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TOTALITARIANISM - General

1-1-81 — 28-2-81

Police raid upsets servants

323 ~~344~~ C. Torris 3/1/81

By ANDILE NTEYI and GETTY MERCORIO

AN EARLY morning police raid on the servants' quarters of a Pinelands old-age home has upset the servants.

The women, who work at the flats, said this week that police went through all the rooms and searched wardrobes and under beds for children who were staying with their mothers for the school holidays. The police were accompanied by the manager of the home, Mr D Verrinder.

There are 13 women living in the servants' quarters. One claimed that some of them were half-naked. She said the police came after the manager had told the women that the children had to leave.

The manager threatened to call the police if they did not take the children home, she said. There were three children at the quarters who were spending the holidays with their mothers.

The woman said the gates at the servants' quarters were closed at 7 pm every day and no one could get in or out after then. She said that in the evenings they were not allowed visitors and during the day they had no chance of seeing anyone as they were working.

Asked to comment on the allegations, the manager of Pinelands Place, Mr D Verrinder, said that he and the assistant manager had repeatedly warned the servants not to bring their children to the home.

Not customary to warn

After threatening the servants with police action he called the police to search the rooms. The policemen asked him to accompany them on their raid.

Asked why the servants had been confronted while some of them were half-naked, he said that it was not customary to warn people that they were about to be raided.

Mr Verrinder said that Pinelands Place, like all old-age homes, had a security problem. Some of the residents took short walks in the evening and their safety had to be considered. The police had been called to rid the servants' quarters of undesirable characters, he said.

Mr D F Kerswill, director of the Cape Provincial Welfare Organization, which administers the home, said that when he visited the home last week he was "appalled to hear the crying of infants". The home, he said, was for the elderly and not for the hangers-on of servants.

While the home tried to avoid having live-in staff, those who lived in were certainly allowed visitors until a reasonable hour. The raid on Monday had taken place because residents had complained about the "row in the early hours of the morning" coming from the servants' quarters.

'Tantamount to theft'

Mr Kerswill said servants were not allowed to have visitors sleeping over in their rooms. Visitors of this nature "are obviously being fed, which is tantamount to theft."

He said it was his experience that whenever there was a confrontation between servants and management the servants rushed to the press.

● The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Western Cape, Brigadier D B Nothnagel, confirmed yesterday that the police had visited the home. He said the visit had been in response to a request by Mr Verrinder, who had alleged that men were sleeping in the servants' quarters.

He said the police found no illegal inhabitants and left, causing no unnecessary embarrassment. Police had announced their intention of examining the rooms before they opened the doors.

No decision on Post

The Argus Company is still waiting for the Government's answer to its application for the re-registration of Post Transvaal, Sunday Post and The Sowetan says Post's manager, Mr John Gittins.

Mr Gittins also said earlier this week, that Post was applying to the Minister of Justice for a relaxation of the banning order on black journalist Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

Newspapers in South Africa and overseas have criticised the bannings of Mr Sisulu and of Durban journalist Mr Marimuthu Subramoney.

Argus awaits reply

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Argus Company is still awaiting a Government answer to its application for re-registration of Post Transvaal, the Sunday Post and the Sowetan, according to Post's manager, Mr John Gittins.

Mr Gittins said today that he had not yet heard from the Department of Internal Affairs.

Earlier this week he said that if governmental go-ahead came 'between now and Monday, Post will be back on the streets by Tuesday'.

Mr Gittins also said earlier this week that Post was making an application to the Minister of Justice to relax the banning order on a black journalist, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu.

There had been no further development in this situation either, he said.

Newspapers throughout South Africa have criticised the bannings of Mr Sisulu and of a Durban journalist, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney. Wide protest about the bannings has been raised both here and overseas.

Minister says statement untrue

THE Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, has taken exception to a leader in The Argus of December 30 in which it was alleged that the Government was 'provocatively dragging its heels' about allowing three black newspapers to print again, and that the Government had effectively closed these newspapers down.

Mr Heunis said that both these statements were untrue.

In terms of the Act, the registration of the three newspapers had lapsed and there were no representations from the proprietors for condonation.

The first application for condonation had been received only this week, and he would meet the Minister of Justice as soon as possible to decide what action to take in respect of the three newspapers.

RDM 3/1/81

Argus expect reaction later

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE Argus newspaper group does not expect any reaction to its urgent application to the Minister of the Interior, Mr Chris Heunis, to allow three black newspapers to resume immediate publication until next week.

The newspapers, Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, which were forced to suspend publication due to a protracted strike by workers, lost their registrations in terms of the Internal Security Act because they did not appear for over a month.

When the Argus group lost a court application earlier this week to allow continued publication, an urgent telex was sent to Mr Heunis asking him to use his power under the Internal Security Act to condone the lapse in publication and permit immediate re-appearance of the papers.

In terms of the Act a minimum period of three weeks must pass after an application for re-registration is received by the Department of the Interior before re-appearance.

The manager of Post, Mr John Gittins, said yesterday that nothing had been heard from Mr Heunis and that he did not expect any reaction until next week. The newspapers are not being published in the meantime. Normal re-applications had been made.

Earlier this week Mr Heunis said that, after studying the application in consultation with the Minister of Justice, he would consider, "if necessary" the re-registrations.

TODAY Personality

The Golden Lotus who waits for Breyten



FOR five years this month a lonely, petite woman has circled the globe many times in her quest to give courage to her husband in a South African prison. She is a frail, but lionhearted Vietnamese girl. JAAP BOEKKOOI tells of her and our love story-of-the-century. In respect to the original, the translations of Breytenbach's poetry are mostly literal.

SHE seems a fragile flower of a girl as she trips down the gangway steps, dwarfed by the giant jumbo from Paris twice a year. One or two stare, yet few know that the whispy woman with the rare exotic smile is the most celebrated in all South African writings which, ironically, she does not read.

Irony, but to be expected. Because by origin she is as alien as her Capey in Paris. In war-torn Vietnam the guns were already booming, as they would for the next 30 years, when the new-born Golden Lotus gracefully unfolded.

Had anybody then told the locally aristocratic family that their flower was to fly yearly the equivalent of all-round-the-world merely to talk to a lover through thick glass, without ever touching him, well, the smile meeting that suggestion would have been as inscrutable as that of a sitting Buddha.

Yet there it is. Golden Lotus's officially registered name is, of course, Yolande Marie Breytenbach, wife of a bearded Afrikaans Buddhist poet she privately calls "Juane" — better known as Breyten. She the tragedienne of our most poignant romanza of this century, and already the most eulogised object d'amour in South African literature.

Yet hers is also one of the least told love sagas (compared with that of Eugene Marais and his beautiful wife of one year, Aletta, for instance), partly because Breyten Breytenbach, "The Prince of Afrikaans" and the poet of scorching surrealist imagery and Keatsian lyre, is muzzled and in jail for nine years.

Of these five weary years have just passed. Known to few, Yolande has been here six months out of every 12 to make those ever more despairing pilgrimages to the Gothic high-walled Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town, talking to the man to whom she pledged on his incarceration: "I love him, and I will stand by him."

Breytenbach, less given to such conventionalities, replied in a prison poem (from "Voetskrif"):

"If you find it necessary
to wipe out
my spoor, it is good also
for I am not in autumn . . .
you must be strong, my
wife,
you may not weep —
you are now the man in the
house."

She soon proved to be in constancy. Visits like hers are, perhaps, the hardest for the wives of any political prisoners, because they are of that cruel "no contact" variety. Lovers like Breyten and Yolande who, as the records show, blossomed on mutual touching intimacy must keep those hands, dying to hold, in their laps.

They may not even use their home language, French, as warders must constantly monitor their conversation. Letters between them, two a month of 500 words each (and penalties if they exceed 500) must also be in English.

Altogether it is a bitter denouement to the double life which began with the idyll when she met, and married (over some parental objections), that dark-souled Afrikaner in Paris 17 years ago, thus entering the conspirational underworld of the Boer exile.

The rest of the saga is known. Except that in Breyten's triangle existence of painter, anti-apartheid campaigner and writer, his magnificent obsession of the poet with his "Yoli" (as she signs herself) has had no equal in South Africa.

A year after, they tied the knot — both were living penniless in a Paris attic — he burst across 6 000 km on to the scene here with his first volume of poems, Die Ysterkoei moet Sweet, an immediate prize winner. And since then his numerous writings on her have reached paean proportions.

One entire volume, under title Lotus (naturally) and pseudonym Jan Blom, is a set of frankly erotic poems, inspired by her, that no newspapers would dare to print today.

At other times Breyten extols, like a catalogue, every feature of the beloved he described as "my radiant tiny brown bride . . . my teeny brown risen loaf."

Her eyes, he writes in dedication, "look out of your head like deep cool windowlets of a Moorish house in the sun," and he compares the freckles on her torso as "a black rarified imperium of stars over a brown firmament."

And the ears? They are "like churches", her hands "like wine, her feet masterworks". All that makes her "the poem between sheets, with the sweet breath."

He talks of her Indo-Chinese grace: "No fire sings as finely as the silver of your movements . . ." and he confesses he may be "rotten with love" — "my life clings to yours . . . as the night hangs onto the lips of the day."

In Zulu they would dub such a poet an "imbongi" (praise singer) and he would be, if one could forget, that Breyten is also the man of the "ugly" imagery, the poetical processes which feature cadavers, blood, sweat and war, and which used to give a skrik to the tannies on the platteland.

But he reserves his highest flights of lyricism for Yoli who, to Afrikaans friends he refers to as "Huppeltjie", a name I would loosely translate as "Miss Frisky".

It is clear through all his poetry that "Madman" (as he calls himself in a letter to her) and his Yoli see their bond as eternal. She, he writes in poems, "is my language, the seed of my fertilisation, the world into which I can pour my dreams," and also the one "who has led me through the gardens, through all the mansions of the sun."

He thinks of her in their eventides:

"Our lights extinguished
my toothless mouth con-
tinues babbling
into your blind ear . . .
sometimes we would with
our creaking
larynxes, love still."

It is the final admission he cannot live without his Imperial Lotus:

"Only through you I must
reject myself
through you only I realised
how homeless I am
In a burning sea . . ."

★ ★ ★

WHO is the extraordinary princess who inspired this sweet doxology, this modern secular Song of Songs?

First the irony. She does not read Afrikaans or Breyten's poetry. All her knowledge of his 17-year hymn of praise to her is second hand, from his admirers.

Vietnamese and detribalised, she has that split eye-cat face beauty and frailty. But as we now know the inside backbone is pure tensile steel with the strength of a jungle tigress.

Her long black hair reaches a tiny waist. And when it is tied back it gives her a severe, stoic look. She looks best in dresses, jeans; shorts on her are reminiscent of those on a Saigon bar girl.

She was of noble stock, the daughter of an ambassador who negotiated decolonisation with France. her sister is married to a reputed London millionaire; her brothers are all in top professions like medicine and law.

She has a bamboo leaf sharp mind and memory, speaks four languages and says she will learn her fifth, Afrikaans, when her Juane is freed.

Friends who have stayed with the Breytenbachs in Paris add something more basic: she is a haute cuisine cook in both French and Vietnamese food.

Otherwise not much more is generally known about her. She lives an intensely private life; no newspaper has ever managed to interview her in depth profile. She hates cheap yellow Press "revelations" about her well-curtained agony and ecstasy. She shuns one of her in-laws because the story was spread she had had an affair with novelist Andre Brink a close friend (in jail Breyten scornfully dismissed the charge).

For two three-month periods each year Huppeltjie sneaks into South Africa virtually unnoticed. Afrikaans friends, a widening circle, help her pay for the air tickets and put her up. The two round trips are equivalent to encircling the globe each year.

A friend in Johannesburg says: "She has been doing this for five years. She stays courageous but you can see it is getting harder for her each time, both spiritually and financially."

Hardest, perhaps, is to observe each time how her life partner, now "buried alive and closed in a coffin" (in the words of Dostoevsky about his own imprisonment) may be undergoing a slow psychic mutilation, and no longer be the same playful (and reckless) dreamer when the Pollsmoor doors close behind him.

Her rare and specific affection alchemy with the Cape poet is that of an amused, protective wife of an impractical adventurer, the bright lotus versus the lotus eater.

In a secretly smuggled letter to him during the 1977 attempt at his "cavale" (their letters, like this word for "break" are show pieces of witty French slang) she revealed herself in such phrases as:

"To my relief, but especially to my disquiet, I see that you have not changed.

"Here, again, I see that you do not share my feeling for prudence (when I talk of patience) . . .

"I'm afraid your lovable sin remains recklessness. And a year in the cell has not dampened it . . . I will feel more peace the day I know you will think ahead.

"I want you to get it into your nut that when I assure you that friends think of you, it means more than thoughts of sympathy only."

Then — and this must have come as a shock to our paranoid security cops who once thought the little woman was the crypto-head of the "white" ANC branch Okhela — she ends by saying that the ANC "is still alive, but I am not concerned with its fate." As one friend adds: "Yolande is in fact apolitical and plain bourgeois."

To the smuggled letter she adds a warning of typical Oriental shrewdness:

"Do not use the messenger too much (he later proved to be a police informer). Remember, if he is reliable then he ventures much; and if he is not reliable, well, it is self-evident."

The judge, reading all this, publicly praised her for her "sage advice."

The QED to what Yolande thinks of him is written by the poet in a ringing tribute to his Miss Frisky:

Addressing her playfully as "Madame la Generale" his smuggling greetings include "a special hello

". . . to a little semi-lady who stays in a type of half-barrack, half-tent, who is mad about flowers, knick-knacks, the flea market, lace or frillies; who wears boots like Minnie Mouse, who makes munch stuff like nobody else, who has the courage of 35 lions, a heart (when not hard) the size of the two Americas, who is more beautiful than any flower, possesses a needle sharp memory, who is almost as big as my thumb, and whom I love."

How many phlegmatic South African husbands would venture to publicly put such an eloquent adorable to paper, a description which later became an official court exhibit? Its chief proof was that the ardour between the couple remains burning like a Roman candle.

Yolande knows South Africa. After 10 years of refusals it took a Cabinet decision in the Vorster days to grant her a three-month visa. Their widely publicised visit in 1973 was the result. The couple were feted, garlanded and braaivleised in curiosity and affection, by writers and roughneck Karoo farmers alike. And one of Breytenbach's few prose works, the subsequent Seisoen in die Paradys became the evocative gem on this country he described as the "kingdom of turkeys" and "the land of manure and hope."

Here on her visits of hope she is now surrounded and protected by a cocoon of friends, some of whom joined this year to petition the Prime Minister for the poet's remission. The request was intemperately refused. One of the reasons for the plea was growing suggestions, such as from Breyten's Okhela partner Barend Schuitema (who returned here publicly to take Breytenbach's place in jail) that the sentence was unjust because Breyten had been the vicitm of an elaborate dupe.

With another four years buried in Pollsmoor the Breytenbachs could be reunited in 1984.

But where? Some wild guesses say it could be right here, for by then there should be no more objections to their still-unrecognised marriage.

Then the remarkable odyssey of the Breytenbachs could continue its flow, even in our zooty age of licence, trials and open marriages and the chronic divorce epidemic.

That little split-eyed girl with the courage of 35 lions and the heart of two continents may yet become — if she is not already — the light on the hill. Els they honour Dante his Beatrice, Daphn Chloë, Abelard and Heloise, the Barretts of Wimpole Street.

Here history may give that same pride place to Breyten and Imperial Golden Lotus.

Why?

Now Afrikaans Press joins papers banning row

S. Tribune 4/1/81 (327)

By MAUREEN GRIFFIN

EVEN the Afrikaans Press has joined the world-wide outcry at Government action against black newspapers and journalists.

Editorials in both the Transvaler and Beeld question the necessity of closing three Argus Company black newspapers, while the Transvaler says the banning of two black journalists smacks of arbitrary action against individual freedom.

Overseas critics have roundly condemned the closures and bannings as part of a further attack by the Government on Press freedom in South Afriva.

The three black newspapers — Post (Tvl), Sunday Post and the Sowetan — had their registration withdrawn in December at the end of a two-month strike by black media workers.

The strike was called by the al-black Media Workers' Association of South Africa in October, ended on December 23. That day the newspapers were closed down by the Department of Internal Affairs for "failing to publish in terms of legislation."

The Argus Company filed an application to the Rand Supreme Court that publication of one-sheet copies of the three newspapers during the strike constituted publication in terms of the Internal Security Act and the Newspaper Imprint Act.

Mr Justice Coetzee turned down the application, finding insufficient proof by the Argus Company of the act of publishing the newspapers "within the meaning of the word."

A week after the strike ended, security police served three-year banning orders on the president of the Media Workers' Association (Mwasa), Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and the national vice-chairman and Natal regional secretary, Mr Marimuthu Subramoney.

Both the closures and the bannings received widespread publicity and censure abroad.

The Times of London and the Guardian declared the acts further attacks on Press freedom, while Mr Otto Kiersten, general secretary of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, called for United Nations atcion. Britain's National Union of Journalists said it would protest to the South African Government.

Reaction at home was equally severe. Mr Hal Miller managing director of the Argus Company and Mr Clive Kinsley of SAAN — both of whom had negotiated with Mwasa — issed a joint statement calling for the immediate lifting of the bans, warning that they would be seen here and abroad as "another direct attack on the Press of this country by the Government."

Their statement said the bans were "senseless totally uncalled for in the circumstances of the strike and counter-productive to the agreements reached between the newspaper managements and the striking journalists."

They said there was nothing in Mr Sisulu's conduct of the strike that called for any punishment from the State "let alone a savagely restrictive banning order which now prevents him from practising his journalistic skills and which will also effectively prevent him from reaching further agreements with the managements and so help to bring harmony to the industry."

The Volksblad in Bloemfontein ran the heading "Was it Really Necessary" and a leader saying that a storm was visibly brewing from the first moment the strike of the black Argus workers became world news.

Beeld's editorial said the Government had put itself in a poor light overseas by taking a fastidious stand on a minor ruling over registration of the newspapers "as a Government that tampers with freedom of speech and the Press to thwart its opposition".

The Transvaler said the Government's action could look like discriminatory practice against newspapers which did not toe the line regarding State policy.

Die Transvaler
SATERDAG 3 JANUARIE 1981
Posbus 5474 Johannesburg 2000

Beeld met BY LAAT UITGAWE
SATERDAG, 3 JANUARIE 1981. SEWENDE JAARGANG PRYS 20c.

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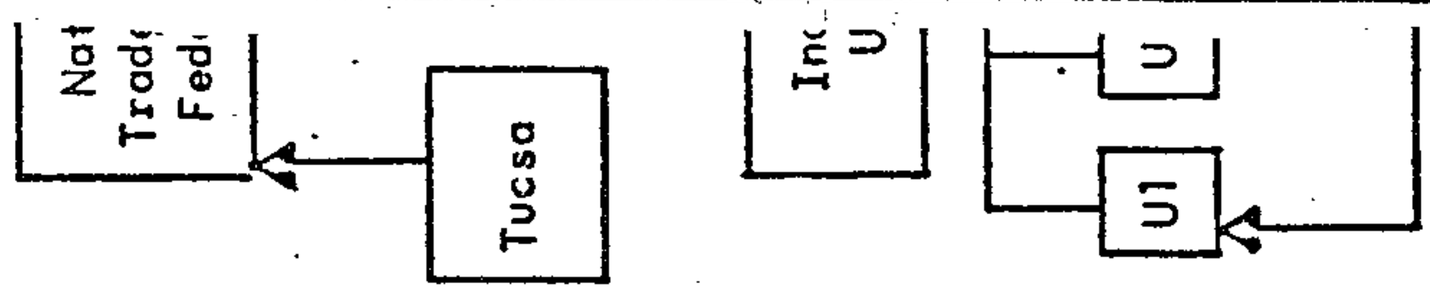

Press union man barred from SA

RDM 3/1/81

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By CHRIS FREIMOND and MARGARET SMITH

AN INFLUENTIAL British journalist was sent back to London on Saturday on the first available flight after being barred from entering South Africa by immigration officials at Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Ken Ashton, general secretary of the powerful National Union of Journalists, had been invited to visit South Africa by the Media Workers' Association of SA (Mwasa).

He was to have investigated the banning of two black journalists, the recent strike by Mwasa members and the State action that forced three black newspapers to halt publication.

On his return to London yesterday Mr Ashton said he was questioned at length by officials at Jan Smuts before being told he would have to return to Britain on the next available flight. He was not told why.

An official at the airport told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday he could not comment on Mr Ashton's treatment.

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis — who is responsible for immigration matters — said he was unaware of the incident. Other senior officials in his department could not be contacted.

It seems possible that Mr Ashton's travel documents were not acceptable to the airport authorities.

Mr Ashton said yesterday that shortly before he was due to leave for South Africa, a Press attache of the South African Embassy in London had asked him if he had a visa.

Mr Ashton replied that he understood he did not need a visa for the type of visit he planned. He was advised to check this with South African representatives in London, but was unable to contact them.

He said he was "extremely distressed" by his treatment.

"I went to South Africa very well aware of the sensitive situation there in relation to the Press and I had hoped the visit would give me an opportunity to talk about this to Cabinet Ministers. I was quite prepared to listen and to learn as much as I could," Mr Ashton said.

In South Africa, journalists' organisations reacted strongly.

In a statement, the Transvaal vice-president of Mwasa, Mr Phil Mtimkulu, charged that Mr Ashton had been barred because he was a guest of Mwasa, which was "no friend of the Government."

A statement issued by the the president of the Southern African Society of Journalists, Mr John Allen, and the Transvaal vice-president, Mr Chris Smith, said: "It appears the Government is using a technicality to bar Mr Ashton from South Africa. If this is so, then it is impossible to understand the pointless action."

The statement added: "No possible good can come of this interference with the flow of information; this arbitrary and provocative act should be seen with the arrest of Carl Bernstein and the harassment last year of the International Federation of Journalists' representative, Mr Ole Eriksen."

The South African representative of the International Press Institute, Mr Joel Mervis, said not much value could be attached to a technicality — if, indeed, that was why Mr Ashton was denied entry.

His treatment was a "logical and inevitable" sequel to the banning of the Mwasa president, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Mervis said.

"The ban on Mr Sisulu is indefensible and does not bear examination. It follows that Mr Ashton would soon have discovered some of the unsavoury facts for himself."

Heunis: Ashton was told to get a visa

By CHRIS FREIMOND

THE general-secretary of the British National Union of Journalists, Mr Ken Ashton, was warned before he left London that he would not be allowed into South Africa without a visa, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Mr Ashton was sent home on the first available flight after being barred from entering the country on Saturday.

He had been invited to visit South Africa by the Media Workers Association of South Africa.

In a statement from Cape Town yesterday, Mr Heunis accused Mr Ashton of disregarding a warning by a Press attache at the South African Embassy in London to obtain a visa for his visit.

British subjects required visas for visits other than for normal holidays or business.

"Mr Ashton ignored a standing arrangement about which he was personally warned and consequently appropriate steps were taken against him (when he arrived at Jan Smuts). Any other motives ascribed to the Government's action are devoid of all truth," Mr Heunis said.

Mr Ashton could submit a formal application for a visa to the South African Ambassador in London with a clear explanation of the purpose of his visit and it would be considered in the normal way, he said.

From London it is reported the Trades Union Congress is to protest to South Africa over the refusal of immigration officers to allow Mr Ashton into South Africa.

The International Metalworkers Federation, representing some 14 million metalworkers throughout the world, yesterday sent a protest telegram to the South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, over the recent banning of two black journalists and the closure of four black newspapers.

The director of the International Press Institute in London, Mr Peter Galliner, also sent a protest telex message to Mr Botha. — Sapa-AP

6 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 27 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 22 Januarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) en (b) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/12.....	*Hamburgers en Hotdogs*.....	E. W. S. Hammond.

6 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 27 January 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 22 January 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) and (b) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/12.....	*Hamburgers en Hotdogs*.....	E. W. S. Hammond.

No. 200 6 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 200 6 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/11

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/11/179	*Death of a Lady's Man*	Leonard Cohen	(a)
P80/12/15	*Glitterati, The*	Charlotte Payne	(a)
P80/12/46	*Port of Saints*	William, S. Burroughs	(a)
P80/12/47	*Secret Rendezvous*	Kobo Abe	(a)
P81/1/12	*Hamburgers en Hotdogs*	E. W. S. Hammond	(a)—(b)
P81/1/90	*Te Hel met Ouma!*	André le Roux	(a)—(b)
P81/1/123	*Making Love*	Edited by Alan Bold	(a)—(b)
P81/1/173	*Marlboro*—1981 (12 Bladsye/Pages) (Kalender/Calendar)	Printed by Thamesdown Litho Ltd, England	(a)
P81/1/178	*M. R. T. Bartons*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P80/11/157	*Kennedy for the Defense*	George V. Higgins	(a)
P80/12/42	*Bare Essence*	Meredith Rich	(a) + (b)
P80/12/43	*Thy Neighbour's Wife*	Gay Talese	(a)
P80/12/26	*Skye O'Malley*	Bertrice Small	(a)
P81/1/13	*Rogue, The*	Janet Dailey	(a)
P81/1/15	*Lovers Living, Lovers Dead*	Richard Lortz	(a)+(b)
P81/1/93	*Are you Sitting Comfortably?*	Susan Stranks and Don Grant	(a)+(b)

No. 202 6 Februarie 1981

VERTOË KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 24 (2) (b)

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 22 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 24 (1) (a) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die goedkeuring deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet van die rolprent *The Boogey Man*. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 24 (2) (b) van genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

No. 202 6 February 1981

REPRESENTATIONS UNDER SECTION 24 (2) (b)

On 22 January 1981 the Directorate of Publications under section 24 (1) (a) of the Publications Act, 1974, appealed against the approval by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act of the film *The Boogey Man*. The period within which persons referred to in section 24 (2) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/1/11	*The Boogey Man*	Romay Films.

No. 205 6 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 27 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 21 Januarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die besit van die ondergenoemde publikasies binne die bedoeling van artikel 9 (3) van genoemde Wet verbied moet word:

No. 205 6 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 27 January 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 21 January 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the possession of the undermentioned publications shall be prohibited within the meaning of section 9 (3) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P80/12/33	*J. Stalin Works*—Vol 5, 1921–1923; Vol 6, 1924; Vol 7, 1925; Vol 8, 1926, January–November; Vol 9, December 1926–July 1927; Vol, 10, 1927, August–December; Vol 11, 1928–March 1929; Vol 12, April 1929–June 1930	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

No. 203 6 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 27 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die besluissing op 22 Januarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) en (b) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/90.....	*Te Hel met Ouma!*.....	André le Roux.

No. 203 6 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 27 January 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 22 January 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) and (b) of the said Act:

No. 204 6 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 27 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 22 Januarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P80/11/179.....	*Death of a Lady's Man*.....	Leonard Cohen.

No. 204 6 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 27 January 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 22 January 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

No. 206 6 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/11/153.....	*Wings of Love* (Gemonteerde plakkaat/ Mounted poster)	S. Pearson.....	In SK./G.G. 7327, GK./ G.N. 2555 van/of 12/12/80.

No. 206 6 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OF OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/11/153.....	*Wings of Love* (Gemonteerde plakkaat/ Mounted poster)	S. Pearson.....	In SK./G.G. 7327, GK./ G.N. 2555 van/of 12/12/80.

No. 208 6 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLINGS

In *Staatskoerant* 7357, Goewermentskennisgewing 65 van 9 Januarie 1981, vervang die inskrywing P81/1/39 deur die volgende inskrywing:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/39.....	*Marlboro*—1981 (6 Bladsye/Pages) (Kalender/ Calendar)	Printed by Thamesdown Litho Ltd, England...	(a)

No. 208 6 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—CORRECTIONS

In *Government Gazette* 7357, Government Notice 65 of 9 January 1981, substitute the following entry for entry P81/1/39:

No. 207 6 Februarie 1981

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERKLARING DAT PUBLIKASIE ONGEWENS IS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van genoemde Wet op hersiening beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 207 6 February 1981

SETTING ASIDE OF DECLARATION THAT PUBLICATION IS UNDESIRABLE

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 15 (2) of the said Act on review that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/12/40.....	*Beatles Illustrated Lyrics, The*—Vol 1.....	Edited by Alan Aldridge.....	In SK./G.G. 2636, GK./G.N. 299 van/of 27/2/70.

No. 209 6 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLINGS

In *Staatskoerant* 7385, Goewermentskennisgewing 151 van 23 Januarie 1981, skrap die inskrywing P81/1/69.

No. 209 6 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS.—CORRECTIONS

In *Government Gazette* 7385, Government Notice 151 of 23 January 1981 delete entry P81/1/69.

DEPARTEMENT VAN FINANSIES

No. 190 6 Februarie 1981

Staat van Inkomste ingevorder gedurende die tydperk 1 April 1980 tot 31 Desember 1980.

Tesourie, Pretoria.

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

No. 190 6 February 1981

Statement of Revenue collected during the period 1 April 1980 to 31 December 1980.

Treasury, Pretoria.

Inkomstehoof	Head of Revenue	Begroting Estimates 1980/81	Ingevorder vir die jaar geëindig 31 Maart 1980 Collections for year ended 31 March 1980	Maand Desember Month of December 1980	Maand Desember Month of December 1979	Totaal 1 April tot 31 Desember Total 1 April to 31 December 1980	Totaal 1 April tot 31 Desember Total 1 April to 31 December 1979
		R	R	R	R	R	R
Staatsinkomsterekening	*State Revenue Account*						
Doeane en Aksyns—	Customs and Excise—						
Invoerreg.....	Customs Duty.....	480 000 000	453 033 408	68 730 846	34 527 806	530 607 271	335 312 970
Aksynsreg.....	Excise Duty.....	1 111 026 000	1 013 806 740	109 679 422	84 487 212	853 159 141	683 003 359
Verkoopreg.....	Sales Duty.....	500 000	1 170 527	*Dr* 519	45 558	578 875	763 683
Bobelasting.....	Surcharge.....	1 000 000	250 577 340	*Dr* 224 041	18 060 488	*Dr* 2 515 508	186 763 623
Diverse.....	Miscellaneous.....	19 000 000	21 837 962	708 011	1 463 735	32 386 913	14 622 886
	R	1 611 526 000	1 740 425 977	178 893 719	138 584 799	1 414 216 692	1 220 466 521
Oordrag na Sentrale Inkomstefonds	Transfer to Central Revenue Fund (a)	*Dr* 41 100 000	*Dr* 44 495 546	*Dr* 3 000 000	*Dr* 3 000 000	*Dr* 27 500 000	*Dr* 29 500 000
Betalings ingevolge Doeane-Unieooreenkomste	Payments in terms of Customs Union Agreements (b)	*Dr*500 200 000	*Dr*402 465 893	*Dr* 23 405 250	*Dr* --	*Dr*378 690 935	*Dr*301 851 142
	R	*Dr*541 300 000	*Dr*446 961 439	*Dr* 26 405 250	*Dr* 3 000 000	*Dr*406 190 935	*Dr*331 351 142
	R	1 070 226 000	1 293 464 538	152 488 469	135 584 799	1 008 025 757	889 115 379
Binnelandse Inkomste—	Inland Revenue—						
Belasting op Inkomste.....	Tax on Income.....	5 990 800 000	5 234 057 755	525 664 049	438 175 935	5 094 664 765	3 460 398 180
Ander Belastings en Ontvangste—	Other Taxes and Receipts—						
Goudmynhuurkontrakte....	Gold mining leases.....	635 000 000	334 270 081	49	50	550 488 464	218 951 279
Ander mynhuurkontrakte...	Other mining leases.....	16 000 000	15 434 763	77 677	98 292	900 578	279 127
Staatseiendomsreginkomste op diamantmyne	State Ownership Revenue on diamond mines	44 000 000	40 476 448	6 037	—	179 248	187 216
Uitvoerregte op diamante...	Export duty on diamonds	31 000 000	31 365 265	262 843	744 308	17 508 352	22 742 348
Belasting op buitelandse aandeelhouers	Non-Resident shareholders' tax	200 000 000	161 508 119	29 496 887	12 904 728	220 109 612	115 989 498
Rentebelasting op buitelanders	Non-Resident's tax on interest	16 000 000	15 540 840	1 020 045	1 320 164	8 814 084	10 942 405
Belasting op onuitgekeerde winste	Undistributed profits tax	5 000 000	4 207 096	320 392	180 778	1 969 681	3 460 559
Belasting op geskenke.....	Donations tax.....	1 500 000	1 476 340	317 722	82 060	1 592 116	1 028 330
Seëlregte en gelde.....	Stamp duties and fees.....	150 000 000	123 571 930	9 946 160	7 376 564	95 020 174	81 527 164
Hereregte.....	Transfer duties.....	95 400 000	89 430 559	12 137 598	6 266 903	115 603 013	60 417 284
Boedelbelasting.....	Estate duties.....	48 800 000	57 871 049	3 425 904	5 378 948	44 165 987	42 926 793
Belasting op bemarkbare sekuriteite	Tax on marketable securities	20 000 000	23 667 167	2 558 417	3 166 601	27 022 264	14 445 104
Lisensies.....	Licences.....	3 000 000	2 478 509	949 409	1 001 438	2 068 988	1 994 641
Kinematograaffilmsbelasting	Cinematograph films tax	1 000 000	896 263	76 893	62 629	621 118	674 771
Ander.....	Other.....	1 400 500	2 082 588	1 275 485	240 239	2 437 896	1 944 581
Departementele en Diverse Ontvangste—	Departmental and Miscellaneous Receipts—						
Staatsdiamantdelwerye.....	State Diamond Diggings	13 585 000	28 313 100	—	3 996 410	2 367	20 565 968
Bosinkomste.....	Forest revenue.....	28 000 000	33 971 807	4 484 726	2 157 758	31 253 691	21 996 372
Waterinkomste.....	Water revenue.....(c)	44 000 000	46 937 753	3 748 696	28 639	37 914 573	32 954 673
Boetes en verbeurdverklarings	Fines and forfeitures....	12 000 000	11 689 757	1 110 860	986 777	9 977 732	8 743 694

Heunis silent on fate of papers

RP 17/81
327

Staff Reporter

THE Argus Group is still waiting for the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, to decide the fate of three black publications.

After a court action failed to win permission for continued publication of Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, the group telexed an urgent message to Mr Heunis on December 29 to allow immediate resumption of publication.

The manager of Post, Mr John Gittins, said yesterday: "We have not had a word from the Minister yet."

Mr Heunis was asked to use his power under the Internal Security Act — the same Act under which the three publications' registration lapsed — to condone the lapsing and set aside the need for the statutory 21-day period before newspapers can re-appear after re-registration.

The Government action against the papers has caused an international outcry.

DD 7/1/81 (344) 327

Swastika pamphlets in King

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Right wing pamphlets bearing a swastika have been distributed near the caravan park on the Grahamstown road here.

Most of the pamphlets were seized by police.

The anonymous pamphlets are thought to have been distributed by the Wit Kommando.

The local Herstigte Nasionale Party has dissociated itself from any connection with the Wit Kommando or from whoever distributed the pamphlets.

The local leader of the HNP, Mr Brian Nel, said he wanted nothing to do with terrorism — black or white.

Mr Nel said he had personally received anonymous letters and pamphlets from South West Africa, which he thought could come from the Wit Kommando.

The head of the security police in East London, Colonel A. P. van der Merwe, said a major distribution of the pamphlets took place. Police were in possession of about 300 of them. Colonel Van der Merwe said the matter was receiving police attention.

Meanwhile investigations into the Wit Kommando are continuing and all clues being studied, a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said in Pretoria yesterday.

He was commenting on a report quoting a CID branch commander saying the location of the Wit Kommando and identity of the author of certain letters was still unknown.

Kommando attacks have included the Institute of Race Relations, two Johannesburg drive-in cinemas, a Transkeian consul's house, the offices of Prof Jan Lombard at the University of Pretoria, and Prof Frans Maritz at Unisa. — SAPA.

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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 9 JANUARIE JANUARY 1981 [No. 7369

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 98 9 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 98 9 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/3

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/47.....	*Principles of Revolutionary Justice*—Series 2, (1979), Number 2	Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre, London	(e)
P81/1/49.....	*Apartheid Observed*.....	John Hick.....	(e)
P81/1/50.....	*Africa*—No 111, November 1980.....	Africa Journal Ltd, London.....	(e)
P81/1/63.....	*A.P.S. Bulletin*—December 15, 1980:—ANC—The Vanguard Against Apartheid	A.P.S., Nairobi.....	(e)

INHOUD

No.		*Bladsy No.*	*Staatskoerant No.*
Binnelandse Aangeleenthede, Departement van			
Goewermentskennisgewing			
98	Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Ongewenste publikasies en voorwerpe: Lys P81/3.....	1	7369

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480—A

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7369—1

No. 74 9 Januarie 1981

GELOOFSBRIEFOORHANDIGING

Hierby word bekendgemaak dat Sy Eksellensie mnr. F. D. Tothill, op Donderdag, 20 November 1980, deur die President van Argentinië ontvang is en dat hy by daardie geleentheid sy Geloofsbrief as Buitengewone en Gevolmagtigde Ambassadeur van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika in Argentinië oorhandig het.

[4/2/29 (32)]

No. 74 9 January 1981

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS

It is hereby notified that His Excellency Mr F. D. Tothill, was received by the President of Argentina on Thursday, 20 November 1980, on which occasion he presented his Letter of Credence as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of South Africa to Argentina.

[4/2/29 (32)]

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 44 9 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLINGS

In *Staatskoerant* 7327, Goewermentskennisgewing 2555 van 12 Desember 1980, vervang die inskrywings P80/11/199 en P80/11/200 deur die volgende inskrywings:

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 44 9 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—CORRECTIONS

In *Government Gazette* 7327, Government Notice 2555 of 12 December 1980, substitute the following entries for entries P80/11/199 and P80/11/200:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/11/199.....	*International Herb* (Grammofoonplaat/Gramophone Record—d. i. op grond dat die omslag No VIR (E) 3015 ongewens is/i.e. on the ground that the cover No VIR (E) 3015 is undesirable)	Culture.....	(a)
P80/11/200.....	*Dread in a Babylon* (Grammofoonplaat/Gramophone Record—d.i. op grond dat die omslag No VIR (E) 3015 ongewens is/i.e. on the ground that the cover No VIR (E) 3015 is undesirable)	U-Roy.....	(a)

No. 45 9 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PERIODIEKE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (1) van genoemde Wet elke latere uitgawe van genoemde publikasies of voorwerpe aldus ongewens verklaar:

No. 45 9 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided in terms of section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects is/are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has in terms of section 9 (1) of the said Act declared every subsequent edition of the said publications or objects to be so undesirable:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/12/35.....	*Maxim*—Nr 1, 1976.....	Maxim, Stockholm.....	(a)
P80/12/37.....	*Spicy Victorian Erotica*—Vol 1, No 6.....	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P80/12/39.....	*Mr Gay*—No 1.....	Mister Gay, Madrid.....	(a)

No. 47 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 18 Desember 1980, kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 12 Desember 1980 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

No. 47 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 18 December 1980, the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 12 December 1980 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P80/11/144.....	*Empress*.....	Sylvia Wallace.

No. 46 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (e) van 'n genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/9/122.....	*J/R News*—No 1.80, July '80.....	J. R. News, Pretoria.....	In SK./G.G. 7258, GK./G.N. 2123 van/of 9/10/1980.

No. 46 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (e) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

No. 48 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 17 Desember 1980, kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 12 Desember 1980 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P80/11/180.....	*All We Know of Heaven*.....	Sandee Cohen.

No. 48 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 17 December 1980, the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 12 December 1980 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

No. 49 9 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 49 9 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/1

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/11/145.....	*Chinese Godfather, The*.....	Paul Gillette.....	(a)
P80/12/35.....	*Maxim*—Nr 1, 1976.....	Maxim, Stockholm.....	(a)
P80/12/36.....	*Ins & Outs of Oral Sex, The*.....	Cand Haven Ltd, London.....	(a)
P80/12/37.....	*Spicy Victorian Erotica*—Vol 1, No 6.....	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P80/12/39.....	*Mr Gay*—No 1.....	Mister Gay, Madrid.....	(a)
P81/1/9.....	*Vietnam has disgraced The United States, the great satan* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Ministry of National Guidance (Iranian Islamic Republic)	(d)+(e)
P81/1/10.....	*O. you the Fathers, rise up and rescue Jesus Christ from the hands of these excutioners.* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Ministry of National Guidance (Iranian Islamic Republic)	(d)+(e)
P81/1/11.....	*We must unitedly rise up and kick out the root of corruption (U.S.) from the history* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Ministry of National Guidance (Iranian Islamic Republic)	(d)+(e)
P80/11/181.....	*Forever*.....	Judy Blume.....	(a)

No. 65 9 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 65 9 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/2

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/25.....	*Legalize It*—ASF 2056, Side one: (AL 34253) Side two: (BL 34253) (Grammofoonplaat/Gramophone Record)	Peter Tosh.....	(a)+(e)
P81/1/31.....	*Red Dot Radiators*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	The Swan Publishing Company (Pty) Ltd, Overport	(a)
P81/1/39.....	*Marlboro*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar).....	Printed by Thamesdown Litho Ltd, England....	(a)
P81/1/40.....	*Multisource*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar).....	Pictorial Press.....	(a)
P81/1/52.....	*Compressed Air Services*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P81/1/59.....	*Nude Bicycle Race*—No 1956 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed by Scandecor, Uppsala.....	(a)
P81/1/65.....	1981 (Kalender/Calendar).....	Field Publications.....	(a)

No. 67 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 67 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/11/210.....	*Katz International Corporation*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Made in Taiwan.....	In SK./G.G. 7327, GK./G.N. 2555 van/of 12/12/1980.

No. 69 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (d) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 69 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (d) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/10/146.....	*Staffrider*—Vol 3, No 3, September/October 1980	Ravan Press, Braamfontein.....	In SK./G.G. 7294, GK./G.N. 2332 van/of 7/11/80.

No. 68 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a), (c) en (e) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/7/46.....	*Store up the Anger*.....	Wessel Ebersohn.....	In SK./G.G. 7157, GK./G.N. 1588 van/of 25/7/80.

No. 68 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a), (c) and (e) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/7/46.....	*Store up the Anger*.....	Wessel Ebersohn.....	In SK./G.G. 7157, GK./G.N. 1588 van/of 25/7/80.

No. 70 9 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (d) en (e) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/8/43.....	*Separate Development, A*.....	Christopher Hope.....	In SK./G.G. 7207, GK./G.N. 1852 van/of 29/8/80.

No. 70 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (d) and (e) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/8/43.....	*Separate Development, A*.....	Christopher Hope.....	In SK./G.G. 7207, GK./G.N. 1852 van/of 29/8/80.

No. 71 9 Januarie 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974
ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die ondergenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet gewysig deur te bepaal—

(a) dat die ondergenoemde rolprent nie aan persone in die ouderdomsgroep twee tot 18 jaar vertoon mag word nie; en

(b) dat sekere weglatings aangebring moet word.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R80/11/20.....	*McVicar*.....	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

No. 71 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974
FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, varied the conditional approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act by stipulating—

(a) that the film shall not be exhibited to persons in the age group two to 18 years; and

(b) that certain excisions be made.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R80/11/20.....	*McVicar*.....	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

No. 66 9 Januarie 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 9 (4) van genoemde Wet die invoer behalwe op gesag van 'n permit, van publikasies of voorwerpe wat deur ondergenoemde uitgewer uitgegee word, verbied:

No. 66 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974
PUBLICATIONS OF OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, has in terms of section 9 (4) of the said Act prohibited the importation except on authority of a permit, of publications or objects issued by the undermentioned publisher:

I'Assessorato ai Rapporti Internazionali del Comune di, Reggio Emilia

Argus meet Minister on black papers

RDM 10/1/81 327 242

Staff Reporter

THE Argus Group management has met the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, to discuss the fate of three black publications.

The meeting took place after a period of almost two weeks' Government silence on whether publication of Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan, could be immediately resumed.

Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said yesterday a "firm" answer could be expected from Mr Heunis within a week.

Registration of the then strike-hit papers lapsed at the end of November because they had not been published for more than a month.

After a court action failed to win permission for continued publication of the newspapers, the Argus Group telexed an urgent message to Mr Heunis on December 29 asking him to allow immediate resumption of publication.

Mr Heunis was asked to use his power under the Internal Security Act — the same Act under which the three publications' registration lapsed — to condone the lapsing and to set aside the need for the statutory three-week period before newspapers can re-appear after re-registration.

He can take such a decision after consultation with the Minister of Justice, Mr H J Coetsee.

The Government action against the papers has caused an international outcry.

In a statement, issued yesterday, Mr Miller said:

"I have yesterday discussed with Mr Heunis the applications by the Argus Company for registration of the three newspapers and also the company's application for condonation of the lapse of their registration.

"We now expect a firm reply within a week."

956 detained last year

JOHANNESBURG — At least 956 people were detained and 14 people were served with banning orders in South Africa and the independent black states last year.

And 36 people were sentenced to a total of 227 years' jail for offences under the Terrorism Act.

These figures were released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations and are based on newspaper reports.

Official statistics will be released later this year by the Department of Justice.

A breakdown of the 1980 detentions revealed that:

- There were 768 detentions in South Africa, 146 in the Ciskei, 41 in Transkei and one in Venda.
- The people detained included 341 pupils, 117 college and university students, 32 lecturers, school principals and teachers, 67 political leaders, 39 community workers, 10 journalists and 21 trade unionists.
- Most of the students, lecturers and teachers detained were held during the schools boycott.
- Most cases followed the following pattern: the Security Police would first hold a person under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, then under Section 6 of Terrorism Act, and finally under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act.

The convictions under the Terrorism Act included three people aged between 15 and 17 years, 13 between 18 and 20, 26 between 21 and 25, eight between 26 and 30, one between 36 and 40 and another between 41 and 45.

Three cases are still proceeding and 19 people were either acquitted or had charges against them withdrawn. — DDC.

DD 6/1/81

Police tearsmoke now in cans

CAPE TOWN — Canned tearsmoke, the latest addition to the South African Police Force's arsenal, will minimise police violence if properly used, a spokesman for the Directorate of Public Relations of the SAP said yesterday.

The aluminium canister, charged with pressurised tearsmoke, has a nozzle which allows the operator to aim a jet of tearsmoke at a target up to 6 m away.

Although still undergoing field tests, the effect of the weapon has been dscribed as "very staisfactory" by those who have used it.

The canister, which was designed and developed by the SAP, is similar to a type of canned self-defence gas which was taken off the market in the early 60s.

The spokesman said the cans would be issued to police personnel who came into contact with the public.

The new weapon makes it possible for a policewoman or slightly-built policeman to stop a streetfight and arrest people while the tearsmoke temporarily blinds and puts them out of action.

The can's narrow jet of tearsmoke could also be directed through a keyhole.

The tearsmoke grenade presently used could not be aimed, stopped or directed after being .set off.

Yesterday the Commissioner of Police for the Border, Brig J. H. du Plessis said: "The tearsmoke canister is in full use in the Border police division.

"It is too early to say with certainty that it is effective but I predict that it will be. I think it is a very useful addition to the police arsenal. It is especially useful in resistance to arrest cases and for policeowmen. It minimises violence by virtue of its content and leaves no side-effects." — DDR-DDC.

SA's 100 000 jailed people cost R110m

RDM 12/1/81

253

327

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — South Africa spent about R110-million last year to keep behind bars its huge prison population — estimated to be the highest per capita in the world.

This has been calculated from figures furnished by the Department of Prisons, which indicate that last year it cost about R3 each a day to care for an estimated 101 000 prisoners.

Commenting on the statistics, Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton and the Opposition spokesman on prisons, called for a change in the laws which send most prisoners to jail.

"Most of our prison population are short-term offenders, and they are sentenced for statutory crimes such as the pass laws," she said.

She also urged an increase in the number of prisoners released on parole, as recommended by the Viljoen Commission report on South Africa's penal system, which was released four years ago.

She pointed out that a former Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger, had made it easier for prisoners to be paroled. But supervision was not adequate at present.

"The whole question of removing the discretion of the courts should be looked at," she said, and recommended more suspended sentences.

Professor Barend van Niekerk, of the law faculty at the University of Natal in Durban, also singled out statutory laws relating to influx control, documentation control, and trespassing as being responsible largely for the high prison population.

"Some of these laws constitute crime factories," he said. "And they refer to crimes which are not regarded as such anywhere else in the world."

He estimated that one of every four arrests of adult Africans each year was for a technical offence.

Prof Van Niekerk also drew attention to the social stigma attached to prisons. The public did not want to concern itself with the problem.

"Society wishes to push its prison population into the background," he said.

The head of the department of criminology at the University of Durban-Westville, Professor Roland Graser, suggested in Durban recently that acts such as gambling, drug abuse, prostitution and consenting homosexuality were a nuisance rather than a threat to the community, and should not be treated as crimes.

He said there was an increasing feeling among social scientists and lawyers that certain categories of behaviour should be decriminalised — where there was really no victim, or the victim was the offender himself.

The reason why most countries had a lower prison populations than South Africa was not so much that they had little crime, but that they used other methods of punishment more extensively, he said.

Police detain almost 1 000

RDM 12/1/81 327

By ARNOLD GEYER

AT LEAST 956 people were detained by security police and 14 people were issued with banning orders in South Africa and the independent homelands last year.

And 36 people were sentenced to a total of 227 years' jail for offences under the Terrorism Act.

These figures were released yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations and are based on newspaper reports.

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- Most of the students, lecturers and teachers detained were held during the schools boycott.
- Most cases followed the following pattern: the Security Police would first hold a person under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, then under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, and finally under the preventive detention clause of the Internal Security Act.

Three cases are still proceeding and 19 people were either acquitted or had charges against them withdrawn.

SASJ voices objections to inquiry into media

By Kevin Murray

The Southern African Society of Journalists (SASJ) today protested at the appointment of a commission of inquiry into the mass media.

In a memorandum handed to the commission in Johannesburg, representatives of the SASJ said they objected to the inquiry because circumstances indicated an intention on the part of the Government to extend its control of the Press irrespective of the findings or recommendations of the commission.

The memorandum was compiled by SASJ president John Allen, attorney Mr Keith Lister, and SASJ Transvaal vice-president Mr Chris Smith.

"We record that it is with extreme reluctance that we are participating at all in the proceedings of this commission," said the memorandum.

Five reasons were given for the SASJ's objection to the commission.

- The SASJ felt the Government would extend its control of the Press irrespective of the commission's findings.
- The commission's terms of reference were "blatantly political issues."
- The SASJ did not believe a judge of the Supreme Court should have been chosen as chairman.
- Regulations had been declared to be applicable to the commission which would prevent free debate about the political issues which had been referred to it.
- It was "nonsensical in our opinion" to suggest that a small group of individuals were capable of making scientifically valid findings on issues such as those which had been referred to the commission.

The SASJ stated it felt the commission should rather deal with the matter as if the following had been its terms of reference: (The bold sections being SASJ additions to the present terms) "To inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media **is considered by different members of the South African community** to meet the needs and interests of the community and the demands of the times, and if not, to report **on different views which are held within the community** as to how they can be improved."

Page 9: Friction will grow "if Press is restricted."

Storm over Govt's 'pass' plan for all

RDM 15/1/81 (327)

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

THE Government yesterday announced controversial plans for a uniform identity document for all races, as well as for the fingerprinting of new applicants and those applying for endorsements.

A draft Bill published yesterday also provides for the IDs to be produced on demand to a peace officer, except in certain circumstances.

The proposals raised a storm of protest, with opposition groups charging that the "pass" system was being extended to whites, coloureds and Indians.

While the Defence Force welcomed the inclusion of fingerprints as "a deterrent against subversion", opposition groups said the proposals would mean an "invasion of privacy and subjecting all races to the humiliation of aspects of the pass laws".

The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, who announced the proposals in Cape Town, said last night the reference books carried by fa

Storm breaks over vast new 'pass' plan

RDM 15/1/81 (327)

☐ From Page 1

of the Black Sash advice office, slammed the proposals as an attempt by the Government to gain "total control" over the entire population.

"If those South Africans who are not black — and not already subjected to the humiliation and invasion of privacy this legislation implies — accept it without protest and resistance, then they must know they have voluntarily handed over to the bureaucrats."

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthato Motlana, said: "The burden of influx control will still be on blacks. It is a measure to hoodwink the world into thinking that discrimination is being done away with, but the movement of blacks is still totally controlled."

Blacks would still carry papers showing their residential qualifications, and their employment details would still be recorded.

These requirements did not apply to whites, coloureds and Indians.

"The leader [illegible]

the fingerprinting aspects.

Sapa reports that a spokesman for the Defence Force said it had become necessary to "upgrade the sophistication of identity documents". Fingerprints "were an unalterable identification of a person" and were difficult to forge.

Mr Heunis said fingerprints were the only irrefutable proof of identity, and the new measure would also help prevent forgeries of various documents.

His department was now engaging in a four-month programme to decentralise the system to the point where every city and town, however small, would have its own representative of his department.

The representatives would be in constant contact with local offices of Government departments, other Governmental authorities and private sector organisations which provided services to the public such as banks, building societies, life insurance companies and estate agents.

They would all be used to assist with the immense task of keeping an up-to-date register of the population changes and the addresses of registered persons, he said.

Once it became apparent that the system was effective, new voters' rolls would be compiled from the register and separate voter registration would fall away.

"I realise that there is an emotional element attached to the taking of fingerprints in this country," he said. "I must, however, appeal to the public for their co-operation regarding the acceptance of this measure.

18/1/81 (327)

(20 MARKS)

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(U.C.T. June 1980)

Page 2

Mrs Sheena Duncan, director

"The idea of fingerprints on documents for everyone should be discarded. Mr Heunis' reference to total onslaught is the same old scare tactic. I have no doubt the PFP will take strong objection to the entire population of South Africa subjected to the obligation of having fingerprints taken — surely a process which applies only to criminals in the Western world," she said.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil liberties, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "If this is the Government's idea of doing away with discrimination and making all races subject to the same indignity, they'd better think again.

"The idea of fingerprints on documents for everyone should be discarded to any peace officer on demand, or within seven days should the ID be more than 5km away when demanded.

Mr Heunis said information given to his department in the application for an ID would remain confidential, unless otherwise authorised by the Director-General of Internal Affairs.

The purpose of the proposed legislation, he said, was to infiltrate strategic installations and key positions at a time when South Africa faced a "total onslaught".

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil liberties, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "If this is the Government's idea of doing away with discrimination and making all races subject to the same indignity, they'd better think again."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, director

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dr ckse, said he would have welcomed the proposed legislation if race classification was to have been discarded.

"I will welcome it only if I were to be registered as a South African, not as a so-called coloured."

He described as "suspicious"

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announced the proposals in Cape Town, said last night the reference books carried by blacks would eventually fall away as identity documents.

"It is envisaged that every member of the population will be issued in time with the same identity do[illegible]ment."

But, he added: "What measures the Department of Co-operation and Development will take for influx control is a matter for that department."

Blacks do carry the same IDs as whites, they will still require some form of documentation to show they are not infringing any influx control laws.

The proposed uniform IDs will come under the Population Registration Act, while the pre-sent black reference books fall under the Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act.

The new proposals will not affect race classification, a cornerstone of the National Party's apartheid policy.

No date has yet been announced for the implementation of the proposals. Mr Heunis said they would not all become effective simultaneously. A committee would investigate the practical implementation of the measures and make recommendations to the Government.

Mr Heunis said those already in possession of identity documents — the Book of Life — would be able to keep them "for life" if there were no changes in their present status.

However, new applicants and those applying for re-issues will have to submit fingerprints. People already in possession of an ID will also have to submit fingerprints should they apply for endorsements such as driv-ers' licences, firearm licences and marriage certificates.

The draft Bill also provides for the document to be presented to any peace officer on demand, or within seven days should the ID be more than 5km away when demanded.

Mr Heunis said information given to his department in the application for an ID would remain confidential, unless otherwise authorised by the Director-General of Internal Affairs.

The purpose of the proposed legislation, he said, was to infiltrate strategic installations and key positions at a time when South Africa faced a "total onslaught".

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil liberties, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "If this is the Government's idea of doing away with discrimination and making all races subject to the same indignity, they'd better think again."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, director

From one dompas to another dompas



By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE proposed move to issue a uniform identity document to South Africans of all races invites compárison with previous attempts to "improve, humanise and reform" the influx control laws or dompas system.

Earlier bids at ameliorating influx control, which dates back at least to the ingenious manoeuvres of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, are distinguished by a central trait: superficial change for the better which masked retention of the core of the system.

The present draft amendment to the Population Registration Act carries a hint of racial equality. Under it, all South Africans will be fingerprinted and issued with a standard identity book — which they will have to produce on demand to a "peace officer", or, if the document is more than 5 km away, within seven days.

At present these kinds of provisions only apply to blacks. At the age of 16 the fingerprints of all blacks are taken and they are issued with reference books. Better known as the *dompas*, these books have to be produced on demand. To avoid prosecution they have to be carried at all times.

The suggested change to the Population Registration Act might even seem to offer a distinct improvement to blacks. Theoretically it will give them the right to produce their identity documents within a reasonable time if they do not have it on them (a right which was denied to them in an Appeal Court case in 1974).

But closer analysis shows that the appearance of equality is without substance. While the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, anticipates that the new identity book will eventually replace the reference book, blacks will still be subject to influx control laws.

The trio of reformist Bills published last October by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, certainly make stringent provision for influx control against "disqualified" blacks, despite of Dr Koornhof's declared intention of abolishing the dompas.

At the news conference when Dr Koornhof and senior officials launched the Bills, the officials spoke of a move to issue a common identity document to all races but cautioned that blacks would still have to carry a separate document indicating whether they had the right to be in a "controlled" or prescribed area.

The implications are simple: non-black minorities will experience some of the inconvenlences which blacks currently endure when the amendment to the Population Registration Act becomes law — but blacks will be subject to these restraints *as well as* to the revised controls proposed in Dr Koornhof's new deal.

In many aspects Dr Koornhof's new controls mean stricter influx laws, especially in the form of markedly heavier fines for "disqualified" blacks who enter "controlled' urban areas unlawfully, as well as for blacks who harbour them or employers who give them work.

The latest bid at reform, as evidenced in the combined changes proposed by Mr Heunis and Dr Koornhof, are reminiscent of the reformist deal proffered by Dr Verwoerd in 1952. In that year Dr Verwoerd put the Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordinations of Documents Act on the statute book.

The Act did not abolish passes, if a pass is defined as a form identifying the holder and establishing his right to be in a particular area at a specified time for a stipulated purpose. A corollary to that definition is that blacks without the pass are denied the same right.

Dr Verwoerd's Act consolidated and extended influx control. It provided for its extension to black women and some black men in the Cape previously exempted from having to produce passes on demand. It also abolished a clause exempting some higher status blacks — priests and teachers, for example — from having to carry the dompas.

Dr Verwoerd's "reformist" law might have been inspired by Orwell's novel "1984", in which Ministry of Truth proclaimed, in the language of *newspeak*: "War is Peace", "Freedom is Slavery" and Ignorance is Strength".

Dr Verwoerd's premiership from 1958 to 1966 was characterised by a general tightening of influx control provisions. They were defended at the time by the argument that whites were subject to similar controls when entering black townships and "homelands".

The premiership of Mr John Vorster saw the imposition of further controls, climaxing, perhaps, in the the 1968 Bantu Labour Regulations which made it impossible for blacks born outside prescribed urban areas to qualify for permanent urban residential rights under Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act.

The second half of Mr Vorster's 12 years as Prime Minister produced some rhetoric — mainly from the "verlig" Deputy Minister in the old Department of Bantu Administration, Mr Punt Janson — about humanising the pass laws.

The reformist drive culminated in the signing of an agreement by the then Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M C Botha, and three "homeland leaders", Chief Lucas Mangope, Dr Cedric Phatudi and Chief Lennox Sebe. Entitled, "Secret — A New Era in Bantu Administration", the agreement proposed to substitute reference books issued by the department with "travel documents" provided by homeland governments.

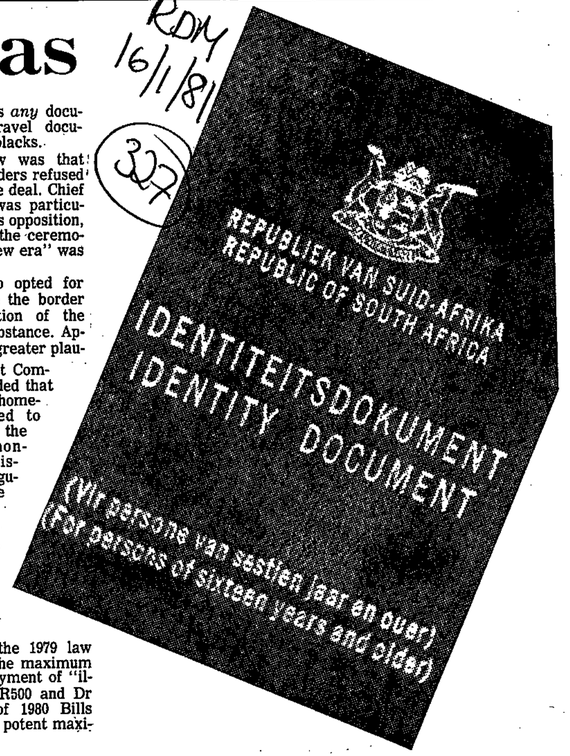
It seemed to reflect Pretoria's bid to present internal influx control as a form of interstate frontier regulation rather than a discriminatory set of laws directed against blacks. But there were two flaws.

Whatever the superficial gloss, travel documents were de facto reference books subject to the same control as the dompas-reference book issued by Pretoria. The definition of a reference book in Verwoerd's omnibus 1952 law is *any* document, including travel documents, carried by blacks.

The second flaw was that most homeland leaders refused to go along with the deal. Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was particularly adamant in his opposition, refusing to attend the ceremony at which the "new era" was inaugurated.

But leaders who opted for independence gave the border control interpretation of the pass laws some substance. Apparently to give it greater plausibility, the Riekert Commission recommended that blacks from the homelands be admitted to South Africa under the same laws as non-blacks: the Admission of Persons Regulation Act and the Aliens Act.

In the meantime, however, stricter controls over black entry into white-designated cities were introduced or proposed, including the 1979 law which increased the maximum penalty for employment of "illegal" blacks to R500 and Dr Koornhof's trio of 1980 Bills with their equally potent maximum penalties.



PASS LAWS FM 16/1/81

Total discrimination

South Africa moved a giant step nearer to becoming a totalitarian society on Wednesday with the (unusual) mid-week gazetting of Internal Affairs Minister Chris Heunis' new bill providing for eventual fingerprinting of the entire population and the compulsory carrying of passes by all.

The new measure, which the *FM* hopes will be subject to strong public criticism and, at least, drastic parliamentary revision, extends to everyone the total population control only possible under totalitarian regimes.

Blacks, of course, have laboured under this control for years and it will be interesting to see how whites react to a taste of the same treatment — although it seems the application of pass laws to whites will be less rigorous than blacks are accustomed to.

In terms of the bill the new measures will be phased in — starting with the compulsory fingerprinting of all applicants for identity documents, or endorsements or renewal of existing documents.

At a date yet to be determined there will be a uniform identity document for all (including blacks) which must, subject to certain conditions, be produced on demand. (This from a government that could not even get the Book of Life scheme off the ground.)

The draft bill provides that the document must be presented on demand to any peace officer or, should it be more than 5 km away, it must be produced within seven days.

White pass offenders

One politician who is betting the seven day concession will not apply to blacks is the PFP's Helen Suzman. "They can only make influx control work if demand means just that," she told the *FM*.

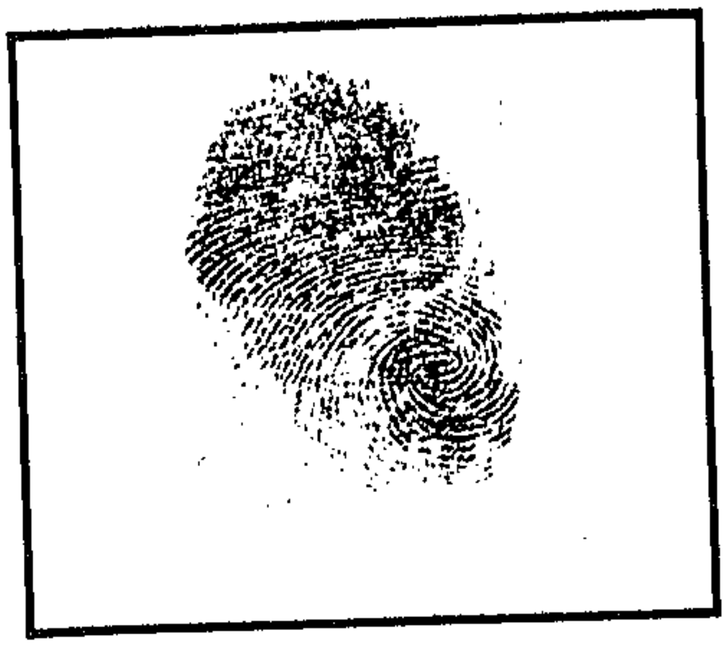
So if the draft bill is intended to undermine charges of racial discrimination by having the government discriminate against *everyone*, it is unlikely to work — unless government drops the seven day clause and builds new jails for white pass offenders.

In Cape Town yesterday Heunis offered two reasons for the proposed legislation.

One was that it was intended to improve the effectiveness of the Population Registration Act. The other, ominously, was to limit the increasing attempts at infiltrating (presumably by saboteurs) strategic installations and key positions "at a time when SA faced total onslaught."

To use the measure for security purposes implies involvement of the security forces. Yet Heunis says the fingerprint register will be kept by his department and the "criminal bureau" will have no access to it.

Heunis had another New Year present for SA. Businesses, societies. associations and everyone else who needs to keep records and addresses is going to have to make the information available to the



government.

He says departmental representatives will be in contact with other departments, banks, building societies, life assurance companies, estate agents, farmers' associations and boarding house keepers.

These bodies will all be used to assist in the "immense task" of keeping an up to date register of population changes and the addresses of registered persons.

Once this was effective even the voters roll would be drawn from the population register and voter registration would fall away.

What the government seems to have in mind is a 1984 type of society where the authorities can lay their hands on anyone at any time and where the right to privacy is non-existent.

But 1984 is still three years off.

Young woman claims police set their dogs on her

RDM 6/1/81 327 25

By SUE DENNY

KEMPTON Park police allegedly set their dogs on three people last week, according to a young woman who was seriously bitten during the incident.

Miss Frances Felix, 21, spoke to the Rand Daily Mail at her employer's home in Matopa Road, Van Riebeeck Park.

She showed the "Mail" team two bites on the left side of her chest, massive bruises and cuts on her left thigh, buttocks, hips and halfway across her stomach.

"I was walking back to Van Riebeeck Park about 2pm last Saturday with my sister, Stompie Booysen, after visiting her in Birchley.

"We stopped to talk to some people at the side of the road. Suddenly police vans and cars pulled up next to us. Before I knew what was happening, police dogs jumped out of the cars and ran towards us.

"One of the dogs attacked me. I was in such a state of shock that I just stood there while it bit me. A woman and a man were also bitten," Miss Felix said.

She alleged that the police took her to the Kempton Park police station, where she was put in a cell.

"I spent the night walking or standing in the cell, as I could not sit down. My wounds were very sore and burning. I did not sleep the whole night."

Miss Felix alleges she was not given any water or food, and her wounds were not attended to.

About 5am the next morning, she alleged the police dropped her at the side of the road where they had arrested her the previous day.

Her employer, Mrs Abrahame van Wyk, said Miss Felix's sister told her of the incident on Sunday morning.

"I went to inquire after Frances at the police station, but the sergeant on duty said he had no record of her having being arrested," Mrs Van Wyk said.

"I drove around Kempton Park in my car and eventually found Frances sitting near the metres from where the police dropped her."

Mrs Van Wyk took the young woman home. "She was in such terrible pain. I attended to her wounds and put her to bed.

