he said.

At the nearby Belgravia Senior Secondary School police wielding quirts entered the grounds and chased a group of about 40 pupils away from the school, senior teachers said. None of these pupils was injured, they said.

# Church leaders appeal for peace on election day

Cape Times 26/10/88 (2) 30K



Rev Desmond Tutu



Rev Frank Chikane

**Staff Reporter**

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu and the Rev Frank Chikane yesterday appealed to South Africans not to allow intimidation regardless of whether they supported or opposed today's municipal elections.

They also called on the government not to provoke violence during the polling.

Both church leaders appealed to Christians to join them in day of fast and prayer for peace.

Archbishop Tutu made "the strongest possible" appeal for a day of peaceful protest, emphasising that this did not imply a call for a work stayaway.

He cancelled an overseas trip to remain in South Africa until after the elections and spent yesterday visiting schools and townships urging pupils and residents to heed the call for peace.

"I reiterate what I said when I appealed on September 4 for a boycott of the elections: People must be free to exercise their choice without intimidation on whatever side. Organisations and individuals should be free to act without fear of violence," he said.

Mr Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said he feared that "in the light of this climate of repression, and because of frustration and anger amongst the people", there could be an outbreak of violence today.

However, he urged people to observe a day of peaceful protest, saying "no one must resort to violent means especially against any fellow residents, even if they would have chosen to do what others have not chosen to do.

"Let us prove that it is not us that intimidate the people but that it is the forces of apartheid which do so," said Mr Chikane.

"We also wish to appeal to the government to restrain its security forces from creating conditions or from acting in a way that could provoke violence from, or cause violence to, people."

Archbishop Tutu's statement followed a meeting in Cape Town between church leaders and representatives of community organisations to discuss the situation created by today's elections.

"In the past such calls have often been seen as implicit appeals for work stayaways. It became clear during the meeting that this is not necessarily the interpretation being placed upon the call by democratic organisations on this occasion," said Archbishop Tutu.

"We in the church cannot speak for the community organisations They must be allowed to speak for themselves and we reiterate our past demands for free political activity so that they can articulate their views."

Mr Chikane added that the SACC was especially concerned by the wide scale of harassment and detention of people.

# Schools disrupted in nationwide stayaway

Cape Times 27/10/88 3064

Staff Reporters, Own Correspondents and Sapa

BLACK school attendance in the Western and Eastern Cape, Johannesburg, the East Rand and Durban was fairly seriously disrupted by yesterday's municipal elections, a Department of Education and Training spokesman, Mr Job Schoeman, said in Pretoria.

However, attendance at work by black employees was reported to be normal in most areas. Absenteeism was most pronounced in industrial areas around Durban and on parts of the East Rand.

Most coloured high schools in the Peninsula were deserted or had very low attendance yesterday.

Principals in the Athlone and Mitchells Plain area said attendance was exceptionally low in protest against the elections and recent police action at schools. There was no attendance at Alexander Sinton, Garlendale, Belgravia, Lentegeur and Ravensmead senior secondary schools.

Meanwhile, the Executive Director of the Department of Education and Culture, Mr Awie Muller, yesterday met the police to express his concern over action at schools.

He would not comment on the meeting.

Pupils at Alexander Sinton Secondary School were whipped on Tuesday while pupils at nearby Belgravia were chased by sjambok-wielding policemen.

In Tuesday's unrest report, police said they "took action at local schools when groups of scholars gathered illegally and threw stones at the police".

The Vaal Triangle had an attendance figure of 50% yesterday, while the rest of the country, including Pretoria, recorded normal attendances.

There was an almost total stayaway at schools in Soweto and Lenasia.

Mr Peet Struwig, regional director of the Department of Education and Training, said there was minimal attendance at Soweto schools.

Residents in Lenasia also reported a strong pupil stayaway and said that even primary school children had remained at home. Nirvana Secondary School had no pupils yesterday, while Lenasia Secondary School reported only a 27% attendance.

At Wits University, where demonstrating students clashed with police on Tuesday, most black students stayed away and absenteeism varied from 10% to 100% depending on department.

Most workers on the Reef went to their jobs.

A spokesman for OK Bazaars said more than 90% of employees had come to work. A Checkers spokesman said stores in all areas had normal attendance, except those in Johannesburg North, where a 5% absenteeism was reported.

The giant steel manufacturer, Highveld Steel and Vanadium, said there was no stayaway by its employees. Major mining houses and both Iscor and Eskom also reported normal attendences.

Large companies in the Vaal Triangle, including the Vaal Transport Company and Sasol, said attendance was normal. A Sasol spokesman added that the company's Secunda plants were also operating normally.

The Town Clerk of Alberton, Mr J J Prinsloo, said the municipal staff turnout was between 60% and 80%.

In Durban many people stayed away from work and some shops and schools were deserted in several black townships.

Hundreds of people stayed away from work in Umlazi, Lamontville, Chesterville and KwaMashu.

In KwaMashu and Umlazi, OK and Checkers were closed. Taxis in KwaMashu were not operating and ranks were deserted.

About 85% of workers at Dunlop's Durban plant did not arrive for work.

Senior schools in KwaMashu and Lamontville were deserted. Residents in Umlazi said pupils were chased out of classrooms by a group of people.

Nats say CP contained

# High white turnout in Transvaal

ATTENTION in yesterday's first national municipal elections centred on the Transvaal, where the NP and CP were locked in a titanic struggle for control of the province's more than 100 white local authorities.

NP leaders confidently predicted before polls closed last night that they had largely contained the predicted CP landslide.

But while white voters streamed to the polls in the biggest municipal turnout ever, voting in black, coloured and Indian areas around the country was generally quiet, although the Bureau for Information said the black prior vote poll had reached 19%. The white turnout in most areas was more than 50% and went as high as 70% in some.

Police also reported an upsurge in unrest incidents around the country.

In many Transvaal towns, it became apparent last night that the NP, mostly supporting independents, was putting up a stronger fight than originally anticipated.

But the CP seemed set to make major gains in the Vaal triangle, the West Rand, northern and western Transvaal. In the Free State, NP spokesmen were optimistic that although the CP might win as much as 40% of the vote, it would not win more than a few isolated towns.

The NP was expected to maintain its hold on Pretoria. In Johannesburg, indications were that the PFP was holding its own against the NP and could make some modest gains.

PETER DELMAR

Top Johannesburg NP sources were yesterday afternoon privately revising their estimates of how many of the city's 51 seats they would win from more than 30 to between 26 to 28, barely enough to give the NP a working majority.

The CP, however, seemed set to capture their first seats on the Johannesburg City Council.

Johannesburg PFP leader Tony Leon said the PFP appeared to be holding its own and doing well in some areas while NP leader Danie van Zyl said he thought his party would emerge with a majority.

In Randburg, where a close fight was taking place between the NP and CP, NP leader Frans Lourens said the NP would retain its 8-5 majority.

## Outcome

The PFP appeared to be edging out the non-political grouping the Sandtonians in Sandton, where they claimed a lead in three of the four wards where the parties were contesting one another.

The NP was fighting a neck-and-neck battle with the CP in the Vaal Triangle, with observers particularly interested in the outcome of the elections in Vereeniging, National Education Minister and Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk's home constituency.

Two other wards in the Vaal Triangle, Development Aid Minister Gerrit Vil-

● To Page 2

High white turnout in Transvaal polls

joen's Vanderbijlpark and CP MP Koos van der Merve's Overvaal, witnessed a similar tussle, with the NP and the CP confident of victory.

Questioned whether the CP still considered its pre-election boast that it would control 60 of the Transvaal's 84 municipalities was feasible, CP spokesman Jan Opperman said it would definitely take over two-thirds of the province's 12 RSCs.

NP Transvaal secretary Lucas Nel predicted a number of surprises on the province's platteland, including Warmbaths, Tzaneen and Messina.

He said he was confident the NP would retain its majority in Pretoria.

□ Our Correspondent reports from Durban that more than 28 000 people had voted for the new Durban City Council by late yesterday.

● From Page 1

Just before voting closed last night indications were that the Durban 2000 Group and other independents could win the fight to prevent an NP takeover of the council.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that a city council spokesman said voting had been brisk generally throughout the Cape Province but it was too early for any idea of how the various parties had fared.

□ Our Correspondent reports from Port Elizabeth that early voting there and in Uitenhage and Grahamstown was slow. Some candidates put the small turnout down to prior voting and bad weather.

# Mafia man 'offered to pay for NP election campaign'

Staff Reporter

**JAILED Mafia drug trafficker Vito Palazzolo offered to pay the entire costs of the National Party's election campaign in East London City last year, Mr Peet de Pontes has told the Harms Commission.**

The MP said he turned down the offer, but he later accepted a R42 000 loan for the National Party and a R50 000 personal loan from a firm controlled by himself and Palazzolo.

The Harms Commission, sitting at the NGK synod hall, is inquiring into alleged cross-border irregularities by South Africans following the findings of two commissions in Transkei which probed corruption in the homeland.

Mr de Pontes, who was recently suspended from the National Party, told the commission he had rejected Palazzolo's offer to fund his successful bid for re-election in May last year.

However, the election campaign had problems later with an overdrawn bank account and he accepted a R42 000 loan for the National Party.

The loan was from Papillon International, a firm set up by him and Palazzolo, and the cheque was cashed on June 9, about one month after the election.

## Allowance

Mr de Pontes said he also accepted a R50 000 personal loan from the same company.

He handed in acknowledgments of debt for the amounts as exhibits to the commission.

Mr Justice Harms asked Mr de Pontes where Papillon International obtained the money for the R50 000 loan.

"According to papers, the funds come directly from overseas, but there's no record of it being set free by the Reserve Bank and there's no indication Palazzolo had another source of income," the judge said.

Mr de Pontes said he did not know about Palazzolo's dealings with the Reserve Bank but suggested it could be part of the R100 000 allowed to immigrants when they entered the country.

He said that when he helped Palazzolo apply for a residence permit in South Africa he did not know Palazzolo was a Mafia member, and there was still no proof.

He learned Palazzolo was in jail when he arrived in Switzerland with East London Mayor Mr Robert de Lange, who had arranged for him to meet Palazzolo.



Mr Peet de Pontes leaves court.

He was shown a translation of a judgment that indicated Palazzolo had been covicted for handling funds which were later suspected to have been used in drug transactions.

Mr de Pontes said Papillon bought a Mercedez Benz for R61 000 for his use and it was still in his possession.

## Luxury cars

Earlier in the day Warrant Officer Andre Fouche of the SAP Narcotics Branch told the commission Palazzolo had received a tax rebate of more than R80 000 on a luxury German car through the help of Mr de Pontes.

In an affidavit made to customs officials in support of a tax rebate for four luxury cars belonging to the Palazzolo family, Mr de Pontes said as far as he knew, each member had "owned and used" the cars.

In documentation Palazzolo declared his car had been bought in December 1985, whereas he was in jail from 1984 to December 1986, said Warrant Officer Fouche, and could not have used it.

Mr de Pontes said his own name and address had been used for the four cars and Palazzolo's furniture, because the Palazzolos did not want their end destination known.

The cars had been undervalued for tax reasons in Germany.

The Palazzolos had not known they had to pay sales tax on the vehicles, Mr de Pontes said in his statement.

CITY NATIONAL

# Children 'totally untrained to face the new S Africa'

DURBAN. — Many young whites started school as unthinking children and left as unthinking adults with no political sensitivity.

So said Dr Chris Saunders, chairman of the Tongaat-Hulett Group, in an address to teachers, boys and parents at Glenwood High School's annual speech and prizegiving ceremony.

"Somehow the straitjacket and group determination of our educational system has got to be discarded, and more thinking, more creative and, above all, more tolerant attitudes adopted," he said.

"What is the use of the knowledge we have pumped into our children and the skills they use on the playing fields if they leave school totally untrained to deal with the problems of the new and emerging society of South Africa?'

Dr Saunders pointed out that by the turn of the century, when the boys could possibly be parents themselves, black matriculants would greatly outnumber their white counterparts, non-whites would be the largest consumers, car owners and the largest tax contributors.

## Vision

"You will have to understand and appreciate that there will be no solution to your hopes and desires of achieving the expectations that our country offers unless you have the vision to realise that no discrimination can be tolerated within a free-enterprise society," Dr Saunders told the boys.

There could not be a dual economy for the "haves" and the "have-nots" in an area like Natal/Kwazulu, he said.

Turning to teachers' salaries, Dr Saunders said not only the country's teachers but parents and pupils were being "short-changed".

"It is amazing how long our nation has debated something that should not have to be debated at all — how much we pay our teachers.

"We have got our priorities wrong. In Japan teachers are in the top 10 percent of wage earners, while in this country the opposite is true." — Sapa.

# NP wins upset CP hopes for Northern Transvaal

Sters 27/10/87 (30/11

**Northern Transvaal Bureau**

The shock election result in the Northern Transvaal yesterday was the National Party's overwhelming victory in Tzaneen, with the Conservative Party failing to win a single ward.

"Results proved we were justified in standing under the NP banner," said Mr Vic Borchers, one of the triumphant candidates.

Ironically, the CP made a clean sweep at Duiwelskloof, 12 km from Tzaneen, and won the town board election at Letsitele.

But NP-backed independents got home 6-0 in the village of Soekmekaar.

The CP also failed to win control of the Messina town council.

The CP was expected to be defeated in Warmbaths, and thus failed to achieve its anticipated clean sweep in the Northern Transvaal.

In Pietersburg, the CP has a 5-4 majority. The CP also won Phalaborwa, Potgietersrus, Naboomspruit and Nylstroom.

# Municipal polling round-up

Star 30/10

# NP clings to Pretoria by slim margin

27/10/88

**Pretoria Bureau**

The National Party was left with a very slim margin of control in the Pretoria City Council today after the Conservative Party more than doubled its seats in the capital's bitterly-fought election.

The National Party won 22 of the 42 seats, and can count on the support of successful independent candidate Dr Gerhard Davidstz, whom it agreed not to oppose in the election.

The Conservative Party won 18 seats — a gain of 10 — and a Residents' Association candidate supported by the party was victorious.

More than 47 percent of registered voters went to the polls compared with just 28 percent in a 1982 municipal election.

Transvaal NP leader, Cabinet Minister Mr F W de Klerk, released a statement today saying his party "rules Pretoria with an outright majority".

**'HNP death knell'**

Predictions that this election was the death knell of the HNP appeared to have been realised when the right-wing party failed to gain a single seat.

Pretoria's satellite town of Akasia was comfortably won by the Conservative Party when an exceptional 72,9 percent of registered voters went to the polls.

The CP took five of the eight wards and also has the support of an unopposed candidate, Mr Louis Meynhardt.

# Conservatives triumph in 3 West Rand towns

Star 27/10/88 (3044)

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

Three West Rand towns — Krugersdorp, Westonaria and Carletonville — have been won by the Conservative Party in the municipal election.

Independents rule the roost in Randfontein.

The National Party won nine wards in Roodepoort, independents won eight and the CP five. Three sitting councillors suffered shock defeats: Mr Quinton Painter, who served on the management committee, Mr Hennie van Zyl and Mr Nic Becker.

Krugersdorp affairs are to be run by a predominantly CP council after the election put eight CP members, one NP member and six independents into the council chamber.

Three of the wards were uncontested. Mr Sakkie Nel, Mr Thys Steenkamp and Mr Abram du Plessis, all CP members, were unopposed.

Three serving councillors lost their seats to CP candidates. They are the former vice-chairman of the management committee, Ds Arrie van Wyk, Mr Wiets Botes and Mr Christo Peyper.

Randfontein's results showed that residents of this West Rand town preferred to choose the middle path and most of the serving councillors were re-elected.

One shock defeat was that of the past mayor, Mr Hennie Schoonwinkel, who lost his seat to Mr Jan Scheepers of the CP by 146 votes.

The CP now holds three seats while independents hold the other six.

Three serving councillors were not available for re-election. Two of the seats they held went to the CP and the third to an independent.

In Westonaria only one serving councillor, Mr Jacobus Haywood (CP), held his seat. All the elected councillors are CP with the exception of Mr A S van der Merwe, an independent.

All 10 Carletonville council seats have been filled by the Conservative Party.

# LP in control of South Western Committee

Staff Reporter

Star 27/2/87

The Labour Party maintained control in the South Western Management Committee despite fierce opposition from several independent candidates and the United Civic Association (UCA).

Thirteen wards were contested in the municipal elections and the spoils split between the two parties and four independent candidates.

The LP obtained seven wards, the independents four and the UCA about two.

Percentage polls were "high" with the lowest in Ward 12 where Mr M A Ramjee defeated Mr P Peffer with a 102 majority and a percentage poll of 25,8 percent.

The highest percentage poll was 58 percent in Ward 11, where Mr C M Seeforth won by a majority of 464 votes.

# Right wing may rule the roost in Nelspruit

By Clyde Johnson
Lowveld Bureau

The Nelspruit Town Council could find itself being run by a Conservative Party majority.

Of the nine sitting independent councillors, only four were re-elected.

They were Dr Jacques Labuschagne, Mr Nic van Zyl, Mr Carel Kruger and Mr Daan Nel. Mr Charles Venter, who joined them as an independent, was also elected.

Outgoing mayor, Mr Brian Shrosbree, lost to Mr Louis Conradie (CP); Mr Chris Delport lost to Mr Louis Badenhorst (CP) and councillor Mr Fred Josepf lost to Mr Tobie de Bruin (CP).

Mr Johan Kotze, who joined the independents, lost to Mr David Jacobs (CP).

# Would-be voters had 'already cast ballot'

By Paula Fray 30/9/19

A candidate in Eldorado Park's Ward 5 has complained of irregularities in voting after three people arrived to find their names already ticked off.

According to Mrs Venice Hendricks of the United Civic Association (UCA), two women, including her neighbour, arrived during prior voting but found they "had already voted". A third was told she had voted when she attempted to do so yesterday.

However, the winning candidate, Mr Kurt Mateman, dismissed the "irregularities" as a result of an outdated voters' roll.

Mr Mateman, a Labour Party candidate, won with a majority of 48 over independent Mr S James.

SEN 27/10/88

# I am not a CP man — Witbank councillor

By Therese Anders,
Highveld Bureau

Control of Witbank Town Council was in dispute early today.

The Conservative Party, which was expecting a landslide, took control with a 6-5 win.

However, the independents, most of whom are Nationalists, dispute this, saying one of the CP's six councillors is not, in fact, a CP man.

In the middle of the dispute is Mr Ronnie Koch, who admitted to The Star that he was not a member of the CP.

Elected unopposed, Mr Koch said he wished to be described as "an independent United Party member who is supported by the Conservative Party".

He would not be more forthcoming on his ties with the CP, but stressed: "I hate the Government and have been fighting them since 1948."

## 'ONE OF US'

Witbank's CP Member of Parliament, the Rev Wynand van Wyk, acknowledged that Mr Koch was not a CP member "but he's one of us".

Retiring management committee chairman Mr Hennie Erasmus was insistent that the CP had not taken the town.

In Middelburg the CP took over control of the town from the Nationalists with a 6-3 romp home.

Ermelo's NP council also fell to the CP.

The son of Ermelo's CP Member of Parliament, Mr Moolman Mentz, won his ward.

According to a CP head office spokesman, other eastern Highveld towns to go to the CP were Secunda 6-3, Bethal 8-1, Volksrust 6-3 and Evander 6-3.

# USSR's policy on SA 'basically unchanged'

Star 27/10/85 304A

By Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — Soviet delegates to the talks here are driving home the point that while they welcome the opportunity to speak to liberal Afrikaner academics, there is no chance of their joining South African Government officials around the negotiating table until apartheid is a thing of the past.

The Soviet contingent, made up of Africa experts from various universities and research foundations, denies there is any softening in Moscow of the traditional anti-apartheid stance.

The South African Foreign Ministry has recently begun to intimate it believes the Soviet Union could have a beneficial part to play in bringing peace to the region. There have been hints that it may be interested in joining the round-table negotiations on the future of Angola and Namibia.

But while the Soviet delegates concede their country could play a role in the region, they have repeated their support for both sanctions and the ANC.

The views of the Soviet Communist Party were expressed by Professor Vyatcheslav Tetekin, who conceded there was "potential for the development of political and economic relations with South Africa".

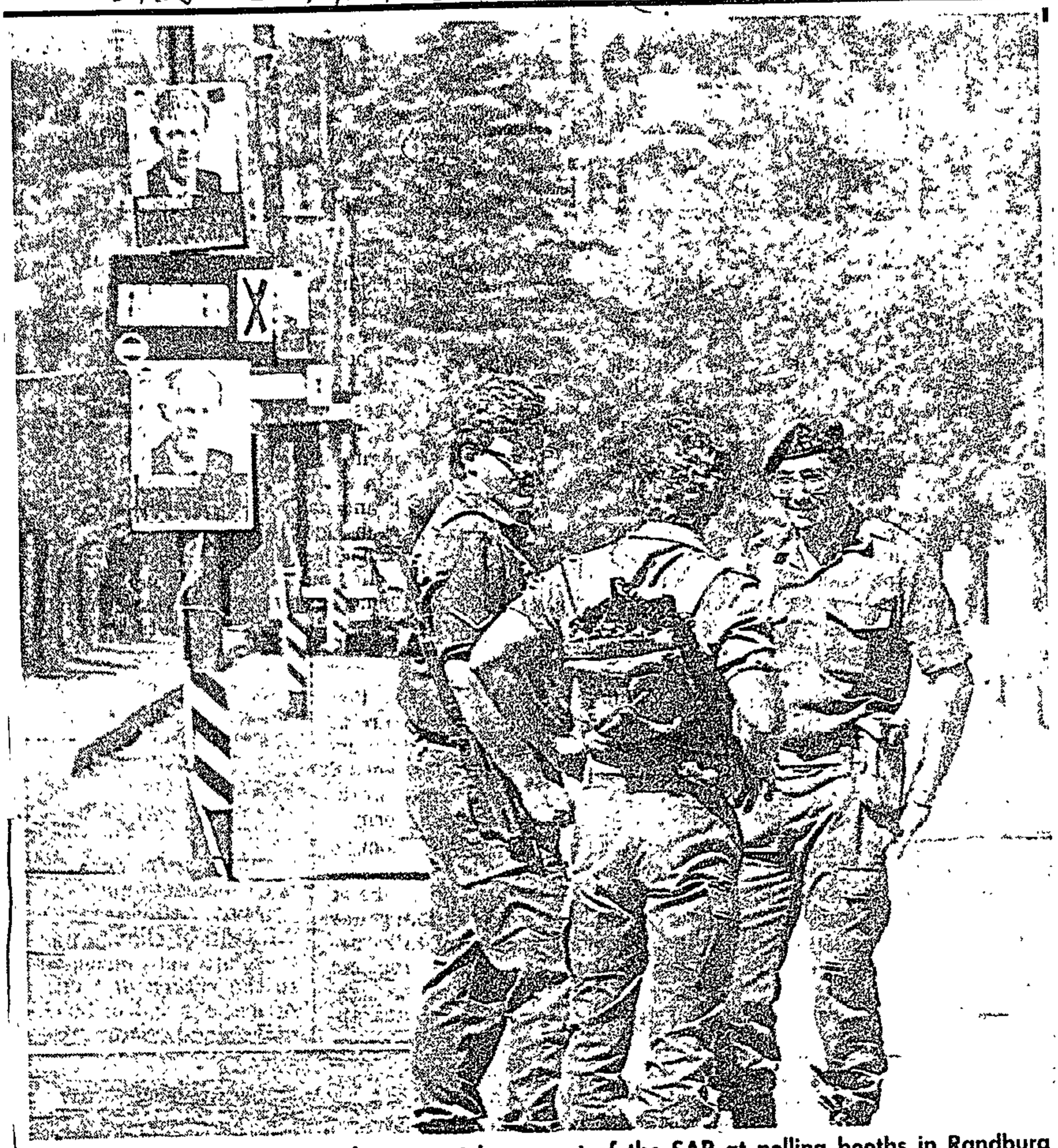
But any shifts in Soviet policy on South Africa were in approach and had come about because of new circumstances inside the country.

Since 1984, there had been "an entirely new" situation in the Republic, putting "the broad popular masses united in hundreds of legal organisations into the arena of struggle".

In addition, "larger and larger segments of the white community began to assume a critical stand with regard to apartheid, like Idasa, the End Conscription Campaign and Five Freedoms Forum".

Professor Tetekin described recent reforms as "largely cosmetic" and the political climate was therefore not conducive to the return of South Africa as a full member of the world community.

Star 27/10/94 (SEC) (3 col)



**Full alert . . . Army personnel were out in support of the SAP at polling booths in Randburg yesterday. These three soldiers guarded the gateway to the Greenhills Primary School in Bordeaux.** ● Picture by Sean Woods.

## The steps that should be taken

# Harry O's wish for SA to be respected

If Harry Oppenheimer, who will be 80 tomorrow, could have one wish before he dies, it would be to see South Africa on the road to becoming a respected member of the world community.

In a recent interview, he said he believes it can happen, but the necessary political steps would have to be taken to make the country, not only politically but economically, an accepted member of the world community.

What steps would have to be taken?

"Firstly, we would have to get rid of what is left of the apartheid policy and then we would have to find a means of sharing power politically," Mr Oppenheimer said.



Mr Harry Oppenheimer ... "get rid of what is left of apartheid".

**BY SVEN FORSSMAN**

Mr Harry Oppenheimer sketches out the conditions which would put South Africa back on the road to world respectability.

### Unimpressed

The former Anglo chief is not impressed by fears of the Right wing.

"If the Government was genuinely willing to share power with people far to the left, the Right wing would become irrelevant.

"After all, what is the Right wing? It is an important section of the Afrikaans-speaking sections of the whites. But if you have power distributed among people generally in South Africa, the position of the Right is not nearly as menacing.

"The Government likes to make the Right wing look menacing because it still thinks in terms of ruling South Africa not only by whites, but by Afrikaans-speaking whites.

"The Government would need to be brave to move to the left, but I don't think they have that type of bravery yet."

Mr Oppenheimer said he does not believe Mr Botha's recent travels to African states have led the investment world to believe that Mr Botha has picked up his reform programme.

"The perception of the investment world is very much worse than it used to be. But they are not very fair to the State President in many ways.

"They do not realise the importance of what he has done and there is still a tendency to think that no progress is important unless it is political."

Mr Oppenheimer could not help getting a certain amount of entertainment from the Government's embarrassment resulting from the Craven-Luyt talks with the ANC.

"It was an embarrassment probably from an unexpected quarter. I have some sympathy for the Government, however, because it must be tiresome to have that sort of thing happening on the eve of an election."

Reacting to criticism that big business has in the past not opposed the Government vigorously enough, Mr Oppenheimer said in retrospect business probably should have taken stronger views and been more outspoken.

### Easy to judge

"But it is easy to judge what people did in the past by the standards of today," he said.

He said the need for businessmen to be conscious of these issues is greater today than it was in the past.

"I think we have got to go on with the things that we are doing like improving the housing position and getting black people accepted as permanent residents."

Mr Oppenheimer pointed out that Anglo had 120 000 new black share holders. Anglo and De Beers had already given R60 million to employees and were committed to do the same thing for at least the next five years.

Where does Mr Oppenheimer see South Africa at the turn of the century?

"It is not just a question of successful economic policies.

### Frustrations

"It is very difficult to carry out the sort of economic policies I think the Government wants, and I know the Reserve Bank wants, with the emphasis on private enterprise and market mechanisms; when you are continually frustrated by political policies.

"In the long run, South Africa will have to reduce its dependence on gold as an earner of foreign exchange. But it is not quite as immediate as pessimists think.

"Geologists always used to point out that if you want to shoot an elephant you go to elephant country. Well, South Africa is certainly elephant country when it comes to gold."

On the part he plays in Anglo affairs, Mr Oppenheimer said he occasionally gave advice, but not too often.

"It is irritating if you retire and then give too much advice," he said.

"I am reasonably active for my age. I spent my whole life in business and you can't just cease to be interested. I like coming to the office, talking to my friends and keeping myself informed."

# Black percentage polls meaningless, says Forum

JOHANNESBURG. — It would be dangerous to conclude that the reported percentage polls in black areas represented a significant acceptance of the process and structures of black local authorities, says the Five Freedoms Forum.

The Forum's publicity secretary, Mr Geoff Neke, in a statement, drew attention to the ban on free discussion which prevented measurement of opposition to the local elections.

"The continued detention of leaders and a significant increase in repression during the pre-election period" should be considered.

Also significant was that only 1,5-million of the 26-million black South Africans (living outside the "independent homelands") were registered voters, making the 23-percent poll meaningless. It represented only a tiny proportion of the black population.

"The white municipal elections in Johannesburg showed that despite NP and CP gains there is still a large number of white voters who are prepared to support candidates who take on an unambiguous anti-apartheid stand.

"The FFF was pleased to see that the PFP increased its tally to 18 seats, and also put up an impressive showing in Sandton and Midrand.

"We believe that the FFF stand of calling on its supporters to vote for anti-apartheid candidates contributed to the victory margins in areas such as Yeoville, Melville and Berea and probably reduced the extent of the NP victory margin in several other areas." — Sapa.

2, Books 29, Letters 30, Watersport 32, Women 37-38, Finance 39-42, Racing 43

Attendance at work 'normal'

# Voting in PWV townships off to a slow start

27/10/88 B/Day 3CFA

**Business Day Reporters**

INITIAL voting in several PWV townships was slow and attendance at work around the country largely normal yesterday as SA's first election for all races got under way.

Electoral officers in Soweto and other West Rand townships were expecting a big turnout of voters after people returned from work.

There was above-average absenteeism in industrial areas around Durban and on parts of the East Rand, but the rest of the country had the usual flow of workers.

There was some confusion among voters who went to the Soweto Chambers to vote only to be told that 25 polling stations were scattered throughout the township.

Dobsonville and Mohlakeng reported slow voting in the morning.

Voting in the South Western coloured townships and the Lenasia area was very quiet, candidates said.

A survey of 25 corporations showed no general stawaway.

Cosatu spokesman Frank Meintjies said attendance was mostly normal.

Sats reported normal train occupancy levels in all areas except Natal, where they were running at 70%. Putco said operation were normal except for services to the Alberton area where buses carried only 40% of the normal complement.

Most companies affected by stayaways said they would adopt a policy of no work, no pay, and no discipline.

An OK Bazaars spokesman said two East Rand stores had only a 50% attendance while all other stores had a normal level of absenteeism.

Checkers MD Clive Weil said although some workers had arrived late for work, no stores were affected. Pick 'n Pay's Frans van der Walt said all branches operated normally except two near Soweto with a 60% attendance.

Two AECI plants near Durban, and two East Rand SAB breweries had a 20% stayaway, and about 85% of workers at Dunlop's Durban plant did not arrive for work.

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# Nats predict 'bloodshed' in Mayfair

Star 7/11/84 (304A)

By Melanie Gosling

The National Party predicts there will be "trouble and perhaps even bloodshed" in Mayfair West after the Conservative Party took Ward 23 in a landslide victory yesterday.

Jubilant CP candidate, Mr Hendrik Claasen, told The Star last night he intended "to get Mayfair West white again".

"For sure we are going to become a white suburb again even if it means evicting the Indians," he said.

He declined to spell out how the CP would do this but said plans would go ahead as soon as possible.

He attributed his victory "to God, my workers and my voters".

"The CP is the old Nat party. The Nats have gone on a new road and the CP is going back on the old road."

Defeated Nat candidate Mr Nils Meiring said the Mayfair West election had been won on the group areas issue.

"If they push on to do what they say they will — evict people form their homes — there will be a lot of trouble, perhaps even bloodshed."

When the electoral officer announced the results last night CP supporters chhered wildly and drowned out his remarks.

The CP gained 1167 votes to the 794 for the NP.

## Restrictions

**The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.**

ESH FRUIT

# Nats win clear control in Johannesburg, cling to

# CP on the march i

Star 27/10/88 (304A)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

**The Conservative Party advance in white politics is continuing, but yesterday's white municipal elections produced losses and gains among all the major parties.**

In black politics, percentage polls were generally low, but with important exceptions. No party trends in black politics can be deduced from the results, but rejection of the system seemed the big winner.

White political trends were also difficult to define. Although the CP showed significant new growth, the National Party and Progressive Federal Party held on to their support better than had generally been expected

The Nationalists gained control of Johannesburg, Pretoria and Bloemfontein, but failed in their bid to take control in Durban and Port Elizabeth. The Conservatives came within a whisker of snatching control in Pretoria, while PFP-backed candidates retained power in Durban and Cape Town.