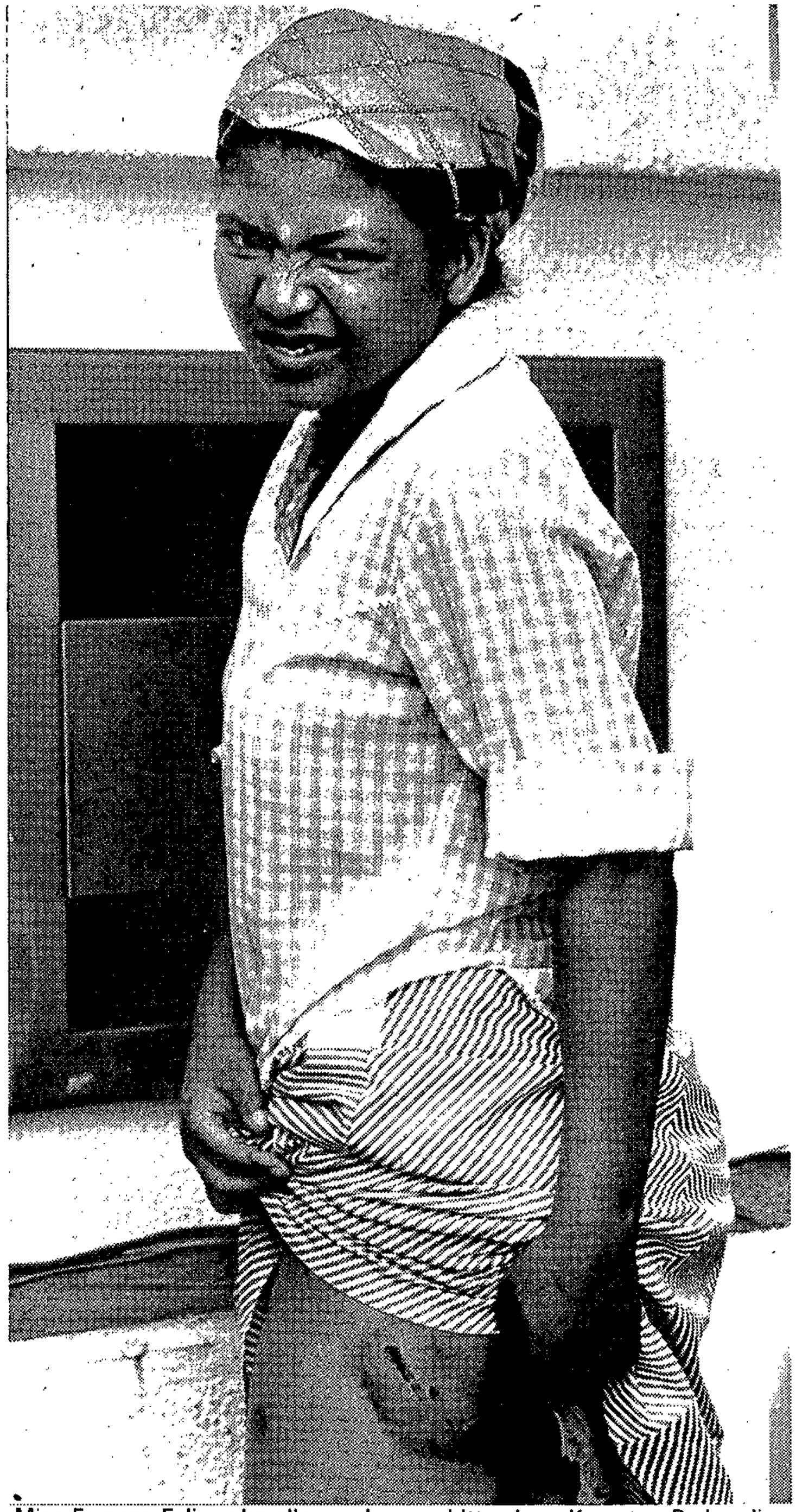
"Frances has not yet recovered from the incident. I felt so cross and was determined to get some response from the

calls to the Kempton Park police station, a police car "eventually arrived about 6.15 pm on Sunday and took Frances to Tembisa Hospital".

Miss Felix said a doctor gave her an anti-tetanus injection and some pills. "The doctor told me it was too late to sew up my wounds, and that I

Miss Felix, who was born in Port Elizabeth, lost her identity document during the incident.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria said there was "no record of the woman being arrested or having spent a night



Miss Frances Felix, who alleges she was bitten by a Kempton Park police dog last weekend, points to one of her wounds.

Picture: ROBERT TSHABALALA

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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 16 JANUARIE JANUARY 1981

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 122 16 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

LYS/LIST P81/5

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/28	*Fire Flames*	Oswald Mtshali	(e)
P81/1/76	*International Mobilisation* -Vol 1, No 3, November 1980	World Peace Council in cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid	(e)
P81/1/94	*South African Heroes' Day: Forward to People's Power*	African National Congress (SA)	(e)
P81/1/95	*Mandela's Message from Robben Island* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress of South Africa	(e)

No. 123 16 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLING

Skrap Goewermentskennisgewing 1172 in *Staatskoerant* 7052 van 30 Mei 1980 en vervang met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing.

Vervang onderskeidelik Goewermentskennisgewings 2381 en 245 van 1 Desember 1978 en 9 Februarie 1979, in *Staatskoerante* 6229 en 6298 van 1 Desember 1978 en 9 Februarie 1979, met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing:

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 9 (4) van genoemde Wet die invoer behalwe op gesag van 'n permit, van publikasies of voorwerpe wat deur ondergenoemde uitgewers uitgegee word, verbied:

Informationstelle Südliches Afrika (ISSA), Bonn
The African National Congress of South Africa
World Peace Council, Helsinki

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 122 16 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/5

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
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P81/1/95	*Mandela's Message from Robben Island* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress of South Africa	(e)

No. 123 16 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—CORRECTION

Delete Government Notice 1172 in *Government Gazette* 7052 of 30 May 1980 and substitute with the following Government Notice.

Substitute Government Notices 2381 and 245 of 1 December 1978 and 9 February 1979, in *Government Gazettes* 6229 and 6298 of 1 December 1978 and 9 February 1979, respectively with the following Government Notice:

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, has in terms of section 9 (4) of the said Act prohibited the importation except on authority of a permit, of publications or objects issued by the undermentioned publishers:

No. 124 16 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLING

Skrap Goewermentskennisgewing 1173 in *Staatskoerant* 7052 van 30 Mei 1980 en vervang met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing.

Vervang onderskeidelik Goewermentskennisgewings 11 en 247 van 5 Januarie 1979 en 9 Februarie 1979, in *Staatskoerante* 6263 en 6298 van 5 Januarie 1979 en 9 Februarie 1979, met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing:

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 9 (4) van genoemde Wet die invoer behalwe op gesag van 'n permit, van publikasies of voorwerpe wat deur ondergenoemde uitgewers uitgegee word, verbied:

No. 124 16 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—CORRECTION

Delete Government Notice 1173 in *Government Gazette* 7052 of 30 May 1980 and substitute with the following Government Notice.

Substitute Government Notices 11 and 247 of 5 January 1979 and 9 February 1979, in *Government Gazettes* 6263 and 6298 of 5 January 1979 and 9 February 1979, respectively with the following Government Notice:

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, has in terms of section 9 (4) of the said Act prohibited the importation except on authority of a permit, of publications or objects issued by the undermentioned publishers:

The Traveller's Companion Inc. geaffilieer met/affiliated with The Olympia Press Inc., New York
Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania

INHOUD

No.		*Bladsy No.*	*Staatskoerant No.*
Binnelandse Aangeleenthede, Departement van			
Goewermentskennisgewings			
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123	do.: do.: Regstelling	1	7376
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122	Publications Act (42/1974): Undesirable publications or objects	1	7376
123	do.: do.: Correction	1	7376
124	do.: do.: do	2	7376

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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 16 JANUARIE / JANUARY 1981 [No. 7370

PROKLAMASIE

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 17, 1981

PROROGASIE EN BYEENROEPING VAN DIE VOLKSRAAD

Kragtens die bevoegdheid en gesag my verleen by artikel 25 van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1961, prorogeer ek hierby die Volksraad op die Twee-en-twintigste dag van Januarie 1981 en verklaar ek dat die Volksraad van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika op die Drie-en-twintigste dag van Januarie 1981 te Kaapstad 'n aanvang neem vir die afhandeling van sake.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Drie-en-twintigste dag van Oktober Eenduisend Negehonderd-en-tagtig.

M. VILJOEN, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade.

P. W. BOTHA.

PROCLAMATION

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 17, 1981

PROROGATION AND SUMMONING OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Under and by virtue of the power and authority vested in me by section 25 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1961, I hereby prorogue the House of Assembly on the Twenty-second day of January, 1981, and I declare that the House of Assembly of the Republic of South Africa will commence at Cape Town on the Twenty-third day of January 1981, for the dispatch of business.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria on this Twenty-third day of October, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty.

M. VILJOEN, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council.

P. W. BOTHA.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 99 16 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 99 16 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

327 98 737c

LYS/LIST P81/4

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/54	*Victoria-Playboy*—No 2077 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed by Scandecor, Germany	(a)
P81/1/56	*Mermaid*—No 1972 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed by Scandecor, Uppsala	(a)
P81/1/61	*Eva*—No 1819 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed by Scandecor, Uppsala	(a)
P81/1/66	*Joint*—No 6561 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Wizard & Genius AG, Switzerland	(a)
P81/1/66	*Joint*—No 7007 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Wizard & Genius, Switzerland	(a)
P81/1/66	*Joint Souvenir Cards*—No 7533 (Kaart/Card)	Wizard & Genius AG, Switzerland	(a)
P81/1/86	*Blue Movies by New Name* (Plakkaat/Poster)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)

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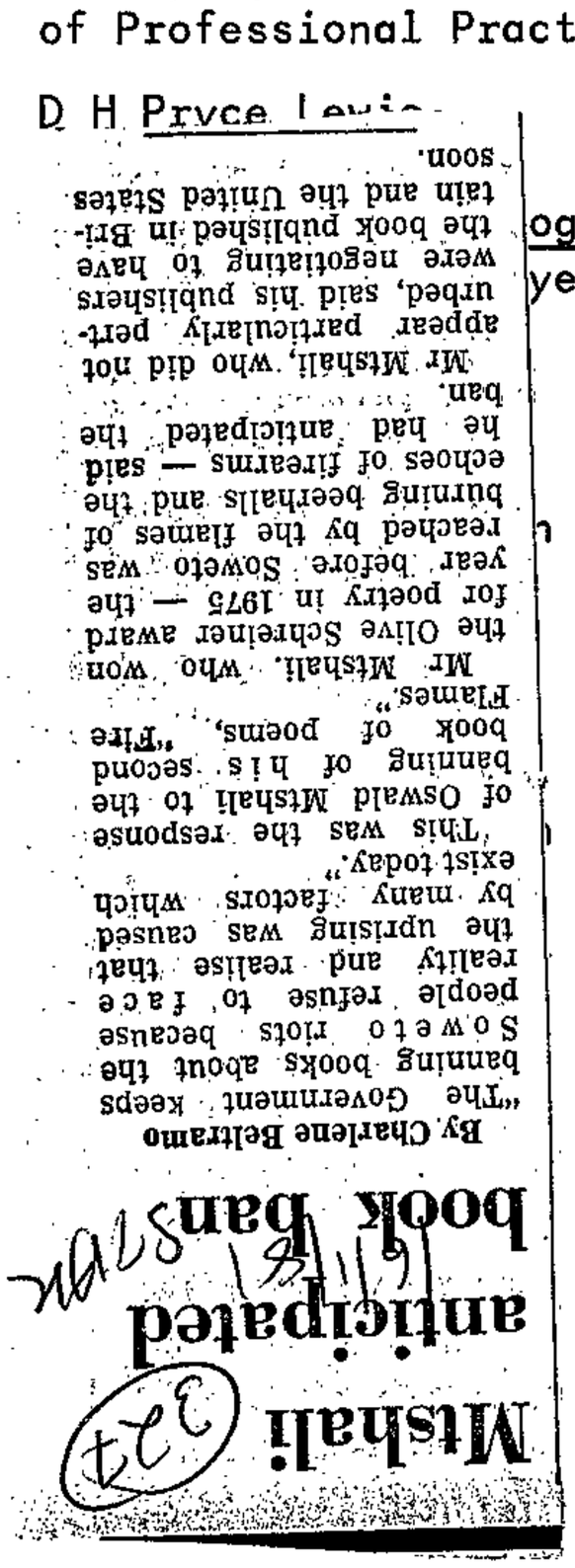
Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis



Mtshali anticipated book ban

By Charlene Beltramo

"The Government keeps banning books about the Soweto riots because people refuse to face reality and realise that the uprising was caused by many factors which exist today."

This was the response of Oswald Mtshali to the banning of his second book of poems, "Fire Flames."

Mr Mtshali, who won the Olive Schreiner award for poetry in 1975 — the year before Soweto was reached by the flames of burning beerhalls and the echoes of firearms — said he had anticipated the ban.

Mr Mtshali, who did not appear particularly perturbed, said his publishers were negotiating to have the book published in Britain and the United States soon.

Prints Bill: 'Unhappy fact of life'

By Johann Potgieter

THE proposed 'fingerprint draft bill' published this week is an 'unhappy fact of life' that South Africans, in view of the security situation facing the country, will have to learn to live with.

This is the opinion of Professor Rob Nairn, director of UCT's Institute of Criminology.

The draft Bill on Population Registration, proposing uniform identity documents for all population groups and the taking of fingerprints of new applicants, met with a storm of protest this week.

Critics described it as an invasion of individuals' privacy, an extension of the infamous 'dompas' system to whites, coloureds and Asians, and 'a great nuisance and inconvenience to the innocent public.'



Mr Tiaan van der Merwe

SECURITY

At a Press conference, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, gave an assurance that the proposed legislation had no criminal or police connotation — only a 'security connotation'.

The police, he said, would not use the fingerprints record of his department for criminal investigations.

He said in view of the 'total onslaught' against the country, it was deemed necessary that the identification of members of the population should in future be 'irrefutably proved by fingerprints if it became necessary.'

These proposals, Professor Nairn said, were 'not unusual in a world of increasing terrorism.'

POLICE

At present the question of fingerprints was governed by the Criminal Procedure Act and the Police Act, and a person could be required to have his or her fingerprints taken if suspected of a crime, or to allow police to eliminate the fingerprints of people who were not suspects.

'Technically the proposed legislation is what lawyers would call an invasion of privacy, since the State is empowered to take fingerprints under different circumstances as well', Professor Nairn said.

RIGHTS

Similar 'far-reaching security measures' were introduced in pre-independence Zimbabwe, and there too Ministers repeatedly gave assurances that the powers would not be abused.

Ultimately, Professor Nairn said, the questions that have been raised pushed one back to the relationship between human rights and the encroachment on the rights of individuals.

'It is, however, an unhappy fact of life that people in this country will have to face.'

Mr Heunis said this week his department's record of fingerprints would be separate from those of the police.

ESPIONAGE

PFP spokesman on internal affairs and Green Point MP, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said he could not accept that the police or security police would not use the department's records for security and related investigations.

'In fact, it wouldn't make any sense if they didn't use these records', he said.

Mr Heunis said the proposed system would prevent infiltration of strategic installations and national key points with a view to espionage or sabotage, and Mr van der Merwe said he could not see the role the fingerprints would play in this.

'I do not accept that civilian identification documents play any part in a properly planned security situation such as Sasol or a military installation.

'Regular employees will have gone through extended security checks in any case and will have the appropriate clearance.

'Anyone who is not in possession of specially issued clearance documents would surely not be allowed unaccompanied past the security check points', he said.

Mr van der Merwe said the proposed system would become an 'administrative nightmare', and would not clear up the mess in which the population register has been for a number of years.

[redacted]

Buthelezi: Changing ID books no solution

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

IF THE proposed new identity document for all races became another "dompas" in disguise, it could precipitate violent confrontation in South Africa, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said this week.

Reacting to the draft Bill announced by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, Chief Buthelezi said his initial view was that it "extinguishes any ray of hope" for blacks about fundamental change in the country.

"If anything characterises the bitterness of blacks, it is influx control and the dompas. If influx control is not removed but merely entrenched, it could precipitate violent confrontation," he said.

In terms of the proposed legislation, the present reference books carried by blacks will eventually be replaced by an identity document which will have to be carried by all races.

No date has yet been determined for implementation of the proposals, which include the fingerprinting of all new applicants and those requiring endorsements in present IDs.

But blacks will still have to show some sort of documentation under the influx control laws.

Chief Buthelezi said he was alarmed by Mr Heunis' view that the purpose of the legislation was to limit, as far as possible, attempts to infiltrate strategic installations and key positions at a time when South Africa faced a "total onslaught".

Chief Buthelezi commented: "While I am not aligned with one side or another in violence, the solution is not through improving identity books. The solution is to get together. Infiltration comes about because there is no hope for fundamental changes."

The proposed measures have also been sharply criticised by other leading black spokesmen, including the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, and the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, as well as by white opposition groups.

The director of the Black Sash advice office, Mrs Sheena Duncan, remained convinced that, for blacks, "the new document will remain a dompas".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, welcomed the draft Bill in that it would help to eradicate discriminatory laws".

But, he said, if the document meant blacks would still be affected by influx control laws, then the document would be useless.

The Gazankulu Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, said the introduction of a uniform document for all races was welcomed, but he was opposed to fingerprinting because it would make people appear to be criminals.

Against the Government, the church, the ANC, the three Bothas and the Broeders...

Argus 17/1/81 (327)

This is the Kappiekommando

By CHRIS VICK

THEY'RE the Boeretannies . . . with a capital B. Their mission is to bring South Africa back on its knees, kneeling at the altar before God. They call themselves the Kappiekommando.

Dressed in black, complete with Voortrekker bonnets, the 7 000 boerevroue are prepared to break the law to bring their people back together — and they'll die doing so.

Under the firm hand of boerenooientjie Marie van Zyl, the women, who have long taken a back seat in the Afrikaner nation's political struggle, have decided it's time to steer the country away from the evil track they say the Government has chosen.

Recently they had their first show of force when a representative group presented a petition at the Union Buildings protesting against the appointment of coloureds and Indians to the President's Council.

'That was our first public protest,' said Mrs van Zyl. 'But it won't be our last.'

SURGE OF INTEREST

She says the Kommando has been in existence since Afrikanerdom was first heard of. But there has been a surge of interest in the movement recently — with a drastic rebirth on the Day of the Covenant last year.

'On December 16 7 000 women received a calling to protest against the rot that has set into our Government,' said Mrs van Zyl.

It was a calling from above, made by God, and the call was answered with a powerful voice.

'We had seen how things were going in this country — there was a move away from everything dear to the heart of every real Afrikaner. We decided the Government could go so far, but no further.'

The Kappiekommando deals in quaint condemnations of 'left' and 'right' — even though they repeatedly state there are no political feelings involved in their struggle, everything 'anti-Christ' is left, and the rest is right, and an ally.



MRS MARIE VAN ZYL, 42 — her Kappiekommando has 7 000 members.

The anti-Christ includes everything from the ANC to the National Party — with Cabinet Ministers listed among the leaders of the anti-Christ movement.

'These are men with four faces,' Mrs van Zyl explains. 'Men who are misleading the nation (Afrikaners). The time has come for this to stop.'

She sees the three Bothas — Prime Minister Piet, Foreign Ministter Pik and Labour Minister Fannie — as the three main culprits . . . with Piet Koornhof, whom she calls 'The Smurfie', not far behind.

And what about Dr Andries Treurnicht, the great white hope for Afrikaner verkramptes?

'Him? Ha,' she dismisses him with a mock spit. 'He's just like the rest of them.'

Kommando members refuse to attend conventional church services. Instead, they hold their own backyard services in garages, 'bending down before God to ask him to bring us back on the right track.'

'Ninety-nine percent of the church ministers today are Broederbond members,' she says. 'We can't worship with these people.'

The Kommando is split into cells, each with a cell leader who organises meetings at least once a week.

HUSBANDS IN DARK

'The meetings are held in secret — sometimes even the husbands don't know their wives belong,' Mrs van Zyl said.

And if their husbands found out?

'Divorce, if they didn't approve. It's easy to get your husband back — but not so easy to get back your culture and your people.'

Turning to the recent petition to the State President, Mrs van Zyl outlined her objections to having coloureds and Indians on the President's Council.

'These people are not Christians,' she says. 'And, as Christians, we cannot have Muhammadans and Hindus ruling us. If they want to have a say, they must rule only their own people. They cannot dictate to us.

'And if people of other colours want to stay in my country, they must stay inferior citizens.'

The Kommando's next move is to prevent integration of Republic Day festivals.

'The whites are the only people who have a part to play in these celebations.'

Mrs van Zyl says the Kommando is also strongly against an integrated army, as is being formed by the Government.

'It is wrong to have soldiers of different race groups fighting alongside each other and eating in the same canteen — there is going to be a terrible outbreak of race hatred one of these days.'

After all the condemnations, she feels its time to explain that the Kommando is not really anti-anything.

'We're not racists,' she says, 'we're pro-white and pro-black. We're pro-Christian. We're pro all the way.'



KAPPIEKOMMANDO on the March at the Union Buildings.

Post is silenced

~~2nd~~ 327 STAR ~~20/1/80~~ 20/1/81

The two Johannesburg newspapers Post Transvaal and Sunday Post have been forced to close down because the Government has ned to ban them ey resume tion.

were forced to publication last when editorial nt on strike and, e strike ended, the nent informed the Printing and Pub- Company Limited, ners, that the re- n had lapsed.

Cabinet Ministers, is Heunis and Mr oetzee, said today Government could law prevent the rs from applying istration, but the ient would ban this was done.

al Miller, manag- ctor of The Argus any, said in a it today:

Transvaal and Sunday Post will not appear again for the time being. If they are re-registered the Government will ban them."

He said that Post Natal, was not affected by the Government's action and would continue publication as usual.

Mr Miller said the Government had informed him that it had decided some time ago to ban both newspapers. The Government's decision to implement this, the recent strike kept the newspapers off the streets.

As a result of that strike, the registration of the newspapers lapsed as recorded in the Supreme Court ruling by Mr Justice Coetzee on December 29. The Argus Company applied immediately either for condonation of the lapse in registration, or for registration of the papers.

The Government has now made clear to the Argus Company if registration takes its normal course both newspapers will be banned immediately they appear.

Futile

"We have decided not to proceed with registration of the papers," Mr Miller said today. "We see no point in making a futile gesture by insisting on registration and submitting to the injustice of actual banning.

"We do not believe that this Government, or any Government, should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review. But we have no power to prevent the Government's action; no redress against the course it has chosen to follow.

"We think that by acting in this way it diminishes us all — that another bar has been added to the cage which is beginning to circumscribe our freedom.

"The Sowetan has not been affected by the Government's decision.

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The Post is silenced STAR 30/1/80

from page 1

That newspaper will appear again as soon as we can arrange it. The Government has made no conditions about its content. It will be produced

That newspaper will appear again as soon as we can arrange it. The Government has made no conditions about its content. It will be produced



Mr Joe Latakgomo, acting editor of Post Transvaal, stands outside the Industria, Johannesburg, offices of the paper, effectively banned by the Government today. He is holding the last editions of Post and Sunday Post which appeared on the street at the end of October last year.

People's paper axed yet again

By Tony Duigan

For the second time in 3½ years the Government axe has fallen on possibly the only effective medium of black opinion.

In October 1977 The World, predecessor of Post Transvaal, was on the crest of a wave.

Its circulation was 140 000 copies a day and climbing steadily.

Weekend World sold about 210 000 copies every weekend.

But the storm clouds had been gathering.

In early October the then Minister of Justice, Mr Kruger, complained officially about an editorial in The World in connection with the handling of events after the death of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko.

A week later on October 19 the blow fell.

The World and Weekend World, along with 16 black consciousness organisations were banned.

There seemed little doubt that the new direction taken by The World after the 1976 Soweto riots — it gradually switched its crime and sport image to one of supporting black consciousness and acting as conscience of the masses — had stung the Government.

Post Transvaal and Sunday Post took up more or less where The World left off.

In the months and years that followed Post Transvaal moved into implacable opposition to Government policies.

Twice last year labour unrest stopped publication of Post and Sunday Post.

The second time was the death knell.

When Post journalists went on strike again at the end of October last year the dispute lasted nearly two months.

In that time the Government informed the Argus Company that the registration of the two newspapers had lapsed because no editions had appeared.

But with the labour dispute ironed out over Christmas, hopes were high that the registration issue could be sorted out.

This morning the acting editor of Post, Mr Joe Latakgomo, met his staff to break the news.

"This is the second time I have had my newspaper closed," he commented wryly.

Mr Latakgomo was news editor of The World in October 1977.

Post Transvaal was the most widely read daily newspaper in South Africa, with an estimated 907 000 readers, according to the 1980 All Media and Products Study.

It had the third-highest circulation of all South African dailies, according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation, which certified it had average daily sales of 112 000.

Sunday Post had a circulation of about 118 000 and an estimated readership of nearly 1,2-million.

Staffers confused and shocked

By Mike Sullivan

Minutes after the editor of Post, Transvaal, Mr Joe Latakgomo, told his staff of the Government's decision on the future of Post and Sunday Post, the journalists broke up into small groups and in hushed tones began to discuss what will happen next.

Confusion and shock were the main emotions evident in the newsroom of Post this morning.

Although they are preparing for the publication of The Sowetan on Thursday, journalists were unable to keep their minds on their work this morning.

Mr Chris More, an executive member of the Mwasa chapel at Post, said "We knew the Government was playing tough when it took away the paper's registration but we never dreamed that it would resort to closure.

"How can you react to something like this?"

Another executive member of the Mwasa chapel, Mr Kingdom Lolwane, said it was now obvious that the Government was not prepared to tolerate a black voice in newspapers.

The news editor of Post, Mr Thami Mazwai, was trying to explain to his wife on the phone what had happened.

He interrupted his conversation to say that it was the second time he had had his newspaper closed.

He worked on The World in 1977 when the paper was banned and its editor, Mr Percy Qoboza, was detained.

"I should know what one does in a situation like this but I am really flabbergasted.

"When my editor told me the news this morning, I could hardly believe it. It was the last thing I expected the Government to do."

Some were on assignment and others preparing for a meeting with Argus management tomorrow to discuss the future of their newspaper.

Mr Latakgomo said the staff still had a paper, The Sowetan — to produce and this should keep them busy.

"The whole thing is so sad and we really don't know where we can go from here."

There are about 262 staff members employed by Post.

Manager Mr John Gittins said it was too early to say what would happen to them.

RDM 19/1/81

SA losing its opportunities — Buthelezi

(107) (327)

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Chief Minister and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said in Ulundi last week that the month of January 1981 would go down in history as marking the beginning of South Africa's lost opportunity of finding a solution to its political problems.

Addressing Inkatha's central committee meeting — the first this year — he said that with the inauguration of the President's Council "we are even further from finding a solution" than he had thought this time last year.

"Although a certain measure of disillusionment was beginning, none of us could guess that the Schlebusch Commission would come out with such a retrograde step as the setting up of a President's Council, even as an interim measure, which excludes the majority of our population — the blacks."

He said it was disheartening that "we begin the decade of the 80s with the installation of a monstrous constitutional incubus on our backs."

"There are those of my brothers who no longer talk of sharing power, but who declare as their policy that they are aiming for no less than seizing power and sharing it with a democratic majority, where there will be no place for racists," he said.

"The thing that should matter to all of us is whether or not we are making as much of a contribution towards a solution for the country's problems as we should," he said.

"The South African Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has appealed to some of his own people to leave the laager, but it does seem as if there are some of them who have a death wish and who do not in the least bother what happens to this country and all its people," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said a surge of anger might tell that it was much better to let things drift to a showdown. "Indeed certain politicians on the other side of the colour line have spoken of the imminence of such a showdown and have said that whoever survives can collect the ashes.

"This is the very measure of our responsibility. In provocative circumstances we are called upon to be responsible not just to ourselves, but to Southern Africa, to Africa and to future generations that will tread on this part of Africa when all of us are no more," he said.

There was a tendency to allow anger to have a free sway. It was even natural that since "there does not seem to be any reasoning possible, brute force is therefore the answer".

"But history has given us a great responsibility in this land. We are called upon by destiny to save the whites of South Africa from being strangled by ramifications of their greed and selfishness. We are called to save them from themselves.

"If there is any commodity we blacks need desperately in these circumstances, it is cool-mindedness," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

20/1/81

X-ray security for SABC head office

By Mike Derry

A countrywide clampdown on security at SABC installations is to be implemented this year.

SABC officials have drawn up a master plan to be implemented at the corporation's nine office buildings and more than 100 transmitting stations.

Mr Pieter Theron, planning controller of the SABC, said the security plan would first be implemented in the Corporation's Johannesburg buildings.

"We called for tenders last week for the supply and delivery of security X-ray equipment," he said.

Metal detectors were to be installed at the entrances to all SABC buildings in Johannesburg.

Mr Theron said consideration would later be given to installing metal detectors in SABC offices in the rest of the country.

"We will, however, be tightening access control at all our offices," he said.

Mr Theron said he could not give details on the cost of the scheme, but the cost of X-ray equipment for Johannesburg was likely to run into six figures.

He said he was sure that by the end of the year the security plan would be in operation.

COMMENT

A new act of folly

"REPRESSION in a land that has already experienced democracy and freedom is a bitter admission of failure." That is what we wrote when the Government closed down the black newspaper World less than four years ago. Today the Government has prevented the publication of Post Transvaal, the successor to the banned World. Freedom has been further curtailed. Bitterness among sophisticated blacks has increased.

Putting Post on ice will not freeze the political turmoil in the townships, nor will it give any Government more time to find solutions. Instead the State move will add extra mistrust and discontent many more.

We can only hope that the words of a leading coloured journalist, Jimmy Adkins, do not come true. As he emigrated sadly to Canada last year, he said: "You people had a chance with the moderates. You are now welcome to the militants." The silence of Post dims the light for reasonable men and diminishes the chances of dialogue and public debate.

Why did the Government decide that, whatever happened, Post would be banned if it tried to re-register? As with the banning of World, and the detention without trial of its editor, no reasons are given. Post has not been a "tame" mouthpiece of Soweto and it has not pretended to be a paper giving the balanced view of all sides of the population.

Post is a paper exclusively for blacks — just as Die Transvaler was once a paper exclusively for active Afrikaner Nationalists. There is not only room, but a need for such newspapers. Post has not only stayed within the law. It has — despite numbers of political squabbles within its own ranks — preached the moderate policy of all Argus Group newspapers: reconciliation and peaceful progress through negotiation.

Now Post is silent. Unlike World, it may not be silent for ever. But so long as the Government gags it, for so long will South Africa's reputation and the credibility of our entire Press stay on ice. We can only repeat what we said when the last Argus newspaper was banned:

"The West will ask ... and every South African should ask ... do the newspapers that continue to operate, publish only because the Government approves?"

The answer is no. The Star with others will continue to speak out on behalf of all its readers — white, black, English, Afrikaans — exactly as it has done in the past.

The Editor

Kimberley journalist arrested

KIMBERLEY — Mr Jimmy Beaumont, a Johannesburg journalist on secondment to the Diamond Fields Advertiser, was arrested in Kimberley today in connection with a charge under the Official Secrets Act.

The warrant of arrest was issued in Windhoek and the hearing is set down for April 7 in Windhoek.

Bail has been set at R1 000 by the Windhoek public prosecutor. The application will be heard at the Kimberley Magistrate's Court later today.

No details of the charge were given in the warrant of arrest.—Sapa.

Shock at closure of black papers

STAR 20/1/81 327

The Government's effective banning of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post drew criticism from all sectors today.

Professor D van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand's law faculty: "I can only express my absolute disgust at this flagrant attack on the freedom of the Press.

"In a sense it is not unexpected because the Government has for some time now — in fact, as far as I can recall, since the time of Verwoerd — threatened to impose Press censorship in this country.

"The Government has become impatient with certain newspapers and is perhaps testing public opinion by this oppression of newspapers (which, in the mind of its own supporting electorate, may be regarded as of little importance) before introducing an elaborate system of tight control of the news media."

"It is hardly four years since the banning of The World and Weekend World raised an international outcry."

Mr Phillip Mtimkulu, acting president of the Media Association of South Africa, went on: "This action shows the extent to which the Government is prepared to go to stifle black opinion.

"We view the action against the newspapers, coupled with the recent bannings of Mwasa leaders as a declaration of war against black aspirations."

"CONFRONTATION"

"The Government's action, which amounts to banning the papers, is an invitation to confrontation and disaster," said Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists.

"Unless South Africans are exposed to a free flow of information they will be unable to identify, let alone respond to, the challenges facing them.

"Post Transvaal and Sunday Post are vital components of that free flow.

"They have mirrored black society and reported on aspirations and grievances of people playing a crucial role in the country's history.

"Stopping their publication may shatter mirrors reflecting distasteful images."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said the closure of Post Transvaal under threat from the State was in keeping with what happened to The World newspaper in October 1977.

He said blacks were proud of Post Transvaal and its banning would not ban the thoughts and feelings of the masses.

"We are not surprised at this action. The only thing is that we are distressed that they (the Government) refuse to learn," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Goba Ndlovu, chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said Post had for a long time been regarded as a mouthpiece of blacks.

"Its disappearance from the streets," he said, "will leave blacks stranded without any voice."

Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and Progressive Federal Party media spokesman, said closing down these two avenues of free expression and protest by and for blacks would further radicalise the opposition to white racism and further polarise the peoples of South Africa.

The closure of the two newspapers introduced a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa and the blame for it must lie squarely on the shoulders of the Government, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said.

Dr Slabbert said this was a typical case of "killing the messenger because you do not like the message.

"The reality of black feelings, demands, aspirations and reaction will not disappear because people cannot read about them. They will simply be communicated underground and one half of society will not know what the other half is thinking or feeling."

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said he agreed with the Government's action in preventing the two newspapers from being published.

"But of course it is partly the Government's own fault for creating high expectations among blacks.

"This allowed the newspapers to create a revolutionary climate."

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the institute was "shocked."

"The State has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as short-sighted and incredible."

Editors voice outrage

"Any country where a government walks in and pulls down the shutters on a newspaper can't have any pretence at freedom of expression," Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times, said today.

He was reacting to the Government threat to ban Post and Sunday Post if the Argus Company attempted to re-register them.

Mr J R Coleman, acting editor of the Argus in Cape Town, said that for once the aims of the Government and of black extremists coincided — neither favoured the existence of Post.

"It is especially stupid because of the role black newspapers play in expressing the views of a largely voiceless population. The role of Post and before it World (which was banned) had a moderating force in the country."

Mr Coleman and Mr Rex Gibson of the Sunday Express regretted that the threat of the ban came during the Steyn Commission's investigations into the Press.

Mr Gibson said that "the fact that this outrageous step has been taken in advance of any report by the Steyn Commission, shows how little store the Government places both on its own commission and the concept of Press freedom.

Mr Harald Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, said: "My first instinct is that the Government has made a mistake."

Mr A de V Marais, acting editor at The Citizen, said: "This action merely increases our anxiety about the Government's intentions toward the Press, especially the timing — when the Steyn Commission is conducting inquiries into the Press.

"This action should be seen as having been taken against the entire newspaper industry," he said.

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of The Sunday Times and official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, said the Government's action was a "senseless ban."

"It reveals itself as part of a clear pattern in which the Government is determined to silence the Press. By effectively banning Post and other black newspapers, by banning Mr Sisulu and others, the Government sends out a clear message that it is starting on the black newspapers first.

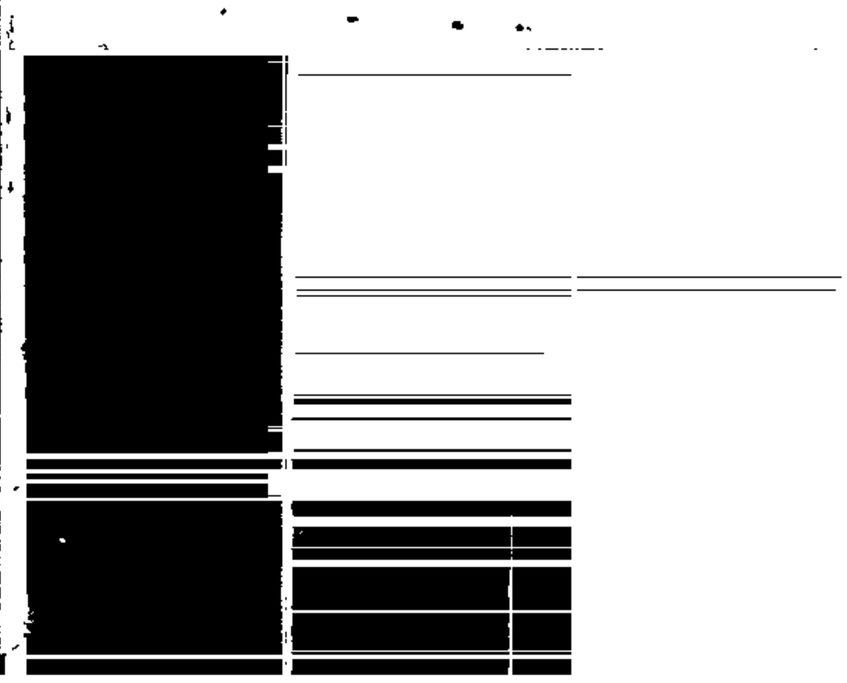
"We have to remember that freedom is indivisible and that when the black newspapers are crushed and silenced, the Government will then move on to deal with the so-called white newspapers.

"We are now, it appears, rushing at a dangerous speed towards that situation."

Fleet Street has reacted gloomily to the news.

"One regrets any country that restricts Press freedom," said Mr Roy Wright, acting editor of the New Standard.

And a Guardian executive commented: "It's a pity. It seems the wrong kind of decision to get rid of newspapers which allowed black people some freedom of expression and news and information on their own terms."



'Deep anxiety' of NPU over 2 black papers

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In a special statement to the Steyn Commission today, the Newspaper Press Union, which represents the proprietors of South Africa's major newspapers, expressed deep anxiety over the government's action preventing publication of the country's two leading black newspapers.

The statement was read at the start of the commission's public hearings on the media in Cape Town by Mr Dawid de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers.

Mr de Villiers said the NPU delegation, which was giving evidence to the Steyn Commission today, had requested him to make the statement "so that it would be apparent that it is being made on behalf on the NPU as a whole."

Earlier Mr P W McLean, current president of the NPU and general manager of the Argus Company, told the commission that it was more appropriate that the statement be made by someone else since he was an executive of the company which owned the two affected newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

After Mr De Villiers had read the NPU's statement, the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Steyn, asked: "Must I understand that the newspaper owners concerned were not informed?"

Mr De Villiers replied that he had no knowledge of such reasons being given. Mr McLean then said that to the best of his knowledge detailed reasons were not given by the Government.

Mr de Villiers said that "the NPU was and is opposed to the executive authority having the power to close newspapers by its own decision without charge, trial, the provision of reasons for its action or the possibility of effective review.

"In a State which attaches importance to democratic principles the closure of a newspaper could only be justified as an action of the utmost importance to protect the safety of the State and its people.

"And to avoid the slightest trace of this being a biased action to smother political opposition, the criteria would be a trial and conviction by an unbiased judiciary on a properly formulated charge.

"In its representations to the Rabie Commission, the NPU pointed out that in this type of case there could be no objection in the interests of security against a public hearing since the charge, in the nature of things, would have to be based on matters which had already appeared in the newspaper and thus not on secret investigative methods or on information supplied by informers who needed protection against intimidation."

Mr de Villiers notes that the closure of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post had taken place while the Rabie Commission still had to make recommendations on the continued existence or possible scrapping of the administrative powers to close newspapers and while the Steyn Commission was still conducting an inquiry into, among other things, the handling of news by the mass media at the present time.

REACTIONS

"To initiate its oral representations, the NPU delegation expresses its deep anxiety over the whole matter.

"Because no reasons for the decision have been given by the authorities the NPU refrains from a discussion of the merits of this particular case.

"The reactions which have already been invoked nevertheless underline its anxiety over the system under which the decision was taken.

"The delegation brings to the attention of the commission with renewed concern the representations from the NPU and especially to its conviction that the authority and the use of authority of this kind requires drastic revision with an eye to the future healthy relationships between the authorities, the media and all sectors of society."

See Page 9.

Qoboza warns Govt on Post

By John D'Oliveira

WASHINGTON — Mr Percy Qoboza, former editor of Post has warned the South African Government that it is fast eroding "even the limited amount of understanding and goodwill some people in the Reagan Administration have for South Africa."

Mr Qoboza was bitterly critical of the Government effectively closing down South Africa's only major black newspapers.

Mr Qoboza resigned as editor earlier this month.

Mr Qoboza said that once again the Nationalist Government had acted in a way that would seriously harm South Africa's position in the international community.

He spoke of the Government's "guerilla warfare against the South African Press" and said the most tragic result of the Government's actions would be the creation of what he called an information vacuum.

"What will happen now is that the white community in South Africa will be left in utter ignorance of what is happening in the black community."

GENERAL NEWS

Times slams Press action

The Star Bureau

LONDON — There has been sharp British and Fleet Street reaction to the effective banning of two black newspapers in South Africa.

The Government's "cynical behaviour" had been "shameful even by its own standards of injustice," The Times says in an editorial.

"The action against the black Press will do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the country," The Times says.

"It was, in terms of foreign relations, an extraordinarily inept thing to do, even for a Government not known for its delicacy of diplomacy.

"Its claim that South Africa has, unlike most African states, a more or less free Press looks more threadbare now than it has ever done before.

"The main impact, however, will be on the internal policies of the country.

"South Africa's blacks, now permanently deprived of their two principal avenues of news and comment on affairs affecting them, will be further alienated.

"The Government's move is bound to convert more moderates to militancy and to make any peaceful solution to the country's problems even more difficult to achieve.

"The closures carry a clear message for South Africa's white Opposition newspapers as well."

The London Daily Mail uses the closure of the two papers to argue against one of the far left's recent ideas.

"You see how liberty can be throttled in those countries where you need a licence to print," says the Mail.

"On the political surface the upholders of apartheid in South Africa and the Benn-men in Britain seem poles apart.

"But under the skin are they not zealots of the same genus?"

Afrikaans Press hits closure of 2 papers

Afrikaans newspapers today responded to the forced closure of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post with reactions ranging from strong reservations to outspoken criticism.

● Beeld said the State had "screwed down an important source of information and a safety valve through which frustrated emotions could be relieved."

● Die Transvaler said: "Black newspapers, even if they are left-wing, are also cogs in the democratic machine."

● Die Burger said the action "could not offer a lasting solution, and would harden black attitudes."

Beeld said that if the purely technical points were overlooked, the State had banned the papers.

It could not understand why this had been done.

Against the background of the Government's apparent attempts to normalise relations in South Africa, it would have been far better to allow the papers to reappear as quickly as possible.

"Such a prohibition has no effect — except that it hardens black attitudes further, gives the enemies of our State and Government new ammunition and disturbs friends of the Government here and overseas."

Beeld said the Cillie Commission's report on unrest in 1976 exonerated The World after its 1977 banning.

"As regular and critical readers of the Post newspapers we know of no clear reason apparent from the newspapers themselves which compel a State to take this drastic action."

The step would strengthen doubts about the sincerity of Government reforms.

While the country's situation might now appear more peaceful on the surface it could be safely said that if more State departments had taken notice of what The World was saying in 1976 the unrest could have been avoided.

Die Transvaler said in an editorial it was a pity the Government had threatened the newspapers with banning.

It was desirable that motivation for steps taken in terms of security legislation be given to enable the public to understand their rationale and justification.

Black newspapers were

To Page 3, Col 1

Afrikaans Press also critical

from page 1

an essential window on black opinions.

They were a barometer of the turbulence in a community which was not easy for whites to assess.

A ban on the papers was going to evoke prejudicial reaction from moderate circles.

Die Burger said it was regrettable that the reasons for the Government's action that stopped the publication of the two black newspapers were not clear.

No matter how strong the case of the authorities might be, the immediate impression created in propaganda was that action had been taken against Press freedom, that the action could not offer a lasting solution and that it would harden black attitudes at a time when greater understanding and reconciliation were sought.

Die Burger suggested that the Steyn Commission, inquiring into the media, should give attention to "the harmful consequences of action against the Press and newspapermen when it takes place for secret security reasons."

No. 72 9 Januarie 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die ondergenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet gewysig deur te bepaal—

(a) dat die ouderdomsbeperking opgehef word; en
(b) dat seker weglatings aangebring word.

No. 72 9 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, varied the conditional approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act stipulating—

(a) that the age restriction be lifted; and
(b) that certain excisions be made.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R80/10/28.....	*The Apple*.....	CIC-Warner (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

Insurance: Pooling Risks

Because of risks of losses of wealth from physical damage (such as from fire or flood or theft), people often insure. They *share* losses by spreading them over the group that bears the losses in the form of sure, regular, small fees, called the insurance premium. These accumulated premiums are supposed to be large enough to pay sufferers of any insured, actual losses. In general, insurance trades each person's small chance of a large loss for the certainty of a small loss—the insurance premium.

Insurance also may induce people to change the probability of the contingent event. Each insured person is often required to take special precautions as a condition of getting insurance. Otherwise, precautionary incentives might be reduced with insurance; for without insurance, we may devote more resources and care and anxiety to protection than with it. So insurance may either decrease or increase total social accidental losses. Yet even if total losses are greater with insurance than without (as they may well be), the avoidance of precautionary resource-use and the reduction of anxiety may exceed the increase in accident losses.

Some accidental losses are not insurable because they are not accidental enough. Insurance against bad business or loss of customers would entice a retailer to be less productive while relying on the insurance to indemnify him for his increased shirking. He could too easily and covertly "influence the chances of the loss." This "moral" hazard diminishes the feasibility of insurance. Claims for indemnity against losses would exceed

Outrage over gag on papers

RDM 21/1/81 (327)

By ARNOLD GEYER and ALISON GILLWALD

INTERNATIONAL outrage and protest have followed the silencing yesterday by the Government of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, both published by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company.

The axing of the papers has been condemned in the strongest possible terms and described as "a declaration of war against black aspirations" and a "disastrous attack" on Press freedom which would inevitably lead to further confrontation in the country.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said one half of South Africa's community would no longer know what the other half was thinking or feeling.

"Blacks have been stranded — they are without another voice," said Mr Goba Ndlovu, chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa).

The two papers — successors of the banned World and Weekend World — were yesterday effectively banned when the Argus Company was told by two Cabinet Ministers that the papers would be forced to close down in terms of the Internal Security Act if they resumed publication.

Post was one of the most widely read daily newspaper in the country with almost one million readers and had the third highest circulation of all South African dailies — 112 000. Sunday Post had a readership of about 1 200 000 and a circulation of about 118 000.

After a meeting with Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Internal Affairs, and Mr Robie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, issued a joint statement saying, should the company proceed with the application for the re-registration of the papers, steps would be taken in terms of the Act to prohibit their publication.

Mr Miller yesterday said the Government informed him the papers would have been banned some time ago but the recent nation-wide strike by Mwasa had prevented the implementation of the banning orders.

As a result of the strike, the papers' registration lapsed, after which the Argus company applied to the Minister of Internal Affairs either for immediate condonation of the lapsing or for re-registration of the papers.

Following the statement by Mr Heunis and Mr Coetsee, the Argus management has decided not to proceed with re-registration.

It is still not clear what the fate of the about 300 media workers on the papers will be.

When asked about their future, Mr Miller said: "We are still absorbing the shock caused by the action. We now have to study all the far-reaching implications of the matter."

The application for the re-registration of a third black paper, The Sowetan, was approved by the Government yesterday. Post (Natal), the Durban-based edition of Post, was not affected by the Government action and will continue publication as usual.

The full Government statement reads:

"In terms of the provisions of the Internal Security Act, 44 of 1950, as amended, the registration of a newspaper registered in terms of the provisions of the Imprint Registration Act, 63 of 1971, shall lapse automatically inter alia if the newspaper is at any time not printed and published during a period exceeding one month, unless the Minister of Internal Affairs in consultation with the Minister of Justice at any time otherwise directs.

"In terms of the above provisions the registration of Post (Transvaal), Sunday Post and The Sowetan had lapsed and the fact that the registration of these newspapers had in fact so lapsed had been confirmed by the Supreme Court, Witwatersrand local division, on December 29, 1980.

"An application for the registration of these three newspapers was lodged by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, the owners of these newspapers, on December 29, 1980.

"An application for the condonation of the non-publication and non-distribution of the newspapers received by the Department of Internal Affairs on December 29, was refused by the Minister of Internal Affairs in consulation with the Minister of Justice.

"In an interview with Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, we informed him that, should his company proceed with the application for registration of the three relevant newspapers, steps would be taken in terms of the Internal Security Act to prohibit publication of the newspapers.

"We have now been informed by Mr Miller that in view of the message conveyed to him in respect of the newspapers, the application for the registration of these two nespapers are being withdrawn."

Mr Miller responded by saying this Government action "diminishes us all — another bar has been added to the cage which is circumscribing our freedom".

○ See Page 2 and 9

Warnings flow in: A grave mistake

RDM 21/1/81 243 327

By ARNOLD GEYER and ALISON GILLWALD

THE closure through Government action of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post has been greeted with concern and dismay by newspaper bodies in the West.

And in South Africa, opponents of the Government — in and outside Parliament — have strongly deplored the move, warning it might introduce a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the Soweto Committee of 10, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Inkatha yesterday warned that the aspirations, feelings and thoughts of the country's black community could not be suppressed this way and would now have to be "communicated underground".

The Rand Daily Mail's London Bureau reports that the International Press Institute in London expressed grave concern, saying: "In South Africa the situation facing the Press is becoming more difficult from week to week."

The general secretary of the powerful British National Union of Journalists, Mr Ken Ashton, described the action as a "Catch 22 situation". It was "a denial of a basic human right for people to be heard".

Mr Ashton pointed to the McBride report adopted recently at a Unesco conference in Belgrade that it was a basic human right for people to be informed and that journalists, editors and proprietors were caretakers of that right.

In the eyes of the world, he said, the move would be seen as a further harassment of black journalists and a continued denial of a free Press.

He added: "This increases our already great concern for the black and white journalists who are shortly to appear before the courts in South Africa."

Mr Ashton was recently turned back after he landed at Jan Smuts Airport without a visa. The South African authorities put him on the next available plane back to Britain. Mr Ashton was to have met the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) to give trade union advice, and to investigate the banning of two black journalists.

Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said the action was a typical case of "you kill the message because you do not like the messenger".

"The reality of black feelings, demands, aspirations and reaction will not disappear because people cannot read about them — they will simply be communicated underground.

"And one half of society will not know what the other half is thinking or feeling. Is Freedom of the Press to become a white preserve as well — such little freedom as we have?

"This is one of the most sombre notes on which to start a parliamentary session. The banning of the newspapers introduces a new escalation of confrontation in South Africa and the blame for it must lie squarely on the shoulders of the Government," he said.

The publicity secretary of Azapo, Mr George Wauchope, said it was "most tragic" that the Post newspapers, which were valued so much by the black community, should be effectively banned.

It was more tragic that, even before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media could table its findings, the Government should threaten to close newspapers, he said.

"Suppression of communication will inevitably lead to misinterpretation, misrepresentation, mistrust and ultimately conflict. The Government should have been aware of this before taking action against the papers."

Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said the National Party had never tried to hide or disguise its utter horror and contempt for the free flow of information.

"As a purveyor of authoritarianism, racism and of a philosophy and policy which the rest of mankind rejects with loathing, it was never in doubt that the Government would act against anti-government newspapers," he said.

The only interesting matter was that of the timing.

"After successfully scuttling from the Geneva conference and treating the rest of the world with contempt, they correctly assessed a Rightward lurch of the Western World, exemplified by the Rightwing governments elected into power in Britain, Portugal, and the United States. Thus, our own Righwing Government, thought they could mutilate the Left-wing and get away with it.

"We are now obviously entering a period of darkness, as far as civil rights are concerned, and, as someone said of Hitler, 'the lights of freedom are going out one by one'.

"Let those who value freedom and a free spread of information represented by a free Press stand up and protest at this evil curtain of the right to know," he said.

Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton and PFP media spokesman, said closing down these two avenues of free expression and protest by and for blacks would further radicalise the opposition to white racism and further polarise the peoples of South Africa.

A spokesman for the American Embassy in Pretoria was not prepared to comment in detail on the effective ban, but said: "Freedom of the Press, as a general concept, is something that Americans hold very dear. "The general reaction of all of us here is one of concern about one of the traditions of a democracy that should be upheld at all times."

GERALD REILLY of the Rand Daily Mail Pretoria Bureau reports that diplomatic sources yesterday reacted with shock and dismay at the Government's action.

There was no official comment from foreign embassies yesterday but diplomatic sources were appalled at so "insensitive" a move.

The sources stressed if there were reasons other than silencing the black Press, then they should be clearly stated.

One high-level diplomat said he was at a total loss to understand the action of the Government — and so would the governments of Western countries be.

"What do they hope to gain by this rash move? Did they count the cost?" he asked.

One major prop to South Africa's image in other countries was that it had a Press which had a strong critical licence and it was used.

To close down newspapers through which blacks, including radicals, expressed their opposition to the Government was a futile attempt to bottle up a problem which could not be bottled up.

What "amazed" diplomats was that in spite of the powerfully adverse reaction to the World ban in October 1977, the same blunder had been committed again.

The director of the SA Institute for International Affairs, Mr John Barratt, said: "It's very difficult to understand. Surely the banning of the World, which caused such a furious reaction abroad and at home, should have been borne in mind.

To attempt to block the free expression of black opinion was unwise and dangerous, he said.

He said reaction in the United States, particularly among the leaders of the new administration, would be sharply negative in view of the concern there on Press freedom.

But, Mr Barratt said, "it is the reaction in South Africa among blacks and whites which is going to be a cause of the greatest concern".

Newsmen outraged at 'cynical' Post ban

Staff Reporters

THE gagging yesterday by the Government of two black newspapers has evoked widespread anger from South Africa's editors and journalists.

They have warned that this "drastic and authoritarian" measure would escalate conflict, not diminish it.

In a statement, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said: "This shows the extent to which the Government is prepared to go to stifle black opinion. We view the action against the newspapers, coupled with recent bannings of Mwasa leaders, as a declaration of war against black aspirations."

It is understood that the management of the Argus Company and Post Newspapers will meet this morning to discuss what further steps to take.

Mwasa and SAAN and Argus managements held talks in Johannesburg yesterday to work out an agreement in terms of the settlement after the Mwasa strike last year.

"The Government's action, which amounts to banning the papers, is an invitation to confrontation and disaster," said Mr John Allen, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists."

The acting editor of Post, Mr Joe Latakgomo said: "If the Government opts to silence the black people by denying them the basic right to be informed of what is happening around them, I can only suggest that the Government is making a grave mistake."

Mr Joel Mervis, former editor of the Sunday Times and the Sunday Express, and official representative in South Africa of the International Press Institute, said the Government's action was a "senseless ban".

"It reveals itself as part of a clear pattern in which the Government is determined to silence the Press. By effecively banning Post and other black newspapers, by banning Mr Sisulu and others, the Government sends out a clear message that it is starting on the black newspapers first."

Mr Ton Vosloo, editor of Beeld, the Prime Minister's mouthpiece in the Transvaal, yesterday said: "As a strong critic of Post I take the position that they have the right to free expression provided they stay within the bounds of the law."

If the Government's information showed that Post undermined public safety it was in the public's interests that the information should be made public.

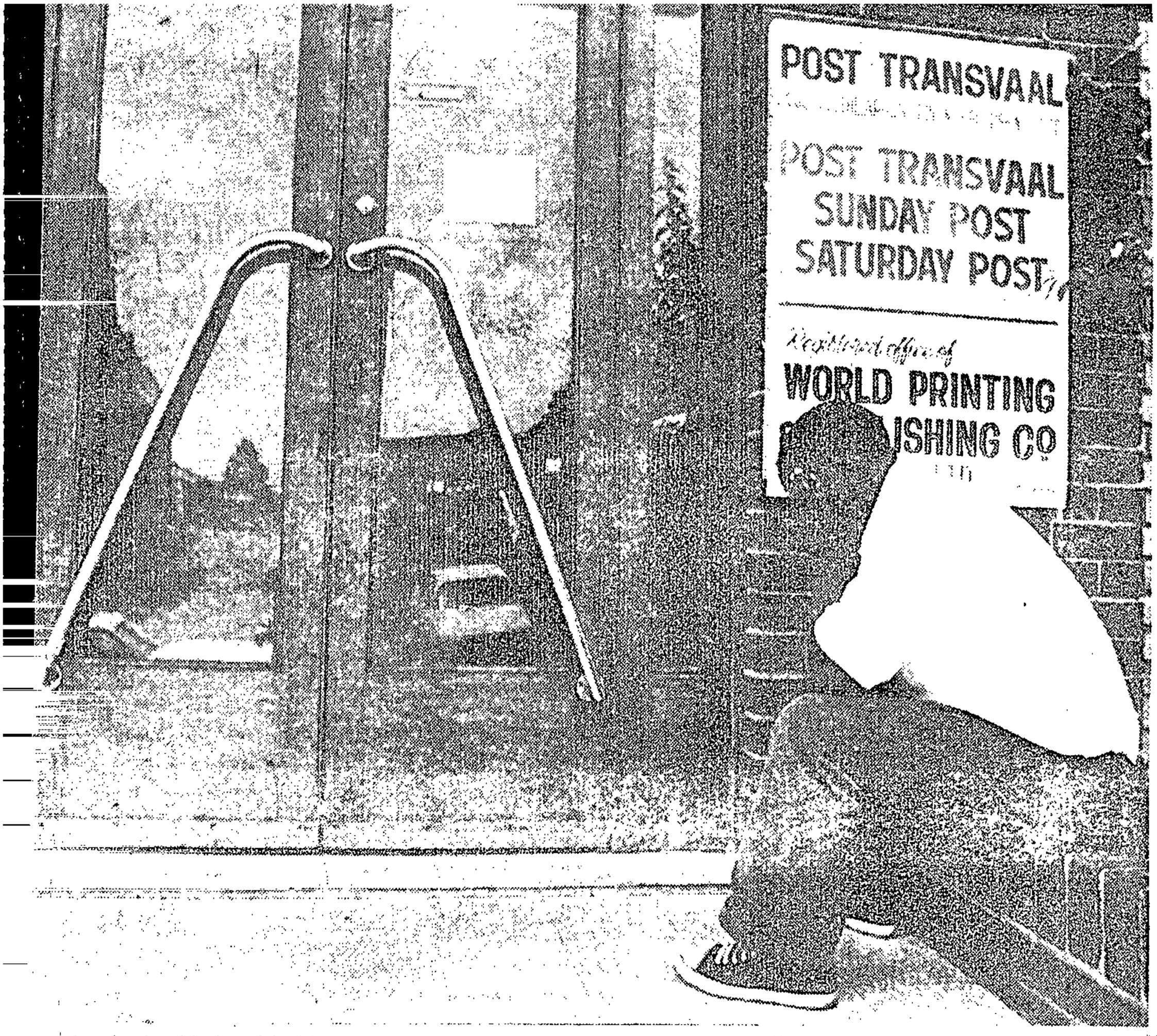
To act in this way while the Steyn Commission was investigating the role of the Press was not only cynical but contemptuous of the commission, Mr Vosloo said.

Mr Harold Pakendorff, editor of Die Vaderland, said: "My first instinct is that the Government has made a mistake."

Reacting to the Government threat to ban Post and Sunday Post, Mr Tertius Myburgh, editor of the Sunday Times said yesterday: "I find it hard to believe that the Government is now actually closing down newspapers. It's outrageous."

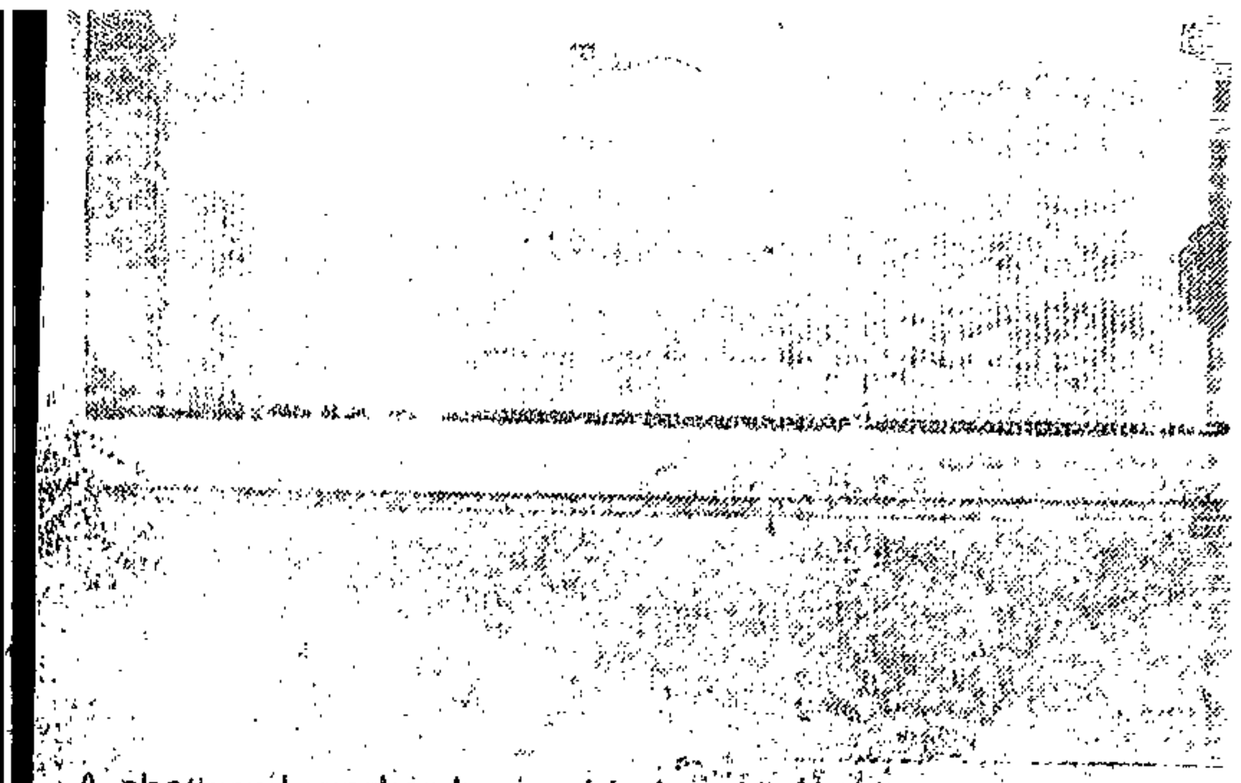
Mr Rex Gibson, editor of the Sunday Express, said: "The fact that this outrageous step has been taken in advance of any report by the Steyn Commission shows how little store the Government places both on its own commission and the concept of Press freedom."

Mr A de V Marais, acting editor of the Citizen, said: "This action merely increases our anxiety about the Government's intentions with regard to the Press."



worker buries his head in his hands as he sits at the entrance to the offices of Post Transvaal and Sunday papers at Industria, Johannesburg, after the announcement that they would close down in the face of a Government threat that they would be banned if they were re-registered as newspapers.

Picture: ROBERT MAGWAZA



A shattered worker buries his head in his hands as he sits a
Post newspapers at Industria, Johannesburg, after the
Government threat that they would be b...

Closure greeted with 'shock'

Staff Reporter

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY anti-apartheid organisations yesterday reacted with "disbelief" and "shock" when told about the silencing of Post and Sunday Post.

But the South African Council of Churches (SACC) said it ... not surprised by the Gover...ent's threat to ban black ...papers.

Mr John Rees, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said the institute was shocked to learn of the closure.

"The State has chosen to close one of the most respected and widely-read mouthpieces of the black community in South Africa. This action is seen as short-sighted and incredible," he said.

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of the Black Sash, said: "It is beyond my understanding how the Government can close vitally important lines of communication like Post and Sunday Post, which present a point of view not available in our white newspapers."

The SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said: "We are not surprised by this action. The Government took similar action against newspapers in 1977."

He said the Government was not aware that by banning people or newspapers, it did not destroy their thoughts, aspirations and ideas.

Whenever a person or institution spoke up for the black community, the authorities would find some pretext to act against that person or institution, he said.

See Page 9

'Total strategy' means absolute silence for Post

THE WORLD

RDM 21/1/81 (327) (2343)

By PATRICK LAURENCE

POST TRANSVAAL

THE closure of Post and Sunday Post differs in detail but not in substance from the banning in October 1977 of World and Weekend World, from whose metaphorical ashes they arose phoenix-like in 1978.

The temporary closure of Post and Sunday Post late last year became permanent yesterday with the announcement by the Argus Company — which owns both newspapers — of its decision to withdraw its application to re-register the papers.

Their registration under the Newspaper and Imprint Registration Act lapsed last year when they were not published for more than a month after the two-month strike by black media workers kept them off the streets.

The application was withdrawn because the Ministers concerned, Mr Chris Heunis (Internal Affairs) and Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice), warned that if the newspapers were registered they would ban them under the Internal Security Act.

Thus, in the final analysis, the difference between yesterday's closure and that of October 1977 amounts to the distinction between an intended banning action and an actual banning order.

According to a statement released yesterday by the Argus Company's managing director, Mr Hal Miller, a decision to ban Post and Sunday Post was taken last year but not implemented because the media workers' strike resulted in the de facto *but temporary* shut down of the newspapers.

But the strike was settled and the Argus Company was thwarted from re-opening the newspapers by a clear statement of Government intention to prohibit their publication under the Internal Security Act.

Some observers felt yesterday that the Argus Company should have gone ahead with its application for registration under the Newspaper and Imprint registration Act — which, it is understood, would have been granted — to expose the "reformist pretensions of the Botha Government by forcing it to do its own dirty work".

In apparent anticipation of this view, Mr Miller said in his statement: "We see no point in making a futile gesture by insisting on registration and submitting to the injustice of actual banning."

But examination of the Internal Security Act suggests that considerations of finance may also have influenced the decision against "futile gestures.".

The Internal Security Act empowers Mr Heunis to demand a deposit of up to R20 000 as a condition for registration if he suspects it might be necessary to prohibit publication of the registered newspaper under the Act.

As yesterday's joint statement by Mr Heunis and Mr Coetsee made clear, Mr Heunis did not suspect that he might have to take action against the two newspapers — he *knew* that he would take action if they were registered.

At R20 000 a newspaper, the Argus Company faced a theoretical maximum deposit of R40 000 to register its newspapers and then see them banned — and the deposit forfeited to the State as prescribed by the Act.

There was an element of irony in the situation. The clause empowering the Minister to demand a deposit of up to R20 000 on registration was originally introduced to thwart avowedly leftist publications — including the now defunct Guardian, Spark and New Age — from exploiting a loophole in the law.

Until 1962 leftist publications registered under several names: when banned under one name they re-surfaced immediately under an alternative name. An amendment in 1962 forestalled further use of that strategy.

It forbade newspapers from registering under more than one name and, to discourage repeated registrations under different names, empowered the Minister to require a deposit of up to R20 000.

A clause designed to combat openly socialist publications nearly two dedades ago was thus used to check a bid by the strongly pro-capitalist Argus Company to revive its stalled publications.

It is the second time the Argus Company has felt the cutting edge of a law originally designed for use against communist publications or, to put it more accurately, publications deemed to be supportive of communism.

Initially, Section Four of the Internal Security Act empowered the State President to outlaw any publication which propagated communist principles or which conveyed information "likely to further the achievement of any of the objects of communism".

Two key amendments followed:

- The first, in 1965, which empowered the authorities to forbid publication of any newspaper deemed to be a continuation of, or substitution for, an already outlawed newspaper;
- The second, in 1976, which provided for the banning of any newspaper deemed to be conveying information "calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order".

It was under the second amendment that World and Weekend World were banned in 1977. Presumably, the Government would have acted under the same clause if it had been forced to fulfil its threat to ban Post and Sunday Post.

No specific reasons were given for the 1977 bannings. According to the key Argus Company newspaper, The Star, none were given for the threatened banning of Post and Sunday Post.

Since there has never been a clear definition of what kind of information is "calculated to endanger the security of the State", the line between what is permissible and what is not is ambiguous. In that sense the shut down of Post and Sunday Post affects all journalists.

These lessons were implicit in the banning of World and Weekend World. But those who wished to could comfort themselves with the thought that the 1977 bannings were due to the aberrations of the then Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, as he struggled to contain the simmering revolt of 1976-77 and the crisis precipitated by the death in detention of Mr Steve Biko.

But after yesterday that is an illusion that newsmen can no longer entertain. The reformist administration of Mr P W Botha, with its pursuit of "total strategy", has followed the Vorster government across the Rubicon by in effect banning newspapers.

Blasphemy: woman charged

Sixteen charges of alleged blasphemy, indecency and endangering State security are to be brought against a former employee of the banned literary magazine "Inspan."

Miss Isobel Hormey will appear on Monday on charges relating to the Publications Act.

Contributors whose works are among the named articles include Johannesburg journalists Mr Peter Wilhelm and Mr Motobi Mutloatsi and author Sheila Roberts.

Only twice before have writers in South Africa been tried for blasphemy. They were Herman Charles Bosman in 1934 and Harold Rubin in the 1940s.

The works named in the charges include:

- "At the Edge," a short story by Peter Wilhelm alleged to be blasphemous, indecent and a danger to State security.
- A short story by Fanie Oliver describing events of a church service disrupted by terrorists and alleged to be obscene.
- Dan Roodt's poem about Andrea Baader, co-leader of the German Baader-Meinhof terrorist organisation alleged to be obscene.
- Mothobi Mutloatsi's short story, "The Patriot," alleged to pose a danger to State security.
- "The English Department, Martinus," by Sheila Roberts, alleged to be blasphemous and obscene.

Government convinced Post aimed at creating revolutionary climate

STAR 22/11/81 7HA 245 327

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee, said today the Government was convinced that the actions of the black newspapers Post and Sunday Post were "aimed at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa."

He declined to give the reasons for the Government's threat to ban the newspapers which led to their being shut down before efforts to have them re-registered were completed.

CONFIRMED

Mr Coetsee today responded to a storm of criticism of the Government's actions.

Mr Coetsee said that in the interests of the country the Government had had no choice in its viewpoint on the closing down of the newspapers.

He said the Government viewpoint was not aimed at affecting Press freedom as such.

Mr Coetsee today again confirmed it had been his intention to ban the publication of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

As a result of the strike of the editorial staff of the two newspapers who were also members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) the non-appearance of the newspapers and the subsequent lapsing of the registration of the newspapers, the ban was not imposed.

Mr Coetsee said he would not comment on evidence given to the Steyn Commission, but Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, had not been told "in detail" of the reasons for the threatened ban.

DENIAL

Mr Miller said today: "As proprietors of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post we deny emphatically Minister Coetzee's statement that our newspapers aimed to foment revolution."

Two of the primary aims of the Argus Company, and of all its newspapers, were to "place South Africa's advancement and well-being before all else" and "to further the cause of racial co-operation."

"If the Government considered that in practice the content of the Post newspapers departed from these norms, we do not believe that it was necessary for it to take steps to prohibit the publication of the newspapers as has occurred.

"We do not believe that this Government, or any government, should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review."

He added: "We were in-

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Charges of blasphemy over writers' works

By JAYNE LA MONT

NINE South African writers' works will come under court scrutiny next week when Miss Isabel Hofmeyer, formerly employed by the banned publication, Inspan, appears on 16 charges of blasphemy, indecency and endangering State security.

It is believed that only twice in South Africa's legal history has the blasphemy charge beenlaid against people connected with the arts — Herman Charles Bosman in 1934 and Harold Rubin in the 1940s.

Miss Hofmeyer is due to appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court on Monday on charges under the Publications Act.

The charges concern a series of articles and poems published in the magazine's October 1978 issue. The works are:

- The English Department, Martinus, by Sheila Roberts, viewed as blasphemous and obscene.
- Met Gebed, a poem by Andre le Roux du Toit, considered blasphemous.
- Mothobi Mutloatsi's short story, The Patriot, considered to be endangering State security.
- Plays by Ray Turton, a poem by Etsko Schuitema titled As Jy Nie Eet Nie, Kan Jy Nie P . . P Nie and a poem, Mavo — considered obscene.
- Dan Roodt's poem about Andrea Baader, co-leader of the German Baader-Meinhof terrorist organisation, considered obscene.
- Dawid van Wyk's poem, Serra [illegible] Hoer van Rundu, considered indecent.
- Peter Wilhelm's short story, At the Edge, considered blasphemous, indecent and endangering State security.
- Fanie Olivier's short story describing events of a church service disrupted by terrorists is considered obscene

Afrikaans papers condemn Govt action

By ARNOLD GEYER

AFRIKAANS newspapers throughout the country have strongly criticised the Government for its effective banning of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

Notably those papers belonging to Nasionale Pers — and therefore close to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha — condemned the action, saying important sources of information had been closed which would merely lead to a further hardening of black views.

The most outspoken editorial came from Beeld, Mr Botha's mouthpiece in the Transvaal, which yesterday warned the Government if more of its departments had listened to what the banned World, Post's predecessor, had had to say, the "eruption" of June 16, 1976, could have been avoided.

The main points made in both Nasionale Pers and Perskor papers were:

- The Government's action was in contempt of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media and even raised the question whether journalists should still pay attention to the commission.
- The existing freedom of the Press had been seriously knocked and indispensable sources of information, both for blacks and whites, had been done away with.
- The public should be informed of the reasons for the Government's actions and the concerned papers allowed to defend themselves in an open court.
- Instead of promoting reconciliation and healthy race relations, the effective bannings would lead to more bitterness and increased confrontation.
- The gagging was contrary to democratic principles, amounted to a serious inroad into civil rights and discredited the Government's reform plans.

Beeld said if the technical points were overlooked, then the State had banned the two papers. It failed to understand why this had been done.

"According to the papers' proprietor, the State has admitted that it had decided some time ago to kill the papers. Still, a game was being played — that the registration had merely lapsed because of a strike and that the matter could be sorted out.

"Then a court hearing, applications for reregistration, formal negotiations between Ministers — but the decision had already been taken! Why this to-and-fro?"

The editorial said that against the background of the Government's apparent attempts at normalising relations in the country, it would have been far better to allow the papers to reappear as soon as possible.

"Such a banning has no effect — except for further hardening black attitudes, giving the enemies of our State and Government new ammunition, and upsetting the friends of the Government, both here and abroad."

Turning to the banning of the World and Weekend World in 1977, Beeld said the Cillie Commission's report on the 1976 unrest had later exonerated the papers.

The public knew neither the reason for the 1977 bannings nor for the silencing of Post and Sunday Post, but had a right to know the reasons. And the "accused" should have an opportunity of defending themselves.

"As regular and critical readers of the Post papers, we know of no clear reason apparent from the papers themselves which forced the State to take such harsh action," it said.

This action would merely strengthen doubts about the sincerity of this Government's reformist plans.

"It has now screwed down an important source of information and a safety valve through which frustrated emotions could be relieved," Beeld said.

Die Transvaler, official mouthpiece of the Transvaal National Party, stressed that black papers, even if they were Leftwing, were cogs in the democratic machinery.

"It must be asked how democracy could be served if mouthpieces of the Leftwing sections of the community are gagged."

Black papers, it said, served as an extremely necessary barometer of the turbulence in the community, which was difficult for whites to gauge.

"It is desirable that motivation for steps taken in terms of security legislation be given to enable the public to understand their rationale and justification," Die Transvaler said.

Die Vaderland, a Johannesburg-based afternoon paper published by Perskor, said one now had to ask what the point was of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media.

"The Government has obviously paid no attention to the commission. Should the media still pay attention to it?"

The paper condemned the action as a backward step, contrary to democratic principles.

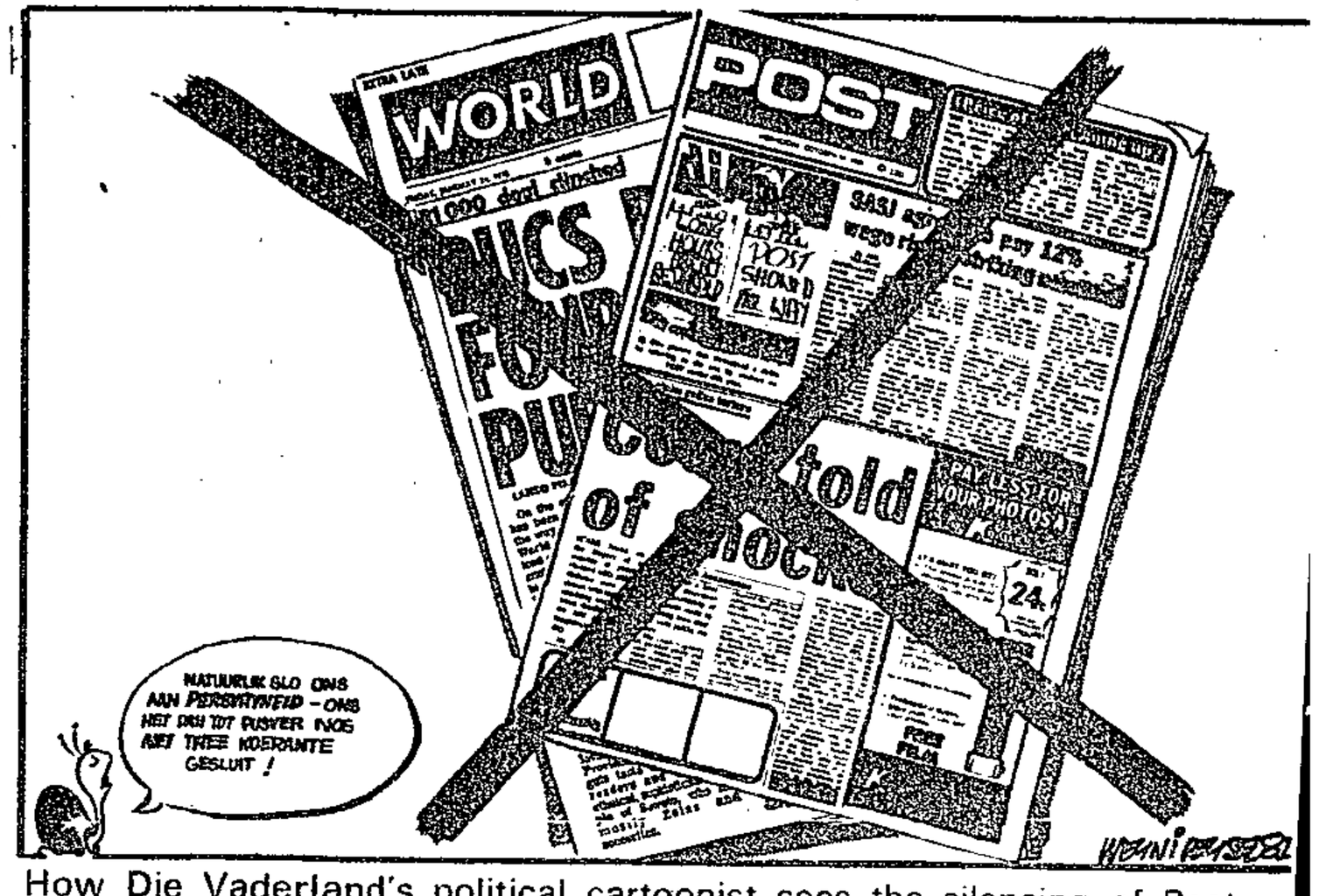
"Not only is this a serious inroad into civil rights but the way and manner in which it has been done has to be seriously questioned," it said.

Die Burger, a Cape Town-based Nasionale Pers paper, said the effective bannings clearly indicated a heavy task rested on the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Media.

"One of the most important aims of the inquiry is precisely to prevent confrontations of this nature between the authorities and the Press — or to eliminate them as far as possible."

The editorial said no matter how strong the case of the State, the immediate impression created was that action had been taken against Press freedom, that it could not offer any permanent solution and that it would cause a hardening of black disposition at a time when there was a striving towards greater understanding and reconciliation.

In Bloemfontein, Die Volksblad, another Nasionale Pers publication, said if one closed the outlet valve of a pressure vessel, one was inviting an explosion.



How Die Vaderland's political cartoonist sees the silencing of Post ar Sunday Post. The snail in the corner says: "Of course we believe in Pres freedom. So far, we have only closed down two papers."

An act of contempt — opposition Press

Staff Reporter

SOUTH Africa's opposition Press has continued its condemnation of the gagging of two black newspapers as a serious reverse for the peaceful and evolutionary change in South Africa.

In editorials of all the papers belonging to South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) and the Argus Group, the Government's move to silence Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post has been slammed as an act of contempt and authoritarianism.

The Cape Times yesterday said the closures were an outrage and a "grave reverse for the cause of peaceful change" in the country.

"Probably the most influential newspapers read by the black community, particularly in the densely-populated Witwatersrand region, Post and Sunday Post, performed a vital service for blacks but also for the wider South African community.

"In accurately reflecting the opinions and attitudes of their readers, as good newspapers invariably do, Post and Sunday Post were making an indispensable contribution to the stability of the country."

The Cape Times said if warnings in black papers had been noted by officialdom, the tragedy of Soweto in 1976 could have been averted. A society which hoped to avoid violent upheaval could not do without such newspapers, it said.

"In some townships, for example, the question of increased rents might be a burning grievance as might be the depredations of corrupt officials in some other townships. Whatever the story, the news would be in Post.

"This sort of timely disclosure was often unwelcome to the bureaucracy. But it is essential information for those in authority if they wish to run the country in accordance with the public good. In the absence of proper political representation, the role of newspapers becomes criticial, indeed indispensable in the public interest."

The editorial said these newspapers — "under white ownership as it happens", were never radical or revolutionary in tone or content. But they did reflect black opinion, honestly and accurately, sometimes in sensitive areas.

"Now the Nationalist bureaucracy, with great shortsightedness, resolved to shut them down. The truth is not always palatable but it is not made more so by head-in-the-sand tactics. The surest way for a country to doom itself is to cut off the flow of information it needs to survive.

"This is a species of political suicide. Increasingly, the business of opinion formation in the black areas will now fall into the hands of pamphleteers, committed radicals and revolutionaries. The loss of these newspapers is an unmitigated tragedy. The consequences are incalculable."

The editorial concluded it would be some time before the full dimensions of this blunder became apparent, both at home and abroad.

But it was already plain that the shut-down would be badly received in the Western world, particularly among people anxious to be friendly and supportive towards this country — for the Reagan administration, in particular, from whom the Nationalist Government was expecting such great things, this massive blow at Western-style Press freedom would be particularly disconcerting.

The Daily News in Durban said in its editorial that if anything would sour American attitudes — even conservative Republican ones — it was such a gross intrusion on the freedom of the Press.

"There has been no explanation for this high-handedness, just as the Government never said why it banned Post's predecessor, the World.

"The only possible conclusion is that this Nationalist Government shuts down newspapers merely because it does not like what they print. And the stark implication of that is no newspaper worth its salt is safe."

The Argus, in Cape Town, said the fact that the country's two leading black newspapers were silenced at a time when the Steyn Commission was still conducting hearings on the media, starkly underlined a warning already given in evidence to the commission:

"The Government seems determined to act against the Press, irrespective of the findings or recommendations its own commission might make.

"In the circumstances, the Steyn Commission could profitably look into this outrage against the freedom of the Press. Not only does the matter relate pertinently to relations between the Government and the Press, it profoundly concerns the public also, for it directly restricts their access to information and their right to free expression."

Predictably, there had been an outcry domestically and overseas against the Government's decision. The protest was bound to continue and even escalate for what was at issue touched upon a central conflict of our times:

"The survival of freedom and democracy on one hand and the ravaging advance of totalitarianism on the other," The Argus said.

Most opposition papers stressed that, as usual, the Government had given no reason for its action in forcing the closure of the papers and that nothing unlawful had been published by either newspaper.

They said both papers supported the forces of moderation in the black community.

International outcry at gag on papers builds up

Staff Reporter

INTERNATIONAL reaction to the closing down of two black newspapers is building up, with overseas papers warning the South African Government that black opinion and opposition could never be silenced.

Even conservative newspapers, which, so far, have given prominence to the policy initiatives of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, yesterday condemned the action against Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post as cynical and shameful.

And they stressed such Government steps would further alienate those countries which still tried to maintain friendly ties with South Africa.

Both the International Press Union (IPI) and the British National Union of Journalists (NUJ) have attacked the Government, saying by this action it had forfeited the respect of the international community as well as of it own people.

In an editorial, The Times of London yesterday said the closures carried a clear message for the country's opposition papers: "What has happened to these two black papers cannot make the Rand Daily Mail rest easily."

"The Government's cynical behaviour has been shameful even by its own standards of injustice and the consequences may be significant . . .

"South Africa's blacks, now permanently deprived of their two principal avenues of news and comment on affairs affecting them, will be further alienated," it said.

This move was bound to convert more moderates to militancy and to make any peaceful solution to the country's problems even more difficult to achieve.

And it would do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the country. In terms of foreign relations it was an extraordinary inept thing to do — "even for a government not known for its delicacy of diplomacy".

The conservative London Daily Mail said in an editorial the Government's decision was an example of how liberty could be throttled in countries where newspapers needed "a licence to print".

And The Guardian, in a prominently placed article headed "The stilled, small voice of Soweto", said the South African Government had not yet grown out of the attitude that blacks were basically happy smiling children and would stay that way but for the "revolutionary" propaganda poured into them by newspapers that have been "captured by political activists".

Zimbabwe's major morning newspaper, The Herald, scheduled to come under Government control later this month, said the South African Government had to be condemned outright for its move.

"No specific reasons for refusing to allow the re-appearance of the papers — which provided a moderate outlet for black views — have been given. "It is a disgraceful state of affairs."

It was even more disgraceful that the ban occurred when a Government commission was actually investigating the Press whose members "might as well pack up now and go home".

"The National Party will not silence black opinion and black opposition by this banning. Rather will it strengthen the determination of the blacks to make their voice heard, perhaps in even stronger terms by extremists.

"The South African Press must now be wondering how much longer papers like the Sowetan and Post Natal will be allowed to continue, and how much the Government's vice will tighten on other papers that attempt to reflect the black viewpoint," The Herald said.

The IPI, based in London and Zurich and which monitors Press freedom throughout the world, has protested to Mr P W Botha, saying the actions of the Government, in regard to the Press, were causing grave concern to all who regarded themselves as friends of South Africa.

Mr Francis Beckett, the NUJ's president, said yesterday: "A government which claims the right to ban newspapers has forfeited any right to our respect or consideration. When a government makes the casual assumption it can choose what its people may or may not read, then it has lost the respect of its own people," Mr Beckett said.

[redacted]

Police powers may be abused

CAPE TOWN — New legislation arming the police with powers of secrecy disturbed the desirable relationship between them and the public, the Newspaper Press Union told the Steyn Commission yesterday.

The NPU said the police and their activities were matters of public interest and the public and media therefore had a full right to report on and discuss them.

"Liaison with the police should be aimed at a free flow of information save for limited areas of the law relating to defeating the ends of justice."

"The commission suggests certain reports indicate a growing attack on the Defence Force and potentially unacceptable alienation of the public from the police force."

"Caution should be exercised in interpreting statistics, but if they act as a pointer to attitudes, the government should treat them as early-warning devices."

The police were obviously using the provisions of the Police Act to suppress publication of anything which might sound critical of their conduct, the NPU said.

The commission seemed to have missed the gist of the objection to the section, namely that it was likely to draw a veil of secrecy over police activities.

"The section makes it practically impossible for a newspaper to fulfil its normal function, which is not that of a judge or court of law, but often to bring to the attention of the public and authorities, that some third party is making an allegation in respect of the police."

The section made it impossible to air the matter without the editor committing himself to belief in the truth of the allegation and seeking to find provable, reasonable ground for it — which might be impossible, particularly if the police denied the allegation.

So the editor who is neutral or uncertain about the matter, must either spike the letter or face possible prosecution in reporting it.

The natural reaction was to spike it and thus close a valuable potential source of information about police matters.

The Steyn Commission had in no way addressed itself to this problem in its first report and the NPU submitted that the police had enough protection embodied in the press code. — SAPA.

Internal threat cited as priority

CAPE TOWN — The internal threat against South Africa was more serious than any outside threat and the emphasis should be on easing the tensions building up inside the country, Mr D. P. de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, said here yesterday.

The causes of the internal threat were chiefly a system of political rights which were not shared by the whole population and "a failure to create the symbols and aspirations for national unity."

Mr De Villiers was addressing the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the mass media after the chairman, Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, asked the Newspaper Press Union team giving evidence whether it had formulated a view of the conflict situation in South Africa and the need for a total strategy.

The president of the NPU, Mr P. W. McLean, said members would probably disagree on the point of a total onslaught and the need for a total strategy, while Mr De Villiers said it was not a static situation.

Mr Steyn was interested in assessing whether conflict had intensified since the commission's first report and Mr De Villiers



MR DE VILLIERS

then offered assessments gained at two recent conferences at the Wilderness and in London.

The assessment of the external situation was that the so-called frontline states were convinced of a need to build up their economies and realised the need to have practical good relations with South Africa, a strongly inhibitive factor against the territories being made available as springboards for assaults on South Africa, Mr De Villiers said.

Regarding the communist threat no one denied the strategic geographical and mineral supply position of South Africa.

"But the view was that we should distinguish between what the communist powers would like to see achieved and what they themselves would be prepared to do."

Their prime concern was still the East-West conflict and South Africa was still "somewhat on the sidelines".

"Though they would be prepared to lend help where trouble brews up, they would not take the initiative with their own money and forces," Mr De Villiers said.

"There are economic difficulties in the Russian system but no dearth of raw materials." Even if it could gain control over South Africa's minerals via satellite masters, the minerals would still have to be exploited with Western technology and would probably end up on Western markets.

"The assessment is that for the moment, the internal threat is more serious than one from outside." — SAPA.

Code of conduct hailed

CAPE TOWN — The press code of conduct in South Africa — adapted to suit the country's requirements — compared with the best in the Western world, the NPU said in a memorandum.

The NPU said it believed that a free press had to discipline itself and adhere to professional norms and standards if it wanted to fulfil its basic function in a democratic society.

The press had a special obligation to the public to report truthfully, comment fairly and exercise due care and responsibility in sensitive areas of public and national interest.

"To these ends the NPU has established the Press Council and adopted the press code, subscribed to by all its members, who in turn have their own disciplinary systems exacting from their employees due compliance with the press code and their additional internal rules."

The memorandum said the NPU did not claim perfection of its standards and the organisation was always receptive to suggestions for further improvement. — SAPA.

Threats seen as stifling

CAPE TOWN — Stringent statutory measures against individual journalists would take the edge off incisive newspaper reporting, the Newspaper Press Union submitted to the Steyn Commission yesterday.

The NPU was responding to proposals by the former Minister of Justice and of the Interior, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

In a speech at the 1979 annual congress of the NPU, the minister had suggested that journalists be fined up to R1 000 and even be banned permanently from practising journalism if they were found guilty of offences against the press code.

The NPU felt strongly that such treatment

"It will have an inhibiting influence on the press through reporters who will live in constant fear of being unable to earn their living."

Newspapers would operate under the ever-present threat of being shut down.

"The result could well be tame, unenterprising and dull newspapers which would have forsaken their roles of public watchdog." — SAPA.

Unesco report rejected

CAPE TOWN — The Newspaper Press Union yesterday strongly criticised the New international information Order compiled by a United Nations agency to regulate the publication of news.

A working paper, discussed at a United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) conference in France in 1978, set out a declaration on the world media which was adopted by 146 nations.

In information papers submitted as evidence to the Steyn Commission, the NPU pointed out that Unesco was dominated by Third World membership.

The Unesco report proclaimed the freedom of the press yet scrutiny of both the text and the intentions of its proponents "makes it clear that the aim is authoritarian control of the world media," the NPU said. — SAPA.



A visitor from Transkei, Mr Dandala Thembinkosi, was one of the many people who saw the Black Sash posters held by the the organisation's national president, Mrs Joyce Harris, in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Protest against ban on papers

RDM 327
22/1/81 243

Staff Reporter

THOUSANDS of Johannesburg motorists driving to work early yesterday morning read the Black Sash posters displayed outside the University of the Witwatersrand by the national president of the organisation, Mrs Joyce Harris.

The posters, reading "Post — Sunday Post gagged," and "Total onslaught on Press", were in protest against the silencing of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, both published by the Argus Printing and Publishing Company.

The two papers were effectively banned on Tuesday when the Argus Company was told by two Cabinet Ministers that the papers would be forced to close down in terms of the Internal Security Act if they resumed publication.

Mrs Harris said yesterday the banning of the two newspapers "is absolutely horrifying".

"We cannot understand why the Government can talk about rights and other people's views, and almost in the same breath silence two newspapers which were the authentic voice of a large section of the black community.

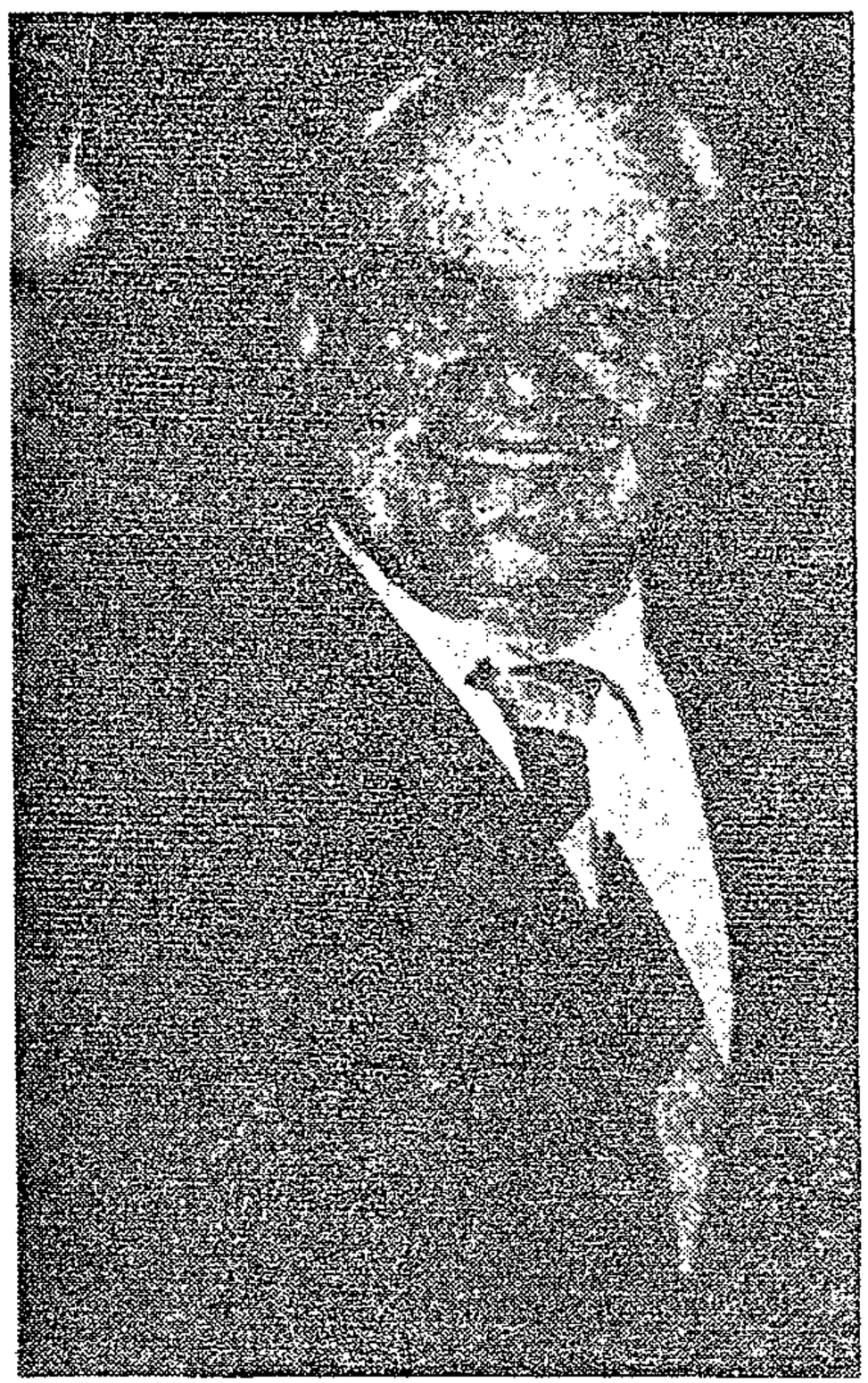
"It shows the Government's total strategy clearly for what it is — one of listening to what it wants to listen to, hearing what it wants to hear — and silencing everyone else."

Steyn Commission

22/1/81

327

NPU: review laws



MR STEYN

CAPE TOWN — The fact that South Africa was a country under stress, and that there was a long-lasting threat of both external and internal conflict, did not mean that the nation should abandon freedoms painstakingly acquired over three centuries, the Newspaper Press Union said here yesterday.

"Indeed these freedoms need specific legal protection in these times," the NPU said in a memorandum submitted to the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

"For it is in times such as these — wherever they occur in the world — that those in authority tend to increase their power, and in so doing to upset the delicate balance in communication between the rulers and the people."

The members of the delegation will continue their evidence today.

They said the balance had already swung too far.

"For the sake of better communication and better understanding, the laws which restrict the press from carrying out its role as news channel, forum and ombudsman need to be reviewed.

"It is our fear that if the restrictions collectively called the security laws are enlarged, or the systems of communication are subjected to further government control, not only could the press lose its credibility with its readers, but co-operation would tend to lessen and hostility in many quarters to grow.

"This would be to the detriment of the press, and of the government.

"But worst of all it would harm the state and all its people."

The NPU said it believed that the enormous range of laws — about 100 — restricting publication of information in the media should be reviewed and amended or eliminated from the statute book where possible.

"The guiding principle should be the encouragement of a free flow of information, wherever possible."

Deatiling the role the press played during the 1976 riots, the NPU pointed out that the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the unrest specifically excluded the press from the causes of the riots.

Regarding incorrect reporting, the commission found nothing out of the ordinary.

It made it plain that the main factors which created the climate and caused the riots and their spread were substantive matters lying outside the responsibility of the media.

Regarding the Official Secrets Act and the Defence Act, the NPU said these Acts shielded the security of the state and the public well-being sufficiently from a careless or reckless press.

No newspaper had been convicted of offences in terms of the two Acts in the last 30 years.

Although the union welcomed the proposed amendments to the Defence Act, it felt the dice was still excessively loaded in favour of the government and officialdom.

Concluding its comments on the commission's recommendations the NPU said it considered that the restrictions relative to the SADF should be confined to circumstances of actual war or warlike operations and that no such special restrictions should apply to the internal actions of the police.

The NPU also categorically rejected allegations that newspapers were exploiting threats to the freedom of the press for propaganda.

The press was in fact repeatedly threatened with further restrictions by people in authority, it said.

The NPU welcomed statements on the value attached to freedom of expression by the government.

The union suggested that relations between the government and the press should stabilise if government statements about its belief in the freedom of the press were not repeatedly followed by threats to curtail that freedom.

"In making these submissions the NPU and all its newspapers are conscious of their own faults and frailties. Their fallibility is greater even than that of TV and radio, whose normally bland words disappear immediately into thin air.

"The press advertises its fallibility daily. Its ability to err is the sum of the fallibility of thousands of human beings," the union said. — DDC-SAPA.

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 23 JANUARIE / JANUARY 1981 [No. 7381

PARLEMENT VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

VOLKSRAAD

Ooreenkomstig artikel 189 van die Kieswet, 1979, verklaar ek hiermee dat daar weens die oorlye van mnr. Jan Hendrik Jordaan op 13 Desember 1980 'n vakature ontstaan het in die verteenwoordiging in die Volksraad van die kiesafdeling Griekwaland-Oos.

J. J. H. VICTOR, Sekretaris van die Parlement.

Parlementshuis, Kaapstad, 22 Desember 1980.

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Pursuant to section 189 of the Electoral Act, 1979, I hereby declare that on account of the death of Mr Jan Hendrik Jordaan on 13 December 1980, a vacancy has occurred in the representation in the House of Assembly of the Electoral Division of Griqualand East.

J. J. H. VICTOR, Secretary to Parliament.

Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, 22 December 1981.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 126 23 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—REGSTELLING

Skrap Goewermentskennisgewing 2620 in *Staatskoerant* 7334 van 19 Desember 1980, en vervang met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing:

In *Staatskoerante* 7229 en 7295, Goewermentskennisgewings 1977 en 2341 van 19 September 1980 en 14 November 1980, respektiewelik, vervang die inskrywing P80/9/21 deur die volgende inskrywing:

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 126 23 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—CORRECTION

Delete Government Notice 2620 in *Government Gazette* 7334 of 19 December 1980, and substitute with the following Government Notice:

In *Government Gazettes* 7229 and 7295, Government Notices 1977 and 2341 of 19 September 1980 and 14 November 1980, respectively, substitute the following entry P80/9/21:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/9/21.....	*Year of the Charter!: Extracts from a Message to the People of South Africa by Comrade President Oliver Tambo on the Occasion of the 68th Anniversary of the African National Congress, January 8th,* 1980 (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize

Magazine case: no blasphemy charges

A REPORT in yesterday's Rand Daily Mail, headed "Blasphemy charges", stated that Miss Isabel Hofmeyer, a former editorial staff member of the banned Inspan magazine, would appear in the Johannesburg Regional Court on Monday on 16 charges of blasphemy, indecency and endangering State security.

This is incorrect.

Miss Hofmeyer has merely been charged with producing an undesirable publication, in terms of the Publications Act. The charge arises out of the banning, by a committee of the Publications Control Director-ate, of the October 1978 issue of the magazine. The committee found a number of articles in the magazine to be undesirable because they were, in the committee's opinion, blasphemous, harmful to public morals and a danger to State security.

'Period of renewal will continue'

Argus 23/1/81

327

Political Correspondent

THIS year would see progress towards a new constitutional structure and the concept of a constellation of states in Southern Africa, the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said today.

Opening the fifth session of the sixth republican Parliament in Cape Town, Mr Viljoen said the period of renewal and progress the country had entered would continue.

In the year ahead this process would receive added impetus from the deliberations on and the creation of constitutional structures which could accommodate, in an orderly fashion, the political aspirations of the various peoples and population groups and their right to self-determination.

Able

As a body to advise the State President, the President's Council, which was created last year, had able members drawn from various population groups.

For the first time in the country's history a constitutional body had been created in which people of different population groups could deliberate together on the country's future.

As an advisory council the Residents' Council was not charged with the final responsibility for the writing of a new constitution, but it would fill the need for consultation in a way that would not be possible for Parliament or a constitution Act committee or any other government institution.

Mr Viljoen said that, at this stage, the council's activities were largely directed towards contributing to the process of constitutional development by means of investigations, discussions, negotiations and recommendations.

As a new constitutional dispensation had a bearing on every facet of society, the members of the council had been divided into committees.

In the interests of orderly advancement of the black people and of raising their standards of living the development of the national states was receiving the Government's constant attention.

Referring to the constellation of states ideal, Mr Viljoen said the progress which had been made with the Prime Minister's concept was "another major development with far reaching financial and economic implications.

This year the concept of Southern African co-operation would be taken further by the Development Bank for Southern African and a broad programme for the promotion of small business enterprises through bodies such as the Small Business Development Corporation.

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Book Prizes

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BUILDING

J G Kirkman

R Stubbs Award
For the best project in structure and design.

M R I Ness

S A Brick Association Prize
For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.

Miss M F J Sandilands

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in first year.

ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

President tells of Red threats

Argus 23/1/81 (327)

Political Staff

THE states of Southern Africa had to stand together to counter the grave threats of Soviet expansionism, the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said today.

Opening Parliament today Mr Viljoen also blamed the United Nations as being the major stumbling block for a settlement in South West Africa.

He said that the 'stability and peaceful development of the Southern African region continues to be threatened by Soviet expansionism in the form of surrogate Cuban and East German forces and by Soviet supported subversion.'

To counter these grave threats, it has become imperative for the states of Southern Africa to stand together.

CONSULTATION

'South Africa has continued to encourage increased co-operation and consultation in the search for solutions to political and economic problems in the sincere belief that this is the only way to achieve the stability and progress so necessary'.

Dealing with South West Africa, Mr Viljoen said the Government had consistently over a long period proved its readiness to find a fair and just settlement while firmly holding the view that it was for the people of South West Africa themselves to decide their future.

'The major stumbling block has been the inability of the United Nations to convince the people of South West Africa of its impartiality in the light of its continued official favouring of Swapo.

'United Nations support for Swapo, which uses terror and intimidations as methods to impose itself on the inhabitants of the territory, cannot be condoned.'

GENEVA TALKS

Referring to the recent unsuccessful Geneva talks on South West Africa, Mr Viljoen said the discussions had not removed 'cardinal obstacles.'

He went on: 'The democratic political parties were not satisfied that it would not be a case of one-man, one vote, once.

'In addition, their concerns for solid guarantees regarding freedom of speech, the freedom to form political parties, a free and independent judiciary, a free economy and respect for property — concepts basic to the democratic process envisaged in the settlement plan, were not addressed.'

He hoped that due regard would be shown by all concerned to these anxieties.

LAW AND ORDER

Mr Viljoen paid tribute to all members of the security forces in maintaining law and order in Southern Africa 'especially those who have sacrificed their lives in the execution of duties.'

He pointed out that the security forces had again achieved great success in 'anti-terrorist operations' with a number of terrorist bases destroyed.

The country had also continued 'to make remarkable progress in the production of the armaments necessary to defend the country.'

HNP quizzed over Ciskei 'secret paper'

(327) (15) RDM 23/1/81

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

POLICE yesterday visited Mr Brian Nel, chairman of the Herstige Nasionale Party in King William's Town.

On Monday, Mr Nel clashed with the chairman of the Consolidation Commission, Mr Hennie van der Walt, when he threatened to disclose the contents of a "confidential document".

Mr Nel told the Rand Daily Mail yesterday: "I was visited by Warrant Officer Vincent Venter, who was investigating a charge that I was in possession of an allegedly secret document."

Mr Nel, who plans to see his attorney, added: "I received the document anonymously through the post. I did not know whether it was genuine or not. I have since burnt it."

Giving evidence to the Van der Walt Commission on Monday, Mr Nel threatened to disclose the document's contents. Mr Van der Walt ordered him "in the name of the South African Government" not do so.

Mr Nel then placed the document on the Press table. Newsmen were warned that their papers would be prosecuted under the Commissions Act if they published extracts or disclosed the contents.

Mr Nel is a strong opponent of the incorporation of "King" into the Ciskei — as recommended by the Van der Walt Commission.

Yesterday, too, the National Party MP for "King", Mr Hendrik Coetzer, confirmed Press reports that he would raise the fate of the town with the NP parliamentary caucus.

Also a strong opponent of incorporation, Mr Coetzer said: "In contrast to rumours, I believe the Government has not yet taken a decision (on the town's future)."

Some sources said agreement in favour of incorporation was reached last year between the South African and Ciskei governments, and that this was decisive in persuading the Ciskei Chief Minister, Chief Lennox Sebe, to opt for independence.

Mr Coetzer disagreed: "I believe the Prime Minister will never place a colleague in Parliament in such a difficult position by not informing him if such a weighty decision has been taken on the main town . . . of his constituency."

He added: "In the present climate, incorporation will not serve the intended purpose. I hope and the trust a solution will be found that will satisfy both whites and blacks."

Mr Coetzer declined to elaborate on what he meant by the "present climate", except to refer to the strong white and coloured opposition to incorporation, as shown by the referendum organised by the "King" municipality last week.

He refused to comment on a proposition that the town be partitioned between black and white, beyond saying it might be part of an alternative.

○ The charge against Mr Nel is understood to have been laid by the secretary to the Van der Walt Commission, Mr J Venter. The "Mail" was unable to contact him yesterday.

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rapoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

ARCHITECTURE

(Continued)

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in first year.

Miss M F J Sandilands

A Brick Association Prize
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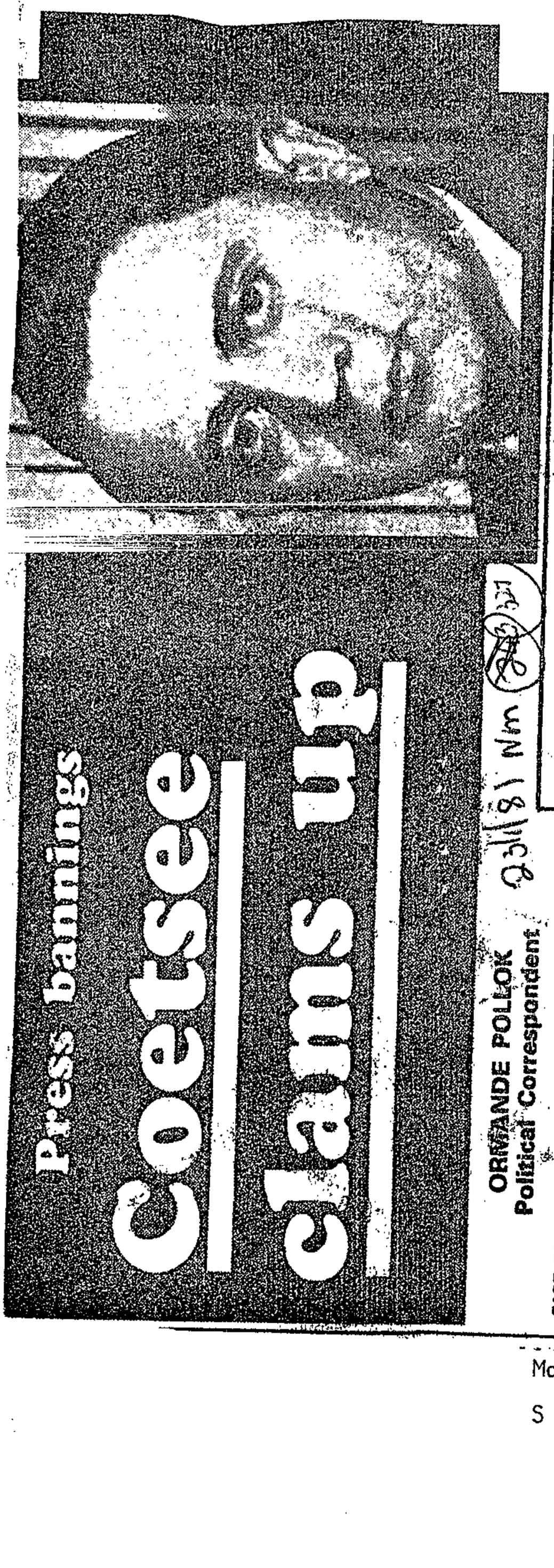
J A L Chapman

Second Year

C S Jones



Management.

S F Richardson

Reasons for the ban

CAPE TOWN — The government had no doubt that the banned black newspapers intended to encourage a revolution in South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said here last night.

Mr Coetsee emphasised the government had no intention of curtailing press freedom but only of safeguarding order and stability. It also wanted to work against the creation of a revolutionary climate.

He said he had intended to ban the papers but the ban had not been ordered because the strike had prevented the papers from being published.

The ban would have been imposed under the Internal Security Act on grounds that the newspapers were being used to propagate the view of illegal organisations, and were releasing information aimed at undermining the security of the state and maintenance of public order.

But the Argus company, owner of Post and Sunday Post, emphatically denied the charge and black community leaders challenged the Minister to make public any evidence to prove the accusations.

The Argus company's managing director, Mr Hal Miller, said in a statement read on his behalf to the Steyn Commission yesterday: "We deny emphatically Minister Coetsee's statement our newspapers were aimed at fomenting revolution."

Primary objectives of the Argus newspapers were to place South Africa's interests before all else and further racial co-operation.

"If the government considered the contents of Post newspapers departed from these norms, we do not believe it was necessary to prohibit their publication.

"We do not believe any government should have the power to ban newspapers or people without trial or review."

The owners of the newspapers had been informed that action was being taken against them in the interests of State security "and because of dissatisfaction with the content and conduct of the newspapers".

Mr Miller said no particulars were given and the Argus company was not given the opportunity to refute the accusations or publish corrections where justified.

The acting editor of the two newspapers, Mr Joe Latakgomo, said:

"In the absence of any direct legal action, I have my doubts about the existence of evidence."

"Surely the more respectable thing was for the government to have taken us to court," he said.

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Ntatho Motlana, said: "For a minister of justice to give such puerile reasons for such a catastrophic stand is to insult the intelligence of all South Africans and diminish the stature of his government.

"The horrendous security legislation governs the press and it is scandalous to even suggest it possible to propagate revolutionary ideas, let alone the aims of banned organisations."

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said he would believe the government only when they provided proof.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said: "The bannings will create a void" because the papers "catered for blacks".

"Anyone treated like this becomes a martyr to all of us instantly," he said.

The scribe of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in Africa and former president of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Sam Butu, said the government had promised blacks a "new deal", but the bannings proved it was only offering "a cheap deal". — SAPA-DDC.



MR COETSEE . . . papers undermined security.

. . . but protest mounts

LONDON — International reaction continued to mount yesterday against the government's threat to ban the black newspapers, Post and Sunday Post.

Informed British and European opinion is that the moves against the newspapers reflect badly on the government and could prove counter-productive.

Even the conservative Daily Telegraph, claims that "this time South Africa has committed an act of folly which will delight its enemies."

Usually one of the more sympathetic British newspapers, the Telegraph yesterday spoke out in sorrow and in anger against the bans. It made the point that "even relatively hard-line Afrikaner newspapers such as Die Transvaler despair."

In a leading article, the Telegraph stated: "Once South Africa had the most free press in Africa, remarkably stringent criticisms of the government generally went unpunished.

"The ill-informed or the ignorant and the unremitting enemies of South Africa, naturally denied this, but they were wrong, are they so now?" the newspaper asks.

It offers this advice: "If South Africa's leaders do not want to lose the few remaining friends they have, then they should ponder the consequence of their action."

The Times in its leader claims that the government's conduct cannot be other than counter-productive.

"The so-called government has been aptiently attempting, over a number of years, to win over some of the country's critics overseas by relaxing, little by little, some of the more obvious injustices and absurdities of the apartheid system."

After listing some of these, the Times then suggests that "the action against the black press will do much to destroy any feelings of optimism about the future of the country."

The Times also warns other South African newspapers.

"For many years the government, through a host of laws coupled with extra legal pressures, has been steadily whittling down the effective freedom of the South African press.

"Now it has made it clear that it might be prepared to use its ultimate sanction with less reluctance.

"What has happened to these two black papers cannot make the Rand Daily Mail rest easily."

Two British provincial newspapers also condemned the banning.

The Yorkshire Post said in an editorial: "It is surprising that the more open-minded regime of Mr P. W. Botha has cracked down on the press in this way.

"If faced with a choice, most blacks would probably rather go on suffering under petty apartheid than have to pay for a few reforms in that field by giving up a free press."

The Welsh newspaper, the Western Mail, said the government's move would be a severe blow to those who felt that South Africa had slowly but surely been whittling away at petty apartheid and made life a little easier for the blacks.

ARCHITECTURE (Continued)

BUILDING

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth

Union accuses police of meddling in dispute

The independent Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) has protested against what it describes as "Security Police interference" in the dispute at the Toyota Marketing Company in Sandton.

Two Mawu shop stewards at Toyota, Mr Sidney Zulu and Mr Wilfred Sihlangu, were detained by Security Police at the weekend, a union spokesman said.

Both men were among the 132 warehouse workers dismissed after a strike at Toyota early in January.

A Security Police spokesman said the two unionists had been transferred from the Bramley police station to John Vorster Square for questioning.

They were released on Monday without being charged after spending two days in custody according to a union spokesman.

The spokesman "deplored" the practice of Security Police involvement in labour disputes. He said they could "prejudice any progress made in the area of industrial relations."

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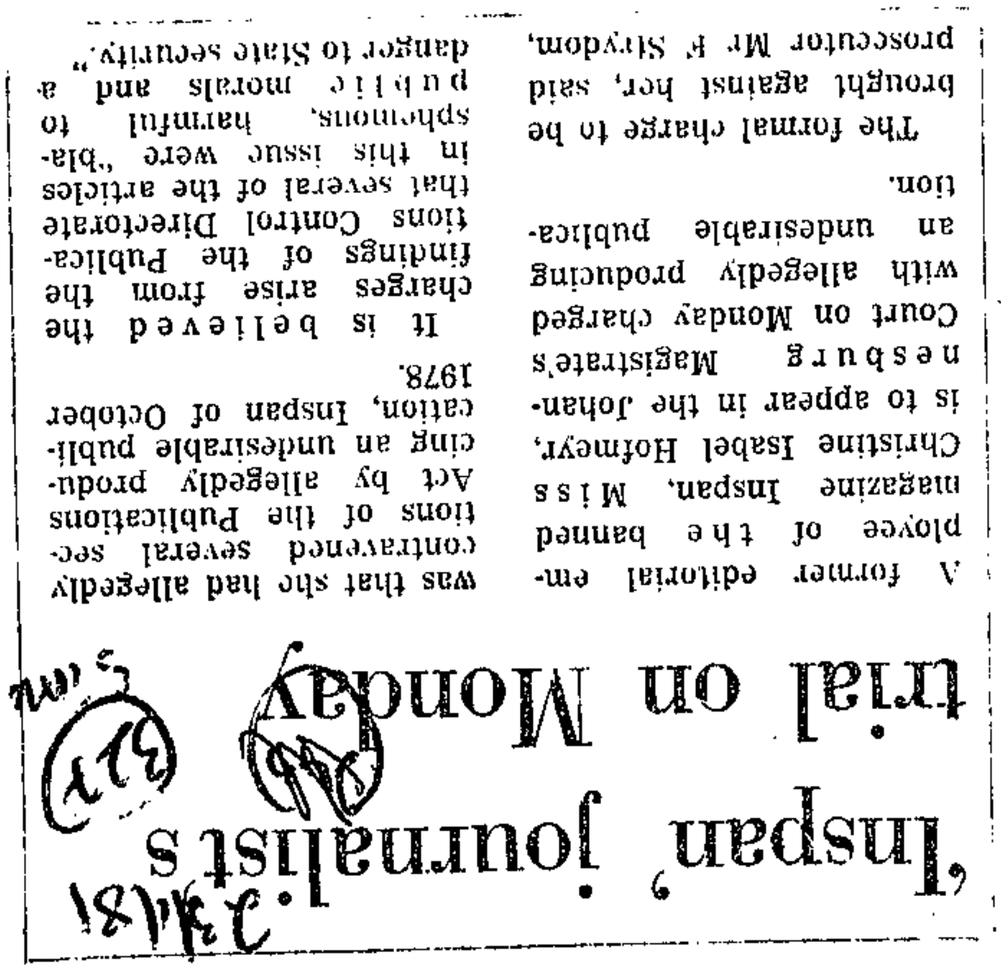

'Inspan' journalist's trial on Monday

A former editorial employee of the banned magazine Inspan, Miss Christine Isabel Hofmeyr, is to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court on Monday charged with allegedly producing an undesirable publication.

The formal charge to be brought against her, said prosecutor Mr F Strydom, was that she had allegedly contravened several sections of the Publications Act by allegedly producing an undesirable publication, Inspan of October 1978.

It is believed the charges arise from the findings of the Publications Control Directorate that several of the articles in this issue were "blasphemous, harmful to public morals and a danger to State security."

The crumbling of the verligte hopes



Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

AT AFRIKAANS universities throughout the country, prominent verligte academics are suffering from a similar condition, a complaint which is rapidly reaching epidemic proportions.

It has been diagnosed as a political hangover.

A political hangover occurs when a person who has been high on the hopes of far-reaching change comes round to the reality of politics in South Africa.

That reality is the immense power of a Rightwing still solidly in control of the National Party and still firmly rooted in the ideology of old-style apartheid.

Verligte Afrikaans academics who were optimistic about the prospects of far-reaching change long before anyone else, are now speaking a very different language — ironically just at the time when their optimism has been passed on to rest of the country.

Their mood is very different today from what it was two year's ago on the eve of Mr P W Botha's first session as Prime Minister. Then, many of Afrikanerdom's leading intellectuals from universities throughout the country believed their time of relevance was at hand. They prepared to leave their ivory towers to give advice to the people with power because they believed that for the first time a Nationalist Prime Minister was in office who was prepared to accept advice from experts outside the political process.

There was a boost of activity unparalleled in Afrikaans intellectual circles. Debates, plans — and optimism — abounded. Proposals for far-reaching reforms emerged and were fed into the political process, usually through commissions of inquiry.

The academics believed that the politicians were prepared to accept that apartheid had failed and that dramatic new initiatives were necessary.

Having done their bit, they sat back and waited.

For the next two years they watched their plans emerging from the other side of the political machine in the form of concrete policy programmes. And in many cases, they could hardly reconcile the results with the ideas that had left the drawing board. Many of their proposals had been so hacked and bent, so multilated to fit inside the framework of the original apartheid design, that the original intention of far-reaching reform was often negated.

That is when the political hangover set in. And all the indications are that it is likely to increase this year.

Verligte academics are still firmly convinced that the Prime Minister is in their camp, committed to reform that goes far beyond the limits of grand apartheid. But they say he is unable to follow through because of the significant majority of Rightwingers on all major issues of National Party policy.

This makes it impossible for Mr Botha to generate meaningful reforms through the party, but equally impossible to force a split on a significant issue because his power base is too small.

It is a Catch-22 situation. Verligtes say it leaves the Prime Minister only one option: compromising on plans for change, extending the debate on important issues, introducing reform in revised bits and pieces in the hope that "one thing may lead to another".

It is cold comfort for those who were largely responsible for generating the optimistic mood among their fellow countrymen.

Today much of the debate in verligte intellectual circles revolves around what went wrong, how to get round the obstacles, and whether there is any chance at all of generating change from within the National Party.

There are several significant examples during the past two years of where things went wrong for the verligte academics. Here are a few.

The most immediate is the President's Council. When verligte academics initially envisaged such a body, they hoped for a small, high-powered group of the country's top academics and experts to advise the Government on methods of solving the country's problems, particularly regarding a new constitution. As the idea began to take shape, many academics openly advocated the inclusion of blacks.

Professor Ben Vosloo of Stellenbosch University summed up the feelings of many of his colleagues when he told the Schlebusch Commission that a constitutional debate without blacks would be like staging Hamlet without the role of the Prince of Denmark.

But it never happened that way. The President's Council emerged as a large, unweildy, 60-member body of whites, coloureds and Indians, who, with a few notable exceptions, are regarded as a group of lightweights and ex-politicians purposefully put out to pasture.

And contrary to a large body of "expert" advice, blacks were excluded.

Although several verligte MPs supported the idea of drawing blacks into the council, the vast majority were totally opposed to it. Allowing blacks to enter the constitutional debate would imply that the Government was prepared to be flexible on the homelands as the only constitutional future for blacks. And verkramptes regard this as the ultimate non-negotiable.

The next six months will give the country an indication of whether the President's Council will be able to rescue itself from the mess the politicians made of it. Many verligte academics openly express their doubts — although they are still dedicated to doing everything in their power to make it work.

Another topical example of a tactic-gone-wrong occurred this week over the issue of nominating MPs to Parliament. The majority of nominated MPs are well-known verkramptes who have boosted the Rightwing faction of the National Party — exactly the opposite of what the academics and verligte politicians had in mind when they launched the proposal.

They had envisaged it as a means of renewing the National Party and boosting the verligtes in the caucus in the hope of turning the party into a vehicle for reform. Even though the procedure was undemocratic, they believed it could be used to bring top intellectuals and experts into Parliament, with its scarcity of talent.

The verkramptes saw through this plan and set out to turn it into a tool they could use for their own advantage. When the idea was debated in the caucus last year, Rightwingers opposed the proposal of 20 nominated MPs. The number was scaled down to 12.

Then the verkramptes opposed the suggestion that the Cabinet (which is dominated by verligtes) or the Prime Minister should hold final responsibility for all the nominations. Again the Rightwing won. Apart from four Cabinet nominees the remaining eight were allocated to the provinces in proportion to the number of seats in Parliament — automatically giving the verkramp Transvaal a tactical advantage.

Both verligte academics and MPs were bitterly disillusioned as they surveyed the results of their carefully nurtured plans in Cape Town this week.

Instead of the "new blood" they had anticipated, they had ended up with a majority of verkramp, former senators who would only swell the Rightwing faction in the caucus.

Another very significant issue on which the verligte academics are sitting high and dry is that of citizenship. A cornerstone of the apartheid ideology is that eventually there will be no black South Africans and that all blacks will become homeland citizens. Many verligte academics are strongly opposed to this and have long been working behind the scenes to find a formula for a common citizenship for all South Africans.

Last year, optimism abounded on a possible breakthough. They believed a system of common South African citizenship could be combined with a regional nationality applicable to whites and blacks alike. The idea was immediately shot down in the National Party as verkramptes argued that any form of equal citizenship could provide blacks with a constitutional lever to acquire not only social and economic rights, but also political rights in South Africa.

Now all the indications are that the Government will stick firmly by the homeland citizenship plan — although there is a strong probability of a multilateral agreement on joint passports to make overseas travel possible for people whose homeland passports are not recognised internationally.

The scrapping of the Coloured Representative Council last year is another important example of the Government ignoring the advice of its own verligte academic supporters.

They were urging the Government to start the process of constitutional reform from the bottom up, getting some process of joint decision-making working at municipal and local levels of government, where they believed there would be least resistance to the idea.

From this point, they thought it would be possible to allow other joint decision-making bodies to emerge at a regional level, until it was possible to introduce the concept at central government level.

They warned that if the Government went ahead with its plan to scrap the CRC it would be faced with a problem at the very top structure of government which would be almost impossible to solve in a way that would reconcile the demands of the coloureds with the position of the verkramptes.

But the Government went ahead and scrapped the CRC — and many verligtes are now openly admitting that they painted themselves into a corner.

This session of Parliament will show how they intend to get out of it.

It seems likely that they will once more by-pass the advice of the verligte academics who have been urging the direct representation in Parliament for coloureds.

There is hardly any chance that the majority of National Party MPs will accept this. Instead, the only thing that stands a chance of success in the National Party caucus is some plan based on the party's 1977 constitutional proposals that suggested three separate parliaments, one each for coloureds, Indians and whites.

There may be some compromises such as having three separate chambers of one parliament, but the result will be a long way from what the academics had in mind.

The history of the past two years does not bode well for the plans still in the academic pipeline.

The most far-reaching of these concerns local and regional government. The idea is to form common structures, first at local government level and later at regional level to begin a system of decentralised control and joint decision making.

Many of those formulating and discussing these plans insist that they should not only be confined to whites, coloureds and Indians, but that blacks must be included as well.

But this seems to have little hope of success. The Government shows all the signs of going ahead with these proposals for whites, coloureds and Indians, but keeping blacks strictly separate from municipal level upwards, with ultimate political rights only through the homelands.

All these developments have had a profoundly depressing effect on verligte academics. Once more the debate is emerging on whether there is any chance of changing the National Party from within, or whether a clean break and the establishment of a clear alternative is the only hope.

One verligte academic who solved this problem a long time ago is Dr Fredrik Van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition.

Believing that change from within was a futile excercise, he opted for an open alternative, moving onto a platform where he could criticise the inadequacies of Government policy and spell out his own plans unhindered.

It was a tough option to choose — particularly at a time when the Government was capturing the rhetoric of "change" and the imagination of most white South Africans.

But as initiatives for reform are stifled, as verligte planning goes awry with a growing confusion in Government circles over a future direction, many are openly conceding that the "Slabbert option" may well be vindicated in the end.

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

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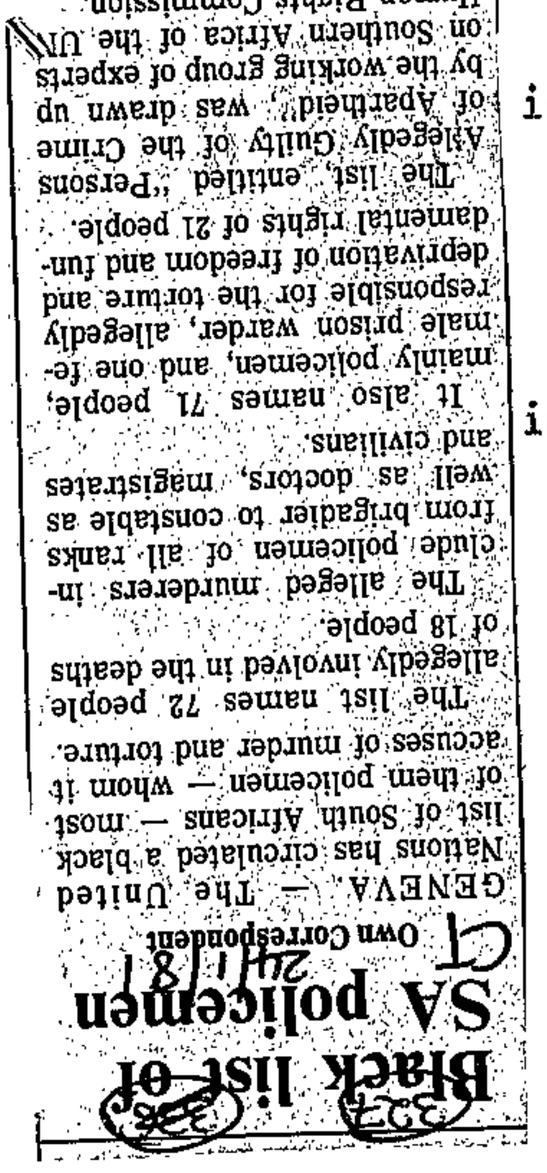
S A Read



Black list of SA policemen

GENEVA. — The United Nations has circulated a black list of South Africans — most of them policemen — whom it accuses of murder and torture.

The list names 72 people allegedly involved in the deaths of 18 people.

The alleged murderers include policemen of all ranks from brigadier to constable as well as doctors, magistrates and civilians.

It also names 71 people, mainly policemen, and one female prison warder, allegedly responsible for the torture and deprivation of freedom and fundamental rights of 21 people.

The list entitled "Persons Allegedly Guilty of the Crime of Apartheid" was drawn up by the working group of experts on Southern Africa of the UN Human Rights Commission.

Own Correspondent

24/1/81

S F Richardson
dissertation in Building
Management.

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in

The growing list of the laws of silence

STAR 24/1/81

(43) 327 344

Thirty-one years ago the South African Communist Party was outlawed, and the Government instituted the Suppression of Communism Act (1950). Since then more than 1 358 people have been banned — of whom more than 367 have fled the country. The restriction orders in terms of the Internal Security Act (1976) have further enhanced its repressive powers.

The "banning" of Post and Weekend Post by the Government this week is the second time action has been taken against black newspapers. It forms part of another step along years of Government clampdowns on individuals and organisations who question the Government's apartheid policies, writes CHARLENE BELTRAMO.

Almost four years ago the Government banned the forerunner of Post — The World. At the same time it banned 16 other predominantly black consciousness organisations, detained at least 43 prominent black leaders and delivered banning orders to several others.

Those stringent steps taken 16 months after Soweto exploded in flames and death in 1976, caused a riptide of indignation around the world.

The New York Times wrote that the South African banning laws were "the closest thing any modern state had devised to George Orwell's 1984.' They said the laws were "almost an effort to turn someone into a nonperson, to expunge him, to pretend he doesn't exist."

Such actions often cause a symbolic washing of hands, even among those who usually ally themselves with government policies.

Refusal

The Human Sciences Research Council refused to accept more than R196 000 the Government wished to donate following the liquidation of most of the organisations banned in 1977.

The Minister of Justice said the money would have been used for

banned World and now "banned" Post was detained for a few months.

This year the banning orders of 43 people will expire. Most were among trade unionists and labour researchers banned in November 1976.

Currently about 172 people are banned in South Africa, many of whom are under house arrest and many who have had, or will have, banning orders renewed immediately an existing one expires.

The three most recent bannings were executive members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, two of whom were staff writers for Post — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and Mr Mathata Tsedu.

The third, Mr M Subreymoney, was a freelance journalist.

Mr Sisulu is the son of Walter Sisulu, an African Nation[illegible]

been banned almost continuously for 19 years, security policemen admitted to having "a running battle with Mrs Mandela" and that harassment was their duty as they saw it.

The wife of Robben Island prisoner and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, she has been accused of breaking her banning orders on charges that a magistrate once described as "petty and technical."

Charges have included having a nine-month-old baby and a two-year-old toddler in her company and once arriving home 10 minutes later than her banning order stipulated.

Intruders

She has allegedly been assaulted on several occasions by intruders to her home. Fire bombs have also been thrown at her house.

Dr Rick Turner, a

25 years, probably longer than anyone else.

He was first banned in 1953. From 1963 to 1973 he was under house arrest and so was his wife Amina. They were compelled to obtain Government permission to enable them to speak legally to one another.

Their banning orders expired in November 1978 and were not renewed.

The effect of banning has a greater impact on families than the financial burden often imposed.

Mawalal Ramjobin, a Durban attorney, has been banned since 1971. In March 1973 a parcel bomb exploded in his offices, seriously injuring two of his five children. Five years later his wife Ela, a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was also banned.

Many banning orders compel the person to re-

railway premises or harbours or courts, except as a petitioner, accused or witness.

An order may prohibit the person from communicating with certain organisations or newspapers. It may forbid them giving lectures or entering educational institutions.

Banning orders usually extend from as little as a month to five years. Up until the end of 1972, two-year banning orders predominated, according to the Institute of Race Relations, but since then five-year restrictions have become more common.

It is an offence to quote a banned or listed person — listed people include the more than 400 surviving members of the SA Communist Party and the Congress of Democrats.

Most banning orders prohibit the person from attending political or other gatherings.

Banished

A banning order may prohibit the person from leaving the house at all, or at night, weekends or public holidays.

Abdul Docrat is a case in point. His 10-year period of house arrest is probably the most stringent on record. It fell during his banning period from 1964 to 1978.

For a decade he was under 22-hour house arrest in his small Durban flat allowed out for two hours daily.

Refusal

The Human Sciences Research Council refused to accept more than R196 000 the Government wished to donate following the liquidation of most of the organisations banned in 1977.

The Minister of Justice said the money would have been used for research on community development among blacks.

The Council, however, said it did not want to alienate researchers who had expressed objections, and did not want aspersions cast on its autonomy.

Prominent men banned in 1977 included Mr Donald Woods, editor of the Daily Dispatch and a close friend of Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died while in custody a month earlier.

Shortly after, Mr Woods fled the country with his family. He now lives and works in London.

Dr Beyers Naude, a director of the Christian Institute, was also banned for five years. Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of the

three most recent bannings were executive members of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, two of whom were staff writers for Post — Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu and Mr Mathata Tsedu.

The third, Mr M Subreymoney, was a freelance journalist.

Mr Sisulu is the son of Walter Sisulu, an African National Congress leader serving a life sentence on Robben Island. His mother has been under house arrest since 1964.

Banned people are frequently subjected to acts of violence or right-wing terrorism. Their loneliness is compounded by the knowledge that their movements are probably watched, and satisfying the thirst for companionship could lead to arrest or imprisonment.

Their means of income are frequently cut and they can be banished to a strange place, hundreds of kilometres from friends and family — as in the cases of Winnie Mandela and Dr M Ramphele.

They also often complain of police harassment.

At two trials against Mrs Mandela, who has

another company and once arriving home 10 minutes later than her banning order stipulated.

Intruders

She has allegedly been assaulted on several occasions by intruders to her home. Fire bombs have also been thrown at her house.

● Dr Rick Turner, a Natal University lecturer, was shot dead at his home a month before his banning order was due to expire in January, 1978. No arrests have been made in this instance or the following.

● Mrs Fatima Meer, a banned Durban sociologist, has had her home peppered with automatic gun fire.

● Shots fired at the home of Mrs Helen Joseph (75), a Johannesburg veteran of many banning orders, are so run-of-the-mill that her house now has bullet-proof windows.

The provisions of house arrest and banning orders can go to the extreme of preventing a husband and wife talking.

Mr Yusuf Cachalia was under continuous bans for

Mawa.al .tamjoin, a Durban attorney, has been banned since 1971. In March 1973 a parcel bomb exploded in his offices, seriously injuring two of his five children. Five years later his wife Ela, a granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was also banned.

Many banning orders compel the person to report daily or weekly to a specific police station.

Until the day he died Robert Sobukwe, the former Pan African Congress leader reported daily to a police station although he was "in great pain", — according to his wife, Veronica — from the effects of cancer and heart problems.

Banned people are prohibited from being office bearers or supporters of an organisation that prepares, publishes or distributes any publication. Some orders prohibit entry to such premises.

If under house arrest they cannot receive any visitor other than a doctor or attorney who is not banned.

Some banning orders stop the person from entering townships or factories or mine premises or

Abdul Docrat is a case in point. His 10-year period of house arrest is probably the most stringent on record. It fell during his banning period from 1964 to 1978.