The Conservative Party has been largely contained in its rural and Transvaal strongholds while black participation was generally lower than the Government had hoped during yesterday's country-wide poly-ethnic local government elections

## Slender margins

Several towns have not elected outright majority administrations, including Randburg and Sandton, while others, including Johannesburg and Pretoria, have given the victorious parties slender margins.

Polling was generally peaceful as security forces mounted a massive operation to ensure there was no violence or intimidation.

In spite of this and the Government's massive propaganda campaign to encourage people to vote, the turn-out at polling stations in the major black townships varied wildly, from as low as 3,62 percent, in the case of Tembisa on the East Rand, to as high as 87 percent for townships in the Eastern and Western Transvaal

The percentage poll in Soweto, South Africa's largest black authority, was 11,2 percent

The preliminary overall black percentage poll in the Transvaal was 19,07 percent

Participation in the Indian elections were generally low, especially in Natal.

The Conservative Party demonstrated the swing in the white electorate was still in its favour. It did not manage, however, to break out of its rural and Transvaal strongholds to any significant extent.

The Progressive Federal Party clung to its power bases, beating off National Party attempts to annihilate its representation in Johannesburg and Durban.

In the Transvaal, the NP narrowly clung to power in Pretoria as the CP captured 19 of the city's 42 wards. This is a dramatic improvement in support for the Conservatives and it places a number of Nationalist MPs at risk in a future parliamentary election.

The National Party captured Johannesburg for the first time in the city's 102-year history, but it has a majority of just one in the City Council.

The PFP increased its representation from 17 to 18 seats on the council (five down since the 1982 election) while the CP won four seats.

The National Party, or independents it endorsed, won surprise victories in several CP strongholds, including Randfontein, Messina, Tzaneen, Louis Trichardt and Barberton

In the Transvaal the CP won control over Nylstroom, Wakkerstroom, Lydenburg, Groblersdal, Delareyville, Ventersdorp, Pietersburg, Krugersdorp, Vanderbijlpark, Meyerton, Rustenburg, Springs, Ermelo, Piet Retief, Hendrina, Leeudoornstad, Evander, Bethal, Zeerust, Fochville, Wolmaransstad, Potcheftroom, and Carolina.

The Durban 2000 alliance, which was backed by the PFP, beat off a determined challenge by the NP to snatch control of the city

In Bloemfontein, independents backed by the NP defeated the Conservative Party in every one of the city's 18 wards.

In Port Elizabeth, NP candidates won 13 of the 26 seats. The PFP won eight seats, independents three and the CP two

Both the National Party and the Conservative Party were convincingly beaten in East London.





Above: Jubilant CP supporters surround Mr Hendrick Claasen after his landslide victory in Ward 23, Mayfair West. Mr Claasen said he intended "to get Mayfair West white again". Left: The delighted PFP candidate in Ward 32, Yeoville/Bellevue, Mr Martin Sweet (right), with Mr Harry Schwarz (left) and PFP election agent Mr Barry Spiegel.

## Winner dies only hours before poll

MIDDELBURG – An election candidate Mr John Mathibela died yesterday morning only hours before he was declared the winner in his ward with a huge majority.

Mr Mathibela (60) had been a sitting councillor on the town council of Mhluzi, Middelburg's black township He died yesterday morning.

# Soweto rejects municipal system

(304A) Star 27/10/88

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The people of South Africa's largest black local authority, Soweto, gave a resounding thumbs down to the municipal system, with 11 percent of registered voters — or some 2,8 percent of adult residents — voting in yesterday's municipal elections.

Although all results have not yet been processed, results in Transvaal black towns show less than 20 percent of registered voters went to the polls.

In the major Pretoria township of Mamelodi, 22 072 valid votes were cast. The proportion of registered voters at the polls was 27 percent. But once again only about half of the adult population of some 150 000 registered as voters.

In Pretoria's other township, Atteridgeville, the total number of votes cast was 8 766 and the percentage poll was given as 18,4 percent. The adult population of the area is about 60 000, somewhat greater than the number of registered voters — 47 599 There was a very slight increase on the 1983 voting totals

In the western Cape, the voting percentages were higher. When the Khayelitsha polls closed, 43,2 percent of the 67 867 voters in the township had cast votes, including the prior votes which accounted for 35,4 per cent.

Soweto's mayor, Mr Nelson Botile, lost his seat when he managed to scrape only 526 votes and was ousted by Mr N J Nnguni

The pattern of a huge majority stayaway from the polls was repeated in Greater Soweto's second largest component, Diepmeadow, where the official poll was 10,5 percent — or 4 787 valid votes cast.

In Tokoza near Alberton, 13 percent of the 14 percent official poll represented special votes.

POLITICS

# Should change be the price of détente?

**FIVE years after his last attempt, PW Botha seems to be trying to find the friends abroad that he cannot find at home. Now, as then, he may be unable to find the one without trying to find the other.**

**As in 1984, the government now seems to hope that it can win greater acceptance abroad because of what it is doing outside the country, rather than inside it. Then, Botha was received by European premiers on the strength of the Nkomati accord. The government hoped, presumably, that its role as a regional "peacemaker" would defuse Western hostility, without it having to make the internal changes foreign opinion has demanded.**



**Worm's Eye**

*Steven Friedman*

**A similar attempt seems under way, as Botha meets African presidents and tours Europe. The government appears to hope that its role in the Angolan talks will win it greater respectability. It also seems to be relying on joint development projects with its neighbours to lure Western aid.**

**This attempt may have a more specific aim: to reduce the effect of sanctions and the country's lack of foreign capital, without making uncomfortable changes at home.**

**The meetings with African leaders seem designed for consumption by the country's main trading partners.**

**People in the Department of Foreign Affairs argue that the way to greater foreign respectability "lies through Africa". This implies that, if Pretoria can win acceptance in Africa, the West will be unable to shun it. The government seems to hope that joint projects with African countries, such as Cahora Bassa in Mozambique or the Lesotho Highlands water project, can attract the foreign investment the country is denied. It would obviously receive some of this capital.**

**The lack of foreign capital is becoming an increasing block to the country's economic health and the current strategy seems to be a bid to solve the problem without conceding black political demands in the country.**

**If it succeeded, it might delay pressure for change within the country — and, in one way, Pretoria's regional peace initiatives may indeed do that.**

**An end to the Angolan/Namibian conflict could free troops for work at home, making it easier to police both the townships and the borders. This might, for a time, increase the ability of the government's "security strategy" to quell internal opposition.**

**But, on balance, the diplomatic initiative could do more to strengthen than to weaken pressure for change. As some commentators have pointed out, it does suggest a shift away from the security strategy, abroad if not at home. For the moment, a key government goal relies on diplomats, not generals.**

**For the past while, when Pretoria has had to balance a diplomatic gain against a military one, it has chosen the latter. Now, as it attempts again to make foreign friends, it will be more likely to choose the former.**

**Ironically, the influence of the diplomats may be strengthened not because of foreign hostility, but because there seems to be some chance of Pretoria gaining greater foreign acceptance. This gives it an incentive to make concessions to foreign opinion.**

**This may be of importance internally, since Foreign Affairs tends to act as a reform lobby within the government because it has to be more concerned with foreign opinions than other departments. At present, this influence only affects decisions outside the country — in Angola, for example. But, if the current foreign strategy continues, it may also affect events inside it.**

**Despite Pretoria's hopes, it is unlikely that the Westerners it hopes to woo can help it unless it makes internal concessions. They may even want to, but political realities in the West may make it impossible.**

**This was illustrated in 1984 when Botha met Margaret Thatcher after Nkomati. She told him it would be difficult to deal with him if the government continued to remove Crossroads squatters from their homes.**

**Since Botha had a reasonable prospect of gaining something abroad by responding, he did. Government sources say this meeting may have played a role in the government's decision to stop applying the pass laws in the Western Cape, which made their abandonment throughout the country almost inevitable.**

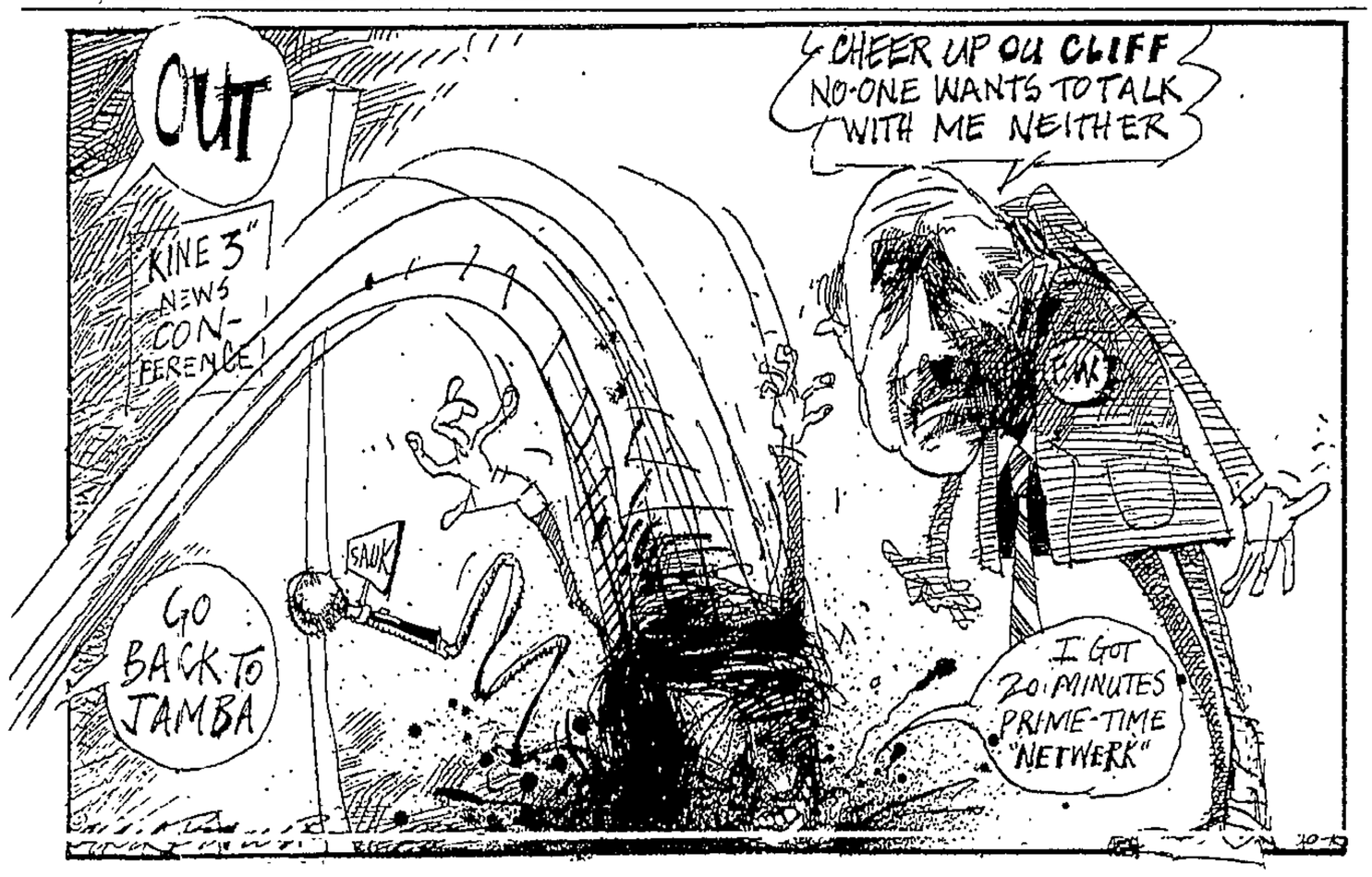
**If concessions are requested this time, the government may feel there is some gain in making them — something it hasn't felt since mid-1985. Two concessions which may follow this time are clemency for the Sharpeville Six and the release of Nelson Mandela.**

**However, it will only do the latter if Mandela is allowed to operate freely in internal politics. If the foreigners demand this, Botha may not agree, but he is more likely to do so now than at any time over the past three years. They may also demand an end to the Emergency or to restrictions on organisations.**

**Pretoria's increased foreign acceptability may, therefore, be a catalyst to internal changes — but their extent may be partly determined by what the foreigners demand and what they offer in return.**

**For opponents of apartheid, the most appropriate response to foreign governments and bankers willing to talk to Pretoria now may not be blanket condemnation, but an insistence that they demand significant and achievable internal changes in return.**

## DEREK BAUER'S WORLD




## LETTERS

# Don't close the Mail. Preserve it for posterity — and for us

MR STOFFEL BOTHA, We are professional librarians employed at the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, who wish to register the strongest possible protest at your threat, delivered on October 12 1988, to close down the *Weekly Mail*. Our opposition to your proposed course of action is based on the following.

- South Africa is an excessively censored society in which the basic human right to a free flow of information (article 19 of the United Nations declaration of Human Rights) is severely curtailed. The result for us as librarians is that we are unable to acquire and document a full range of material reflecting current South African society either for current study or for posterity.
- The *Weekly Mail* is an invaluable reference tool in a university library, providing a depth of detail and analysis on topics in South African politics, economics and sociology as well as the arts, which is unique for its currency. Without the *Weekly Mail* our role as reference librarians will be drastically impaired.

We oppose the suspension of the *Weekly Mail* as a violation of human rights and obstruction of the educational process. We reject all laws and regulations which impose censorship and interfere with our work as librarians; and call upon you not to close the *Weekly Mail*. — **Annette Andersson, Rosemary Bell, Alison Hawksworth, Desiree Lamoral, Christopher Merrett, Daya Naidoo, Leonie Prozesky, Thuli radebe, Janice Rimbault, Colleen Vietzen**

MR PW BOTHA, On behalf of the World Press Freedom Committee, which joins 33 organisations on five continents, I express dismay at the steps South Africa is taking towards either suspension or direct censorship of the *Weekly Mail*.

Sanctions against news media for what they publish are completely contrary to international human rights provision calling for a free press and a free flow of information. Such actions to suppress truth and against democratic principles can only damage the image of a country in the world.

I urge you in strongest terms to abandon this new assault on press freedom. — **Harold Andersen, chairman of the World Press Freedom Committee**

THE American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) wishes to express urgent concern over the recent final warning to the *Weekly Mail* issued by Minister of Home Affairs and Communications Stoffel Botha, and the consistent and arbitrary exercise of censorship of the press in South Africa.

Minister Botha's most recent action reinforces the fear we expressed in our last communication that it is the intention of the government to cripple, one by one, any inconvenient publication. There is little doubt the editors of the *Weekly Mail* have exercised their judgement carefully in recent months, even meeting Minister Botha in May to discuss earlier warnings. Coming as it does during the municipal elections campaigns, this latest action raises the serious question of whether this sudden threat is part of a larger political strategy of the government.

Censorship for whatever reason is repugnant to any people, but it is especially so to those who profess to have some voice in governing themselves. Actions such as those taken against the press in South Africa render the form of free government transparent and reveal an authoritarian substance. At this most critical time in the spread of the notion of a free press in the world it is deplorable that the government of South Africa chooses to continue its course down the road of darkness and fear.

We urge you to take no further steps against the *Weekly Mail* and to reverse the trend of recent years by restoring the right to publish to those mainsteam and alternative voices that have already been closed by government decree. — **Bill Kovach, ASNE International Communication Committee chairman**

MR STOFFEL BOTHA, The Committee to Protect Journalists strongly objects to the warning you sent to the *Weekly Mail* on October 12, listing articles it published that allegedly violated South Africa's stringent Emergency media restrictions.

The warning is the final step in a process that permits you to close the publication for 90 days or require it to submit to prior censorship.

As a non-partisan organisation working to defend the rights of our colleagues in all countries of the world, we consider the closure of a newspaper to be one of the more grievous assaults on freedom of the press. We therefore urge you not to take further action against the *Weekly Mail*, and to desist from issuing warnings that can lead to the closure of newspapers, a power you have used almost exclusively against journals that take a strong editorial position against apartheid.

Thank you for your consideration. We welcome your comments. — **Eric Goldstein, Committee to Protect Journalists, New York**

MR STOFFEL BOTHA, You can't play on one side and be the ref sending the players off.

Politicians who silence their opponents (and especially older men who silence younger voices) have a special section reserved for them in the great stadium of fame. Jimmy Kruger sits there. Stalin sits there. They're awful seats.

Don't close down the *Weekly Mail*. Stop threatening it. Answer it with arguments instead of repression.

If you close it down you will look, and be, small as well as repressive. If you respect your own political position let your government be seen to play fair in the arena of ideas.

Let some air in or we will all suffocate. — **RL Amato, Mowbray, Cape Town**

HOW many white South Africans does it take to change a light bulb?

None. They prefer being kept in the dark. — **Patrick Muller, Durban**

WE wish to reply to the article about Ben Johnson, by D Lubner *(Weekly Mail*, October 7-13).

We totally disagree with the unlawful use of steroids to boost an athlete's performance to obtain a gold and world recognition by cheating. We believe that sporting history should be made by an athlete's natural ability. — **Concerned sportspeople, Retreat**

WE would like to express our disagreement with some of the points made by Nigel Wrench in his review of the Human Rights Now concert in Harare *(Weekly Mail*, October 14-20).

Besides making ageist and inane criticisms (such as describing Sting as an "ageing former pop star") he presents an inaccurate picture, particularly of Bruce Springsteen.

Wrench describes Springsteen's *Born in the USA* as yelling culture clash. The absurd conclusion one is forced to reach is that this song should only be sung in the confines of America. By over-emphasising cultural appropriacy one runs the risk of making censorial assumptions about what people can enjoy and relate to, as do Nationalists with policies of "own affairs".

Springsteen did not start on a "jarring note". He immediately fired energy, inspiration and passion into the whole stadium. This was proved by the crowd's response.

It is a pity Wrench went to the concert, self-conscious of himself as "a critic". He was obviously insensitive to the response of the crowd. — **Colleen Higgs and Paula Soggot, Bez Valley, Johannesburg**

Address letters to Letters Page, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425, Excom 2023. Shorter letters will be given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity or space.

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# THE ONLY 2 ISSUES:

## •How many whites will vote CP.
## •How many blacks will vote at all



**The party political issues hardly matter. The local elections will serve as an indicator of whether the Emergency has silenced township opposition and whether the government's tough line in recent months has stemmed the flood of white voters to the far right. SHAUN JOHNSON gives a countrywide breakdown**

IT is generally accepted that next week's nationwide municipal elections will test two crucial issues: how many white people still support the government; and how many black people retain the commitment — and energy — actively to reject it.

The local polls cannot be taken as a precise prediction of what will happen in the next general election. But they will certainly give an indication of the extent of the swing to the right in the white communities.

Even more importantly, they will serve as pointers to the real effects of the State of Emergency on extra-parliamentary organisations and, conversely, of the government's reformist "upgrading" initiatives in the townships.

As always in South African politics, though, the national picture is made up of regional sub-sketches. And the ethnic polls in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal will form part of a mosaic of parochial dynamics.

Writing in the latest edition of *Indicator SA*, a quarterly journal published by the Centre for Social and Economic Studies at the University of Natal, researchers focus on these key areas and issues — and conclude that although similar questions are being asked in each case, they take on different forms. Here is an interpretative summary of their conclusions:

## TRANSVAAL

### White elections

The battle between the National and Conservative parties will be hottest in the Transvaal. Following the general election of May 1987, the full effect of the CP's success was cushioned by the NP's gains at the expense of the Progressive Federal Party. The defection of English-speakers from their traditional political home came close to compensating for the NP's loss of Afrikaner support.

Last year was one of almost unqualified success for the CP. A tough-minded decision by leader Andries Treurnicht not to forge an election pact with the longer-established Herstige Nasionale Party of Jaap Marais paid off: the HNP was all but destroyed, and the CP emerged as the champion of the white right. In addition, the CP celebrated the consolidation of its rural support by making inroads in urban areas.

The municipal election polls are likely to be significantly higher than previously. This is partly because of the sense of political uncertainty — absent for most of the 40 years of NP rule — which has been introduced by the growth of the CP.

As a corollary, the conscious politicisation of the local polls by the CP, most clearly evidenced in the party's manifesto, has raised the ballot's significance in the public mind.

The CP has made sure specific issues are aired at the hustings. These include influx control, law and order, civilian security, white unemployment and the retention of "moral values and standards". Even at the municipal level, the CP has ensured that group areas and the functions of the Regional Services Councils (RSCs) are linked to national dynamics.

The party has committed itself to a "racial allocation of income in the RSCs it controls". Deciphered, this means the government's carefully laid plans for a modest redistribution of wealth towards the black townships will not only be blocked, but in some cases reversed.

Some CP representatives have spoken of "bringing the RSCs to a standstill". In the Transvaal, where the bedevilled RSC experiment has run relatively smoothly, the disruption would be politically costly.

The CP requires in the region of 35 percent of the votes to have an effective veto on the RSCs. If it achieves this, and makes use of its blocking powers, the provincial administrator would be forced to take budgetary decisions — giving the lie to the RSC experiment's "democratic" intentions.

At the moment, the CP controls only one major Transvaal municipality. If the party's target of one million votes nationwide is reached, the picture will change dramatically, with some 70 percent of Transvaal municipalities falling into CP hands.

A sweep of the *platteland* is by now almost predictable: tension will be highest in knife-edge constituencies such as Pretoria, and in the East Rand, West Rand and Vaal Triangle.

If the swing to the CP seen in May 1987 — and in the subsequent Randfontein by-election — is sustained, many NP-supporting councillors could find themselves out of jobs.

One reason the CP is now making urban as well as rural inroads is the residential segregation issue.

Here, as with other issues, the NP has found itself on the defensive, having to rebut CP claims rather than setting out a creative future vision. The most tangible result of this defensiveness in the Transvaal has been the decision to field a number of candidates who fall clearly within the Nationalist ambit as "independents". It is an obvious attempt to hedge bets.

In some respects, the NP finds itself in the odd situation in the Transvaal of looking at cosmopolitan Johannesburg as its biggest potential prize. The electoral fight between the NP and PFP in South Africa's largest city is unashamedly party-political.

The Transvaal PFP has not recovered from the wounds inflicted last year, and is only fighting in Johannesburg, Randburg and Sandton under the party banner. Some hopes are being attached to the fact that voters to the left of the party — white students and activists — who boycotted the last polls may be enticed back.

There are two reasons for this: the extent of last year's losses, and the active support of the Five Freedoms Forum for candidates subscribing to the extra-parliamentary group's principles. Further, informal co-operation with Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement may bear fruit.

Against this, the PFP's chances of a morale-boosting recovery are lessened by the numbers of former and potential PFP members opting to stand as independents for ideological rather than merely tactical reasons.

### Black elections

In the Transvaal's African, coloured and Indian townships, reaction to the elections falls into two broad categories: apathy and active rejection.

The government has invested much time and energy in clamping down on political activism in African townships, while material upgrading has gone on apace. The hope is that sufficient space will be created for "moderates" to participate, and to mobilise at least some support.

The development of African local structures is still uneven, as "town council" status has been achieved in limited areas — and councils actually operate in even fewer. Nevertheless, observers agree it is unlikely the low polls previously recorded in the province will be exceeded this time round.

The three-day industrial stayaway earlier this year was particularly successful in some areas of the Transvaal, and is taken as an indicator of residual resistance organisation. In addition, the Soweto rent boycott and similar actions in the Vaal Triangle indicate the survival of militancy.

**Black elections, Tvl**

| | Total wards | Uncontested wards |
|---|---|---|
| East Rand | 138 | 47 |
| West Rand | 159 | 76 |
| Central Tvl | 38 | 9 |
| Far North Tvl | 27 | 11 |
| Eastern Tvl | 85 | 27 |
| Western Tvl | 107 | 32 |

Figures: Transvaal Provincial Administration

## WESTERN CAPE

### White elections

The basic tenets of apartheid have, over the years, ensured that many functions which would otherwise be the preserve of local authorities — education and welfare for example — have become centralised. Consequently, polls for the Cape Town City Council (CCC) have declined.

In 1980, 43,8 percent of whites voted; in 1982 the figure was 37,77 percent, and in 1984 35,18 percent.

As in other regions, however, the marked politicisation of the October polls makes it likely this trend will be reversed: it has already been announced by the Cape Provincial Administration that 90 percent of eligible whites have registered as voters.

Currently, there are both NP and PFP members on the CCC, neither party being in a dominant position. The situation is muddied in terms of the coming ballot by the nervousness of both parties — several candidates with known NP or PFP links are standing as independents. In addition, Denis Worrall's Independent Party has never before been tested.

As in the Transvaal, there have been oblique and direct messages from extra-parliamentary groups to the effect that liberal/left wing whites are free to vote for "progressive" candidates. This may benefit the PFP.

In Cape Town, the electoral issues are likely to focus more closely on parochial matters than in other major cities. For example, observers believe that candidates' attitudes to a R2,7-million pension plan for councillors may determine several wards.

While not as critical as the white elections in the Transvaal, results in the Western Cape will have a definite bearing on the NP/CP balance. CP representatives call the Cape the NP's "trenches". If the NP loses ground here — whether to the left or the right — its image problems will worsen.

In terms of its effect on the functioning of the local RSC, such a swing would not be as dramatic as it could be in the Transvaal. The Cape RSC, according to observers, is structured to limit the influence of the CCC. This ensures that initiatives such as Cape Town "local option" will be blocked.

### Black elections

In the coloured areas — constituting the majority "population group" in the Western Cape — local structures are at the "Advisory Management Committee" (Mancom) stage.

Coloured people were removed from the CCC roll in 1963, and the Mancoms came into being two years later. Initially nominated bodies, they were fully elected by 1977, but enjoyed minimal popular support.

Mancom elections have been characterised by particularly low polls. Although ostensibly non-party political, campaigns have shown a vigorous behind-the-scenes involvement by the Labour Party.

This is an important factor, as the LP does command an organisational structure — particularly in the rural Cape, where patronage counts for much and the penetration of extra-parliamentary groups is limited.

The Mancom polls ranged in 1981 betweeen 7,6 percent and 16,8 percent, falling to between 1,81 percent and 11,98 percent in 1983.

In the 1984 tricameral elections, the LP's successes were achieved on an average poll of 11,1 percent. For the coming elections, however, it is reported that 60 percent of potential voters have registered.

The party will be placing great store by the funds it has spent since assuming tricameral responsibilities — about R7-million has been made available for the upgrading of housing and the urban environment. Further, the House of Representatives' defiance of the government will be used to encourage coloured voters.

Against this, the strong tradition of "non-collaborationist" politics in the region, currently espoused by organisations like the New Unity Movement and the Cape Action League, will ensure that even if the polls go up, they will be far from majority sentiment.

There is widespread rejection of the ethnicity of the structures, and this is entrenched by the long-standing activities of community groups such as the Cape Housing Action Committee.

And there is the stark fact that although the Mancoms are in control of "own affairs", they are still functionally supervised by the (white) provincial administration.

Nevertheless, the government is likely to view an improvement in coloured polls, however modest, as a signal for the enhancement of Management Committee functions — there is speculation about the consolidation of the six existing Mancoms.

In the Western Cape's African townships, a fully-fledged black local authority (BLA) has only recently been introduced. The erstwhile "Cape Town Town Committee" has become the "Ikapa Town Council".

Polls in African elections in the region have also declined, from 27 percent in 1977 to 11,6 percent in 1983. But, as in the coloured areas, 60 percent of voters have enrolled.

The local structure for Africans collapsed in the turmoil of 1985-86, but was revived after the Emergency. As in most African townships, there is no party-political involvement.

There is a special factor in these polls, however — dubbed the "Crossroads option" by observers. The upshot of the civil war which racked the squatter areas in 1986 is that a conservative African faction has been left in power. A combination of support, incentives and latitude allowed for the establishment of an effective regional fiefdom, implacably hostile toward the organisations of extra-parliamentary resistance. If a high poll can be achieved for the Ikapa Town Council, this strategy will be seen to have been vindicated.

There is a possibility of "unrest" in coloured and African constituencies in the Western Cape, however, and if it materialises, government designs will be publicly thwarted. But disruption — and/or stayaways — would have to be very substantial.

## EASTERN CAPE

### Black elections

The history of extra-parliamentary resistance in the Eastern Cape means the poll will say much about the efficacy of the Emergency.

In Grahamstown, for example, the Rini City Council, catering for African townships, came into being on a 6,05 percent poll. This figure was a significant drop from the levels in the 1978 Community Council elections.

The effects of the 1984-1986 township rebellion were particularly keenly felt, leading to mass resignations of councillors in the wake of school and consumer boycotts, stayaways and clashes with security forces.

●To PAGE 7



**A BIG X!** Mayor Mr Peter Muller, who retained Ward 4 in the face of a CP challenge, gets a kiss from Mrs Bronnie Harding of Ward 16.

# 47% poll in six W Cape townships

THERE has been a relatively low poll, in some cases far below government expectations, among registered black voters although prior voting helped to increase the percentage.

Before the election the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said that there could be a poll of up to 50 percent.

Boycott actions, although officially banned, appear to have had a considerable effect in some areas.

In the Transvaal the poll was about 20 percent among blacks but in the Western Cape the average was about 47 percent. In Natal it was about 30 percent.

More than 32 600 black people cast votes in six Western Cape townships yesterday, according to the Provincial Administration.

Counting began today at 9 am and first results are expected later.

The average percentage poll in these elections was 47 percent of registered voters.

A Provincial Administration official said the number of registered voters in the areas where elections were held — limited in some cases to one or two wards within local council areas — was 74 184.

The highest percentage poll of 70,9 percent was in Zolani, a seven-ward township in Ashton, where 1 033 people were registered to vote in the five contested wards. A total of 732 people cast votes.

## CONTESTED WARDS

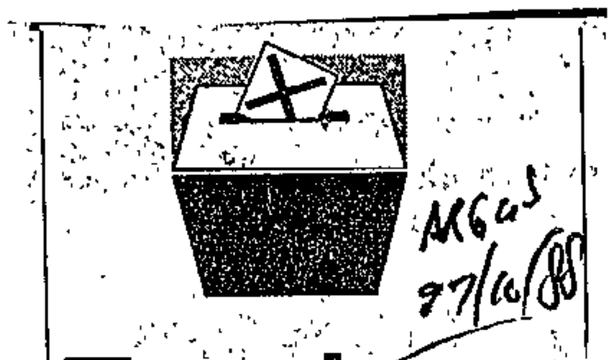
The highest number of votes, 29 363, was cast in Khayelitsha in the Lingelethu West Town Committee election. There were 67 850 registered voters and the percentage poll was 43,3 percent.

Other figures issued by the Provincial Administration, with the number of registered voters in brackets, are:

- Mfuleni (1 043) where 320 votes were cast in two contested wards. Percentage poll — 30,7 percent.
- Kaya Mandi (2 635) 1 545 votes in seven wards. Percentage poll — 58,6 percent.
- Nduli, Ceres (1 392) 658 votes in five wards. Percentage poll — 47,3 percent.
- Mossel Bay (231) 75 votes in one contested ward out of seven. Percentage poll — 32,5 percent.

Not all the voting totals for outlying areas have been received.

- Transvaal MEC for local government, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said the turnout of 19,07 percent in the province was disappointing as about 40 percent had been hoped for.



MCas 27/10/88

30 CM

# Tough battle but council still PFP domain

CAPE Town City Council remains firmly under liberal control in spite of 10 new faces after a hard-fought election which saw the Conservative Party challenge melt away and the defeat of three sitting councillors.

Most of those elected seemed to have heavy Progressive Federal Party backing. A minority are Nationalists and a few are uncommitted.

Four CP candidates in two wards lost their deposits.

Five women are among the 10 new councillors. Mrs Joye Gibbs beat Mr Gerald Musikanth in Ward 17 by a mere four votes after a recount.

Voting in Cape Town's management committee areas was well up on the previous general elections.

Athlone, for instance, showed a big improvement from 1,8 to 13 percent, mostly votes cast in prior voting.

Most management committee polls were around 20 percent, although Kensington recorded 30 percent.

Defeat sent three more city councillors into early retirement and seven quit before the elections.

## 12-YEAR INNINGS

Disappointment awaited Mr Sam Gross (Ward 3) and Vice-Admiral James Johnson (Ward 17), a cxouncillor for six years, who polled the least votes in their contests.