For a decade he was under 22-hour house arrest in his small Durban flat ,allowed out for two hours daily.

For those who decide the system is better fought from outside its borders than within, there seems to be no shortage of helping hands across the territorial fringes.

● Thozamile Botha, banned trade unionist, now fugitive, attracts large crowds to his lectures in the United States.

● Barney Pityana, banned and a close friend of Steve Biko, fled the country with his banned wife. He is now London director of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

● Harry Nengwenkulu, also a close Biko associate, is now a lecturer at the University of Botswana and Africa director of the BCMA. He was also banned.

The list could go on and on . . . .

UNDAY TRIBUNE, JANUARY 25, 1981

Lawyers slam banning of papers

S. Tribune
25/1/81
SAN
327

A MEETING of 70 prominent lawyers from all areas of South Africa yesterday slammed the Government banning of Post and Sunday Post as a violation of the fundamental human rights to knowledge, evaluation and the expression of views.

Tribune Reporter

The chairman of the organisation hosting the meeting, Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Johan Kriegler SC, also drew a parallel between the South African Government and the Romanovs, the Russian royal family at the time of the Russian revolution.

"The Romanovs dynasty suffered from a fatal defect: He who loses contact with the governed is running into a very dangerous area," he said.

"It is deplorable that the largest concentration of black citizens should have been deprived of newspapers in their areas which reflected their interests and views.

"The right to knowledge is fundamental. The right to evaluate events is fundamental. And, having made an evaluation, the right to communicate views to your fellow men is fundamental."

These rights had been violated by the banning, said Mr Kriegler.

"Freedom of speech, association, expression, reflected in a free Press in a particular community is so fundamental that depriving people of it other than for the most compelling reasons cannot but be deplored," he said.

A free Press was also a "most effective restraint" through publicity on the Government.

Referring to the Romanovs, Mr Kriegler said: "The means for a meaningful feedback for the governed dare not be destroyed."

The Government's new fingerprints plan for all could mean that whites would face the choice of being "either disenfranchised or dehumanised", he added.

The Government had said whites would only be fingerprinted if they require endorsements on their books of life or new books.

Mr Kriegler pointed out that the legislation empowered the state to require of each white voter that his constituency be reflected on his book of life.

This could require an endorsement and hence the fingerprinting of each white.

"So you either be disenfranchised or dehumanised," said Mr Kriegler.

"A very serious inroad into a person's dignity and right to privacy," the new fingerprint system was an "Orwellian system" — referring to George Orwell's predictive novel on tyrrany, 1984.

BUILDING
ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

Censors quit 'crazy' system

S Tmb. 25/1/81 (327)

By William Saunderson-Meyer and Tony Spencer-Smith

SOUTH AFRICA'S system of literary censorship is crumbling under resignation and pressure from writers.

The system of literary "experts" advising on the banning of books is collapsing with resignations by top Afrikaans writers and one of its only two English academics.

So far three of the 13 members of the literary committees have resigned and more resignations are expected.

Appeal Board sources say writers on the committees have been under intense pressure from their colleagues to dissociate themselves from the censorship system.

This pressure increased after the recent surprise decision of such a committee of "experts" to maintain the ban on Andre Brink's novel Looking on Darkness.

The recommendation on Brink's novel came as a surprise to the Publications Appeal Board, which had hoped to lift the controversial ban, but was then placed in a position where this would have meant over ruling the "expert" opinion.

ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

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Resignations

The resignations this week are from Dr Izak de Villiers of Cape Town, who served on the Looking on Darkness committee and Elize Botha, of the University of Pretoria, who was responsible for the unbanning of Lady Chatterley's Lover.

The other resignation announced this week was that of Professor P. J. Titlestad who was responsible for the unbanning of Nadine Gordimer's Burgher's Daughter. He actually resigned last year.

Top Afrikaans writer Anna M. Louw, who also served on the Looking on Darkness committee said this week that she was also considering resigning.

She said that South Africa's system of literary censorship was often "self defeating and completely crazy."

She denied that her possible resignation had anything to do with the Brink novel. But when she saw books with less literary merit passed just because they used fewer four-letter words or had fewer political implications, then the whole thing became crazy.

No involvement

"That's what worries me. I presume there must be some form of censorship, but I don't want to be involved in it.

"I am a creative writer myself, and find that having to read books with possible censorship in mind has a bad affect on me."

Although Dr de Villiers cites pressure of work as the reason for his resignation, according to some sources he resigned because he regretted his role in the banning of Brink's book.

Their defections have stripped the censorship system of its "cloak of respectability".

Potentially more serious is the resignation of Professor Titlestad one of only two English experts on the committees.

The Appeal Board has been courting English academics, members of the Teacher's Associations and the English Academy.

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For the best final

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize
For the best work

S. Times 31/12/87 (37) (38)

Aid: P.W. warns Zimbabwe

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, warned yesterday that Zimbabwe's aid to liberation forces from South West Africa and South Africa would complicate the search for peace in Namibia and make co-operation with Salisbury more difficult.

He said that a decision by the Organisation of African Unity to increase its aid to Swapo would also make it more difficult to find an internationally acceptable solution for Namibia.

He was commenting in Cape Town on reports that the OAU had decided to double its material aid to Swapo guerrillas, and that Zimbabwe had given R37 000 on Friday night to a special Namibia fund.

Mr Botha said: "It will increase suspicion among members of the democratic parties of the territory because of the close association between the United Nations and the OAU."

In practical terms, however, Mr Botha did not believe that it would make much difference.

"It is the psychological result-I am referring to Africa herself is very much in need of funds for development, and this is the last thing African states can actually afford," he said.

Referring to reports made at a meeting of the OAU Liberation Committee at Arusha in Tanzania, that Zimbabwe would also double its contributions to the ANC and PAC, Mr Botha said that, if the reports were true, it would make co-operation between South Africa and Zimbabwe more difficult.

"It is a pity that, instead of seriously getting down to the vast job of repairing the damage of years of conflict in Zimbabwe, and paying full attention to developing the country and bringing about stability inside so it can attract investment and development aid, Zimbabwe is preoccupied with political and international activities," he said.

Mr Botha added: "This does not increase its credibility outside, but causes it harm.

"When it reacts in this way, it cuts off potential international aid and trust in its ability to maintain stability."

Sunday Times Reporter

RDM 26/11/81
327

Fingerprinting system Orwellian, say lawyers

By ARNOLD GEYER

A SYSTEM of compulsory fingerprinting would amount to massive State interference with — and serious encroachment on — the individual's political, economic and social rights, according to Lawyers for Human Rights.

At its second public meeting, the association resolved that the Government's proposed legislation concerning the inclusion of fingerprints in identity documents constituted an "offensive infringement" on every South African's privacy and decency.

The chairman of the meeting, Mr Johan Kriegler, SC, described the legislation as part and parcel of an "Orwellian system", warning the "gullible" not to be lulled by assurances that the fingerprints would only be used to catch subversives.

"I cannot condone that my fingerprints be kept in a nameless cell in a nameless Government department by faceless bureaucrats," he said.

He pointed out that as well as fingerprints, all citizens would be required to enter their electoral constituencies in their identity documents.

Failing to do so would lead to them either becoming "dehumanised" or "denied the vote", Mr Kriegler said.

He warned the Government that the implicit intention of the legislation — "if one subversive could be caught then compulsory fingerprinting for all is justified" — went contrary to legal tradition.

"Our concept of law enforcement is that 10 guilty people should go free rather than one innocent person be punished."

In a resolution, Lawyers for Human Rights said the practice of fingerprinting had generally been tainted with a criminal stigma and it caused resentment and anguish among South Africa's blacks.

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth

S A Read

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

D H Pryce Lewis

Surveying) in the subject
of Professional Practice.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has
satisfactorily completed
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rapoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student
in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of
Architecture (or Quantity

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute
of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

It is proposed that the following formula be used to determine the target return on total assets of a division on site, given the desired return on total assets of the firm as a whole:

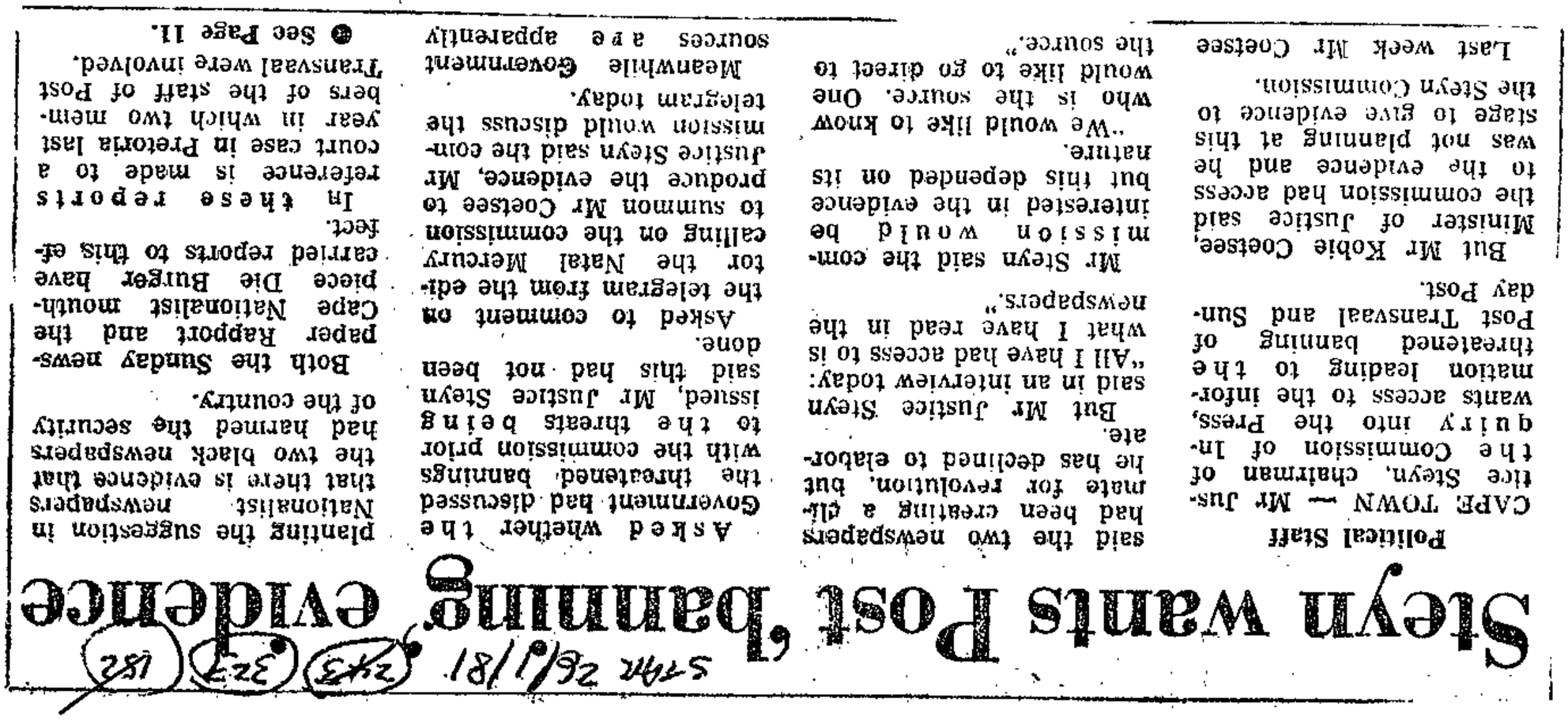
$$\text{Target ROI of division/project, } P^* = \frac{P(100+c)}{(100-a)} \qquad \ldots\ldots\ldots(6.2)$$

Where P = Target ROI of firm (on total asset)

c = Costs of the firm not allocated to the sites or division (as a percentage of total company turnover).

and a = Assets of the firm not tied up on sites or divisions (as a percentage of total company assets).

Assuming, for example, that head office overheads are 5 per cent of total turnover and that 85 per cent of total assets are used for contracting purposes then for the firm to earn 12,7 per cent on total assets the average ROI of the projects undertaken must be:



Steyn wants Post 'banning' evidence

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Mr Justice Steyn, chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the Press, wants access to the information leading to the threatened banning of Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

But Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice said the commission had access to the evidence and he was not planning at this stage to give evidence to the Steyn Commission.

Last week Mr Coetsee said the two newspapers had been creating a climate for revolution, but he has declined to elaborate.

But Mr Justice Steyn said in an interview today: "All I have had access to is what I have read in the newspapers."

Mr Steyn said the commission would be interested in the evidence but this depended on its nature.

"We would like to know who is the source. One would like to go direct to the source."

Asked whether the Government had discussed the threatened bannings with the commission prior to the threats being issued, Mr Justice Steyn said this had not been done.

Asked to comment on the telegram from the editor the Natal Mercury calling on the commission to summon Mr Coetsee to produce the evidence, Mr Justice Steyn said the commission would discuss the telegram today.

Meanwhile Government sources are apparently planning the suggestion in Nationalist newspapers that there is evidence that the two black newspapers had harmed the security of the country.

Both the Sunday newspaper Rapport and the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece Die Burger have carried reports to this effect.

In these reports reference is made to a court case in Pretoria last year in which two members of the staff of Post Transvaal were involved.

● See Page 11.

The Sowetan goes daily from next week

26/11/81 (189) 243 327 952

The weekly black newspaper The Sowetan will be published as a daily from Monday to Friday starting next Monday February 2.

It will sell at 15c.

This was announced today by Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company.

Mr Miller said: "The newspaper will be edited by Mr J Latakgomo and will be staffed by many of the journalists who used to work on Post Transvaal and Sunday Post.

"The company's activities in the black newspaper field will, however, be considerably reduced as a result of the closure of the Post newspapers and it will therefore be necessary to retrench some of the editorial staff.

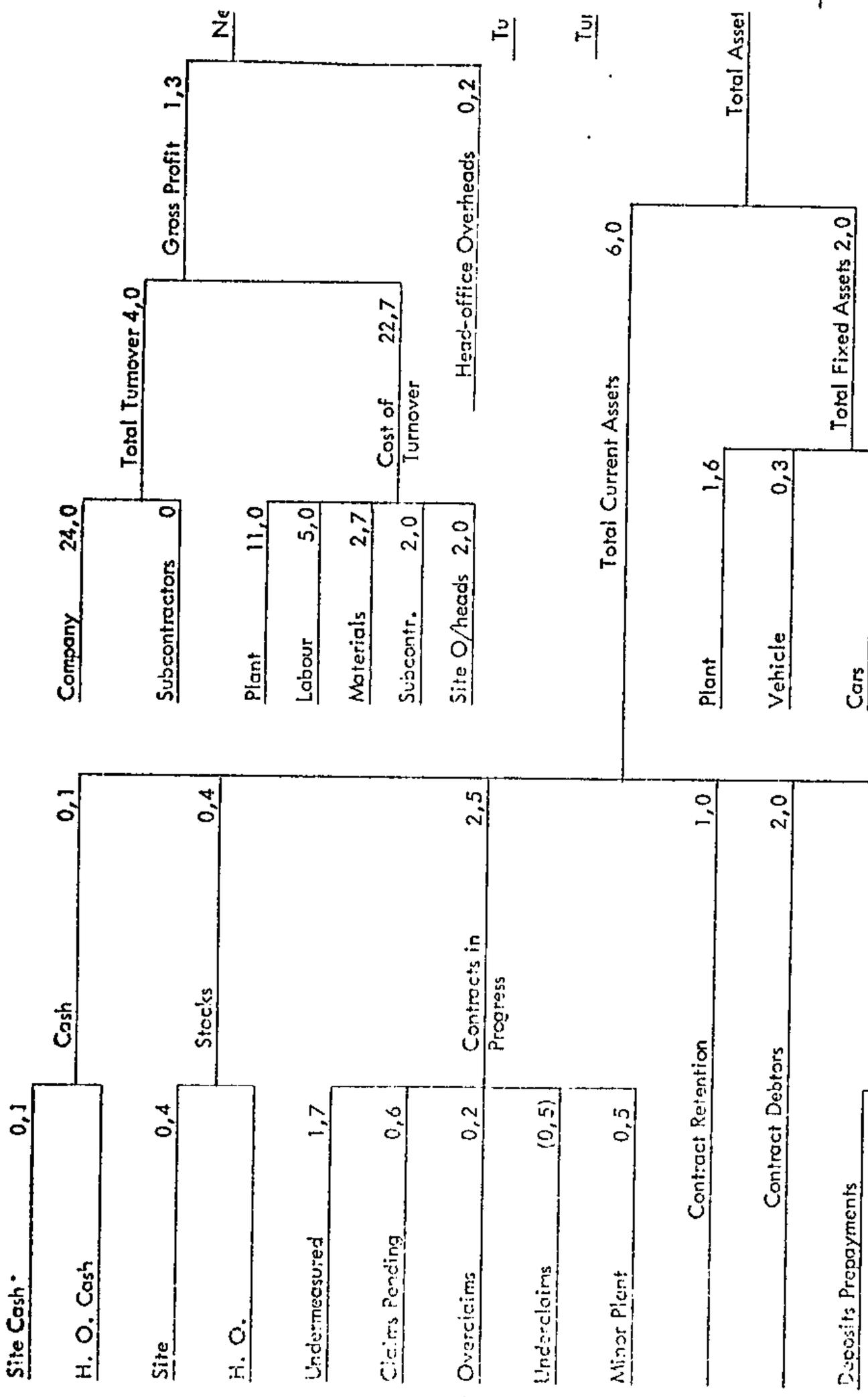
"Those who are retrenched will receive appropriate severance pay.

"In its works at Industria, the company will extend its jobbing printing activities in association with Caxton Limited in which the Argus Company has a 30 percent share.

"The company hopes to retain most of the works staff in the extended commercial printing operation."

FIG. 5.7

DU PONT CHART FOR A SITE



Top legal man hits at closure of Post

STAR 26/1/81

243 339 327

By Jon Qwelane

It was regrettable that the largest concentration of blacks outside the homelands found itself deprived of its newspaper with the closure of Post and Sunday Post.

This was said today by Mr J C Kriegler SC, chairman of the Johannesburg Bar Council, when he opened the annual congress of the Committee for Human Rights, an association of lawyers, in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Mr Kriegler said freedom of speech, of associaton, and of expression were fundamental to any democratic society.

"The means for a meaningful feedback to the Government cannot and dare not be destroyed.

"He who loses contact with the governed is running into a very dangerous area," he said.

On the taking of fingerprints in terms of proposed legislation, on identity books, Mr Kriegler said: "In terms of the law, the taking of fingerprints is justified only in certain limited circumstances.

"In a criminal case, in the event of an acquittal or charges being withdrawn the fingerprints of the suspect are immediately and automatically destroyed.

"Taking a citizen's fingerprints is a serious inroad into an individual's privacy," he said.

If there were a clash between law and order and human rights in South Africa, it did not mean that anything was wrong with human rights, but with the structure of society.

"If there is disparity or a lack of harmony between law and order and human rights it means that the form of law and order as well as justice adopted is the wrong one.

"There is never anything wrong with human rights," he said.

Lawyers had publicly to deal with Government legislation because it involved a "wide spectrum of human rights.

"Even lawyers will be astounded by the many fundamental human rights — which we take for granted automatically — that are involved in the proposed legislation affecting urban blacks," he said.

He urged lawyers, attorneys and law academics to keep parliamentarians informed of their views and knowledge of proposed legislation so that nobody could say the legal profession had failed in its duty to the country's black citizens.

"I wish to say with deference to the Government that the means of meaningful feedback — such as the Post newspapers — with the Government dare not be destroyed.

"Any government which loses contact with the governed is entering a very dangerous area," Mr Kriegler said.

Deploring the closure of the two black papers, he said: "The right to knowledge and the right to evaluate knowledge for oneself — and to communicate this — is fundamental."

Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, leading the discussion on the new Bills affecting blacks, said control over the residence of blacks in urban areas was one of two pillars on which the influx control system was built.

The other pillar was the control over the right to take up employment.

"If the Bill is enacted in its present form it will, in effect, be a declaration by the Government that blacks living outside homelands are to be regarded as disqualified persons with no right to be in white areas."

He added that the names of administration boards would be changed.

The composition of the boards would be changed to include experts.

But apart from this, the powers and functions of the board and councils would be much the same as they used to be.

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rapoport

Molly Cohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Rapport tells why paper was silenced

By David Breier
Pretoria Bureau

The Pretoria Office of Post had been used as a base for terrorist recruitment, according to evidence at a terrorism trial last year.

This had been part of the reason for the effective banning of the newspaper, the Sunday paper Rapport claimed yesterday.

Post's telephone in Pretoria had been tapped by police, who had monitored a conversation between reporter Thami Mkhwanazi and another man who had discussed "guys crossing" the South African border to "help liberate their brothers," according to evidence at the trial.

Mkhwanazi and eight other men were found guilty of contravening the Terrorism Act and jailed for terms of between five and seven years.

In addition the Pretoria Regional Court had heard that Post's Pretoria office had been used to take photographs of some of the men who were to have undergone terrorist training.

The photographs had showed the men giving black power salutes.

The then News editor of the Sunday Post Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, was last year convicted of refusing to answer questions relating to the telephone conversation with Mkhawanazi.

Mr Sisulu was later acquitted on appeal.

The telephone conversation allegedly involved discussion of a Press statement on seven recruits.

Students also hit by Post gag

By Carol Mathiane

The closure of Sunday Post newspaper will affect thousands of blacks who have been using the educational supplement that was carried by that paper, says Mrs Sheilah Sisulu of Learning Post.

In 1977, when Weekend World was banned, so was People's College. The ban also meant that the material which had appeared in People's College had to be re-written, if it was to be re-published.

Later, Sunday Post came up with Learning Post which carried courses on accountancy, history, mathematics and English.

"Since we then embarked on mass media education we have been convinced by the response from the people that education does not end in the classroom," said Mrs Sisulu, editor of Learning Post and the educational project head.

"The banning of newspapers does not only deprive people of general information but it is also a disservice to those who have been benefiting from our courses.

1 000 STUDENTS

"We are now thinking of ways to produce Learning Post. We had 1 000 students doing the Elementary Pitmans Accountancy Course which is the equivalent of the State's Junior Certificate.

"There are about 33 black teachers who use our algebra series. We also have students following our African, English and history series. All these students are now left out in the cold," said Mrs Sisulu.

'Four-letter words are important in literature'

STAR 27/11/81

327

By John Murray
Chief Court Reporter

Four-letter words played an important part in modern literature and were not used to titillate, the editor of a banned literary magazine said today.

Miss Christine Isobel Hofmeyr (27) was giving evidence before Johannesburg magistrate, Mr C A Alcock at her trial on charges of producing a subsequently banned literary magazine, Inspan.

Miss Hofmeyr, a former Jeppe Girl's High pupil, said in answer to questions by her defence counsel, Mr Dennis Kuny, that certain expressions were used in Peter Wilhelm's short story "At the Edge" to express stress and crisis situations in the lives of his characters.

Sex scenes also were "economically depicted" as an important part of the story, showing fertility in the life of a Methodist minister, his wife, a journalist and a political activist.

"To flesh out fertility on a social, political and occupational level the writer traces it to a very intimate point," she said.

Miss Hofmeyr said she thought Mr Wilhelm, a well-known journalist and writer, had produced "a fine and well crafted story."

It was not offensive to the religious convictions as the State contended unles read superficially, Miss Hofmeyr submitted.

Suggestions of sexual acts between whites and blacks were also important in the context of other works found offensive, she told the court.

"Met Gebied," the poem described as disrespectful of God to the court yesterday by a Dutch Reformed minister, was a "fine piece of satire" reflecting the extent to which people set themselves up as gods, Miss Hofmeyr said.

The chairman of the DRC Commission on Doctrine and Current Affairs, the Rev Willem Jacobus Botha, told the court yesterday:

"I object to the idea of God as a gambler buying Bonus Bonds."

He was giving his opinion and that of his church of "Met Gebied" by Cape Town poet Andre le Roux du Toit.

But he agreed the poet could be criticising those who saw God second to people like Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Mr Kuny: "Mr du Toit could be speaking to South Africa's affluent, who are ruthless, have distorted values and are materialistic — those who make gods of Morné du Plessis and Glenda Kemp."

Mr Kuny said the prosecutor, Mr F Strydom, had proved only that the "distorted convictions" had been offended and not the "religious convictions" of any section of the population as stated in the Act.

(Proceeding)

of Professional Practice.

For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rapoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize

Minister of Justice 'not planning' to give evidence

Coetsee reacts

ORMONDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said yesterday he was not planning at this stage to give evidence before the Steyn Commission about his charge that Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post were creatng a revolutionary climate.

Asked about an urgent petition to the commission by the editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, to call him to give evidence, all the minister would say was: 'No comment.'

Later he told Sapa the commission had access to the evidence and he was not planning at this stage to give evidence.

Last week Mr Coetsee said the newspapers had been creating a climate for revolution, but he has declined to say how or in what manner.

Mr Justice M T Steyn said the commission was still considering Mr McMillan's petition. It would not announce its intentions in advance because its decision would be evident.

He was reported yesterday as saying that he wanted access to the information which prompted the Government to warn the Argus Company that the two newspapers would be banned if the company went ahead with its application to re-register them.

Mr McMillan will be giving evidence to the commission in Durban on February 10.

ARCHITECTURE

...e Provincial Institute Architects' Prize

...r the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

...len Gardner Travel Prize

... a student who has ...isfactorily completed ..., 2nd and 3rd major courses.

... Rappoport

...ly Gohl Memorial Prize

... the best woman student ... third year.

...s C Tredgold

...id Haddon Prize

... the best student of ...hitecture (or Quantity ...veying) in the subject ...rofessional Practice.

Pryce Lewis

...ral J B M Hertzog Prize

... the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize
For the best work in third year.

R A van Rosenveld.

Dominee tells Court Afrikaans poem was despicable

'It showed God as being second in control to Pik'



MISS Hofmeyr yesterday

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—A dominee yesterday told a magistrate he strongly objected to a satirical Afrikaans poem in which God was portrayed as a possible bonus-bond winner and as someone who would return to earth 'second in control to Mr Pik Botha'.

Ds Jacobus Botha, chairman of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk's Doctrine and Current Affairs Commission, was giving evidence for the State in the case against Miss Christine Isabel Hofmeyr, editor of the now-banned literary magazine, Inspan.

Miss Hofmeyr, 27, of Yeoville, pleaded not guilty in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to charges under the Publications Act of having produced an undesirable magazine.

Inspan (October 1978) was banned in January 1979, after poems and prose printed in it were found by the Publications Board to be blasphemous, indecent and a danger to the security of the State.

Ds Botha said a poem based on the Lord's Prayer, by Andre le Roux du Toit, was 'despicable and offensive'.

Cross-examined by Mr Dennis Kuny, for Miss Hofmeyr, Ds Botha conceded the poem might not be disrespectful and could, in fact, have been written by a devout man who was criticising people who had replaced God with a materialistic form.

He said he had been particularly offended by the lines referring to the possibility of God winning bonus bonds, and coming down to earth to 'be second in control to Pik Botha'.

He said: 'My Church forbids the buying of bonus bonds as it is a form of gambling and the poem makes God look like a gambler.

'The poem relegates the Almighty God to a position below Mr Pik Botha.'

But he agreed with Mr Kuny that the poem could be interpreted as a distortion of values that had crept into society.

References to Morne du Plessis, Glenda Kemp, Kallie Knoetze and 'Adrenalien' Kriel could have shown that these people were elevated to god-like positions, Ds Botha said.

Mr Kuny said: 'This poem is highly critical of a group of people with distorted values.'

Ds Botha agreed the poet might be saying the NGK upheld the present South African system and performed a role to ensure the maintenance of apartheid.

If the man were a devout Christian he should have used another form, not the Lord's Prayer, he said.

'The poem was intended to offend certain people in society with misplaced values, but not a religious section of society,' Mr Kuny said when applying for a discharge.

The application for discharge was overruled. In refusing it, the Magistrate, Mr A C Allcock, said besides the evidence heard, other material in the publication, such as the poem *Sara — die Hoer van Rundu*, was indecent.

Miss Hofmeyr told the Court she saw none of the material as undesirable, indecent or threatening to State security.

The hearing continues today.

ARCHITECTURE

(Continued)

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in first year.

Miss M F J Sandilands

S A Brick Association Prize
For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.

J G Kirkman

R Stubbs Award
For the best project in structure and design.

M R I Ness

BUILDING

National Development Fund for the Building Industry Book Prizes
For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

First Year

J A L Chapman

Second Year

C S Jones

Third Year

B de Jong

Fourth Year

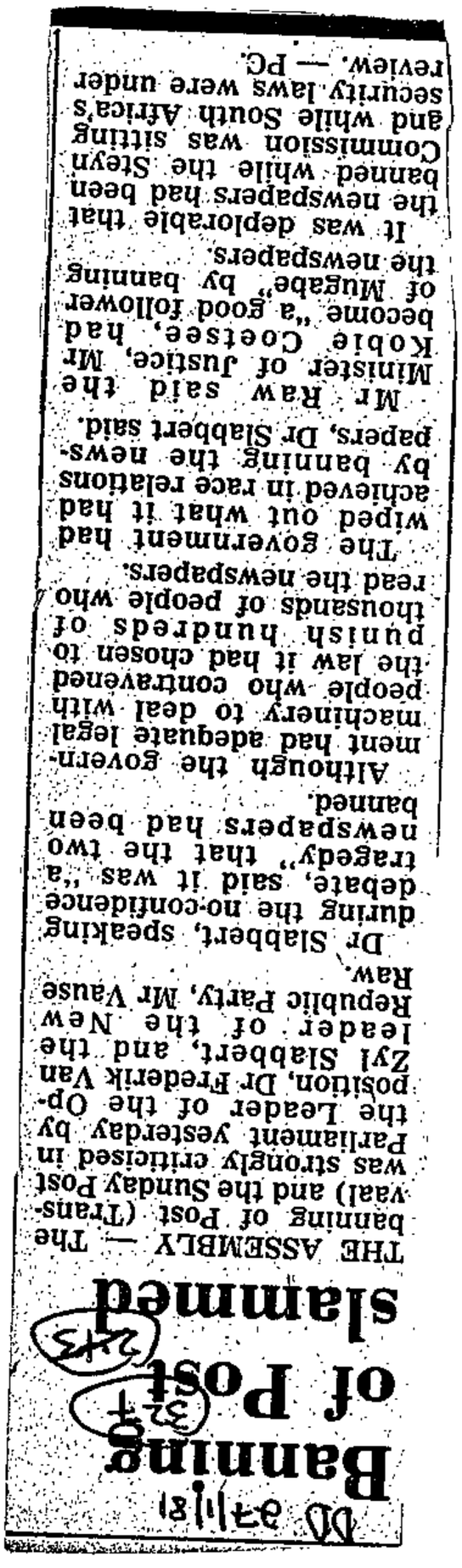
R W Kohne

George Strachan Prize
For the best final year student of the degree course.

R W Kohne

LTA Prize
For the best student obtaining a first class pass for a dissertation in Building Management.

S F Richardson



DD 3/11/81

Banning of Post slammed

THE ASSEMBLY — The banning of Post (Transvaal) and the Sunday Post was strongly criticised in Parliament yesterday by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw.

Dr Slabbert, speaking during the no-confidence debate, said it was "a tragedy" that the two newspapers had been banned.

Although the government had adequate legal machinery to deal with people who contravened the law it had chosen to punish hundreds of thousands of people who read the newspapers.

The government had wiped out what it had achieved in race relations by banning the newspapers, Dr Slabbert said.

Mr Raw said the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had become "a good follower of Mugabe" by banning the newspapers.

It was deplorable that the newspapers had been banned while the Steyn Commission was sitting and while South Africa's security laws were under review. — PC.

Minister's warning to all extremists

STAR 27/1/81

327

Political Correspondent

DURBAN — The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today issued a strong warning following the bombing of the Durban offices of Mr Derrick Watterson, MEC, by the ultra right-wing Wit Kommando, that he would take no nonsense from the extreme right or left.

Mr Watterson said that neither he nor the Natal Executive Committee would be put off from the province's policy of doing "what is right for all the people of Natal."

Mr le Grange said he had to be able to show positive results to police investigations into the Watterson bombing as well as the offices of two Pretoria academics recently — Professor Jan Lombard and Professor Frans Maritz.

"I won't take any nonsense in any form from anybody, whoever may be involved. I can give the assurance that the South African Police will investigate every incident of terrorism with enthusiasm."

A special "strong team of detectives" was investigating this particular issue and "the public can be assured that there will be some result."

He said: "We are giving very serious attention to this incident, as well as to the incidents in Pretoria."

Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC, said: "This won't make us deviate from our policy. But these extremists must not grouse if blacks follow their example."

Mr Watterson, in Cape Town when the bomb exploded on his property at 2 am yesterday, said today that people who sought this "sort of political redress must be mentally sick.

"If they think gutless rats like them who attack defenceless women and children will make me deviate from what I consider must be in the best interests of South Africa, they must be sadly mistaken."

Mr Watterson said that the Wit Kommando had misunderstood Exco's stance.

"The segregation or integration of the Richards Bay beaches is entirely a matter for the people of the town. "We have merely refused to make funds available for one community only."

The Wit Kommando claimed responsibility for yesterday's bomb attack.

The Daily News received a note which bore the organisation's title.

The note, handed to the Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier John van der Westhuizen, also said: "One can feel only contempt for a white man who blackmails whites to integrate their beaches by refusing them the province money unless beaches open to all races."

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has
satisfactorily completed
1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.
P A Rapoport

Molly Goh Memorial Prize
For the best woman student
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David Haddon Prize
For the best student of
Architecture (or Quantity

Sixth Year
P F Dunckley

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute
of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

STAR 28/11/81 (327)

DRC man 'misread poem'

By John Murray
Chief Court Reporter

Literature in the banned magazine "Inspan" had been "radically misread and given an incredibly literal translation" by a Dutch Reformed Church minister, a literary expert told a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday.

Former editor of the magazine and expert on South African literature, Miss Christine Isobel Hofmeyr (27), was continuing evidence before magistrate Mr C A Alcock.

She is charged with reproducing an undesirable publication.

Sixteen poems, short stories, plays and literary fragments have been named as indecent, offensive to religious convictions or a danger to the State.

Several well-known writers attended the trial throughout the week. They included some of those whose work is in question — Peter Wilhelm, noted journalist and author and Fanie Olivier, university lecturer and short story writer.



Miss Christine Isobel Hofmeyr (right) at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court with a friend, Miss Melinda Silverman. Miss Hofmeyr is charged with producing an undesirable publication.

STEPHEN GRAY

Others were Dr Stephen Gray, an associate professor at the Rand Afrikaans University, and Professor Ampie Coetzee of the Afrikaans/Nederlands department at the University of the Witwatersrand.

During a long and painstaking cross-examination that lasted most of yesterday, Miss Hofmeyr was referred by public prosecutor, Mr F Strydom, to evidence given earlier this week by an only State witness.

He was the Rev Willem Jacobus Botha, chairman of the DRC commission on doctrine and current affairs.

Mr Strydom was examining sections found offersive in the poem "Met Gebed" by Capetonian Andre le Roux du Toit.

Mr Botha said he found it disrespectful of God.

SEX SCENES

"He obviously radically misread the poem and gave it an incredibly literal translation," Miss Hofmeyr said.

In earlier evidence she had told defence advocate, Mr Denis Kuny, that four letter words in expressions like "F. . . off" were important in modern literature.

In Mr Wilhelm's short story "At the Edge" these words and descriptions of sex scenes were expressive of stress and crisis situations in the lives of his characters.

Miss Hofmeyr had also told Mr Kuny that Afrikaans academic, Professor Elise Botha, had encouraged the magazine. Professor Botha is a former member of the Publications Control Coard committee of literary experts.

"She said that avant-garde magazines like 'Inspan' have a role in providing an arena for contemporary views and opinions."

Mr Alcock postponed the case until April 21.

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

Argus disputes Post inference

"The Argus Company applied urgently in writing either for condonation of the lapse in registration of its Post newspapers or for their registration," Mr Hal Miller, managing director of the Argus Company, said today.

The Company withdrew its application only when the Government made clear its absolute determination to ban the newspapers forthwith if they were registered and this was confirmed in a statement later.

The Argus Company did not proceed with registration because it saw no point in making a futile gesture by insisting on registration and submitting to the injustice of actual banning.

"There is an inference in the Minister's statement in Parliament yesterday, and in some Press reports, that we were fully in the picture and accepted both the substance of the case against us and the necessity for banning.

"Nothing could be further from the facts. We were not given the information which the Minister has now described.

"We were then, and are now, utterly opposed to banning in principle and to its application to the Post newspapers. We believe that if the Government had a valid case against us it should have tested it in the courts.

"We said at the time that we had no power to prevent the Government's action; no redress against the course it had chosen to follow. We added that by its action it had diminished us all; that another bar had been added to the cage that is beginning to circumscribe our freedom.

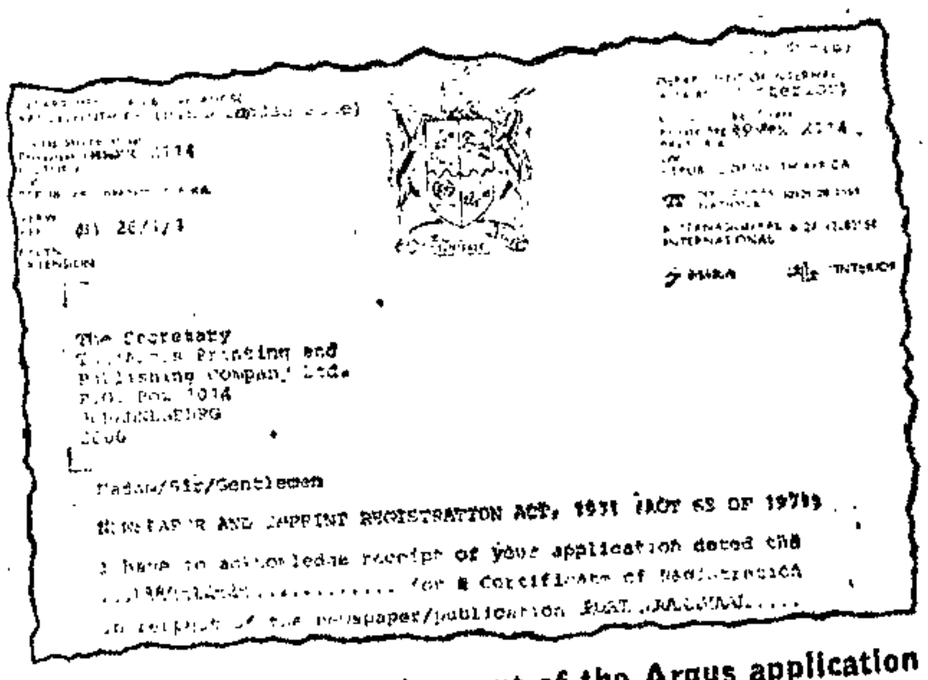
"There was another very valid and important reason for withdrawing our application for registration which we did not announce at the time.

STAFF

"We wished to avoid another two newspapers being banned and so losing the titles inevitably and irrevocably in the limbo of time — as we have lost World and Weekend World. Once banned they would stay banned.

"We hoped then, and still do, that in time saner counsels will prevail and one or both papers will appear again. In the meantime, we have applied to have the titles registered in terms of the Copyright Act so that no one else can use them.

"One further point needs to be made. It would appear from the Minister's statements that the weight of his case is against individual members of the staff of Post newspapers rather than the newspapers or their proprietors. If so, those individuals should be charged in court. We have no details of what they are supposed to have done. We did not discuss them with the Minister."



The Secretary
[illegible] Printing and
Publishing Company Ltd.
[illegible]

Madam/Sir/Gentlemen

NEWSPAPER AND PRINT REGISTRATION ACT, 1971 (ACT 63 OF 1971)

I have to acknowledge receipt of your application dated the [illegible] for a Certificate of Registration [illegible] in respect of the newspaper/publication [illegible]

Government acknowledgement of the Argus application to re-register Post — the application that, according to Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee, was never made.

'Terrorists briefed at Post'

Sapa and Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The editorial offices of the two banned Argus newspapers — Post Transvaal and Sunday Post — were used as a venue for the final briefing of prospective terrorists before they left South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee has told Parliament.

Although it had sufficient evidence to act, the Government had realised that closure of the newspapers would be counter-productive and would provide South Africa's critics with ammunition.

"But towards the end of last year it became clear that action against the newspapers would be unavoidable," Mr Coetsee said in the No-Confidence Debate yesterday.

The Post had published the freedom charter of the banned African National Congress in its entirety and had devoted much space to ANC propaganda.

The Post newspapers had become vehicles for activism, militancy, far-left radicalism and subversion.

Clandestine radio broadcasts — subsequently transcribed in overseas Communist publications — had been disseminated almost word-perfect by a Post reporter.

The newspapers had become unmistakably media for communistic viewpoints and the fermentation of hatred, not only against whites but also

Mr Coetsee said the owner of the newspapers, the Argus Company, had received the Government's message that it would close the two papers should they appear again, "like adult people."

The Argus Company had known what it was all about and had dropped its application for re-registration of the newspapers.

In a sharp clash with the Minister, Mr Dave Dalling (PFP, Sandton) asked: "Was the management of the Argus Company or the editorial staff of Post given any opportunity to rebut the allegations prior to the banning?"

Mr Coetsee replied that under relevant sections of the law it was "not necessary to do so."

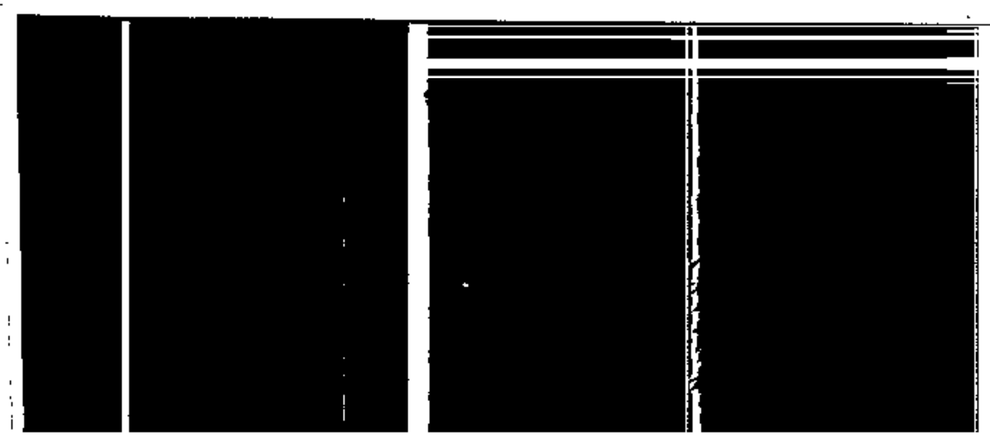
such as loan levy, head-office buildings and

re head-office assets and are not part of the

arly, not all liabilities can be identified with a

. tax provisions, bank overdrafts, long-term

are to be made on a contract by contract basis the



Yesterday in Parliament

Coetsee's charge

Terrorists were briefed in offices of the banned Argus newspapers, says minister

[redacted]

CAPE TOWN—The editorial offices of the two banned Argus newspapers — Post Transvaal and Sunday Post — had been used as a venue for the final briefing of prospective terrorists before they left South Africa, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

The Government had carefully weighed the advantages and disadvantages of shutting the two newspapers.

Although it had sufficient evidence to act, the Government had realised that closure of the newspapers would be contraproductive and provide South Africa's critics with ammunition.

'But towards the end of last year it became clear that action against the newspapers would be unavoidable,' Mr Coetsee said in the No-Confidence Debate.

The Post had published the freedom charter of the banned African National Congress in its entirety. It had devoted much space — 'thirty column feet in the old terms' — to ANC propaganda.

One of the newspapers in the Post stable, the Sowetan, had since been turned into a daily newspaper for black readers.

The Government had no intention of acting against another Argus-owned newspaper for blacks, Post Natal. It demanded for blacks, as it did for whites, the right 'to receive the correct news'.

The Government had a responsibility to uphold the security of the State and to protect its citizens. — (Sapa)

Pyper slams Govt over bans

CAPE TOWN—Newspapers could only foment revolution if conditions existed in the Republic which made it possible, Mr Andrew Pyper (NRP, Durban Central), said yesterday.

Speaking in the No-confidence Debate, he was referring to the closing of the two black newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

One person, Mr Pyper said, who should really know how little time there was for laughter and how really powerless the Government was, was the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

'Last week he gave us the startling news that, according to him and his Government's considered opinion, two black newspapers must be banned because they are fomenting revolution in South Africa.

'If he is right in his assessment — and no one will ever know because the Government's decision will never be tested in a court of law — then surely this Government deserves no confidence.'

Mr Pyper said if the country's safety and the security of her people depended on banning action, the Government had lost control of the situation.

There could not be any Member who seriously believed that by banning newspapers the problem would be solved.

'Newspapers can only foment revolution if there exist conditions in our country which make it possible for them. This Government has failed in the past and is still failing today in providing South Africa with a programme of action which will take away the platform from which would-be investigators of revolution, be they newspapers or politicians, can operate.' — (Sapa)

Total onslaught 'is nonsense'

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government had treated the Steyn Commission with shocking disregard by banning the Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post, Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) said yesterday.

The commission had not been consulted, advised or even notified about the Government's motivations in banning the newspapers, he said.

'The commission has been treated with shocking disregard and placed in an untenable situation.

'The report is clearly not needed by the Government for whatever it counsels. It is now apparent that if a newspaper steps out of line, it will be summarily dealt with, without recourse to civilised law.

'At least the Press of South Africa now knows where it stands — for the moment,' Mr Dalling said.

The Government had claimed there was a total onslaught against South Africa but this was 'arrant nonsense'.

'What there is is a Nationalist-conceived total strategy to condition the people of South Africa by every means possible to a state of total obedience, and this involves a total onslaught on civil liberties within South Afria,' he said.

The signposts of this onslaught were the closure of newspapers, restrictions on the dissemination of news and censorship of publications and films.

Other signposts were the banning, restricting and imprisoning of people without charge, and the tendency to govern by ministerial decree.

'In past years more and more power has been concentrated in the hands of the executive, a political body, taking political actions. And all this is clothed in the tattered mantle of democracy.'

Mr Dalling lashed out at the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, for not replying to criticisms of the Government's actions against Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

In his speech in Parliament on Monday, Mr Heunis had failed to mention the issue in spite of criticisms.

He challenged the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to say if he had proof, or any evidence at all, of his allegations against the newspapers.

'Why has he not presented the evidence to the public of South Africa? But even worse, if there is proof of subversion, if there is proof of incitement to revolution, if there is proof of treason or illegal acts hostile to society, I ask the minister why there have been no prosecutions?

'Why have there been no prosecutions before the courts? Are any of these allegations going to be tested in an impartial court? Why has neither of the papers been called before the Press Council?

'No, every single democratic and politically impartial legal process has been bypassed by this minister. He has set himself up as prosecutor, judge and executioner over his political opponents, over those he wishes to silence.'

'Those are the tactics — ban and smear, innuendo and unproved accusations,' Mr Dalling said.

R A van Rosenveld.

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Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation

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28/1/81

5. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether he has received the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Security Legislation, if so,

(2) whether he intends implementing any of the recommendations during the current session?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) No.

(2) Falls away.

Nats to fight 'total strategy' election

RDM 29/1/81 (327)

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

MR P W BOTHA made it clear in a hardline rightwing speech in Parliament yesterday that the Government will fight a "total onslaught" election campaign.

The Prime Minister had just announced that there would be a General Election on April 29.

In what was probably his most verkrampte speech since he became Prime Minister, Mr Botha left no doubt that his purpose in calling an early election was to fight off the challenge from the Right and win a mandate for his "total strategy" — which the Opposition regards as the tendency towards increasing authoritarianism.

Firing the first salvos of what is certain to be a bitter campaign, Mr Botha made it clear that he would try to rally public support behind him with a call to resist a "total Marxist onslaught" — in much the same way as Mr B J Vorster called on South Africans in 1977 to make a stand against the Carter administration.

Mr Botha structured his speech carefully round a revelation that a Russian spy, Major Alexei Michailovitch Kozlov, had been arrested in South Africa.

He used this point to support his contention [illegible] African

ation in the flood-stricken Laingsburg area, and a mop-up

PM now wants 'blank cheque'

'A total strategy election

RDM 29/1/81 (327)

From Page 1

intended to deal with the political and security implications of his visit to Southern Africa.

"Major Kozlov's main task was to act as an eyewitness to the effects of his country's interference into otherwise peaceful developments in Southern Africa. His job was to assess the damage caused by the activities of other organs of his government, like the ANC and Swapo.

"The investigations into Major Kozlov's activities in Southern Africa are still continuing, but one fact already emerges as an ominous indication of Moscow's designs in Southern Africa."

Mr Botha said that in the interests of State security, no further details would be made public.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Benjamin Pogrund, John Ryan, Lin Menge, newsbits by Peter Bunkell, headlines and subediting by Paul Holroyd, cartoons by Bob Connolly, all of 171 Main Street Johannesburg

THE ASSEMBLY. — "One of the real reasons why the Prime Minister was calling a General Election was that he wanted a constitutional blank cheque."

Mr Harry Schwarz, Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville, said this yesterday in reaction to Mr P W Botha's announcement that there will be a General Election on April 29.

Mr Schwarz said the PFP accepted the challenge, and would meet the National Party on the election battlefields.

He said there were several reasons why the PM was calling an early election, when he could have waited.

These included the mismanagement of the economy regarding inflation, and because a Part Appropriation Bill would have to be passed before the election — which he was sure would contain substantial increases for teachers, nurses and the police.

The Budget would then come after the election, so that voters would not know how much the increases would cost them.

"The PM is going to the country to ask for a constitutional blank cheque. He is not prepared to say what will happen to the coloured and the Indian in terms of the proposed new constitution."

The PM was not prepared to take the country into his confidence before the election.

Mr Schwarz also called for a massive national anti-inflation campaign.

He said that inflation-wise, 1980 had been a particularly bad year, and it looked as if 1981 could be worse. This required urgent action because the country could not allow inflation to get out of hand.

There were also grave manpower deficiencies in four major fields of the public service: law enforcement, health (where the nursing shortage was there for all to see), in the Defence Force (which had a serious shortage of Permanent Force personnel), and in teaching and training.

By banning black newspapers, the Government had played into the hands of revolutionary-inclined radicals. Even though these papers were highly critical of the Government, they were part of the present system in the eyes of the revolutionary, said Mr Schwarz. — Sapa.

In a clear indication that he would run a rightwing election campaign, Mr Botha took a verkrampte position on contentious issues of National Party politics, particularly the future position of the urban blacks.

He denied that blacks in urban areas could be separated from blacks in the homelands, and said clearly that blacks could not be included in the deliberations of the President's Council.

In an immediate reaction to Mr Botha's announcement, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, said the election had been called for three main reasons:

- To divert attention from the Prime Minister's inability to introduce change during the 1981 parliamentary session;
- To divert attention away from his internal party problems;
- To win a mandate for his "total strategy" — which in reality meant a mandate for increasing authoritarianism.

"With rampant inflation affecting the poor, this is a very costly exercise to satisfy one of the insatiable desires of Nationalist Party Prime Ministers — that is, to ask for an even bigger mandate to do less and less," said Dr Slabbert.

In making his election announcement, Mr Botha said the State President would issue a Proclamation on February 27 fixing nomination day for March 23 — for a General Election on Wednesday, April 29.

Nomination day will be almost as significant as election day itself, because it will give a clear indication of how the verligte-verkrampte clash in several key Transvaal constituencies has been resolved.

There has been strong speculation that the Waterberg seat of Dr Andries Treurnicht, the spiritual leader of the NP's Rightwing, could be in danger of falling to a challenge from the far-Right Herstigte Nasionale Party.

There have even been suggestions that Dr Treurnicht may choose another constituency rather than face a possible challenge in Waterberg from the HNP's leader, Mr Jaap Marais.

Mr Botha's speech to Parliament yesterday was an implicit acknowledgement that his main priority is to fight off a Rightwing challenge, and that he will do so by calling on all white South Africans to stand behind the Government to resist a "total Marxist onslaught".

The centrepiece of his speech was the disclosure that Russian spy Major Alexei Kozlov had been arrested last year while on his fourth visit to South Africa.

Shortly before announcing the early election, Mr Botha said: "I deem this an opportune occasion to announce that yet another Russian spy operating in this country has been arrested."

He then gave details of Major Kozlov, and said he

[redacted]

HNP hope to get 10-15 seats

Political Staff

THE HNP would aim to capture 10 to 15 seats in the forthcoming General Election, its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said yesterday.

Commenting on the election called yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, Mr Marais said the HNP had anticipated an early election and had "perhaps been caught less unawares than the PFP or the NRP".

Expressing optimism about the HNP's chances, Mr Marais said the National Party had fared badly against the HNP in all by-election contests in recent years.

Commenting on the reasons for the election, Mr Marais said it was obvious economic conditions later this year and next year would be so bad that an election had to be held now.

Also, the Government would probably try to win favour with salary increases for civil servants and teachers.

Mr Marais said the number of seats to be contested had not yet been finally determined. But the party knew where it would concentrate its efforts.

Seats to be fought would include Waterberg — the HNP's strongest constituency now held by Dr Andries Treurnicht, Transvaal leader of the NP, Potgietersrus, Schweizer-Reinecke, Ventersdorp, Brits and Lichtenburg.

Other prime Transvaal targets included Soutpansberg, where the HNP would give Mr Fanie Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation the "fight of his life", Middelburg, Bethal and Standerton, where re-delimitation had added many mineworkers to the constituency.

In the Free State, seats fought would include Heilbron, Kroonstad, Bethlehem, Welkom, Parys, Winburg, Fauresmith, Smithfield and Ladybrand.

Seats fought in the Eastern Cape would include King William's Town and Queenstown, and Port Elizabeth North, Algoa and Uitenhage would probably also be contested.

Southern Cape seats fought would include Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn and George, and Northern Cape seats Vryburg, Kuruman, Upington, Gordonia, Prieska and probably Namaqualand.

HNP is the real threat to the Nats — Kleynhans

(327) RDM 29/1/81

By JEREMY BROOKS

PROFESSOR Willem Kleynhans, an expert on South Africa's white political process, yesterday predicted that the Official Opposition would be hard-pressed to maintain its position in Parliament.

Reacting to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha's, announcement of a General Election, he also said the main threat to the ruling National Party did not lie with the Progressive Federal Party, but in "conservative Afrikaner opinion" — epitomised by the Herstigste Nasionale Party.

"It is a sad indication of how little this country has progressed when one realises the scant change in the white electorate over the years. There are not enough enlightened white liberal voters in the country to present a viable force — they are a dwindling tribe, rapidly nearing extinction at an alarming rate."

Prof Kleynhans said the Prime Minister's speech announcing the election indicated the National Party was falling back on the "old formula" — that of appealing to a "laager mentality" which had brought success on so many previous occasions.

He said he expected the total number of votes gained by the HNP in the 1977 election to increase appreciably, but said it was debatable whether there was a large enough concentration of voters in any one seat to pose a threat to the NP.

He said the HNP would probably confront the ruling party in more seats than any of the other opposition parties.

He said the HNP stood a better chance in seats where there was a high proportion of blue collar workers, particularly mine, Iscor, and railways employees.

Constituencies which he singled out as being particularly vulnerable to the HNP were: Rustenburg, which the NP won in 1977 with a small majority of 700; Mr Jaap Marais' constituency of Waterberg; Koedoespoort; Schweizer Reneke; Vanderbijlpark, where Prof Gerrit Viljoen will stand for the NP; Nelspruit; Lichtenburg; Newcastle; and Vryheid.

"Platteland" constituencies, such as King William's Town where feelings were running high as a result of the Ciskei consolidation plan, would also be affected.

Regarding the PFP and the New Republic Party it was essential that they come to some election agreement if they are to emerge unscarred, he said.

"Should they fail to do this, and insist on fighting three-cornered elections, they will commit political suicide. They might as well hand over their seats on a platter," Prof Kleynhans said.

The elections were coming at the worst possible time as far as the New Republic Party was concerned. Faced with party machinery which had been thrown into confusion by the new delimitation, limited resources and manpower, it was in a difficult position to make decisions.

It would require an enormous effort by the PFP to retain its present number of seats.

NP constituencies, which previously held good prospects for the PFP like Bezuidenhout and Randburg, could no longer be regarded favourably following the new delimitation.

Insecure PFP seats were Orange Grove and Green Point.

Prof Kleynhans said the election announcement had come as no surprise.

"It is generally accepted that the Prime Minister is in trouble. His verligte noises are worrying a lot of people and dissatisfaction is growing within his party.

"I think the general belief is that things are going to get worse so he must get it over with now and throw in all his reserves — rather than face a series of by-elections in which the National Party faces tumbling majorities."

Prof Kleynhans said the new delimitation had thrown party machinery into confusion and each would need time in which to re-orientate itself.

NP's biggest win in '77

Staff Reporter

THE last General Election in 1977 resulted in the biggest victory the National Party had ever achieved in the 17 elections since Union in 1910.

The NP gained 18 seats to end with a total of 134 out of 164.

The final state of the Opposition parties was:

- The Progressive Federal Party — which replaced the New Republic Party as the official Opposition — 17.
- The NRP — which lost 13 of its seats — 10.
- The South African Party — which notched its victories with NP backing — 3.

Of the 1 644 093 voters, 1 063 774 went to the polls — a percentage of 64,70.

The breakdown was: National Party 689 108 (64,78%); PFP 177 705 (16,71%); NRP 123 243 (11,59%); Herstigte Nasionale Party 34 161 (3,21%); SAP 17 915 (1,68%); Independents 6 018 (0,57%); Democratic National Party 153 (0,01%). Two percent of the votes — 21 273 — were spoilt.

The NP total of 134 seats represented nearly 82% of the seats in the House of Assembly and surpassed the records set by ruling parties in 1938 and 1956.

Snap election: Heunis gives details

CAPE TOWN. — The General Election called yesterday by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, for April 29 would be subject to the new delimitation and the new voters roll, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Explaining the mechanics of the snap election at a Press conference, he said the Government had decided that provincial councils would also be dissolved and elections for new councils would be held simultaneously with the parliamentary election.

The House of Assembly itself would be dissolved on or before February 27, the day on which the State President would issue a proclamation setting a date for the election.

"The session can end before proclamation day," Mr Heunis said. "But the life of Parliament itself ends then.

- "I cannot bind myself to that date, but if it is not on that day it will be very near it."

The term of office for elected and for nominated MPs would end on April 28, the Minister said.

Mr Heunis said the Additional Appropriation Bill and the Part Appropriation Bill would have to be read in the Assembly before its dissolution, and that additional appropriations would have to be made for the Railways and the Post Office.

The new Parliament would reconvene sometime in the second half of the year.

After Parliament's dissolution, the Cabinet would meet in Pretoria, but Cape Ministers and their personal staffs would probably remain in Cape Town during the election campaign.

It had not yet been decided which of the civil servants in Cape Town for the parliamentary session would return to Pretoria.

"The State President also has the discretion to dissolve the President's Council, but the Government has decided not to do so." — Sapa.

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

3 Red agents have been involved in SA espionage

Three communist agents have been involved in South African spy scandals — Trinka, Robek and Dominique.

● Trinka was the alias for KGB agent Yuri Loginov, who was arrested by South African spy master General Hendrik van den Bergh in 1967.

He revealed to South African Security Police information about communist spies in 23 countries, the then Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, disclosed in September of that year.

Loginov was exchanged in 1969 for West German agents in Soviet hands.

● Robek was the code-name for self-confessed Russian spy Janos Hladik, who worked under cover in Johannesburg at the German school from 1962 to 1965.

Hladik, who hit the headlines in 1974 when he defected to the West claimed to have spied for the communists in South Africa.

After leaving the country in 1965, he worked for the South African Embassy in Vienna in 1968.

Opera star Mrs Coertse revealed at the time that she had met him in Vienna, when he had come to her for the words of some South African songs.

● Pretty young communist Dominique Rodrigo was employed in the South African embassy in Paris for more than four years. She worked there in the embassy's agricultural library until 1978.

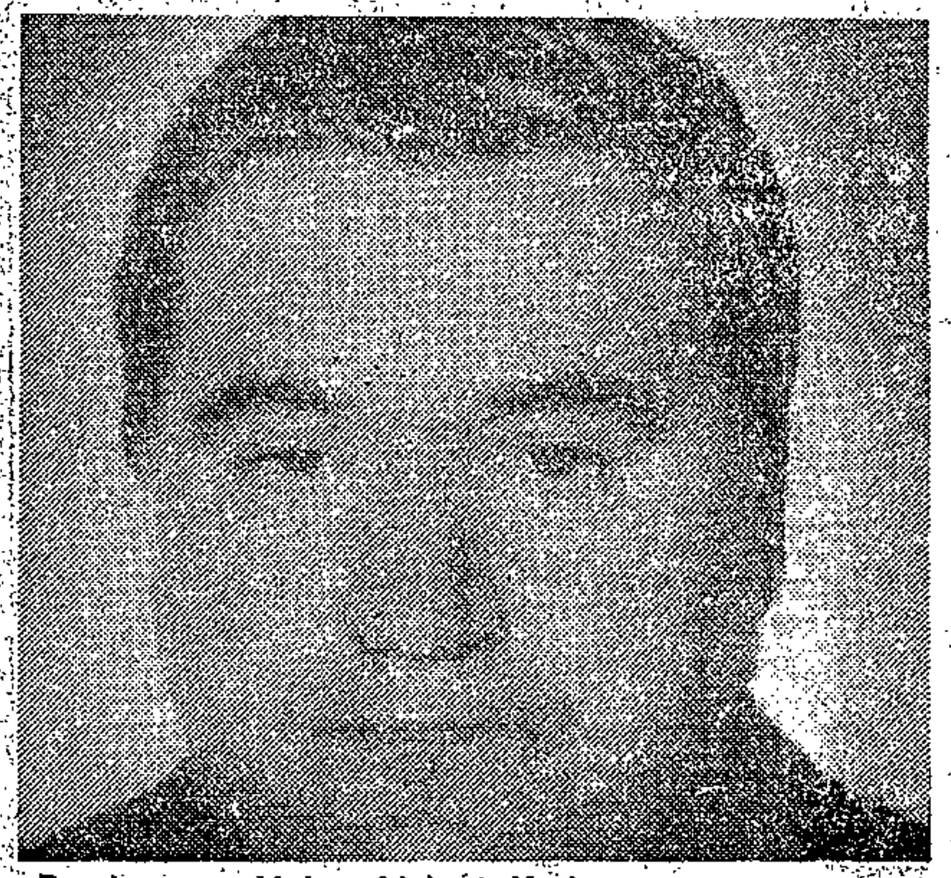
At the time she claimed there was several radical French people working at the embassy.

● A fourth spy who hit the headlines in South Africa was Czechoslovakian double agent Mr Josef Kohout, who also worked for the British MI5.

Kohout worked for the Czechoslovak Military Intelligence and MI5 before coming to South Africa to live under an assumed name.

STAR 29/1/81 (327)

ANC wasting Russian money, says arrested spy



Russian spy Major Aleksei Kozlov . . . arrested in South Africa.

Political Staff and Sapa

THE ASSEMBLY — The African National Congress was not earning the money spent on it by Moscow, according to Russian spy Major Aleksei Kozlov.

The Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, referred to this in announcing Kozlov's arrest in South Africa.

He described Major Kozlov as a senior officer in the KGB.

The Prime Minister said Major Kozlov was arrested during the course of his fourth visit to southern Africa.

"Outstanding intelligence work and thorough interrogation revealed that Major Kozlov is not the classical example of the Russian so-called illegal. He was not based in southern Africa. Major Kozlov's main task was to act as an eyewitness to the effects of his country's interference into otherwise peaceful developments in southern Africa. His job was to assess the damage caused by the activities of other organs of his Government, notably those organs which train, finance, indoctrinate, maintain and arm terrorist groups like the ANC, SWAPO and others in southern Africa.

"We know, and this is confirmed by Kozlov, that the ANC in particular is the subject of intense interest in Moscow.

"Several Soviet analysts of the situation in South Africa are of the opinion that the ANC's activities inside South Africa do not in fact match the organisation's claims abroad and do not justify the money and energy spent on the organisation by Moscow.

"Kozlov inter alia reported to his superiors in Moscow that representatives of the ANC were unable to convince him that the ANC had indeed been responsible for the Soweto disturbances during 1976. He also gained the impression that local ANC cadres were not as generously funded as were the so-called black-consciousness groups, whose finances emanate from European socialist parties.

"Kozlov also reported to the Kremlin that ANC leaders were squandering Soviet aid unnecessarily on ego-trips abroad, and that the activities of black-consciousness groups in South Africa do not pose any danger to Soviet long-term interests as long as these groups were going out of their way to destabilise the country, and had the support of certain anti-Government newspapers."

Mr Botha added: "Soviet spies can be caught, and when they are, there is normally quite a bonus for us. In Major Kozlov's case the bonus already runs to three volumes of valuable information."

The Prime Minister said that in the interests of State security no further details would be made public.

● **Page 3: 3 Red agents have been involved in SA**

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No. 153 30 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 153 30 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/8

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/12/13	*Countess, The*	Eddie Constantine	(a)
P81/1/81	*Vin Rude*	Photographed by David Thorpe	(a)
P81/1/96	*Squirmy Rooter* (Voorwerp/Object)	"Doc" Johnson, North Hollywood, California	(a)
P81/1/125	*Würth Screws & Fasteners Co. (Pty) Ltd*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P81/1/126	*Rand Upholsterers (Pty) Ltd*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P81/1/127	*Edwards Searle & Co.*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	The Swan Publishing Company (Pty) Ltd., Overport	(a)
P81/1/128	*Pleasure Products (Pty) Ltd*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P81/1/98	*Geoplastic P.O.B.* 1008 *Firenze*—Art 4603 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Made in Italy	(a)
P81/1/140	Young Love—Nr 1	A Topsy Production	(a)
P81/1/112	*Penthouse Variations*—October 1980	Viva International Ltd, New York	(a)
P81/1/118	*Fulfilment*—Issue 3/80	Co-operative Motivation Research, Cheshire	(a)

No. 154 30 Januarie 1981

VERTOË KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 24 (2) (b)

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 15 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 24 (1) (a) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die goedkeuring deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet van die rolprent "Cruising". Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 24 (2) (b) van genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

No. 154 30 January 1981

REPRESENTATIONS UNDER SECTION 24 (2) (b)

On 15 January 1981, the Directorate of Publications under section 24 (1) (a) of the Publications Act, 1974, appealed against the approval by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act of the film "Cruising". The period within which persons referred to in section 24 (2) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/1/4	*Cruising*	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

No. 155 30 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VERTOË TEN OPSIGTE VAN APPÈL

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 16 Januarie 1981 kragtens artikel 14 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 13 Januarie 1981, van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 14 (3) (b) van genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

No. 155 30 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

REPRESENTATIONS IN RESPECT OF APPEAL

On 16 January 1981, the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 14 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 13 January 1981, of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 14 (3) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/117	*Mao for Beginners*	Rius and Friends.

No. 158 30 Januarie 1981

VERBOD OP BESIT VAN ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat die ondergenoemde publikasies ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (3) van genoemde Wet die besit van genoemde publikasies verbied. Genoemde verbod is kragtens artikel 9 (5) van genoemde Wet deur die Appèlraad oor Publikasies bekragtig.

No. 158 30 January 1981

PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION OF UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has under section 9 (3) of the said Act, prohibited the possession of the said publications. The said prohibition was confirmed by the Publications Appeal Board under section 9 (5) of the said Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/8/135	*Model Directory*—Vol 1, No 2, March 1980	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd., London	(a)
P80/8/136	*Model Directory*—Vol 1, No 3, May 1980	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd., London	(a)
P80/9/76	*Apdusa*—Vol VI, No 1, February 1980	APDUSA, Lusaka, Zambia	(e)
P80/9/76	*Apdusa*—Vol VI, No 2, June 1980	APDUSA, Lusaka, Zambia	(e)
P80/9/150	*Licked*—No 1	Printed in Australia	(a)
P80/10/18	*Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*—NO 30, Sept–Oct 1980	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	(e)
P80/10/51	*Reporter*—29 May–5 June 1980	Beograd, Jugoslaviju	(a)
P80/10/65	*Bitch Goddesses*—Vol 7, No 4, Spring 1977	Jenifer Jordan Associates Ltd., California	(a)
P80/10/66	*Candid*—No 7	Gold Star Publications Ltd., Surrey	(a)
P80/10/67	*Climax*—No 43	Roandale Ltd., London	(a)
P80/10/68	*Club*—Vol 5, Issue 10, November	Fiona Press Inc, Connecticut	(a)
P80/10/69	*Club International*, Vol 8, Number 5	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd., London	(a)
P80/10/70	*Cover Girl*—Vol 1, Nr 1	Cover Girl, London	(a)
P80/10/71	*Domination & Discipline*—Vol 8, No 3, Winter 1977–78	Eros Publishing Company Inc., Delaware, USA	(a)
P80/10/73	*Virgin Kisses*	Gloria Nagy	(a)
P80/10/76	*Confessions of Danny Slocum or Gay Life in the Big City, The*	George Whitmore	(a)
P80/10/107	*Elite*—Vol 5, No 2, January 1979	Playpen Enterprises Ltd., Canada	(a)
P80/10/108	*Exclusive*—Vol 1, No 2	Gold Star Publications Limited, England	(a)
P80/10/109	*Experience*—Vol 8, No 8	Tabor Publications Ltd., Valentine Place, London	(a)
P80/10/110	*Galan*—No 7	Carl Stephenson Verlag, Flensburg	(a)
P80/10/111	*Gallery*—Vol 7, No 2, February 1979	Montcalm Publishing Corporation, New York	(a)
P80/10/112	*High Society*—Vol 3, No 12, May 1979	High Society Magazine, Inc, New York	(a)
P80/10/114	*Hustler*—Vol 4, No 11, May 1978	Hustler Magazine, Inc, Ohio	(a)
P80/10/116	*Late Night Extra*—Vol 5, No 1	Interman International Management Inc, Liechtenstein	(a)
P80/10/117	*Mayibuye*—No 6, 1980	African National Congress	(e)
P80/10/119	*Statement of the African National Congress (SA) on the Commuted Death Sentence of Mncedisi James Mange:*—15th *September*, 1980 (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress (South Africa), Lusaka, Zambia	(e)
P80/10/120	*Love-In*—Issue 1	Private Organisation, London	(a)
P80/10/121	*Lovebirds*—No 25	Bill Edwards, London, England	(a)
P80/10/122	*Lib*—Año 4, No 138	Ediciones Zeta SA, Barcelona	(a)
P80/10/123	*Male*—Vol 1, No 5, November 1979	Male Magazine Corporation, New York	(a)
P80/10/124	*More Sexy Ladies*	Playboy Press, Chicago, Illinois	(a)
P80/10/125	*National News*—No 20	Figcrest Ltd., London	(a)
P80/10/126	*New Action* MS—No 34	Bill Edwards	(a)
P80/10/129	*Playboy* 1979 (Kalender/Calendar)	Heinrich Bauer Verlag, München	(a)
P80/10/131	*Private*—Issue 54	Bill Edwards, London, England	(a)
P80/10/132	*Sappho*—Vol 1, No 1	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P80/10/133	*Schönsten Playmates des Playboy, Die*—Band 8	Heinrich Bauer Verlag, München	(a)
P80/10/136	*Whitehouse*, No 46	Bill Edwards, London, England	(a)
P80/10/137	*Young Girls in Colour*—Vol 1, No 11	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P80/10/141	1981 *Sex Maniac's Diary, The*	Executive Distributors (Sales) Ltd., Surrey, England	(a)
P80/10/154	*Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*—No 29, July–Aug 1980	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	(e)
P80/10/167	*Sechaba*—September 1980	African National Congress of South Africa, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	(e)
P80/10/168	*Bikie's Lust*	Peter Brand	(a)
P80/10/169	*Bikie Rampage*	Gordon Kurtis	(a)
P80/10/170	*Bikie Hellcats*	Stuart Hall	(a)
P80/10/172	*Vow—Voice of Women*—Second quarter 1980	ANC (SA) Women's Section, Lusaka	(e)
P80/10/174	*New MS*—Issue 8	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P80/10/181	*Free Mandela! Free our Leaders!* (Plakkaat/Poster)	MEDU	(e)
P80/10/192	*Model Directory*—Vol 1, No 1	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd., London	(a)
P80/10/193	*Look*—No 6	Schwarz-gelb-verlag gmbh, Frankfurt	(a)
P80/10/196	*Dawn*—Vol 4, No 7, July 1980	African National Congress	(e)
P80/10/198	*New Direction*	Gold Star Publications, Whyteleafe, Surrey	(a)
P80/10/205	*Park Lane*—No 38	Bill Edwards, England	(a)
P80/10/225	*Se*—Nr 1, 1979, 3 Jan	Ählén & Akerlunds Förlags AB, Stockholm, Sweden	(a)
P80/10/226	*Les*—No 13	Editorial Napint SA, Madrid	(a)

No. 156 30 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

VERTOË TEN OPSIGTE VAN APPÈL

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 21 Januarie 1981, kragtens artikel 14 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 20 Januarie 1981, van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemdee publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 14 (3) (b) van genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/141.....	*Score—Verkoopsbelasting: Afrondingstabel/Sales Tax: Rounding-off Table*	Score Mail Order Specialists and Distributors, Durban.

No. 156 30 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

REPRESENTATIONS IN RESPECT OF APPEAL

On 21 January 1981, the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 14 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 20 January 1981, of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 14 (3) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

No. 157 30 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PERIODIEKE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (1) van genoemde Wet elke latere uitgawe van genoemde publikasies of voorwerpe aldus ongewens verklaar:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/140.....	*Young Love*—Nr 1.....	A Topsy Production.....	(a)
P81/1/118.....	*Fulfilment*—Issue 3/80.....	Co-operative Motivation Research, Cheshire...	(a)
P81/1/112.....	*Penthouse Variations*—October 1980.....	Viva International Ltd, New York.....	(a)

No. 157 30 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided in terms of section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has in terms of section 9 (1) of the said Act declared every subsequent edition of the said publications or objects to be so undesirable:

No. 159 30 Januarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 9 Januarie 1981, kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 6 Januarie 1981, van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (e) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, en dat die besit daarvan kragtens artikel 9 (3) verbied word:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/63.....	*APS Bulletin*—December 15, 1980: *ANC—The Vanguard against Apartheid*	APS, Nairobi.

No. 159 30 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 9 January 1981, the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 6 January 1981, of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (e) of the said Act and that possession thereof is prohibited by virtue of section 9 (3):

First salvos in election campaigns

RDM 30/1/81

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By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

THE 1981 election campaign swung into gear yesterday as Parliament became the forum for the first salvos of a heated battle for votes.

In tough speeches, Government and official Opposition speakers defined the issues on which they would fight the General Election on April 29.

Government spokesmen, including such verligte Ministers as Mr Pen Kotze and Mr Pik Botha, and verkramptes such as Dr Andries Treurnicht, left no doubt that the Government would fight a Righwing "total onslaught" campaign — equating the interests of the National Party with those of South Africa.

And the Opposition made it clear it would attack the Government on its failure to deliver reforms, after raising expectations of change as never before in the country's history.

As leading politicians made their election campaign debuts, it became apparent that the Government will not introduce the proposed tax on fringe benefits until after the election.

And there was little doubt that teachers, nurses and policemen will receive considerable salary increases before voting day.

Mr Harry Schwarz, the Progressive Federal Party's chief spokesman on finance, said: "All the good things are going to come before the election, and the bad things afterwards. That applies to the fringe benefits tax, and the Budget as a whole."

He said substantial salary rises would probably come into effect on April 1 — "so that the recipients can still have the increases in mind when they go to the polls on April 29".

In other key speeches:

● Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made an emotional attack on members of the Opposition, equating the Government's apartheid policy with the interests of South Africa.

He was particularly bitter towards Mr Dave Dalling, the PFP MP for Sandton, for attacking the Government's apartheid policy in a letter to the New York Times.

● Mr Colin Eglin (PFP, Sea Point) said the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had called the election because he was unable to deliver on his promises of change.

Editorial comment on the General Election, Page 10.

"He has raised the hopes and expectations of 27 million people. After millions of black and white and brown South Africans

FINE ART & ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE

Cape Provincial Institute of Architects' Prize
For the best student in :-

Sixth Year

P F Dunckley

Helen Gardner Travel Prize
For a student who has satisfactorily completed 1st, 2nd and 3rd major courses.

P A Rappoport

Molly Gohl Memorial Prize
For the best woman student in third year.

Miss C Tredgold

David Haddon Prize
For the best student of Architecture (or Quantity Surveying) in the subject of Professional Practice.

D H Pryce Lewis

General J B M Hertzog Prize
For the best final year student.

S A Read

Osbourn Prize
For the best work in fourth year.

D H Pryce Lewis

John Perry Prize
For the best work in third year.

R A van Rosenveld.

President's Council meeting

Political Staff

The President's Council, which is to investigate a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa, meets in formal session for the first time on Tuesday.

A Council spokesman said today final details of Tuesday's sitting in Cape Town had still to be worked out.

Tuesday's proceedings are to be public. But further discussions after this are likely to be held behind closed doors.

Closure of black papers 'blow to peaceful change'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Far from maintaining order and stability and counteracting efforts at creating a revolutionary climate in South Africa, the Government's closure of Post and Sunday Post has reduced the prospect for peaceful change.

This is the view of Derrick Thema, a black journalist on the Johannesburg daily newspaper, The Star, in a feature article in The Times today.

He continues: "The closure has been received with anger and dismay by blacks who, in a country where all newspapers are white-owned, regarded Post as their authentic mouthpiece.

"Post, staffed by a new breed of black journalists who see themselves first as oppressed blacks before being journalists, had invariably supported Black Consciousness ideas.

"As a voice for Black Consciousness proponents, it provided a healthy platform for the pent-up feelings the aspirations, the anger and the general thinking of blacks.

"The closure of Post will widen the communications gap between Government and blacks. It will also increase black frustrations."

Thema maintains that the Government's action against Post "underlines the belief that only timid blacks will be tolerated" and adds:

"With the voices of reason already thinning, the Government has unwittingly driven even those blacks who still advocate the politics of conciliation into the militant African National Congress.

"Black journalists have increasingly found that their journalistic commitments are indivisible from their political convictions. They no longer accept the concept of "objective reporting."

First Year

J A L Chapman

Second Year

BUILDING

National Development Fund
for the Building Industry
Book Prizes
For the best student in each year of study of the degree course.

J G Kirkman

R Stubbs Award
For the best project in structure and design.

M R I Ness

ARCHITECTURE
(Continued)

Mrs. Thornton White Prize
For the best work in first year.

Miss M F J Sandilands

S A Brick Association Prize
For the student who has made best use of bricks in his design work.

Hans. (Ques Col 8 30/1/81

(327)

Internal Security Act

30/1/81 Ques Col 8

*3. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether he has reviewed the cases of persons who are restricted under the Internal Security Act with a view to lifting those restrictions; if so, to what effect; if not, why not?

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†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Since assuming office I have reviewed the cases of 7 persons and have withdrawn the restriction notices in one of these cases. In this regard I draw the hon. member's attention to the letter which my predecessor addressed to her on 24 September 1979. I will follow the same procedure in reviewing cases.

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 23 JANUARIE / JANUARY 1981 [No. 7385

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 151 23 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

LYS/LIST P81/7

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/12/33.....	*J Stalin Works*—Vol 5, 1921–1923; Vol 6, 1924; Vol 7, 1925; Vol 8, 1926, January–November; Vol 9, December 1926–July 1927; Vol 10, 1927, August–December; Vol 11, 1928–March 1929; Vol 12, April 1929–June 1930	Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow	(e)
P81/1/73.....	*Apartheid*.....	John Addison.....	(e)
P81/1/122.....	*Southern Africa: Freedom and Peace*.....	Canon L John Collins.....	(e)
P81/1/69.....	*Equal Rights*—60 200 16 Side 1 & 2 (Musiekkasset/Music Cassette)	Peter Tosh.....	(e)

No. 152 23 Januarie 1981

VERTOË KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 24 (2) (b)

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 22 Januarie 1981, kragtens artikel 24 (1) (a) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die goedkeuring deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet van die rolprent *Raging Bull*. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 24 (2) (b) van genoemde Wet vertoë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as sewe dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/1/10 ...	*Raging Bull*.....	United Artists Corporation (SA) (Edms.) Bpk /(Pty) Ltd

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 151 23 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

No. 152 23 January 1981

REPRESENTATIONS UNDER SECTION 24 (2) (b)

On 22 January 1981, the Directorate of Publications under section 24 (1) (a) of the Publications Act, 1974, appealed against the approval by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act of the film *Raging Bull*. The period within which persons referred to in section 24 (2) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as seven days from the date of this notice.

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
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Vol. 187] PRETORIA, 30 JANUARIE / JANUARY 1981 [No. 7392

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 199 30 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 14 (4) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die publikasie of voorwerpe nie binne die bedoeling van genoemde artikel 47 (2) ongewens is nie, tersyde gestel:

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 199 30 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board decided under section 14 (4) of the Publications Act, 1974, that the undermentioned publication or object is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, and has set aside the decision by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the publication or object is not undesirable within the meaning of the said section 47 (2):

LYS/LIST P81/10

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/12/22.....	*Pyjama Tops: Pyjama Tops is Back!*—met manlike akteur omring deur vier half-naak meisies/ with male actor surrounded by four semi-nude girls (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed by Jack Mark & Associates (Pty) Ltd...	(a)

No. 198 30 Januarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 198 30 January 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/9

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/92.....	*Martyrs and Fanatics*.....	Peter Dreyer.....	(e)
P81/1/147.....	*Nelson Mandela*.....	Mary Benson.....	(e)
P81/1/149.....	*Help save our Comrades* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)....	Umkhonto We Sizwe (Adres nie vermeld/ Address not stated)	(e)
P81/1/150.....	*Revolutionary Thought in the 20th Century*.....	Edited by Ben Turok.....	(e)

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/151.....	*Palestine*—Vol 6, No 20, 1–15 Nov 1980.....	The Palestine Liberation Organisation Unified Information, Beirut, Lebanon	(e)
P81/1/152.....	*South Africa in the* 1980s.....	Catholic Institute for International Relations, London	(e)
P81/1/153.....	*Face-lift Apartheid: South Africa after Soweto*...	Judy Seidman.....	(e)
P81/1/154.....	*Opinions*—No 3/1980.....	The World Federation of Trade Unions, [illegible]	(e)
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	(e)
P81/1/155	[illegible] December 14, 1980—*Forward to a People's Government!*	[illegible]	[illegible]

INHOUD

No	Bladsy No.	Staatskoerant No.
[illegible] Aangeleenthede, Departement van		
[illegible]		
198 [illegible] Publikasies (42/1974): Ongewenste publikasies of voorwerpe. Lys P81/9.....	1	7392
199 [illegible] Lys P81/10	1	7392

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Printed by the Government Printer, Pretoria, 1981

Printed by and obtainable from the Government Printer, Bosman Street, Private Bag X85, Pretoria

No. 160 30 Januarie 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die verbod kragtens artikel 9 (4) deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, op die invoer van die publikasies deur die ondergenoemde uitgewer ter syde gestel word. In *Staatskoerant* 7288, Goewermentskennisgewing 2299 van 30 Oktober 1980, skrap die ondergenoemde inskrywing:

Nordisk Forlag A/S, Oslo

No. 160 30 January 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided to set aside the prohibition in terms of section 9 (4) by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, of the importation of publications issued by the undermentioned publisher. In *Government Gazette* 7288, Government Notice 2299 of 30 October 1980, delete the following entry:

Nordisk Forlag A/S, Oslo

Lawyers condemn Post ban

RDM 31/1/81

327 243

Staff Reporter

THE Johannesburg Bar Society has stated that there is "ample legislation" for dealing with people responsible for a newspaper policy that was a danger to the State.

In a statement yesterday, condemning the recent effective bannings of Post and Sunday Post newspapers, the society said: "If reasonable grounds exist for suspecting that an offence has been committed by those responsible for the publication of newspapers, the Rule of Law requires they should be charged with the offence and duly tried."

If no such grounds exist, it continued, "the Minister has violated the Rule of Law by the method he has used to ensure the closure of the newspapers."

The stopping of their publication as a result of Ministerial threat of banning should be a matter of "deep concern" to lawyers in South Africa.

The action constituted an erosion of one of the basic tenets of a democratic society — freedom of the Press.

RETREAT SOUNDED BEFORE THE CHARGE OF THE PARTY'S VERKRAMP BRIGADE

A TIDAL wave of resistance to change within the National Party and increasing threats of violence have forced the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to seek an election mandate before he shows his hand of mildly reformist cards.

Developments in the past six months show that even small changes in the status quo have unleashed a backlash in Afrikanerdom which Mr Botha, in spite of his firm grip on the organs of Government, is unable to manipulate. There are four main areas which have become the focal points of conservative resistance:

- Attempts to find a formula for bringing the Coloured and Indian communities into the political mainstream.
- Attempts to improve the lot of urban Blacks and to stabilise the urban Black community.
- Attempts to implement Mr Botha's stated objective of removing "hurtful" discrimination.
- Attempts to implement Mr Botha's policy initiative on closer economic co-operation with the Black States and the blurring of the boundaries of grand apartheid.

While Mr Botha's public commitments in all these areas amount to changes that the official Opposition regard as hopelessly inadequate, and which merely accentuate the gaping chasm between Black aspirations and Government initiatives, they have nevertheless created deep suspicion within his own ranks.

The feeling is that such initiatives represent the forerunners of structural change that could threaten White survival

There have been clear warning signals for Mr Botha in the past six months that, despite his overwhelming electoral majority, there are formidable forces both within and outside his party which could be unleashed if he was judged by Afrikanerdom to have over-stepped the mark.

The first signal came in the form of a wall of resistance to the kite-flying operation in the Nationalist Press over the idea of one Parliament for Coloureds, Indians and Whites — either in a three-chamber system or a single integrated chamber elected on separate voters' rolls. The conservative Transvaal leader

Richard Smith



How the Nat machine forced

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

(327) S. Express 1/2/81



● Piet Koornhof ... cannot proceed



● Connie Mulder ... the same vision



● Andries Treurnicht ... on firmer ground

Eyebrows raised — but Lourens defends that speech to miners

Political Correspondent

FORMER Cabinet Minister Lourens Muller, regarded as a central figure in the loose alliance of politicians opposed to the policy initiatives of the Prime Minister, has strongly defended his controversial speech to the HNP-orientated Mine Workers' Union in Johannesburg this week.

Coming at the same time as informed speculation that former Prime Minister John Vorster is quitting his behind-the-scenes role in Afrikaner politics, Mr Muller's appearance as guest speaker at the ultra-Right-wing organisation's annual congress has raised political eyebrows and questions as to his intentions.

Mr Muller told the militant White mineworkers, who are threatening a repeat of the 1922 uprisings if the Government makes any further concessions to Blacks, that Afrikaners should not hesitate to fight for their rights and should be prepared if honest and just actions did not succeed.

Mr Muller said in an interview with the Sunday Express that his remarks to the mineworkers were merely an extension of interests of the country as paramount, but I don't doubt their patriotism," Mr Muller said.

He described as a "very substantial change for the better" the Prime Minister's clarification of his intentions with calling a referendum made during the no-confidence debate in the Assembly this week.

Mr Botha said he would only call a national referendum on proposed "drastic" constitutional changes once he had won the approval of the party congresses.

When he first announced the referendum idea in Ladysmith last year it was widely interpreted as a means to by-pass internal resistance to change within his own party.

Mr Muller said: "I think Mr Botha spoke too fast the first time. He has an impulsive attitude and tends to run away with himself."

Earlier this year Mr Botha was subjected to intense political embarrassment when an affidavit giving details of the flaming row between him and Mr Muller was leaked to the Press.

It is understood that the two men, who were close associates for 30 years, have not spoken to each other since the blow-up and Mr Muller's membership of the National Party was terminated following Press exposures of the row.

Mr Muller told the Sunday Express he still considered himself a member of the National Party although he conceded that the technical question of his membership had not been resolved.

PW to buckle

the proposal and made it clear that he was ready to draw the battle lines.

Although the debate raged in the Press for several weeks it was clear that Dr Treurnicht was on far stronger ground than he had been with the Craven Week issue a few months earlier. When Mr Botha indicated at Ladysmith in November that he would resort to a referendum to find wider approval for drastic constitutional changes his remarks were widely interpreted to mean that, if necessary, he would by-pass resistance from his own congresses. A storm of protest followed.

But replying to questions on his intentions from the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert this week, Mr Botha was emphatic that he would only resort to a referendum on drastic changes once they had been approved by the party congresses.

Asked by Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP MP for Yeoville, what he would do if one congress tried to use its veto right, Mr Botha replied that in terms of the party's constitution he could summon a national congress which would deliberate until agreement was reached. Verkrampte MPs have interpreted Mr Botha's remarks as a highly significant backtracking on his original intentions, although deep suspicions remain that he could still use a referendum to strengthen his hand against internal resistance to change.

Significantly, the January issue of the South Africa Foundation News predicts a national referendum based on constitutional proposals from the President's Council as early as August or September.

This would, in the light of the snap election announcement, give the council, which begins its first session this week, more time to make recommendations — possibly during the first month of the new Parliament which is likely to begin in August.

Following Mr Botha's referendum remarks at Ladysmith, Right wing attempts to discredit him reached a crescendo with the leaking of draft reports of the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry into the Information scandal which sought to implicate Mr Botha in the last-minute alterations of findings relating to the former State President and Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster.

The clearest signs of deep resistance to Mr Botha's style of leadership came during nomination battles for by-elections during the last quarter of last year when Botha candidates, including Cabinet Ministers, were repeatedly rejected by constituency organisations in favour of local candidates.

More recently — and perhaps the strongest indication of all — was the slap in the face for Mr Botha over the selection of largely verkrampte ex-Senators to fill the seven vacancies for indirectly elected (nominated) MPs.

Earlier Mr Botha had suffered a crushing defeat in his caucus when he had to give in on his original intention to have 20 directly nominated MPs.

Another sign that the climate in the National Party is strongly resistant to change is the controversy over the draft Bills on urban Blacks and the inability of the Minister responsible, Dr Piet Koornhof, to translate the key recommendations of the Riekert Commission into legislation to secure a new deal for urban Blacks.

The Prime Minister made it clear in the no-confidence debate this week that the Government is not prepared to depart from Dr Connie Mulder's vision that, ultimately, there will be no Black South Africans.

He laid heavy emphasis on urban Blacks' homeland links and made it clear that their key to the political kingdom remained in the Black states.

He emphasised that the White will to survive was more important than the need for agreement with Blacks over a future political dispensation.

Mr Botha unconditionally ruled out the prospect of Blacks sitting on the President's Council or participating in any way in the formulation of a new constitutional dispensation.

Gone was previous talk of a confederation. Absent were the hints that a way would be found to bring Blacks into the constitutional process.

Instead of the "adapt or die" message, Mr Botha stressed the will to survive and the maintenance of Afrikaner unity as the holy cows.

This could easily be dismissed as pre-election tactics but such an analysis would be an oversimplification.

It should rather be seen as an attempt by Mr Botha to placate troubled Afrikanerdom before he makes the next moves. The danger signals this week were there for all to see:

- Yet another strike by the ultra-Right wing terror group, the Wit Kommando, with the bombing of a Natal MPC's office.
- The threat by White miners that there would be a repeat of the 1922 uprisings if the Government made any further concessions to Blacks.
- The admission by the leader of the way-out Kappiekommando that the organisation is prepared to use violence.
- The advice given to White miners, by former Cabinet Minister Mr Lourens Muller, that they should not hesistate to fight for Afrikaner rights.

These are all threats which present a direct challenge to the State and would be dealt with by the battery of security legislation at the Government's disposal if they came from the Left.

So Mr Botha has clearly opted for dropping his reformist mask and resorting to the tried and tested formula for uniting divided Afrikanerdom and rallying the White electorate behind the formidable Nationalist machine.

He will rely heavily on the "marxist threat" and the "total onslaught" to herd White South Africa into the Nationalist "laager of safety".

The threat of course, in terms of electoral support, is from the Right and not from the Left.

Mr Jaap Marais' Herstigte Nasionale Party, which has seen phenomenal growth since the last general election, stands poised to gain its first Parliamentary seats which would introduce a new element into the mainstream political debate.

philosophy.

"These are all my people. They are South Africans and most of them are Afrikaans-speaking. They should be consulted," Mr Muller said.

"It may be so that the majority of them support the Herstigte Nasionale Party, but it must not be forgotten that they were once very staunch supporters of the National Party.

"Now they have changed their tune because they are disappointed with the direction of the National Party. It is a cause of great concern to me."

Mr Muller denied that he was playing any active role in politics or had any intentions to do so. He also discounted as pure speculation reports this week that former Prime Minister and ex-State President Mr Vorster had decided to quit his backroom political role.

Mr Muller said he met Mr Vorster in Cape Town last week. They had, he said, "exchanged views on various matters".

He regarded the mineworkers' threat to repeat the 1922 revolt, if the Government made more concessions to Blacks, as "very disturbing".

"I pleaded with them that they should always regard the

SECRET COMMITTEE MAY DEAL WITH POLITICAL BOOKS

S. Tribune 1/2/81 327

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER

THE spectre of a hand-picked committee which deals with "political" literature, was raised this week by Professor Peter Titlestad, one of the three people who have recently resigned from the censorship committee of literary experts.

This has left only one English-speaking academic on the committee and the Association of University English Teachers of South Africa (AUETSA) has told its members not to participate in the system.

Initial bannings by the Directorate of Publications are done on the recommendation of a readers' committee assigned to read a book. Appointments to the readers' committees are made by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

Prof Titlestad, of the department of English at the University of Pretoria, said there may be a select group to whom the director of publications sends all books which might merit banning on political and security grounds.

He said a readers' committee had strongly condemned Ndine Gordimer's book, Burger's Daughter, with the minority report being more severe than the already severe majority report. Yet the book was unbanned on the recommendation of a committee of literary experts.

"Certain questions need asking. Was this readers' committee selected at random from all the people available for such committees? If so, the result shows how unsatisfactory the censorship system can be.

"If there is a select group dealing with books which, in the opinion of the director, might merit banning on political and security grounds, it appears to be a body which is uniformly conservative," he said.

"Although the banning of Etienne le Roux's Magersfontein was what caused the greatest censorship furore, the vast majority of books dealt with are written in English.

"Yet when in 1979 AUETSA put forward the names of four English-speaking academics to serve on the expert committees, only one was appointed," he said.

NP history a chronicle of conflict—Welsh

Argus 2/2/81 327

Education Reporter

IT WAS doubtful whether any of 'Mr P W Botha's people' actually believed that such aspects of apartheid as the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts were necessary to maintain white or Afrikaner identity.

But, says Professor David Welsh, of UCT, these aspects had critical symbolic value to more conservative whites.

Though this might be the case, there was serious opposition to the 'bossiness of the Cape' in Nationalist Party circles, Professor Welsh said in his second lecture on The Crisis and Challenge of Contemporary South African politics.

RIVALRIES

Speaking at the UCT summer school, Professor Welsh traced the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, saying that the Nationalist Party had always been riven with conflicts. One major issue was provincialism.

'The Nationalist Party is an explicitly federal body whose provincial leaders can and do form their own provincial power bases. This is a significant factor in current rivalries within the party today.'

Mr Botha was elected 'more or less by accident' and this was where part of his problem started, he said.

However, the Prime Minister had consolidated his power by restructuring the working of the Cabinet, vastly expanded the size and function of the Prime Minister's office and rationalised and streamlined bureaucracy. Large powers had come into his and his allies' hands, while real power of the Cabinet and the party had diminished.

This, together with ideological policy issues such as the President's Council and the slow move to raise the economic colour bar, had caused enormous tension in the party.

On whether there would be a showdown or split in the party, Professor Welsh said there was no question that Dr Andries Treurnicht was a source of serious concern to the Prime Minister.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Corporation Medals
For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

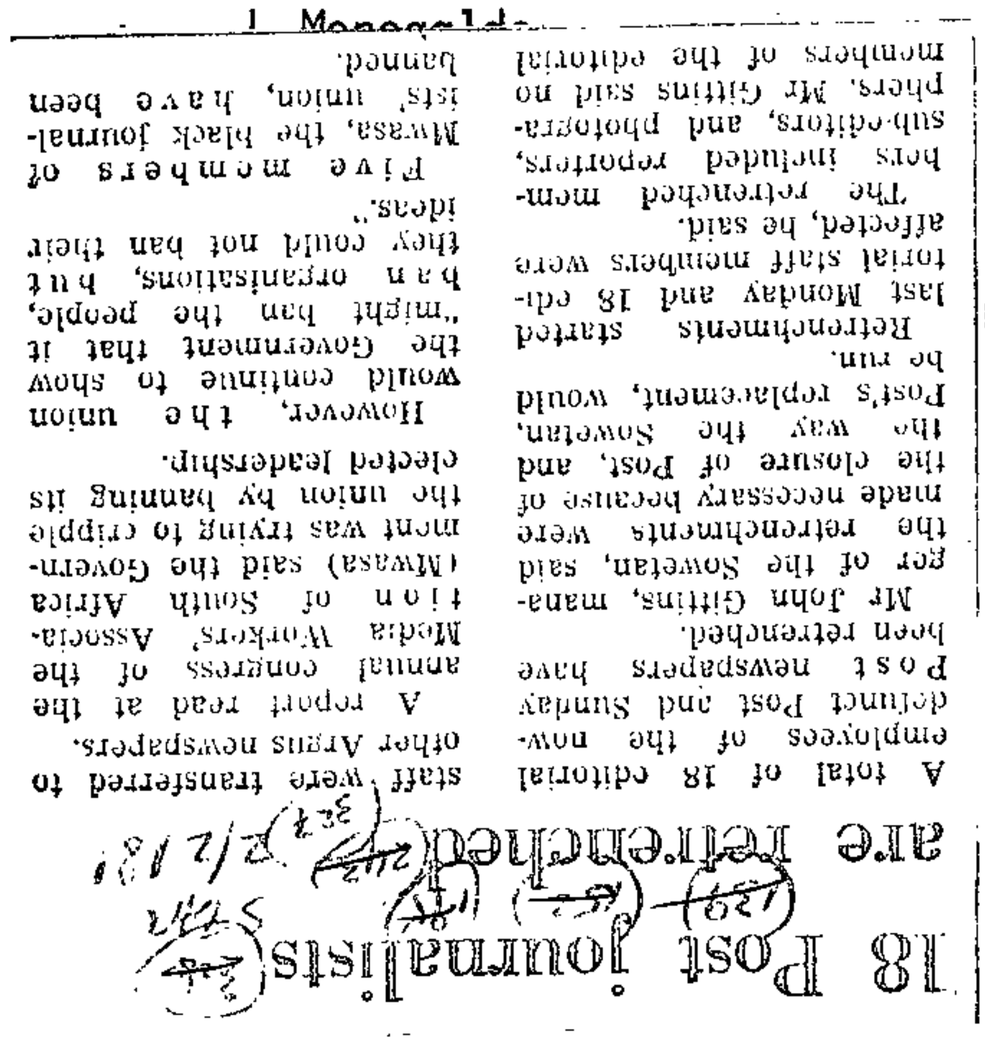
P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

CHEMICAL



18 Post journalists are retrenched

A total of 18 editorial employees of the now-defunct Post and Sunday Post newspapers have been retrenched.

Mr John Gittins, manager of the Sowetan, said the retrenchments were made necessary because of the closure of Post, and the way the Sowetan, Post's replacement, would be run.

Retrenchments started last Monday and 18 editorial staff members were affected, he said.

The retrenched members included reporters, sub-editors, and photographers. Mr Gittins said no members of the editorial staff were transferred to other Argus newspapers.

A report read at the annual congress of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) said the Government was trying to cripple the union by banning its elected leadership.

However, the union would continue to show the Government that it "might ban the people, ban organisations, but they could not ban their ideas."

Five members of Mwasa, the black journalists' union, have been banned.

STAR 2/2/84

Sowetan: 'mirror of our society'

"Without fear or favour" — the great rallying cry of the British Press — was evoked in a front-page editorial of the Sowetan today, out on the streets to replace Post.

The Sowetan, which will circulate throughout Pretoria, the Witwatersrand and Vereeniging, starts off with an unequivocal statement of intent.

Says the editorial: "We are a newspaper that will serve YOU, the black majority of this country.

"Our objective is to give you honest, independent and responsible reporting. We will not pander to personal or sectional interests, but will be concerned solely with the public interest.

"We will serve as the mirror of our society. We will reflect our aspirations — political, educational, economic and social.

". . . to that end we will fight injustices wherever they may occur. We will expose exploitation of our people. We will expose social, political and economic ills in our country without fear or favour."

Opposition backs Bill on hijacking

327 ARGUS 3/2/81

A BILL providing for action to protect South African aircraft and airports against hijackings and acts of terrorism, was passed through all its stages in the Assembly yeterday.

In terms of the Civil Aviation Offences Amendment Bill, introduced by the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, provision is made for the establishment of a committee to advise the Minister on the effective steps to be taken to ensure the safety of civil aviation.

It also provides for the drafting of safety plans and ensures that they are kept secret.

The committee will comprise representatives of the Defence Force, South African Airways, the South African Police and Railways Police, the National Intelligence Service, the Department of Transport and authorities controlling airports other than State airports.

To ensure uniformity of action and co-ordination, certain people will be appointed to see that the safety plans are carried out.

Introducing the Bill, Mr Schoeman said South Africa was a signatory to three international conventions dealing with aviation safety, and was also bound to ensure national air safety.

Existing legislation empowered the Minister to take certain steps but in the present circumstances they fell short of what was required in the way of planning, co-ordinated action and secrecy.

The Bill was supported by Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP, Orange Grove) who wanted to know from the Minister when the Margo Committee report on aviation safety would be released.

Mr Schoeman replied that the report should be released before the end of August, but that the measures provided for in the Bill were necessary until then.

Supporting the Bill, Mr George Bartlett (NRP, Amanzimtoti) said it was a pity that in present times one had to go to such lengths to protect people from hi-jackings and terrorism. — Sapa.

Bill to protect SA against hijackings

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"I hope this measure will result in a highly efficient and trained machine which can spring into action immediately when needed," he said.

The bill was taken through all its stages with the support of all parties. — Sapa

Law to protect against hijacking

RDM 3/2/81 (327)

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Supporting the Bill, Mr George Bartlett (NRP Amanzimtoti) said it was a pity that in present times one had to go to such lengths to protect people from hijackings and terrorism. He welcomed the Bill, saying it was better to be prepared rather than sorry.

"I hope this measure will result in a highly efficient and trained machine which can spring into action immediately when needed."

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IN THE HOUSE

Wolves in ship's clothing: SA acts

CT 3/2/81 327 254

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — Legislation empowering the government to regulate, monitor and, where necessary, take action against marine traffic passing through South Africa's territorial waters was passed yesterday.

The legislation specifically empowers the minister of transport affairs to act against vessels suspected of carrying terrorists, agitators, weaponry or narcotics, or of threatening the sovereignty of the State.

The opposition parties supported the measure but asked: "Why it has taken so long to bring the bill before parliament?"

Introducing the bill, the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said the Republic was at present virtually powerless to deal with vessels which were apparently idling aimlessly in its territorial waters.

"We can do just about nothing to a ship equipped with electronic surveillance to transmit information to hostile forces."

The legislation would enable the minister to take action against ships whose passage was not deemed "free and innocent" because they posed a threat to the sovereignty of the State.

Outlining circumstances which led to the drafting of the legislation, Mr Schoeman said ships were frequently anchoring offshore for repairs or waiting to take on cargo.

They thus avoided payment of port dues and were often a navigation hazard, since some did not bother to inform the authorities of their positions or to obtain permission to stop offshore.

Inclement weather could cause these vessels to run aground and cause pollution.

The bill did not prohibit vessels entirely from anchoring at sea, provided it was necessary to do so in the course of navigation or in cases of distress.

"Otherwise the permission of the minister of transport will have to be obtained," Mr Schoeman said.

The legislation would enable South Africa to act effectively in peacetime against vessels which threatened the country's security "because they carry, among other things, arms destined for our enemies".

The official opposition's chief spokesman on transport, Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP Orange Grove), welcomed the legislation.

"But I wonder how South Africa's marine traffic was run without such legislation?"

Mr Lorimer agreed that the drug traffic had to be halted.

It was one instance where the PFP was pleased to see additional legislation being placed on the statutes, he said.

The chairman of the Transport Affairs Study Group, Mr M W de Wet (NP Welkom), said the bill embodied the important principle of enabling South Africa to act in its own territorial waters to secure its own safety.

The bill contained measures essential to control the passage of marine traffic through the sea lanes off the coast.

Mr George Bartlett (NRP Amanzimtoti) said he was surprised it took so long for the bill to come before parliament.

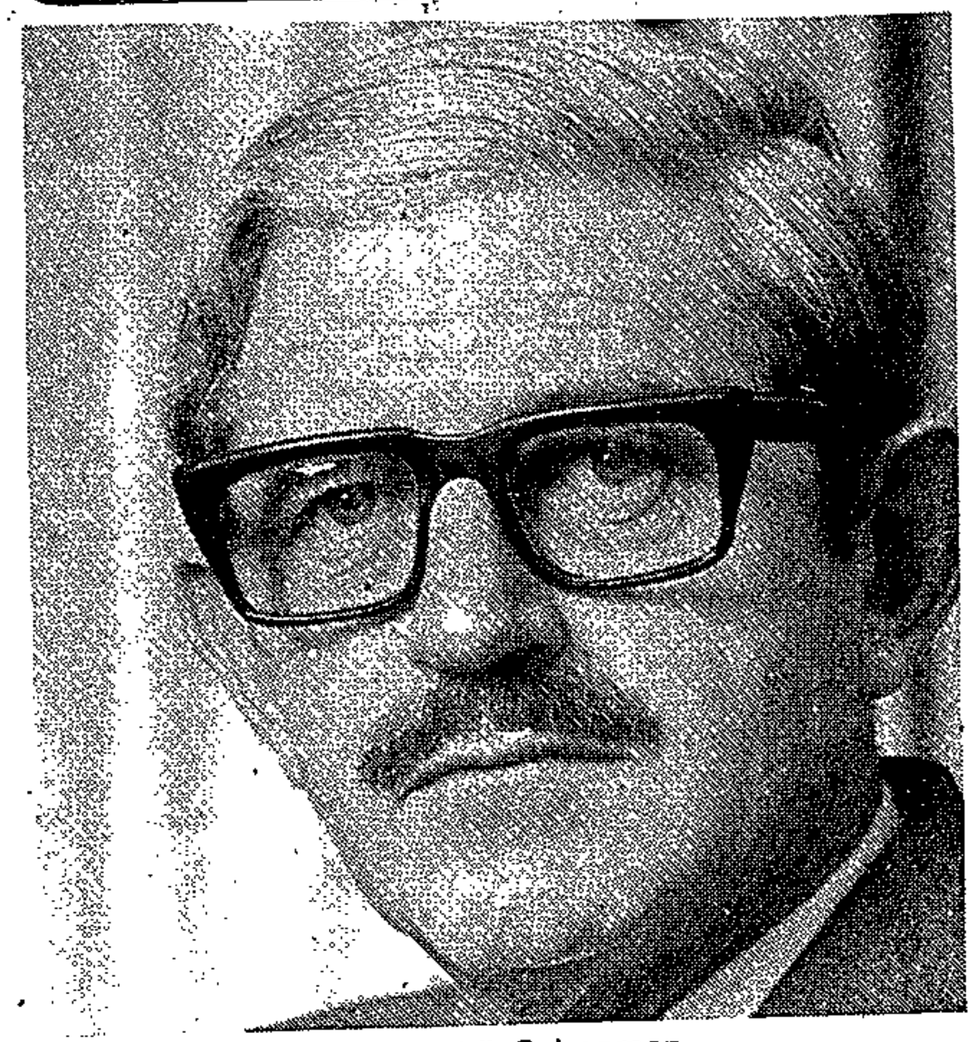
Drug trafficking had brought untold harm to many parts of the world. Dealers in the illegal narcotics trade should be grouped with all people who threatened state security.

Mr John Wiley (NP Simon's Town) said the right of innocent passage in maritime law applied to all craft except warships — unless they showed their flags and were sailing on the surface — and vessels which threatened the security of coastal states.

The legislation carried penalties of up to R10 000 and two years' imprisonment. It also empowered the minister to arrest people who failed to obey instructions issued to them in terms of the bill.

Mr Wiley said huge vessels were anchoring with increasing frequency off Walvis Bay to be serviced by crews flown out from their own countries. They were of no benefit to the people of Walvis Bay and made no contribution to the port's economy. The bill would put an end to the practice.

The bill was read a third time. — Sapa



Mr Hendrik Schoeman

Govt to bring in law on firearms

RDM 4/2/81 (327) ~~344~~

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Government is planning to act against civilians who walk around carrying guns.

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, responded to an Opposition plea for stricter control of the issue and use of firearms by saying legislation to do just that could be introduced later this year.

Mr Le Grange said in reply to the second reading debate on the Explosives Amendment Bill that the legislation would particularly affect the carrying of handguns by individuals.

"The situation exists today where people are carrying these handguns in their back pockets, in their belts and on other parts of the body and I am not prepared to allow that any more."

Mr Ray Swart (PFP Musgrave) who had earlier appealed for tighter control because more and more people were rushing to buy guns, said the PFP would support such legislation.

Old Boss chief breaks silence



General Hendrik van den Bergh

Government 'is fostering serious terror warfare'

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The Government's approach to the country's black-white situation was fostering confrontation which could lead to serious terrorist warfare, according to former security adviser, General van den Bergh.

The general, head of the Bureau for State Security and Security Police under former Prime Minister Mr John Vorster, said the present climate was driving otherwise apolitical Africans into the hands of subversive organisations.

'We have lost the battle for the black elite and are fast losing the battle for the coloured elite,' General van den Bergh said.

'If we lose this latter battle then we must accept that we will lose the white man's right to self-determination.'

WHY I SPEAK

He said in an exclusive interview that though he was reluctant to talk to the Press he had decided to answer questions now because of a deep concern for his country.

'I have never been nor do I intend to become a member of a political party,' he said.

His decision to break a two-year silence on national issues was prompted by his desire to give a truthful assessment of the situation as he saw it.

Whites who had made South Africa their home were entitled to an emphatic statement that 'come hell or high water they would not lose their seat at the table.'

By the 'table' he meant not only the conference table but that whites should continue to have a say in the enactment of their affairs.

It was necessary for the Government to spell out the geographic area where the white man will be assured a permanent home, he said.

BIGGEST THREAT

'An agreement needs to be worked out between all whites and all the non-white groups in this country,' General van den Bergh added.

Black consciousness, he said, posed a bigger threat to the country's securtiy because of its basic appeal to the black elite.

The general, after warning of communist Russian aims, said:

'The so-called urban blacks have always been the Achilles heel in the approach of the National Party to the group relations situation in South Africa.

Writers hit Post ban

Own Correspondent

BERLIN — Leading West German writers and journalists have appealed to the Bonn Government to break off cultural links with South Africa because of the closure of the Post and the banning of several black newsmen.

The appeal was made jointly by the West German branch of PEN — the international organisation of writers — and three other influential bodies: The Society of German Authors, the German Journalists Society and the German Journalists Union.

The appeal was issued in West Berlin, together with a vigorous protest against the South African bannings.

They also called on the Bonn Government to press South Africa to cancel the bannings.

BACKGROUND

Members view 'in camera' rule in bad light

CAPE TOWN — Despite the friendly relations between members of the President's Council, it was clear when they started work this week that there were great differences of opinion among them on some important issues.

It also emerged in Parliament yesterday that Council members are getting generous remuneration from the state for their services.

The total salary bill for Councillors exceeds R1,5-million a year. Ordinary members get R15 192 a year, plus an annual tax-free allowance of R8 249.

The five committee chairman get R33 000 a year and an annual tax-free allowance of R10 000. In addition, they get free houses or R600 a month if they remain in their own homes.

COST

The estimated total cost of the Council for the 1981/82 financial year is R4 284 500, according to a reply given by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to a question tabled in Parliament.

When the Council met for the first time this week in its chamber in a prestigious office block on Cape Town's foreshore, it was clear that councillors were trying to establish good relations with each other. A cordial, relaxed atmosphere prevailed.

However, this could not disguise the fact that some Councillors have sharply contrasting opinions on some important matters.

Some Councillors feel it is vital that the Press should be allowed to report on many of the Council's meetings.

They say the Council cannot be seen to be operating in an atmosphere of complete isolation from the society for wich it is trying to create constitutional change.

INHIBIT

There are, however, other Councillors who say that most of the Council's workings should take place behind closed doors.

The presence of the Press will inhibit frank discussion, they claim.

There are also Councillors who believe it will be very difficult to discuss cokytituional developments in the absence of black opinion.

"It has been said that one of our first tasks will be to investigate the extension of local and regional government systems for coloured and Indian people," said one member this week.

"But to my way of thinking, it is simply impossible to do this without taking blacks into consideration. The exclusion of blacks from the Council is going to make things difficult for us."

CONFUSION

Another Councillor sees it differently: "There would be considerable confusion if blacks were to be members.

"The Council would have to deal with a difficult issue like homeland consolidation. It's far better that such an issue should be resolved by direct discussions between the Government and homeland leaders."

The offices provided for Councillors are modern, although fairly small. To get to the Council chamber they have to take a lift from their offices on the twenty-first floor to the first floor of the building.

Entrances to their offices and the chamber are well guarded by policemen who have extensive security equipment with which to screen all visitors.

ELEGANT

The Council chamber and its environs are elegantly furnished. There is much expensive gadgetry in the chamber to record what is being said as well as to help members signal to the chairman that they wish to speak.

Three semi-circular rows of seats face the seat occupied by the chairman, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch. Occupying the first row are the committee chairmen and former MPs and Senators.

Many of the coloured and Indian members are seated in the central section of the second row.

Some of the former MPs say they find the seating arrangemetns a little difficult to get used to.

They are not complaining however. They say the layout of the chamber is designed to promote co-operation rather than conflict.

When they sit down in the chamber, former Progressive Federal Party MPs, like Mr Japie Basson, rub shoulders with Nationalists.

Coloured social worker, Mrs Elizabeth Rose, is flanked by a political scientist, Professor A R C de Crespigny, and an industrialist, Mr Basil Landau.



Mr P W Botha . . . trying to win votes?

By Hugh Roberton

CAPE TOWN — Coloured and Indian members of the President's Council have strong misgivings about procedural rules of the new body which ensure that all but a few of its deliberations will take place in secret.

The secrecy rule, apparently decided on before the full council had even met for the first time, has emerged as one of the early disagreements to face the 61 Government-appointed council members.

Those favouring it argue that the Council should be free to discuss any subject without the restraints which they claim public exposure would place on members.

They fear that party politics would be encouraged by public sessions of a body which is supposed to be above the party-political divisions in Parliament and the country at large.

But those coloured and Indian members opposed to secrecy say that it is vital for the President's Council to establish a rapport with the public and that the deep misgivings about the Council in the coloured and Indian communities could best be dissipated by allowing free public scrutiny of what is discussed and decided.

The country is already overburdened by unnecessary secrecy, they argue, and if this were extended to cover the proceedings of the President's Council, it would make it impossible for coloured and Indian members to justify their membership to their communities.

Popular support for the recommendations of the Council, will depend on its credibility and the extent to which its proceedings are open to the public.

Both sides appear anxious to avoid a confrontation and so a compromise seems likely. One suggestion is that all meetings of the Council should be held in public and that only the proceedings of the various committees should be closed.

Coloured and Indian members, meanwhile, are upset by a statement in Parliament last week by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, that blacks would remain excluded from the President's Council and would have a constitutional future separate from that of other race groups.

While they feel that Mr Botha may simply have been trying to win votes for the National Party in the April general election and might come to a more realistic conclusion afterwards, they feel he has done so at the expense of the Council.

Recipe on SA harmony

34 fined after police raid on Sandy Bay

RDM 6/2/81 (327)

CAPE TOWN. — Thirty-four people, including three women, were fined between R50 and R100 in the Retreat Magistrate's Court, Cape Town, yesterday following Wednesday's police raid on Sandy Bay.

Thirty-eight people appeared in court on charges of public indecency after being released on R100 bail.

Two Durban men, on holiday in Cape Town, were unable to raise the bail and were kept in the Claremont police cells overnight with their dog, a black mongrel.

The men, Mr Piet Roodt and Mr Clifford Parker, were fined R50 (or 25 days) — the most ...t of all the sentences. ... magistrate took into account that Mr Roodt and Mr Parker had spent the night in jail, and said this had served as part of their punishment.

Most of the 34 who pleaded guilty were fined R100 (or 50 days).

Some, including students, a national serviceman and unemployed men, asked for leniency and were fined R60 (or 30 days).

In most cases, the fines were double those imposed on nudists arrested in the last police raid on Sandy Bay.

A French tourist, who had been in South Africa for two days, pleaded not guilty to the charge.

A Tamboerskloof teacher, Mrs Ninon Lake, also pleaded not guilty. They will appear in a separate trial.

Police will raid Sandy Bay again if it is justified by complaints, according to Colonel Dries van den Heever, Divisional CI Officer for the Western Province.

"As long as I have the responsibility and I receive complaints which are substantiated by members of the narcotics branch who will investigate them, I will not hesitate to act," he said.

Col Van den Heever declined to divulge the nature of complaints by members of the public which were first investigated before the raid. — Own Correspondent and Sapa.

PRES. COUNCIL IN SHOW OF UNITY

Political Staff

THE President's Council gave a strong show of unity at its first open session yesterday, although differences in emphasis between coloured and Indian members on the one hand and whites on the other emerged within the first hour of debate.

At the end of the proceedings there was unanimous endorsement of a resolution, the theme of all yesterday's speeches, which described the council as 'a policy-advisory, problem-directed, reform-orientated and future-looking body.'

There were also sharp attacks on the non-National Party Press and on 'the boycotters', which was taken to mean the official white opposition and the country's major black, coloured and Indian political groups, which have rejected the President's Council.

In the opening speech the deputy chairman, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, said the members regarded themselves as a team even though some had been 'under duress' and had faced threats.'

He did not elaborate.

DENIGRATE

Mr J L Horak, a former New Republic Party senator, sharply attacked the Opposition identifying them only as 'the boycotters' and said it was ethically and morally dishonest to sit in an all-white parliament and denigrate a body like the President's Council, because they regarded the council as imperfect.

They should not reject it as an instrument of change, he said.

Dr Frank Quint, one of the coloured members directed an appeal to his white colleagues 'to show substantial evidence of their good faith by shaking off racial prejudice and high-mindedness.'

He described the coloured community as 'a non-enfranchised people' who were conscious of Sharpeville, Soweto and Elsies River.

Yeko claims he fled in disguise

(327) ~~103~~ OD. 7/2/81

NEW BRIGHTON — A Kwazakhele businessman, Mr A. T. Yeko, claims he had to leave Transkei in disguise and by a devious route after attending a nephew's funeral there.

Mr Yeko, who acted as urban representative in Port Elizabeth of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo before the chief was deposed from the paramountcy of Tembus in the Dalindyebo region, believes the Transkei police want to detain him.

He says he was "wide awake" to the possibility that the police would seek him out when he and his family, accompanied by two busloads of mourners from Port Elizabeth, travelled to Cezu location near Mqanduli last weekend for the funeral of his nephew, Mr Selby Yeko.

Mr Yeko said that immediately after the funeral he went to a nearby kraal to change into tribal clothes. He had intended to use that disguise to journey to Libode in Western Pondoland.

While he was changing attire at the kraal, he said, a relative arrived to warn him that three plain-clothes members of the police were there looking for him.

These men were alleged to have told people at the kraal that they had with them a wreath from Transkei's Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, which they had been instructed to hand directly to Mr Yeko.

Mr Yeko says he also understood that these policemen had instructions to take him to security police headquarters in Umtata.

When he learned all this at the kraal, Mr Yeko says, he decided to disappear. He therefore asked the relative who had brought him the information to tell the police he had already left for Libode.

Arrangements were then made to procure a horse for Mr Yeko to ride away on. Wearing tribal dress he then travelled through a ploughed mealie land on horseback and on to Idutywa, where he left the horse he was riding with a friend.

This friend had already made arrangements for a car with a King William's Town registration number to take him across the Kei River.

He used this method of "escape" although alternative arrangements had been made to get him to Durban.

Mr Yeko says that although all outlets from Transkei were understood to have been closed to him by the police, even as far as Queenstown, he crossed the Kei River at a spot he prefers not to identify and reached East London.

From there he travelled in another car to Port Elizabeth and reached home in the early hours of Wednesday morning.

Mr Yeko says he expects Transkei's interest in him is associated with Transkei police knowledge that last year he organised a Port Elizabeth fund for bail for Chief Sabata after he had been arrested and charged with undermining the status of Transkei's State President.

Approached for comment in Umtata, Transkei's commissioner of police, Major-General Martin Ngceba, could neither confirm nor deny whether there had been a police alert for Mr Yeko at Transkeian border posts.

"My men act at their own discretion when carrying out their duties, and less important matters do not come to my attention. I know nothing about their activities concerning Mr Yeko." — DDR.

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Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

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P M Salmon

T J Cumming

D P Weeks

J H Rens

B F McClelland

Million-rand march to Cape Town for a say in Parliament

TREK FROM OBLIV

Surge from the right: HOWARD BARRELL reports

THE trek out of the Dorsland of political oblivion is nearly over for the Bittereinders of Afrikanerdom's far right.

The waterhole of a parliamentary salary and political respectability is no longer a mirage on the horizon of trekleier Jaap Marais, HNP leader. Instead it is a very real prospect.

From Koedoespoort to East London, from Rustenburg to, yes, Durban, HNP membership applications are streaming in at the rate of 1 000 a month, according to HNP secretary and organisational kingpin Mr Louis Stofberg.

According to Jaap Marais, 12 seats are within the HNP's grasp at this stage. And the HNP has the means to fight them: The party of unquestioning white supremacism expects to be able to spend R1 million over the election period, according to Mr Stofberg.

Meanwhile, the National Party has sent word out to those who have not yet fallen out of its catch-net into the hands of the HNP that they should expect some HNP gains.

Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport last week anticipated a few HNP gains in the white general election on April 29, mentioning Rustenburg and Carletonville, both predominently blue-collar constituencies, as possible HNP wins.

Former Crown Prince of the National Party, Dr Connie Mulder, is also on the wagon, though, it appears, more as a passenger on the resurgence of the white Right than as a driving force.

He and the HNP have already held talks on an informal election pact. And more talks are expected. Both he and Mr Marais confirmed that some "arrangement" is likely.

A likely scenario is that the HNP will not oppose Dr Mulder's fledgling National Conservative Party in about five seats, according to veteran election watcher Professor Willem Kleynhans of UNISA. The HNP is likely to "give" Dr Mulder the Far Right vote in Potchefstroom and Randfontein, his old seat as former leader of the National Party in the Transvaal where he still enjoys a considerable personal following.

In the HNP's Pretoria headquarters, decorated with busts of Dr Albert Hertzog and the old "Lion of the North" J. G. Strijdom, Mr Marais was all smiles, nerves and anticipation this week.

"The days when we fought an election with only a candidate and a deposit are over," he told the [illegible] Tribune.

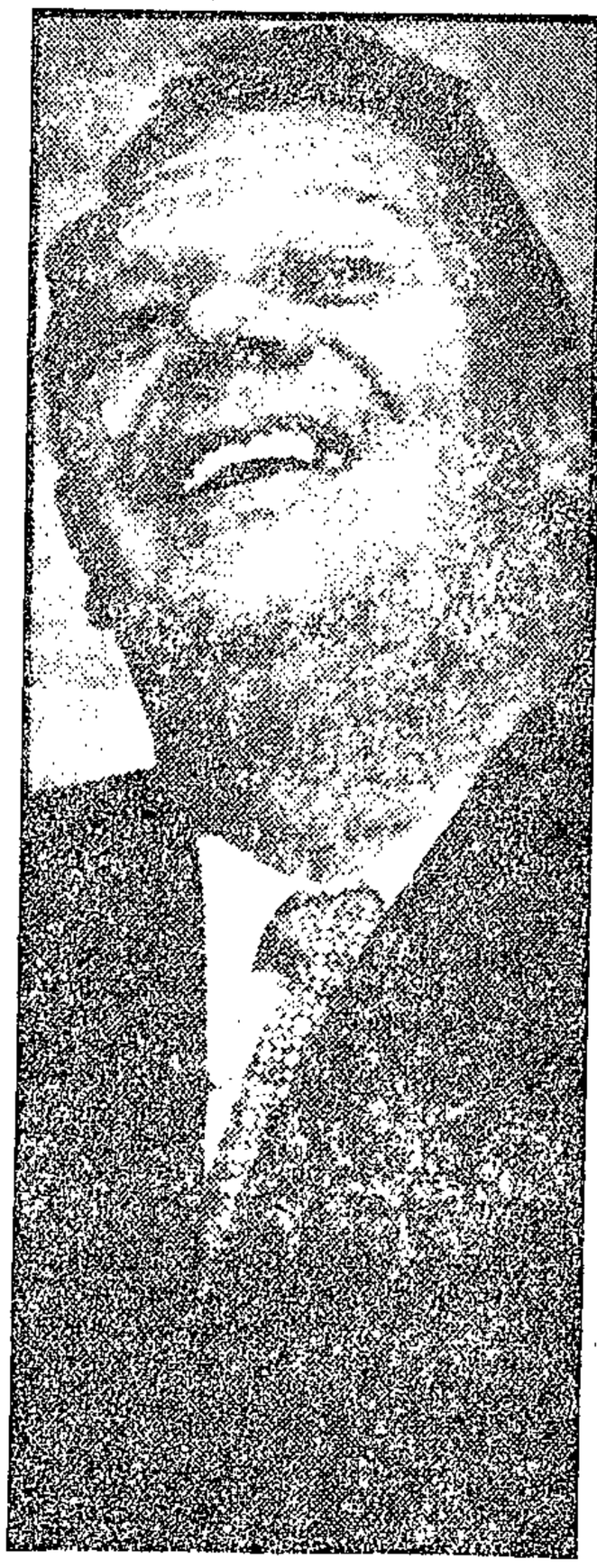


JAAP MARAIS — believes the Nats are the captive of capitals now

the waterhole is in



LOUIS STOFBERG — a developing strategy



CONNIE MULDER — also on the wagon

ION!

The way Mr Botha and General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, are conducting the war — supplying the states to the north, who are harbouring terrorists, with food and supplies and then telling us it's "total strategy";

The way the Government is dismantling racial segregation in sport, factories, amenities and beaches;

Continuing inflation, lower living standards for whites, and the removal of protection for the white worker;

Homeland consolidation — look at King Williams Town;

Allowing coloureds and Indians into the President's Council. When are we going to have a coloured president? How can you write a new constitution when you are busy fighting a war?

Connie Mulder distinguishes himself from the HNP by saying only that he is "less rigid" in his thinking.

"I refuse to believe that Dr Verwoerd was wrong," he said this week, as alongside us lay two books from his bookshelf on desert aloes.

In those places where it matters now — where Afrikanerdom works in the dusty outposts, the factories and the heat underground — the questions will be of the past and the present.

Of the past: Who is the true son of Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd?

Of the present: Who is for the white man?

But that question will be answered only when all the other South Africans march on the water holes from Soweto, New Brighton, Nondweni, Chatsworth and Mannenberg: Who really was for the white man?

News by Howard Barrell, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, FEBRUARY 8, 1981

The Bittereinders are almost out of the Dorsland. Now sight for trekleier Jaap Marais and his HNP far right

"We will probably fight about 80 seats . . ."

"But", interjects Mr Stofberg, "that will depend on our developing strategy."

An old election poster proclaiming "Marais for the white man" at his back, the champion of eternal white supremacy, said he had not decided which seat he would fight.

"If I fight Andries Treurnicht (conservative Transvaal leader of the National Party) in Waterberg, my old constituency, the question will be: Who represents Afrikaner nationalism?

"And I'll give him a hiding," he added with a twitch and a smile.

From the Kapiekommando in mourning outside Parliament for Afrikanerdom's impending demise to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, from the white trade unions' threatening

QUOTE

IF I fight Andries Treurnicht in Waterberg I'll give him a hiding

— JAAP MARAIS

a repeat of the 1922 mineworkers' bloody revolt to Connie Mulder's gentile double-storeyed home in Randfontein, the ultra-conservative cause has rediscovered its confidence.

For them the National Party is no longer a party in any real sense. Instead, it's a "coalition" of irreconcilable interests which must break soon to their advantage.

Jaap Marais invokes the lessons of history when he predicts growth for the HNP, and a break-up of the National Party.

Two South African governments fell shortly after turning their backs on white workers, particularly the mineworkers, in 1922 and 1947-48.

Now the Government was doing the same: Threatening white workers by allowing blacks trade union rights and breaking down job reservation.

The National Party had initially organised around the protection of white workers, whereas now it was "the captive of capitals," said Mr Marais.

QUOTE

HNP applications are streaming in at the rate of 1 000 a month

— LOUIS STOFBERG

Which match exactly the sentiments of Mr Arrie Paulus, leader of the white Mineworkers' Union, when he spoke to the **Sunday Tribune** last week.

Paulus is planning to open his union to membership for all white workers, whether on the mines or not, in order to "protect the white worker." According to some reports, denied by Paulus, he is also considering deregistering his union in terms of Labour Law if this will serve his cause better.

The close relationship between the HNP and blue-collar white workers has led some political analysts to conclude that economic class differences in Afrikanerdom are now the major determinent in Afrikanerdom's internal ructions.

Credibility is lent this viewpoint by the comparatively strong support the HNP has gained in white working class constituencies, among them Rustenburg, Carletonville and Koedoespoort.

And, if Jaap Marais does not stand in Waterberg, it is highly

QUOTE

I'M less rigid now, but I refuse to believe Dr. Verwoerd was wrong

— CONNIE MULDER

likely he will stand in Rustenburg. On the basis of the recent by-election there, he will not even need 1 000 votes to find himself again seated on the green leather of the House of Assembly, whence to proclaim with more force and volume: "Wie is vir die witman?"

For Connie Mulder, it's an "X plus Y and an X times Y election." Membership of his NCP is "X plus Y," he says, while funds are "X times Y".

"It's the most unpredictable election I've ever been involved in," he said this week.

It is certainly early days. But it seems that, for the conservative majority of the white electorate, the HNP will be calling the shots on the issues. Mr Botha cannot hope for a Russian spy every week of the campaign and cannot blitzkrieg the countries to the north with the frequency necessary to blur the issues in the conservative white mind.

If the HNP can get its message across — and R1-million should be enough for that — it stands to make substantial gains around issues like:

Mixed dust pneumoconiosis can result from inhaling normally inert dust admixed with small amounts of silica. Tin dust and barium dust can cause stannosis and baritosis; but these are benign forms of pneumoconiosis. They produce radiological changes from dust deposition with minimal tissue damage to the lungs.[8]

Dust diseases of the lungs have a long and traceable history and it has been suggested that paleolithic flint miners died of the oldest occupational disease, silicosis.[9] As industrialisation progressed it was realised that numerous kinds of dusts provoked lung diseases and these were given graphic names according to the kind of occupation or trade involved. For instance "grinders' rot" and "potters' rot" were both classical forms of silicosis.[10] Post mortem examinations indicated a striking resemblance between the concentrically [illegible] nodules - the result of fibrosi[illegible] the lungs of patients who had d[illegible] This made the situation puzzlin[illegible] whether these dust diseases wer[illegible] culosis (with its widespread in[illegible] disease of the market place, sy[illegible] increasingly endemic in the ove[illegible] conditions of industrialising 1[illegible] culosis was often referred to a[illegible] descriptive term used to deline[illegible] striking symptom was the wasting away of the body. Even after 1882, when Robert Koch identified the bacillis responsible for tuberculosis, both dust-diseases and tuberculosis continued to be grouped together as consumption or phthisis.

Gradually distinctions were drawn between the two types of disease. There was 'dust phthisis' or 'tubercular phthisis' according to whether or not there was occupational dust exposure; and 'miners' phthisis' became a term indiscriminately applied to many kinds of mining whether or not silica dust was present or dust was the cause of disease. The term phthisis too continued to be loosely used, and could include many kinds of incapacitating lung diseases.[12] 'Miners' Phthisis' was the inexact term applied to the disease stricken goldminers of the Transvaal who, in fact, had silicosis. Its historical derivation is understandable, but at the same time it must be clearly under-

stood that in clinical and pathological terms today this definition of the disease is imprecise, if not totally meaningless.

Although their causes are different, the lung lesions, that is structural tissue responses to silica particles and the tuberculous bacillus, are distinctive and at the same time very similar. This caused a number of doctors, including Koch, to designate what is now known as the silicotic nodule, the pseudo-tubercle. This similarity became even more pronounced when the two diseases appeared simultaneously in the same lesion. This led many authorities to believe that the two diseases were inseparable - that they were both, in fact, tuberculosis - and while silicosis was recognised as a specific industrial disease, it was thought that the dust particles merely altered the course of tuberculosis and the [illegible]



Mr Kotze . . . Bill cannot be retrogressive.

Council to cost R4 284 500

THE ASSEMBLY — The President's Council will cost the taxpayer an estimated R4 284 500 in its first year, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said in reply to a question by Mr Tiaan van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) yesterday.

The council had cost R345 233,56 up to December 31 last year, he said in reply to a second question by Mr van der Merwe.

Mr van der Merwe also asked what the nature and total value of remuneration for each member and for a chairman of a committee of the council was.

Members, Mr Botha replied, would receive R15 192 a year with a tax free allowance of R8 249. Chairmen would earn R33 000 with a R10 000 tax free allowance. — Sapa.

Thomas Oliver, an expert in pneumoconiosis, who practiced medicine in the colliery district of Northumberland, and who had investigated the deaths of ex-Witwatersrand miners who had returned home to Britain during the Anglo-Boer war.[17] Cornish doctors who investigated similar cases did not agree, believing that the cause of the deaths of many ex-South African miners could be attributed to tuberculosis, which they believed had been contracted after miners had silicosis in the advanced stages.[18] The views of the pioneer South African doctors - and those of Oliver - were not proved until very much later, and controversy about the causes of the disease and the reasons for its fatal outcome continued to exist in both South Africa, Britain and elsewhere. Although there was disagreement as to whether silicosis or tuberculosis came first, on the whole,

No clue to bombers

URBAN terrorism from the left or the right wing would be stamped on, the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, said last night.

"One is just as bad as the other and our record in combating all sorts of terrorism, especially in the last week, is there for everyone to see."

Mr Le Grange was commenting on the bomb blast in central Durban on Saturday afternoon in which two women were injured.

He said that at present there was no indication of who, or what organization, was responsible for the surprise attack.

However, experienced sources in the security force have indicated that the blast may have been carried out by the banned African National Congress.

There have been suggestions that it may have been the ultra-rightwing Wit Kommando or even the neo-nazi National Front. But senior security sources say that the style of the indiscriminate attack appears to suggest that the ANC might be behind it.

● **More reports, pictures, page 2**

'Blacks must be consulted'

CAPE TOWN — Exclusion of blacks from participation in the President's Council emasculated it and caused it to lack credibility, Indian member Mr M Rajab, said yesterday.

"We stand at the beginning of one of the most important formal constitutional phases in the history of our country," he said in his maiden speech at a plenary session of the Council.

"But I believe, with most other peace-loving and forward-looking people of all races, that to raise the acceptability of any recommendations we make, we must consult as widely as possible with all the different population groups in South Africa," he said.

The Council was beginning its life at a disadvantage. Some elements of the media were prejudiced against it and many people had high expectations that it would solve all the country's problems immediately.

The Council's main aim was to solve the country's constitutional problems and advise the Government on ways of satisfying the legitimate aspirations of all.

"This main purpose will be negated if we don't have proper consultation with the group that makes up 70 percent of the population," Mr Rajab said. — Sapa.

Black editor won't give evidence

Mercury Reporter

THE editor of Ilanga, Mr Obed Kunene, is sticking to his decision not to give evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, which starts hearing evidence in Durban today.

Mr Kunene was originally scheduled to give evidence this week but changed his mind after the Government announced its intention to ban Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

This morning the Steyn Commission will hear evidence from conservationist Mr T C Robertson, and this afternoon Mr James McMillan, editor of The Natal Mercury, will make known his representations on the media.