The other defeated candidate was Dr Jack Joffe, who represented Ward 9. He switched to Ward 7 for the election, only to be beaten by Mr Clive Justus and Mr Gerry Sullivan.

"I had a good innings," Dr Joffe said. He was a councillor for 12 years.

Mr Gross and Miss Annette Reinecke lost to the team of Mr Neil Ross and Mr Clive Bilski.

Mayor Mr Peter Muller and Mr Norman Osburn retained their Ward 4 seats against the CP's Mrs Aletta la Grange and Mrs Lente Roux.

And in Ward 5 Mr Louis Kreiner and Mr Llewellyn van Wyk defeated Mr Johannes Jacobs and Mr Theunis la Grange.

However, the CP challenge in Ward 13 fared slightly better: Mrs Jean Vigus polled about 30 percent of the winning votes of Mr John Muir and Mrs Ruth Ortlepp.

## VICTORIOUS

In the city-centre Ward 6 Mr Leon Markovitz topped the poll but Mrs Patricia Sulcas convincingly beat Mr Markovitz's running-mate, Mr Dennis Nick.

The "new boys" include Mr Gerry Sullivan, a councillor in the mid-70s. Mr Sullivan and Mr Clive Justus will represent Ward 7.

Former divisional councillor Mr Clive Bilski joins Mr Neil Ross in Ward 3, while Mrs Gibbs and her election opponent Mr Abe Katz will team up in Ward 17.

In Ward 10 councillor Mr Ian Iversen and teammate Ms Annamia van den Heever were victorious, while councillor Mr John Muir and Mrs Ruth Ortlepp won in Ward 13.

Management committee polls were generally high, with Kensington recording 34 percent. The Athlone vote was still being counted after more than seven hours.

Wittebome-Wynberg management committee chairman Mr Tom Ferrier was one of several members ousted.

*(Turn to page 3, col 1)*

→ cont-

## Right-wing candidates fare badly in the Cape and Natal

# CP held at bay

Argus 27/10/81
30 KA



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

**WINNERS:** Mrs Patricia Sulcas (Ward 6) and Mr Louis Kreiner (Ward 5), centre, celebrate their victories with Mrs Sulcas's father, Mr Eustace Levetan, left, and Mr Frank van der Velde, elected unopposed in Ward 16.

● **More pictures and election reports, page 8.**

**THE Conservative Party has been largely contained in the local government elections in many parts of the Transvaal and the Free State while in the Cape and Natal it fared badly.**

In Cape Town liberal-minded candidates fared best.

Among blacks the number registered who went to the polls varied considerably, from nearly 20 percent in the Transvaal to an average of 47 percent in the Western Cape.

**ELECTION REPORTS by:**
**Political Correspondent TOS WENTZEL and Staff Reporters ANTHONY DOMAN, MICHAEL MORRIS, ARNOLD KIRKBY, ANDREA WEISS and VUYO BAVUMA**

In South Africa's largest black local authority, Soweto, only 11 percent of the registered voters, about 2,8 percent of the adult residents, voted.

There was huge relief among Transvaal Nationalist leaders when a CP breakthrough did not occur on the scale that had been feared.

The CP has, however, made progress in many areas compared to its showing in last year's general election.

Although it failed to win in Pretoria the result was close. The CP now controls wards in about half the city.

Apart from considerable success on the Transvaal platteland the CP also broke through in bigger areas by winning in Vereeniging, Springs and

### Johannesburg

In Johannesburg the National Party won 26 wards, the PFP 18 and the CP four. The PFP suffered a further setback when it lost in Randburg.

The CP lost in Vereeniging, the constituency of Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the NP but the CP won in Potchestroom, the seat of the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange.

One of the surprise results was Standerton, where the CP's majority in a by-election was reversed.

Although the CP will control well over half of the country towns many of these are in parliamentary constituencies it already holds.

In Natal the National Party held back the CP across the board including Northern Natal where the rightwing mounted a strong campaign.

In Bloemfontein Nationalist-minded candidates won in all 18 wards.

The CP won in a few small Karoo towns but generally the party did not do well in the Cape.

*(Turn to page 3, col 1)*

→ cont.

# Council remains liberal

*(Cont from page 1)*

In Fish Hoek all six councillors standing for election in the eight-member council lost their seats.

In Brackenfell, the Mayor, Mr W Lubbe, and his deputy, Mr M J Visser, lost their seats. They made way for Mr J J Brynard and Mr C J Lambrechts.

In Ward 2 both sitting councillors, Mr J P Jooste and Mr R A Smith, retained their seats. In Ward 3 sitting councillor Mr I A C van Niekerk narrowly retained his seat, while a new councillor, Mr E W Burger was elected.

Ward 4 also has a new councillor, Mr M A Conradie, while Mr D W Schoeman retains his seat.

In Bellville, the Mayor, Professor Kristo Pienaar, retained his seat in Ward 1, where 70,1 percent cast votes. The average poll in Bellville was 63,2 percent.

In Kraaifontein, where there were no surprises, 50 percent of the white voters and 40 percent of the coloured cast votes.

Three sitting councillors lost their seats in Milnerton, including a former mayor, Mr H B Reich, and Mrs K M Fisher in Ward 1. They make way for Mrs U D Dobbie and Mr B B Kenny. The percentage poll here was 65,44. Mr E H Lehman lost his seat to Mrs I D Hutchison in Ward 5, where the percentage poll was 44,9.

In Parow, Conservative Party candidates failed in all three wards they contested.

There was a 52,79 percent poll in Somerset West, where four candidates helped by the Independent Party won their seats, while three National Party candidates came in. A candidate who had no party affiliation won through.

Winners backed by the Independent Party were Mr Stanford, Mr G V White, Mr L T Deacon and Mr J P du Plessis, while Mr W H Kotze, Mr M R James and Mr J W Wessels flew National Party colours. Mr C Cohen was the only truly independent candidate to be elected.

In Kuils River the Mayor, Mr W F Rossouw, retained his seat with a comfortable majority in one of two wards which were contested.

In Ward 1 Mr O G Sieberhagen and Mr C J Vlok were elected and in Ward 4 Mr Rossouw and Mr A J N Smit won.

# Conservatives held at bay

*(Cont from page 1)*

Mr de Klerk said the CP's "presumptuous" claims about the progress it would make in the elections had been largely disproved. The NP had, with a few exceptions, achieved its aims in the PWV area.

The party had also achieved surprising victories in a number of platteland towns which were in CP strongholds.

A CP spokesman brushed aside suggestions that the party had been over-confident of sweeping the Transvaal and Free State.

Mr Andries Beyers, general secretar y of the CP, said from Pretoria that his pre-election assessments had been realistic and that the party was pleasantly surprised and thankful.

Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the National Party, said there had been clear proof that the PFP and the Independent Party were only "petty irritants" and that the CP was not viable in the Cape.

In Somerset West, the main town in Mr Heunis's Helderberg constituency, candidates helped by the Independent Party won four seats, while three National Party candidates came in. One candidate who had no party affiliation also won through.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the PFP, said he was "more than satisfied" with the results achieved by the party and its allies.

The major attention had been on Johannesburg where the party had disappointments as well as triumphs. The PFP performance in both safe wards and difficult areas gave cause for encouragement.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said today that the result in Somerset West had been an enormous setback for the National Party.

The party had thrown in its organisational machine there but the IP had been proved right that people did not want party politics on the local level.

27/10/81

# Cheers, chants greet defeat of CP in city



**JUBILATION:** Mr Hendrik Claasen, Conservative Party candidate in Ward 23, Mayfair/Homestead Park, celebrates his party's first seat on the Johannesburg City Council.

CHEERING well-wishers sprayed champagne and filled the Civic Centre concourse with echoing chants last night as election results put paid to the Conservative Party's bid to gain a foothold in Cape Town.

Trouncing the Conservative challenge in their central city Ward 4, mayor Mr Peter Muller and Mr Norman Osburn each polled more than 1 100 votes to the 113 and 112 of Mrs Aletta la Grange and Mrs Lente Roux. Both Conservatives lost their deposits.

Cheering erupted as the results were announced.

A chant went up: "CP out, CP out." Then someone shouted above the cacophany: "That will teach the CP to come to Cape Town."

Elated and clearly relieved, Mr Muller said: "We are very glad the election contest is over."

Mr Osburn added: "It was clear at the outset that we were going to win. The real challenge was to ensure the CP candidates would lose their deposits. We succeeded."

One of his opponents, Mrs Lente Roux, said she would "rather not" comment.

In neighbouring Ward 5, Mr Louis Kreiner (1 518) and Mr Llewellyn van Wyk (1 514) despatched Conservatives Mr Johannes Jacobs (179) and Mr Theunis la Grange (201), who also lost their deposits.

"The important thing is that they lost," said Mr van Wyk. "It's as clear an endorsement of the City Council's policies in the Gardens area as you can get."

Neither Mr Jacobs nor Mr la Grange was available for comment after the results were announced, but, earlier in the evening, as counting got under way, Mr Jacobs conceded: "The intention was never to win the Gardens (Wards 4 and 5). The intention was to introduce so-called liberal Cape Town to the policies of the right as represented by the Conservative Party."

Mr Jacobs also paid tribute to his opponents. He said: "This election in the Gardens will go down in history as one of the cleanest, most stylish campaigns. Our opponents were gentlemen, there was no animosity."

The fifth official Conservative candidate, Mrs Jean Vigus in Ward 13 polled 567 votes, but was roundly beaten by Mr John Muir (1 645) and Mrs Ruth Ortlepp (1 597).

Fears of a group areas backlash in Ward 10 — Observatory, University Estate, Sybrand Park and Mowbray — were proved groundless by the triumph of councillor Ian Iversen and running mate Ms Annamia van den Heever, who each polled more than 1 300 votes. The nearest contender, Mr Peter Throp, won 622 votes.

Well-wishers nearly drenched the candidates in champagne, and chanted "Open city, open city."

## Thumped

Mr Iversen said: "We fought this election on the Group Areas Act and we thumped our opponents. The residents of the area have come out in favour of scrapping Group Areas."

Jubilant cheers from a throng of PFP supporters greeted the results of the Ward 3 election where Mr Neil Ross and Mr Clive Bilski — each winning more than 1 300 votes — ousted councillor Sam Gross and dashed the hopes of Mrs Annette Reineke.

Eleven years' service on the City Council ended last night for Dr Jack Joffe who, along with council colleague Mr Len Barnett, succumbed to a challenge from newcomers Mr Gerry Sullivan and Mr Clive Justus.

"It's fantastic," Mr Sullivan said.

In the first result of the night shortly after 11 pm, new Ward 6 councillor Mrs Patricia Sulcas beat former mayor Mr Leon Markovitz's running mate, businessman Mr Dennis Nick, by more than 250 votes.

**THE National Party predicts there will be "trouble and perhaps even bloodshed" in Ward 23, Mayfair West, which the Conservative Party has taken in a landslide victory.**

□□□

**THE PFP has increased its representation on the Johannesburg City Council from 17 to 18 in spite of a "vicious onslaught by the National Party filled with disinformation and blatant untruths", party organiser Mr Peter Soal said.**

□□□

**BUT the PFP has lost control of the Sandton Town Council — the only council in the country which it held — after independent candidates took six seats.**

□□□

**CONTROL of the Witbank Town Council was in dispute early today with the beaten independents claiming that one of the six successful Conservatives was not a CP man.**

□□□

**THE Labour Party has maintained control in the South Western Management Committee in spite of fierce opposition from independents and the United Civic Association.**

□□□

**A CANDIDATE in the Mhluzi, Middelburg, election, Mr John Mathibela, 60, died only hours before he was declared the winner in his ward with a huge majority.**

□□□

**BLACK schools in Johannesburg, the East Rand, the Western and Eastern Cape and Durban were seriously affected by boycotts yesterday, although the vast majority of Reef workers turned up for work.**

□□□

**AN ALL-MUSLIM management committee has been established in Laudium for the first time in the suburb's history, with only two of the original five members being retained.**

□□□

**THE Transvaal Indian Congress sees the results in Indian areas in the Transvaal as a vote of no confidence in President Botha's government, saying that only 19 percent of Indian adults in the province cast votes. — The Argus Correspondents and Sapa.**

□□□

**THE Rev Enoch Sibanyoni's Khudu Party has gained control of the Atteridgeville City Council, winning six of the 12 wards in the township.**

# Huge security operation at polls successful — police

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Police prevented disruption of the countrywide municipal elections — in spite of a number of unrest-related incidents in various parts of the country.

This was the reaction of Brigadier Leon Mellet, Press secretary to the Minister of Law and Order, when asked to comment on the huge security operation mounted by police and the army to make the polls safe for the public yesterday.

Police said no blasts had been reported and no-one had been killed in unrest.

The relative quiet on polling day contrasted sharply with heightened unrest and reported bomb blasts in Soweto and Katlehong on Tuesday.

Brigadier Mellet said: "We believe we succeeded and are grateful to every policeman and woman and other members of the security forces."

There had been a lot of hard work and a lot of worry.

### NOTHING TO CHANCE

"Our intelligence showed the ANC was determined to disrupt the elections."

Security forces had left nothing to chance in the operation, which saw all polling booths sealed off on Tuesday.

These unrest incidents were reported after 3am today:

Two men were arrested at the UWC campus after cases of stone-throwing.

At Sebokeng, Vereeniging, a house was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack. Nobody was injured.

At Hammarsdale police found the body of a black man who had apparently been hacked to death a few days ago.

Petrol-bombers also attacked a house at Kwazakele, Port Elizabeth. There were no injuries.

● The Witbank car-bomb death toll has risen to three with the death yesterday of Mrs Diana Moele of Lynnville in the Witbank Hospital.

# The man who pulled out wins a seat

**Municipal Reporter**

**BIZARRE twists were a feature of two Peninsula management committee elections.**

**In Schotsche Kloof Mr Fuad Karriem pulled out, citing telephone threats as his reason.**

**But his name was already on the ballot paper and he polled 91 votes — just two short of the highest total and enough to ensure a place on the committee.**

**Mr Basil Kleintjies of Wynberg also did a lot better than he expected, polling 60 votes after announcing his withdrawal.**

**In Athlone some voters were found to have voted twice.**

**The mix-up was blamed on problems with identification.**

# Liberal lie exposed, says Tutu

Cape Times 28/10/88

By CHRIS BATEMAN

**ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu yesterday scoffed at the municipal election result, saying it exposed the myth that English-speakers were liberal.**

**Johannesburg and Natal voters had come out "in their true colours," said the Archbishop during a press conference at his Bishopscourt residence yesterday.**

**English speakers had shown they supported apartheid as much as the "much-maligned Afrikaners", he said, while noting "a slightly brighter picture in Cape Town".**

**English speakers enjoyed the fruits of apartheid as much as Afrikaners and had also supported the government during the 1983 referendum on the tricameral parliament.**

**The Nationalist-Conservative struggle was "irrelevant to us; all the CP does is express in more blatant form that which is characteristic to the Nationalists".**

**The Archbishop laughed when asked to respond to a claim by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, that the 30% turnout of black voters showed significant support for incremental reform.**

**"If you wrote an exam and you got 30% you would not even be given the opportunity of writing a supplementary exam. You fail," he said.**

**The 30% turnout had come after the govern-**

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**ment had spent R4 million on a campaign to stop opponents of apartheid from "merely saying don't vote".**

**He said most people were brought up on the conventional wisdom that: "If you'll pardon the expression, the Afrikaners are the niggers in the woodpile and that English South Africans are basically more democratic, more liberal".**

**He said this had been shown to be untrue. He hoped that the elections would not be interpreted as change because "people of the same races voted on the same day."**

## Mandate

**The government's intepretation of election statistics amounted to a "quite hilarious heads we win, tails you lose" logic. It was claiming that "hundreds of thousands" had voted and that people elected had "solid mandates".**

**"How can there be a solid mandate when half the seats for blacks in the country were not even contested for lack of interest? How does a 10 or 12% poll in Soweto constitute a solid mandate?" he asked.**

**Asked for reaction, a Bureau for Information spokesman said: "We are only here to give you statistics — we can't give you any comment."**



**VOTE DEBATE** . . . Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the press conference at his Bishopscourt residence yesterday to discuss the outcome of Wednesday's municipal election.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR,

**Meanwhile Dr Allan Boesak last night told US television that many black people believed that the sooner the CP won power, the better it would be because the masks of reform would be removed. And the Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis agreed with him, saying South Africa needed "a return to honesty".**

**However, the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who also appeared on ABC's Nightline programme, refused to discuss the municipal election.**

# Dr No's VOW

CAPE TIMES 28/10/88

30KA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday vowed to use the party's new-found political power to thwart government policy on reform.**

While the CP did not live up to its extravagant pre-election predictions, and suffered some setbacks in the Free State and Northern Natal, the party clearly demonstrated that it was on the march.

Its support base now extends well beyond the Transvaal platteland.

Expressing his pleasure at his party's performance yesterday, an upbeat Dr Treurnicht promised that they would move on open business districts and thwart government policy in the strategic Regional Services Councils.

Asked what the CP's approach would be in the towns and regions where it had gained control, Dr

More reports on municipal election results, see PAGE 5

Treurnicht said: "Free trading areas are against our basic approach as it is intervention in community life.

"The CP will take steps to bring it back to what we consider normal — white business in white areas."

The election, which gave the CP control of more than twice as many local authorities in the Transvaal as the NP, had put the party in a strong position to influence the representation on multiracial RSC's and on budgetary decisions.

"We are not in favour of the redistribution of wealth and incomes, like the NP, and are firstly representing our own people."

He said the municipal poll had put the CP in a "very strong position" for the next general election, but he stopped short of predicting a CP take-over.

Last night uncertainty still existed over which political interest groups had captured control of a

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number of local authorities, with the CP and the NP both claiming victories in a number of municipalities.

The confusion flows from the fact that many candidates with ties to the two parties chose to take part in the elections as independents.

Despite the uncertainty, the CP appears to have won at least 67 local authorities in the Transvaal to the NP's 30. Independents appear to control another seven.

## Poorly

Although the CP lost Pretoria to the NP in a cliff-hanger, notable CP victories included key urban areas like Vanderbijlpark, Springs, Boksburg and Potchefstroom.

In the Free State, at least 20 local authorities are controlled by the NP, with at least 15 by the CP.

The CP fared very poorly in Bloemfontein, Kroonstad and Bethlehem but rallied with victories in Welkom and Sasolburg.

## Ward off

In the Cape the NP managed to ward off the CP challenge but the far-right party improved on its showing in last year's general election by winning Mossel Bay, various smaller Northern Cape towns including Kuruman, and significantly reducing the NP majority in Uitenhage.

Despite taking Richards Bay in Northern Natal and losing narrowly in Newcastle, the CP challenge did not match its pre-poll prediction in the province.

30KA

## We'll turn back the clock on group areas, Treurnicht warns

# CP challenges government

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The first challenge to government policy from a Conservative Party-dominated Transvaal platteland has been launched by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, indicating that the party will seek to turn back the group areas clock in towns it controlled.

After this week's municipal election more than two thirds of the province's 84 "white" towns are in the hands of the CP.

Dr Treurnicht told a Press conference yesterday that the CP would try to close racially desegregated central business districts in those towns.

### No authority

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, responded immediately by pointing out that open trading areas were declared by central government and not local authorities.

Town councils did not have the authority to close areas declared open by central government, he said.

Black township development is also at risk following the CP victories. Dr Treurnicht said the election had given the CP a greater majority in the regional services councils.

The CP-controlled towns could exert influence in the RSCs, especially on budgeting, Dr Treurnicht said.



Mr Chris Heunis



Dr Andries Treurnicht

"In principal we are not in favour of the redistribution of wealth and we would not necessarily spend as much on black housing," he said.

Referring to one of a trio of pending Group Areas Bills, Mr Heunis said: "In the event of the Free Settlement legislation becoming law, local authorities would be consulted on the implementation of the Act in the local community."

### "No effect"

This Bill provides for racially desegregated residential areas.

Mr Heunis said the results of Wednesday's municipal elections would have no effect on the passage into law of three Group Areas Bills.

"I believe that all South Africans are in fact calming down their utterences and reducing their demands," he said.

In Johannesburg, where the CP won a seat in the "grey area" of Mayfair West, Dr Treurnicht said he did not think the party would "start bulldozing Indians out of the area".

He said such a move was not presently possible as the CP needed a mandate from the electorate for central government — which he was confident the party would achieve in a general election.

### On an island

The results in Brakpan, the Vaal Triangle and Springs had put the CP in a strong position and had "left Mr F W de Klerk on an island", he said.

● Meanwhile President Botha has referred the Group Areas Amendment Bill and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Bill to the President's Council for a decision.

These measures and legislation dealing with open residential areas failed to go through Parliament at a recent short session.

The House of Representatives and the House of Delegates refused to support them.

The council can deal with the Bills in one of two sessions starting in Cape Town on Monday.

The Government is expected to tone down some of the harsher provisions of the group areas measure.

The council can advise the President to sign the Bill in its present form or it can recommend changes.

The President can bring about proposed changes or he can refer the matter back to Parliament.

# Contrast in black voting percentage

CAN THIS 28/10/88 BOKP

**Own Correspondent**

LARGE black towns and cities generally produced low percentage polls in Wednesday's municipal elections, in sharp contrast to high voting figures in rural municipalities, and pro-boycott groups have claimed success in their restricted campaigns.

However, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis lauded the election as a victory of the democratic processes over the revolutionary.

While the government was aware that voter participation had not been satisfactory everywhere and a lot of work still lay ahead, local government would increasingly play a more important role in decision-making, he said.

In results available so far, black percentage polls ranged from 3,62% in Tembisa to 21,41% at Duduza on the far east Rand. One notable exception was Khayelitsha where 43,2% of the 67 867 voters cast their votes.

Many polls in the rural areas of the Transvaal were above 75%. The overall figure for black elections in the province was 21,6%.

SA Council of Churches general-secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said the low polls in most major urban areas "even surprised those of us who campaigned, within the constraints imposed by the state, for the boycott of the elections".

He said the low polls were achieved despite threats against black civil servants that they would lose their pensions, houses and jobs if they did not vote, and promises by candidates "of ridiculously low rents".

The Five Freedoms Foundation, which called on anti-apartheid whites to vote, said it would be dangerous to conclude that the polls in black areas represented a significant acceptance of black local authorities by the majority of black residents.

However, an official said the Johannesburg election showed that despite NP and CP gains there were still a large number of white voters who were prepared to support anti-apartheid candidates.

Percentage polls in coloured and Indian areas were higher than those in large black municipalities, with 29% in Lenasia, 61% in Actonville and 32,8% in Coronationville.

But the Transvaal Indian Congress said less than 17 000 out of 90 000 Indian adults voted — a 19% poll taking into account unregistered voters. This, it said, was a vote of no confidence in President P W Botha's government.

# New council for blacks a step closer

MR645 28/10/88 30 col

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

**PLANS for a consultative National Council to deal with black political rights have been brought a step nearer by this week's local government elections.**

There is also speculation in Nationalist circles that the government may be tempted to call a general election early next year because it is felt that the National Party did reasonably well in the fight against the Conservative Party.

A major row on group areas and central business districts is building up between the government and the CP, but a government spokesman maintained that the rightwing would not be allowed to thwart reform policies.

In terms of legislation passed earlier this year to provide for the National Council, electoral colleges from local government structures have to elect nine representatives to the council. There will also be representatives of the government and the self-governing states.

According to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, Wednesday's poll would give greater momentum to the government's constitutional reform process.

He declined to give a timetable for the start of the National Council but said he hoped it would be long before the next municipal election.

He maintained that the turnout on Wednesday was clear evidence that the majority of South Africans had opted for peaceful solutions.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu maintains, however, that the 30 percent of blacks the government claims voted in the elections would have represented only five percent if blacks had been registered in the same proportions as whites.

The possibility of an early general election next year is again being touted. An election can be put off until early 1990 but some Nationalist politicians feel that advantage should be taken of what they see as indications in the local election results that the CP's progress has been stemmed in many areas.

There is also the possibility of a Cabinet reshuffle if President Botha decides to appoint a Prime Minister as he indicated earlier this year.

## CP threat

According to some of the speculation Mr Heunis could be appointed to the post with Foreign Minister Pik Botha taking over his department, but sources close to Mr Heunis discount this possibility.

President Botha said yesterday that the course the elections had taken generated confidence for the future.

Meanwhile the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has threatened that the party will try to undo open central business districts in areas it controls and that it will also hinder government policies in the Regional Services Council.

● See page 3

# Big turnout marks voting




**VOTERS** . . . Crossroads women urge others to vote for the chairman of the area's interim advisory board, Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.
Picture: OBED ZILWA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**WITH security forces throwing a ring of steel around thousands of polling stations countrywide, South Africans of all races voted in surprisingly large numbers at the first national local government election.**

The CP is poised to sweep aside the NP in the Transvaal and capture the majority of the municipalities in South Africa's most populous province.

The poll was marked by the most heated clashes ever between political parties at local white elections

Voting among blacks, coloured people and Indians showed strong regional variations, but thanks mainly to the new system of prior voting, overall figures were better than government expectations. In several areas, prior votes exceeded by far the number of ballots cast on election day.

## Sluggish

In some black areas like Khayelitsha — the only Cape Town black township able to muster sufficient candidates for an election — a surprisingly large percentage poll of 45% was recorded.

Voting in many Indian and coloured areas was sluggish, and in some cases prior votes constituted as much as 70% of the total votes cast.

Security was extremely tight at all centres and at many polling stations police and soldiers outnumbered voters during the day.

Few incidents of election-related violence or intimidation were reported during South Africa's first election for all races.

The Department of Education and Training said black school attendence was seriously disrupted in several major urban areas, but most adults went to work.

In some areas people were searched twice before being allowed to vote, and parking was banned in the vicinity of most polling stations as a precaution against car

cers, municipal police and traffic officers were a common sight around many polling stations as voters moved through cordoned-off areas, protected in some cases by razor wire.

Another factor contributing to the high poll in white areas was the fierce battle raging between the CP and the NP, particularly in the all-important Transvaal where the election took on the status of a dress rehearsal for next year's general election.

Although earlier CP predictions of capturing up to 70 of the 84 municipalities in the Transvaal

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and most of those in the OFS appeared signficantly inflated, the NP was involved in several bruising battles with its arch-conservative rivals.

The most hotly contested city was Pretoria, where both the CP and the NP predicted they would win the majority of the 42 wards.

Other larger towns in which the CP was posing a real challenge to the NP were Richards Bay, Newcastle, Uitenhage and Kuruman.

The NP appeared confident last night that candidates sympathetic to the party would win control of most of the major cities, including Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley. Durban appears to be a toss-up between the NP and a group of independent liberal candidates.

In the Western Cape, liberal candidates appeared certain of retaining control in Cape Town.

But in Somerset West, Dr Denis Worrall's Independents were involved in a close fight with the National Party for the eight seats on the council.

II, served two terms — 1940-45 and 1951-55.

ed that one of the conditions was the release of all political prisoners.

pened," he said. — Sapa-AP, UPI

# Commission: De Pontes denies telling witness of files

EAST LONDON MP Mr Peet de Pontes yesterday denied new evidence before the Harms Commission that he told a Rapport journalist, Mr Martin Weltz, in April this year that he had kept two files, stolen from the Department of Home Affairs, in his safe.

The evidence by Mr Weltz, a surprise witness earlier yesterday, was the third version so far presented to the commission of what happened to the files, removed from the department by an official, Mr Johan Scheffer.

Mr De Pontes began his evidence under oath late yesterday afternoon on his involvement with Vito Roberto Palazzolo — a Sicilian financier with drug and Mafia links, who escaped from a Swiss prison and entered South Africa illegally in 1986.

Mr De Pontes is expected to be on the witness stand for a week.

Mr Weltz said that, after the arrest of Palazzolo and Mr Scheffer, he interviewed Mr De Pontes on April 9 this year for several hours.

He wrote an article, but there was much information that he could not print because it was either sub judice or told to him off the record.

He said Mr De Pontes told him that Mr Scheffer arrived in East London in January with two immigration files on Palazzolo, one under the alias of Robert Kolbatschenko.

Mr De Pontes gave him the impression that he did not expect to see the files. He told Mr Weltz he was concerned. He put them in his safe and later, in the custody of his own secretary, he sent them back to Pretoria.

According to an affidavit by Mr Scheffer, Mr De Pontes asked him to steal the files. According to an affidavit by Mr De Pontes, he never saw the files at any stage.

Mr Weltz said that at the time of the interview, he was not aware of the contents of Mr De Ponte's affidavit, nor details of Mr Scheffer's activities.

Mr De Pontes gave him the impression that he knew he had a problem, but not that he had done anything criminal concerning the files.

Mr De Pontes implied that he wanted to make sure that the files got back into the right hands.

Mr Weltz said Mr De Pontes was worried about the arrest of Mr Scheffer, but told him he did not think the matter would go much further as Mr Scheffer had been examined by pyschiatrists and was likely to be certified.

Mr Weltz said he was puzzled by Mr De Ponte's claim that he was unaware of Palazzolo's drug and Mafia background during his lengthy involvement with him because the Rapport investigative team had taken only three days to establish Palazzolo's background in detail.

Information obtained from England was that Palazzolo was named in a book, "Men of Honour", as being directly linked to drugs and money laundering.

Additional information from the United States Drug Enforcement Agency was that Palazzolo was linked to the Pizza Connection — a billion-dollar Mafia-controlled network which smuggled morphine base from Turkey to Italy where it was converted to heroin and smuggled into the US, where it was sold via a chain of pizza restaurants.

Swiss and American banks were used to launder the proceeds and the money was channelled back for the purchase of more heroin.

Mr Nic Treurnicht, counsel for Mr De Pontes, said that Mr De Pontes would deny telling him that he had seen the files and suggested that he had got hold of the wrong stick in the interview.

Taking the witness stand, Mr De Pontes said he stood by the contents of his affidavit to the police.

The inquiry continues today. — Sapa



Mr Peet de Pontes

top secret

Jiley and two others



**ELECTION LINE-UP** . . . Seven of the 39 candidates at Khayelitsha's Green Point polling booth yesterday. They are (from left to right): Mr Million Goniwe, Mr Shepard Benya, Mr Lungi Dubese, Mr Charlie Bandi, Mr Zimisele Nojaholo, Mr Prince Gobingca and Mr M Hoza.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

# Khayelitsha residents vote amid strict police checks

**Staff Reporters**

**WHEN the Khayelitsha polls closed at 9pm yesterday, it was estimated 43,2% of the 67 867 voters in the township had voted, including 35,4% who had cast prior votes.**

**Mr André Grové, assistant electoral officer for the Core Housing Area, said 5 167 out of 7 744 voters in his area had voted in a "constant stream" from 5pm.**

**Vote counting will begin at 9am today and is expected to take hours.**

**Mr Nimrod Bavuma, one of the Committee of 10, said voters in the core housing area of Khayelitsha had initially "not understood" the elections.**

**After numerous meetings they were persuaded that "unless they voted they would be swallowed up by the overwhelming number of squatters" in Sites B and C.**

**Earlier in the day, voters trickled to polling stations amid strict security. By mid-morning 1 000 people had cast votes for the 39 candidates there.**

**There was a heavy security presence in both areas, with police and the army joining forces to ensure voters' safety.**

**Even women with children on their backs were searched by police before they were allowed to enter polling booths.**

**Journalists had to produce presscards before being given an armed escort into voting halls.**

**By mid-morning no violence or intimidation had been reported.**

**At some polling booths, election officers and candidates outnumbered the voters.**

**Most electoral presiding officers described voting as "fair".**

**In Khayelitsha, Mr Graham Lawrence, the Provincial Administration's deputy director of local government, said he expected a final percentage poll of about 45%.**

**Mr Lawrence said 24 040 of Khayelitsha's 67 850 registered voters had used the prior voting system. This constituted a percentage poll of 35,4%, and he expected another 10% to cast their votes before the polling booths closed.**

**"We will be very happy if we get 45%," he said.**

**He said there were no elections in Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga because only eight candidates stood for the area's 20 seats. It had not been decided yet whether local councillors would be nominated or whether a by-election would be held.**

**Two Khayelitsha candidates, Mr Comfort Moshweswe and Mrs Elsie "Iron Lady" Shwabane (the only woman candidate), were confident yesterday, not only of seats on the local council, but also of a high percentage poll.**

**"It got us by surprise. We never expected some many people. Tonight the champagne will flow," Mr Moshweswe said.**

**Some electoral officers expressed concern about the voting system. Each voter can vote for up to 20 of the 39 candidates.**

**"Can you imagine what will happen when we try to count the votes," said one officer, who asked not to be named.**

# ELECTION VIOLENCE

# Schools empty but workers go to jobs

304A
Sowetan
27/10/88



SOFASONKE Party members help a blind old man to cast a vote at yesterday's municipal elections in Soweto, Johannesburg.
Pic: LEN KUMALO

**SOWETAN Reporters**

**SOUTH Africa's first simultaneous local government elections were marked by acts of violence, school stayaways and heavily guarded polling stations throughout the country yesterday.**

At least nine houses were petrol-bombed in the Reef, with no fatalities in all incidents and minimal damage caused to the buildings. Six of the houses were attacked in Katlehong in the East Rand while the other three were in Soweto.