The Star, Tuesday February

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL

Full rights for coloured people to be vital issue

CAPE TOWN — The franchise and full South African citizenship for coloured people would be among the main topics of deliberation in the President's Council, two coloured members, Mr L V du Preez and Mr C J April, indicated in the Council yesterday.

They spoke to a motion by the Council's deputy chairman, Dr Schalk van der Merwe.

Mr du Preez said disfranchisement of the Cape coloured people had caused an "identity crisis". His people had seen their right to vote as part of their Western heritage, but when the vote was taken away from them they started looking for a new identity.

Coloured people began to identify with the beliefs of the black consciousness movement. They even began to wear Afro-hairstyles.

A further manifestion of the coloured people's identity crisis was the black alliance "born of frustration". But despite its outward appearance of solidarity "it will die of frustration".

The President's Council was an instrument of reconciliation which would steer South Africa away from a course of racial conflict.

WATERSHED

"The franchise is going to be a major topic of discussion in the President's Council," Mr April said.

Coloured people had reached a watershed. He called on them not to be influenced by people who wanted to wreck efforts to reach reconciliation.

It was not true that coloured people sought a bloody confrontation. Almost all desired peace.

Mr du Preez said about two percent of the coloured people were making so much noise that they drowned out the vast majority. — Sapa.

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Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize

Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize

Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

CHEMICAL

A E & C I Priz

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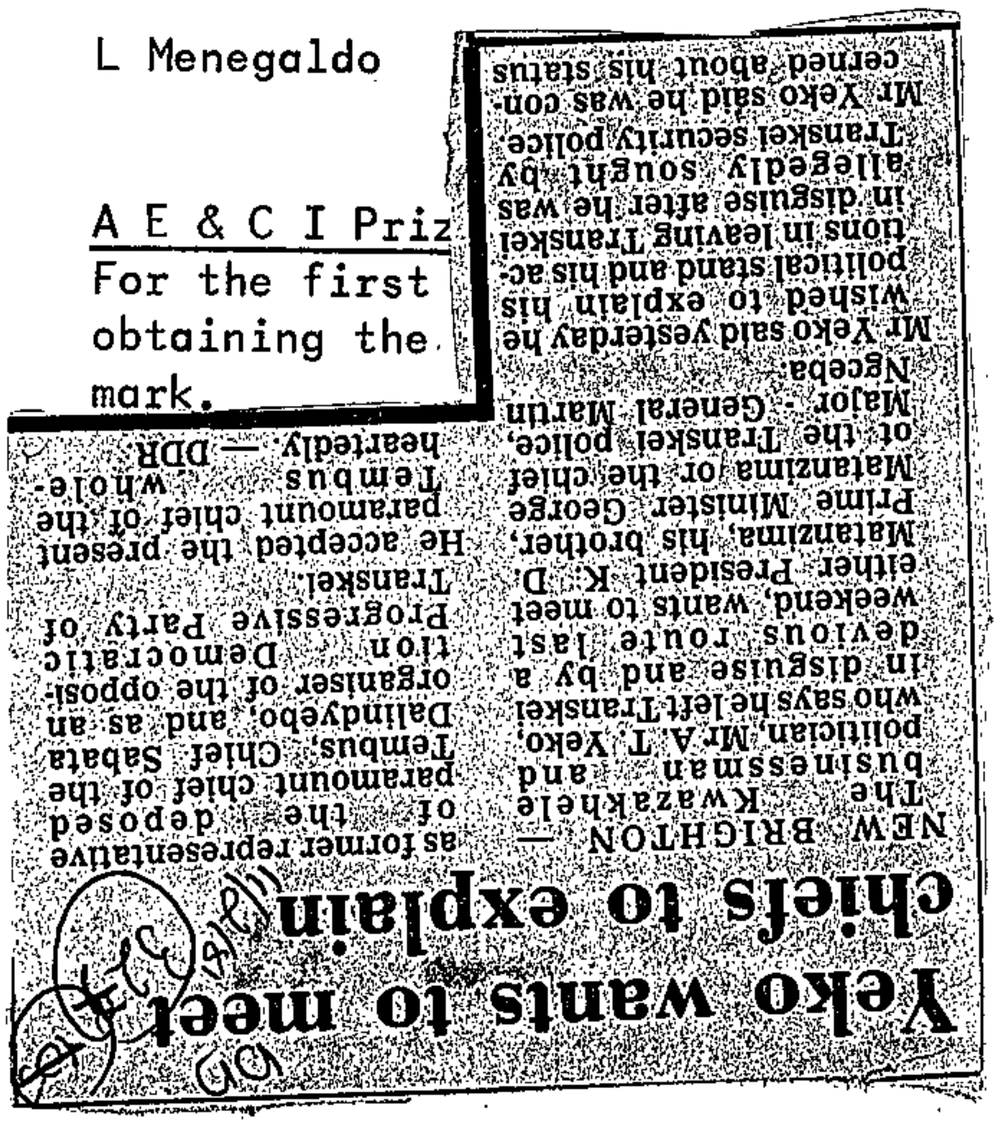
obtaining the
mark.



Yeko wants to meet chiefs to explain

NEW BRIGHTON — The Kwazakhele businessman and politician, Mr A T Yeko, who says he left Transkei in disguise and by a devious route last weekend, wants to meet either President K D Matanzima, his brother, Prime Minister George Matanzima or the chief of the Transkei police, Major - General Martin Ngcebe.

Mr Yeko said yesterday he wished to explain his political stand and his actions in leaving Transkei in disguise after he was allegedly sought by Transkei security police.

Mr Yeko said he was concerned about his status as former representative of the deposed paramount chief of the Tembus, Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, and as an organiser of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party of Transkei.

He accepted the present paramount chief of the Tembus wholeheartedly — DDR

Former detainee made advocate

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Former Security Branch detainee Mr Lawrence Kuny was yesterday admitted as an advocate here after a long case in which the Society of Advocates submitted he was not a fit and proper person to be allowed to practise at the Bar.

The society said State evidence he gave in the trial of his former accomplice, law lecturer Raymond Suttner, in 1975 varied from the evidence he gave for the defence in the case of Themba Harry Gwala and 11 co-accused in 1977.

In the Suttner case he was still a detainee.

He told the Judge-President, Mr Justice James, he was generally well treated, while in the Gwala case he told Mr Justice Howard that Security Branch detainees in political trials could colour their evidence to please their captors.

In the Gwala case Mr Justice Howard said Mr Kuny had exaggerated, distorted and invented facts to vilify the police. On some points Mr Kuny had been inconsistent, unconvincing and in several respects deliberately untruthful.

Mr Justice Shearer who, with Mr Justice Milne admitted Mr Kuny yesterday, said that after reading the evidence "the conclusion that Mr Kuny tailored his evidence to vilify the police is one which I would not have reached.

"In the main Mr Kuny's account of the police was favourable.

"There were a few incidents which took place early in his detention which involved veiled threats of violence, a kick and a flick of a finger.

"His account of his treatment does not suggest he intended to vilify the police.

"It was an attack on detention in terms of Section Six of the Terrorism Act and not on members of the police administering the Act.

"I am not persuaded that Mr Kuny was deliberately untruthful in the Gwala case. And when he did not tell the whole truth in the Suttner case he was not being consciously untruthful," said the judge.

Mr Gerald Alexander, SC, and Mr Nigel Hollis appeared for Mr Kuny. Mr Len Hurt, SC, and Mr Dawie de Villiers appeared for the Society of Advocates.

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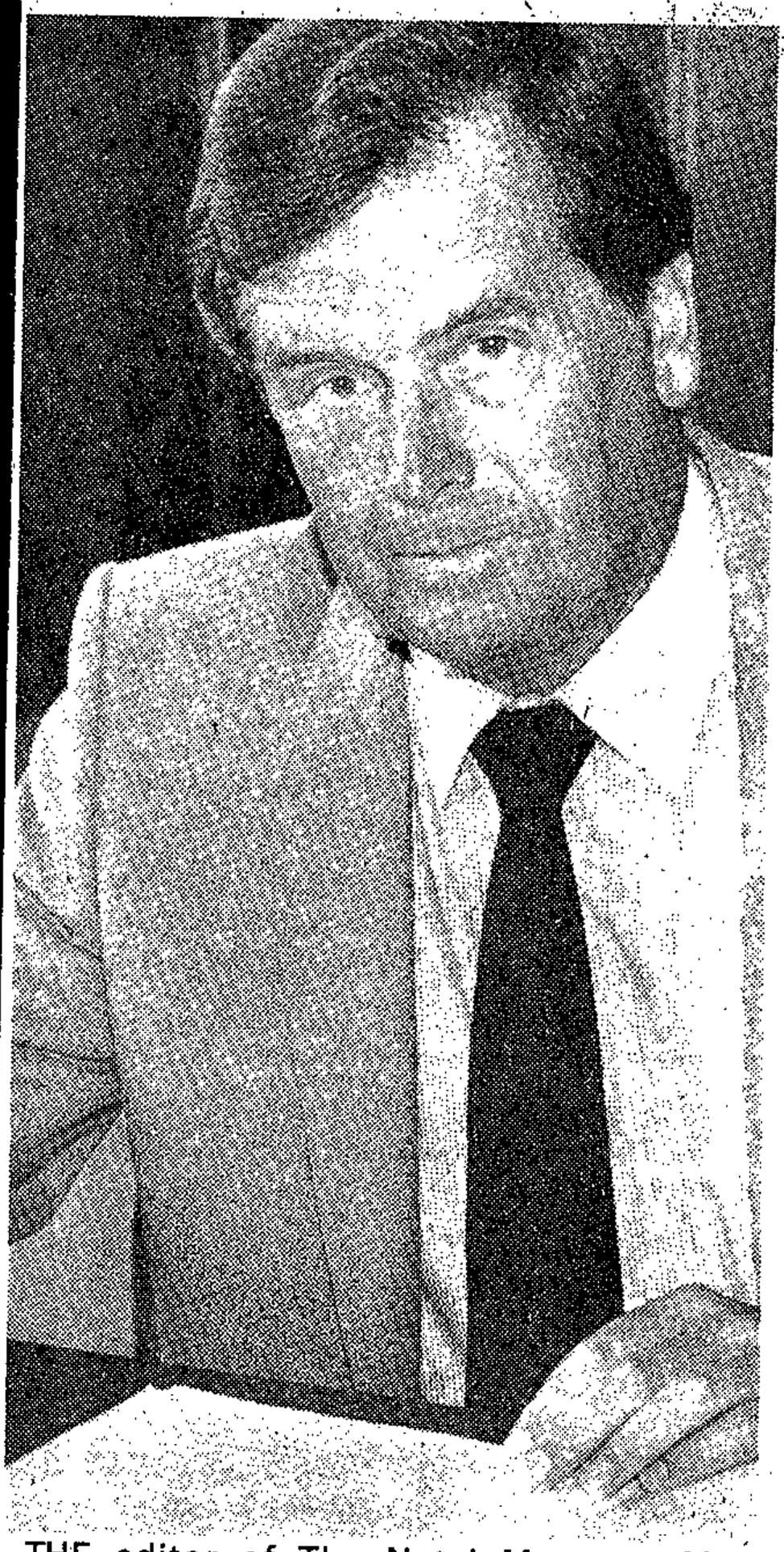

THE editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry in Durban yesterday.

Probe into Press Council

Mercury Reporter

MR JUSTICE M T Steyn, chairman of the commission, revealed that steps had been taken to investigate whether there was any substance in complaints that the existing Press Council was a failure.

'The existing machinery must be examined and the efficacy of the operation must be gauged.

'If the commission finds any faulty perception of these matters, this commission should disabuse men's minds,' he continued.

'If it itself finds fault with the Press Council, it must find ways of improving the matter.'

Justice Steyn pointed out that it would be improper for the commission to go into the merits of the findings. Mr McMillan said that he was not suggesting the commission should sit in judgment on the Council's decisions.

Mr McMillan told the commission that he had received a letter from the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) indicating that the Steyn Commission had received 33 complaints from Government departments against various newspapers.

Justice Steyn said the NPU, as arranged, would be able to make its own transcript of the commission's proceedings and appraise the editors of the complaints before they gave evidence.

Mr McMillan replied that the machinery had evidently broken down.

Professional status for journalists proposed

Mercury Reporter

THE introduction of legislation to facilitate the formation of a Guild of Press Writers so that journalists enjoyed a status equal to that of other professions, was suggested yesterday by Mr T C Robertson, a well-known conservationist and former newspaper editor.

He was giving evidence before the commission in Durban.

Mr Robertson said the functions of the guild would include the definition of entry examinations for new members and the setting of papers and organising of examinations.

The guild would also be responsible for issuing licences to successful applicants and, as part of its disciplinary powers, for suspending or cancelling such licences.

Further, the guild would lay down a code of ethics which would ensure that the quality, integrity and self-discipline of journalism was maintained.

Another function of the guild, Mr Robertson said, would be to set up and administer a journalistic standards board which would have the power to define and enforce measures to improve the technical excellence of the profession.

It would also be responsible for creating opportunities for the achievement of the highest quality work by means of special travel and study bursaries.

Mr Robertson said he had been astounded to hear that the Southern African Society of Journalists was opposed to the acquisition of professional status by journalists.

The society had indicated, he said, that journalism would grind to a halt if it were recognised as an established profession.

Cross-examined by Mr Justice Steyn, Mr Robertson said he saw journalism as a profession rather than a trade.

the 'most extreme action possible' against the two black newspapers.

He asked that the public be told what decision the commission had taken in this regard.

Mr McMillan pointed out that the Press had been accused of a number of sins — including incitement, bedevilling race relations, endangering the security of the State, the publication of 'ascertainable lies' and 'heaven knows what else'.

Mr McMillan said: 'It is interesting and highly significant that it has not so far been charged or found guilty of any of these specific offences — and there are laws to deal with them — in a court of law or by any independent judicial tribunal.

Detractors

'On the other hand, some of its greatest detractors were found, by the Erasmus Commission of Inquiry, to have lied, cheated, misappropriated millions of rands of taxpayers' money and as a result dragged the good name of this country through the mud'.

He said that gross behaviour on the part of politicians, which included lies to Parliament, had not pro-

— [illegible] tempt to make use of a Press Council under the Hon Justice Galgut to air their complaints and seek redress.

Threatened

Their hollow cry, he maintained, had been that it 'took too long' or it 'had no teeth', conveniently overlooking provision for fines of up to R10 000 as well as the odium, in any event, of having contravened the code of conduct.

'This unproven but claimed unsatisfactory state of affairs led to an "ultimatum" from a previous Minister of Justice and of the Interior and now Vice-State President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, that the Press must "set its house in order"'.

At the same time he threatened a statutory Press Council with a register of journalists.

'The effect of that would be State "licensing" of journalists and the destruction of the very "freedom of the Press" which this Government so often hides behind when accused internationally of being a police State or of drifting rapidly to dictatorship.'

Mr McMillan said that, were such steps to be

commission, Mr McMillan believed that for the commission to fulfil its terms of reference, which was 'to inquire into and report on whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by, the mass media met the needs and interests of the South African community and the demands of the times, and if not, how they could be improved', it was essential to examine the most important and pertinent evidence it could wish to have placed before it.

Substance

He said he was deeply concerned that the commission had not, to date, seen fit, as far as he was aware, to establish whether there was any substance in the majority of the complaints which had been made that the existing Press Council was a failure.

'If this is not established, one is left with the conclusion that you have assumed that it is a failure,' he said.

'How could it be said that the council was ineffective, that its deliberations took too long and that complaints failed to get adequate satisfaction, without an examination of the council's records and

and television that it would seem they conformed — needed 'disciplining' and he had no doubt that it hoped that the commission's investigation would produce a weight of accusations to support its viewpoint.

Appealed

Mr McMillan appealed to the commissioners to investigate fully the criticisms levelled against the Press Council and he was sure that the result would be the conclusion that the Government and other critics had not made out a case which in any way justified further legislative restrictions.

'I believe, firstly, that the Press should be vindicated by this commission,' said Mr McMillan.

'I maintain that this inquiry has been brought about solely by the arrogance and contempt for accountability which 32 years in office has given this Government.

'Scandals stretching back over the years and culminating in that which ended in the demise of a State President, an aspiring Prime Minister, and several senior Government officials is what, to my mind, provoked this onslaught.

'The question is: Who de-

ners — the Natal Mercury was not 'owned, operated or controlled' by South African Associated Newspapers nor indeed anyone other than the descendants of those families who were among Natal's earliest pioneers.

Under the chairmanship of Mr John D Robinson, grandson of Sir John Robinson, who was appointed Prime Minister of Natal in 1893, the Mercury had continued to this day to uphold one of Sir John's earliest policy commitments.

This was: 'The Natal Mercury will not be a political journal in the sense of blind and subservient partisanship. The safety of the people (all South Africa's people), the supreme law, will be its governing maxim in political discussions, and a thorough and absolute independence will characterise every department.'

Mr McMillan asked the commissioners to turn their attention to the first lines of the foreword to the editorial manual of The Natal Mercury which stated: 'The Natal Mercury is an independent newspaper. It believes firmly in the motto audi alteram partem — hear the other side.'

'It is because this article

Minority report

Not only had the commission, as a consequence, been left without the services of any senior, experienced and therefore recognised authority on newspapers to assist in assessing the value of whatever representations were made, but it had excluded the possibility of such a representative providing a minority report if he felt it necessary.

'Having said that, I would nevertheless like to emphasise that I associate myself with both bodies in so far as their representations oppose any further restraints on the freedom of speech, and not of the Press, because newspapers — other than in editorials and signed commentaries — in reality do nothing more than reflect, within the constraints of the law, what is being said and done in the world about them and their freedom is no greater than that of the individual.'

Mr McMillan said the Steyn Commission could be likened to a team of investigative reporters whose brief was to examine thoroughly a particular industry, the complaints which had been made against it and any suggestions to im-

would first examine all the facts, and especially such pertinent and valuable information as the records of the Press Council as well as interview the council's officials, this commission has not yet done so.

'Further, the investigative team would be required to examine all complaints against individuals, such as in this case editors, and incorporate this in their report.

'If these things were not done, I as an editor could not accept that they had done their job properly. Their report, and I am sure commissioners would agree, could not by any stretch of the imagination be described as fair, balanced, accurate and having exhausted all avenues of inquiry.'

Mr McMillan said any newspaper editor of his acquaintance would reject it for reasons of inadequacy and the danger of misrepresentation.

And he emphasised that he, as an editor, would not consider basing any leading article on it until these deficiencies were put right.

'With respect, I pose the question: Is this not the very sort of omission of which the Government accuses the Press?'

The Steyn Commission in Durban

Minister should give evidence, says editor

Mercury Reporter

THE credibility of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media would be in danger unless it examined evidence from Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, regarding the closure of Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

This point was made in Durban yesterday by the editor of The Natal Mercury, Mr James McMillan, when he submitted evidence to the Steyn Commission.

Mr McMillan said Mr Coetsee should have submitted evidence to the commission before he took

duced even a whispered demand for a code of conduct for them or any restraint other than those provided in law.

'Yet, without any significant or tested complaint, all the machinery being available, that is what they demand for the Press. What hypocrisy.'

Mr McMillan said the fact that none of those politicians found culpable had since sought redress or vindication in civil actions was a commentary in itself.

Further, it had been found with monotonous frequency, that detractors — the Government in-

taken — and he urged the commission to reject the very thought of them — South Africa would have placed itself in the company of those Third World and communist countries which had been campaigning in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for many years to bring about a 'new world order of information'.

This was a pseudonym for the management and dissemination of only that news which was acceptable to government and the suppression of that which was not.

Against this background, and with the utmost re-

the commission calling on the council's chairman, the Hon Justice Galgut, to explain its workings?'.

Without calling for this vital evidence, the commission, in his humble opinion, was left in a position where it was dealing with untested complaints and subjective opinions.

He believed further weight was given to this contention by the fact that he had not heard of one editor who had, when appearing before the commission, been given the opportunity to answer to any specific complaint.

The Government's view was that the Press — so little having been said which

served investigation and censure most? Certainly not the watchdog that caught the criminals.'

Mr McMillan said any attempt to muzzle or otherwise restrict the Press by legislation or the 'registering' of journalists — which also implied power to 'deregister' them — would mean, in effect, State control.

'Who would believe us, but particularly the Government, then?'.

The editor emphasised that, contrary to the mistaken belief of most people in public life — such as even a former Minister of Justice and the mischievous misrepresentations of

of faith — audi alteram partem — has been so much a part of my life for more than 30 years in newspapers, that I am so deeply concerned at the course events seem to be taking in this country, particularly in regard to the Press, the attitude of the Government and the circumstances which led to the appointment of this commission.'

Mr McMillan made it clear that he personally considered the failure of the Newspaper Press Union and the Southern African Society of Journalists to make themselves available to serve on the commission a grave error

prove it, and then to prepare a fair, balanced and accurate assessment, including its conclusions, for publication.

In addition, it had the further licence — not granted to such journalists in newspaper practice — to write what could be described as its own leading article in the form of its recommendations.

This, of course, was an aspect which would be denied to anyone other than an editor or a leader-writer acting on the instructions of an editor.

'My difficulty with this commission's approach is that, whereas a team of in-

Council received four complaints in 1980

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Only four Government departments complained to the Press Council about news reports during 1980.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr. Chris Heunis, when he answered a question which had been tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr. Nigel Wood (NRP, Berea). One of the complaints was rejected by the Press Council and three were settled to the satisfaction of the complainant.

The former Secretary for Indian Affairs complained about a report in the Natal Post, but this was rejected by the Press Council. The Commissioner of Police made two complaints against the Rand Daily Mail and Rand Daily Mail (Extra) and one complaint against the Transvaler, but all three were settled to the satisfaction of the complainant.

11/2481

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Former ANC man is advocate

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

A FORMER detainee and ANC member, who was sworn in as an advocate at the Supreme Court here yesterday, told the Court he no longer agreed with the violent aims of the terrorist organisation.

Mr Lawrence Ian Kuny, 30, who spent five months in solitary confinement before being released without being charged several years ago, was admitted as an advocate by Mr Justice Shearer and Mr Justice Milne after a two-day hearing in which his admission was opposed by the Society of Advocates.

The fact that his evidence in two terrorism trials differed showed he was not fit to practise as an advocate, said Mr Len Hurt, SC, for the society.

Mr Gerald Alexander, SC, for Mr Kuny, said Mr Kuny had been a young law student when he had given evidence against Mr Raymond Suttner — his former law lecturer.

Depression

During his imprisonment Kuny had suffered from depression and had threatened suicide. The police had then given him stimulants and he had appeared in court while still taking the drugs.

Giving evidence on his own behalf yesterday, Mr Kuny said he no longer agreed with the use of violence to bring about a solution in South Africa.

'Although I do not sympathise with them (the ANC), I can understand what makes people take the action they do,' he said.

Turning down the application by the Society of Advocates, Mr Justice Shearer said Mr Kuny had been young when he had fallen under the influence of Mr Suttner. 'His court conduct does not reflect on his integrity as a person.'

Mr Justice Milne said what he had seen and heard of Mr Kuny in court did not make him think Mr Kuny was a liar, or had been untruthful in court.

Steyn inquiry to look at Post closure

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The chairman of the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media, Mr Justice M T Steyn, said yesterday it had called for the evidence on which the Minister of Justice, Mr Coetsee, had stopped the publication of two black newspapers, Post (Transvaal) and Sunday Post.

He was replying to a point by Mr James McMillan, editor of the Natal Mercury, that the credibility of the commission would be in danger unless it examined this evidence.

Mr McMillan emphasised the need for a thorough investigation by the commission of complaints by the Government and others against the Press Council.

He said he believed the commission would conclude that no case could be made against the council to justify any further legislative restrictions against the Press.

In a memorandum submitted to the commission at its hearing in Durban, Mr McMillan said the commission should establish whether there was any substance in complaints that the council was a failure.

Without such evidence, the commission would be dealing with unproven complaints and subjective opinions.

Mr Justice Steyn said steps had already been taken to investigate the allegations.

Mr McMillan said that in the Government's view the Press needed to be disciplined, and it hoped the commission would produce a weight of accusations to support its viewpoint.

He, however, believed that the Press would be vindicated.

The commission, he said, had been set up as a result of Government "arrogance and contempt for accountability" during its 32 years in office.

"Scandals stretching back over the years and culminating in that which ended in the demise of a State President, an aspiring Prime Minister and several senior Government officials is what, to my mind, provoked this onslaught."



Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, giving evidence before the commission in Durban yesterday.

'Contempt' for free Press

WM 12/2/81

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Mercury Reporter

THE Government's action against Post Transvaal and Sunday Post was grossly contemptuous of the work of the Steyn Commission and an indication of the low premium it placed on the freedom of the Press.

This observation was made in Durban yesterday by Mr Richard Steyn, editor of the Natal Witness, when giving evidence before the Steyn Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media.

Mr Steyn said if the Government seriously wished to determine how the media met the needs and interests of the community it would not have taken arbitrary action against two newspapers serving an important section of the community during the course of the commission's inquiry.

Questions

There was considerable cross-questioning of Mr Steyn regarding this aspect of his submissions by both Mr Justice Steyn and another of the commissioners, Mr Klaus von Lieres.

Mr Steyn said in reply to a question from Mr Von Lieres that the commission should be entitled to comment on the manner in which the matter had been handled.

Mr Steyn submitted that the Government should not have closed down the newspapers concerned but should have taken action against the allegedly guilty journalists.

Agreement

Mr Justice Steyn asked the editor if the commission should devise future guidelines as to how the Government should proceed when it came to its notice that certain journalists were abusing their rights and duties.

Mr Steyn replied that he would be in agreement with such an approach although he was not prepared to spell out exactly how this should be done. He believed that the editor and the owner of a newspaper should be consulted in cases where individual reporters had ostensibly transgressed.

The Natal Witness editor said that as far as a free Press was concerned the country could not have it both ways: it could not have a watchdog and expect it to operate with a muzzle on.

'It is a depressing feature of our society that after the Press has so effectively demonstrated its value in keeping public administration clean, it should find itself under siege as never before,' he maintained.

Criticism

Mr Steyn said he did not take the view that the newspaper industry was above criticism. An aspect which caused concern was that ownership of the major South African newspapers was concentrated in too few hands.

Just as there should be diversity in ownership in radio and television services, so there should be diversity in the print media.

'I would hope that this commission will recommend that there should be no further merging of interests between and within the major groups in the English and Afrikaans Press,' he urged.

Mr Steyn said it was unfair that the English Press should be singled out for criticism on account of its supposed similarity of political viewpoints.

'I have never heard a Government spokesman criticise the blanket support giving to the National Party by the Afrikaans Press or the indirect support given the Government by our radio and television services,' he pointed out.

Secrecy

The editor declared that a second point of concern was the secrecy surrounding newspaper shareholdings.

'It seems to me that if any industry should play cards with the public, it is the newspaper industry.

'I am not suggesting there is anything inherently sinister about the practice of nominee shareholdings in newspaper companies, nor do I have any reason to believe that any shareholder, secret or otherwise, has any direct influence over the content of any newspaper.

'But I do think the public is entitled to as much reassurance as possible on this account, and that the newspaper industry should place itself beyond criticism on grounds of secretiveness.'

Mr Steyn recorded his strong opposition to both a statutory Press council and a system of State licensing or a register of journalists.

Influence

Once there was a statutory Press council, with Government nominees on it, the one had, in effect, a Government-influenced Press.

'If the Press is to perform its watchdog role satisfactorily, it has to be entirely free from Government influence,' he said.

He termed the proposal that there should be an official register of journalists 'abhorrent'. It was essential that a journalist should be allowed to do his job without fear of official restraint.

Tame

'If a journalist is to face the prospect of being struck off a State register as a result of reports that the Government might not like, the upshot is going to be a tame and cowed Press unable to function effectively.'

Mr Steyn invited the commission to consider whether the Information scandal would have ever been uncovered had a statutory Press code and a register of journalists been in force at the time.

In answer to a question from Mr J H Hopkins, he said he thought the idea of an independent television service an excellent one. Such a service should be independent of both the Government and the Press.

Replying to cross-examination by Mr D A S Herbst, Mr Steyn said he would have no problem with every single news report carrying the by-line of the journalist who had written it.

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T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Me

Awarded on results
examinations to th
student in Land Su
Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memori

Awarded to the stu
best classwork in
Drawing.

L Menegaldo

CHEMICAL

Country is preparing for a civil war, says top SC

South Africa was pre-
pari- itself for the worst
of all wars — a civil war,
Mr Ernie Wentzel SC told
students at the University
of the Witwatersrand yes-
terday.

In a debate on whether
Nationalist ideology could
accommodate democratic
education, Mr Wentzel
said Nationalist ideology
was a destroyer of demo-
cratic education and had
been born from an amal-
gam of fear and greed.

"Nationalist ideology is
the creator of inequalities
in South Africa and the
author of tensions within
our society.

"Over the years the pol-
icy has not changed.

"It has had a nose job
and has become hidden
under the disguise of new
names.

"I have no more faith
in the Prime Minister's
reforms than I do in JR
Ewing's Asian 'oil wells,'"
he said.

"Two phases of action
were required if South
Africa was to be seen as a
society with democratic
ideals:

● To help create a
democratic system by get-
ting out of the morass in
which South Africa was
foundering.

● To educate people to
live, learn and preserve a
democratic South Africa
in the interests of all race
groups.

Children should be
taught mutual respect, to
avoid conflict, and to
work together towards a
common ideal — a demo-
cratic future.

The opposing speaker,
Mr Barend du Plessis,
Nationalist MP for Flori-
da, said the problem fac-
ing the Nationalist Party
(and the Government)
was one of ethnicity.

The Government was
trying to achieve ho-
mogeneity within the
many groups comprising
South Africa's population,
through "parallel" deve-
lopment.

"If you ignore the
multi-ethnic character of
South Africa, you are play-
ing with fire.

"This has been the basis
for conflict between black
and white elsewhere in
Africa."

Mr du Plessis claimed
political parties in Angola
and Zimbabwe had
grouped around different
ethnic figures and that
the barriers had been
drawn along ethnic lines
of emotion.

Banned funds

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN. — The funds of the 17 organisations banned in October 1977 have not yet been paid into any other body, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday in reply to a question tabled by Mrs Helen Suzman.

"It looks like the Government is having trouble getting anyone to accept this tainted money," Mr Suzman said.

130 people executed last year

Parliamentary Staff

LAST year, 130 people were executed in South Africa for crimes ranging from murder to housebreaking with aggravating circumstances, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, disclosed yesterday.

Mr Coetsee, who was replying to a question asked by Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton) said that of the 130 executed, 85 were blacks, 43 coloured people, one Indian and one white.

The majority of the executions resulted from convictions of murder with 101 people being sent to the gallows. Eight people were executed for murder and rape with two people executed for rape. For murder and robbery, 16 people were executed.

In reply to another question from Mrs Suzman, Mr Coetsee said 187 people were prosecuted under the Immorality Act last year.

No. 249 13 Februarie 1981

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937
VANSVERANDERING.—OSMAN IN BRAY

Dit het die Staatspresident behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet 1 van 1937), Shaik Osman en sy vrou Rabia, gebore Sonday, woonagtig te Springbok Kontant Winkel, Otteryweg, Ottery, te magtig om die van Bray aan te neem.

No. 249 13 February 1981

ALIENS ACT, 1937
CHANGE OF SURNAME.—OSMAN TO BRAY

The State President has been pleased, under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937), to authorise Shaik Osman and his wife Rabia, born Sonday, residing at Springbok Cash Store, Ottery Road, Ottery, to assume the surname of Bray.

No. 258 13 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 258 13 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/13

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/20.....	*Graffiti 2: The Walls of the World*.....	Roger Kilroy and McLachlan.....	(a)+(b)
P81/1/193.....	*Sandton Metals/Sandton Scrap Metals*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P81/1/194.....	*Christies Restaurant*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P81/1/195.....	*Walmer Bottle Store*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(a)
P81/1/196.....	*George Doyle Panel Beaters & Spray Painters (Pty) Ltd*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Pictorial Press.....	(a)
P81/1/197.....	*Boere Kafee*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar).....	Kingsway.....	(a)
P81/1/199.....	*Geoplastic P.O.B.* 1008, *Firenze*—Art 4221 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Made in Italy.....	(a)
P81/1/200.....	*Geoplastic P.O.B.* 1008 *Firenze*—Art 4222 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Made in Italy.....	(a)
P81/1/201.....	*Geoplastic P.O.B.* 1008 *Firenze*—Art 4602 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Made in Italy.....	(a)
P81/1/202.....	*Geoplastic P.O.B.* 1008 *Firenze*—Art 4601 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Made in Italy.....	(a)
P81/1/208.....	*Giselle*—No 881 (Plakkaat/Poster).....	Edizioni Quadrifoglio, Milano.....	(a)
P81/1/210.....	*Danrose Poster*—No 3037 (Plakkaat/Poster)....	Danrose Poster, Italy.....	(a)

No. 259 13 Februarie 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974
PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die verbod kragtens artikel 9 (4) deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, op die invoer van die publikasies deur die ondergenoemde uitgewers ter syde gestel word.

In *Staatskoerant* 7288, Goewermentskennisgewing 2299 van 31 Oktober 1980, skrap die ondergenoemde inskrywings:

Gold Star Publications, Surrey.
Playgirl Inc, Santa Monica.

No. 259 13 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974
PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided to set aside the prohibition in terms of section 9 (4) by a Committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, of the importation of publications isued by the undermentioned publishers.

In *Government Gazette* 7288, Government Notice 2299 of 31 October 1980, delete the following entries:

No. 260 13 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE. —REGSTELLINGS

In *Staatskoerant* 7357, Goewermentskennisgewing 44 van 9 Januarie 1981 vervang die inskrywing P80/11/200 deur die volgende inskrywing:

No. 260 13 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.— CORRECTIONS

In *Government Gazette* 7357, Government Notice 44 of 9 January 1981 substitute the following entry for entry P80/11/200:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/11/200.....	*Dread in a Babylon* (Grammofoonplaat/Gramophone Record—d.i. op grond dat die omslag No VIR (E) 3001 ongewens is/i.e. on the ground that the cover No VIR (E) 3001 is undesirable)	U-Roy.....	(a)

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T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize

Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize

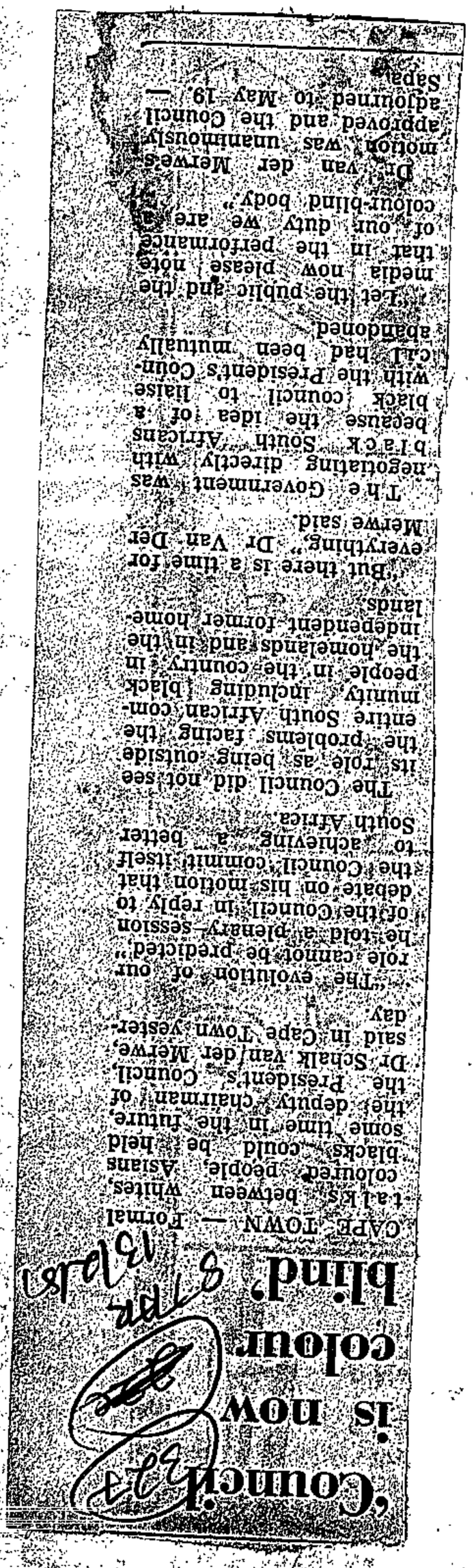
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

G L Cragg



"Council is now colour blind", Star, 13 [illegible]

CAPE TOWN — Formal talks between Whites, coloured people, Asians and blacks could be held some time in the future, the deputy chairman of the Prime Minister's Council, Dr Schalk van der Merwe, said in Cape Town yesterday.

"The evolution of our role cannot be predicted" he told a plenary session of the Council in reply to a debate on his motion that the Council commit itself to "achieving" a better South Africa.

The Council did not see its role as being outside the problems facing the entire South African community, including black people in the country, in the "homelands" and in the independent former homelands.

"But there is a time for everything," Dr Van Der Merwe said.

The evolution of our role cannot be predicted" he told a plenary session of the Council in reply to a debate on his motion that the Council commit itself to "achieving" a better South Africa.

"Let the public and the media now please note that in the performance of our duty we are a colour-blind body."

Dr Van der Merwe's motion was unanimously approved and the Council adjourned to May 19.

Sapa

32 Nats quit in election row

Argus 13/2/81 327

Political Correspondent

THIRTY-TWO office bearers of the National Party in the Uitenhage constituency have revolted against the party leadership and resigned their positions.

This follows a squabble in the party over the selection of a candidate for the general election.

These latest problems in the National Party have occurred in a constituency which has a history of being troublesome to the party leadership.

VERKRAMPTE

It has seen fierce nomination battles in the past.

Last year the sitting MP, Mr Jannie Swiegers, who was known as a verkrampte who was not entirely happy with Mr P W Botha's leadership resigned suddenly.

There were suggestions that Mr Swiegers would align himself with the HNP, but he has formally remained out of politics.

However, there is more than a suspicion, in some Nationalist circles, that he may have a hand in the recent troubles.

When he was approached today for comment, Mr Swiegers declined to say anything.

In the latest nomination battle, the 'rebels' supported Mr Fred Nel, a Port Elizabeth North barrister and former MP for Krugersdorp and Port Elizabeth North.

Instead Mr D le Roux, the sitting MPC, was chosen.

The divisional chairman of the National Party in the constituency, Mr J H Mellet, led the mass resignations.

NO PURPOSE

In a statement the dissidents said that, with their knowledge of party organisation, there was, locally, no suitable person to take Mr Swieger's place.

It would therefore serve no useful purpose if they took part in coming nomination procedures.

Consequently they were leaving the political scene voluntarily instead of being out-manoeuvred.

They are remaining on as party members, but it appeared today that disciplinary steps might be taken against them.

Mr P W Botha, who is also the Cape leader of the party, said today that all members were expected to subject themselves to the authority of the party.

DECLINED

The vice-chairman in the constituency, Mr H Fourie, and the secretary of the Nationalist divisional committee, Mrs C J Basson, also resigned.

The 32 belonged to six different branches in the constituency.

Mr Mellet has declined to deal in full with the

(Continued on Page 3, col 3)

(Continued from Page 1)

reasons for the resignations and a number of those who resigned today declined to talk about this.

Mr Le Roux, who has now become the party's offical candidate, confirmed that the resignations followed a nomination squabble.

Mr le Roux said 11 of the 14 branches had supported him and only two of the other three had supported Mr Nel. In the end Mr Nel had withdrawn from the contest.

Nats in revolt

Argus 13/2/81 327

It is understood that the dissidents wanted to put conditions to Mr le Roux about a provincial candidate — his name could not be established today — they wanted nominated. Mr le Roux refused to do this, it is said.

Instead another candidate Mr Nic Claassen, was chosen.

Mr Botha today told the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece, Die Burger, that Mr le Roux's was the only name that had been received for the parliamentary candidacy and that for the provincial candidacy only Mr Claassen's nomination papers had been in order.

The HNP may try to take advantage of the unhappiness in the Uitenhage Nationalist ranks by putting up a candidate there.

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Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

CHEMICAL

A E & C I Prize
For the first year student

Maputo raid services banned

Countrywide memorial services in honour of the 12 African National Congress members killed in the SADF raid on Maputo have been banned — for fear the public peace would be endangered.

The bans, applied by magistrates under the Riotous Assemblies Act, affects the magisterial districts of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Bellville, Goodwood, Wynberg, Simonstown, Kuils River and Stellenbosch.

Soweto Security Police said yesterday the ban on gatherings had been applied by the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, Mr J A van Dam.

Security Police said any gathering to commemorate the death of ANC "terrorists" or any others who died during the raid on the ANC bases had been banned last night and midnight tomorrow.

The order was made in terms of section 2 of the Riotous Assemblies Act (Act 17 of 1956).

The Chief Magistrate of Pretoria, Mr P J Kroger, and the Chief Magistrate of Wonderboom, Mr P A J Burger, today confirmed that banning orders were issued yesterday to cover the entire Pretoria area.

● Hundreds of people filled Maputo's Independence Square today in a rally to commemorate the deaths of the ANC members. Representatives of embassies and missions also attended the rally, which was addressed by President Samora Machel of Mozambique.

Mass resignations plague Natal Nats

RDM 14/2/81 (327)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Fifty-three members of the local branch of the National Party in Greytown have joined two office bearers in resigning from the party, it was established yesterday.

A party source at Greytown said the mass resignation was intended to show the Government that there were strong feelings over the integrationist policies being followed. Such policies were not part of NP policy, he said.

The decision to resign was taken at a meeting on Monday and follows the resignation of Mr L A van Rooyen, the vice-chairman, and Mr P W van Rooyen, a member of the branch committee.

Mr Henry Torlage, former Natal leader of the NP and a past Commissioner General of KwaZulu, and Mr H W H Thole, a former MPC for the defunct Weenen seat, are veteran politicians from the Greytown area who have also resigned.

The party source said a number of people who were not registered as voters in the Greytown constituency but who were living there were among members who had left the party.

The mass resignation, which the Natal party hierarchy has publicly ignored, came after it was agreed that the Government's moves at integration were not part of NP policy.

The NP's Natal executive committee said in a statement last weekend that the resignations of Mr Torlage, Mr Thole and the two officer bearers were not worth discussing.

The source said that the "people feel that the party has changed but the voters have not".

By resigning, they hope that the Government will take note of their opinion. They feel that the Government is doing things over which they, as voters, had not been consulted.

"The NP should go back to what it was before," they said.

There was no question of a new party being formed, but it was expected that speakers from the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Dr Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party and the NP would ad-

☐ To Page 2

Battles for [illegible] Nat[illegible] seats

[illegible]

Apart from the Transvaal, where the party faces increasing defections to the Rightwing HNP, Nationalist tensions in the Cape and Natal have led to a series of resignations.

There are inevitably personality clashes, but the continuing verlig-verkramp battle is at the heart of most Nationalist problems.

There is also an increasing rejection at grassroots level of MPs who ignore their constituencies or candidates suggested in the first place by the party leadership.

Apart from Greytown, the most recent trouble is in the Cape, where Mr P W Botha's vaunted and efficient Nationalist machine has been unable to prevent differences coming to the surface.

Four Cape MPs, including the Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr George Morrison, face nomination battles in their constituencies.

Mr Botha has also had to issue a public rebuke to 32 office bearers who resigned their posts in Uitenhage in protest against the selection of Parliamentary and provincial candidates for the constituency.

The Cape National Party faces a massive 23 nomination contests at Parliamentary or provincial level before it can finalise its candidates for the 47 seats it has so far decided to fight.

While the National Party nomination process is highly democratic, with candidates chosen at constituency level, the number of nomination struggles this year strongly contrasts with the 1977 General Election when there were none.

In 1977 there were unanimous endorsement of 41 Parliamentary and 38 provincial candidates.

Most of the Cape Nationalist struggles are in the Border area.

They include Port Elizabeth Central, Queenstown, East London City and Cradock, where Dr George Morrison faces a challenge from Dr F Kruger in what seems partly to be a verlig-verkramp contest.

Nationalist in-fighting in King William's Town could cost the party a marginal seat where redelimitation favours the New Republic Party.

RDM (327) ~~54A~~ ~~41A~~

ANC memorial services banned

14/2/81

WEEKEND memorial services for African National Congress members who died in the attack by South African forces on ANC bases in Mozambique a fortnight ago, have been prohibited

The centres affected are Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Bellville, Goodwood, Wynberg, Simonstown, Kuils River and Stellenbosch.

Chief magistrates at these centres have prohibited the holding of gatherings to honour or commemorate the deaths of the ANC members, in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

In the Johannesburg and Durban magisterial districts the ban came into effect at 6pm last night and lasts until midnight tomorrow. The ban in the Cape Peninsula and vicinity comes into effect at 6am today and lasts until 6am on Monday.

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr C F W van Zyl, has said he had "reason to fear that public peace would be seriously endangered" by such gatherings. — Sapa.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Corporation Medals
For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

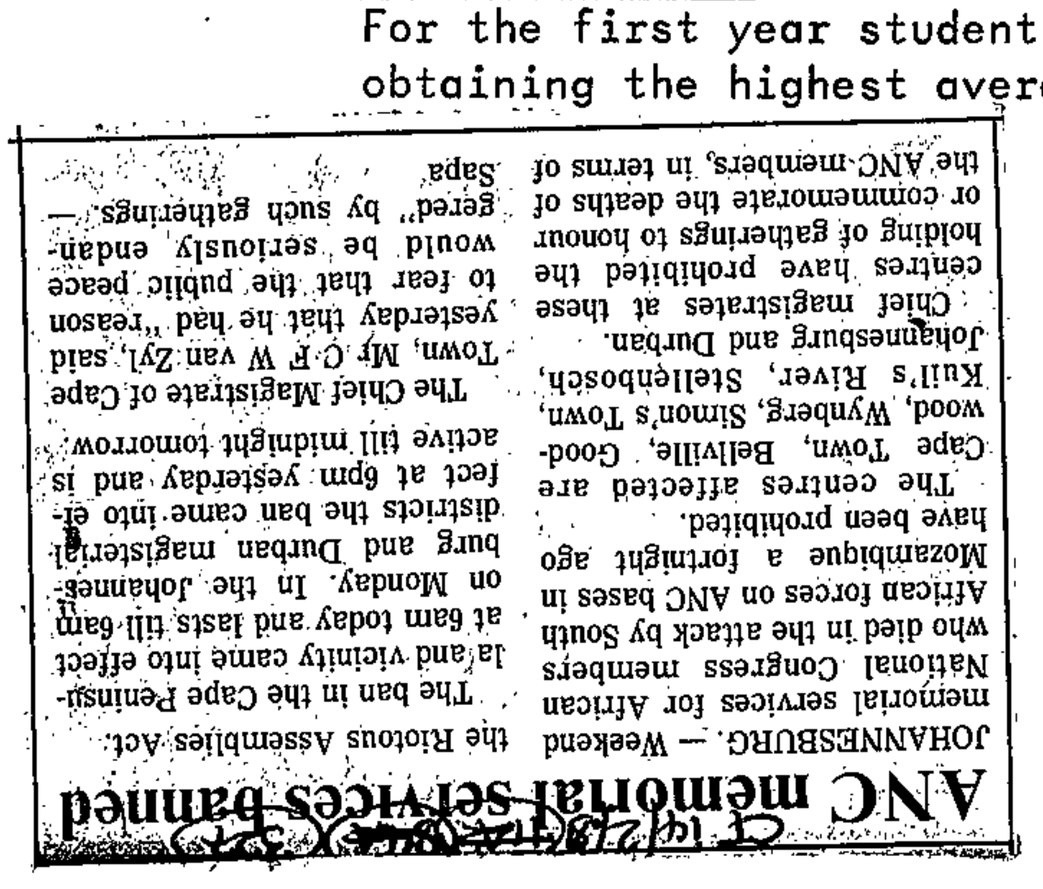
J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

CHEMICAL

A E & C I Prize
For the first year student obtaining the highest average



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Spate of bitter nomination fights and party resignations, then. . .

NATS IN REVOLT: NEW SHOCK FOR PW

CHEMICAL

S. Express
15/2/81 327

A GRASSROOTS rebellion has broken through the tight discipline of the formidable Cape National Party machine — right on the doorstep of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

The Right-wing revolt — which has suddenly manifested itself in a spate of bitter nomination struggles and party resignations — is posing a direct challenge to Mr Botha.

It is a highly significant development that is the exact reverse of what political observers were expecting: that Mr Botha's verligte supporters would use the coming election to gain ground in the Transvaal against the conservative elements of Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The challenge to Dr Treurnicht did not arise, and instead Mr Botha is now finding himself pressed by the right on his own home ground.

The main focus of upheaval and turmoil

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

is the Eastern Cape — and specifically Border areas — where there is a major Right-wing backlash against the homeland consolidation proposals and a mounting rejection of sitting MPs who are out of touch with their constituencies.

The rebellion is seen in political circles as a direct challenge to the leadership and policy initiatives of Mr Botha, who has already had to intervene with a public rebuke to 32 office bearers who resigned in Uitenhage after they felt they had been outmanoeuvred by the party hierachy over the choice of a candidate in the constituency.

The significance of the grassroots defiance in the Cape is that the divisions along verligte/verkrampte lines have shifted from the traditional stage for such conflict

To Page 2

Nats probe party funds — Page 2

By G R NAIDOO

MR TOM MANTHATA, secretary of the Soweto Committee of Ten, has appealed to black people for calm on the face of the banning of memorial services for blacks killed in action during a South African Defence Force raid on ANC bases in Matola, Mozambique, last month.

A memorial service was to have been held in Durban today.

Mr Manthata said: "We appeal to the black people to do their normal Sunday morning duties. The rallies are off and the best way those killed could be remembered is to remember their names and visit the homes of the families as part of the Sunday worship."

The ban on memorial services affects Pretoria, Wonderboom, Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Goodwood, Wynberg, Simonstown, Kuilsrivier and Stellenbosch.

S. Times 327

Appeal for calm

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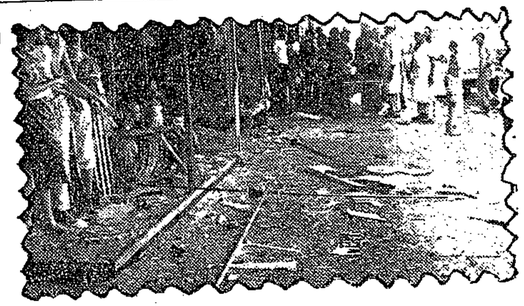
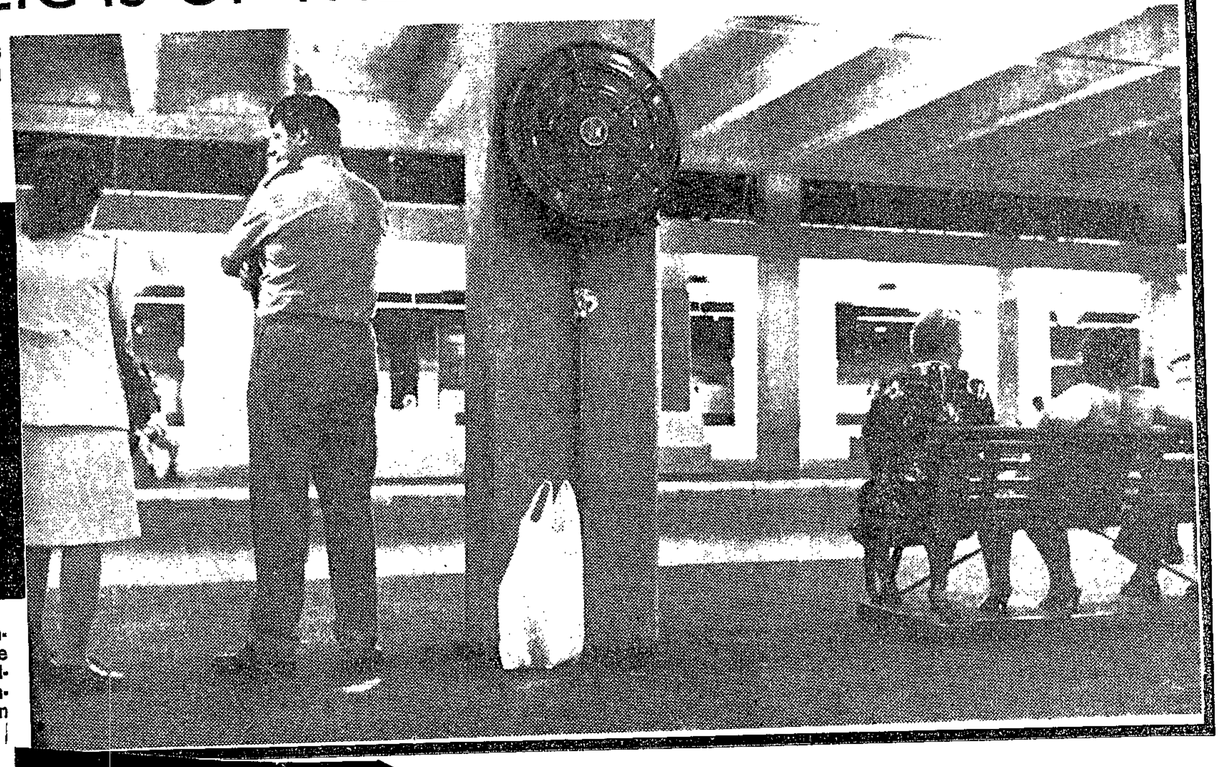


THIS WEEK WE DECIDED TO DISCOVER HOW AWARE THE PUBLIC IS OF THE TERROR BOMB THREAT

FLASHBACK . . . this was the scene in Durban's Field Street after last Saturday's bomb explosion. You can help to prevent scenes like this!



Wake Up!

By MAUREEN GRIFFIN

IT'S terrifyingly easy to plant a bomb where it is most likely to cause the maximum damage, panic, injury and death.

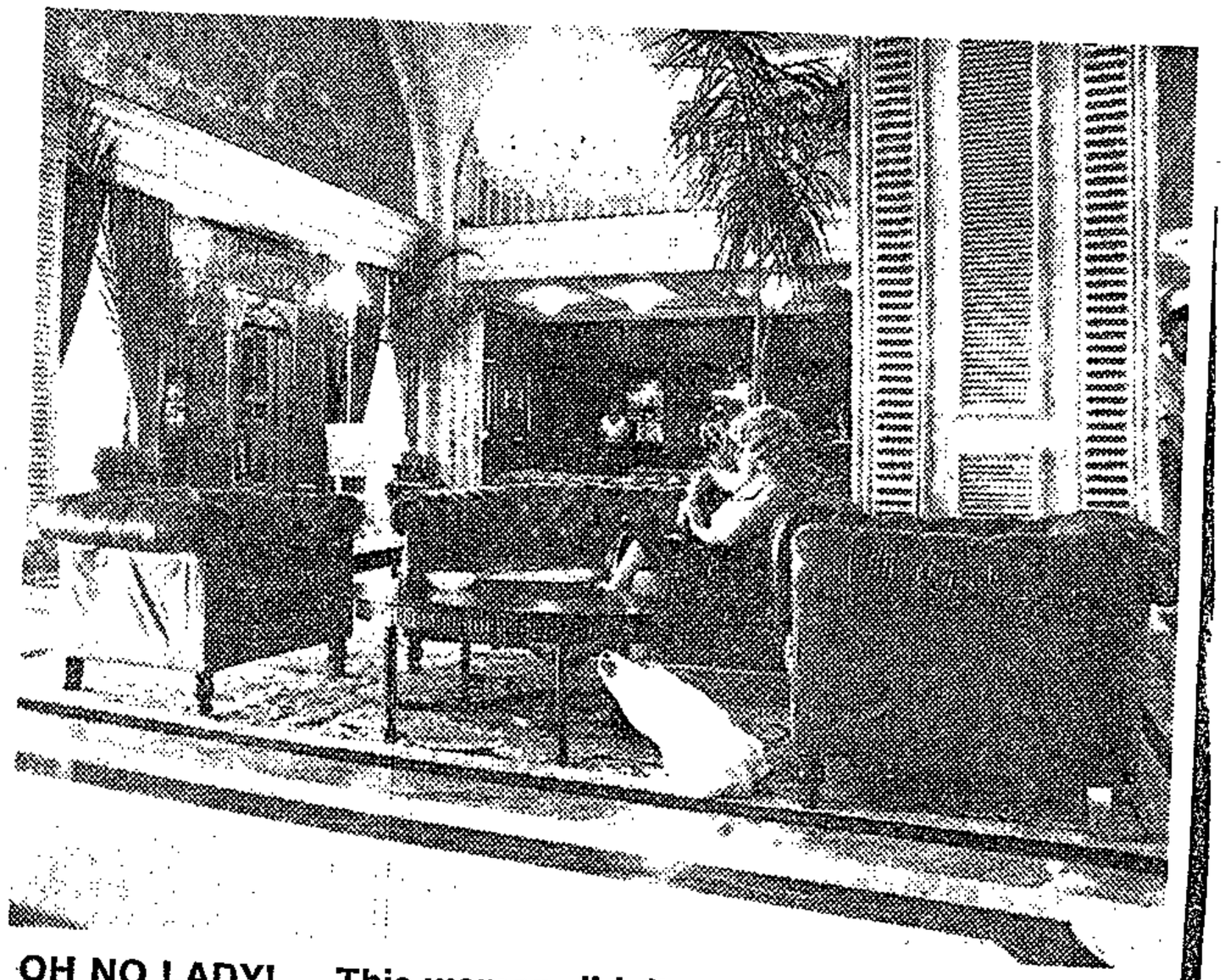
. . . that's today's spine-chilling warning from

RIGHT: What if it contained a bomb? The army officer and policewomen seem unperturbed at Durban Station

Durban's chief of security

This was demonstrated by a **Sunday Tribune** experiment this week which the chief security officer of the City of Durban, Captain Arthur Willis, has hailed as "vital to the all-important effort to shake people out of their apathy and unawareness of danger".

He warned: "We are in for an explosive awakening. Every man, woman and child must prepare for the coming onslaught by learning to be constantly alert to terrorist tactics."



OH NO LADY! . . This woman didn't even give the plastic bag a second glance

After the bomb explosion in Durban's Field Street last Saturday, an alarming degree of oblivion to peril was displayed by the Durban public who consistently ignored strategically-placed parcels which could have been bombs. Had they been, only their detonation would have attracted attention.

The parcels — containing bricks wrapped in newspapers — were placed at the Durban station, Louis Botha Airport, the central Post Office, in the foyer of a five-star hotel and in a large city chainstore.

Apart from the parcel in the store, they remained undetected — although all were clearly visible and positioned where an explosion would have created maximum chaos.

● On a platform at the Durban station, for instance, an army officer and a policewoman chatted for 20 minutes next to a parcel behind a pillar a short distance from them. Neither they, nor a benchful of people on the other side of the pillar, glanced at the parcel.

● Also at the station one of the parcels was placed next to an unattended briefcase which a ticket examiner explained had been left in her care. When she turned her back the parcel was left next to the briefcase, and remained there till she went to lunch about 20 minutes later — asking her relief to keep an eye on the briefcase.

A Railway official removed the case minutes later, and the parcel remained behind. Two Railway Policemen strolled by without glancing at it, although it was obviously unattended.

● At a beachfront hotel, a packet was left next to an easy chair in the foyer for several minutes before a woman sat down nearby, ignoring the parcel which, had it been a bomb, would almost certainly have killed her when it exploded.

● At Louis Botha Airport a parcel was placed next to a magazine stand in the arrivals hall. Various airport officials bent over it to choose reading matter without giving it a second glance.

● The parcel at the post office disappeared and is presumed stolen.

● Only at the chainstore did the parcel — placed next to the groundfloor escalator — arouse suspicion and the Bomb Squad was called without shoppers being made awarde of the incident.

"The only way people will wake up is when more bombs detonate," Captain Willis said. "It is a very good idea to motivate them by making them more aware.

"They must be aware of situations which are out of the ordinary. They must also remember that the professional bomber blends in with the situation and is not always obvious.

"The extremist regards violence as a powerful tool of persuasion and will direct it at carefully selected targets in a carefully prepared scenario.

"Unfortunately all indications point to an increase of terrorism in this country. Terrorists today have a vast field of knowledge to draw on and are able to study the strategies and tactics of the IRA, the PLO, Black September and many other terrorist organisations.

"The link between the ANC, the IRA and the PLO is well known. It is up to us to make their work as difficult as poossible.

"Remember, your political considerations and colour are not the concern of the terrorist. He is concerned with a programme of persuasion, with violence against all people as his strongest tool."

Captain Willis stressed the importance of Press coverage in making people more aware of danger.

He called on all shops in Durban's central business district to examine parcels handed in by shoppers at parcels counters, and also called for the use of safety glass for display windows.

Durban's head of Civil Defence, Commodore Sam Davis, echoed his advice to the public to be on the lookout for unusual occurences and to report these.

Durban takes a closer look at security

15/2/83 327 ST PAR

Property Reporter

MANY FIRMS in the central business district of Durban are expected to take a closer look at security after the bomb blast in Field Street last week.

One major property administration company is planning to write to and tenants of buildings under its control urging them to become more security-conscious.

Malcolm Wiltshire, property administration manager for RMS Syfrets, said people had to realise they are living in different times and in a status building as much protection for the tenant as possible is needed.

One massive CBD building which has recently taken steps to improve control of people entering and leaving is the Nedbank Centre in Durban Club Place.

At one stage anyone could enter from the garage floors. But now the drivers have to pass a security guard, a boom-control activated by a card-key and then to reach the office accommodation they pass through doors which can only be opened by the same card-key.

Tenants in the building include such vital organisations as AECI, and Nedbank's regional general manager, Johan Westraat, says tenants generally have welcomed the move.



Johan Westraat, regional general manager of Nedbank, operates a control panel that is the nerve centre of Nedbank Centre's security system

Alf Jollands, maintenance division manager of RMS Syfrets, said reminders of the need for security in major properties were sent to all tenants. In 1979, it had been suggested that a full-time security officer on 24 hour call should be appointed to look after the buildings on a shared-cost basis but this had not yet gained enough support.

He hoped that further efforts would be made in this direction.

CT 16/2/81

Tutu to see lawyer on service banning

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu is to seek legal advice on the banning of memorial services planned at the weekend for the black South Africans killed in the recent South African Defence Force raid on suspected ANC targets in Mozambique.

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, who was to have delivered a sermon at a memorial service in Soweto, said yesterday: "It is strange that while they say there is freedom of worship in South Africa, a religious service is banned. It is a very odd situation and I will seek the advice of our lawyers."

Bishop Tutu and the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, who was to have spoken at the Soweto service, hit out strongly at the bans.

On Friday, invoking the Riotous Assemblies Act, the chief magistrates of several metropolitan centres banned services scheduled in different parts of the country. The chief magistrate of Cape Town, Mr C F W van Zyl, said he had reason to fear the public peace would be endangered by such gatherings.

Bishop Tutu commented: "It is an irresponsible and quite reckless action on the part of the authorities. They are now trying to tell us when to mourn and when not to mourn. They don't care about the feelings of the black community."

Twelve black South Africans killed in the raid were buried in Mozambique last week.

(327) Argus 17/2/81 both pages

Craig Williamson grew up a typical white South African, so conventional that he joined the police and was a sergeant at 21. Then he changed. He went to university, grew a beard and plunged into student politics. Things got so hot for the young radical that he had to flee to Botswana. From there he went to Geneva and to a job with the International University Exchange Fund, which channelled money to black 'liberation' groups. But, as suddenly as Williamson had quit South Africa, he then returned — to a hero's welcome. For nine years he had led a life of deception, betraying all those with whom he had claimed to sympathise. ANDREW STEPHEN, a London Sunday Times staff writer who first met Williamson three years ago, reports on a South African security agent's extraordinary spying mission.

PORTRAIT OF A SOUTH AFRICAN SUPER-SPY

[redacted]

Top secret...

The upshot of the talk was that, to the outside world — everyone, in fact, but his parents — Williamson left the police force. There were no more weekly pay cheques — 'I avoided, obviously, any evidence of regular income' — but an intensive training: 'I did a lot of reading and was taught a lot of operational methodology, getting rid of a lot of habits that I'd picked up as a policeman.'

He started running a small transport company, 'all with the intent of creating cover, getting away from the police'. There was training in bugging: 'You don't become an expert in electronics because that's somebody else's job. But you must, of course, know how to use the equipment and you must know what's available so you can decide when to use what.

Top secret...

'The most important thing is security. Personal security. Making sure you're not caught out doing something silly — walking into the wrong building, that sort of thing.

You make very sure you are meticulous about what happens to the bits of paper with your handwriting on. Every action in your life has to be totally considered, disciplined, and done with care — which is very different from the normal, casual sort of life.'

From the beginning, Williamson's control was Coetzee, then colonel in charge of security in the university area. Coetzee was already an experienced man: he had infiltrated an agent into the heart of the South African Communist Party, result-

(Contd on Page 15)

FEBRUARY 1978: I am sitting in the downstairs bar of the Rubens Hotel, a stone's throw from Buckingham Palace, sipping orange juice with Craig Williamson. He is 28 years old, bearded, and burly: a former left-wing student leader who had fled his native South Africa the year before after having his passport withdrawn because of his vehement anti-apartheid views.

He is now based in Geneva, working for an organisation which funnels money to black 'liberation' groups opposed to the South African and Rhodesian governments. I am asking his help in arranging an interview with Robert Mugabe, still in the bush with his troops in Mozambique.

December 1980. I am sitting at a table in room 638 on the sixth floor of a city-centre building in Pretoria, South Africa, the office of Brigadier Johan

Top secret...

Coetzee, boss of the South African Security Police, one of the world's most hated and feared security services. Opposite me is Captain Craig Williamson, 31, clean-shaven, visibly bristling with pride, his Beretta 9 mm parabellum pistol resting on the table. The transformation is surreal.

For nine years Craig Williamson had been a South African agent, and Brigadier Coetzee his control. I, along with thousands of others including the International University Exchange Fund had been duped.

uniformed policeman and, to the dismay of family and friends, gradually became a layabout, spending six months doing very little before going to university. He became a Marxist, grew a beard, was elected to the university student council, and, later, to the full-time executive of the national student body. He lived with his wife in a commune in Cape Town and spent three days in jail as a result of a student demonstration.

His passport was withdrawn and he escaped across the border into Botswana to start a new life.

Once he reached Geneva he became thoroughly enmeshed in the international anti-apartheid movement. He discussed events with Robert Mugabe,

Top secret...

Joshua Nkomo, Oliver Tambo. He joined the African National Congress, perhaps the main opponent to white South Africa.

He became godfather to the first child of an exiled black leader in London, gave away his social worker sister at her wedding in Oxford. He travelled around the world, to Moscow, Prague, Lusaka, New York.

He lived, drank, and ate revolution in South Africa with black and white alike, frequently staying in the homes of his black friends. Time and time again he would eagerly join in discussions about how South African security men incarcerated political opponents for the rest of their lives, and just how terrified most of the country's 24-million population were of South Africa's security services.

Yet, all the time, he was a South African security

'Operation Daisy' and taking regular orders from Brigadier Coetzee. As a result of the agent's reports he sent back to Pretoria, security police were able to amass countless intelligence dossiers and to arrest Black Consciousness leaders like the late Steve Biko — just as they had done with student leaders when Williamson was a student.

Top secret...

Williamson had not left the police before going to university: at 21 he had been recruited into the security services, and for the six months when he had appeared to be a layabout, he was being trained in the world of espionage.

8.00, Tuesday morning. Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg. Two men are waiting, John Le Carre fashion, at the foot of the aircraft steps, their sunglasses glinting in the sun. The bearded Williamson had metamorphosised into a South African agent: black leather jacket and tie, sunglasses, clean-shaven, sweaty red face with brushed-back hair, even more burly than before, and clutching a leather bag which I later discover to contain his Beretta.

Top secret...

For the next eight days I am hardly out of the company of Williamson and his colleagues — eating and drinking with them and their wives, talking, visiting lion parks, barbecuing, even visiting black townships like Soweto and Alexandra Park with them.

Williamson, once friend,



IUEF — Williamson's perfect cover.

ruthless power: seemingly content, indubitably human, civilised, certainly unembarrassed. He talked, apparently convincingly, about his family background, his countless betrayals, and his methods; and, using him and other sources, it has been possible to reconstruct his story.

Coetzee later explained

well as a youngster. I knew his late father, and I knew the family background. I knew the man's aptitude, I knew what the Germans call his Weltanschaung, his whole thinking.'

Coetzee knew that to a white South African, Williamson's background had been the kind of life worth retaining, worth

black servants bringing cold drinks on to the veranda.

'I was brought up in a way in which very few people on earth have been brought up,' Williamson recalls. 'I never wanted for anything.' He went to St John's, Johannesburg, one of the country's leading private schools.

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For nine years Craig Williamson had been a South African agent, and Brigadier Coetzee his control. I, along with thousands of others including the International University Exchange Fund, had been duped.

The deception began in 1971, when Williamson left a secure job as a to the full-time executive of the national student body. He lived with his wife in a commune in Cape Town and spent three days in jail as a result of a student demonstration.

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Yet, all the time, he was a South African security man, code number RS167: not just an informer, but a fully paid-up, salaried officer spearheading late Steve Biko — just as they had done with student leaders when Williamson was a student.

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Williamson, once friend, encourager, comforter of the black, now seemed to be living happily in this Afrikaner, white citadel of



IUEF — Williamson's perfect cover.

ruthless power: seemingly content, indubitably human, civilised, certainly unembarrassed. He talked, apparently convincingly, about his family background, his countless betrayals, and his methods; and, using him and other sources, it has been possible to reconstruct his story.

Coetzee later explained to me why he thought Williamson had spy potential in the first place: 'I knew Captain Williamson well as a youngster. I knew his late father, and I knew the family background. I knew the man's aptitude, I knew what the Germans call his Weltanschaung, his whole thinking.'

Coetzee knew that to a white South African, Williamson's background had been the kind of life worth retaining, worth going into battle for: large house set in 12 acres of padlocked grounds, father a wealthy businessman, black servants bringing cold drinks on to the veranda.

'I was brought up in a way in which very few people on earth have been brought up,' Williamson recalls. 'I never wanted for anything.' He went to St John's, Johannesburg, one of the country's leading private schools.

From there he joined the police, and following normal training he was promoted sergeant at 21. Then, one afternoon, he received a coded message on his car radio to return to his station. 'There were these guys standing there. They said: "Are you Sergeant Williamson?" I said: "Yes". They said: "We're from security and would like to talk to

(Contd from Page 14)

ing in the party's leader being jailed for life. Coetzee said that an agent should not learn just what he calls 'the Boy Scout stuff. You've got to lay a background which can span two decades ... developing the more sophisticated, the psychological approach, getting oneself accepted, the study of people's reactions, things like that.'

Williamson told his fellow students at the University of the Witwatersrand that he had gone into the police to avoid compulsory national service, and that his time as a policeman had politicised him and shown him the evils of apartheid. The deception worked — by his second

Top secret...

year he was elected to the student council, presenting himself as an administratively competent, fairly intelligent, Marxist. He was not alone: at least three fellow council members were also security service recruits, all spying and writing reports on the others.

Williamson would find himself in roomfuls of marijuana smokers, but resisted pot and liquor on the grounds that they were bourgeois devices to deaden the horrors of capitalism. Soon he was arrested during a demonstration:

'My arrest turned out to be quite beneficial. I got to know what one could call the hard core quite quickly. On a tactical level, right from the very beginning, I knew when all the student demonstrations were going to be.'

And all the time Williamson was sneaking off to safe houses, 'where I would meet my colleagues and discuss things, and I'd get my instructions and report what was happening. I was moving directly along the line that had been planned — faster than had been planned.' Nobody *dreamt* that I was going to be elected to the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) executive in 1974.'

Top secret...

But he was, by the next year, number two in the national white South African student structure. There were problems: for years he had delayed telling the truth to his fiancée Ingrid, insisting that his discreet affluence resulted from winning money on horses. 'She thought that was terrific.' When he finally told her the truth before their wedding in 1974 'she was quite upset. She felt there was a whole part of my life she hadn't been aware of.'

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He pours a guava juice (for me) and a Diet-Pepsi (for him); at 110 kg he is very overweight. We walk out to the garden. He takes off his tie, handing it to his wife; as she goes into the house he calls her back and hands her his jacket. Wars of the Twentieth Century is on his bookshelf.

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Williamson talks of his five guns, including a rifle and Smith and Wesson revolver; he shoots game at weekends, and likes barbecues and fast cars. Over dinner (South African curry, cooked by his wife) we talk of the Bulgarian secret service umbrella murder in London: highly skilled and typical KGB, he says.

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There he met Lars-Gunnar Eriksson, a 33-year-old Swede who was to prove the focal point of his life for five years. Eriksson ran the International University Exchange Fund, handling a yearly budget of nearly R10-million and many secret contacts in Southern Africa and Latin America. His organisation also channelled money to groups like Zanu, Swapo and grants to the South African Council of Churches.

Eriksson took Williamson to London, and introduced him to various South African exiles and anti-apartheid campaigners like Peter Hain and Abdul Minty — names to make any South African security-man salivate. He says he was also introduced to top African National Congress men like Reg September and Tom Nkobi. Meeting them 'was all James Bond and trenchcoats. Stand next to Goodge Street or Warren Street tube ticket office at three minutes past four, that sort of thing.

soon joined him. The IUEF, funded mainly by the Scandinavian, Dutch and Canadian governments, dispensed hundreds of scholarships to needy students in Africa and Latin America. But Eriksson wanted Williamson to oversee channelling of funds to the Black Consciousness Movements and Prison Support organisations, and run a special information programme.

For Captain Williamson (RS 167) it was too good to be true. 'But obviously, I worked at it,' he said. 'I had worked at it from the time I first met Eriksson.'

Top secret...

He knew from his previous deceptions what was required: 'Like any good actor, you've got to play a part. You've got to psyche yourself into the role.

'To an extent you've got to be what I always call — I'm probably cutting my own throat here — a controlled schizophrenic. It's a very delicate process, the whole thing.

'The further you are away from your base, the further your problems are; the problem of maintaining your morale, and all that sort of thing.'

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THIS series continues tomorrow.

Spymaster

'I knew then that I was on my way. I really knew that I'd hit the jackpot.' Williamson returned to Pretoria where his passport was publicly 'withdrawn' — a familiar ploy to prevent political opponents travelling abroad. Eriksson offered him a job in Geneva, and Williamson and Coetzee jumped at the chance. With a genuine fleeing liberal, Williamson 'escaped' across the border. From Geneva he phoned his wife, sunbathing in the hot Johannesburg summer, to tell her it was snowing in Switzerland.

10.15, Friday morning. A security man — introduced by Williamson at the airport as 'Captain Dave Burke', but whom I later discover by chance is really Captain Derek Brune — takes Williamson and me to the police college passing-out parade. We go in Brune's white Cortina Estate. 'Where is the radio' I ask. Ha-ha, they said: you can't see it but you can be sure there is one. Happy Days are Here Again is blasting out from the conventional radio: Brune, in tinted glasses, puffs at a Gauloise.

Top secret...

We pass through Pretoria, past black dustmen who have been bussed into the city. Suddenly we are in a different, all-white world: ladies in summer dresses holding down large hats in the breeze, bemedalled generals and brigadiers, colourful parasols. The Minister of Justice makes a speech in Afrikaans and English, entirely about communists, terrorists, and subversion. Muscular young men skip out for a gymnastic display, looking like crosses between ballet dancers and rugby players. 'Beautiful,' mutters a general beside me.

A newly passed-out captain in the security branch approaches Williamson. 'Let's crack an ale tonight,' he says, but Williamson explains to me when he has gone: 'I don't drink because I don't want to lose control of myself.' The police parade, surely, must now be a strange experience for him 'No, this is normal for me. It's my family, you know.' It's a revealing remark: a spy out in the cold must feel there is a supportive group behind him, greater in importance than all those who have to be deceived.

In Geneva Williamson found a flat and his wife



BEARDLESS and confident.



BRIGADIER Jo

Pik slams Ten for political expediency

RDM 17/2/81 (327)

CAPE TOWN. — The 10 member states of the European Community should not hesitate to condemn terrorists operating in Southern Africa if they were as opposed to violence as they professed to be, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He was reacting to a statement by the European Community criticising the South African Government for "the actions it took to protect its own people inside South Africa and the inhabitants of South West Africa from the acts of terrorists operating from neighbouring countries".

Mr Botha said: "It is the height of hypocrisy to address this kind of statement to the South African Government when not a single word has been uttered by the Ten to condemn those who are responsible for the acts of terror."

Their silence meant that for political expediency they were refraining from condemning terrorism by name when it occurred outside their communities.

Mr Botha said that when terrorists struck within the European community, loud outcries were raised about the dangers of "this evil".

"Instead of applying double standards, the Ten should recognise terrorism wherever it is planned and wherever it occurs, thus joining all governments who wish to rid the free world of this menace."

Mr Botha also reacted to a statement by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dr Kurt Waldheim, at the conference of Foreign Ministers of non-aligned countries in New Delhi on February 11.

At the time, Dr Waldheim referred to the SWA issue as "the last major colonial problem in Africa".

Mr Botha said he was surprised that the Secretary-General categorised the SWA issue as a "colonial problem".

"It is regrettable that the Secretary-General is now relying on phraseology used in resolutions of the General Assembly on SWA, which we have so often been told is not the guiding light for the Secretary-General in respect of SWA.

"At no time has the Security Council pronounced itself in a resolution on whether SWA is to be regarded as a colonial problem."

As to Dr Waldheim's reference to the recent Geneva talks as "a serious setback", Mr Botha said he had already made South Africa's position clear in an earlier letter to the Secretary-General. — Sapa.

CHEMICAL

J H Rens

Professor George Menzies Prize
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McClelland

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss S Hall

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Corporation Medals
For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

into the cold



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Parade

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Mr Trudeau says there is ... dum.

... back at work in Pretoria.

From previous page

call the hard core quite quickly. On a tactical level, right from the very beginning, I knew when all the student demonstrations were going to be."

And all the time, Williamson was sneaking off to safe houses, "where I would meet my colleagues and discuss things, and I'd get my instructions and report what was happening. I was moving directly along the line that had been planned — faster than had been planned. Nobody *dreamt* that I was going to be elected to the Nusas (National Union of South African Students) executive in 1974."

An agent should not learn just 'the Boy Scout stuff'

But he was, and by the following year was number two in the national white South African student structure.

Affluent

There were problems: for years he had delayed telling the truth to his fiancee Ingrid, insisting that his discreet affluence resulted from winning money on horses. "She thought that was terrific." When he finally told her the truth before their wedding in 1974 "she was quite upset. She felt there was a whole part of my life she hadn't been aware of."

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Drink

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TOMORROW: The spy who came in from the cold . . . Williamson's cover is "blown" and he returns to South Africa.

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ESPIONAGE

The spy w

Craig Williamson grew up a typical white South African, so conventional that he joined the police and was a sergeant at 21. Then he changed. He went to university, grew a beard and plunged into student politics. Things got so hot for the young radical that he had to flee to Botswana. From there he went to Geneva and to a job with the International University Exchange Fund which channelled money to black liberation groups. But as suddenly as Williamson had quit South Africa he then returned – to a hero's welcome. For nine years he had led a life of deception betraying all those with whom he had claimed to sympathise. ANDREW STEPHEN, a London Sunday Times staff writer who first met Williamson three years ago, reports on the South African security agent's extraordinary spying mission in this first article of a two part series.

February 1978: I am sitting in the downstairs bar of the Rubens Hotel, a stone's throw from Buckingham Palace, sipping orange juice with Craig Williamson.

He is 28 years old, bearded, and burly: a former left-wing student leader who had fled his native South Africa the year before after having his passport withdrawn because of his vehement anti-apartheid views.

He is now based in Geneva, working for an organisation which funnels money to black liberation groups opposed to the South African and Rhosian governments. I am asking his help in arranging an interview with Robert Mugabe, still in the bush with his troops in Mozambique.

December 1980. I am sitting at a table in room 638 on the sixth floor of a city-centre building in Pretoria, South Africa, the office of Brigadier Johan Coetzee, boss of the South African Security Police, one of the world's most feared security services.

Deception

Opposite me is Captain Craig Williamson (31), clean-shaven, visibly bristling with pride, his Beretta 9 mm parabellum pistol resting on the table. The transformation is surreal.

For nine years Craig Williamson had been a South African agent, and

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council, and, later, to
full-time executive of
national student body.
lived with his wife i
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and spent three days
jail as a result of a stud
demonstration.

327

ho went out...

His passport was withdrawn and he escaped across the border into Botswana to start a new life.

Once he reached Geneva he became thoroughly enmeshed in the international anti-apartheid movement. He discussed events with Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, Oliver Tambo. He joined the African National Congress, perhaps the main opponent to white South Africa.

Revolution

He became godfather to the first child of an exiled black leader in London, gave away his social worker sister at her wedding in Oxford. He travelled around the world, to Moscow, Prague, Lusaka, New York.

He lived, drank, and ate, revolution in South Africa with black and white alike, frequently staying in the homes of his black friends.

Time and time again he would eagerly join in discussions about how South African security men incarcerated political opponents for the rest of their lives, and just how terrified most of the country's 24-million population was of South Africa's security services.

Yet, all the time, he was a South African security man, code number RS 167: not just an informer, but a fully paid-up, salaried officer spear-heading "Operation Daisy" and taking regular orders from Brigadier Coetzee.

As a result of the agent's reports he sent back to Pretoria, security police were able to amass countless intelligence dossiers and to arrest Black Consciousness leaders like the late Steve Biko — just as they had done with student leaders when Williamson was a student

Williamson had not left the police before going to university: at 21 he had been recruited into the security services, and for [illegible] months when he

age.

Craig Williamson . . . the bearded spy returning from Europe.

Company

8.00, Tuesday morning. Jan Smuts airport, Johannesburg. Two men are waiting, John Le Carré fashion, at the foot of the aircraft steps, their sunglasses glinting in the sun. The bearded Williamson had metamorphosised into a South African agent: black leather jacket and tie, sunglasses, clean-shaven, sweaty red face with brushed-back hair, even more burly than before, and clutching a leather bag which I was to later discover contained his Beretta.

For the next eight days I am hardly out of the company of Williamson and his colleagues — eating and drinking with them and their wives, talking, visiting lion parks, barbecuing, even visiting black townships like Soweto and Alexandra with them.

Williamson, once friend, encourager, comforter of the black, now seemed to be living happily in this Afrikaner, white citadel of ruthless power: seemingly content, indubitably human, civilised, certainly unembarrassed. He talked, apparently convincingly, about his family background, his countless betrayals, and his methods; and, using him and other sources, it has been possible to reconstruct his story.

Coetzee later explained to me why he thought Williamson had spy potential in the first place: "I knew Captain Williamson well as a youngster. I knew his late father, and I knew the family background. I knew the man's aptitude, I knew what the Germans call his *Weltanschauung*, his whole thinking."

School

Coetzee knew that to a white South African, Williamson's background had been the kind of life worth retaining, worth going into battle for: large house set in 12 acres of padlocked grounds, father a wealthy businessman, black servants bringing cold drinks on to the veranda.

"I was brought up in a way in which very few people on earth have been brought up," Williamson recalls. "I never wanted for anything." He went to St John's, Johannesburg, one of the country's leading schools.

From there he joined the police, and following normal training he was promoted sergeant at 21.

Then, one afternoon, he received a coded message on his car radio to return to his station: "There were these guys standing there. They said: 'Are you Sergeant Williamson?' I said: 'Yes.' They said: 'We're from security and would like to talk to you.'"

The upshot of the talk was that, to the outside world — everyone, in fact, but his parents — Williamson left the police force.

There were no more weekly pay cheques — "I avoided, obviously, any evidence of regular income" — but an intensive training: "I did a lot of reading and was taught a lot of operational methodology, getting rid of a lot of habits that I'd picked up as a policeman."

Bugging

He started running a small transport company, "all with the intent of creating cover, getting away from the police."

There was training in bugging: "You don't become an expert in electronics because that's somebody else's job. But you must, of course, know how to use the equipment and you must know what is available so you can decide when to use what."

"The most important thing is security. Personal security. Making sure you're not caught out doing something silly — walking into the wrong building, that sort of thing.

"You make very sure you are meticulous about what happens to the bits of paper with your handwriting on. Every action in your life has to be totally considered, disciplined, and done with care — which is very different from the normal, casual sort of life."

From the beginning, Williamson's control was Coetzee, then colonel in charge of security in the university area. Coetzee was already an experienced man: he had infiltrated an agent into the heart of the South African Communist Party, resulting in the party's leader being jailed for life.

Coetzee said that an agent should not learn just what he calls "the Boy Scout stuff. You've got to lay a background which can span two decades . . . developing the more sophisticated, — the psychological approach, getting oneself accepted, the study of people's reactions, things like that."

Marxist

Williamson told his fellow students at the University of the Witwatersrand that he had gone into the police to avoid compulsory National Service, and that his time as a policeman had politicised him and shown him the evils of apartheid.

The deception worked; by his second year he was elected to the student council, presenting himself as an administratively competent, fairly intelligent, marxist. He was not alone; at least three fellow council members were also security service recruits, all spying and writing reports on the others.

Williamson would find himself in roomfuls of marijuana smokers, but resisted pot and liquor on the grounds that they were bourgeois devices to deaden the horrors of capitalism.

Soon he was arrested during a demonstration: "My arrest turned out to be quite beneficial. I got to know what one could

To facing page

RDM 18/2/81 327 21c

Rightwing group has big following

By ARNOLD GEYER

A NEW extreme Rightwing political organisation founded in Pretoria at the weekend already has the backing of a considerable number of Afrikaans academics throughout the country.

Aksie Eie Toekoms (Action Own Future) intends putting up at least six well-known Rightwing figures as independent candidates in the coming election.

It will thus compete with the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), Dr Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party (NCP) and the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging.

Aksie intends fighting for strict segregation at all levels, the rejection of the Government's constitutional proposals, and separate homelands for all different race groups.

Among the 50 founding members are:

● Prof Willie Lubbe of the University of South Africa and former editor of Die Kerkbode, mouthpiece of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK), and Die Afrikaner, the HNP's official paper. He is the chairman of Aksie and is seen as one of the "masterminds" behind its formation;

● Professor Fanie Jacobs of Potchefstroom, a former legal adviser to Dr Mulder who served on the National Party executive in the Losberg constituency. But at a party meeting last Saturday, he resigned and intends standing as an independent for Aksie in the constituency;

● Mr Thys Lourens, former Northern Transvaal rugby captain.

The other founder members include academics from the Universities of Pretoria, Potchefstroom, South Africa and the Western Cape; well-known Transvaal attorneys and engineers, businessmen, teachers and former military officers.

"Even if we lose our deposits, we will have served aw a pressure group to ensure that the P W Botha faction of the NP will be totally defeated," a founder member told the Rand Daily Mail.

NP sources close to Transvaal NP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht also said they saw the main function of Aksie as an attempt to mobilise against NP verligtes.

They added that large sections within the Afrikaans churches and cultural organisations shared the views of the new organisation.

And although most of them would not leave the NP because of this, they saw the Rightwing line being boosted within the NP.

Prof Lubbe said six candidates would probably stand for the election, and a fully-fledged party would be formed afterwards, if necessary.

Professors and lecturers at the multiracial University of South Africa and the black University of the Western Cape who have signed the organisation's policy statement might have to resign their posts as the statement rejects mixed educational institutions and the teaching of members of one racial group by members of another.

CHEMICAL

Professor George Menzies Prize
Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

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Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

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For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

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FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

The spy who came in from the cold

In Geneva Williamson found a flat and his wife soon joined him.

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For Captain Williamson (RS 167) it was too good to be true. "But obviously, I worked at it," he said. "I had worked at it from the time I first met Eriksson."

He knew from his previous deceptions what was required: "Like any good actor, you've got to play a part. You've got to psyche yourself into the role. To an extent you've got to be what I always call — I'm probably cutting my own throat here — a controlled schizophrenic. It's a very delicate process, the whole thing. The farther you are away from your base, the further your problems are: the problem of maintaining your morale, and all that sort of thing.

Liberal

"And the most important job is to see that I remain stable and committed and that neither I nor my family suffer from any ill-effects. You build up an entire fictitious existence, basically — and you keep a core group of people who fulfil a very important function because they are your link with reality.

"Perhaps the most vital tool of the agent is supreme self-confidence. But on the other hand you've got to be very sure that your supreme self-confidence is balanced and won't let you become over-confident. You have to have *total* faith in the person who's in charge of the operation. If that person does one thing to upset the equilibrium, it can mean big trouble."

Before long, Williamson's self-confidence was showing: he and Karl Edwards, another supposed liberal but really BOSS (Bureau of State Security, now renamed National Intelligence Service) agent 1653 — both with their wives — allowed themselves to be photographed rollicking in the garden of Eriksson's summer cottage in France.

Unknown to Eriksson, Williamson and Edwards were telling Pretoria of every minute detail of the setting up of the "Rural and Educational Development Trust" in South Africa (heavily sponsored by the IUEF), designed to take the place of the Black Consciousness Movement, which was banned in 1977.

Thus the South African security services knew exactly how much money was coming in from this important source to black activists, and, more important to whom.

8.00, Friday evening. Williamson, Brune, and Colonel Jack Buchner and their wives take me out to a country restaurant. Buchner, I am told later, is one of the security service's ace interrogators. During the meal, his wife, a Rhodesian, continually nags him.

Captain Brune, next to me, relaxes. He had been on the university student council with Williamson until he revealed in court that he was really a security lieutenant. At the time he was about to marry a girl, but couldn't tell her the truth.

As far as Coetzee and Williamson were concerned, the biggest threat to the white South African way of life came from the African National Congress. It was illegal in South Africa and was thus run from overseas. And some of its leaders were undoubtedly very close to the Soviet Union. The South Africans therefore felt it was imperative that they knew what the ANC was up to.

So Williamson applied to join the ANC. He claims (though it is strongly denied by the ANC) to have joined an ANC cell. He says he was shown [illegible] methods of spying, although the ANC insist they were merely tagging Williamson along until they were satisfied about his motivations.

In January 1979, says Williamson, he met ANC leaders at the Windsor Hotel, London, in a room booked in the name of the "East Anch Import Export Company." They were very worried about British Intelligence," he says, and, of course, us."

In London, too, Williamson thoroughly investigated the IUEF-sponsored COSAWR (Committee of South African War Resisters) from December 1978 until October 1979. It was dynamite in the hands of Coetzee and his men, and Williamson is still congratulated on the dossier — names, addresses, future plans — he sent back to Coetzee.

He was travelling widely, too. He made two trips to southern Africa, and says he secretly slipped more than once into South Africa itself; once he chartered a plane in Botswana. At the end of 1977 he and his wife visited Moscow for a week.

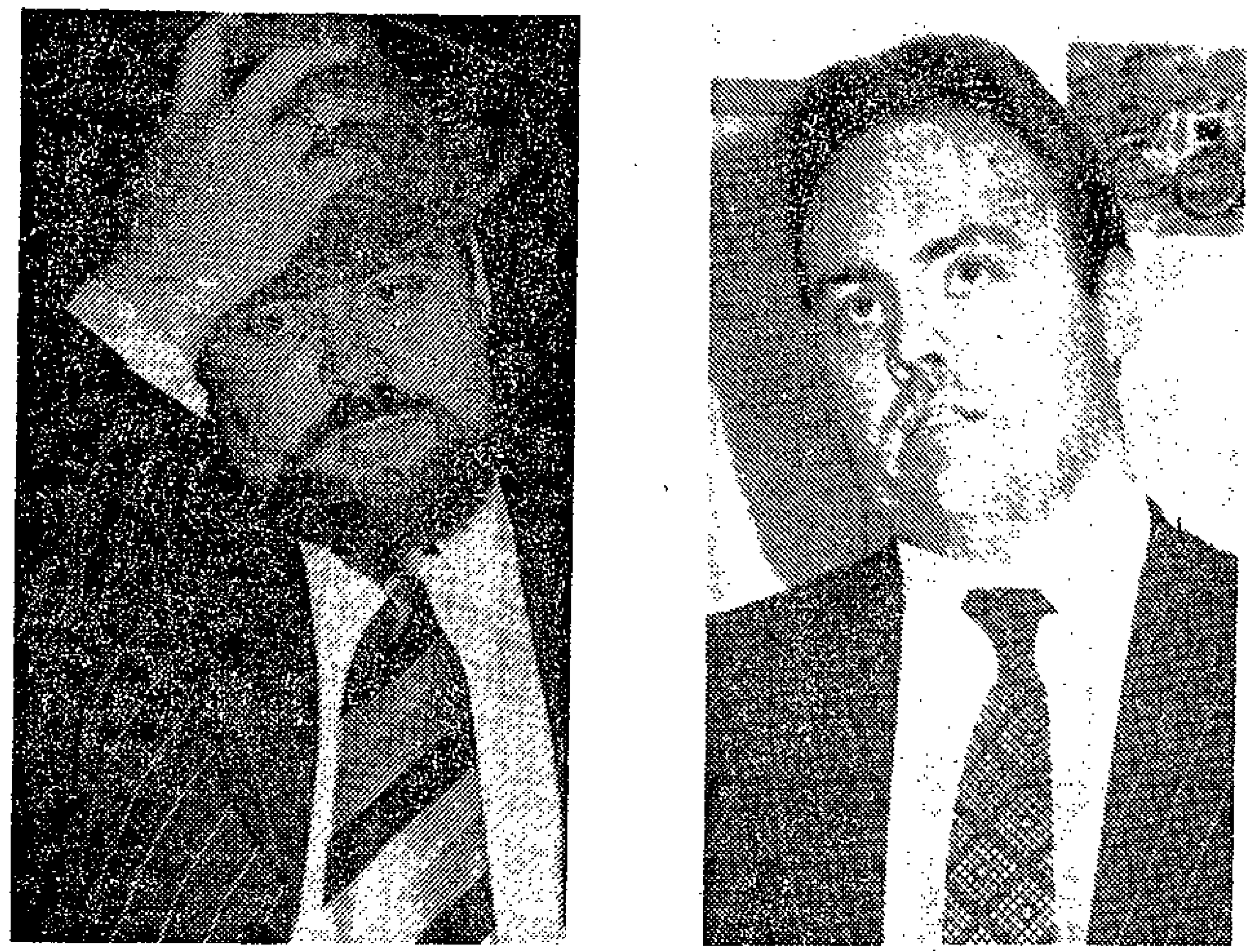
Aloof

Meanwhile, in the IUEF office in Geneva, Williamson had a reputation as a slightly aloof, but conscientious, administrator. He recalls what he in fact was doing all the time: "My record-keeping was meticulous. I kept very good records of who was at what meetings, what was said, that type of thing."

He got a duplicate key cut to Ericksson's filing cabinets. To his further astonishment, he was promoted to IUEF deputy director.

He worked exhausting hours, from seven in the morning until late at night, often photocopying documents once everybody else had gone home.

For each meeting he attended, he would write three reports: one for the IUEF, one for the ANC, and another for his real employers in South Africa. With the security report he would enclose his other two "for information."



South African spy Arthur McGiven defected to Britain. Craig Williamson (above) knew that if McGiven "blew" him his life would be in danger, especially as he planned an eight-week trip to Africa. The ANC, if they knew who he really was, would execute him . . .

Concluding article by London Sunday Times writer ANDREW STEPHEN on the South African security agent's extraordinary spying mission.

"I was keeping the ANC very selectively informed, of course, I was leaving out all sorts of things and passing them as much useless information as I could. The misinformation aspect is more one of omission rather than overt deception, because you can't afford to get found out telling them something blatantly wrong."

2.00, Saturday afternoon. We drive back to some of Williamson's old haunts in Johannesburg. He insists on going in his canary yellow Cortina 3000 automatic because my hired Golf is "too slow, man." His Beretta lies on the back seat.

Half an hour later we are at his old school. It is like a mini Oxbridge college, chapel bells, tolling, leafy cloisters, ornamental pond with fish. There is a cricket match on the field across the road: a feeling of timelessness. Williamson sits by the pond and is the most relaxed I ever see him. "This school made me," he says.

Five minutes later, we are on the other side of South Africa, in the black township of Alexandra. Unmade roads, half-built slums, mangy dogs, half-naked children playing in dank puddles. Williamson patrolled here in his earlier career and seems proud of it; when he leaves the car, he takes his Beretta.

Visible

Besides the ANC, the white South Africans during the 1970s were increasingly worried about the Black Consciousness Movement, which was led by Steve Biko and was clearly genuinely indigenous and not controlled from outside.

Perversely, Williamson played down the BCM in importance to his IUEF colleagues, and instead insisted on boosting the ANC; They to the South Africans were the visible, controllable, definable, enemy.

In March 1977 Eriksson and Williamson flew to Lagos for a special United Nations conference on how to combat racism in South Africa. Williamson made a stirring speech against apartheid.

Eriksson arranged that Biko should escape from his house arrest and come to London for talks with the leaders of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress. If the three had met, and agreed to bury their differences, they would have made a formidable united front of Opposition: a prospect terrifying to white South Africa.

It now seems certain that Williamson tipped off Pretoria about the Biko plans, though he strenuously denies it. Within a month Biko was arrested, manacled hand and foot, taken naked 1 200 km in the back of a Land-Rover — and died in the hands of Williamson's security colleagues. (In his book "Biko," Donald Woods names the men he believes to have been responsible.)

There were other curious happenings. Renfrew Christie, an Oxford doctor of philosophy and a white South African, was researching a book on South Africa's energy resources after World War 1.

Before he left Britain he was in touch with Williamson and the ANC, but soon after he arrived in South Africa he was arrested by security men. He was later sentenced to 30 years (effectively 10) for "espionage," and the chief prosecution witness at his trial last year was Williamson.

A braai

Sunday lunchtime. A braai at Williamson's old cottage, on a farm. Pop music, sometimes Strauss, blares from speakers, and neat cane is flowing. Williamson introduces "Mark," a long-haired, balding security colleague around 33. He seems very cosmopolitan, talking about a tie shop in Piccadilly.

Two girls appear on the scene but do not appear to be attached to anyone: I later discover they are former members of the women's section of the Rhodesian SAS. One girl strips to her bikini to sunbathe.

Williamson, Brune, "Mark" and I go to Johannesburg, to the Carlton Centre skyscraper which is open to blacks and coloureds. "Now, do you understand why South Africa arouses such passions?" he asks as he surveys the prosperous city centre. Downstairs I notice separate toilets for whites and non-whites.

Throughout my time in South Africa, Coetzee and Williamson adamantly refused to reveal how Williamson transmitted his reports back to Pretoria. Undoubtedly, he used a microfilm camera as well as conventional photocopying machines.

His wife Ingrid (who was not barred from South Africa) made several trips home but Williamson says it would have been "stupid" to use her as a courier. Coetzee himself claims to have made "several" clandestine trips to Britain and Switzerland.

Almost certainly the South Africans had safe houses — not in Geneva, as that would have been too risky, but in Zurich and London. Williamson visited both cities frequently. Captain Brune is bilingual in German and probably set up and ran the Zurich safe house, visiting regularly. (Towards the end of our dinner, he said he had "several passports.")

It is beyond doubt that a succession of Pretoria-based security men were visiting London as part of Operation Daisy: Williamson even took them to see the Beating the Retreat in Horse Guards Parade.

Much to his and Coetzee's delight, Williamson found all was not as it should have been within the IUEF. He was trained at examining accounts, and noticed that a Swiss bank had mistakenly credited the IUEF account with 200 000 Swiss francs — but it was not pointed out to them.

He uncovered a bogus company set up by Eriksson, based in Lichtenstein and called Southern Futures, to launder money through to southern Africa.

It was ideal blackmail material. Eriksson's colleagues noticed that he was beginning to drink heavily.

Williamson insists he told Eriksson his true identity on November 1, 1979, 11 weeks before his cover was finally blown. He says their conversation took place at an underground wine cellar near the Rubens.

Eriksson denies this story as a South African smear, and his friends say it is inconceivable that he could have succumbed in this way. What is indisputable, however, is that it was the beginning of the end of Operation Daisy.

What finally precipitated the end was the defection to Britain of Arthur McGiven, a BOSS agent and former spying colleague with Williamson on the student council. When he started telling all he knew to a newspaper over Christmas 1979, Williamson was in a dilemma.

If McGiven blew him, his life would be in danger, especially as he planned an eight-week trip to Africa on January 16. The ANC, if they knew who he really was, would execute him.

He sent his wife to Champneys, a health farm in Hertfordshire — as safe a place as any, he thought. He flew into London on Christmas Eve. That evening he and his wife and six others had a meal, costing R432, in Oxford. "Mark," the long-haired security man, was among them.

Shuttling

"We now had an uncontrollable factor," says Williamson. "Here was a man (McGiven) who knew about the operation, knew a lot of details about it. The most fundamental rule in intelligence work is that once a man starts talking, you must assume that everything he knows is compromised."

Williamson began a frantic period of shuttling between safe houses. He passed through Heathrow on January 2, 7, 16, 21 and 22 last year: it is not recorded where he was in between. He had one last desperate ploy: he would mastermind an IUEF "exposure" of BOSS.

But it did not work, and Williamson hurriedly cleared his desk in Geneva on January 15. Three days later there came the most bizarre episode of all in Operation Daisy, when Brigadier Coetzee suddenly appeared in a hotel bar in Zurich, and tried, with Williamson, to have one last attempt to turn Eriksson.

It failed. Eriksson called a Press conference in Paris, and Williamson returned to a hero's welcome in South Africa. He had been based in Geneva for exactly 37 months, out in the cold for nine years.

"Whatever your opinion," said the Johannesburg Sunday Times, "Craig was a super-spy."

Now he works at a desk job in the security services, but still regularly interrogates and leads raids. The IUEF, much to his satisfaction, finally wound up last December.

Monday evening. Dinner planned with Brigadier Coetzee. The newspapers are bleak: a 15-year-old boy, the son of a Methodist churchman, has been arrested by security, and his family are not allowed to see him. An Indian couple are given a 4 pm deadline to move out of a whites-only suburb. A journalist is to appeal against his imprisonment for not revealing his sources. There is talk of the Anglican church banning security men from its services. A speaker at the UN gives white South Africa another five years.

But Brigadier Coetzee, choosing a garlic steak in our whites-only, black-staff restaurant, radiates calm. "I hope you will write nice things about me, so I can continue to visit London," he says. "Otherwise I will have to use another of my passports."

Later, "One day, I promise you, we will bring back our man from the Kremlin." He tells a slightly blue joke about white men and black women, and finally drops Williamson and me off in his blue Rover 3500

It has been a civilised evening, a long way from interrogations, beatings up, Steve Biko, tortures, executions.

Williamson is animated. "God, the loyalty that man evokes is unbelievable," he says to me. *Now* do you understand why I spied for South Africa?"

(c) Sunday Times Magazine, London 1981.

(Contd from Page 16)

house arrest and come to London for talks with the leaders of the ANC and the Pan African Congress. After they had agreed to bury their differences, they would have made a formidable united front of Opposition: a prospect terrifying to white South Africa.

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Portrait of a SA super-spy

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© Sunday Times Magazine 1981.

CHEMICAL

Argus 18/2/81 (327)

Portrait of SA super spy

Craig Williamson — super spy — continues to tell his saga to ANDREW STEPHEN, a London Sunday Times staff writer.



PHOTOGRAPHERS eager to catch Craig Williamson when he returned to South Africa.

'THE most important job is to see that I remain stable and committed and that neither I nor my family suffer from any ill-effects. You build up an entire fictitious existence, basically — and you keep a core group of people who fulfil a very important function because they are your link with reality.

'Perhaps the most vital tool of the agent is supreme self-confidence. But on the other hand you've got to be very sure that your supreme self-confidence is balanced and won't let you become overconfident. You have to have total faith in the person who's in charge of the operation. If that person does one thing to upset the equilibrium, it can mean big trouble.'

Top secret...

Before long, Williamson's self-confidence was showing: he and Karl Edwards, another supposed liberal but really agent 1655 of the Bureau of State Security, now renamed National Intelligence Service — both with their wives — allowed themselves to be photographed rollicking in the garden of Eriksson's summer cottage in France.

Unknown to Eriksson, Williamson and Edwards were telling Pretoria of every minute detail of the setting up of 'Rural and Educational Development Trust' in South Africa (Heavily sponsored by the IUEF), designed to take the place of the Black Consciousness Movement, which was banned in 1977.

Thus the South African security services knew exactly how much money was coming in from this important source to black activists, and more important to whom.

Top secret...

8.00 Friday evening. Williamson, Brune, and Colonel Jack Buchner and their wives take me out to a country restaurant. Buchner, I am told later, is one of the security service's ace interrogaters. During the meal, his wife, a Rhodesian, continually nags him.

Captain Brune, next to me, relaxes. He has been on the university student council with Williamson until he disclosed in court that he was really a security lieutenant. At the time he was about to marry a girl, but couldn't tell her the truth.

The conversation turns to blacks. 'We give them the canary treatment,' says Brune. 'They sing or they fly.' (Many blacks have 'fallen' from security police headquarters during interrogation). 'Some blacks fly beautifully, but their landings are bloody awful.' Williamson is anxious lest I get the wrong idea, and assures me afterwards that Brune had been joking.

As far as Coetzee and Williamson were concerned, the biggest threat to the white South African way of life came from the African National Congress. It was illegal in South Africa and was thus run from overseas. And some of its leaders were undoubtedly very close to the Soviet Union. The South Africans therefore felt it was imperative that they knew what the ANC was up to.

So Williamson applied to join the ANC. He claims (though it is strongly denied by the ANC) to have joined an ANC cell. He says he was shown KGB-type methods of spying, although the ANC insist they were merely tagging Williamson along until they were satisfied about his motivations.

In January 1979, says Williamson, he met ANC leaders at the Windsor Hotel, London, in a room booked in the name of the 'East Anch Import Export Company'.

Top secret...

'They were very worried about British Intelligence,' he says, 'and of course, us.'

In London, too, Williamson thoroughly investigated the IUEF-sponsored COSAWR (Committee of South African War Resisters) from December 1978 until October 1979. It was dynamite in the hands of Coetzee and his men, and Williamson is still congratulated on the dossier — names, addresses, future plans — he sent back to Coetzee.

He was travelling widely, too. He made two trips to Southern Africa, and says he secretly slipped more than once into South Africa itself; once he chartered a plane in Botswana. At the end of 1977 he and his wife visited Moscow for a week.

Top secret...

Meanwhile, in the IUEF office in Geneva, Williamson had a reputation as a slightly aloof, but conscientious administrator. He recalls what he in fact was doing all the time: 'My record-keeping was meticulous. I kept very good records of who was at what meetings, what was said, that type of thing.'

He got a duplicate key cut to Ericksson's filing cabinets. To his further astonishment, he was promoted IUEF deputy director.

He worked exhausting hours, from seven in the morning until late at night, often photocopying documents once everybody else had gone home. For each meeting he attended, he would write three reports: one for the IUEF, one for the ANC and another for his real employers in South Africa. With the security report he would enclose his other two 'for information'.

Top secret...

'I was keeping the ANC very selectively informed of course. I was leaving out all sorts of things and passing them as much useless information as I could. The misinformation aspect is more one of omission rather than overt deception, because you can't afford to get found out telling them something blatantly wrong.'

2.00 Saturday afternoon: We decide to visit some of his old haunts in Johannesburg. He insists on going in his canary yellow Cortina 3000 automatic because my hired Golf is 'too slow, man'. His Beretta lies on the back seat.

Half an hour later we are at his old school. It is like a mini Oxbridge college, chapel bells tolling, leafy cloisters, ornamental pond with fish. There is a cricket match on the field across the road; a feeling of timelessness. Williamson sits by the pond and is the most relaxed I have ever seen him. 'This school made me,' he says.

Top secret...

Five minutes later we are on the other side of South Africa, in the black township of Alexandra Park. Unmade roads, half-built slums, mangy dogs, half-naked children playing in dank puddles. Williamson patrolled here in his earlier career and seems proud of it; when he leaves the car, he takes his Beretta.

Besides the ANC, the white South Africans during the 1970s were increasly worried about the Black Consciousness Movement, which was led by Steve Biko and was clearly genuinely indigenous and not controlled from outside.

Top secret...

Perversely, Williamson played down the BCM in importance to the IUEF colleagues, and instead insisted on boosting the ANC: they to the South Africans were the visible, controllable definable, enemy.

In March 1977 Eriksson and Williamson flew to Lagos for a special United Nations conference on how to combat racism in South Africa. Williamson made a stirring speech against apartheid. Eriksson arranged that Biko should escape from his

(Contd on Page 17)

YCARD CAR OF THE YEAR.

CHEMICAL
(Continued)

Malan Chemical Engineering Medals
For the best student in each of the following years:-

Second Year (Bronze Medal)
A H Dabrowski

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Service for dead ANC 12

A memorial service for the 12 ANC members killed during the SADF raid on Matola near Maputo last month will be held in Soweto on Sunday, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said today.

The service would be held at the Regina Mundi Cathedral in Rockville.

Similar countrywide services planned for last weekend were banned.

"I had at one time thought of informing the Minister of Justice of my intention to organise a church service in remembrance of the 12 dead.

"But I then realised that when one holds a church service one does not approach the Government and that it is why I am not doing so now", Bishop Tutu said.

The SACC disclosed today that the University of Aberdeen in Scotland has awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity to Bishop Tutu.

Revolt shocks Nats

327
CT 19/2/81


DIE BURGER

GEKONKEL OP LAPPE GEBRING

Verkramptes in aksie teen NP

Van Ons Politieke Redakteur

'n VERSKEIDENHEID van verkramte politieke aksies en losse studiegroepe wat ondergronds vir politieke teen die Nasionale Party bedryf en afkeerstemme oor NP-leiers versprei, roes teen die einde van die jare sestig 'n groot reaksie by Dr. Albert Hertzog teen die gewese Eerste Minister, mnr. John Vorster, gekonkel het. [illegible] ontbind in geheime skuilhoeke wat in die Burger se besit gekom het.

Volgens die stukke [illegible]

Nats

CT 19/2/81
327
B

From page 1

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

RIGHT-WING dissatisfaction at the direction of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is crystallizing into an organized backlash as the National Party prepares for the April general election.

The National Party itself, which has so far scoffed at opposition suggestions of dissention in Nationalist ranks, is now showing increasing concern at what is building up into a right-wing revolt.

In a front-page report yesterday the Cape Nationalist mouthpiece, the Burger, said it had documents showing verkrampte action on a scale similar to that before the Herstigte Nasionale Party breakaway in 1969.

'Verkrampte' gains in Transvaal, page 4

The attack, which avoided mentioning the names of those involved, seemed directed primarily at the right-wing group Aksie Eie Toekoms (Action Own Future), which announced this week that it would contest seats in April.

This is the third group which will attempt to syphon off right-wing Nationalist votes in the general election. The other two are the HNP, which has so far announced that it will contest 42 seats, and Dr Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party, which intends fighting 12 constituencies.

Catalyst

There are already suggestions of an election pact between the HNP and the NCP, and a leading member of Aksie Eie Toekoms, Professor Fanie Jacobs of Potchefstroom University, hinted at a broader grouping yesterday.

"Our long-term aim is to be a catalyst bringing responsible conservatives together," he said.

The unusual Burger report

To page 2

The only solution is for the prime minister to confront it with strong leadership. Tell those who resist reform to get out. Do so in plain understandable language," he said.

"To placate such movements within the Nationalist Party is not only destructive of the prime minister's leadership but dangerous for us all when reform is urgently necessary.

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, has already said he believes the increasing divisions within the National Party are the real, hidden reason for the snap April election.

No. 308 20 Februarie 1981

UITSLAG VAN VERKIESING VAN VOLKSRAADSLEDE BEDOEL IN ARTIKEL 40 (1) (c) VAN DIE GRONDWET VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA, 1961

Ooreenkomstig Regulasie 23 (2) van die Regulasies vir die Verkiesing van lede van die Volksraad bedoel in artikel 40 (1) (c) van die Grondwet van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, 1961 (Goewermentskennisgewing R. 2501 gedateer 5 Desember 1980), word die volgende besonderhede betreffende die verkiesing van lede van die Volksraad bedoel in artikel 40 (1) (c) van die Grondwet, gehou op 22 Januarie 1981, vir algemene inligting gepubliseer:

No. 308 20 February 1981

RESULT OF THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY REFERRED TO IN SECTION 40 (1) (c) OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTION ACT, 1961

In accordance with Regulation 23 (2) of the Regulations for the Election of Members of the House of Assembly referred to in section 40 (1) (c) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1961 (Government Notice R. 2501 dated 5 December 1980), the following particulars relating to the election of members of the House of Assembly referred to in section 40 (1) (c) of the Constitution Act, held on 22 January 1981, are hereby published for general information:

Naam van verkose persoon en datum met ingang waarvan verkies verklaar Name of person elected and date with effect from which declared elected	Adresse Addresses
Johannes Frederik Dippenaar, 22/1/81	De Beersweg/Road 134, Strand.
Hendrik Belsazer Klopper, 22/1/81	Irondale, Dundee .
Wouter Thomas Kritzinger, 22/1/81	Sestiende Laan 89, 89 16th Avenue, Bellville.
Nicolaas Johannes Jacobus Olivier, 22/1/81	Ocean View 12a, Beachweg/Road, Seepunt/Sea Point, Kaapstad/Cape Town.
Jacob Hartogh Steyl, 22/1/81	Camelfordweg/Road 36, New Redruth, Alberton.
Lucas Johannes van den Berg, 22/1/81	Celieriawoonstelle/Flats 304, Celliersstraat/Street 135, Sunnyside, Pretoria.
Johannes Andries Jacobus Vermeulen, 22/1/81	Kommandant Senekalstraat/Street 44, Bloemfontein.
Andries Johannes Visser, 22/1/81	Eppingweg/Road 7, Forest Town, Johannesburg.

No. 331 20 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 331 20 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/14

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/2/1	*V. I. Lenin Collected Works*—Vol 1, 1893–1894; Vol 3, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia;* Vol 10, November 1905–June 1906; Vol 16, September 1909–December 1910; Vol 17, December 1910–April 1912; Vol 18, April 1912–March 1913; Vol 22, December 1915–July 1916; Vol 23, August 1916–March 1917; Vol 24, April–June 1917; Vol 25, June–September 1917; Vol 26, September 1917–February 1918; Vol 28, July 1918–March 1919; Vol 29, March–August 1919; Vol 30, September 1919–April 1920; Vol 31, April–December 1920; Vol 32, December 1920–August 1921; Vol 33, August 1921–March 1923; Vol 34, *Letters:* November 1895–November 1911; Vol 35, *Letters:* February 1912–December 1922; Vol 36, *Letters and Documents* 1900–1923; Vol 37, *Letters to Relatives* 1893–1922; Vol 39, *Notebooks on Imperialism;* Vol 40, *Notebooks on the Agrarian Question* 1900–1916; Vol 41, 1896–October 1917; Vol 42, *Supplementary Material* October 1917–March 1923; Vol 43, December 1893–October 1917; Vol 44, October 1917–November 1920; Vol 45, November 1920–March 1923	Progress Publishers, Moscow (ook/also Lawrence & Wishart, London)	(e)
P81/1/115	*Making Sense of Sex*	Helen Singer Kaplan	(a)
P81/1/139	*Longarm in the Four Corners* (No 19 Longarm)	Tabor Evans	(a)
P81/2/18	*ΤΡΑΣΤ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΛΙΟΥ*—'Anó 4/7–10/7/80	Printed in Greece	(a)

No. 332 20 Februarie 1981

VERBOD OP BESIT VAN ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

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No. 332 20 February 1981

PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION OF UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has under section 9 (3) of the said Act, prohibited the possession of the said publications. The said prohibition was confirmed by the Publications Appeal Board under section 9 (5) of the said Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/10/25.....	*Namibia Today*—Vol 4, No 3/4/1980.....	SWAPO of Namibia, Luanda, People's Republic of Angola	(e)
P80/10/40.....	*Inkululeko—Freedom: Lessons of the Recent Strikes* (Nuusbrief/Newsletter)	The South African Communist Party.....	(e)
P80/10/40.....	*Inkululeko—Freedom: Our People are* . . . (Nuusbrief/Newsletter)	The South African Communist Party.....	(e)
P80/10/113.....	*How To*—Vol 5, No 5.....	Probe Publications Ltd, London.....	(a)
P80/10/118.....	*Statement of the African National Congress (SA) on the Campaign of the Release of Political Prisoners* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress, Lusaka, Zambia.....	(e)
P80/10/128.....	*Noelle—and the Twelve Nights of Christmas*....	Playboy Press, Chicago, Illinois.....	(a)
P80/10/135.....	*Whitehouse*, No 36.....	Figcrest Ltd, London.....	(a)
P80/10/163.....	*Bausteine für Apartheid*.	Esau du Plessis.....	(e)
P80/10/173.....	*Combatant, The*—Vol 1, No 12, July 1980.....	The Monthly Organ of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN)	(e)
P80/10/182.....	*Constellation of States: Neocolonialism and Imperialism the South African Way, The* (Plakkaat/Poster)	Medu.....	(e)
P80/10/185.....	*Südafrikas Schwarze Zukunft*.....	Reinhard Brückner.....	(e)
P80/10/194.....	*Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*.....	Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.....	(e)
P80/10/203.....	*Support Bus-Boycott Again* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)
P80/10/204.....	*Bantustans: Homelands: Facts and Findings* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)
P80/10/224.....	*Lui*—Nr 11, November 1979.....	S.A. Paris, und New Mag Verlags G.m.b.H., München	(a)
P80/10/237.....	*Interviu*—Año 3, No 135, 14–20 Diciembre 1978; Año 4, No 164, 5–11 Julio 1979; Año 5, No 192, 17–23 Enevo 1980	Ediciones Zeta, S.A.	(a)
P80/10/239.....	*Oui*—Vol 4, No 11, November 1975; Vol 7, No 10, October 1978; Vol 8, No 8, January 1979; Vol 8, No 3, March 1979; Vol 8, No 7, July 1979	Playboy Publications Inc., Chicago, Illinois....	(a)
P80/10/243.....	*Playbirds—Erotic Film Guide* No 11.....	Bill Edwards, London, England.....	(a)
P80/10/245.....	*Mayfair*—Vol 7, No 1; Vol 9, No 6; Vol 10, No 4; Vol 13, No 3; Vol 13, No 4; Vol 13, No 7; Vol 13, No 9; Vol 13, No 10; Vol 13, No 11; Vol 13, No 12; Vol 14, No 2; Vol 14, No 3; Vol 14, No 6; Vol 14, No 7; Vol 14, No 8; Vol 14, No 9; Vol 15, No 4; Vol 15, No 7	Fisk Publishing Co Ltd, London.....	(a)
P80/11/5.....	*TCLSAC Reports*—September 1980.....	Toronto Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa, Toronto, Ontario, Canada	(e)
P80/11/7.....	*Solidarity*—No 4, October 1980.....	Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, London	(e)
P80/11/14.....	*Vanguard*—Vol 1, January–March, 1980.....	Proletarian Press.....	(e)
P80/11/19.....	*Boycott of Classes, The* (Pamflet/Pamphlet).....	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)
P80/11/38.....	*Abortion Liberation & Revolution*.....	The Other Press (Relgocrest Ltd), London.....	(e)
P80/11/39.....	*Marx: Genesis of Capital*.....	Progress Publishers, Moscow.....	(e)
P80/11/44.....	*Lenin: The Fourth Congress of the Communist International*	V. I. Lenin.....	(e)
P80/11/45.....	*What is Trotskyism?*.....	Ernest Mandel.....	(e)
P80/11/50.....	*On the Question of Dialectics*.....	V. I. Lenin.....	(e)
P80/11/51.....	*Lenin: Karl Marx and His Teaching*.....	V. I. Lenin.....	(e)
P80/11/52.....	*Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International, The*	Leon Trotsky.....	(e)
P80/11/54.....	*Lenin: A Great Beginning*.....	V. I. Lenin.....	(e)
P80/11/57.....	*Political Programme of the Communist Workers* Movement	Communist Workers' Movement, London.....	(e)
P80/11/58.....	*Lenin: The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government*	V. I. Lenin.....	(e)
P80/11/65.....	*Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism & Self-*Determination	Pathfinder Press, New York and Toronto.....	(e)
P80/11/67.....	*Oui*—Vol 7, No 7, July 1978.....	Playboy Productions Inc, Chicago, Illinois.....	(a)
P80/11/85.....	*African Communist, The*—No 82, Third Quarter 1980	Inkululeko Publications, London.....	(e)
P80/11/89.....	*Black Nationalism & Socialism*.....	Tony Bogues, Kim Gordon, C. L. R. James....	(e)
P80/11/91.....	*No Racist Immigration Laws*.....	Vishnu Sharma.....	(e)
P80/11/92.....	*African Communist, The*—No 81, Second Quarter 1980	Inkululeko Publications, London.....	(e)

No. 333 20 Februarie 1981

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERKLARING DAT PUBLIKASIE ONGEWENS IS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van genoemde Wet op hersiening beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 333 20 February 1981

SETTING ASIDE OF DECLARATION THAT PUBLICATION IS UNDESIRABLE

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 15 (2) of the said Act on review that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P81/1/105.....	*Naked Face, The*.....	Sidney Sheldon.....	In SK./G.G. 5208, GK./G.N. 1206 van/of 9/7/1976

DEPARTEMENT VAN BUITELANDSE SAKE EN INLIGTING

No. 356 20 Februarie 1981

ERKENNING AS KONSULÊRE ATTACHÉ

Hierby word bekendgemaak dat aan mnr. Robert Müller met ingang van 12 Januarie 1981 erkenning verleen is as Konsulêre Attaché by die Konsulaat-generaal van die Bondsrepubliek Duitsland in Johannesburg met die provinsies Transvaal en die Oranje-Vrystaat as sy regsgebied. Mnr. Müller is die opvolger van mnr. P. Brosch.

72/154/2 (32)

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND INFORMATION

No. 356 20 February 1981

RECOGNITION AS CONSULAR ATTACHÉ

It is hereby notified that, with effect from 12 January 1981, recognition has been granted to Mr Robert Müller as Consular Attaché at the Consulate-General of the Federal Republic of Germany in Johannesburg with the Provinces of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as his area of jurisdiction. Mr Müller is the successor to Mr P. Brosch.

72/154/2 (32)

DEPARTEMENT VAN FINANSIES

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE

No. 309 20 Februarie 1981/20 February 1981

STAAT VAN INVORDERINGS VAN PROVINSIALE INKOMSTE (MET INBEGRIP VAN DIREKTE INVORDERINGS DEUR PROVINSIES) VANAF 1 APRIL 1980 TOT 31 OKTOBER 1980

STATEMENT OF PROVINCIAL REVENUE COLLECTIONS (INCLUDING COLLECTIONS DIRECT BY PROVINCES) FROM 1 APRIL 1980 TO 31 OCTOBER 1980

Hoofde van Inkomste Heads of Revenue	Kaap die Goeie Hoop Cape of Good Hope		Natal		Transvaal		Oranje-Vrystaat Orange Free State		Totale Totals	
	1/10/1980–31/10/1980	1/4/1980–31/10/1980	1/10/1980–31/10/1980	1/4/1980–31/10/1980	1/10/1980–31/10/1980	1/4/1980–31/10/1980	1/10/1980–31/10/1980	1/4/1980–31/10/1980	1/10/1980–31/10/1980	1/4/1980–31/10/1980
	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Bronne van Inkomste Oorgedra/Sources of Revenue Transferred										
Lisensies/Licences—										
Hond, Vis en Wild/Dog, Fish and Game.....	1 862	75 613	65 251	319 784	67 722	376 823	7 974	100 956	142 809	873 176
Motorvoertuie/Motor Vehicles	2 361 273	15 445 442	1 940 624	12 432 073	4 175 442	20 777 460	147 905	1 248 951	8 625 244	49 903 926
Diverse/Miscellaneous—										
Onderwysontvangste / Education Receipts.....	437 941	6 396 015	295 489	1 370 358	758 043	6 042 802	562 555	2 092 610	2 054 028	15 901 785
Hospitaalontvangste / Hospital Receipts.....	2 218 275	14 441 341	834 364	5 520 890	2 778 465	15 532 005	488 265	2 669 452	6 319 369	38 163 688
Ander Ontvangste/Other Receipts.....	454 546	3 687 664	1 464 132	8 673 123	1 624 239	7 937 514	325 467	2 060 812	3 868 384	22 359 113
Boetes en Verbeurdverklarings/Fines and Forfeitures.....	1 164	8 311	225 644	1 190 130	777 747	5 314 738	122 907	952 752	1 127 462	7 465 931
Venduregte/Auction Dues.....	—	—	24 157	175 707	—	—	38 453	187 561	62 610	363 268
Belasting op Vermaaklikhede/Entertainment Tax.....	121 746	625 524	—	—	—	—	945	13 880	122 691	639 404
Belasting op Wedrenne en Weddenskappe/Racing and Betting Taxation.....	1 067 981	6 109 352	217 392	1 630 040	2 894 901	19 651 001	329 363	1 733 945	4 509 637	29 124 338
Wielbelasting/Wheel Tax.....	—	—	1	98	—	—	444	10 146	445	10 244
Swarthospitale Belasting/Black Hospital Tax.....	—	—	—	—	—	—	213	Dt. 522	213	Dt. 522
Totale/Totals.....R	6 664 788	46 789 262	5 067 054	31 312 203	13 076 559	75 632 343	2 024 491	11 070 543	26 832 892	164 804 351
Totale/Totals (1979–80) R	5 430 589	38 091 516	4 409 741	27 977 538	11 642 237	60 806 481	1 295 242	9 709 575	22 777 809	136 585 110

Tesourie/Treasury
Pretoria

J. H. DE LOOR
Direkteur-generaal: Finansies
Director-General: Finance

No. 322 20 Februarie 1981

Hiermee word bekendgemaak dat die oordragboeke van die ondergenoemde plaaslike/binnelandse geregistreerde effekte van 1 Maart 1981 tot en met 1 April 1981 gesluit sal wees en dat die rente betaalbaar op 1

No. 322 20 February 1981

Notice is hereby given that the transfer books of the undermentioned local/internal registered stocks will be closed from 1 March 1981 to 1 April 1981, both days inclusive, and that the interest due on 1 April 1981, will

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/11/97.....	*International Conference in Solidarity with the Struggle of the People of Namibia/Conférence Internationale de Soutien à la Lutte du Peuple Namibien—Paris* 11–13 September 1980	International Conference on Namibia, London	(e)
P80/11/105.....	*Documents and Information*—No 37/1980 (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Secretariat of the Women's International Democratic Federation, Berlin	(e)
P80/11/108.....	*Next Step, The*—No 5, June/July 1980; No 6, August 1980	Junius Publications Ltd, London.....	(e)
P80/11/113.....	*Revolutionary Communist Reprints*—No 1, August 1979	Junius Publications Ltd, London.....	(e)
P80/11/115.....	*Socialist Standard*—Vol 76, No 911, July 1980..	Socialist Party of Great Britain, London.....	(e)
P80/11/116.....	*Revolutionary Party, The*.....	Education Department of the Communist Party, London	(e)
P80/11/119.....	*Socialist Standard*—Vol 75, No 902, October 1979	Socialist Party of Great Britain, London.....	(e)
P80/11/120.....	*Workers' Weekly*—Vol 7, No 30, July 26, 1980..	Workers' Publishing House London.....	(e)
P80/11/124.....	*Soviet Weekly*—No 2,015, September 20, 1980..	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)
P80/11/137.....	*Fundamentals of Revolutionary Communism, The: The Texts of the Communist Left No 2*	I.C.P., Norfolk, U.K.....	(e)
P80/11/139.....	*CIS: Black South Africa Explodes—Anti-Report* No 17	Counter Information Services, London.....	(d)+(e)
P80/11/160.....	*Lusty Leading Lady/Holly Would* (Beeline Double Novel)	Eva Beaver/Viola Vixen.....	(a)
P80/11/166.....	*Journal of Sex, The*—Vol 2, No 5; Vol 2, No 11; Vol 3, No 2	Gold Star Publications Ltd, Surrey.....	(a)
P80/11/167.....	*Rustler*—Vol 1, No 11; Vol 3, No 3; Vol 3, No 6; Vol 3, No 9; Vol 3, No 10	Jongrange Publications Ltd, Great Britain.....	(a)
P80/11/183.....	*Resister*—Bulletin No 10, Sept/Oct 1980.....	COSAWR, London.....	(e)
P80/11/184.....	*African Communist, The*—No 79, Fourth Quarter 1979	South African Communist Party.....	(e)
P80/11/189.....	*Knave*—Vol 10, No 7.....	Fontessa Publications Ltd, London.....	(a)
P80/11/190.....	*Penthouse: Loving Couples*—No 2, Summer 1978	Penthouse Ltd, New York.....	(a)
P80/11/191.....	*Detentions: Instruments of Apartheid*.....	S.A.M., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg	(e)
P80/11/193.....	*Abaphuciwe: The Dispossessed* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	The Other Cinema, London.....	(d)+(e)
P80/9/17.....	*Stanley Bekker en die Boikot*—April–Mei 1980..	Taurus, Emmarentia.....	(e)
P80/10/127.....	*New Direction*—Vol 9, No 5.....	Gold Star Publications, Surrey.....	(a)
P80/10/130.....	*Playgirl*—1980 (Kalender/Calendar).....	Playgirl Inc., Santa Monica.....	(a)
P80/10/241.....	*Men Only*—Vol 42, No 6; Vol 42, No 12; Vol 43, No 2; Vol 43, No 9; Vol 43, No 10; Vol 43, No 12; Vol 44, No 2; Vol 44, No 3; Vol 45, No 4; Vol 45, No 5	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd, London.....	(a)

No. 334 20 Februarie 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPÈL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 9 Februarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 5 Februarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is:

No. 334 20 February 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 9 February 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 5 February 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/1/115.....	*Making Sense of Sex*.....	Helen Singer Kaplan.

No. 335 20 Februarie 1981

KENNISGEWING VAN APPÈL

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 9 Februarie 1981 kragtens artikel 25 (2) (b) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die afkeuring deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die genoemde Wet van die rolprent *A Wedding*.

No. 335 20 February 1981

NOTICE OF APPEAL

On 9 February 1981 the Directorate of Publications under section 25 (2) (b) of the Publications Act, 1974, appealed against the rejection by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act of the film *A Wedding*.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/1/7.....	*A Wedding*.....	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

The greening of Afrikanerdom

CT 20/2/81 (327)

In this article, STANLEY UYS, the Cape Times London Editor, gives his impressions of a recent visit to South Africa.

LONDON. — What struck me most about South Africa was the confusion that is prevailing in Afrikanerdom — the way the old certainties have disappeared, and been replaced by doubt, conflict and the crumbling of Afrikaner unity.

Afrikanerdom of course has never been the monolith that some people have liked to think it is; Afrikaners are a contentious people. But, by and large, since the Nationalist victory in 1948, Afrikaners have been a disciplined people. It is this discipline I saw weakening now.

There is nothing particularly surprising about this development. The South Africa for which apartheid was conceived is not the South Africa of today, and the Afrikaners for whom it was conceived are not the Afrikaners of today. South Africa in fact has been growing out of its apartheid straitjacket, and Afrikanerdom with it.

Agonizing

It is proving to be an agonizing experience for Afrikanerdom, but a very hopeful one for the country. It is simply no longer possible for an obsolete ideology like apartheid to provide the framework in which a modernizing country like South Africa can grow and prosper.

Perhaps the current opulence in South Africa (the result of the gold boom) adds a particular emphasis to the modernizing process that is taking place in the country. Be that as it may, I cannot see how the process can be reversed. There is a bustle and forward movement in South Africa that is unstoppable.

In some ways, no doubt, the boom has increased the disparities of wealth between white and black, but it seemed to me, viewing the steadily rising self-confidence of blacks, that whatever movement takes place in South Africa now — as long as it *is* movement — will accelerate the pace of change.

What surprised, and in a way saddened, me was that while many Afrikaner Nationalists (admittedly verligtes) have grasped the fundamentals of the change that is taking place in South Africa, relatively few English-speaking people seem to be able to see the wood for the trees.

I found it enormously heartening to see so many Afrikaner Nationalists recognizing and accepting the inevitability of change, but depressing to see how confused many English-speakers (with notable exceptions) had become.

After all, for almost three decades, it was they who articulated, lucidly and incisively, the case against apartheid, and kept the flame of morality burning. But now that their prophecies are coming true, it is almost as if they wished they weren't. Is this because they are being pushed out of the mainstream of politics on to the periphery, while the two power blocs, Afrikaners and blacks, face each other to hammer out a settlement?

Meaningless terms

It seemed to me the time has come for people to stop using meaningless terms like "cosmetic" and "superficial" to describe what is happening in South Africa. There is nothing superficial about it. Something fundamental is stirring in the country. It can be argued that much of this is happening unwittingly rather than wittingly — fair enough — but to try to deny that a process of fundamental change is taking place is silly.

I was struck by what Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, said last November: "The core of South Africa's problem is that answers to problems of the past are not full answers to problems of the present . . . Let us be honest with each other: Things have not worked out as we wanted. We will have to adapt policy and reform it in accordance with the existing reality of our situation."

The general election on April 29, therefore, as I see it, is an attempt by Mr P W Botha to come to terms with Afrikanerdom over the direction the country should take. This is nothing less than an endeavour by the National Party to reformulate its identity.

At the moment, the party is deadlocked within itself. Mr Botha's reforms have been blocked. Unless this deadlock can be broken, so that the process of reform can be reopened and an outlet given to the changes that are welling up inside the country, change can turn into destructive conflict.

This, in my view, is what the April 29 election is about. It is an attempt to establish the ascendancy of what one might call the modern Afrikaners over the traditionalists. By modern Afrikaners I mean the whole generation of Afrikaners who no longer have the old racial hang-ups.

It is partly a question of age, partly one of attitude. A whole new breed of Afrikaners has emerged who are more relaxed about race, more affluent and therefore more self-assured, and generally more sophisticated. Against them are the traditionalists who simply can't shake off the historical race fears.

What the respective proportions are of these two groups, I cannot say, but on my visits to South Africa I encounter more and more modern Afrikaners. I am not suggesting they are raving liberals. All I am saying is that they are more willing to live in an open society than Afrikaners have ever been.

They no longer see the need for Afrikanerdom to be run as an exclusive club (although this is partly because the country is being increasingly Afrikanerized anyway) or for white and black South Africans to be shut off from each other in watertight compartments. They no longer need their daily fix of "swart gevaar" propaganda to prepare them for the mostly imaginary dangers that surround them.

But, in the three weeks I was in South Africa, it was abundantly clear that the traditionalists should not be underestimated. Just when I was leaving South Africa, shortly after Mr Botha's announcement of the general election, I saw the beginnings of what looks like being the biggest mobilization of right-wing white opinion — in opposition to an Afrikaner government — the country has ever seen. Mr Botha will be subjected to pressures now no other Nationalist prime minister has had to endure.

Flexibility

Mr Botha's strategy in the election, as I read it, is to secure a mandate in broad terms for the 12-point reform programme he presented to the Carlton gathering in November 1979. This programme is sufficiently vaguely worded to give Mr Botha the flexibility he will need after the election.

To secure this mandate Mr Botha will conduct an aggressively verkrampte election campaign. There will be little place between now and April 29 for reformist idealism. What Mr Botha is doing is asking the country to take him on trust, to accept that he is using verkrampte means to achieve verligte ends.

The purpose of the election then, as I suggested earlier, will be to reformulate the National Party's identity, but without inviting a split in the party. Mr Botha has made it clear he does not want a split. His dilemma though is that, if the National Party does not redefine itself, it can never become an instrument for reform.

Mr Botha's answer to this dilemma (if my reading of his strategy is correct) is that he will accept the inevitability of the hardline dissidents in his party being siphoned off into support for the HNP, which has been discredited in National Party eyes for the past few years, and which only now is reaching out for respectability.

This would present Mr Botha with a larger and more formidable right-wing Afrikaner opposition, and possibly one which would have a parliamentary platform for the first time, but he would retain control of the National Party as such. Legitimacy would remain with him.

If this party political process is to take root, the HNP and Co. in time will become the official Opposition, while the Progressive Federal Party is pushed into a closer relationship with the National Party. This would not necessarily mean the final eclipse of English-speaking political influence. Probably the English-speaking business community would then emerge as a factor of influence within the new relationship.