The three Soweto houses belong to a Sofasonke Party candidate, Mr Jacob Nkosi of 101A Zola Three; Mr Titus Shezi of 174B Zola Three; and Mr Richard Ndaba of Emdeni South, who are both not councillors or candidates.

## Stayaway

There was an almost total stayaway at schools in Soweto and Lenasia yesterday, although the vast majority of Reef workers went to their jobs.

Residents in Lenasia also reported a strong pupil stayaway in the area and said even primary school children had remained at home.

At Wits University, where demonstrating students clashed with police, the majority of black students stayed away and absenteeism varied from 10 percent to 100 percent depending on the department.

The South African Transport Services reported that occupancy on trains in the PWV area was normal and Putco said early reports indicated that services were operating normally although there was a slight drop in passengers.

According to Putco spokesman Mr Robin Duff, Putco buses were prevented from entering Tokoza near Alberton by police this morning and were turned back as they reached the perimeter of the East Rand township.

The reason why the buses were turned without passengers was not clear but there appeared to be a major security operation underway, he said.

There was only one very minor stone-throwing incident reported at Emdeni in Soweto early yesterday morning, he said.

One bus was set alight and several stoned in KwaMashu and some shops in the city centre were also closed.

The Town Clerk of Alberton, Mr J J Prinsloo, said the municipal staff turnout was between 60 and 80 percent. He said he assumed that staff turnout at Alberton businesses was of that order.

## Normal

However, other employers on the Reef generally reported normal work attendances yesterday.

A spokesman for OK Bazaars said more than 90 percent of employees had come to work. A Checkers spokesman said stores in all areas had normal attendance, except those in Johannesburg North, where a five percent absenteeism was reported.

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training (Det) in Pretoria said black school attendance in Johannesburg, the East Rand, the urban areas of the Western and Eastern Cape and Durban were seriously affected by yesterday's municipal elections.

Mr Job Schoeman, the Det chief liaison officer, said his department had received a considerable number of reports of intimidation, especially in the East Rand and Johannesburg.

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

CAPE TIMES 28/10/88 30 KA



# MP in 'false name' booking

EAST LONDON MP Mr Peet de Pontes told the Harms Commission yesterday that he booked a Department of Home Affairs official, Mr John Scheffer, into an East London hotel under a false name in January this year because of rumours in political circles on Vito Roberto Palazzolo's background.

Mr Scheffer was assisting him in obtaining permanent residence in South Africa for Palazzolo and his family.

Both Mr Scheffer and Palazzolo were arrested soon after the trip to East London.

Mr De Pontes said rumours started at the end of last year that Palazzolo was a drug and diamond smuggler and an illegal immigrant.

Aware that Mr Scheffer was going to Cape Town in January, he asked him to stop off and see him in East London. He said he told his secretary to book Mr Scheffer under another name because of inquiries being made in Ciskei by a right-wing grouping.

Mr De Pontes said he asked him to bring the Home Affairs file on Palazzolo if he could, so that he could check that all the documentation was in legal order.

It was only when Mr Scheffer arrived that he told him that there was more than one file and that he could not remove them from the department.

Mr De Pontes said Mr Scheffer's evidence that he gave the files to him and that he changed certain information was "completely untrue".

Recounting his first contacts with Palazzolo while he was in a Swiss prison in 1986, Mr De Pontes said President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei agreed to grant Palazzolo and his family permanent residence.

Disinvestment was at a peak at the time, he said, and Palazzolo's proposed investment in the area was welcomed.

Meanwhile, Mr De Pontes applied through the South African Embassy in Berne for a visa and initiated negotiations for South African permanent residence.

Palazzolo's furniture arrived by ship in East London in December. It was sent in Mr De Pontes's name because Palazzolo did not want it known that he intended to invest in Ciskei.

He denied any knowledge that Palazzolo entered the country using the passport of a business associate, Mr Stelio Frapolli, and denied a statement by Palazzolo that he was forced to use the passport after Mr De Pontes failed to meet him at the entry desk with his Italian passport as promised.

The mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange, met Palazzolo in East London and took him to the Osner Hotel. According to the hotel records, Mr De Pontes made the booking for Palazzolo and his family under the name of Frapolli.

Mr De Pontes denied doing this and said it was "totally incomprehensible". "It is possible that my name was used to get a booking more easily," he told the commission.

Though President Sebe indicated in October that he would grant Palazzolo permanent residence, a temporary permit was only issued in March, followed by permanent residence.

Mr De Pontes said he and Palazzolo decided to become business partners and established a company called Papillon International in Ciskei, with Palazzolo handling the financial rand transactions through Boland Bank.

Asked to comment further on an affidavit by Palazzolo, Mr De Pontes denied that he asked him to pay his fees into a numbered bank account in Switzerland.

"The only account I have is in East London," he added.

He denied a payment of 20 000 Swiss francs.

Mr De Pontes denied that he offered to smuggle Palazzolo out of prison with the use of a helicopter. Palazzolo, he said, "watched too much television". — Sapa

# Elections

• From page 1

and opposition leader Mr Samuel Kolisang retained his seat.

Mr Kolisang's Vaal People's Representative Party won 38 seats.

Mr Kolisang has been tipped as the next mayor of Lekoa.

The two remaining seats in the Vaal went to two independents. Out of the total of 44 seats contested only 12 of the sitting councillors retained their seats. The total percentage poll was 24,3 percent. Zamdela in Sasolburg registered the lowest poll of 8,7 percent.

In Atteridgeville, the mayor, Mr Matthews Mahlangu, was the only one in his party to retain his seat out of nine wards.

Soweto's percentage poll was officially given as 11,5 percent while Tembisa on the East Rand registered the lowest poll with only 3,64 percent followed by Tsakane with 8,2 percent.

The highest poll was recorded in several Eastern Transvaal townships and ranged from 58 percent to 86,96 percent.

Atteridgeville and Mamelodi recorded 18,42 percent and 27 percent respectively.

Another major upset is that of controversial Ibhayi councillor in Port Elizabeth, Mr Tamsanqa Linda, who was ousted from his mayoral seat and also that of advisor to the Ibhayi administrator.

He is known as a fervent campaigner against Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and has led many placard demonstrations against him.

Daveyton mayor Mr Tom Boya was unopposed. He has been mayor of the township for 10 years and had become the longest-serving mayor in the country.

The deputy mayor of Vosloorus, Mr Hamilton Ketse, was defeated. He was executive member of the United Municipalities of South Africa of which Mr Boya is president.

In KwaThema veteran civic leader, the Reverend Joe Mzamane of the Anglican Church, was ousted. The mayor Mrs Muntu Mothlaping managed to scrape through. • See Page 12

# AROUND THE COUNTRY ... SOME ELECTION CONTROVERSIES

STATE figures on how many black people in Natal voted is way off course, a group of Natal University academics claim.

One of the group, which has been monitoring the voting, said the official total of votes cast by black voters was 7 592.

Most of these — 4 018 — were cast during prior voting. The voters were drawn from 10 towns where "registered voters" were eligible to participate in the polls.

Dr Michael Sutcliffe, head of the department of town and regional planning, said of the 108 seats in Natal, there were no nominations in 19, 49 were uncontested and elections were held in 40.

Sutcliffe said the official percentage poll given for Natal was 29,9 percent. However, this was based on what Sutcliffe's group believes is an inaccurate list of eligible voters.

"The bureau's figures for registered voters in the 10 towns is 25 428. However, this appears to be based on people on the township manager's housing list. We believe the figure of potential voters, over 18, living in these towns, to be between 80 and 100 000.

"In our view the percentage poll is therefore more like 7,5 to eight percent. It is certainly under 10 percent and nowhere near the state's estimate of 29,9 percent."

CAPE TOWN's white wards remained in liberal hands after Wednesday's election — the Conservative Party's only two candidates both losing their deposits.

In Woodstock, which contains "grey" areas and where the election was fought largely on the Group Areas issue — voters rejected a candidate seeking to reserve the area for whites.

Polls in Cape Town's coloured townships appeared low — 18 percent in Schotschekloof and 19,8 percent in Wynberg, but higher in outlying areas.

There were no elections in Mitchell's Plain, home of 250 000 people and the largest of Cape Town's coloured areas.

IN Soweto's Ward 11, out of a total 9 929 registered voters, 1 066 residents voted during the prior voting period. Only 170 people had cast their votes by noon on Wednesday.

And in Ward 8, where there are 15 241 registered voters, 1 200 cast their votes in the prior election period, while 200 had voted by 1pm on Wednesday — a 10 percent poll.

THE elections in Mamelodi was marked by the fire-bombing of the houses of two candidates, while a limpet mine exploded metres from the local polling station outside the Soweto township of Zola.

Police have also reported limpet mine explosions at the homes of councillors in various parts of the country, including the Free State and the Eastern Cape.

CIVIL strife in the Pietermaritzburg area could be partly to blame for the rightward swing in the city council elections.

Four National Party members were elected on an NP ticket as were a number of others standing as independents.

Only three "Put Pietermaritzburg First" candidates, standing on a progressive platform, were returned, but one PFP candidate lost by a mere two votes.

Professor of politics at Natal University's Pietermaritzburg campus, Douglas Irvine, said he believed the continuing strife in the areas was probably an important factor.

The violence could have influenced white voters to choose candidates standing on Neighbourhood Watch or other law and order tickets.

There had been a considerable increase in violent crime and robbery in the city due to high unemployment and the "township strife" was seen to have "spilled over into the city centre.

"It seems many people felt there needed to be a restoration of 'order' and voted for the NP," he said.

DESPITE confident predictions, the National Party failed to take Durban City Council, long regarded as ripe for NP plucking.

With the return of a majority of the Durban 2000 group of "reform-minded independents" and three candidates of the ultra-right Civic Action League (CAL), NP strength on the council was reduced from 14 to 10.

The balance of power is firmly in the hands of Durban 2000 and their sympathisers, scotching fears that the CAL would be the decisive factor. The right appears to hold 13 wards compared with the 17 to their left.

The three CAL candidates won their seats from the National Party, in two cases from sitting NP councillors.

In Durban the NP lost seats to the left and to the right, and of the 23 seats contested, the party won only seven. Their other three seats were uncontested. The Conservative Party, however, won no seats at all.

Natal leader of the PFP, Roger Burrows, said the CAL win in three seats "may reflect voter discontent with the NP in those wards rather than true support for the CAL itself and its right-wing racist policies."

Following the Durban Coloured Local Affairs Committee (LAC) elections, the PFP is to begin court action challenging the outcome in one ward.

PFP regional director Roy Ainslie said when one of their ward chairmen standing for election died a few days before the polls, a by-election should have been called. But officials simply scratched off the name of Peter Marcus from the ballot paper.

The polls in the South Durban Indian LAC were very low, ranging from 6,32 to 18,73 percent. In the North Durban Indian LAC elections the percentage was higher, between 8,1 and 25 percent.

# Barricades blaze in Athlone

ANTI-ELECTION demonstrations and police action against protesters resulted in injuries, arrests and damage to the University of the Western Cape residences this week.

Barricades blazed in Athlone as pupils staged placard demonstrations which culminated in violent clashes with police.

At Alexander Sinton High, 17 pupils were injured on Tuesday after police used teargas and sjamboks to break up the third anti-election protest in three days. Police said they had been stoned.

The incidents, coming after similar clashes between police and pupils in schools in Bonteheuwel, Mitchell's Plain and Athlone since last Friday, prompted the director-general of the Department of Education and Culture, Awie Muller, to seek a meeting with police to express concern over police action.

Meanwhile, the UWC has called for a full inquiry into incidents on Monday when teargas grenades, fired by police into residences, started fires causing thousands of rands' damage.

Four students were treated in hospital following clashes with the police after students had marched to the university's main gate after an anti-election rally and police were stoned.

Police said they were investigating a charge of public violence and three charges of malicious damage to property after the incident, in which two policemen were injured.

# Soviets' stance on SA is unchanged

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — Soviet delegates to the talks here are emphasising that, while they welcome the opportunity of speaking to liberal Afrikaner academics, there is no chance of their joining South African Government officials around the negotiating table until apartheid is ended.

The Soviet contingent, made up of Africa experts from various universities and research foundations, denies there is any softening in Moscow of the traditional anti-apartheid stance.

The South African Foreign Ministry has recently intimated its belief that the Soviet Union could play a beneficial part in bringing peace to the region. There have been hints that it might be interested in joining the round-table negotiations on the future of Angola and Namibia.

But, while the Soviet delegates concede their country could play a role, they have repeated their support for sanctions and the ANC.

The views of the Soviet Communist Party were expressed by Professor Vyatcheslav Tetekin, who conceded there was "potential for the development of political and economic relations with South Africa".

Since 1984, there had been "an entirely new situation in South Africa, putting the broad popular masses united in hundreds of legal organisations into the arena of struggle".

Professor Tetekin described recent reforms as "largely cosmetic" and the political climate was therefore not conducive to the return of South Africa as a full member of the world community.

● See Page 15.

# Media blamed for the Red alert

By SUE LEEMAN

South Africans are being kept in the dark about Russia, says a Soviet academic.

LEVERKUSEN — The South African media have been accused of keeping the South African public in the dark about the Soviet Union, thereby fuelling mistrust and suspicion.

In a strong speech to Soviet and Afrikaner academics gathered in Leverkusen for talks with the ANC, Mr Sergei Borisov, of the Institute of African Studies at the USSR Academy of Sciences, said that for decades South Africans had received meagre information — or misinformation — about the Soviet Union.

He made no distinction between the pro-Government media and the opposition Press.

Most information about the Soviets, he said, came from Western sources which had little affection for the USSR and the public received "only that information that fitted in with the official doctrine of total onslaught".

As a result, everything that did not square with a newspaper editor's concept of the Soviet Union and socialism went straight into the basket.

Most periodicals continued to handle news and features about the Soviet Union in this way, he said.

However, in recent months members of the South African media had, to some extent, moved away from the principle "of writing bad things or nothing about the Soviet Union" after a number of South African journalists visited the Soviet Union and wrote about their experiences.

Mr Borisov said the South African Government had maintained a "state of benevolent neutrality" towards these ventures to the USSR.

"But as there is no suggestion that the apartheid regime is going to abandon anti-communism as part of its ideology the present 'thaw' is rather a tactical manoeuvre. Playing the Soviet card is part of Pretoria's new active diplomacy," he said.

"This view is confirmed by the fact that in any contacts with officials or public figures or scientists the majority of white South Africans visiting the USSR look for some confirmation of their thesis about 'a change in the Soviet policy on South Africa' or, at least, for hints that the Soviet Union may reduce its support for the liberation movement in exchange for the establishment of relations with the apartheid regime.

"The South African media seize at every statement made in an interview or private conversation that may confirm their thesis, though, even when taken out of context, they indicate the opposite."

# Mamelodi elects 7 new councillors

Star 28/10/88

By McKeed Kotlolo, 3041
Pretoria Bureau

Some 22 255 Mamelodi residents — 27,53 percent of the electorate — voted in an incident-free municipal poll which saw seven new councillors elected.

Among them was former local mayor Mr Alex Kekana, who resigned from the council a year ago under pressure from his family.

He obtained 2 134 votes the highest number — while his opponent, former councillor, Mr J Mahlangu received only 401 votes.

Another former mayor, Mr Z B Ndlazi, was challenged by two candidates in Ward 7, but convincingly won the seat.

Those councillors who retained their seats are Mr Peter Mphuti — Ward 5, Mr Simon Mokone — Ward 9, Mr Zuluboy Mtshweni — Ward 8, Mr Harry Ngwasheng — Ward 6, Mr Ndlazi — Ward 7, Mr Ben Shirenda — Ward 2 (unopposed), and Mr S Rammala — Ward 11.

Two new candidates, Mr James Maluleke — Ward 13, and Mr Joey Makgatho — Ward 14 were unopposed.

The other new councillors are; Mr J Mabotha — Ward 12, Mr Josiah Mphokeng — Ward 4, Mr Lesetsa Bambo — Ward 10, Mr Moses Molebo — Ward 1.

304A Sunday Times 28/10/88

# What do the polls prove?

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE October 26 municipal elections, branded the most democratic by the Government, have raised more questions than there are answers.

The Government based its claim of democracy on the fact that, for the first time, all race groups voted for local authorities on the same day.

Acknowledging discrepancies in voter knowledge, the Government pumped R4,5 million in an advertising campaign that told voters that they would "make it happen" if they voted.

Make what happen? Answering this question would in part shed light on the election.

For white politics, the Government's reform programme was put to the test.

Worried by a swing to the right, the Government wanted the electorate to stem this tide. The Progressive Federal Party, holding a centrist position, seemed to pale in these elections, which had taken a national flavour.

Election results indicate that the Nationalists have gained control of major urban areas — significantly Johannesburg and Pretoria.

The main issue in Johannesburg was the city's metropolis which has a very high percentage of black residents.

The Nats will now have come up with a solution to the question of "grey areas."

After the scrapping of the highly contentious Bill on group areas, does this mean that blacks in Hillbrow, Mayfair, (which fell into Conservative Party hands), Yeoville and other "grey" areas can now still live with the fear of being ejected for being in "wrong places."

The Nats' position during the campaign was that "we believe in own areas."

Pretoria has always been regarded as a conservative area and the battle there was convincing the voters who were more *verkrampt* than whom.

This then does not change the position in any material form.

On the black side, a completely different and fascinating picture emerges.

While the names of white candidates were public knowledge, those of their black counterparts became known through bitter court cases when opponents tried to unseat one another long before the first votes were cast.

The election mood prevailed in white areas with posters lining up the streets and speeches by the dozen. Black areas seemed to belong to a completely different country.

## Stake

At stake for black candidates were their reputations — if they can be so called since the last election (in 1983) saw an average percentage poll of around six percent.

Soweto, which is sometimes used as a yardstick, had a percentage poll of 11 percent. The East Rand also gave a thumbs down to the elections: Tembisa's poll was 3,62 percent.

In Tokoza, near Alberton, 13 percent of the 14 percent official poll represented special votes. Registered voters numbered 7 790 — about 15 percent of the estimated 50 000 adults living there. The actual number of voters was lower than in the 1983 poll

In Duduza on the East Rand seven out of 10 wards were contested. And although only 570 votes were cast the percent had been cast as as 21 percent, of which 15 percent had been case as prior votes. The area's 2 660 registered voters represent only 13 percent of the estimated adults in the area.

In the Witbank township of kwaGuqa the number of voters was down on the 1983 figure. Votes of 6 360 persons were recorded (as against more than 8 000 five years ago). Yesterday's official poll, based on 18 500 registered voters, was 34 percent.

This was not surprising in view of black councils' track record. Almost all the urban councils in the Transvaal and the Cape are facing rent boycotts.

Soweto's mayor, Mr Nelson Botile and chairman of the council's management committee, Mr Letsatsi Radebe, lost their seats. The elections saw the rise to power of former mayor Mr Ephraim Tshabalala's son, Butana. It has also seen the Sofasonke Party returning with 29 out of 35 seats

This is due to the party's huge base of the old, the unemployed, the homeless and the sickly. The party's organisational machinery saw to it that voters were well fed and properly bussed to election posts. This was also the case in the Vaal Triangle.

Whether the party will fulfil its promises of better housing, a cleaner environment and properly run services remains to be seen.

In the Vaal Triangle, where the rent boycott started in 1984, only 12 of the sitting councillors, out of 44 candidates, retained their seats.



MR Butana Tshabalala



MR Steve Kgame

These include bitter rivals mayor Mr Esau Mahlatsi and "opposition" leader Mr Samuel Kolisang.

The high number of unseated candidates signifies their unpopularity as well as their inability to solve problems in the region. The Vaal Triangle has some of the worst unemployment and housing problems in the country.

What the elections have proved, if such proof was ever needed, was that black councillors still have a long way to go before being fully accepted by residents.

If the elections were a step towards democracy — as the Government claimed — will this be taken further in the next general elections (some commentators believe these will take place some time next year)?

# 'Make the right decision for your children' — PW

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

SMITHFIELD — The State President, Mr P W Botha, appealed last night to voters to make the right decision so that in 40 years' time their children would say their choice had been right.

He was addressing a National Party meeting of 600 people at Smithfield in the southern Free State.

He said no party, and least of all the National Party, was perfect.

South Africa had a case to put to the world and it would be a stupid Government that acted in such a way that it decreased the number of its friends who were opposed to sanctions.

He had recently told leaders in Europe and Africa that sanctions were a "march of folly". If sanctions succeeded they would be fatal for southern Africa and the rest of the continent.

Mr Botha said: "That is why we have friends in the world who fight together with us against sanctions."

He said 1 million unemployed people had been trained to fend for themselves in the economy over the past three years.

Since the Government and the private sector had started training schemes for the unemployed in 1985, more than 300 job training centres had been established.

By the end of this year 1 million people would have been trained in them so that they could be in a position to help themselves.

Mr Botha said that in the past decade, the 10 years of his administration, R820 million had been spent by the Government on the erection of 28 000 housing units for whites. Yet people were going round saying his Government "gave everything to the blacks".

In the same period, because their need and backlog was so much greater, R1 600 million had been spent on 112 000 units for coloureds.

In addition, 68 700 units had been built for Indians and 134 000 for blacks.

He said that if the Government's population development programme was to succeed, people had to be "taken out of the bush and put into houses".

Only then would the Christian message get through to them.

"We will not get this right while people live in poverty and suffering," he said.

And he reminded the audience of the words of Dr Verwoerd: "We cannot sleep peacefully at night while our neighbours are starving."

# Two key NP men out in Randburg

Star 28/10/88 (304A)

By Lloyd Coutts

Shock waves spread through Randburg when two key National Party councillors lost their seats in a vote which left a majority role in doubt.

The NP secured six seats, the Progressive Federal Party five and the independent candidates two, which means that neither the PFP nor the NP gained an outright majority.

The parties will have to look to the independents for support. But an imminent by-election in a crucial ward may swing the odds in favour of the PFP.

Mr Ernst Pienaar (NP) lost Ward 12 to independent Mr Cyril Ford, a former UP mayor of Randburg.

Mr Thys Sutherland (NP) lost Ward 11 by three votes to the PFP's Mr Brian Crail.

Mr Frans Lourens, former chairman of the management committee, said he did not wish to see a situation with independents wielding a whip over an NP caucus.

Mr Andre Jacobs, the leader of the PFP in the council, said the independents were more conservative than liberal and were more likely to align themselves with the nationalists.

The commitment of Mr Ford and Mr Chris Plange, the other winning independent, would be put to the test.

If they stood firm on their stated intentions of placing the interests of the ratepayers ahead of other considerations "then I think we can make a deal".

"But if it's going to be heavy on politics I think they'll go to the other side," he said.

Unconfirmed statistics indicate the PFP polled about 15 percent more votes overall than anybody else in Randburg.

## Black vote disappointing, say analysts

# More parliamentary seats for CP likely

Star 28/10/88

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Political analysts today estimated that, based on its performance in the municipal elections, the Conservative Party could gain between 11 and 23 parliamentary seats in a snap general election.

They also pointed out that the low percentage polls among black voters pointed to a rejection of local authority structures.

But they did not agree on the performance of the white political Left.

Professor Dirk Laurie, of Potchefstroom University, said that there had been a slight swing to the CP in the Transvaal but not in the other provinces. Although the CP had not captured Pretoria, it had fared better than expected.

The Progressive Federal Party's performance in Johannesburg and Durban had "not been too discouraging" but the party had not impressed in Randburg.

Although Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party had obtained a majority in Somerset West in the Cape, the NP had taken control of adjacent Strand.

These two municipalities fell within the Helderberg parliamentary constituency and thus effectively cancelled each other out.

Mr Gary van Staden, senior research officer at the Institute of International Affairs, said a general swing to the right in the white elections had been recorded. The NP had gained from its left and lost to its right.

The CP could no longer be regarded as a rural party and could take at least another 11 seats in the next general election. But it should have fared better in the Free State.

The white left seemed to have lost interest in breakaway groups such as the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, said Mr van Staden.

Potchefstroom political analyst Mr Donald Simpson said both the NP and the CP would be slightly disappointed with the results. There had been a small variable swing to the CP from the NP. He estimated this at roughly five percent since last year's general election.

But the CP had failed to win many of its targets, such as Pretoria, he said.

The PFP and the IP had polled well in Durban, East London, Midrand, Johannesburg and Randburg.

Mr Simpson predicted a next Parliament consisting of 100 NP and 45 CP seats, while giving 20 seats to parties on the Government's left. The NP presently holds 123 seats, the CP 22, and the parties on the left 21.

The Government would be disappointed in the percentage poll in the black elections, said Mr van Staden.

"For example, Soweto's percentage poll has been given as 11 percent. But, if the town's total adult population is taken into account, the percentage poll was not higher than three to four percent. Based on a 13-day election, this must be very disappointing to the Government."

Mr Simpson said the percentage poll had been registered against the background of "enormous governmental pressure on black residents to vote and with the opponents of the elections restricted and detained".

# Turnout positive, says Stoffel on US show

Star 28 July 1989 36(A)

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The turnout at the elections had been "very satisfactory" — beyond the expectations of many, Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said on Wednesday night.

Speaking on the American television show "Nightline", he said the turnout could be seen as a willingness by black people to take part in the opportunity of creating democracy.

Dr van der Merwe appeared on the 30-minute programme with a Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, and the anti-apartheid leader Dr Alan Boesak. Dr van der Merwe refused to join a discussion directly with Dr Boesak, according to "Nightline's" Mr Ted Koppel.

Mr Derby-Lewis said his party had fared well in Pretoria where it was neck-and-neck with the National Party.

"We are establishing the Conservative Party as a real factor in Pretoria, the capital city," he said. He dismissed the importance of the outcome in Johannesburg.

On why so much had been made of blacks, whites and coloureds voting on the same day, Dr Boesak said the South African Government had wanted to present the elections as part of its "so-called programme of reform, to show the world it is broadening democracy, as they call it".

"For them, I suppose it's important for the international community to see it as such."

Asked what would happen if the CP won, Dr Boesak said there would be immediate problems, such as a probable return to petty apartheid. He said many black people were, however, hoping for a CP victory to "rip the mask off this reform sham".

"These elections will not make any difference whatsoever," Dr Boesak said — neither to the continued resistance of black people, nor to the fact that the country would one day be truly democratic.

"All these plans of the National Party will come to nought," he said.

# Polls big news in UK media

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The outcome of the South African municipal elections is major news in the British media today.

Michael Hornsby of *The Times* sees Mr Botha remaining in control of the volatile middle ground of white politics.

But black South Africans remain overwhelmingly indifferent, if not outrightly hostile.

The main effect of the election, he thinks, is that it could prod Mr Botha into risking slightly bolder liberalising moves.

Anthony Robinson of the *Financial Times* says South Africa's white electorate "looked over the parapet at the prospect of racial conflict offered by policies of the Conservative Party and, at least outside Transvaal, retreated to a safe distance".

But he says, "most important ... is confirmation that the CP does not have national appeal and is essentially a right-wing Afrikaner tribal party. It is not an unstoppable steamroller ...".

The platteland, where the CP made its biggest gains, represents South Africa's past, he says. "The future is being forged in the cities."

*The Financial Times*, again urges talks with a cross section of black leaders including Nelson Mandela.



Three generations of right-wing support . . . CP candidate in Garsfontein Mars Anna-Marie Laas (right) had the support of her mother, Mrs Anna Boshoff (left) — wife of Professor Carel Boshoff — and her grandmother, Mrs Betsie Verwoerd, in her election campaign.

Star 28/10/88

# Writing on the wall for many MPs

(3049)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The writing could be on the wall for several parliamentarians, including senior Cabinet Ministers, following Wednsday's municipal elections.

In the Transvaal, the Conservative Party seized control of a number of towns which form the major components of constituencies represented by senior Nationalists.

These include Lydenburg (in the constituency of the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis), Vanderbijlpark (Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen), Potchefstroom (the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange) and Krugersdorp (Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels).

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's constituency in Johannesburg, Westdene, could also be in jeopardy following the surprise gain of Ward 13 (Melville) for the Progressive Federal Party, which cost the seat of the National Party's deputy leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Johan Fick.

The National Party managed to hold on to Vereeniging, in the constituency of Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, in spite of a tremendous CP onslaught.

Losses in several wards will flash warning lights to MPs.

The PFP member for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, now finds his seat under increasing pressure from conservative voters.



Minister of Manpower, Pietie du Plessis

# Is this councillor CP, NP, or even UP?

Star 28/10/87

(3049)

By Therese Anders
Highveld Bureau

Control of the Witbank Town Council is in dispute following the municipal elections.

The Conservative Party, who were expecting a landslide, took apparent control with a narrow 6-5 win.

However the independents, most of whom are Nationalists, dispute this saying one of the CP's six councillors is not, in fact, a CP man.

In the middle of the dispute is Mr Ronnie Koch who admitted to The Star that he was not a member of the CP.

Elected unopposed, Mr Koch said he wished to be described as "an independent United Party member who is supported by the Conservative Party".

Mr Koch wore his green United Party tie to election night.

He would not be more forthcoming on his ties with the CP, but stressed: "I hate the Government and have been fighting them since 1948."

Witbank's CP member of Parliament, the Reverend Wynand van Wyk, acknowledged that Mr Koch was not a CP member "but he's one of us".

However retiring management committee chairman, Mr Hennie Erasmus, was insistent that the CP had not taken the town. "Mr Koch is with us, he is not CP. Therefore the independents still control the council."

Returning independent councillor, Mr Yokkie Shill said the Witbank CP "have been given the shock of their life, just as I predicted".

He too maintained independents held sway in the council.

In Middelburg the CP took over control of the town from the Nationalists with a 6-3 romp home. The town's CP member of Parliament described the result as a "fantastic swing to the CP of between 10 and 15 percent".

Ermelo's Nat council also fell when the CP won six of the nine wards. The former head of the south-eastern Transvaal region of the AWB, Mr Jan Brand — standing for the CP — missed a seat in the council by only two votes.

# Far-right gains in the Vaal Triangle

The Conservative Party gained control of two Vaal Triangle towns on Wednesday by winning seven wards in Vanderbijlpark and seven in Meyerton.

The CP also won four of Sasolburg's nine wards with independents and the National Party taking three and two seats respectively.

The only Vaal town where the National Party gained a majority was Vereeniging where the party took seven of the 12 wards. The CP won three and independent candidates two.

The NP chairman for the Southern Transvaal and MP for Vanderbijlpark, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said the defeat was a disappointment but should be regarded as a warning and a valuable experience for the road ahead.

# De Klerk says NP achieved its goals

By Deborah Smith
Pretoria Bureau

The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, said the National Party had with few exceptions achieved its goal in the PWV area.

Mr de Klerk, the Minister of National Education, said the Conservative Party's chief aim had been to gain control of Pretoria, but the results indicated that the National Party now ruled with a substantial majority.

The CP's second aim had been to win Vereeniging but the results indicated a "destructive setback".

There had been surprise victories for the NP in Randfontein — six seats to the CP's three.

This and the win in Standerton had to be seen in the light of by-elections earlier this year.

Official CP candidates in Tzaneen, Louis Trichardt, Barberton, Messina, Christiana, Belfast, Witbank, Bronkhorstspruit and Kinross were rejected by the voters, said Mr de Klerk.

He said there had been a good majority in Roodepoort where the NP had lost a seat last year.

## STRONG SUPPORT

The CP had won Pietersburg with a small majority of one and the voting showed the NP had made progress there.

Mr de Klerk said there had been disappointing results but the total results showed strong support for the National Party by the majority of white voters in the Transvaal.

"I see this as a confirmation of the mandate given to this NP in the May elections last year and am full of hope for the future in our fight against right and left elements in the Republic."

# Mayfair West win 'cause for concern'

By Melanie Gosling

The Conservative Party's victory in Mayfair West was cause for great concern and would heighten the group areas battle, a spokesman for Actstop said yesterday.

Mr Cas Coovadia of the publicity secretariat of Actstop, the organisation formed to fight the Group Areas Act and take on tenant-related problems in Johannesburg, said moves by the Johannesburg City Council to evict Indians living in the Mayfair West constituency would be energetically opposed.

On Wednsday night CP winner Mr Hendrik Claasen said he intended to "get Mayfair West white again", even if it meant evicting Indians living there.

Mr Coovadia said Mayfair West had already become a mixed suburb.

"That cannot be reversed. The Indians are a vital part of the community. If the CP tries to evict them they would be creating a situation of conflict. If the law backs them we will find evicted people camping on the pavements in Mayfair."

Mr Coovadia said Actstop would continue to offer legal protection to Indian residents in Mayfair West.

Mayfair West resident Mr Alan McCabe, who told The Star he had a criminal conviction for using force to prevent Indians from moving into the suburb, yesterday welcomed the CP victory.

"It's fantastic. I will certainly join forces with Claasen to help evict the Indians," he said.

Meanwhile, Indian residents living in the white suburb have expressed anxiety over the CP victory.

Mr Abdulla Davis said yesterday he had no intention of moving out voluntarily.

"But I suppose the Government can do anything it likes because it is the ruling party. My son has lived here for a year. We will just have to wait and see what happens."

Mrs Shenaaz Kajee said the CP victory had given her a feeling of insecurity.

"We've been here a year and so far have had no hassles. We will stay here until something happens," she said.

# Russian's call for talks with SA shocks Harare

Star 28/10/85

(271) (282) (3041)

**BY ROBIN DREW of The Star's Africa News Service.**

The suggestion from a visiting Soviet journalist that the Zimbabwe leaders should talk to Pretoria has sent shock waves through President Robert Mugabe's administration.

HARARE – Zimbabwe's differences with the Soviet Union on the correct approach to South Africa have become a public issue following remarks in Harare by a senior Soviet newsman.

Zimbabwe claims to stand for the "all or nothing" approach. Any suggestion of talking to President Botha meets with a definite and resounding "Nyet!" from President Mugabe.

Mr Botha must talk to South Africa's own black leaders first, after letting them out of prison, and also do something meaningful about ending apartheid is Harare's line.

It was reinforced only this week with vitriolic remarks by the Foreign Minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, about Pretoria's "hand of friendship being stained with the blood of black brothers and sisters".

This attitude is well known. So it caused something of a stir in Harare when, last week, a leading Soviet newsman, the deputy chairman of the Novosti Press Agency, Mr Karen Khachaturov, urged African leaders to talk to the South African Government.

The question of Pretoria talking to South African black leaders was a different issue, he said.

He clearly implied that it was unrealistic for President Mugabe and other African leaders to refuse to have dealings with Pretoria, relating this approach to outdated Soviet policy concerning the destruction of all imperialism in one sweep.

A senior Zimbabwean government official, who met the the three-man Soviet team led by Mr Khachaturov, told me he was quite bowled over by their views. "I never realised things had changed that much," he confessed.

Now the main newspaper in Zimbabwe, *The Herald*, which normally reflects government policy on all foreign policy issues has described Mr Khachaturov's statement as "truly frightening".

Calling for a Soviet clarification, the paper added: "We say frightening because it spells serious trouble for such 'refuseniks' as Zimbabwe because General Magnus Malan issued a warning to this country for our stand on the apartheid issue."

*The Herald* said Pretoria had lost the initiative and it would be tragic if the system were to be rescued by wrong signals at this delicate stage.

The editorial also maintained that recent apparent contradictions within the OAU over talks with South Africa had been resolved.

The current chairman, President Mousa Traore of Mali, had appeared to be condoning talks now with Pretoria, but had since reaffirmed that political prisoners had to be released and apartheid dismantled before Pretoria could be taken seriously.

This position should have the support of the socialist camp in particular, said the paper, but had been followed by the Soviet advice to accept "the crumbs" Mr Botha was offering.

The paper claimed "the stated Soviet position on the issue no longer coincides with that of Africa with regard to the issue of isolating the racist regime".

With some bitterness, the editorial concluded: "The not-so-subtle suggestion was that for the sake of 'world peace', Africa should surrender to reformed apartheid. That the apartheid regime will not relinquish racism, nor accept one man-one vote, is lost upon our dear colleague."

# Lenasia house searched

By Paula Fray

Police raided the home of the secretary of the People's Education Committee in Lenasia as polls opened for the municipal elections.

A Pretoria police spokesman said yesterday it was against policy to comment on routine police duties.

Mr Basheer Lorgat said seven policemen from the Protea Security Branch searched his house "superficially" soon after 7 am.

He said he was warned that if he knew of any action being planned for the day, "they would be tough on people".

"One man was exceptionally rude. I know they are allowed to search the house in terms of the emergency regulations, but I took exception to them entering, without asking, the room where my wife was sleeping," he said.

"Their action is indicative of their intolerance of any opposition to a sham election," he said.

WORRALL ON CHANGE

# Let's get together

**The fears** of white South Africans would be allayed through the actual experience of black leadership — and the man to do that most effectively would bé KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says Independent Party (IP) leader Denis Worrall. "If he appears on a platform with the PFP's Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall, the Labour Party's Allan Hendrickse and the National Democratic Movement's (NDM) Wynand Malan, the impact on white voters will be enormous. We would fill every city hall, including Bloemfontein and Pretoria."

Speaking at Rostrum at the Yard — a newly-established speaker's forum for Johannesburg businessmen — Worrall said he had said this to De Beer when he read about a possible merger between the IP, the NDM and the PFP. "Why stop with those three parties? Why not bring together all the people who share the same basic commitment and values to a nonracial democracy? We believe the analogy in SA politics which must apply now is the analogy which worked in Namibia. The DTA's Dirk Mudge realised what Namibia needed was a new political alignment which cut across political and colour lines."

By the next general election, which Worrall forecasts will be during April next year, the creative opposition should have its act together with such an alignment in place on the same platform, relaying the same message. He said: "I hope for the establishment of a neutral starting point to the negotiation process which is so important to our political future."

During question time, Worrall was accused of making a fundamental mistake by wanting to co-opt people instead of breaking through to organisations like the UDF, ANC, Azapo and the PAC. "Isn't that our problem — that we are only repeating the DTA's performance?" he was asked.

"The changes in Namibia were brought about by outside forces," Worrall responded. "There are no outside factors which will force white SA to make changes inside this country.

"I'm less concerned with the outcome in SA than I'm with the *transition* process. I'm less concerned worrying about people who do not wish to participate, people whose tactics are largely spoiling tactics, than I am about getting to a post-apartheid SA."

Such a SA through peaceful means is possible over the next five to six years; after that it is highly questionable, Worrall warned. "Unless white opinion is changed, unless whites are persuaded to accept the realities of our situation — political and economic — and the inevitability that there will be a government with more black faces than white faces, our situation will increasingly become polarised and take the road of a violent solution."




**Worrall ... 'I say there is hope'**

The answer is to address white South Africans and to make an impact on them: "I believe there are certain black leaders who still carry weight with white South Africans. There are, however, others — important as it is to keep an open-ended approach towards them — whose impact on white SA is quite negative.

"It does not mean to say those organisations (the ANC, PAC, UDF, and so on) will not have a role in government or will not be a decisive factor in the government of the eventual society which we create. It is the transition period which is critically important."

In Worrall's opinion there are two ways to ensure violence: "What the NP is doing by making small concessions and misleading white opinion by suggesting they do not have to face up to the realities. The other way is to opt out of system politics, to engage in extra-parliamentary politics and to ignore institutional power and the people in power."

Taking a swipe at former PFP leader Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert for "making his biggest mistake by forsaking parliament for extra-parliamentary politics," Worrall described whites as those still with institutional power and influence.

"Once you forget that whites still have that power, you forfeit the whole argument to rightwingers and the Conservative Party who say there is no hope. I say there is hope." ■

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ELECTION DAY ... THE BLACK MAN IN THE NAT COLOURS ... THE COMRADE CANDIDATE ...

# The black man with a broom and a Nat hat

"I KNOW nothing about these elections," said the ebony-black man wearing a hat draped in National Party colours and a huge National Party rosette. "The *umlungu* just told me to put these things on."

Pushing a broom outside the ward 26 polling station in Hillbrow, he radiated the indifference felt by most urban blacks to the October 16 hullabaloo.

Many black city-dwellers either ignored the polls or stayed at home, in response to the national day of protest called by anti-apartheid organisations.

For whites, there was something at stake. At midday, a steady trickle of voters were entering the Hillbrow polling booths.

Hillbrow could go either way, predicted the Conservative Party candidate, Andrew MacQueen. The NP's Rupert Korb boasted that he was leading the PFP by 200 votes at that stage.

The issue was a simple one —

**By THANDEKA GQUBULE**
*in Hillbrow*

blacks in flatland. All the candidates were thumping the same Group Areas tub, said MacQueen

To be fair, PFP candidate Gene Gunter said Hillbrow was already a non-racial community and that her party would work to develop it as such. Gunter wants the Group Areas Act abolished.

Being interviewed by a black reporter seemed to cramp MacQueen's "racy" style not one bit. "Blacks have made the area a slum," he declared "You only need to walk around to see this.

"Quite frankly, blacks have not conducted themselves in a way that is suitable to white people. They use the place as a giant lavatory. They have also created a massive overcrowding problem You can't cram everybody into a bachelor's flat; the infrastructure just can't cope."

If the CP came to power, it would enforce the Group Areas Act as strictly as possible, he warned.

The PFP's Gunter said she regretted that so many Hillbrow residents were not able to vote

For the NP's Korb, this was not an issue Hillbrow blacks were there illegally, and it was up to whites to decide whether they wanted blacks in their area, he said.

"Whites own all the property in Hillbrow; they are the ones with something to lose."

At another white polling station visited by the *Weekly Mail*, for Mayfair (ward 35), the trickle of voters grew to a steady stream as residents returned from work. Many of them were old people who had decided to stay in the area, despite the influx of Indian and coloured residents

But many whites who have moved out of the area — perhaps after selling their house to an Indian at a grossly inflated price — remain on the voters' roll, and have come back to register their protest over Group Areas "illegals" at the polls

As in Hillbrow, "race and *tuis*" was the issue

A CP supporter commented "Under the National Party, no race in South Africa knows where it is heading Each race faces an uncertain future."

The CP has a very clear idea of what it will do with the Indians and coloured people in Mayfair The party will "kick them out, using force if necessary," are the kindly words of CP candidate Johan Van Wyck

"We want this area to remain white because it has always been white I agree that Indians who live here must exercise a vote, but in their own area. They must go and vote in Lenasia," he said

Asked whether mass removals might spark protest from Indian and coloured families living in the area, he said, "I don't see it."

Van Wyck conceded that the physical face of Mayfair had improved since the influx of middle-class Indians, but, pointing to an attractive Indian-owned house in the vicinity, insisted: "They only do up their front gardens — behind the house it stinks.

"Natives live in their backyards I would like you to write in your paper that there are more natives in Mayfair than there are whites, Indians and coloureds together."

Van Wyck was confident of a snow-white future for Mayfair under the CP.

Although a marginal presence in this constituency, the PFP had a different vision for Mayfair

Said a party worker, Anthony Skinner "People are tired of the indecision, of not knowing whether the area is going to be grey or white We in the PFP believe the whole Group Areas Act must be scrapped

"We are for security and municipal police — but we can have these in a non-racial system."

In the last constituency visited by this reporter, Melville (ward 13), the youthful, go-ahead image of the CP candidate made a rather strange contrast with her elderly ideas.

Attractive former TV presenter Elma Potgieter told the *Weekly Mail*: "I believe in order to avoid racial conflict, we should keep the races apart."

● The NP's Korb took ward 26 with 684 votes, against 636 votes for the PFP's Gunter and 409 for the CP's MacQueen. Ward 35 was taken by the NP candidate, Koos Roets, with 492 votes, against 260 for the CP's Van Wyck and 63 for the PFP candidate, Vanessa Mazaris. In ward 13, the right-wing vote was split by the CP's Potgieter, who polled 393 votes. In a shock result, the PFP candidate, Deon van Greunen, took the seat with 1 071 votes. The NP's candidate, deputy NP leader in the council Johan Fick polled 978 votes.

# VOTE, says the comrade in the old ANG Anglia

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*in Ikageng*

COMRADE Chele is "a comrade in a responsible sense, a confidant and a help-mate".

This was the message Esau Chele sent out to the voters of Ikageng township (ward two) on small election posters, handwritten and photostatted in sprawling black letters.

At the bottom of the poster, just below the word "RESIDENTS!" was what seemed to be an afterthought — "UP to Parliamentary Level! Tot op Parlementsvlak!", written in spidery ballpoint.

Chele, 69, spent most of Wednesday waiting for the voters of this Potchefstroom township outside the polling booth — the Nazarene Church Hall — his shirt hanging out, his trouser-fly wide open.

"To the people who say it's worthless participating in the council, I say that we need leadership and service to the residents of our township, especially in ward two," Chele told the *Weekly Mail*.

If elected, Chele — who says he worked for the "bureau of information" for 18 years and served on the Qwa Qwa legislative assembly — will secure building sites for residents, help them get jobs and make it easier for the aged to collect their pensions.

All these problems exist, he says, because of negligence on the part of the sitting councillor for ward two, Gabriel Moraladi, his opponent.

As our interview ends, the candidate climbs into an ancient Anglia, the letters "ANG" still clawing to the sagging boot, the windows covered with "Comrade Chele" posters.

As Chele, a part-time driving instructor, grates the gears through to second and chugs off in a cloud of black smoke, the small boys clustered along the pavement give him a cheer.

"He hasn't got a chance," says Moraladi. At 72, he is Chele's senior and has been a councillor of one kind or another in Ikageng for 35 years — starting, he says, with the advisory boards.

"They are flocking in, my people, they are coming in like anything," he says as six mid-afternoon voters line up. Most return his greeting with "hullo, uncle".

"If there was no council, we don't know what could have happened," he says. "Now with this new system, we have got even the chance to work with the regional service councils."

Moraladi, who has been both chairman and vice-chairman of the Ikageng council — the chairman and vice-chairman get R2 000 and R1 500 a month, councillors get R500 — says most residents believe in the elections.

The young people though are "not so interested. Some of them, are going with these political affairs," he says. The council is also concerned with politics, he says, but it is mostly about what Moraladi calls "civics".

"I've promised my voters that I will try and get ground here for low-income housing," he says.

The critical need for housing in Ikageng is probably the only point on which opponents of the election would agree with Moraladi.

There was as much graffiti in Ikageng — "Long live IYCO (Ikageng Youth Congress)", "Don't vote for criminals" — as there were white crosses and squirrels; more if you count the irregular blotches of white paint censoring the walls of the township stadium.

And in spite of recent detention of youth and civic activists and the quiet in the township on polling day, more direct opposition to the elections was not hard to find.

"By tomorrow, nothing will have changed," said John Kgori, fieldworker for the South African Council of Churches. "As long as this is not real democracy, as long as organisations are deprived of taking part, these are not elections at all. They are elections only because the National Party has called for them. They have no meaning to us."

Kgori and others say the Ikageng town council has done "nothing at all" to date, especially where housing is concerned. (Moraladi, after some thought, said the council had built 24 houses in the past four years.)

"The candidates have all been promising things they can't do," said one activist. "At one of their meetings this guy stood up and said: 'Why are you promising people heaven and earth, that you will build them houses?'

"He asked the candidate if he was aware of the illegal squatting and slum Acts presently before parliament. The candidate closed the meeting and the next day the fellow was taken in and questioned for five hours."

Activists said this kind of questioning did not just come from politically active residents. "One of the hawkers asked the mayor, Richard Sepotokele, why he was always being refused a licence. The mayor said unlicensed hawkers could expect arrest, and he didn't care if they voted for him or not."

Kgori and others said the State of Emergency was the major reason for the lack of visible opposition to the elections. "It's a conservative area," said one. "When we come up strong they just clamp us down."

But they also acknowledge that there are other forces at work. "The only way to get a house is to get a loan," said one resident. "It is mostly professionals like teachers and civil servants who get them.

"These people were in our organisations, but they are now bound by their loans."

"Generally, people are with us in our work and our struggle," said Kgori.

Kgori said it might be better if the Conservative Party were to win the election in white Potchefstroom. "With the Conservative Party, they call a spade a spade," he said.

"They don't care if you are a councillor or a policeman — you are still a kaffir. That way everybody knows their position."

There does not seem to be open antagonism to council candidates.

"I believe that we have to work towards real reconciliation," says Kgori. "Some day we will have to reconstruct our communities. Whatever the councillors do, they still remain our people."



Sofasonke candidate Hazel Nkoti and supporters help prospective voters.
Picture ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

# The raucous temptation of Tshabalala

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Some residents of Zondi, Naledi, Naledi Extension and Mapetla appeared to believe the slogan, as they came in small numbers to cast their vote. Most of them were pensioners.

If many Sowetans had no idea who their candidates were, most at least knew one man, Ephraim "Mshengu" Tshabalala.

Kombis, vans and minibuses decorated with party slogans disrupted an otherwise quiet Wednesday morning with raucous Sofasonke rhetoric.

*"Ha re eng — ha re eng"* (let's go) filtered a campaigner's voice from a loudhailer. The little children, who had turned the streets into a playground, imitated the voice.

Sofasonke has promised the Soweto residents that they will not be evicted for rent arrears,

**By MZIMKULU MALUNGA**
*in Soweto*

and that people will only pay a R15 service charge

This is not the first time the party has made tempting promises to residents. In 1983, during the black local authorities elections, residents were promised that rent would be R5. That amount was later increased.

One of the Sofasonke candidates in Zondi, a former salesman at Clover dairies, Isaac Galela, accused previous councillors of corruption and defecting from Sofasonke.

Some of the candidates, most of whom were already serving in the Soweto City Council, stood as independents.

Occasionally, a lonely kombi carrying three or four people roamed the streets countering "Mshengu's" party rhetoric.

"Don't be fooled — these people won't be there when your television sets are taken away!" shouted a voice from a kombi through a loudhailer.

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Galela seemed to have received most of the votes. His rival Michael Gewensa's camp was deserted.

Like Merafe, Naledi Extention was quiet. The battle was between the chairman of the management committee of the city council, Letsatsi Radebe, and Edison Mokitime.

Both candidates sounded uncertain about the outcome of the elections, although "Vuur, Fire Come-Come 2000", as Mokitime is referred to by his supporters, was more optimistic than his rival.

Scores of bored policemen and soldiers of the 21st Battalion could be spotted in and around polling stations reading comics, wrapped up in their own affairs.

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Like Merafe, Naledi Extention was quiet. The battle was between the chairman of the management committee of the city council, Letsatsi Radebe, and Edison Mokitime.

Both candidates sounded uncertain about the outcome of the elections, although "Vuur, Fire Come-Come 2000", as Mokitime is referred to by his supporters, was more optimistic than his rival.

Scores of bored policemen and soldiers of the 21st Battalion could be spotted in and around polling stations reading comics, wrapped up in their own affairs.

304A WMAIL 28-3 NOV 1988

# Intense security at the polls – but voters stay home

● From PAGE 1

were undoubtedly met ... The lack of knowledge and the attendant apathy among a significant number of people in our country are things which we cannot change overnight.

"Even so, the results were a victory for those who wanted the extension of democracy ... The people of South Africa have voted for peaceful development. Democracy (and) black participation in decision-making on the local level is a reality in 248 black local authorities."

But opponents say only a fraction of African adults conferred credibility on the local authority system by taking part.

In a statement yesterday, Archbishop Desmond Tutu also threw doubt on government claims. "The goverment's interpretation of the election statistics amounts to a 'heads we win, tales you lose' logic. How can there be a solid mandate when half the seats for blacks were not even contested? How does a 10 or 12 percent poll in Soweto constitute a solid mandate?" he asked.

Mafolo said the overwhelming majority of eligible voters stayed away from the polls "despite the unprecedented and massive repressive forces in the townships.

"Once more, this is a vote of no confidence in Botha's constitutional initiatives," he said.

According to Richard Humphries of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, "it may well turn out, once all the results are available, that there is a nominal increase in the number of votes cast.

"But it will not be the significant change of black hearts and minds that the government was hoping for — despite the extensive publicity campaigns around the elections and the township upgrading programmes."

Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe announced on the day before voting that publicity campaigns had resulted in a "90 percent awareness" of the elections among black South Africans.

But Minister of Constitutional Planning, Chris Heunis, yesterday explained the discrepancy between high awareness and low participation by saying: "This did not mean that all people had been informed sufficiently with regard to (the elections') nature and functioning.

"One should have understanding for the fact that a large number of people in the country, especially among the black population, lack a tradition of elections in the Western sense of the word," he said.

The estimate that about 10 percent of eligible voters cast their ballots is calculated on the assumption of an overall African population of 26-million, including all homelands. Assuming half of this number are ineligible because of their residence in the TVBC (Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciseki) and "self-governing" territories, and a further one million because of their residence on farms, this leaves a total estimated African township population of some 12-million.

Approximately 60 percent can be assumed to have been too young to vote, leaving an estimated five million eligible African adults. (The official state estimate is 3,1-million.)

The Bureau for Information announced a prior voting percentage in contested wards of 19,3 — suggesting a total voting potential of 1,4-million in these wards. If the final poll tallies at around 30 percent, fewer than half a million Africans will have made their marks on the ballot sheets.

In addition, a high proportion of African wards were uncontested (almost one-third in the Transvaal) — and in some no candidates came forward at all.

The response in African constituencies varied sharply from area to area. In Soweto, the country's largest and most important township, for example, only 11 percent of registered voters — an estimated 2,8 percent of adult residents — took part. In Greater Soweto's second largest component, Diepmeadow, the poll was 10,5 percent — or 4 787 valid votes cast.

This pattern — no appreciable improvement on previous polls, and a result representing the will of only a fraction of residents — was mirrored in many townships throughout the PWV area.

The highest returns recorded in African areas were in small townships in the Eastern and Western Transvaal, but respectable polls were also announced in Khayelitsha.

Percentage polls in the coloured and Indian elections were expected to be higher than in African wards, especially in rural regions of the Cape.

However, elections for coloured "management committees" in Cape Town resulted in polls uniformly less than 20 percent.

The results of local elections for Indian wards appeared to be similarly varied. In a statement issued yesterday, the Transvaal Indian Congress declared the results in its province "a vote of no-confidence in the government".

The TIC estimated 81 000 out of 100 000 Indian adults in the Transvaal "did not vote at all. A maximum of 19 percent have actually voted."

Open trading areas first battleground

# Govt braced for election aftershock

(30+A)

Star 28/10/88

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**The tremors of this week's countrywide local government elections are starting to rock South African politics.**

In the aftermath of the polls, which saw the Conservative Party make further advances in the Transvaal and which produced wildly varying levels of participation in the black elections, the following developments are shaping up:

● Scores of Conservative Party-dominated town councils in the Transvaal and the Free State are set to become the battlegrounds for a huge clash of wills between the CP and the National Party central Government

Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has already given notice that his party will start reconstructing apartheid in the 90-odd towns which the CP won control of in the two provinces in the municipal elections.

● Politicians in all parties are bracing themselves for an early general election

The overall results of the elections have highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of the National Party and the State President may opt for a parliamentary poll in either March or April next year. There is known to be Cabinet support for an early election. A Cabinet meeting is being held today and the implications of the municipal election results are expected to be discussed

● Speculation of an imminent Cabinet reshuffle has intensified, although this may be put off until after an early general election

● With the elections for black local authorities over, the Government has moved a step closer to constituting the National Council, which will give blacks a say at central level of government.

The State President, Mr P W Botha's first action after the election has been to refer the group areas and squatting Bills, which had been rejected by two of the Houses of Parliament, to the President's Council for decision and recommendations

Mr Botha's only reaction to Wednesday's elections so far has been that the results are encouraging for the future of the country.

[illegible] referring to the fact that although the CP continued to advance, the municipal elections had shown that its rate of progress had started to taper. Not only did the CP fail to break out of its rural and Transvaal strongholds to any significant extent, but the National Party managed to retain control of important towns in CP constituencies

The Government has also been pleased with the outcome of the black local government elections, which, spokesmen are saying, have proved there is a basis for broadening democracy according to the NP formula.

The next step in this process is likely to be the nomination of black representatives on the proposed National Council by the black town councillors who have just been elected

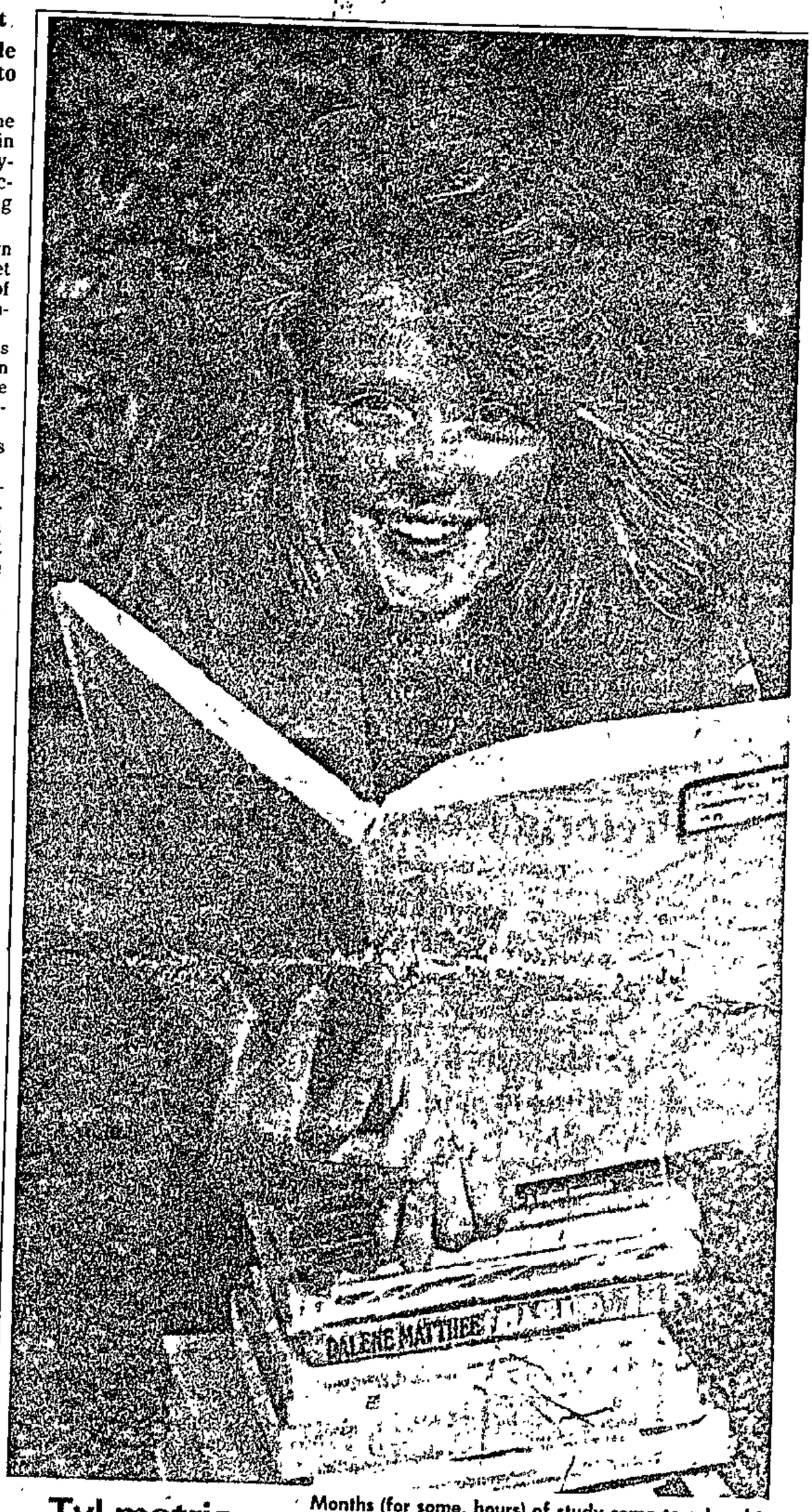
The CP won control of scores of towns on election promises that it would revert to old-style apartheid.

Dr Treurnicht announced yesterday steps would be taken to restore to the whites those trading areas in white local authorities which had been opened to all races.

He also said the CP would use its representation on regional services councils (RSCs) to further white interests.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis said today Dr Treurnicht could not close down business districts which had already been opened to all race groups

This could only be done by changing the law, which meant the CP would have to have a parliamentary majority.




**Tvl matric starts today**

Months (for some, hours) of study come to a head te thousands of school pupils in the Transvaal start th examinations. Samantha Hogg, of Benoni Hig squeezed in last-minute facts yesterday on the eve final examinations. ● Picture by Kare

mentary majority.

# CP 'to turn back the group areas clock'

By Claire Robertson and Deborah Smith

The first challenge to Government policy from a Conservative Party-dominated Transvaal platteland was launched yesterday when leader of the CP Dr Andries Treurnicht indicated that the party would seek to turn back the group areas clock in towns it controlled.

More than two-thirds of the province's 84 "white" towns are in the hands of the CP after this week's municipal election.

The CP would try to close racially desegregated central business districts in those towns, Dr Treurnicht said at a press conference yesterday.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis responded immediately by pointing out that open trading areas were declared by central Government and not local authorities.

Town councils did not have the authority to close areas declared open by central Government, he said.

Black township development is also at risk following the CP victories. Dr Treurnicht said the election had given the CP a greater majority in the regional services councils (RSC).

The CP-controlled towns could exert influence in the RSCs especially regarding budgeting, said Dr Treurnicht.

Starts today

squeezed in last-minute facts yesterday final examinations.

# More belt tightening as rate increase is forecast

By Sven Lünsche

Home owners and consumers buying on hire purchase face higher monthly charges within weeks as financial authorities prepare to put up interest rates again.

The financial markets yesterday sent a clear signal to the authorities that interest rates will have to be increased as soon as possible — raising the spectre of higher lending and bond rates.

And the Reserve Bank is expected to oblige next week by raising the bank rate by up to 1,5 percentage points from its current level of 12,5 percent.

The key short-term liquid BA rate yesterday rose from 14,5 to 14,75 percent, its highest level in three years, an indication that dealers anticipate a higher level of general interest rates soon.

The commercial banks, which have emerged as major players in the housing loan market over the last two years, could implement possible increases immediately.

With the exception of the Standard Bank, whose bond rate is currently fixed at 15,75 percent, all banks and building societies at present charge 16 percent on bonds.

If bond rates are raised by 1,5 percentage points, home owners would see their interest payments go up from 12,5 percent at the beginning of the year to 17,5 percent, effectively increasing the monthly repayments on a R70 000 bond by over R300.

● Sapa reports that the Government is unlikely to put up GST before next year's budget.

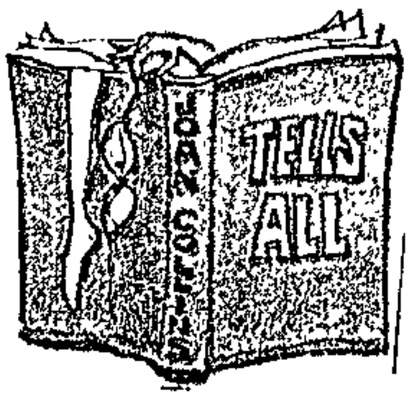
Government sources said that those pushing speculation about an increase in GST following the local government elections were likely to be deeply disappointed.


THE SUNDAY STAR — IT'S THE BEST THING ABOUT

CLOSE-UP LOOK AT THE ROYALS — IN YOUR MAGAZINE



A SEX SIREN AND HER SECRETS




HOW TO W A FORTUN — OR A TRAVEL BONANZA

# PW may cash i

POLITICAL parties are remaining on a full election footing as expectations of a general election early next year continue to rise.

Even senior Cabinet Ministers are among those politicians who believe it would make a lot of political sense for the State President to call a general election as soon as possible, following this week's

**DAVID BRAUN**
**Political Correspondent**

countrywide municipal polls in which the National Party did better than expected against the Conservative Party.

Estimates of the number of additional parliamentary seats the CP would take if there were a general election now, based on the results of this week's municipal contests, vary between 10 and 23.

This would give the CP a maximum of 45 seats in the 166-seat House of Assembly, leaving the National Party with a comfortable majority and a five-year breathing space to get on with its reform policies.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, is known to be keen to move ahead with his plans for bringing blacks into central government, as was endorsed by the electorate in the 1987 general election.

New developments in the pipeline include the appointment of the first black deputy ministers, very likely to the portfolios of black education and constitutional development and planning.

Another development ahead is the creation of black regional councils, which will act as black own affairs administrations at central government level.

A third development is the constitution of the National Council, or "Great Indaba", as it might be called. This body will include representatives elected by the black town councillors, who will sit together with the leaders of the other communities to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr Botha and members of the Cabinet are growing weary of being in a state of permanent election.

Obstacles which remain in the way of an early general election include the hopelessly outdated voters' rolls and the fact that a new delimitation of the white constituencies is due.

## Advantage

However, President Botha may choose to hold an election in spite of these impediments. One advantage of this is that the Government knows where the CP's strengths and weaknesses are.

The CP demonstrated in this week's polls that it remains weak outside the Transvaal.

If an election were held now it could gain Kuruman in the northern Cape and a small number of Free State seats.

In the Transvaal, at least two Cabinet Ministers are in danger of losing their seats: Minister of Education and Development Aid Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark) and Minister of Manpower Pietie du Plessis (Lydenburg).

# Opinion divided on whether PW should call an election

CALLERS to **Speak Out** last night were divided on whether the Government should use the opportunity presented by this week's municipal elections to call a general election soon.

Many felt the Conservative Party tide had not been stemmed and if they gained more seats in a general election it would be good for the country.

Others felt that the time was ripe for the Government to take the country to the polls and to implement promised reforms.

**☎Mr M M Patel, Laudium, Pretoria**: There is really very little difference between the CP and NP. A vote for either is another nail in the coffin of the spiritual and moral values of whites.

**☎Mr M G Rose, Southhills**: I don't think NP has stemmed the advance of the CP. If the Government should call a general election now, the CP will gain more ground. There are a lot of us who would welcome that.

**☎Mr Russel Sadowsky, Hillbrow**: The NP has by no means stemmed the CP's advances. Before the NP even considers a general election it must clean up SA's tarnished image.

**☎Mr Tim Groom, Windsor**: The results indicate the CP still controls the Afrikaner heartland, so it remains a force in politics. The Government does not have a realistic reform programme.

**☎Mr Ya'ir Lewis, Hillbrow**: This "new-born baby" in politics, the CP, is doing so well that before you can say "forced intergration" it will take the old man's place as government.

**☎Mr Dennis Goddard, Springs**: The sooner the CP comes into power the better. People are walking around with blinkers on. The present Government supports

Speak Out!
ON SATURDAY



neighbouring countries instead of our own poor people.

**☎Mr Bernard Segal, Berea**: Seeing that the danger from the extreme right has not enveloped the Nats, the time would now be proper for the ruling party to call a general election and once and for all forge ahead with speedy and meaningful reform.

**☎Mrs Ray Coleman, Percelia**: Go for it, Mr President. There is only one way to reach acceptance in the international community and that is with the acceleration of reform.

**☎Mr Guy Mogashoa, Daveyton**: The sooner PW calls a general election, the better. A CP win will speed up black unity.

**☎Anonymous**: The CP won 75 municipalities, Nats 36, and the PFP four. So what mandate do the Nats have?

**☎Mr F Mnisi, Tembisa**: I don't think the time is right for Mr Botha to call a general election. Reform is not the problem in South Africa. Most of the leaders he has spoken to are looking for the total destruction of apartheid.

**☎Mr J W Chambers, Benoni**: President Botha does not need to call a general election. The NP has a mandate that is only 18 months old. The municipal elections do not show any significant change in that mandate.

**☎Mrs V Williams, Kensington**: PW should get on with it now, especially while the going is good. He should have a general election and not let things lie dormant.

# When all's fair in love and elections

Star 27/9/88

304A

**SHEHNAAZ BULBULIA**

ARE WE to believe a spirit of camaraderie prevailed in the tension-filled municipal elections — indeed, to such a degree that in Lenasia, four candidates received the grand total of *no* votes and another polled exactly one.

Was this a case of the candidates being so sporting that they had not even voted for themselves but for one of their opponents instead? It would seem so.

In fact, it would appear some of the candidates didn't even have the support of their nearest and dearest.

Finding out how many votes the candidates received was relatively easy — all the results were published in Thursday's editions of The Star. But it was a horse of a completely different colour when it came to finding out who cast votes for whom.

Finally I had to resort to the telephone directory. The trouble with the directory is that many people have the same name. Indeed, I was about to give up when I struck gold ... in the form of one of the candidate's wives.

The candidate in question was Mr S H Mia who stood in ward seven in Lenasia and polled exactly one vote.

Mrs Mia, however, said she did not know who voted for her husband.

When asked if the one vote cast for her husband was hers, she replied in a somewhat agitated voice: "Look, who are you? I don't want to talk any more."

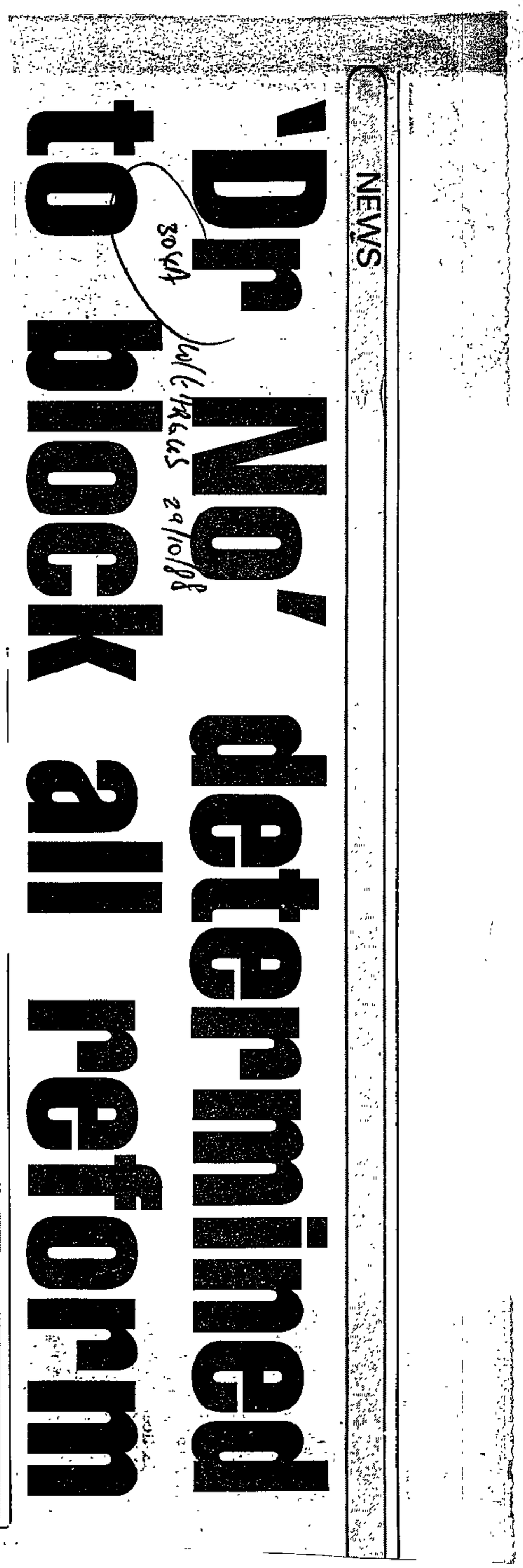
Apparently even Mr Mia did not vote for himself either, as his wife said: "He voted for Mr M Chetty."

There is no way of knowing how relations are in the Moodley, Lala, Gamieldien and Pather households today, but they could be a bit frosty.

Messrs G R Moodley (Ward 1), M Lala (Ward 2), N Gamieldien (Ward 5) and M Pather (Ward 6) were the four sports who presumably voted for their opponents — and, if they're married, didn't even enjoy the support of the women on the home front.

Ah well — love, as they say, remains a many splendoured thing!

● See Page 2.




Political Staff

THE right wing will use its new municipal might to block reform as far as it is able.

By winning twice as many local authorities in the Transvaal as the NP, the Conservative Party now can make it difficult for the government to implement its policy at municipal level.

Conservative leader Dr Andries Treurnicht claimed his party's victories had made a great psychological impact on the government, which now would think twice about pushing ahead with reform.

"The NP has been given due and official warning by the voters. It is a message that, at local level, the government can expect resistance against their policies."

## Separation

In fact, municipalities do not have all that much power to thwart government, but Dr Treurnicht said rightwing authorities now under CP control would move against NP policy wherever it was possible and suited the party.

For example, the party did not approve of open business areas, integrated parks, buses, ambulances, libraries, sports grounds, swimming baths or any other facility or service falling under municipal control. It would restrict use only to whites in white areas.

CP municipalities also would be well placed to orchestrate telling opposition to proposed open suburbs in areas under their control.

The party believed blacks, Indians and coloureds should live in segregated suburbs and townships and should have their own municipal services and facilities.

"Basic services must be supplied, but they (blacks) cannot lay claim to these in our residential or business areas."

Dr Treurnicht warned that the CP would "move away from integration with due discretion. Our aim is to protect whites in white areas".

He also believed the CP's new representation on various regional services councils would make it possible for it to block spending of white taxes on projects benefiting blacks.

## Delay projects

"We are not against providing certain services on a regional basis because there may be advantages in doing so ... we are not against helping others, but we are against a law which says the money of whites must go to blacks."

At best, the CP may not be able to do more than delay projects, however, because no local authority is permitted more than 50 percent of the votes on any regional council.

# SAFE! MY MATE

## But what would happen in a general election?

ANALYSIS by FRANS ESTERHUYSE Political Staff

THE Nationalists are still safe from being toppled from government by their rightwing adversaries, according to most political analysts.

But they warn that the government has no room for complacency either. Though the CP's performance in this week's municipal elections fell short of its pre-election predictions, it has made significant further inroads into Nationalist territory, especially in the Transvaal.

In a general election, expected to be called within 18 months — and perhaps even quite soon — it could spell trouble for many Nationalist MPs, including several Cabinet members and deputy ministers.

It would set off a battle of great intensity, especially in the Transvaal where the Conservatives have taken control of the most white local authorities.

One of the prime battlefields will be Pretoria where, in a titanic struggle, the Nationalists have succeeded in retaining a marginal majority.

The CP currently holds not a single Pretoria seat in Parliament, but the municipal results show that several of the administrative capital's Nationalist MPs could next time be in serious trouble.

Cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and Nationalist MPs who could be toppled by even a mild swing to the right include:

- DR GERRIT VILJOEN, Minister of Education and Development Aid and MP for Vanderbijlpark. The town of Vanderbijlpark is now controlled by the CP. In the 1987 election Dr Viljoen won with a majority of 3 246 votes against the CP;
- MR P T C du PLESSIS, Minister of Manpower and of Public Works and Land Affairs, who holds his Lydenburg seat with a 143-vote majority. The town of Lydenburg was this week captured by the CP;
- Dr M H VELDMAN, Deputy Minister of National Health, who won by 816 votes in Rustenburg in 1987. The town of Rustenburg is now also under CP control;
- Mr LOUIS LE GRANGE, Speaker of Parliament who retained his Potchefstroom seat with a majority of 558 votes against the CP in 1987. The town of Potchefstroom is now CP-controlled.
- Mr LEON WESSELS, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, who now has the CP controlling the main town in the heart of his Krugersdorp constituency.

OTHER Nationalist MPs holding their seats with precarious majorities include Mr Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, who holds Pretoria's Wonderboom seat with a majority of only 599 votes; Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Education, whose majority in Geduld against the CP was 1 723 votes; and Mr M D Maree who holds his Parys seat with a majority of 113.

Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, MP for Vereeniging and Minister of National Education, could also come under considerable pressure, although the NP managed to retain control of the Vereeniging town council in a tough fight against the CP this week.



DE KLERK

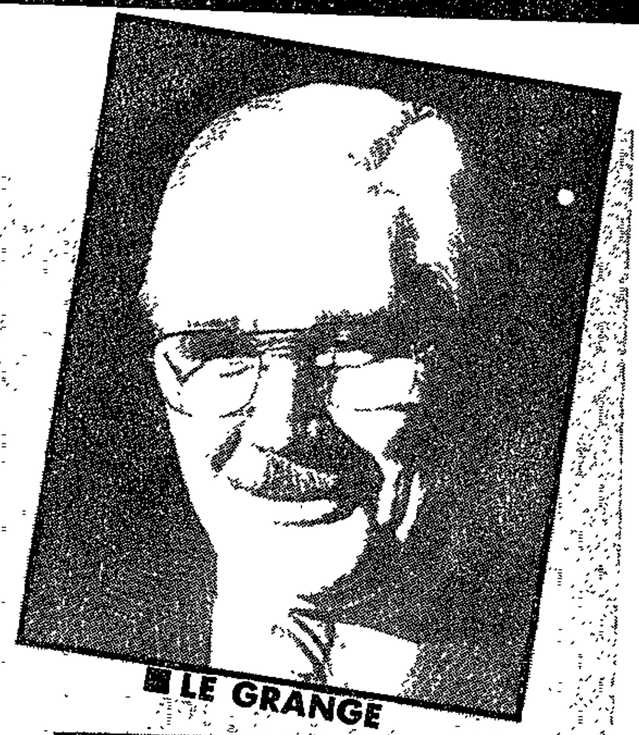


VILJOEN

A number of other Nationalist MPs now find themselves in the uneasy situation of having the main towns or major centres in the heart of their constituencies controlled by their rightwing opponents. They include Mr Piet Coetzer (Springs), Mr Johannes Blanche (Boksburg), Mr Derek Christophers (Germiston), Mr Adriaan Snyman (Meyerton), and Mr James Cunningham (Stilfontein).

The NP on the other hand weakened the rightwing grip in parts of the CP heartland by gaining control of towns like Tzaneen, Messina, Louis Trichardt (all three in the CP-held Soutpansberg constituency), Trichardt (in the CP-held Bethal constituency), Barberton, and also Christiana and Makwassie (both in the CP-held Schweizer-Reneke constituency).

POLITICAL scientist Professor Chris Maritz, of the University of Potchefstroom, said it seemed the Transvaal platteland was moving towards the CP, while in some metropolitan areas the NP lost votes to the CP but at the same time gained votes from the Progressive Federal Party.



LE GRANGE



WESSELS

This seemed to be a continuation of the trend shown by the last general election.

The swing to the right in this week's elections was smaller than had been expected. But if it continued the NP would have trouble in the next election. The results showed that the NP could not afford to be complacent.

In spite of CP advances, he believes the picture may change in favour of the government in the next 18 months. Factors that could help it included the prospect of greater clarity on the direction in which President Botha was moving with his new Africa initiatives and moves towards a peace settlement in Angola.

At present there was much uncertainty about these matters, but before the next parliamentary election the new moves would have had time to take shape and the government would then be in a position to use them to its advantage.

VETERAN Pretoria political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said a swing to the right was a "substantial factor" in this week's elections, especially in the Transvaal.

While CP predictions, such as that it would win Pretoria, proved to have been unrealistic, it made significant advances even in the heart of an NP-held constituency like Sunnyside in Pretoria.

With the CP now close to controlling Pretoria, South Africa's administrative capital would be the main battleground for the continuing power struggle between the NP and the CP.

In the next general election the CP could capture six or seven NP-held seats in and near Pretoria, while a number of other NP seats in areas such as the East Rand and the Vaal Triangle had become vulnerable.

However, while the CP stood to win more seats in future, it was at this stage no serious threat to the government.

Professor Kleynhans said the PFP had done well in this week's election. Its performance in areas like Cape Town, Durban, East London and Johannesburg showed that it could win more than 30 seats in the next general election.

CAPE Town election analyst Dr Jannie Hofmeyer said the elections had shown that fears of a huge rightwing threat were unfounded. It was now clear that the CP's growth was not as large as many people had thought.

Although the CP could do even better in the next election, it was no big threat.

He said the PFP could be satisfied with the outcome of the elections. The results showed that its decline had stopped and there was no longer a shift away from the party. They also showed that in white politics the PFP was the major player to the left of the government.

The potential for political growth to the left of the government now depended on three political forces "getting their act together" — the PFP, Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM).

Meanwhile CP sources have indicated that the party is gearing for a general election in April. They claim they have "impeccable" information that President Botha has decided on this in the face of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse's refusal to co-operate in postponing white elections which are due next year.

The CP has committed itself to paralysing the system of regional services councils (RSCs) wherever it can. But such promises may be exaggerated, according to NP sources. It has been pointed out that the CP is already deeply involved in the running of three Transvaal RSCs, where two if its members are deputy chairmen. In those councils the CP has made no attempt to frustrate the system.

It has been speculated, on the other hand, that widespread CP success could set up the momentum for a change in strategy towards deliberate confrontation with provincial and central



# Van Zyl Slabbert

## Soaking up the pain

IN A one-sided boxing match, a critical moment is reached when the loser becomes indifferent to his punishment.

He does not fall, avoid the blows or defend himself — just soaks it all up as if he accepts it as part of reality and has no choice in the matter.

Our country has become like that on the issue of civil rights.

Increasingly we are becoming indifferent to the punishment we are taking — right becomes wrong. Black becomes white and the abnormal is relativised into a lunatic normality.

The State bans organisations, detains people, prevents public meetings, threatens to (and does) close down newspapers, and spends R4-million on a couple of squirrels to convince us that this is the best way to "broaden democracy".

We just soak it all up — and even tacitly agree with the State that it should be a criminal offence to say that this is all a farce and nonsense.

Eric Ntonga was a friend of mine, a quiet, big, friendly man, who worked for Idasa in East London.

He was last seen alive picked up by the Ciskei police and a few days later found dead on the back seat of his car.

[redacted]

Nobody knew anything and yet we all "knew" everything. Nothing happened until some "deep throat" let off a cracker, and on September 26 this year a Ciskeian major-general, pleading for bail in a case where he and others were accused of Eric's murder, started pointing to people in court (part of the investigating team) who were the "real murderers".

In chilling detail he talked about plastic bags over Eric's head, brutal torture and beatings until the interrogators went too far and Eric's body had to be dumped. (The case is proceeding.)

Janet Cherry was detained for eleven months without charge and in solitary confinement. She was released and began picking up the threads of her life again.

I know her well. She has strong political convictions which she states openly and honestly.

A few weeks ago she was picked up again and now finds herself in virtual seclusion in North End Prison, Port Elizabeth. Nobody, including Janet, has been told why.

There are literally hundreds of people like this. The state of emergency allows police officers at their own discretion to pick up people off the street and detain them indefinitely — this while the State is claiming to be "broadening democracy".

In this atmosphere of normalised repression Mr Pik Botha announced that the Kine 3 who escaped and sought refuge in the American Consulate could come out as "free men" because their release was "on the cards" in any case.

What a brilliant diplomatic manoeuvre! That put those three on the spot. The whole thing became a farce. They couldn't get any political mileage out of it etc, etc. "Come on out fellows, you're OK now! Pikkie has done it again".

Why!

Not because the state of emergency has been lifted. Not because every detainee in a similar position has also been released.

No — because "we", "big boss we", had decided that in the case specifically affecting you three fellows, and as a matter of extraordinary coincidence, just when you decided to hole up in the consulate, "we" had decided to release you in any case!

As for the pontifical columnists — they just soaked it all up and came back full of pious advice: Given the "normality" of the state of emergency and therefore the necessity of indefinite detention to "cool the revolutionary climate" it was pointless for the three to continue in the consulate — they should take up the offer and test the water.

[redacted]

Well they have done just that, and in the process have converted the SABC and Nat editors to become champions of free speech, because the former had been kicked out of the Press conference which the three held.

Not for one moment did either pause to consider their role in justifying the state of emergency and detention without trial.

But an even more critical moment in a boxing match is when the referee and spectators become indifferent as well. When nobody really cares and some even begin to enjoy the savagery.

SUNDAY TIMES

3049 30/10/88 S Times

# THE 'STAY AT HOME' FACTOR

DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT ought to be a worried man. Wednesday October 26 was a bad-news day for him and his Conservative Party.

The results of the nationwide municipal elections must have told him that there is no chance that he can win a coming general election. He implied that in his comment after the election when he said that a solid base for future growth had been laid.

He is not right of course.

The remarkable thing about the CP is that it has not grown significantly beyond the strength it had on day one of its existence back in March 1982.

All evidence shows, despite the media hype about the CP being "rampant", "making inroads" and all the other descriptions used by political journalists who do not go beyond the superficial, that the CP was as strong in early 1982 as it was in early 1988.

It then showed some slight growth — but at the expense of parties to its right, not against the National Party. This does mean, though, that it managed to eliminate most three-cornered electoral fights during a coming general election.

## Peculiar

And it should thus be able to double its parliamentary strength without really having grown on the growth.

Our peculiar electoral system simply makes it possible, in other words, to look as if you are growing when you are in fact not.

Far from the municipal elections having made the CP a danger to the National Party — it has confirmed that it is basically a Transvaal party with some exceptions in the Free State.

It is mostly a rural phenomenon with some minor deviations in urban areas and that in fact the National Party has rolled back some CP advances in rural Transvaal.

Not the sort of base from which you win a nationwide general election!

In fact, what Wednesday seems to be saying more clearly than ever before is that the CP is close to its natural ceiling beyond which it cannot grow. That ceiling being a maximum of some 35 percent of the white vote.

Even with the distortions our electoral system can cause, that is not enough to win a general election.

If you can't win the coming election — held, say in eighteen months — you must look to the next one which will come some five years later.

And you ought to know South Africa seven years hence is going to be even less amenable to the kind of separatist policy the CP has.

South Africa's cities, where the CP is not and the population mostly will be, should be almost completely integrated by 1995, with the Group Areas Act gone simply because the sheer weight of people will have made it impossible to apply.

And in all other spheres the country will have gone much further down the road the CP so fears — and South Africa which has shed almost all forms of apartheid.

It must mean that a remotely sensible political leader will look to his party's policies and say to himself: We have to adapt if we are going to get closer to Libertas and Tuynhuis — but knowing that this will bring enormous tension within the ranks of the party faithful.

The National Party ought to be concerned, for, not only has it not managed to halt its own decline which started in 1977 but a growing number of white voters showed on Wednesday that they are deeply dissatisfied with the political leadership which our rulers provide.

Because the only real growth on Wednesday was among those who felt there was nobody they could vote for.

The municipal elections were not just another local affair. They were conducted by all concerned as if they were a general election. We were bombarded by propaganda in all newspapers, on radio and TV, by a multitude of placards, public meetings, canvassers, phone calls.

There was an enormous awareness among voters about the importance of Wednesday. Yet the average percentage polls were substantially lower — in the region of 20 percent — than for a general election.,

That figure is just too high to be argued away by saying that during local elections there is less voter interest.

White voters were telling our rulers that they are looking for something else. An ill-defined something else, but certainly not what they have been offered.

## Fallacy

They were looking for inspired leadership, for much, much faster reform, for imaginative policies.

They, in fact, pinpointed a major fallacy about the National Party, namely that the present Government is cautious about reform because it fears the right wing.

Voters have shown that there is no real danger from that corner and that it is an inability within the National Party's psyche which makes it impossible for the party to finally wrench itself away from its own past and take a major leap forward.

In a way, Wednesday has underlined what has been apparent for some time and that is that an opportunity exists for strong and rapid reform. White voters are ready for it but their expectations are not being fulfilled.

They did not flock to the CP, they reluctantly voted for the NP but mostly they stayed at home — waiting and watching.

**Harald Pakendorf**

*explodes the myth about the growth of the Conservative Party*





→ cont.

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(B-49)

# Whites given message in black poll boycott

**THE dust has settled after the country's "historic" municipal elections and the question we find ourselves asking is: Where to now? Are we any nearer to constitutional peace since October 26?**

**Mandla Tyala**

*analyses the black view of the October 26 elections*



Well, as was the case in the white areas where the issue was no longer tarred roads and blocked drains but keeping out blacks, in Soweto and elsewhere the issue was also not the removal of night soil but collaboration with apartheid.

Those groups barred from campaigning for a boycott will be pleased by the fact that black voters in many areas stayed away in large numbers from the "apartheid elections".

## Blow

The Government, despite all the rhetoric, must secretly realise that a serious blow has been dealt, especially in important places like Soweto, to what it had hoped would be a massive demonstration of black confidence in third-tier government National Party-style.

But rural blacks — up to 80 percent voted in some areas — made up for the stayaway by the more politicised city dwellers. And constitutional guru Chris Heunis, pointing to average percentage polls, has been happy to claim a victory for the Government's reform process.

I did not vote on Wednesday because I am reserving my cross for a candidate who will serve in an all-embracing integrated local authority which will be representative of all communities, black and white.

This, I believe, was the average non-voter's stance. And, fortunately, the state of emergency and the security forces saw to it that we could take this stand in an intimidation-free environment. No revolutionary elements could tell us this time not to vote.

Intimidation has been blamed for low polls in the past. But what do we blame for this year's 3,64 percent poll in Tembisa, 8,2 percent poll in Tsakane on the East Rand, or 11 percent poll in Soweto — the largest city in the country?

Just about everybody who agitates against apartheid has been banned, restricted or detained. And police spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet is on record as saying police were successful in foiling an African National Congress plan to disrupt the elections.

There was prior voting, and the nation's armed forces were at the polling stations on election day.

So how do we explain away the fact that in Soweto, a community of more than 2-million people, only 526 voters put their crosses next to ousted mayor Nelson Botile's name?

The answer is the same one that has been transmitted to Pretoria before: Toy telephones, like Urban Bantu Councils, Bantu Advisory Boards, Community Councils and now black local authorities are structures that black people will continue to reject.

Opposition is two-pronged, as has been shown by two recent surveys conducted independently by the SA Institute of Race Relations and the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies.

For the man at the taxi rank, the councils lack credibility because councillors are seen as self-serving and corrupt. The common perception is that they are in it so they can allocate business sites to friends and kin.

## Confusion

The politically active see the councils as structures that consolidate apartheid — part of the grand plan of separate development which will see homelands linking up with so-called city states. The whole process which will lead to participation in the proposed National Council is seen as designed to keep blacks on the periphery of national politics.

On another plane, the elections prompted much confusion.

We were told the elections were particularly important, and the squirrels were telling us to "make it happen".

But save for the fact that we were voting on the same day as our compatriots, what was it that was really so important? What was it that voters were supposed to make happen?

Vote back into office the same people who were carrying out mass evictions of rent defaulters?

Such questions were prevalent whenever black people discussed the elections.

And of course there were the faceless candidates.

In some cases voters came to know the names of the men who wanted to represent them only when a candidate went to court to challenge an opponent's candidature.

## Tactics

The only visible campaigners in Soweto were from the Sofasonke Party.

To strains of gospel music, they bussed in to the polling stations the people who support them most staunchly — the aged, the unemployed and the unsophisticated. Their tactics paid off and they duly swept to victory.

In Alexandra some residents turned up to vote, unaware that all candidates had been elected unopposed — that's how informed most were!

Now, with the newly elected councils having taken office this week, there is great uncertainty in most black communities.

The Government is set to forge ahead with its constitutional designs, to surround itself with consultative bodies of "elected" blacks, while its opponents clamour for direct representation in central government.

On the municipal front, all indications are that we're back to where we were in 1978 when the Government introduced Community Councils.

Pretoria is still foisting on a reluctant populace structures that have been shown to be despised.

# Township elections had to look popular

By VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU

ON Wednesday, for the first time, South Africans of all races went to the polls simultaneously

This was all that was new about this year's black local authority elections.

Yet, to the government, the municipal elections in the townships were all-important So much so, it became an offence, in terms of the latest emergency regulations, to call for a boycott of the elections

*October elections: A Recipe for Conflict*, details why these elections were so important to the government

The Nusas booklet attempts to explain how the black elections fitted into the National Party's political plans for the country and how the majority of politically unrepresented South Africans viewed the elections and local government structures.

Nusas traces the history of local government, stating how the issue of urban blacks had always posed a problem for governments

"In the 60 years since the 1923 Urban Act, very little has changed fundamentally in the government s thinking about municipal elections.

"For the majority of South Africans, municipal structures meant the aim to increase control over the lives of Africans making sure their labour remained cheap and their status temporary in the urban areas.

"The government has always wanted · agents from the communities to carry out unpopular and repressive administrative functions. So, for the past 40 years, progressive groups have boycotted these structures."

Like most organisations who resisted this year's elections, Nusas maintained the elections were essential to government attempts to convince the international community that black South Africans had meaningful political rights and to gain credibility for the black local authorities

The publication lists the strategies the government used to try and get a high poll in black areas

A major part of these strategies was the Bureau of Information's R4,5-million spent on publicity.

When confronted about the vast sum spent on publicising the elections, both black and white, Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe said many people were not experienced in participating in local government

The much-joked-about squirrel was seen trying to "make it happen" through all channels of the media – TV interviews with candidates, information programmes, billboards, extensive newspaper and radio coverage.

Nusas said the government, determined to prove that there was interest in the elections, claimed a high voter registration.

"In fact, very few registered · by placing their names on the voters' roll. In many cases the voters' roll was compiled by government officials from rent slips, housing lists, passes and electricity receipts."

As a result, most black voters did not even know they were registered.

"Even though one can go and check the voters' roll, it is difficult to check its accuracy In the black community even dead people may appear on the voters' roll. In the tricameral election some dead people were found to have voted "

Prior voting, the publication stated, turned a day's voting into two weeks of voting.

"The Prior Votes Act allowed for votes to be cast from October 10 to 22 No special reasons were given. This effectively added 13 additional days of voting.

"According to Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, 'protection of black voters' was one of the main reasons for the Act.

"In mines and factories, the possibility existed that workers would have been pressurised by their employers into voting."

Nusas pointed out that remarkably few candidates came forward this year, despite government propaganda and possible financial reward.

In some townships, not a single candidate could be found from hundreds of thousands of residents. Several constituencies were uncontested.

"Since the early 60s, popular organisations have boycotted what they view as ineffective, racist and corrupt structures.

"The government has tried to ban all resistance to the elections, by making it illegal to call for a boycott and tying the hands of those who have called for boycotts."

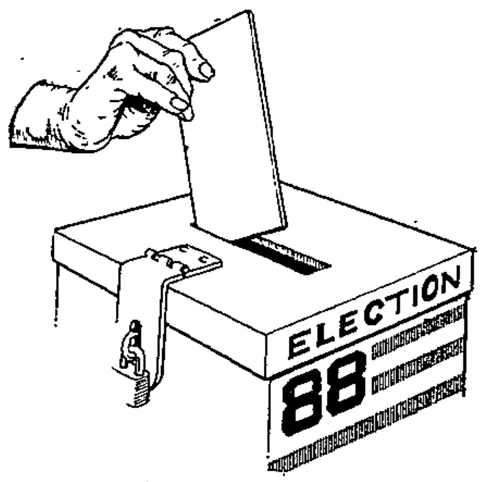
Despite the penalty of a R20 000 fine or 10 years' imprisonment under the emergency regulations for calls for a boycott, many were made

"Calls have ranged from those made by church leaders, UDF leaders and from parliamentarian Jan van Eck who used his parliamentary privilege to do so on behalf of the democratic movement."

Nusas said the elections were doomed from the start.



Chris Heunis ... "Act protects black voters."




WHY were the township elections so crucial to the government? A booklet published by the National Union of SA Students, entitled *October Elections: A Recipe for Conflict*, details why

## So blacks would seem to the world to have rights

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PRESENTS
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Solutions For The Future

# Heunis safe, but problems 'far from over'

Cape Times 31/10/88 30 HR

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, appears set to hang on to his job for the time being — but the problems facing the embattled minister are far from over.

One source said yesterday that President P W Botha was sent a petition by NP backbenchers asking for Mr Heunis's removal.

But it is understood that Mr Heunis has received assurances from President Botha that he is not about to be sidelined in favour of Mr Pik Botha, as has been widely speculated in recent weeks in both the government-supporting and opposition newspapers.

However, Mr Heunis could well end up in hot water in the wake of the sudden sideways transfer of two leading reformists in the Department of Constitutional Development who have achieved some success in getting discussions going with extra-parliamentary groups, trade unions — and the ANC.

The senior officials — who because of their work have enjoyed access to highly secret documents, including cabinet discussions and decisions — are the chief director of constitutional planning, Dr Fanie Cloete, and the department's chief negotiator, Mr Kobus Jordaan.

One government source indicated yesterday that the two officials had had their security clearances withdrawn because of their contacts with the banned organisation.

It is understood that the government is considering a ban on publicity flowing from contacts between South Africans and the ANC — much along the lines of legislation that Britain has introduced in a bid to starve the IRA of publicity.

Government sources have also indicated that consideration is being given to legislating against contact with the ANC.

Under the circumstances, Mr Heunis could be landed with responsibility for explaining why officials under his control have been flouting government directives on contact with the ANC. If he is forced to "carry the can" for the actions of his officials his job could once again come under pressure.

Yesterday the Afrikaans newspaper Rapport said: "Restrictions that have been placed on them (Dr Cloete and Mr Jordaan) from on high, make it practically impossible for them to carry their task forward, though they stood at the cutting edge of constitutional reform and negotiations with blacks."

Neither of the officials, at least one of whom is expected to meet Mr Heunis today to discuss the situation, is permitted in terms of their service contracts from commenting on the matter.

Meanhwile, Mr Heunis, who has been angered by speculation that he may lose his job, appears to have won a reprieve, at least temporarily.

Earlier persistent speculation was that an imminent cabinet reshuffle would aim to place the government's "super-negotiator", Mr Pik Botha, in

To page 3

From page 1

charge of reaching an internal settlement between the races.

The expectation was that Mr Heunis, who has battled to breathe life into the stillborn National Council, would be "kicked upstairs" to become prime minister, a largely administrative position without the political clout that the name of the position implies.

A number of Nationalist have indicated in private that they are unhappy about the way in which the highly controversial Group Areas legislation was handled during the last session.

While the prospects of an imminent reshuffle appear to have subsided, there was fresh speculation in political circles at the weekend that a cabinet shake-up could still take place next year once the legislation providing for the post of prime minister under the new constitution has been passed

# We're not Nats, say Kosmos chosen

Star 31/10/88

ZOKLA

By Carina le Grange

As the country reels under the party political implications of the results of last week's municipal elections, the small village of Kosmos on the banks of Hartbeespoort Dam remains truly independent — despite incorrect reports that all eight of its candidates are National Party members.

Elected member Mrs Corrie Cartwright told The Star the published results of the eight candidates who were elected were wrong in that all the names were followed with the tag "NP" for National Party — while the Kosmos Local Area Committee (KLAC) was "entirely and truly independent".

"We are not Nat. Because we are such small-fry we come under the peri-urban board and all the candidates stood as independents with a joint campaign," she said.

The village is too small to have wards but the 120-odd registered voters each had eight votes to cast in choosing eight of the nine candidates to the KLAC.

Mrs Cartwright said people who owned holiday cottages in Kosmos might be suprised to see the candidates tagged as NP supporters. She said the eight who were elected stood with the backing of the local ratepayers' asscociation known as the Kosmos Resident's Association.

The water-fronted village, 18 km from Brits, celebrated its golden jubilee last year and is described as "very active" by Mrs Cartwright. This year, it has asked the Administrator of the Transvaal to grant it autonomy.

Those who stood as candidates promised their voters other things than the retention or scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

Local matters are what counted — stormwater drains and the development of the waterfront as a park.

"There was no politics — we are too small. We never had politics and we certainly do not have any now. When we say we are independent that is what we mean," Mrs Cartwright said.

# P W should work for all, says Craven

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is too involved in working for Afrikaner unity, says Dr Danie Craven.

The President should be working for the whole of South Africa, Dr Craven added.

Interviewed by *Leadership* on the eve of his Harare talks with the African National Congress, the president of the South African Rugby Board said: "Let's put South Africa first."

Apartheid had isolated South Africa from the rest of the world and the people who introduced it should rectify their mistake.

"So President Botha must say: 'Right, we form an alliance and we give the voting power to those who deserve it — whites, blacks, coloured and Indian people.'

"I would like to see President Botha put out the hand of goodwill to Allan Hendrickse. He should say to him: 'Forget about the swimming incident. Let's work together.'

"He should go to a man like Chief Buthelezi, a strong man who has proved himself as a person who is prepared to work for unity. He should go to Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall. He should form an alliance with these people.

"We are talking politics now but it's so interlocked with the problem of isolation in sport."

Asked about meeting the ANC, Dr Craven replied: "I don't care a damn if an ANC member happens to be in the company of people with whom I wish to speak about sport.

"When P W Botha went to Mozambique, I am sure he didn't first check whether there would be ANC people or supporters among the people he was meeting.

"When I am in a meeting of the rugby board, I don't ask: Are you a member of the Conservative Party? What are your politics? I am interested only in sport. I will talk to anyone willing to help me to get back into Africa."

WORLD NATIONAL

# Afrikaner academics, ANC share vision for SA

**The Argus Foreign Service**

LEVERKUSEN (West Germany). — This small German town which is home to medical giant Bayer has been the scene of another kind of healing.

Afrikaner academics who braved government anger to be at bridge-building talks here with ANC strategists and a group of Soviet experts on Africa believe that what has emerged is a new and valuable mutual understanding of each other's hopes and fears.

One group of old enemies, at least, may be on the road to becoming friends. A strong uniting factor — and this was emphasised at the closing Press conference — was the desire to work for a non-racial, democratic South Africa where every individual had access to the ballot box.

Areas of conflict remain, notably on the principle of armed struggle and questions of nationalism, but there has clearly been a softening of stances on all sides.



Dr Alex Boraine

The ANC has gone home to resume its fight. However, there is a new sense of its willingness to be involved in a politically negotiated settlement, a feeling endorsed by the Soviets.

A number of the South Africans are saying they have a new understanding of why the ANC decided to take the armed struggle route. Idasa, which organised the talks in conjunction with Bonn's liberal Friedrich Naumann Foundation, made it clear that the three-day meeting was not intended to produce clear-cut strategies for future political action.

Rather, as Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine put it, the aim was to "demythologise" the situation, to dispel stereotyped ideas and engage in a frank discussion about beliefs and aspirations. In that, the talks had been successful, he said.

Great emphasis was laid on building relationships, and the delegates spent most of their leisure time engaged in more informal discussion.

## "Evil genius"

Perhaps the most striking feature for many of the South Africans was the presence of Joe Slovo, seen by Pretoria as the "evil genius" behind the ANC's armed campaign.

He seldom attends such meetings but it is understood he believes it is time that he, too, was "demythologised".

Members of the South African party found it hard after meeting him to credit Pretoria's image of a rabid, steel-eyed killer with an ideology set in concrete. A number said they found his arguments well-constructed and his approach rational.



Professor Breytenbach

He and the other ANC members argued the case for the ANC's armed struggle and explained the organisation's recently-published economic and constitutional guidelines.

The view expressed from the ANC side was that it was an autonomous organisation not answerable to the Soviets or anyone else — a view repeatedly endorsed by the Soviets themselves.

Professor Willie Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University, a former adviser to Mr Chris Heunis's Department of Constitutional Affairs and Planning, said he believed that while the South African party remained opposed to the armed struggle, it had gained some insight into why the ANC had embarked on this course.

He said this was most valuable in understanding where the ANC now stood.

## Soft targets

Dr Beyers Naude said what had impressed him in Leverkusen was the ANC's desire to share, and not dominate, the future South Africa. Other Afrikaners said there seemed to be a willingness on the ANC's part to meet its white compatriots halfway.

There were strong indications from inside the ANC group that while they are not yet ready to lay down their arms, they are becoming increasingly aware of the damage that attacks on soft targets, in particular, can do to their cause.



Dr Beyers Naude

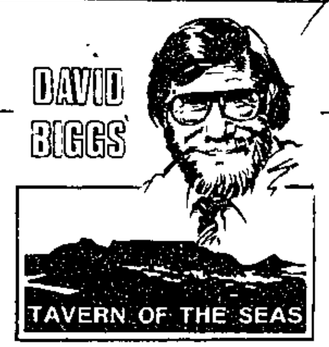
It was brought home to them this week that such activities made it difficult for those inside the country who support their campaign for a non-racial democracy to argue on their behalf.

For the Soviets, led by by former ambassador to Lusaka, Dr Vasily Solodovnikov, the Leverkusen meeting was a chance to meet white South Africans for the first time. The five Soviets who attended all work for public organisations engaged in research into African affairs, but none has visited South Africa.

They were particularly keen to try to dispel the belief that South Africa was under "total onslaught" from the Soviet Union. The Soviets, they said, wanted nothing more than to see a democratically elected, non-racial government there.

But they emphasised that the Soviets believe wholeheartedly in the ANC's "national liberation struggle" and will continue to support it.

Any links with the South African government were out of the question until apartheid had been abolished, they said.




## Our oldest troupe on stage

**YOU think *District Six, The Musical* has enjoyed a long run? Let me tell you, it's a mere one-night-stand compared to Cape Town's longest running show, the *Tivoli Follies*.**

**You may not even have heard of them, but they've been on Cape stages for more than quarter of a century, and always for charity.**

**It all began in the early 60s when a little show called *Tivoli Follies* was staged in the old Barbizon-Plaza Hotel in Green Point to raise money for charity.**

**Nita Marcus, who is now 90 years old (Old? Never!), was the original Tivoli girl, and she was supported by Lillian Kellman, Rosemary Magid and her 12-year-old daughter, June.**

**The show was a hit and they were persuaded to keep it running for a week instead of the planned one night. It was a sellout and raised thousands of pounds for charity.**

**No sooner had that first run ended than they were asked by Temple Israel to repeat the show at their mayoral tea party for senior citizens.**

**The original Tivoli Girls were joined by soprano Ruth Marks, then Lilli Anderson, who became their charming compere. Ten years ago June's four-year-old daughter joined the troupe and later Beryl Israel and her little daughter Rozanne were signed up.**

**There are now two Tivoli Boys, too, with Henry James (from *District Six*) and Rein Zielske. Backing is by Marie Salkow and Warwick Stodel.**

**And the show just keeps going and growing.**

# The leaders SA wants


Mr P W Botha


Chief Buthelezi


Mrs Helen Suzman


Dr van Zyl Slabbert


Dr Andries Treurnicht


Dr Denis Worrall


General Magnus Malan

## Special survey shows Pik Botha is rated above State President and Nelson Mandela


Mr Pik Botha

PEOPLE living in the key Pretoria and Witwatersrand region rate the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, above President Botha and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as the man to salvage South Africa from disaster.

Mr Botha edges President Botha out of first place, securing 33 percent of the "vote". against 31 percent for Mr P W Botha in a survey conducted for Argus company newspapers by Marketing and Media Research (MMR).

Mr Mandela, with 25 percent, is rated next after the two Bothas. The Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is fourth, with 18 percent.

A scientific sample of more than 1 050 people, drawn from households speaking English, Afrikaans or an African language, was asked to choose three people it thought should be in power to save the country from calamity. The sample was offered a choice from a long list.

The list contained the names of the best-known political and economic leaders, ranging from Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC to Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and including industrial figures such as Dr Anton Rupert and Mr Gavin Relly.

Filling the upper ranks after Chief Buthelezi are Mr Tambo and Mrs Helen Suzman, of the Progressive Federal Party (each with 12 percent), and Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader (11 percent).

After them, level-pegging at 10 percent, are Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party; Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party; and General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence.

Mr Pik Botha, who is riding high in the undeclared race to succeed President Botha, has one key advantage over his rivals in the ruling National Party: he is the only NP man to attract significant support from both the right and the left of the NP.

On the right of the NP, he ranks second after Dr Treurnicht; on the left of the NP — as distinct from the far left — he ranks second after Chief Buthelezi. In the NP itself he is second after President Botha.

It is only on the far left — consisting largely of the extra-parliamentary opposition — that Mr Pik Botha does not figure. Here top rating goes to Mr Mandela, with 71 percent. Behind him are Mr Tambo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The Foreign Minister is not rated top in any of the political — as distinct from language — groups where he has significant support. But his consistent second rating pushes him to the top overall.

Both Bothas attract support in English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking households.

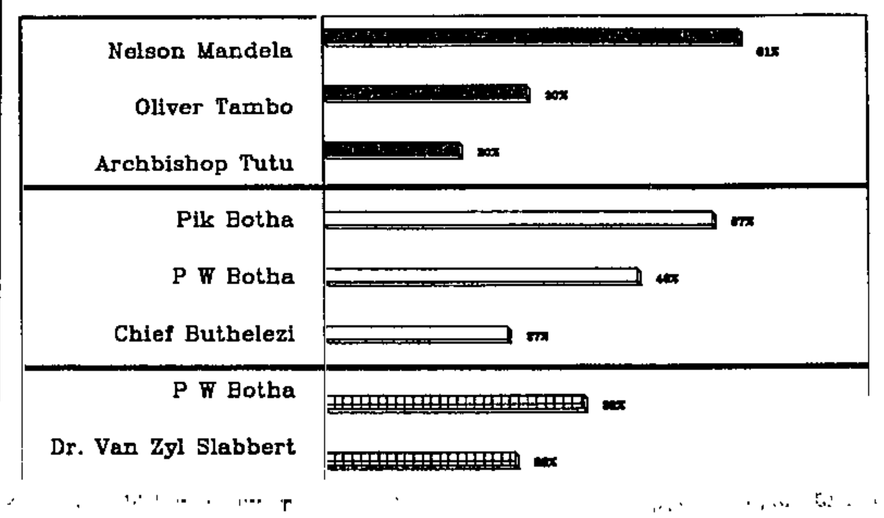
One surprising result is that Chief Buthelezi does not get a place in the first three in African-language households. Even in Zulu-speaking homes he does not win a place in the first three.

Mr Mandela wins majority support in Zulu-speaking households. He gets 52 percent compared with 30 for Mr Tambo and 19 for Archbishop Tutu.

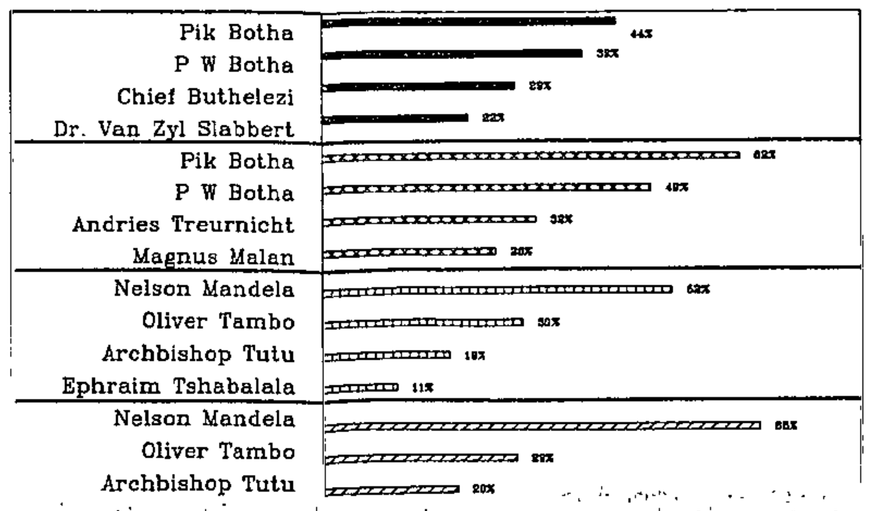
Broken down according to the racial areas, Mr Mandela is rated first in black areas, Mr Pik Botha in white areas (followed by President Botha and Chief Buthelezi) and President Botha in coloured and Asian areas.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is not in the first three places in coloured and Asian areas. All three rungs are occupied by whites: Mr P W Botha, Dr Slabbert and Mrs Suzman.

### TOP 3 LEADERS




### TOP 4 LEADERS




### *WHO SUPPORTS .....?*

| | FAR LEFT OF NP | LEFT OF OF NP | NP | RIGHT OF NP |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pik Botha | 2% | 28% | 65% | 50% |
| P W Botha | 8% | 22% | 72% | 28% |
| Nelson Mandela | 71% | 15% | 3% | 0% |
| Chief Buthelezi | 5% | 32% | 21% | 6% |
| Oliver Tambo | 38% | 4% | 1% | 0% |
| Helen Suzman | 18% | 21% | 6% | 0% |
| Dr. F. Van Zyl Slabbert | 5% | 26% | 8% | 5% |
| Dr. Andries Treurnicht | 0% | 1% | 5% | 64% |
| Denis Worrall | 3% | 27% | 6% | 1% |
| Magnus Malan | 1% | 2% | 24% | 22% |
| mond Tutu | 19% | 8% | 2% | 1% |

must have raised hundreds of thousands of rands for welfare organisations.

Tomorrow night they're on stage again at the Temple Israel Hall, playing to more than 1000 seniors, who will have the time of their lives.

They deserve the freedom of the city, or an Oscar, or something.

## White vote

A COLLEAGUE was asked to help at her local polling station during last week's municipal elections.

Her job was to issue numbers to the people as they arrived to cast their votes.

"What is your name?" she asked one man, who arrived accompanied by a woman.

"White," he said, and my colleague found his name and issued his card.

"And you, madam?" she asked the woman. "Are you also White?"

"I beg your pardon?" said the woman.

"Are you White?" my colleague asked, slightly louder.

"Well, that's a *very* impertinent question," snapped the voter. "If I were not, I wouldn't be voting at this polling station, would I?"

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

WHEN the local plumber was elected to the village management council, he was determined to improve the hygene of the place and proposed that a public urinal be erected in the village square.

The other councillors had no idea what a urinal was, so they voted against it.

Some evenings later the plumber saw a fellow councillor relieving himself against a fence and shouted: "Hey, Harry, you wouldn't have to do that there if we had a urinal in the square, you know."

The light dawned.

At the next meeting Harry stood up and said he had reconsidered the matter of the urinal and thought the village did need one after all.

"And we might as well build an arsenal as well, while we're about it," he added.

*The Wanderer*

0% 20% 40% 60% 80%

RACE AREAS ⟹ BLACKS WHITES COL/ASIANS

| PERSONALITY | PERCENTAGE |
|---|---|
| Pik Botha | 33 |
| P.W. Botha | 31 |
| Nelson Mandela | 25 |
| Chief Buthelezi | 18 |
| Oliver Tambo | 12 |
| Helen Suzman | 12 |
| Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert | 11 |
| Dr. Andries Treurnicht | 10 |
| Dennis Worrall | 10 |
| Magnus Malan | 10 |
| Archbishop Desmond Tutu | 8 |
| F.W. de Klerk | 6 |
| Harry Oppenheimer | 6 |
| Eugene Terre'blanche | 5 |
| Walter Sisulu | 4 |
| Anton Rupert | 4 |
| Barend du Plessis | 4 |
| Ephraim Tschabalala | 4 |
| Zac de Beer | 4 |
| Dr. Nthato Motlana | 4 |
| Joe Slovo | 3 |
| Tom Mboya | 3 |
| Wynand Malan | 3 |
| Dr. Allan Boesak | 3 |
| Govan Mbeki | 3 |
| Dr. Sam Motsuenyane | 3 |
| Colin Eglin | 3 |
| Winnie Mandela | 3 |
| Zwelakhe Sisulu | 3 |
| Gavin Relly | 3 |
| Albertina Sisulu | 3 |
| Dr. Gerrit Viljoen | 2 |
| Chris Heunis | 2 |
| Rev. Allan Hendrickse | 2 |
| Zeph Mothopeng | 2 |
| Dr. J.N. Reddy | 1 |
| Armichand Rajbansi | 1 |
| Prof. Johan Heyns | 1 |
| Prof. John Schabort | 1 |
| Prof. Carel Boshoff | 1 |
| John Mavuso | 1 |
| Rev. Frank Chikane | 1 |
| Archie Gumede | 1 |
| John Gogotya | 1 |
| David Thebehali | 1 |
| Lybon Mabasa | 1 |
| Prof. Mosibudi Mangena | 0.3 |
| Jaap Marais | 0.3 |
| van Heerden | 0.2 |
| Dr. Ram Saloojee | 0.1 |
| Mr. Mashite | 0.1 |
| Pres. Lucas Mangope | 0.1 |
| Vincent van der Bijl | 0.1 |
| Ahmed Deedat | 0.1 |

0% 20% 40% 60% 80%

HOME LANGUAGE ⟹ ENGLISH AFRIKAANS ZULU OTHER BLACK LANGUAGE

# Very uncomfortable political bedfellows

**By Professor LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER, one of South Africa's best-known political scientists in the field of testing public opinion, who was invited by the Star, sister newspaper of The Argus, to monitor, analyse and comment on the extensive "metropolitan people's poll".**

REPLIES to structured questions such as those in the survey disclose people's positions and opinions, but not necessarily their strongly felt commitments.

The views can be based on loose or even passive sentiment. In the open question with which the study started, however, people interviewed had to generate their own ideas. Spontaneous answers are more likely to show strong views and intensely felt commitments.

These replies were fairly encouraging as a pointer to possible reconciliation. Only about one fifth of Afrikaans-speakers, and less than one-tenth of white National Party supporters, felt strongly enough to argue spontaneously for the maintenance of or a return to apartheid and separate development.

Roughly double these proportions of people in the same social categories argued positively for a move away from social and political inequality. The need for communication among all people and the building of awareness was a frequent answer across all groups and categories.

Among the larger mass of whites, coloured people and Indians and Africans, the need to move away from apartheid and enforced racial separation, although not always a majority answer, was the single most frequently mentioned solution to South Africa's problems.

Political solutions require leadership, however, and for this reason the study ended with a question on the three leaders whom people polled would most like to "see in power in order to save the country". More than 40 names were presented for selection, and respondents collectively added more than 10 others.

Coloured and Indian people had more difficulties with this question than others: more than 10 percent could not select anyone. More than 95 percent of all people in the sample, however, made their choices.

The following 10 leaders emerged, in addition to the State President, in the front rank: Mr Pik Botha, Mr Nelson Mandela, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Oliver Tambo, Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Andries Treurnicht, Dr Denis Worrall, General Magnus Malan and Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Quite clearly this line-up produces some very uncomfortable political bedfellows for a future South Africa.

We need to note further that had whites and Africans been represented in proportion to the national population (and not the metropolitan area), Mr Mandela would have headed the list. He obtained more than 60 percent mention among Africans.

The overall results mark a great divergence in choice of leaders among different groups in the sample.

□ □ □ □

On a scale of agreement/disagreement of between 1 and 100 in choice made by Afrikaans-speakers, whites in general, coloured people and Indians and Africans, Mr P W Botha attracted most general agreement (disagreement index 5) followed by Chief Buthelezi (8), Dr van Zyl Slabbert (9), Dr Worrall (11) and Mr Pik Botha (19).

At the other end of the consensus scale, where leadership, although very prominent, is controversial and hotly disputed by certain groups, we have General Malan (disagreement index 35) followed by Archbishop Tutu (51) Mr Oliver Tambo (100 plus), Mr Nelson Mandela (100 plus) and Dr Andries Treurnicht (100 plus).

□ □ □ □

Even the top five leaders with relatively low disagreement ratings, however, all lack meaningful support in some group or section of the population.

It is even worse at the other end of the agreement scale. Mr Mandela and Dr Treurnicht are chosen by less than one percent among Afrikaners and Africans respectively, although they have huge support in their own constituencies.

There is thus no great black or white hope who, at this stage, could legitimately lead or inspire the nation as a whole. The solution, thereofre, is hugely difficult but clear — leaders like those in our top 11 have to do it together to save South Africa. We need them all, whether we like it or not.

South Africa is fundamentally split in its commitments, aspirations and strategies for the future and will remain so for a long time to come. Our results show, however, that amid all our disagreements there are large and important topics about which agreement is possible, and if not agreement, at least intelligent debate.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harry Oppenheimer | 3% | 13% | 3% | 3% |
| Eugene Terre'blanche | 1% | 2% | 2% | 31% |



# Champion C... simply far t...

By GRAHAM POTTER

WHEN Felix Coetzee brought the champion colt Royal Chalice into the number one box at Milnerton on Saturday, he did so with such a serious expression that a leading patron of the Millard stable called for him to smile.

He did — and almost everyone at the course smiled with him, such being the popularity of the champion's win.

It was always on the cards that Royal Chalice's fifth successive feature race victory would be achieved with something in hand, but the absolute ease with which he reduced a host of budding stars to also-rans still had many people shaking their heads in awe.

The only challenge that he had to deal with was the one produced by the front-running Penny Chocolate, and that became an uneven contest within a matter of strides once Royal Chalice had been given the go ahead.

FAIR WARNING

As a warmup for the summer season it made an emphatic statement — a warning to all pretenders to the throne that unless they can improve to match his superlative quality, they will remain in the back seat.

And apart from Mark Anthony, the likelihood of anyone improving up to Royal Chalice's level seems remote. With stake earnings of already a little under R700 000, the chances of Royal Chalice going on to become the country's second equine millionare in the not-too-distant future must be very strong indeed.

Coetzee's second winner of the day, the Dancing Champ filly Eligible, was as well supported as Royal Chalice but the champion will have to give her a lesson or two on just how an odds-on shot is expected to arrive.

Twice the result looked in doubt.

SKIPPED CLEAR

Firstly, when Eligible was asked to close the gap on Rule The Roost who, much improved in his first run as a gelding, had skipped clear of his field halfway up the straight.

That task was achieved with the help of both Coetzee's determination and a couple of smart reminders on the rump but then, once Eligible got alongside Rule The Roost, the result was still up for grabs as Rule The Roost rattled back at his more fancied rival.

The momentum and the strength



ON THE BIT: Champion Royal Chalice s... urging from Felix Coetzee in the R45 000 ... hanging out his mouth) ...

told when it mattered most though and Eligible was forced up in the last couple of strides to snatch a thrilling victory.

This was the second Saturday in succession that has had a close-up of view of a rising star — and this time we are not talking horseflesh.

RISING STAR

One week earlier Coetzee had given trainer Geoff Woodruff a winning start to his new career on the grey Third Admiral, but only after surviving a terrific onslaught from the outsider Fast Lane on whom apprentice Anton Marcus had done everything but win.

And then on Saturday, on Eligible, it happened again

Coetzee didn't have time to glance to his left but had he done so he would have seen that it was again the young apprentice who was giving so much cheek, again on a horse of supposed inferior quality, and it was arguably only Coetzee's superior strength which

ARGUS 31/10/88

# Taxis back to normal after 'war'

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Staff Reporter

TOWNSHIP taxi services in the Peninsula have returned to normal after the disruptions last week caused by a "war" between the two main black taxi organisations.

The resumption of normal services follows a meeting between the Western Province Black Taxi Association (WPBTA) and Western Cape Taxi Association (WCTA) at Nyanga administration offices on Friday.

The two said in a joint statement after the meeting that they had agreed to resume operations pending further talks.

**"PROBLEM AREAS"**

They said there were "some problem areas" that needed further discussion. Another meeting is scheduled for tomorrow at Crossroads.

According to Mr Laurence Memani, president of Western Province Black Taxi Association, the conflict started when members of his organisation opened a taxi rank in Nyanga after a request from people in Crossroads for more taxis.

The move was opposed by Western Cape Taxi Association members.

## Councillors fell like nine-pins

# New faces will lead Soweto

Star 31/10/88 (3044)

By Patrick Laurence

South Africa's first nationwide municipal elections for all races left a long — and largely unlamented — trail of political corpses in its wake.

The elections saw the defeat of scores of sitting councillors in the black townships. Men who, during the height of the 1984/86 unrest, survived the petrol-bombs, grenades and insults hurled at them by the Comrades.

Their defeat at the polls was largely at the hands of little-known men. It passed virtually unnoticed in the first wave of publicity. The gains of Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party in the white elections were judged to be more important.

But the political demise of black councillors was just as important. They were the men who had been loudest in championing co-operation with the Government, a stand which earned them opprobrium as "collaborators" from black activists.

In Greater Soweto, Mr Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa), was defeated by a man known only to a handful of people in his immediate neighbourhood.

Mr Kgame was one of the few black men with a claim to a leadership role who openly called on blacks to participate in President Botha's planned National Council.

Ucasa's importance to the Government was manifest by the offical recognition accorded it. Ucasa representatives served on a statutory council charged with co-ordinating local government.

Last year its annual conference was opened by Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Chris Heunis.



Mr Steve Kgame ... lost to an almost unknown rival.

Mr Kgame was one of several prominent councillors to tumble to political oblivion. The mayor of Soweto, Mr Nelson Botile, and the chairman of the Soweto Council's management committee, Mr Letsatis Radebe, fell with him.

So, too, did the controversial Mr Tamsanqa Linda, a former mayor of Ibhayi, near Port Elizabeth. He was another staunch advocate of co-operation with the Government, and a vociferous critic of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.



Mr Nelson Botile ... from mayor to political oblivion.

Mr Esau Mahlatsi, the mayor of Lekoa in the Vaal Triangle, who narrowly escaped death at the hands of a mob in 1984, managed to retain his seat on the Lekoa Council. But several of his co-councillors were ousted.

In varying degrees all these men won praise from the Government for their "moderation", and notoriety in activist circles for "collaboration".

They were humbled by humble men in low polls. Had popular organisations such as the United Democratic Front contested the election, they would have been crushed in a political avalanche.

In sharp contrast with the fall of the sitting councillors was the re-emergence of veteran Soweto politician Mr Ephraim Tshabalala and his party, Sofasonke, as the dominant force in the Soweto Council.

Sofasonke, a party which traces its origins back to the charismatic squatter leader of the 1940s, James Sofasonke Mpanza, first took control of the Soweto Council after the 1983 local authority elections.

In the process it toppled another controversial councillor who came to power of a low poll, Mr David Thebehali. He was mayor of Soweto from 1977 to 1983, after winning less than 100 votes in the 1977 election.

After being trounced by Sofasonke in 1983, Mr Thebehali was rescued from political obscurity last year when he was appointed administrator of Diepmeadow. He relinquished the post shortly before this month's elections to become special adviser to the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Danie Hough.

After Sofasonke triumphed in 1983, and the election of Mr Tshabalala as mayor, it ran into trouble. There were squabbles, resulting in the expulsion of five councillors in 1984.

Mr Tshabalala was re-elected mayor in 1985. But he was suspended in 1986 when he aroused the wrath of the councillors by allowing 400 squatter families to settle on council land.

Although unpopular with the authorities, Mr Tshabalala's action was consisent with Sofasonke's populist tradition. So was his campaign to limit service charges in Soweto to R15 a month, and to put Government-built houses on sale for a nominal R300.

It won him support from the poor and the homeless in Soweto. So this month Sofasonke again won power, capturing 25 of the 35 Soweto Council seats and toppling many of Mr Tshabalala's foes.

But before polling day it had to win another battle: 18 of its candidates, including Mr Tshabalala, were disqualified. Nine were later reinstated.

But Mr Tshabalala was not among them. However, his son, Mr Payne Tshabalala, was a successful candidate. He is now tipped to become mayor.

And there is little doubt his father, now 80, will wield considerable power as the *eminence grise* of Sofasonke.

# Facts distorted — Conservative MP

Star 31/10/85 (3044)

The Conservative Party MP for Roodepoort, Mr J J S Prinsloo, has accused SABC-TV and an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper of "sustained distortion" of the results in the municipal election in the town.

He said yesterday that Roodepoort did not consist only of the Roodepoort constituency (held by the CP). It also included the National Party-held Helderkruin and Florida constituencies and a large part of Maraisburg, also NP.

"Before the recent municipal elections there was only one CP-supported councillor in the Roodepoort constituency and no official CP councillors.

"In the elections three official CP candidates and two CP-supported candidates were elected ...

"The position in Roodepoort constituency is therefore that the CP and CP-supported candidates won in five of the six wards. Furthermore, the total number of votes for the right-wing candidates was 1 867 more than the total for the six NP and NP-supported candidates ..."

Besides the five wards won in the Roodepoort constituency by conservative candidates, another three wards were won by official CP candidates in neighbouring wards: one largely in Helderkruin, one largely in Maraisburg and one situated entirely in Maraisburg.

Mr Prinsloo said both Herderkruin and Maraisburg now for the first time also had CP councillors.

"To allege in view of the above facts that the NP scored a surprise victory in Roodepoort as claimed this week by SABC-TV, or that the CP suffered a loss in the Roodepoort constituency as alleged in the (Afrikaans Sunday) newspaper report, is in conflict with the real facts." — Sapa.

# Idasa two-day conference will debate 'right to speak'

DURBAN — The right to speak will be explored at the first large public conference to be organised in Durban by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa since it opened an office in the city a few weeks ago.

Mr Paul Graham, regional director of Idasa, said freedom of speech was a cornerstone of a democratic society.

"In South Africa, the right to speak has been restricted so much that people are no longer aware what is going on nor that their rights as citizens have been so eroded."

The conference will look at the ways in which the right to speak has been restricted and will suggest ways in which it could be protected in the future. It takes place at the University of Natal, Durban, on Friday November 4 and Saturday November 5.

Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, will open proceedings with an address entitled "The right to speak and democracy".

Delegates will look also at the freedom of expression clauses in the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba Bill of Rights and at the newly adopted constitutional guidelines of the ANC.

National Democratic Movement MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastow, and Mr Theo Coggin, the deputy director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, will speak in this session.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, a Johannesburg legal academic, will give an overview of the law and Mr Richard Steyn, Editor of the *Natal Witness*, will look at the position of the press.

# CP plan of action is judged 'impossible'

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The first plan of action sketched by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — after his party took control of more than two-thirds of Transvaal platteland towns in the municipal election — is not possible to fulfil.

This is clear from Government statements, black housing experts and a study of legislation governing group areas and regional services councils — the targets identified by Dr Treurnicht at a press conference after the election.

Dr Treurnicht said the election had given the CP a greater majority in the Regional Services Councils (RSC), where CP-controlled towns could exert influence on budgeting.

"In principle we are not in favour of the redistribution of wealth and we would not necessarily spend as much on black housing," he said.

He also said the CP-controlled towns would attempt to keep out all but whites from operating in those central business districts which had been desegregated.

The latter was knocked down last week when Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis pointed out that open areas were declared by central Government and local authorities were powerless to close them.

Some RSCs may well be controlled by the CP, but legislation governing these provides a number of checks and balances to prevent hijacking of funds by one party for one race.

Should even one member of the RSC object to a decision, he or she has the right to appeal to a board comprising the provincial administrator as chairman, Cabinet Ministers concerned with black, coloured and Asian local affairs, and the Minister of Finance.

The administrator may instruct the RSC to take a certain decision.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration does not believe the CP would hamper RSCs even if it could.

The MEC in charge of RSCs, Mr Fanie Schoeman, said: "Up to now the RSC concept has proved itself a great success and people — not only CP members — who were hesitant have become convinced of the merit of the concept."

New councillors would also see the benefits.

The creation of new housing is outside the province of the RSCs and the provision of black housing is now almost entirely in the hands of private enterprise.

In many cases the land is provided by the TPA.

Province is unconcerned about possible complaints from white communities giving the CP members leverage in choking funds for "black" projects. There is not a white community in, for example, the Highveld RSC region which has not benefited from RSC fund allocations, according to senior sources at the TPA.

In the largely CP-controlled far northern Transvaal few black communities exist under South African control, the majority of black people living in homelands.

The CP would also be hard put to justify starving black communities of RSC funds as these are generated by levies on commercial firms — the bulk of whose clients are generally black, TPA officials pointed out.

Urban affairs consultant Mr Nigel Mandy said the worst the CP could do was cause unpleasantness. "The message I have had is that CP people involved in RSCs and local co-ordinating committees are embarrassed by their party's declared policy."

# English bias: Reply to Tutu

Art Times 31/10/88 (28)(30A)

**Political Correspondent**

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu appeared to believe there was some inherent reason why English-speakers could be expected to oppose apartheid more than Afrikaners, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said at the weekend.

"I have never believed that."

Dr De Beer was responding to the earlier charge by Archbishop Tutu that the municipal election results had exposed the myth that English-speakers were liberal.

Archbishop Tutu had also remarked that English-speakers had shown they supported apartheid as much as the "much-maligned Afrikaners", adding that Johannesburg and Natal voters had come out in their "true colours".

Approached for comment yesterday, Dr De Beer said: "Within limits, His Grace is right to point out that very many English speakers do support apartheid.

"The traditional vote of that community against the Nationalists was based on support for the Commonwealth and its symbols — it had little to do with race relations.

"There are, thank heavens, some Afrikaners who favour equal rights, freedom and the rule of law; and there are some English speakers who also support these things.



Archbishop Tutu



Dr Zach de Beer

"But language group is not the determinant of people's views."

Dr De Beer said that in both Johannesburg and Durban the results were actually better than the PFP had expected.

"The Nats gained outright control in Johannesburg but they had had effective control for 10 years anyhow. What is good is that the PFP opposition has been somewhat strengthened.

"In Durban, it is clearly the more liberal-minded people who predominate in the new council," he said.

● Meanwhile, a major controversy continues to rage about whether the turnout for the black, coloured and Indian local authorities election constituted a solid mandate for the government's constitutional policies.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said significant numbers of people of all races participating constituted a "victory for evolutionary change over violence".

The extent of voter participation was a victory for democratic processes over revolutionary processes and the results indicated that all communities were ready to exercise greater control over local affairs, he said.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said the high polls showed that calls by church leaders for a boycott of the elections had been ignored.

The acting leader of the NPP, Mr Boetie Abramjee, said the encouraging turnout had once again proved "that those who were opposed to the election had failed in their attempts at keeping voters away from the polls".

However, the Five Freedoms Forum countered that only 1,5 million of the 26 million blacks in South Africa were registered voters, "making a 23% poll meaningless as it in fact represented only 1,13% of the black population".

The Transvaal Indian Congress said it saw the outcome of the election as a vote of no confidence in the government, saying that more than 81 000 of the 100 000 Indians eligible to vote cast their ballots.

304A B/day 31/10/88

# Listen to a new voice from the townships

**Ken Owen**

TAKE heart. The national psychosis that has raged since September 1984 is subsiding, and new voices are emerging. The revolution is pretty well washed up, and even the counter-revolutionaries are beginning to sound shrill.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu has fallen remarkably silent as it becomes evident that the first effects of sanctions are to throw people out of jobs and to weaken the political base of the trades unions.

At the other end of the spectrum, General Magnus Malan's weekly rave about the communist onslaught and the terrorist threat begins to sound silly in a world of Angolan peace talks and African diplomacy. He sounds even sillier to those who understand that *perestroika* is a Russian word that means Soviet socialism has failed as completely as Nkrumah's African socialism.

Listen, then, to a new voice from the townships. It is the voice of Aggrey Klaaste, editor of The Sowetan, which looks as though it may soon become South Africa's largest-selling daily newspaper.

Klaaste's comments seem to me — though I am not an expert — to carry undertones of Steve Biko. It is a more mature brand of black consciousness, an assertion of self that is no longer defensive, and no longer requires the denigration of anybody else. He does not beg or threaten; he is not dependant.

Let me quote from a seminal speech delivered little more than a week ago by Klaaste, a speech which is travelling by word of mouth and by letter and by fax from township to office to embassy. In it he calls on his people to build a nation, to rebuild a people, to make a great country.

"I have written somewhere," said Klaaste, "that it is increasingly becoming the responsibility of blacks to help (save) this country from certain ruination. It is our responsibility because it is also our country, and we are after all in the majority."

Afrikaners, he says, lost their opportunity to redeem this land because they forgot the rest of us. "If the Afrikaners had done all the things they did to build themselves, done them for all of us, for South Africa, they would have been in a comfortable leadership position today."

Now, he believes, the Afrikaners are too encumbered by the baggage of race superiority to accomplish the task and it falls to blacks to take up the burden.

He mentions neither the English community, nor the businessmen from whom the so-called radicals beg endlessly for cash, nor the foreigners. And rightly so. In his analysis, the white business community and the foreigners are marginal players. Afrikaners, still dangerous, are becoming so.

Klaaste's thinking shifts responsibility firmly onto black shoulders, and he addresses his people bluntly: "One moment we are bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the baas's hand, the next we are engaged in unbelievable acts of violence. And, more irrationally, against ourselves.

"How could the average white person have confidence, nay respect for such people?"

He rejects, too, the Eastern European baggage which the SA Communist Party loaded onto the backs of the ANC and most black political organisations. The rhetoric of wealth redistribution is absent from his speech.

Instead, he draws from African experience — especially from the failure of Kwame Nkrumah's exhortation to seek first the political kingdom — the lesson that political kingdoms do not stand on their own.

"Political kingdoms, to be effective, lasting and democratic, need all sorts of power structures to underpin them. They need the back-up of strong people who have clout economically, who have clout academically, who have strength to recognise the value of a free Press, who have a spiritual or religious foundation."

What interests me is not that Klaaste is, in effect, junking the entire murderous ideology of revolution — of liberation through a descent into barbarism — but that his views dovetail so neatly with some of the thinking that has been taking place on the other side of the racial divide. It cannot be coincidence; he is expressing the *zeitgeist*, the spirit of the times.

In a remarkable, though much-underrated, programme of research the Institute of Race Relations has shown that blacks, more than Nationalists, have been responsible for the "reforms" of the past decade. While the revolutionary ideologues have been trying to wreck the country, the black masses have been quietly and persistently changing it.

The reform of labour law, for example, and the recognition of black trades unions followed — it did not precede — the formation of unions and the widespread use of industrial action. In effect, Professor Nic Wiehahn came along behind to tidy up the legislation and make it fit the new reality.

Similarly, the scrapping of job reservation followed job-splitting, illegal employment practices, and the general use of black people in new roles created by an expanding economy. The legal changes followed the reality.

So, too, did the abolition of the pass laws. Influx control simply broke down because it, in addition to being inhuman and expensive, was a ridiculous endeavour. We might as well abolish group areas because the changes are occurring anyway, and they will continue, law or no law.

Lately there have been signs of a new dimension, one which goes beyond the abolition of apartheid to the creation of a new society. The minibus industry — which smashed the SATS monopoly without help from whites or foreigners — is the glamorous example of the use of economic power as an instrument of liberation, but it is not the only one.

And there is more to come. Blacks are examining the history of the Broederbond, and the Afrikaner Helpmekaar movement. They are recalling that local authorities removed their accounts from "English" to "Afrikaner" banks, and that they both supported and depended upon Afrikaans institutions.

From Sharpeville to Soweto, and from Soweto to Sebokeng, radicals on both sides fanned the flames of hatred to produce the next outburst of violence. Now they are fanning the anger for the next outburst. They want revolution.

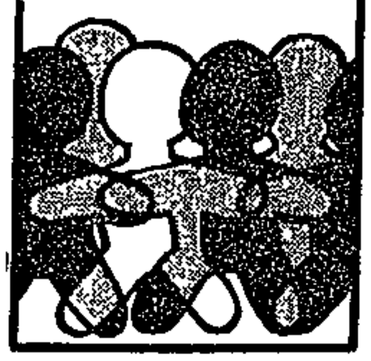
Meanwhile, a different kind of revolution is in the making, one which depends on order not on chaos, on peace not on violence, on trade not on sanctions, on schooling not on school boycotts. Its aim is to build the institutions, the strength, that will underpin a democractic South Africa.

If redemptive change in South Africa depends on the National Party, it will not come. If it depends on the ANC, it will also not come. The one is too selfish, and the other weak. Between them, they make only disaster. The way to change South Africa is to go ahead and make those changes that don't depend on either the government or the revolution, knowing that change leads to change.

Whites can join in the task, if they wish, or stand aside. Klaaste, I have no doubt, will carry on regardless. As he says, somebody has to do something to stop the madness in this country.

# No ready-made SA leader, p

**The Star's save SA poll**



In the third of three instalments, **PROFESSOR LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER** analyses The Star's "metropolitan people's poll".

Replies to structured questions such as those in The Star's survey reveal people's positions and opinions but not necessarily their strongly felt commitments.

The views can be based on loose or even passive sentiment. In the open question with which the study started, however, people interviewed had to generate their own ideas. Spontaneous answers are more likely to reveal strong views and intensely felt commitments.

These replies were fairly encouraging as a pointer to possible reconciliation. Only about one-fifth of Afrikaans-speakers and less than one-tenth of white National Party supporters felt strongly enough to argue spontaneously for the maintenance of, or a return to, apartheid and separate development.

## Communication

Roughly double these proportions of people in the same social categories argued positively for a move away from social and political inequality. The need for communication between all people and the building of awareness was a frequent answer across all groups and categories

Among the larger mass of whites, coloured people, Indians and Africans the need to move away from apartheid and enforced racial separation, although not always a majority answer, was the single most frequently mentioned solution to South Africa's problems.

But political solutions require leadership and, for this reason, the study ended with a question on the three leaders whom people polled would most like to "see in power in order to save the country". More than 40 names were presented for selection and respondents collectively added more than 10 more.

More than 95 percent of all people in the sample made their choices The following 10 leaders emerged, in addition to the State President, in the front rank (we give the overall level of mention after the name):

Mr P W Botha
Mr Pik Botha 30 percent +
Nelson Mandela 25 percent
Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi 18 percent
Mr Oliver Tambo
Mrs Helen Suzman
Dr van Zyl Slabbert
Dr Andries Treurnicht 8-12 percent
Dr Dennis Worrall
General Magnus Malan
Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Clearly this line-up produces some very uncomfortable political bedfellows for a future South Africa. We need to note further that, had whites and Africans been represented in proportion to the national population (and not the metropolitan area), Mandela would have headed the list. He obtained more than 60 percent mention among Africans.

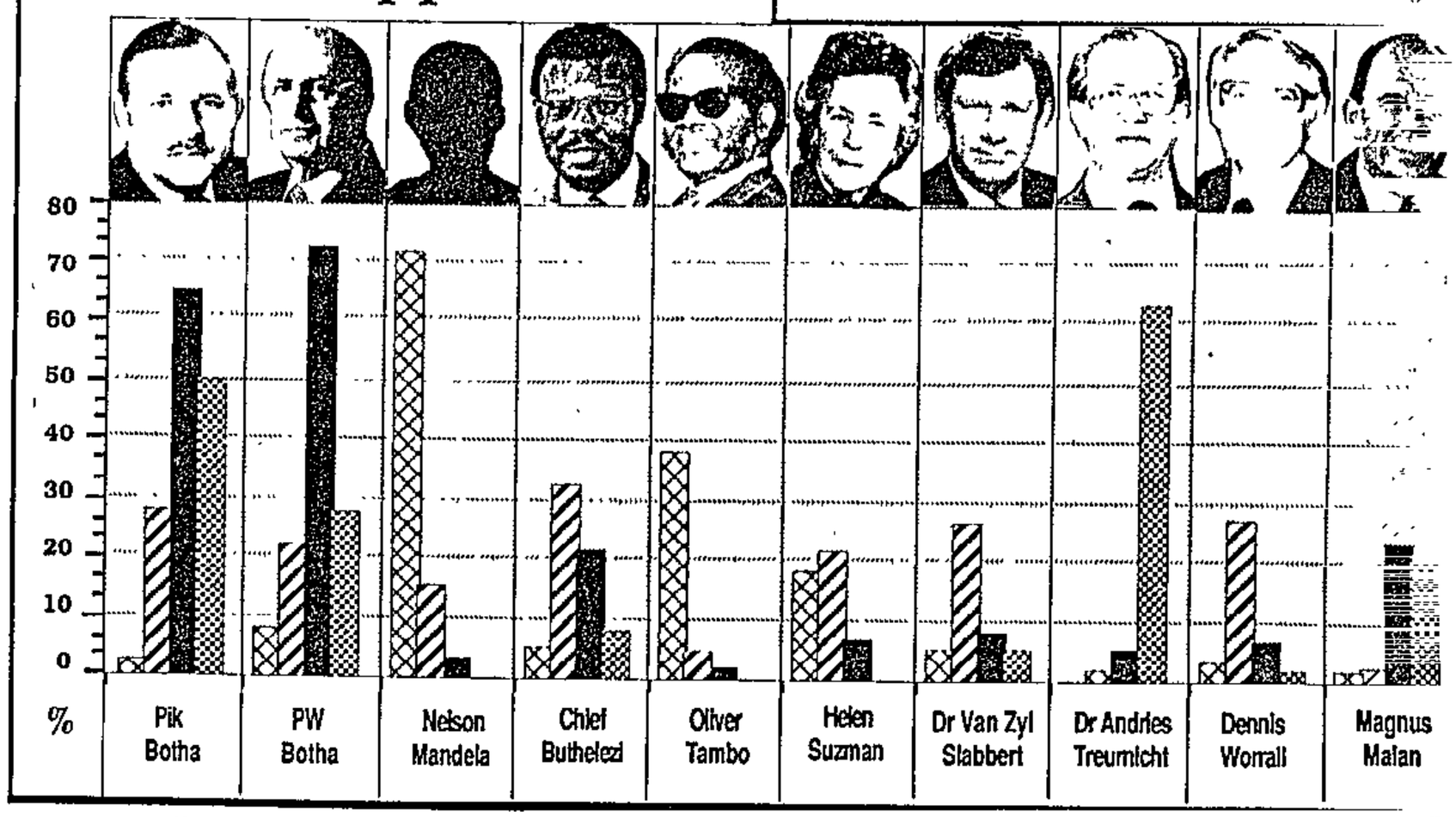
The overall results mark great divergence in choice of leaders between different groups in the sample. On a scale of agreement/disagreement of between one and 100 in choices made by Afrikaans-speakers, whites in general, coloured people, Indians and Africans, Mr P W Botha attracted most general agreement (disagreement index 5) followed by Chief Buthelezi (8), Dr van Zyl Slabbert (9), Mr Pik Botha (19) and Dr Dennis Worrall (11).

At the other end of the consensus scale, where leadership, although very prominent, is controversial and hotly disputed by certain groups we have General Malan (disagreement index 35) followed by Archbishop Tutu (51), Mr Oliver Tambo (100 plus), Nelson Mandela (100 plus) and Dr Andries Treurnicht (100 plus).

But even the top five leaders with relatively low disagreement ratings lack meaningful support in some group or section of the population. It is even worse at the other end of the agreement scale. Mandela and Dr Treurnicht are chosen by less than one percent among Afrikaners and Africans respectively, although they have massive support in their own constituencies.

Thus there is no great black or white hope who, at this stage, could legitimately lead or inspire the nation as a whole. The solution, therefore, is hugely difficult but clear — leaders such as those in the top 11 have to do it together to save South Africa — we need them all, whether we like it or not.

There are many other results of great interest but those highlighted above sum up the picture.




# Pik Botha is rated above PW and Mandela

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is rated above President Botha and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as the man to salvage South Africa from disaster by people living in the key Pretoria and Witwaterandsrand region.

Mr Botha edges President Botha out of first place, securing 33 percent of the "vote", against 31 percent for Mr P W Botha, in a survey conducted for The Star by Marketing and Media Research (MMR).

Mandela is rated next after the two Bothas His rating is 25 percent. Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is fourth, with 18 percent

A scientific sample of more than 1 050 people, drawn from households speaking English, Afrikaans or an African language, was asked to choose three people they thought should be in power to save the country from calamity.

They were offered a choice from a long list. The list contained the names of the best known political and economic leaders, ranging from Mr Oliver Tambo of the ANC to Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and including industrial moguls such as Mr Anton Rupert and Mr Gavin Relly

Filling the upper ranks after Chief Buthelezi are Mr Tambo and Mrs Helen Suzman of the PFP (each with 12 percent) and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader (11 percent).

After them, level-pegging at 10 percent, are Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party and General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence.

Mr Pik Botha, who is riding high in the undeclared race to succeed President Botha, has one key advantage over his rivals in the ruling National Party. He is the only NP man to attract significant support from both the right and the left of the NP

On the right of the NP, he ranks second after Dr Treurnicht. On the left of the NP — as distinct from the far left — he ranks second after Chief Buthelezi. In the NP itself he is second after President Botha.

It is only on the far left — consisting largely of the extra-parliamentary opposition — that Mr Pik Botha does not figure. Here top rating goes to Mr Mandela with 71 percent. Behind him are Mr Tambo and Archbishop Desmond Tutu

The Foreign Minister is not rated top in any of the political — as distinct from language — groups where he has significant support But his consistent second rating pushes him to the top overall

Both Bothas attract support in English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking households.

One suprising result is that Chief Buthelezi does not get a place in the first three in African-language households

# Background to Star survey

This is a guide as to how, when and where The Star's survey was conducted and by whom

**UNIVERSE**: All residents of voting age in Johannesburg, Soweto, East and West Rand, Pretoria and surrounding townships, representing about six million people.

**SAMPLE SIZE**: 1 052 men and women aged 18 and over.

**TIMING** Conducted between August 9 and August 22 1988.

**SAMPLING METHOD**: Area stratified random sampling, based on household statistics from "Towns of South Africa" (Davies, Bristow and Associates) This is a scientific sampling method whereby every person in the defined universe has an equal chance of being selected for the sample — hence the sample is representative of the people in the above metropolitan complex.

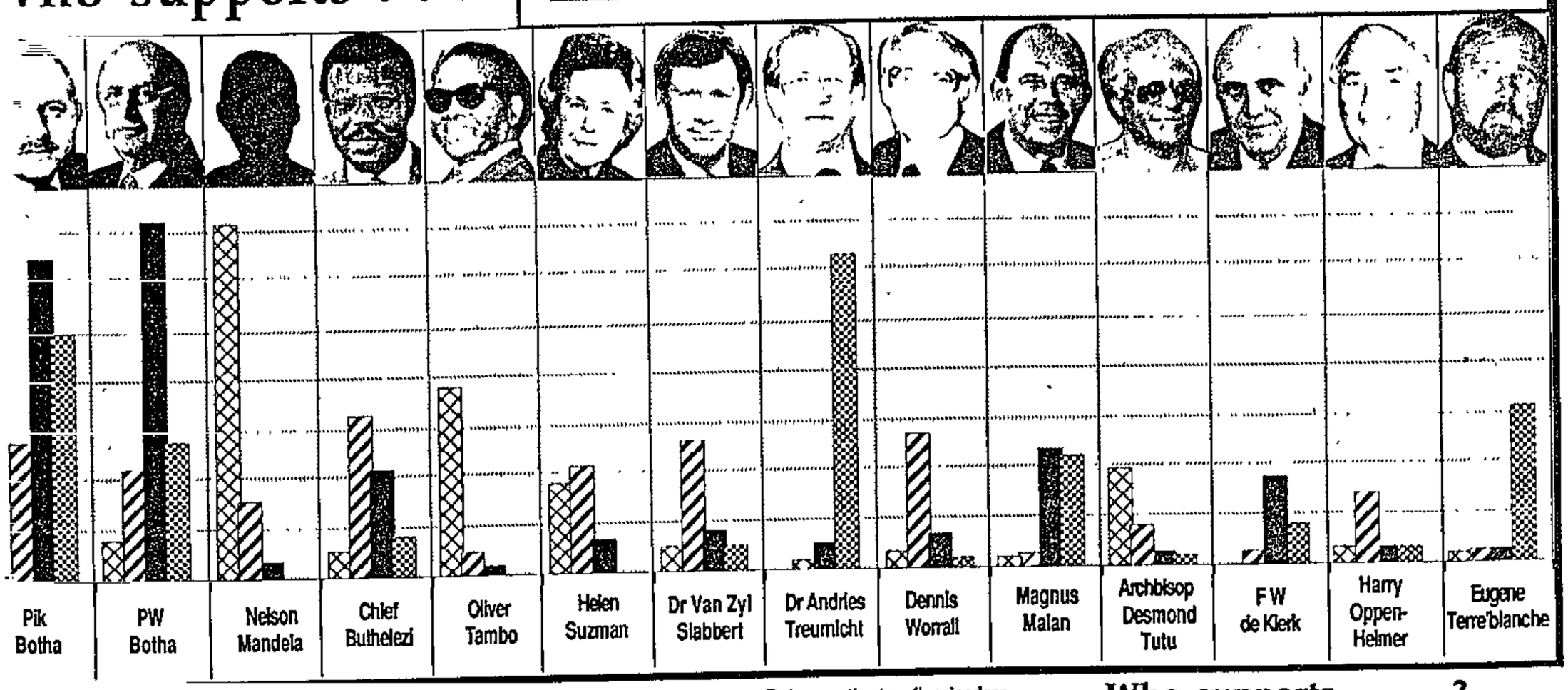
**INTERVIEW METHOD** "Secret ballot" type questionnaires in which no identification was required. The questionnaires were of the self-completion type and were in the language of the respondent's choice (illiterates were interviewed face-to-face). Respondents placed the questionnaires in self-sealed envelopes and these were placed into sealed boxes Election predictions and opinion polls conducted in the past using this interview method have had good predictive validity

**CONDUCTED BY**: Marketing and Media Research.

**PROCESSED BY**: Markanal (Pty) Limited.

# y-made SA leader, poll shows

## Who supports . . .

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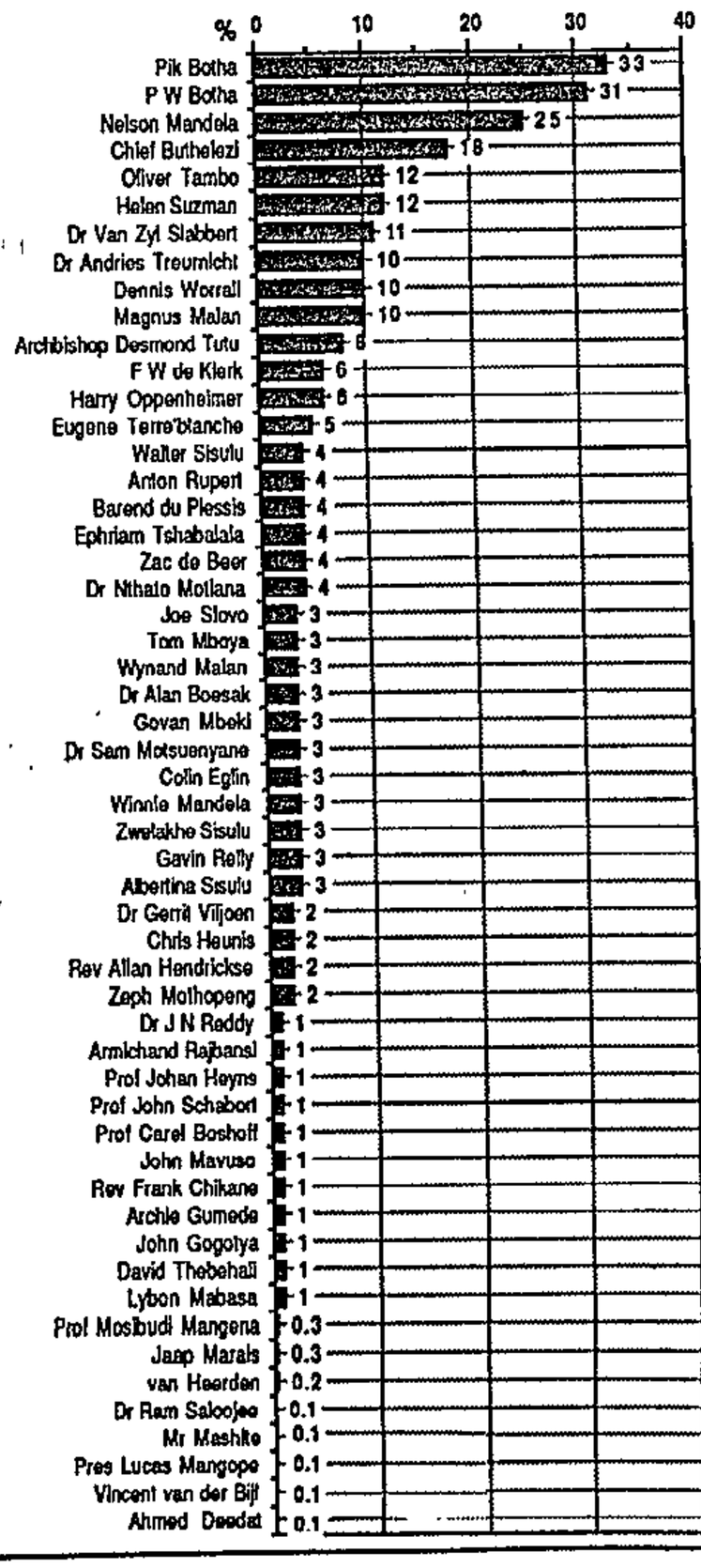


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CONDUCTED BY: Marketing and Media Research

PROCESSED BY: Markanal (Pty) Limited.

Security clearance mystery

# Heunis backs officials as rumpus grows

Star 3/10/88

304A

**By David Braun,**
**Political Correspondent**

**Controversy surrounding two senior officials of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning grew today when their political boss, Mr Chris Heunis, came out in their support.**

The officials, Dr Fanie Cloete, chief director of Constitutional Planning, and Mr Kobus Jordaan, director of Constitutional Development Support Services, have been involved in some sort of row concerning their security clearance.

Due to the nature of their work, which has included the sensitive task of trying to promote broad constitutional negotiations between the various communities of South Africa, they have until recently enjoyed high-level security clearance which included the right to see certain Cabinet papers.

In terms of the Protection of Information Act, newspapers may not be told if their top-level security clearance has been altered, according to security sources today.

## 'Talks with ANC' hint

It is therefore not clear just what sort of trouble the two officials have become embroiled in, but there have been hints in several newspapers, including Nationalist-supporting publications, that they have been talking to what might be considered undesirable extra-parliamentary organisations, including possibly the ANC.

There was no clarity early today on the status of the two officials. It was reported in a morning newspaper today that both officials were on leave.

Mr Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said in a statement released to Sapa today that he had always had the fullest confidence in the two men.

He said he had no information that their loyalty to himself, the department or the Government could in any way be questioned



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# Student in severe shock speargun killed his bro

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He said he had no information that their loyalty to himself, the department or the Government could in any way be questioned.

"It is the stated aim of the Government, the department and myself to do everything possible to find constitutional solutions for South Africa," Mr Heunis said.

He added it was in the national interest for him and his department to be allowed to continue on this basis unhindered.

Earlier in his statement, Mr Heunis reacted to Sunday newspaper speculation that the two officials had been sidelined by saying they were members of his department out of their own choice and they surely had the right to decide themselves whether to continue working for the department or not.

## No restrictions

No restrictions were placed on either of the two by the department and the service conditions of the two men were not determined by the department or himself, Mr Heunis said.

He added that the department enjoyed the services of exceptionally well trained and capable personnel who did not deserve to be hindered in their jobs, either directly or indirectly, through speculative reporting.

Mr Jordaan declined to comment today saying he could not react to suggestions his security clearance had been withdrawn.

Dr Cloete could not be reached for comment.

Mr Heunis was not available for further comment.



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# Student in severe shock ... speargun killed his bro...

By Melody M... Vereenigin...

An 18-year-old college student is being treated for severe shock in the Vanderbijlpark Hospital after a speargun he was examining accidentally went off and fatally wounded his younger brother at the weekend.

Hein van Beukering (16) of General Lategan Street, Vanderbijlpark, lapsed into a deep coma almost immediately after the 6 mm-thick steel spear penetrated his head and pierced his brain on Friday.

The teenager was rushed to the Vanderbijlpark Hospital and connected to a life-support machine before being airlifted to the Johannesburg Hospital where he was certified dead soon after arrival.

Hein's bother, Arnold — who became hysterical after the tragedy — is still being treated for severe shock under heavy sedation at the local hospital.

Arnold, a first-year student at Potchefstroom Teachers' Training College, was due to start writing exams today and was studying at home when the incident occurred.

The boys' father, Mr Hans van Beukering (50), yesterday stressed it was "a terrible accident" and the family did not blame his eldest son for what happened.

"Arnold has been s... by the whole thing and ... that we will reject hi... ances to the contra... been a dreadful blow ... miss him very much, ... Arnold for what happe...

Mr van Beukering s... pened when Arnold ... speargun which he wa... the coast.

While Arnold was ... speargun was in good ... wittingly released a ... and the weapon went ... struck Hein in the back.

Hein, a Std 9 pupil a... kool Lettie Fouche, wa... a prefect for next year.

A week before his ... oured by the local R... award for unselfish se... nity.

Hein will be cremat... later this week.

Police are investiga... ble homicide.

# Israeli bus petrol-bombed: mother, 3 c...

JERUSALEM — A petrol-bomb attack on an Israeli bus killed a mother and three young children last night near the West Bank town of Jericho, the army said.

Five passengers were wounded the attack, the most devastating on a Jewish target since the start of a Palestinian uprising in the occupied territories nearly 11 months ago.

The attack came just two days before Israelis vote in an election whose campaign has centred on the uprising and the future of the West Ba... captured in the 1967 M...

Armed forces radi... bushed the bus, forcin... down and then hurled ... that engulfed the entir...

The army spokesm... and her children were ... Israeli city of Tiberia... they were travelling ... Barmitzvah.

● See P...