Major reform

After the election, if Mr Botha intends to pursue his reformist intentions, the National Party can expect to be presented with a major reform — say, the admission of a limited number of coloured and Indian MPs to the House of Assembly on a separate voters' roll. The purpose of such a reform would be not only to help meet the aspirations of coloured people and Asians, but to contrive a test case for Afrikanerdom.

Afrikanerdom might well block the reform and fail the test. Mr Botha's election strategy might not work out as planned. Hardline opponents of reform might join the HNP, but the rest might remain in the party to use the parliamentary caucus and the party congresses to block reform.

Mr Botha is trying to bypass these essentially anti-reformist institutions with the new structure of cabinet committees, a National Security Council, etc., that he has created, but there is a limit beyond which he cannot strip the party's basic, democratic institutions of their share in power.

If the election does not work out as Mr Botha has planned, if traditionalist Afrikanerdom asserts itself and blocks further reform, then heaven help South Africa. On the other hand, if the "test" reform is successful, this could open the way for further reforms. What happens then, over the next five years, would be absolutely crucial for South Africa.

(Next week: What will Mr Botha's reforms mean for South Africa?)

SA link in kidnap?

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — Swaziland authorities today said that a registered refugee from South Africa, Joe Pillay, was kidnapped last night and that documents found indicated one of them was a South African.

The men allegedly grabbed him at St Joseph's mission school where he was a teacher.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Corporation Medals

For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize

Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize

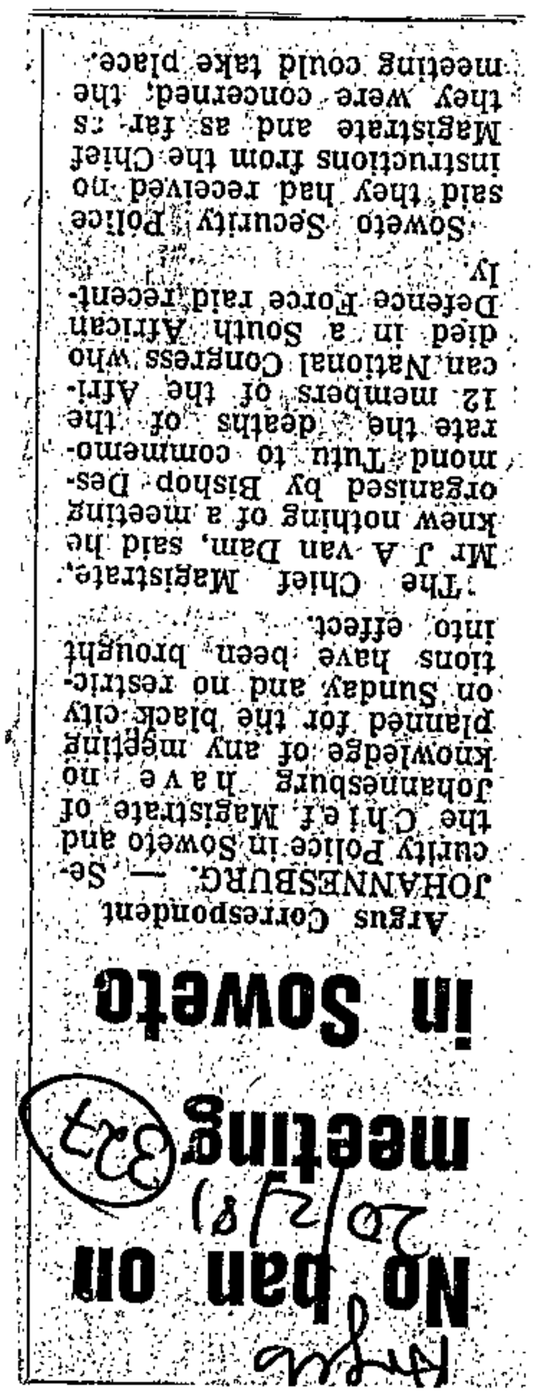
Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

G L Cragg



Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Security Police in Soweto and the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg have no knowledge of any meeting planned for the black city on Sunday and no restrictions have been brought into effect.

The Chief Magistrate, Mr J A van Dam, said he knew nothing of a meeting organised by Bishop Desmond Tutu to commemorate the deaths of the 12 members of the African National Congress who died in a South African Defence Force raid recently.

Soweto Security Police said they had received no instructions from the Chief Magistrate and as far as they were concerned, the meeting could take place.

No ban on meeting in Soweto

Spy tells of union plot

(327) 20/2/81

PORT ELIZABETH — Security branch undercover agent Captain Craig Williamson, yesterday told the Regional Court here that he was asked to help foil "an imperialist plot" to discredit the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

He said he was told that the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) was to be used as a tool in this plot.

Capt Williamson was giving evidence in the trial of a Rhodes University journalism lecturer, Mr Guy Berger, 24, and a student, Mr Devandiren Pillay, 21, of East London, who have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Internal Security and Publications Acts.

They are alleged to have been members of the African National Congress.

Mr Berger is also alleged to have obtained information that was to be used to bring trade unions, including Fosatu, within the sphere of Sactu, which the state says is the trade union wing of the ANC.

Capt Williamson said under cross-examination, that in late 1978, when he was running an ANC network, he went to Lusaka and spoke to Mrs Rae Simons who was angry at an "imperialist plot" designed to discredit Sactu.

Capt Williamson agreed that Sactu had never been declared an unlawful organisation and said it operated in South Africa as an underground organisation, using clandestine methods.

There was laughter when Mr D. Kuny, for the defence, reminded him of an incident in the early 70s when, as a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, he was found not guilty on a charge under the Riotous Assembly Act.

"I have to thank my legal defence for that," Capt Williamson told the magistrate. "Mr Kuny was my advocate and Mr Tucker (the attorney representing the firm instructing Mr Kuny in the present trial) was my attorney."

The assistant national secretary of the Fosatu-affiliated National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber Workers' Union of South Africa, Mr Vee Ahshene, told the court that Mr Berger had spoken to him in 1978 about the United Auto Workers' Union, which Mr Ahshene had helped to organise.

He understood Mr Berger was doing a thesis on trade unions.

There was nothing privileged or secret about the information he gave Mr Berger.

The trial continues. — DDC.

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Corporation Medals

For the best student in each of the 2nd, 3rd and final years.

Second Year (Bronze Medal)

Miss G C Littlewort

Third Year (Silver Medal)

Miss N C Davidson

Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

P M Salmon
T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens
B F McCleland

Professor George Menzies Prize

Awarded on results of final examinations to the best male student in Land Surveying or Civil Engineering.

J H Rens

Sammy Sacks Memorial Prize

Awarded to the student with the best classwork in Engineering Drawing.

L Menegaldo

A E & C I Prize

For the first year student obtaining the highest average mark.

G L Cragg

banned Pan-Africanist Congress have been both detained in and deported from Swaziland for allegedly setting up guerrilla bases.

They have not, however, been returned to South Africa.

Last year, unidentified saboteurs blasted houses in Swaziland said to have been occupied by members of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

The explosion came in the wake of the ANC attack on Sasol installations on June 1. Two people were killed in the blast, one of them an exiled South African student.

Later a South African school teacher at another Manzini school, Salesian High School, was detained for questioning by Swazi police.

scuffle.

Mr Shabangu said: "A South African passport and a South African Post Office savings book were found nearby."

Swaziland has offered sanctuary to South African refugees since its independence in 1968, but the relationship between the Swazi authorities and the refugees has not been without tension.

Refugees are subject to controls which include restrictions on their movements and prohibition of the possession of guns, ammunition and vehicles without permission.

The deputy-Prime Minister has the power to deport refugees, provided he is satisfied they will not be punished for political offences on their return to South Africa.

Members of South Africa's banned Pan-Africanist Congress have been both detained

C

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

A SOUTH African refugee, Mr Dayan Pillay, was kidnapped from Swaziland last week, the permanent secretary to the Swazi deputy-Prime Minister's office, Mr A R Shabangu, said yesterday.

Mr Pillay, registered as a refugee with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, was reportedly kidnapped at gunpoint from St Joseph's School, near Manzini, where he taught.

He was kidnapped about 9pm on Thursday, Mr Shabangu said yesterday.

Swaziland police are investigating.

Mr Pillay's kidnappers are said to have entered the school premises and to have forced him into a waiting car, in spite of attempts at resistance.

One of the kidnappers reportedly dropped documents in the

'Gunmen snatch refugee in Swazi'

Slabbert, Botha clash on reform

CT 21/2/81 B27

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, clashed yesterday on the concept of reform in South Africa.

Mr Botha accused Dr Slabbert of failing to acknowledge the changes that were taking place, while Dr Slabbert said that there could be no real reform while the government adhered to the policy of separate development.

The short third-reading debate on the mini-budget left the two leaders as far apart as ever as their parties gear up for the April general election.

Mr Botha rejected Dr Slabbert's suggestions that the government did not have the will to change or that there had been no real change.

He was particularly angry that Dr Slabbert had said this to the Times newspaper in London.

Mr Botha also denied that he was the captive of any section of his party and therefore unable to implement his intended policies.

"There is nothing I have undertaken to do in the just over two years that I have been Prime Minister that I do not intend to implement.

"What I have said in public I will do, I will carry out, as leader of this party."

More change

While Mr Botha maintained that more change for the good had been brought about under National Party policy than by any other government, Dr Slabbert argued that it was precisely Nationalist policy which prevented real reform.

There had been change, but the government had stated that it had no intention of altering cardinal Nationalist policy such as the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

"People read reform into things the Prime Minister has said, and it doesn't exist," Dr Slabbert stated.

"There is talk of change, but no real change."

"It is my right as Leader of the Opposition to say that, and I will say that fundimental reform would affect basic Nationalist policy principles."

Stumbling block

As this would in turn affect Nationalist unity, the desire to keep the National Party together was a stumbling block in the way of reform.

Dr Slabbert challenged Mr Botha to spell out before the general election exactly what changes he intended bringing about.

"There is a fundamental confusion amongst the electorate about what the prime minister and the National Party envisages."

He asked whether Mr Botha was prepared to state that the government would give all white, coloured, Asian and Chinese people a common vote in the unitary non-black dispensation that it envisaged for these groups.

Parliamentary reports, page 4

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Rees argues that since medical services do, for the most part, satisfy the conditions of excludability (there are no spillovers) and no economies

reduce the returns to substitute workers, keeping the demand for physicians' services and their price high. Archer (Ch.9) comments on the widespread concern over professional monopoly, with doctors behaving like a 'price-

8

(Cuyler 1971)--irrespective of

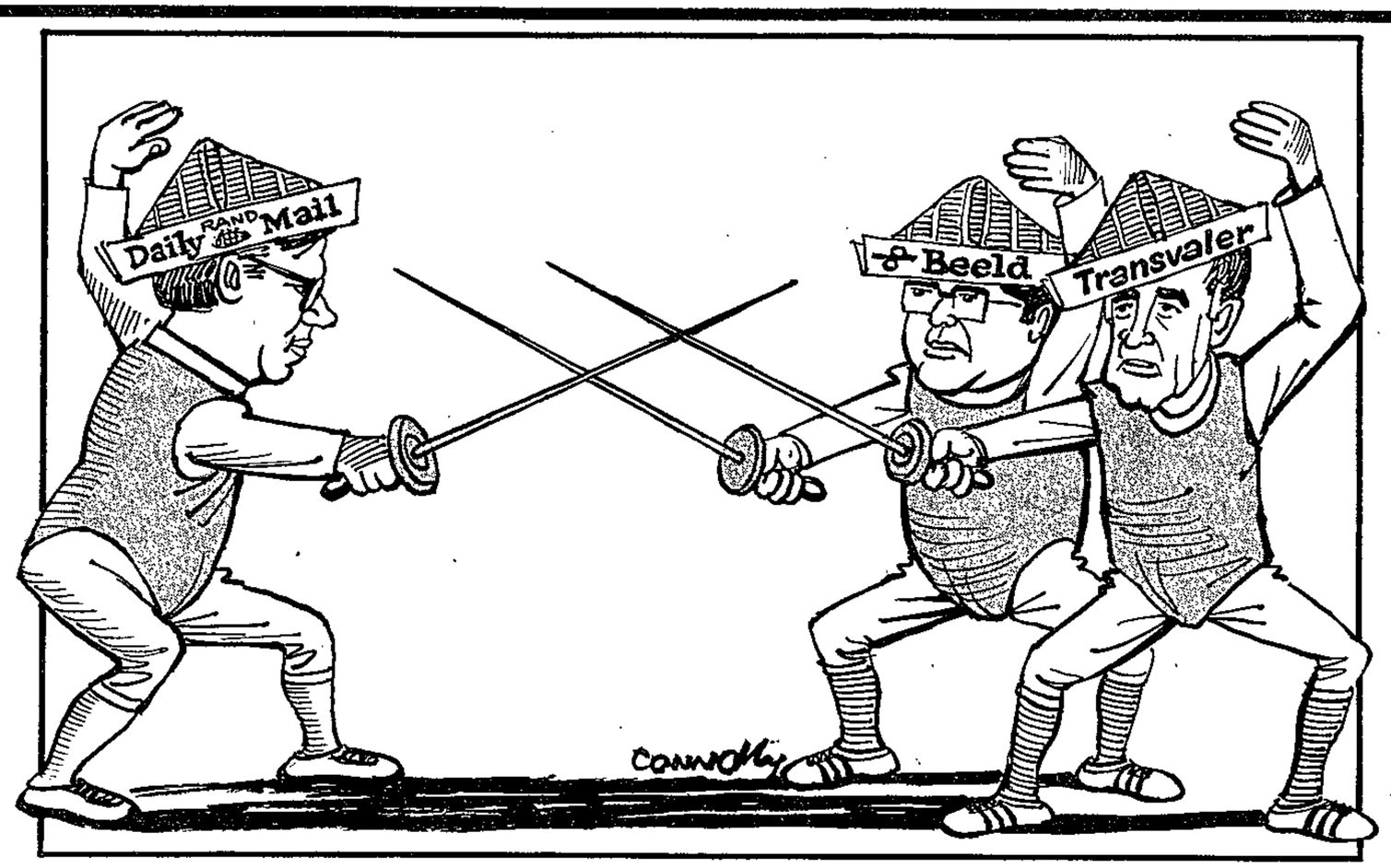
Interestingly, some of these arguments were mentioned by the 1944 Gluckman Commission on a National Health Service (reported by Kanis, Ch.8). The Commission argued that health care in South Africa should be related to needs rather than to supply and demand, that there was an over-emphasis on cure and lack of a comprehensive approach; and that externalities (e.g.

loss of production) would make it worthwhile

increase preventive measures. Various alter

cussed. Rees is sceptical about all of them, and suggests that reliance on voluntary organisations to fill in the gaps (as in the collection of blood) is likely to be more effective than government provision. He recommends that only those aspects of medical care in inelastic demand (i.e. those least prone to 'moral hazard') should be subsidised or provided free: serious illnesses would qualify first.

(vi) the absence of some desirable services from the market, notably preventative and rehabilitative services.



Ethnicity — and the holes in the Nationalist arguments

(327) RDM 21/2/81

ALLISTER SPARKS

AFTER some of the acrimonious exchanges of the past, it is encouraging that a more reasoned debate is now beginning between the Rand Daily Mail on the one hand and the important Nationalist newspapers, Beeld and Die Transvaler, on the other.

Die Transvaler expresses the hope that a rational argument may now be possible. It is a sentiment I share. The country could certainly do with more rationality, because there is a lot of confusion about.

Despite the boom people are bewildered and anxious; they don't know what the future holds, and they are hearing no credible answers from the political front.

We are entering an election campaign which is likely to be a highly emotionalised one. There is a Rightwing challenge which is going to foul the air with racialist cries and calls to the blood, and in which the Left is going to be subjected to a campaign of smears. If we in the newspaper business can sustain a rational argument through all this we shall be performing a national service — to say nothing of a miracle.

What gave rise to the debate was last Saturday's front page editorial in the "Mail" noting certain lessons to be drawn from the fighting in Zimbabwe — among them the observation that the tribal factor in Africa should be more realistically recognised and catered for constitutionally.

This the Nationalist papers have latched on to, suggesting it is a belated revelation on our part which has serious implications for what they claim is our "unitary state" policy, and which implies recognition that the ethnic basis of separate development is right.

The first point to make is that this newspaper does not, and never has, supported the unitary state system. It is what South Africa has now, and it is what gives rise to the present domination of one population group over the others. We support federalism, as do both the parliamentary opposition parties in different forms. Black nationalists are the only advocates of a unitary system, and we disagree with them on it.

Secondly, recognition of the political importance of the group factor is certainly no new revelation, either on our part or that of other critics of separate development.

All through the Sixties this column and the editorials of the Rand Daily Mail argued that unitary constitutions were aggravating tribal friction in Africa and that a devolution of power on federal lines would be more appropriate.

In 1973 — almost a decade ago — I delivered a paper at a conference on federation based on the following theme:

"Man is a group animal," I said, "and the failure to take adequate account of this has been the greatest flaw so far in the argument of the integrationists. It's one they have to come to terms with.

"This doesn't mean their argument is invalid, but they have to take account of this weakness in it and incorporate this realisation into their thinking. And this I think is indeed being done."

Also in 1973 the Spro-Cas Commission, comprising some of the leading liberal minds in the country, produced a weighty report, the whole thrust of which was that the reality of the ethnic factor in South African politics had to be recognised. It advocated what it called "an open plural society".

Three years ago the PFP's Slabbert Commission did the same. "It would be shortsighted," said its report, "to argue that ethnicity or group identity . . . does not exist or is not a factor to be taken into account in the political context of South Africa."

So what was so revelationary about the point made last Saturday?

What goes more to the heart of the matter, however, is the assertion by the Nationalist papers that if one recognises the reality of the group factor one must logically go on to accept the ethnic basis of separate development.

This is frankly nonsense.

To begin with, there is a world of difference between recognising and making provision for groups which exist on a *voluntary* basis, and the devising of a political dispensation which apportions civil rights on a discriminatory basis according to defined ethnic groups to which people are *forced* to belong whether they want to or not.

Secondly, recognising the group factor — and groups are not only ethnic, they may also be religious, linguistic or regional — means making provision for it constitutionally to protect minority groups from oppression, and to allow them to do their own thing as far as possible without balkanising the state into hopelessly vulnerable fragments.

Separate development is not that at all. It is a sophisticated strategy for continued white domination by means of divide-and-rule.

Beeld denies this, and says it is simply a formula to enable the different ethnic groups each to realise its need for self-determination.

Perhaps Beeld can explain then why the black ethnic groups must be divided but the whites not.

White unity is a strong theme of Nationalist policy. English and Afrikaner operate in the same political structure despite their linguistic and cultural differences. So do Portuguese and Greeks and Italians and Germans.

But Zulus and Xhosas must be divided into separate nations, even though as members of the same Nguni group they have much more in common linguistically and culturally than the white groups.

Even the Xhosas themselves must be divided into the separate Ciskei and Transkei Bantustans. Perhaps Beeld can explain why.

And how fundamental, really, are the ethnic differences between North and South Sotho?

Come, come. With one white nation as ethnically mixed as America and the blacks divided into 10 separate ethnic nations, surely it is disingenuous to pretend that we don't all know the reason.

To those who may reply that the blacks want ethnic self-determination while the whites don't, I would say that the evidence is otherwise. The overwhelming majority of blacks are opposed to separate development, including those who participate in the system. Even the Bantustan leaders have said all along that they would rather have their rights in a common South Africa. It is only white Nationalists who keep saying this is what the blacks want.

The advocates of separate development also deny that it is a formula for white domination. They say it is one for "separate freedoms", and their arguments can sound quite persuasive when put in purely abstract terms.

But what are the facts of everyday life?

They are that after 33 years of separate development, white domination is the whole basis upon which our political system rests.

Yes, but now it's changing, say the apologists. Which calls to mind Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's observation that South Africa must be the only country in the world where progress is measured by the decline of the Government's policies.

Granted, there are changes. But there is still a long way to go before we even get back to where South Africa was before the Nationalists came to power — and an incalculable amount of damage has been done to intergroup relations in the meantime.

There was a time when the various groups in this country were slowly drawing closer together. It wasn't planned, it was just happening in a haphazard and unconscious way as a result of the natural forces of economic integration.

Coloureds operated buses and taxis and lived in District Six; Indians ran shops in the business areas and lived nearby; blacks were more remote but in some areas they, too, had things like freehold property rights and were beginning to share more in the common weal.

And indirect and inadequate though it was, all at least had some small degree of participation in the central government of the country.

Then came separate development, and all these groups were systematically and completely excluded from all participation in the white political system.

At the same time racial discrimination has been legitimised and legally entrenched in almost every conceivable sphere of public social life.

Nationalists argue, of course, that blacks are being compensated by being given self-determination in their own tribal areas.

But where, pray tell, are the coloureds and Indians being compensated?

As for the blacks, it is a travesty to suggest that formal representation in a relatively ineffectual and powerless authority like a Bantustan is equivalent to the right to be represented in the decision-making of a powerful government.

And what of the urban blacks, the most advanced and productive members of the black community? Where is their compensation under separate development?

Mr Botha says they can be raised up to municipal status, but no higher. Beyond that their political aspirations must be realised through the "homelands". It is rather like South African Jews being allowed to vote in Israel. Or Afrikaners in Holland. Would they find it acceptable?

Under separate development, you see, some groups are a whole lot more separate than others. And the result is the most sophisticated system of group domination the world has ever seen.

I am, however, not one of those who believes that this is done just for brute and callous reasons. Or even out of race prejudice, though that is undeniably a factor.

No, the primary concern is for survival of the white group, specifically the Afrikaners. And it is not a dishonourable concern. We whites have a right to be here, and a right to stay.

But I do not believe that entrenching a system of political domination is the best way to ensure that survival. Because any system that seeks by law and policy to keep 85% of its people in a subordinate position is unworkable and doomed to failure. And with that failure there may come a backlash of bitter resentment that could be the greatest threat of all to white survival.

That is why I believe white survival in South Africa would be best ensured by trying to reach a negotiated agreement with our black fellow-countrymen now, while whites are still in a position of strength and before frustration drives more blacks to violence and radicalism.

But Beeld is opposed to a national convention. It says that would be gambling away all our options: what would we do if the convention failed?

Try and try again, I would suggest, as in Namibia.

But what, one may ask, is Beeld's alternative?

In asking this, I am mindful of the warning by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, probably the National Party's most perceptive mind, that Afrikaner Nationalism's greatest historical mistake has been to make policy *for* blacks instead of *with* them.

How does Beeld propose to make policy *with* blacks? Perhaps it would care to define its process of negotiation.

Is it to be through the President's Council, from which blacks are excluded — and whose coloured and Indian members are nominated by the Government?

Is it to be only with those blacks who broadly accept the framework of separate development? If so, how do Nationalists propose to include the majority of blacks who are not prepared to work within that framework?

And if so, then what was the editor of Beeld talking about the other day when he said we would have to face up to the idea of eventually talking to Mr Nelson Mandela?

Surely he cannot imagine that Mr Mandela would be prepared to negotiate within the framework of separate development — or on any lesser basis than at a national convention.

Of course there will have to be a national convention if confrontation is to be avoided. I suspect that in its heart Beeld knows this, but the politics of the National Party makes it difficult to advocate.

The trouble, of course — and this was the main lesson the "Mail" editorial drew from Zimbabwe last Saturday — is that delay is dangerous.

It would be a great deal better to call such a convention before there are guns on the table. Had a settlement in Zimbabwe been reached before the Zipra and Zanla armies came into existence — at Tiger or Fearless, for instance — not only would the whites have got a much better deal, but today's problems would not have been half so serious.

Interesting that in the debate so far, this major point is one that both Beeld and Die Transvaler continue to avoid.

Reform: What options does Botha have?

IS THERE ANY real prospect of Nationalist-sponsored reform in South Africa in the next few years, heading off social upheaval and transforming this country's prospects?

This is the key question in the minds of foreign observers and South African citizens alike, and it is being asked with increasing urgency.

It is common cause that Mr Botha, after nearly two years in power, now finds himself pretty well hog-tied by reactionary opinion in his own ranks, whatever his personal inclinations may be. A condition of stalemate has grown up between the reformist and reactionary trends of Afrikaner Nationalist opinion.

Finding himself unable to move, Mr Botha has called a general election. This will give him a clear five years and an electoral mandate in his own right, Mr Botha no doubt believes. But the election is not likely to change the balance of forces *inside* the National Party, one way or another. At the end of the day, the balance between the reformist and reactionary sections in Mr Botha's parliamentary caucus is not likely to be very much different.

There is no evidence that there has been a significant shift in Afrikanerdom's fundamental values and attitudes, outside of an elite group of verligtes in business, the universities and the media which is influential but not very strongly represented in the caucus.

Without majority

When the dust of the election has settled, Mr Botha will in all probability still be without a majority in the Nationalist caucus to bring about significant structural change, even if he wants to do so.

So if such change is going to be forthcoming, it would have to follow a realignment of political forces, presumably, in which the new government would enjoy the support of reformists in all parties — with diehard Nationalist reactionaries and other conservatives going into opposition.

Is there any real chance of realignment and, hence, any real chance of significant reform?

First of all, what are Mr Botha's own intentions? Will he willingly preside at a split in the National Party?

Mr Botha would welcome a small split which would rid him of Dr Treurnicht, as long as this left him him with a solid majority both in the Nationalist caucus and in Parliament so that he could carry on governing as a Nationalist prime minister without having to call on the support of his traditional political foes.

Unhappily for Mr Botha, Dr Treurnicht is far too shrewd a customer to oblige him in this fashion. Dr Treurnicht is himself out to capture the National Party machine, which he already controls in the Transvaal, and he knows that the political scrapheap is littered with splinter parties.

The name of the game is to have the other fellow break away, leaving you secure with the party name, the money in the party coffers and in control of the party machine.

Political survey



by GERALD SHAW

But Dr Treurnicht will not oblige Mr Botha. He aims to stay in the party. He knows, too, that he could almost certainly command a majority to oppose Mr Botha if the latter comes to the caucus with a generous scheme to put coloured MPs into the "white" Parliament, even on a separate roll.

If Mr Botha is really wedded to significant reform, he will have to bring his quarrel with Dr Treurnicht to a head, split the party, and, if necessary, rely on the PFP and NRP opposition parties to give him a verligte majority. He would not be able to rely for long on an informal arrangement of this kind. There would have to be a coalition, perhaps even followed by a fusion of parties, on the lines of the Smuts-Hertzog coming together in the 1930s.

Either Mr Botha would have enough Nationalist support to maintain control of the official Nationalist machine, at least in the Cape, and to form a government with the backing of the opposition parties; or else he would not have such support. In the latter case, Dr Treurnicht or someone with views rather similar would take control of the National Party and run it and the country on frankly reactionary lines. In which case the going would soon become pretty rocky.

In the real world, what are the chances of South African politics developing once again on the time-honoured lines of coalition, fusion and political realignment?

At present the chances are slender.

There was no reason to doubt Mr Botha's sincerity when he said in the Assembly recently that he had not the slightest intention of splitting the party which he had spent almost a lifetime building up.

It must be remembered that Mr Botha is a Nationalist in the D F Malan tradition, a Cape Nationalist, a member of the party which stayed clear of fusion in the 1930s, and under Dr Malan formed the Purified National Party which was the forerunner of the National Party of today.

There is a strong emotional bias in the Cape Nationalist tradition against coalition or fusion, a leading member of the party once told me, and this bias has its roots in the Jameson Raid.

The Jameson Raid, it will be recalled, was seen as an English act of betrayal of the confidence of Afrikanerdom. It broke up the close co-operation between Cecil John Rhodes and "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr's Afrikander Bond. It left an enduring heritage of mistrust between the English establishment and Afrikaner Nationalists, Cape Nationalists in particular.

It would be very hard for Mr Botha, as a Nationalist in this tradition, to join political forces with people he would identify as the present-day heirs of Rhodes and Jameson.

There is also the question of policy. Mr Botha, as a matter of conviction, would never accept a political system which concedes rights of South African citizenship to Africans on the same basis as everyone else.

The chance is remote of Mr Botha abandoning his commitment to Nationalist unity and seeking common cause in politics with the Opposition. It would mean forfeiting Afrikaner hegemony.

So Mr Botha's effective options are limited. In the first place, he can retard the pace of reform to a pace which is acceptable to his entire caucus and so maintain Afrikaner Nationalist unity and his own position as prime minister and head of the party. The only casualty would be reform itself.

The second option is the one discussed earlier in which there is a small split and Dr Treurnicht obliges Mr Botha and leaves the party, with Mr Botha then able to move ahead rather more quickly. This is hardly a genuine option, however, as Dr Treurnicht is unlikely to do the necessary. An obvious attempt to drive Dr Treurnicht out, moreover, could be counter-productive and rebound on Mr Botha himself. A Nationalist leader who is seen to be openly fomenting a split will himself lose support pretty rapidly.

Third option

The third option would be to dispense with the inhibitions of a parliamentary system and a troublesome caucus altogether by declaring a national emergency and military government to ward off the total onslaught. This is the so-called Brazil option, in which reform could be rapidly accelerated and any dissidents on the left or right dealt with in summary authoritarian fashion. South Africa would become a totalitarian state, without a free press, and with all the resources of the state mobilized for the sake of reform.

So far, Mr Botha has been steadily forced back on option number one, the effect of which is to slow down reform to a walking pace. On all the present indications, he will find himself in much the same position after the election and will be forced again to follow this course..

It is a sad truth of South African politics that the historic distrust between Nationalist Afrikanerdom and the English South African establishment is profound and pervasive. Unless this distrust can be broken down, Nationalist leaders will prefer to work with their own people, no matter how reactionary, rather than risk everything in a relationship of mutual trust and dependence with their traditional political foes.

As long as this is so, the chances of significant structural reform are slight. Afrikaner nationalism and African nationalism will remain on a collision course. There is no use bluffing ourselves.

AFRIKANER SABOTAGE, VIOLENCE HITS AT EQUALITY — FLOORS

S. Tribune 23/12/81

PROFESSOR Floors van Jaarsveld, a historian at the University of Pretoria, has been the victim of several attacks by right-wing organisations. In an article written for the Sunday Tribune, Prof van Jaarsveld looks at recent right-wing activity in South Africa, it's origins and what he thinks is needed to quell it

ONE of the greatest problems of some Afrikaners today is their inability to adapt. There are still people with 19th Century mentalities wandering around in the late 20th Century. Like Rip van Winkels they criticise people who are modern and who have good intentions for the future of the country and its people.

Acts of sabotage and violence are not new in the Afrikaans community. During World War 2 they were carried out by members of the rightwing Ossewabrandwag on fellow Afrikaners. After 1948 they quietened down. In the 60s English-speaking opposition members suffered them, and in the late 70s it was again the turn of fellow Afrikaners.

One newspaper estimated in August last year that since the 60s there have been 1 600 incidents by secret organisations on the far-right. These included intimidation and violence and even murder.

Some examples of these acts were:

- An attempt at arson in the Lutheran Church in Worcester shortly after it was made known that the new constitutional proposals of the Government were to be discussed there.
- In December a fire was started in the Cape Town offices of the Institute of Race Relations, causing R10 000 damage.
- My own tarring and feathering in March 1979 can be seen as a seminal event in the attack by the far-right organisations on Afrikaner supporters of Prime Minister P. W. Botha's Government. After this attacks were more and more directed at these supporters.
- In 1970, a 'white death list' was also released on which, among others, the names of Mr Justice M. T. Steyn, Mr Dirk Mudge and Mr Pik Botha appeared.
- In April last year damage was caused by arson to a drive-in theatre at Halfway House because it was open to all races.
- In June, Mr John Thorne — a minister in Pinetown — had his car sabotaged and his house set on fire.
- In August a bomb was exploded in Professor Jan Lombard's office on the University of Pretoria campus because of his part in the controversial constitutional plan for Natal.
- Bishop Tutu was ordered, allegedly by the Wit Kommando, to leave the country and three Polstu student leaders were intimidated.
- In December bombs went off in the Unisa office of Professor F. Maritz and the Durban property of Mr Derrick Watterson (MEC).
- In March, after an article of mine — "Hervorm of oorlog is ons voorland" — appeared in a local newspaper, a 32 cm steel arrow from a bow was shot through my study window where the curtains were drawn.

It pierced a painting and left a hole in the wall. I had left the room for five minutes for a cup of tea. It might have caused an accident.

The next morning an anonymous, unmannerly voice boomed over the telephone to my wife: "Tell your husband, if that swine (donder) doesn't shut up, the next arrow will be through your son's heart."

You might ask yourself why and by whom violence is committed. Judging from the language used, it comes from the proletariat.

The attacks were mainly directed against what was seen as 'integration' of blacks and whites — the result of an old tradition of anti-equality. The Government is suspected and accused of "selling out" the country to the blacks. Earlier, Generals Botha, Smuts and Hertzog were also accused of selling out to the English and this was equated with treason.

Psychologically one can explain the thoughts and actions of the far-right resistance organisations as those out of ignorance, puerilism and an inability to adjust to the demands of the time.

What is needed today is re-education from puerilism to maturity and adaptation. Power does not

I AM RIGHT, I AM WHITE!

S. Tribune 22/2/81 (327)



Dr SENEKAL
"He chose to make us white"

NATS ARE PREACHING A FALSE GOSPEL, SAYS DOMINEE

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER

A BRONKHORSTSPRUIT dominee has emerged as the newest chaplain to the armies of the South African right.

Dr Hennie Senekal of the NGK disclosed this week that he is one of the guiding lights behind the newly formed Aksie Eie Toekoms (Action Own Future). He also heads an NGK study group which was hastily formed to counter the growing influence of verligtes in the church.

AET is the latest of a multitude of keepers of the Verwoerdian holy grail, all jockeying to represent conservative whites.

In a Bible-brandishing sermon, Dr Senekal recently laid down the moral mandate of the "new" conservatives at a congress of the Mine Workers Union.

He said that new prophets in the church and in the Government were spreading a false gospel which would ensure that the Afrikaner was engulfed in a colourless mass.

"The white man has been made to develop a guilty conscience about blacks, while blacks are taught to feel wronged at every turn. When I as a white say that I don't want to mix with blacks, I am told that I am being unChristian and that I should not say such unfeeling things.

"Yet when blacks like Tutu make much more provocative and revolutionary statements, we are told by the powers that be that these are just the characteristic actions of those who are seeking their freedom. We must accept it.

"Afrikaners are told to accept the revolutionary and rebellious methods used by blacks in their fight for so-called freedom, but if we stand by that which God has given us, we are insulted, sworn at and ridiculed."

Dr Senekal said that the Afrikaner had not made himself white: "God had all the colours of the rainbow to choose from and he chose to make us white."

He said that the credo of total integration unfortunately came even from the foundation of the NGK, in the call to "move away from so-called hurtful and unnecessary discrimination.

"We are told that there are no differences between people and that we are all one.

"Are we busy with a demonic gospel of heathen practice when we stand by that which is sacred to our people? I say to you that the answer, which comes from the word of God itself, is no."

Dr Senekal said that he receives upward of 50 letters a day in support of his views.

"Many of the letters are from conservatives in the Presbyterian and Methodist churches especially in Natal, who are perturbed at the direction being taken by their churches.

Dr Senekal said that verligtes should be warned against their misplaced love for people of other races.

He said that the Bible indicated clearly how relations between different races should be regulated.

"The parable of the Good Samaritan is the best example. The Samaritan takes the man lying by the roadside after being set upon by thieves to an inn, where he commands the innkeeper to care for the man until he is recovered. The Samaritan pays for the victim's stay at the inn.

"The parable ends with the words: 'Go you and do the same.'

"Nowhere does it say take him to your house, put him in your bed, you nurse him until he is recovered, and let him eat at your table. God's command is not that you should sit with your arm around the neck of those of other races, but it does give us the responsibility to uplift them."

Dr Senekal said the time had come for the NGK to speak out on the race question, even if this meant offending the Government with which it had strong ties.

"It is absolutely essential that the strong opinions of the church on racial affairs should be put before the public. We should not be bound by what the Government thinks — the church has a prophetic task based on the word of God.

"By saying nothing one faces the danger of leaving the impression that one agrees with what is being done," he said.

He said that conservatism, as evidenced by the establishment of Aksie Eie Toekoms, was at a flood tide.

"A crisis is developing in South Africa. If the Afrikaner loses power, then the existence of all minority groups in the country, including the various black ethnic groups, will be threatened by a black majority government.

"There is uncertainty and deep confusion about the prognosis for the survival of the white man in South Africa. Separation of the races is treated as an outdated cliche. Talk of maintaining a white identity is viewed as an unacceptable offence."

Dr Senekal said that if the white man had to give his blood to ensure the victory of his cause, he would.

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TREURNICHT ASKED TO LEAD ANTI-NAT FIGHT

S. Tribune 22/2/81 (327)

ULTRA-RIGHT-WING GROUP PREDICTS LARGE SCALE RESIGNATIONS FROM NP

DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT — the long-time spiritual head of right-wing Afrikanerdom — will be asked this week to assume leadership of a powerful groundswell movement which will challenge the National Party in the coming election.

The move comes at a time when the National Party is staggering before the strongest right-wing onslaught since the breakaway of the Herstigtes in 1969.

A source within Aksie Eie Toekoms, Action Own Future — a group with strong backing from Transvaal academics — has told **Sunday Tribune** that Dr Treurnicht will be approached this week and asked to leave the Nat Party.

Dr Treurnicht heads the party in the Transvaal and has had to weather mounting criticism from the right over the reformist policies of the Government of Mr P. W. Botha.

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER

A source within Aksie, who did not want to be identified, said Dr Treurnicht would provide the charismatic leadership which the right sorely needed.

Askie saw itself as providing a reputable umbrella body under which the various right-wing parties could act in a loose alliance.

It is claimed that strong pressure is also being brought to bear on Dr Treurnicht by prominent conservatives within the National Party and party members in Dr Treurnicht's constituency are claimed to be involved.

No secret

Aksie — which has appreciable backing from Afrikaner academics, especially in the Transvaal — makes no secret of its strong ties with card-carrying National Party members. Those ties were developed under the guise of various "discussion groups" before the Aksie announced its political intentions.

The chairman of Aksie, Prof Willie Lubbe, former editor of the NG Kerk Journal, Die Kerkbode, would not comment on whether any approaches were being made to Dr Treurnicht or whether there was any possibility of Dr Treurnicht leaving the National Party.

"Each man must decide his political future for himself. We have had discussions with former Natal leader of the Nationalists, Henry Torlage, but no finality has been reached and these are still continuing," he said. (Nat Bail Out, See Page 4).

He rejected claims in the Afrikaans Press that Aksie had left behind a "cat's nest" of verkramptes in the National Party.

According to Beeld, these verkramptes were engaged in underground politics and spreading rumours and gossip about the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha, and verligte ministers like Dr Piet Koornhoff, Mr Fanie Botha and Mr Pik Botha.

"We know that there are discussion groups active within the National Party and the reason for this is that the ordinary members of the party cannot get answers from the public representatives. That is why they invite cultural leaders and academics to address them.

"The Prime Minister tried to pre-empt the resignations of Nationalists disgusted with his direction by calling an election.

"We have been preparing for a long time to move from discussion to action as a political party and he has forestalled us by only a month or so."

In favour

He said that there had been a tremendous reaction from National Party members in favour of Aksie, including members of NP executives and councils.

"I can confidently predict that there will still be large-scale resignations from the NP before the elections," Professor Lubbe said.

Although Aksie will probably not contest more than seven seats, political observer Dr Willem Kleynhans predicts that it could cause marginal Nationalist seats to fall to the Progressive Federal Party.



Treurnicht . . . they want him to lead the struggle

Govt 'amnesty' only for Whites ~~216~~ 326 exiles

S. Express 9/12/81

ASIATIC Portuguese from Mozambique have not been allowed to register for permanent residence under the "amnesty" offered by the South African Government to refugees in 1978 — unlike their former White compatriots.

By JEAN LE MAY Political Reporter

One man who approached the authorities shortly after the announcement of the "amnesty" was immediately arrested.

He was held until a lawyer arranged a temporary permit for him. Later he was told he would be allowed temporary residence only until he had obtained permission to live in a country outside South Africa.

His movements were restricted to a province and he was told that if he did not comply with these conditions he would be detained and deported to Mozambique.

The men — who number less than a score and include several wealthy businessmen — want to stay in South Africa either because they have relatives here or are married to South African citizens.

Some have had difficulty finding work and have had to subsist on the charity of relatives.

One man, who owned factories in Mozambique where he employed scores of White Portuguese, is bitter that several of his former White employees have obtained permanent residence while he is not even allowed to apply for it.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, the Durban lawyer who accepted appointment to the President's Council, told the Sunday Express he was "appalled and disgusted at the gross inhumanity and racism" of the Government's refusal to allow the men to apply.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, confirmed that last year she approached Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, then Minister of Immigration, on the question.

Mr Schlebusch, now deputy State President and chairman of the President's Council told her nothing could be done for the men under the "amnesty" as their entry to South Africa was restricted, she said.

However, Professor Marius Wiechers and two law lecturers at the University of South Africa have advised two of the men to apply for a court order directing the Minister of the Interior and Immigration to consider their applications for permanent residence.

Mr J C Pretorius, director of internal affairs and immigration, said he was aware of the situation but could not comment.

The "amnesty" publicised on February 13, 1978, said those illegal immigrants who voluntarily reported to the authorities before May 1, 1978, "will without prejudice or costs be given the opportunity to submit representations with a view to legalising their residence".

Although the offer, which made no reference to race, was generally interpreted by the Press as an "amnesty", lawyers consulted by the Sunday Express say legally it was no such thing.

Prof Wiechers and his colleagues said that when the Asian men reported, they were issued with temporary permits, were refused permission to apply for permanent residence, had their passports removed and were informed that further permits would not be issued.

Under the Aliens Act, applicants for permanent residence must be "likely to be readily assimilated with the European inhabitants of the Republic".

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Corporation Medals

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

Another NP protest walk-out in Natal

21 MORE ANGRY NATIONALISTS RESIGN

S. Tribune 22/2/81 (327)

By ROB JACKSON-SMITH

IN A SECOND set-back within a month for the National Party on the Natal platteland another 21 members in the Greytown area quit the party this week in protest against NP policy.

Earlier this month a group of 53 members, also from the Greytown area, led by former Natal Nat leader Henry Torlage, resigned from the party to show their discontent with the integrationist policies being followed by the party leadership.

The party hierarchy in Natal publicly ignored the breakaway, but this week's decision by 21 members of the Kranskop branch of the party to bale out serves to underline the deep divisions within the party — in the midlands at least.

Kranskop falls within the Umhlanga constituency and a spokesman for the group which broke away this week said the decision had nothing to do with the resignation of Mr Torlage and his followers from the party.

Among the group of 21 who quit at a meeting held at Kranskop on Thursday night are three members who served on the executive of the party's local branch.

They are Gunther Gathmann, Friedel Redinger and Hertling Redinger, who were chosen as a committee to represent the group which has decided to join what a spokesman described as "the conservative movement".

In an interview with the Sunday Tribune, Mr Gathmann declined to say what conservative movement the group had decided to join.

"We decided on this action to stimulate thought in the area," he said.

Mr Gathmann claimed that the number of resignations from the Kranskop branch would have been greater had there not been a misunderstanding about the date of the meeting.

"Many more will follow," he said.

It is possible that the group will join the National Conservative Party led by former Minister of Information Connie Mulder. He has been invited to address a meeting in the Greytown area early next month.

Senior National Party spokesmen were unavailable for comment yesterday.

(Report by R. Jackson-Smith, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

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The strange case of the secret spy

MR A is a secret agent in South Africa's National Intelligence Service (NIS) who infiltrated Left-wing groups on English-speaking campuses, distributed funds for the International University Exchange Fund and, he claims, became a member of the banned African National Congress.

By his own admission he was exposed as a Government agent in the national Press at the beginning of 1980 — at the same time that master-spy Craig Williamson was revealed to be a Security Policeman.

Yet, when he gave evidence this week at the trial of Rhodes University journalism lecturer Guy Berger and student Devan Pillay, who are charged with having been members of the ANC, Mr A's identity was concealed in the interests of State security, the magistrate ruling that Mr A's evidence be heard in camera.

This was described by defence advocate Denis Kuny, one of the country's top political lawyers, as "a drastic departure from what has happened in any case I know of in the past".

The State's application for the closed-doors ruling was made under section 153 (1) of the Criminal Procedure Act, which provides for the public to be barred from a criminal court if it appears that would be in the interests of State security.

Security Police Captain Craig Williamson, now stationed in Pretoria, told the court of his association with Mr A in various sensitive undercover operations, and said it was likely Mr A would be involved in similar operations in future.

If it were confirmed in open court that Mr A was in fact an agent, his duties could be affected.

Under cross-examination, he told Mr Kuny there had been Press reports that referred to Mr A as an agent, but claimed: "These were speculation."

He agreed that Mr A's cover had been blown as far as student political activities were concerned, but said these were not the only activities that threatened the State.

Mr Kuny then argued that Section 153 (1) provided for in-camera evidence if the exigencies of the case demanded it, but not the exigencies of Mr A's work outside the ambit of this case.

"The fact that a man may, or will in future, carry on work unrelated to this case has nothing to do with whether his identity in this case should be revealed."

The magistrate, Mr J B Robinson, disagreed.

The public gallery was cleared and two burly policemen stationed at the bolted court doors before Mr A was brought in.

Asked by Mr Kuny why the State had applied for his evidence to be heard in camera, Mr A said this was at the request of his superiors whose policy it was not to give members of the NIS unnecesary public exposure.

Mr Kuny: Why is that?
Mr A: I could only give an opinion.
Mr Kuny: And that opinion?
Mr A: My opinion is that members of our department who are intelligence agents should have as little exposure to members of the public as possible, because the more the enemy gets to know about one's modus operandi, the weaker the organisation, namely the NIS.
Mr Kuny: Well you might agree that protection from exposure is hardly something that applies to you in view of the exposure you've already had.
Mr A: I disagree.
Mr Kuny: Do you you agree you've figured under banner headlines in quite a number of nationally circulated newspapers?
Mr A: My name did not feature in the headlines of any newspaper.

Mr Kuny argued that Mr A's name had figured under "very big headlines", but Mr A replied that it was not, in his opinion, "substantial coverage".

Shortly after that exchange, while still under cross examination, Mr A appeared ill and the magistrate adjourned the court.

Mr A, tottering from the witness box, was saved from falling by a policeman, who led him to a chair at the Press table. He slumped there, sweat dripping from his face.

He sat for a while with a handkerchief over his face, then took the stand again and apologised to the magistrate.

"I was starting to feel bad," he explained.

Earlier Mr A had told the court that after graduating from Rhodes University where he was active as an agent for the then Bureau for State Security, he was formally absorbed into the ANC in 1977 as a courier.

He read out a letter he said he was given by a Mrs Jeanette Schoon of Botswana to deliver to Mr Berger. It urged that a hiding place be arranged in case things went wrong.

Mr A said the letter contained elements of code. Asked for an example, he referred to the salutation "Dear G".

"G" was in code, he said.

According to Mr A, Mrs Schoon is linked to the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) which the S... claims is the trade union ... of the ANC.

Mr Berger and Mr Pill... face three charges each ... the Internal Security Act. T... are accused of:

- Being members of the ANC
- Taking part in the activities of the ANC.
- Furthering the aims of communism.

They face a further three charges each under the Publications Act dealing with the possession and distribution of banned publications.

Mr Berger faces an additional charge under the Internal Security Act of having obtained information about the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) which would have been of use in furthering the aims of the ANC.

The two men have pleaded not guilty on all charges. The case continues this week.

Suspected SA kidnap shocks Swaziland

S. Tribune 22/2/81

(327) (84A) (312)

Tribune Reporters

FOUR South Africans are suspected of kidnapping a political refugee in Swaziland, Mr Daya Pillay, 35, who mysteriously disappeared from his home near Manzini this week.

The Swaziland Government is reported to be furious over the incident which has sent shock waves through the territory's growing community of refugee South Africans.

Sources in the Swazi Government and the United Nations mission in Mbabane suspect Mr Pillay was secretly hustled across the border into South Africa sometime on Thursday night or Friday.

His captors drove two cars with Durban and Transvaal registrations and apparently dropped identification documents near the scene of the kidnapping.

Mr Pillay was taken from his home at St Joseph's School at about 9 o'clock on Thursday night by four men — two whites, a coloured and an African man.

The Argus Africa News Service reports that according to unconfirmed reports police yesterday took a white woman from Manzini for questioning in connection with the kidnapping. The same reports say that police were given a detailed account of the kidnapping by a man who shared the house with Mr Pillay.

He is alleged to have told them that Mr Pillay put up a strenuous struggle as the men, one

Pillay's Merebank, Durban family are aware of the abduction and they fear for his safety.

He is a former Durban Schoolteacher who fled South Africa in 1977 and was registered in Swaziland as having received political asylum. He has been teaching at St Jospeh's for three years.

Mr Pillay fled South Africa with his younger brother, Vis Pillay and Krish Rabilal. Rabilal was one of the 11 ANC men killed early this month in a South African Defence force raid on an ANC base in Maputo.

A spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Mbabane said the Swazi goverment had informed the UN officially of the abduction of a registered refugee.

The spokesman said: "The abduction is the security responsibility of the government and we are waiting for them to take whatever action. We suspect that South Africans are responsible."

Mr Pillay taught for the Department of Indian Affairs and obtained a BA degree through Unisa. He quit his teaching post in Durban to work as a furniture salesman and opened his own fur-

CHEMICAL

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Broederkring exposes Govt tactics in 'war' on church

By ARNOLD GEYER

THE State's tactics against anti apartheid groups has been exposed by the Broederkring — the fraternal body of radical ministers in the three black Dutch Reformed churches.

Documentation, compiled by the Broederkring and released at the weekend, shows how the Government, the Broederbond, the white Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk, the Nationalist Press and other Afrikaans cultural bodies join together in an all-out onslaught against organisations, such as the Broederkring, which oppose the Government.

Dutch Reformed ministers will get copies of internal church reports, correspondence between newspaper editors, Government statements, and documents on the major battle in the more than three-million strong church family.

The "Mail" has obtained a copy of the documentation which will undoubtedly cause yet another escalation in the black-white NGK confrontation and add impetus to the breakaway move from the white church by the black churches.

More than a third of all the ministers in the black churches belong to the Broederkring and another third support it secretly.

The Broederkring chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, has time and again warned that there was a concerted onslaught against the fraternity, similar to the fierce campaign waged against the Christian Institute before its banning in 1977.

Now the Broederkring has pieced together the methods and tactics employed against anti-apartheid church groups over the past 18 months. In the case of the Broederbond, the verkrampte onslaught included the following moves:

o Cabinet Ministers, notably the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, made public statements, warning the fraternity and its leaders that the State would no longer tolerate its activities.

o At the same time, the Nationalist Press published articles and editorials calling the fraternity "dangerous and un-Christian" and demanding an investigation into its activities.

o Immediately after this, a Broederbond-inspired internal church commission of inquiry was launched to determine whether the fraternity had the right to exist, whether it supported a "theology of revolution", and to determine what radical churchmen's attitudes were towards the conservative, NGK-controlled leaderships of the three black churches.

o Church publications, all directly or indirectly controlled by the mother church, welcomed the commission and scathingly slated Broederkring members. Letters in response by the fraternity's leadership to this attack were not published.

o The moderatures of the black churches, still controlled by pro-Government churchmen, drew up lengthy theological reports, trying to prove the Broederkring was "undermining the church" and warning black ministers not to join the fraternity.

In its counter-attack on the NGK and its supporters, the Broederkring executive said: "In a most sweeping way, insinuations are made and accusations levelled against the Broedekring and its members, in order to give it a bad name and thereby hang the movement.

"It should be remembered that the church has always found the State machinery ever willing and ready to do the hanging. The church seems to act most consistently and systematically when engaged in acts of inquisition.

"This attack is just one more example in a long history of the church's refusal in South Africa to heed the voices of those who dared to witness to the church concerning the demands of the Gospel to reject and resist apartheid, racism, oppression and exploitation, and to engage actively in creating a new South African nation."

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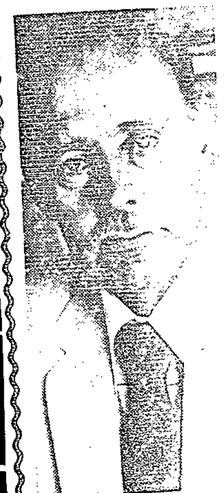
FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

'Expedient' Nats upset far right

ARGUS REPORTER Henry Ludski interviews a member of the far right, Aksie Eie Toekoms. Although Professor G D J Duvenage does not endorse the idea of a coloured homeland, he firmly believes in separate development and claims the Nationalist Government is leaning 'too far to the left'.

327
Argus
23/2/81



Professor G D J Duvenage

A PROFESSOR of history at the University of the Western Cape, who has been on the staff for the past 12 years, yesterday expressed concern at the Government's posture — they were leaning too far left, he said.

Professor G D J Duvenage is the only Cape member of the new far-right political group, Aksie Eie Toekoms — which last week proposed, as a part solution to South Africa's race problems, a homeland for coloured people as well.

A former chairman of the Bellville branch of the National Party, he sat in the restaurant of the multiracial Holiday Inn in Bellville and pointed a reprimanding finger at the Government for having integrated so many aspects of life in South Africa.

GRIEF

He said if the Government continued to move forward in its 'awkard' far left position' of evolutionary integration it would bring grief to all South Africans.

'If the Government continues with its policy of social integration in sport, the army and churches, which will lead ultimately to integration of living areas, education and politics, which will eventually lead to majority rule, then as night follows day we are going to have utter chaos in this country, with results which will make all the bloodbaths of Africa during the past two decades look like child's play,' Professor Duvenage said.

The Government should stop 'pansying to the tunes' of the outside world.

'Even if we have an integrated society, the world will never be satisfied. We can make what concessions and changes we like. It will never work. The outside world is set on black rule and nothing else,' he said.

MANY TRIBES

'What the Government and the world does not understand is that blacks will never effectively be able to lead this country.

'There are so many tribes here. Can you for one moment imagine one of the tribes coming to power?

'They each have their own culture, their own pride and if one came to power we would have a power struggle here far greater and with more bloodshed than in Angola, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and other African countries.'

He disagreed with his group that coloureds should have a separate homeland.

'Blacks, yes, they should have a homeland. We also have our homeland, but our homeland is also the homeland of the coloureds and the Asians.

'The lifestyle of the coloureds, like that of the whites, is very westernized. The coloureds, if only in a small way, are part of our history. We developed together, although territorially and politically we developed our own traditions.'

Professor Duvenage said South Africa could have solved all its problems by now if the Cape liberals and the northern republicans had sorted out their ideological differences after the Anglo-Boer War.

The Government made the biggest mistake of the last half century by removing the coloureds from the voters' roll in 1955.

CRC FAILED

'But they can't go back now and erase all those mistakes. So much has changed since then. It was very unpopular then, when I said that it was immoral and unconstitutional to remove them from the voters' roll. I was proved right,' he said.

'Everything they have done since to please the coloured — to rectify the mistake — has failed. The CRC failed and now they are trying the President's Council. But in two months nothing has been forthcoming from that body.

'They have to stop experimenting now. They have to get a policy and follow it rigidly. They had that in 1948.

'I think what they are now doing is questioning the qualifications with which the people went to the polls in 1948.

'I joined the Aksie Eie Toekoms group because I share with them the concern about the direction in which the Government are taking us.'

Professor Duvenage said there was not much difference in what the Government believed in and the alternatives of Aksie Eie Toekoms.

'Our principles are the same, it is just our accent that is different. They have followed a policy of separate development but we believe in separate but equal development. That has been one of the failings of the Government. They have not allowed the different groups to develop equally.'

OPPOSITION

The integration policy was being followed in direct opposition to the theory of apartheid.

'If it is separate development — it is separate development. Integration and apartheid are contradictory and you can't take a qualification from the one and another from the other and hope to come up with peace.'

Professor Duvenage said the action group was not a political party.

'We are a study and discussion group. We are going into this with an open mind,' he said.

When asked his reaction to being described as far-right, he said: 'I despise that term. How can I be called that if I criticised the Government when they took the coloured off the voters' roll?

'I say it over and over again — the Government are misleading the voters. They have moved from principle politics to pragmatism and opportunism.

'They are trying to make a fool of me. I made a decision in 1948 for a peaceful future and now they want me to decide again.

ON FIRE

'Do they think I am a fool — do they think they can mislead me? The voters here are not getting a fair deal because, in the Cape, the National Party members are not as aspirant as in the Transvaal.

'But in the Transvaal things are on fire. They can't fool the voters there.'

Asked whether he was a member of the Broederbond, Professor Duvenage replied: 'No. It really amazed my brown colleagues at the university when the book, the Super Afrikaaners, was published and my name wasn't on the list. No, that door was closed to me in 55.'

Professor Duvenage said he did not want to be a Christian only on Sundays. 'I try to be a Christian every day.'

DIMENSIONS

'Fortunately apartheid doesn't clash with being a Christian. In the eyes of God and academically the students at the university are my equals.

'But we must remember that spiritually man is many-dimensional and many-secular and that in this daily life, for order and harmony to be maintained, there are differences between us. We must acknowledge that.'

The basic problem of the present Government, he said, was that they were not 'historically-minded' and they followed a policy of expedience.

PM vows to fulfil his reform pledges

RDM 23/2/81 (327)

BY HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has rejected accusations that he is backing away from his reformist intentions and has pledged he will continue to carry out his promises.

He repeated the undertaking in an interview with the Nationalist Press after a speech in Parliament on Friday.

He told the House: "There is nothing I have undertaken to do, in just over two years that I have been Prime Minister, that I do not intend to implement.

"What I have said in public I will do, I will carry out as leader of this party."

The statement was regarded as significant by the Nationalist Press and seen by certain verligtes as an indication that Mr Botha would not back away from his policy direction in the face of growing Rightwing resistance.

However, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition, said the significance of Mr Botha's pledge to carry out his public promises could only be assessed in terms of what he had actually promised.

"So far, his promises have been confined to vague generalisations, good intentions and

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...statements of National Party policy," Dr Slabbert said.

Anyone could subscribe to Mr Botha's call for Christian charity — but he had never explained how he intended to translate this into concrete political reform.

The "adapt or die" slogan could mean anything to anyone, and the 12-point plan was a restatement of National Party policy that could be interpreted to suit verligte and verkrampte tastes alike.

"When it comes to the question of political change, Mr Botha must be judged by his deeds, not his words. And that is where he has failed," Dr Slabbert said.

In an interview with the Nationalist weekend Press, Mr Botha elaborated on his pledge.

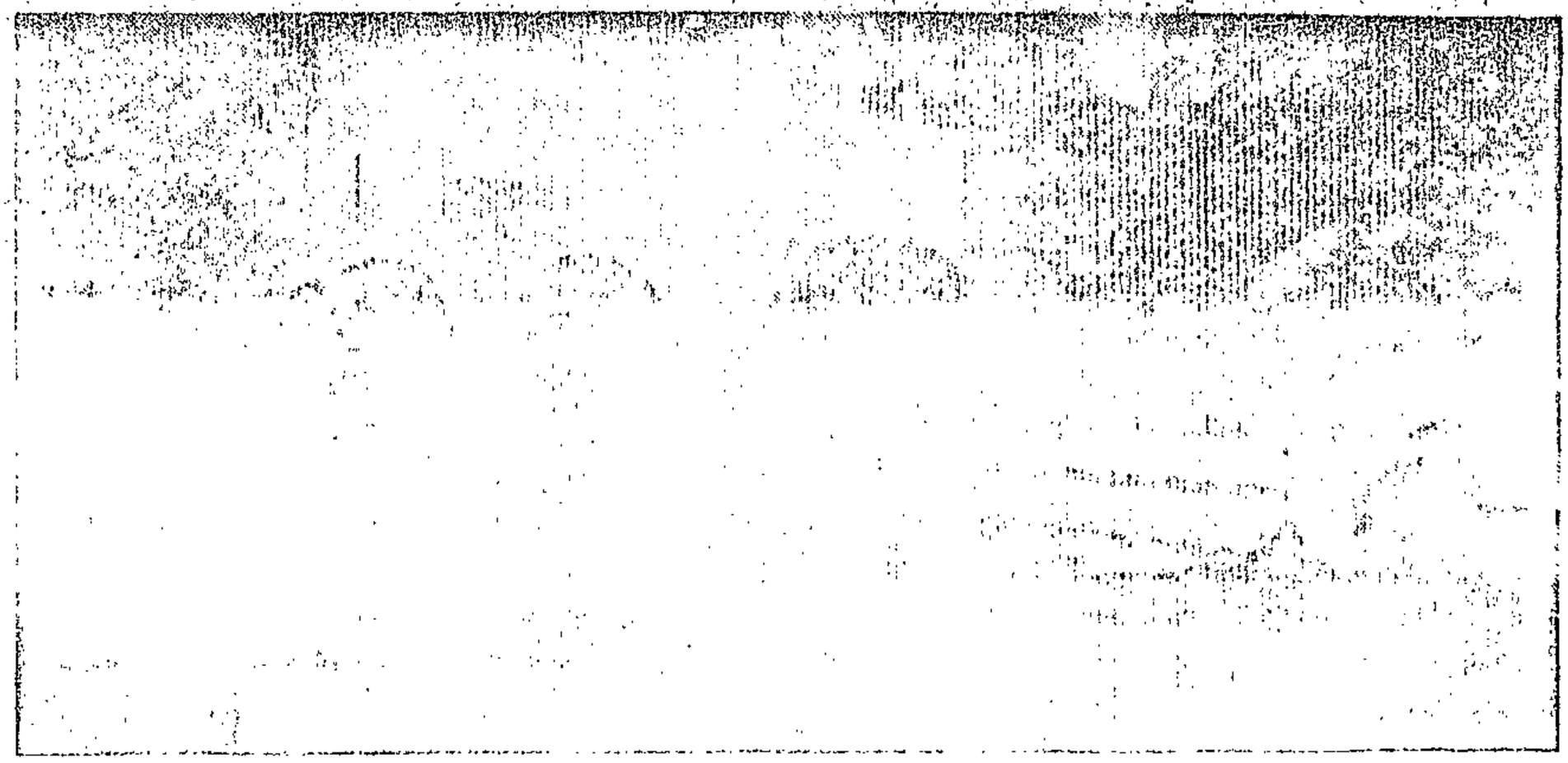
Specific points were:

- His intention to press ahead with the "constellation of states";
- The continuation of the search by the President's Council for "appropriate constitutional systems";
- A continued attempt to improve the living standards of all South Africans;
- A "total national strategy" to "promote the safety and welfare of all population groups in the country".

Commenting on these specific pledges, Dr Slabbert said they all fell neatly within the concept of Nationalist policy and did not constitute any fundamental reform that would contribute to solving the country's problems.

"The Prime Minister has made it clear that the constellation of states will be based on independent homelands, that the President's Council will confine itself to investigating constitutional solutions for whites, coloureds and Indians — excluding blacks — and that blacks all have homeland connections. This does not constitute a programme of reform."

To top it all, Mr Botha had



Some of the 18 priests who took part in the service at Regina Mundi Cathedral in Soweto yesterday to mourn the ANC members killed in the SADF raid on the base in Mozambique.

Raid on Maputo ANC base was murder, says Motlana

The raid by South African Defence Force commandos on an African National Congress base at Matola, near Maputo, Mozambique, last month resulted in "first-degree murder," Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, told hundreds of mourners in the Regina Mundi Cathedral, Rockville, yesterday.

The service was organised by the secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu. Presiding was the acting chairman of the Broederkring, the Rev Mashai Tema.

Mr Tema said the service was to mourn the death of those killed in Mozambique by the SADF "for no apparent reason."

"We abhor provocation by anyone upon anybody on this subcontinent. We abhor provocation from outside or from within our country and we condemn any government that will make itself an enemy of anyone on this subcontinent," Mr Tema said.

Whereas whites regarded the dead ANC men as terrorists, blacks saw them as "freedom fighters" and, when white society referred to them as "dead terrorists," blacks looked up to them as "martyrs," he said.

Dr Motlana said blacks saluted those who had vowed to fight for their country and its liberation.

"There was a time when South Africa justified its raids into neighbouring countries by saying it was in 'hot pursuit' of the aggressors.

"But what happened in Mozambique was pure, unmitigated, first-degree murder. There was no excuse that these men entered South Africa and committed acts of aggression," Dr Motlana said.

He warned the Government that it should take note of the reaction of white South Africa and black South Africa to the raids.

"The reaction of both groups typifies the great division in this country. When whites praise the so-called security forces we blame them for the deaths."

Bishop Tutu said that, in the Mozambique raid, it was South Africans being killed by other South Africans.

"We say firmly and clearly we blacks are peace-loving to a fault. But do not forget that we can be provoked. Those whose newspapers call people terrorists should realise that they are our fathers, sons and brothers. Even if your son commits murder he remains your son — it is the same with brothers or fathers."

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Fourth Year (Gold Medal)

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T J Cumming
D P Weeks
J H Rens

CHEMICAL

NP in Jeppe
exposes MPC
after probe

Interrogation made me ill says lecturer

DD 24/2/81

327

PORT ELIZABETH — A hushed court yesterday heard a Rhodes University journalism lecturer, Mr Guy Berger, say he became ill when he was deprived of sleep for 48 hours after his detention by security police in August last year.

He also said that in a night-long interrogation session, he was ordered to take off some of his clothes and a security policeman brandishing a cane stalked around him, glared into his face and demanded to know who had recruited him for the African National Congress.

Mr Berger was giving evidence in the regional court here in a trial within a trial to determine the admissibility as evidence of a statement he had made to a magistrate shortly after his detention.

The defence claims it was not made voluntarily.

Mr Berger, 24, and a student, Mr Devan Pillay, 21, have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Internal Security and Publications Acts.

The state alleges they were members of and took part in the activities of the ANC, that they furthered the aims of communism and that they possessed and distributed undesirable publications.

Mr Berger also faces a charge under the Internal Security Act of having gathered information about trade unions which could have been of use to the ANC.

Mr Berger said yesterday he was detained at his home in Grahamstown at 6 am on August 11 last year. It was a Monday and he had been up until 4 am that morning writing an article.

He was taken to the security police offices, where he sat for most of the morning. In the afternoon, a Capt Oosthuizen, whom Mr Berger identified as the head of the security police in Grahamstown, told him he was being detained under Section 22.

"Capt Oosthuizen told me he'd been waiting two years to get me," said Mr Berger. "He said if I didn't co-operate I would see the bad side of the security police, and that he would leave me for two weeks then hold me under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act."

Mr Berger said he was taken to Alexandria police station then, at about 11 pm, brought back to Grahamstown, where he was told by Capt Oosthuizen to make a list of certain books belonging to him and the sources from which he had obtained them.

He worked on the list until 3 am and was then taken back to Alexandria. Before Capt Oosthuizen left, he told the policemen in charge of Mr Berger that "hy moenie slaap nie".

"I was very tired, but I was too scared to drop off to sleep," said Mr Berger. "When I got back to Alexandria one of the policemen sat with me."

He said he was visited by a doctor on Tuesday morning, when he became ill with a bout of diarrhoea brought on by overtiredness.

Later, Col Gerrit Erasmus, head of the security police in the Eastern Cape, arrived.

"He shouted to me to stand up and asked me why I hadn't washed, saying I wasn't at university any longer.

"He said my parents had not phoned to inquire about me and nobody really cared that I was in detention. I knew this was incorrect because the previous evening Cpt Oosthuizen told me my parents had phoned."

Mr Berger said that on the order of Capt Oosthuizen, he spent that day writing notes on various discussion groups in which he had been involved.

That night there was another interrogation session, which began at 7 pm and continued until dawn.

"Capt Oosthuizen accused me of setting up ANC cells, and didn't accept my denials," Mr Berger said.

"After midnight he told me to strip off my clothes and stand in front of a draughty open window. I took off my shoes, socks and jersey, and he said that was enough. I stood in front of the window. It was a cold night.

"I was very fatigued, and under emotional strain, and shaking a lot. Capt Oosthuizen told another policeman that I wasn't speaking and ' ek dink ons moet die equipment gaan haal'."

"I presume he meant torture equipment, but they never fetched any."

Mr Berger said he was told earlier in the evening that his girldfriend, Miss Jean Chunnett, would be detained unless he told everything.

"Now Capt Oosthuizen told me I was a bloody coward because I was going to let her be detained. He picked up a cane — there were several leaning against a blood-spattered section of the wall — and stalked around me brandishing this cane, glaring into my face and demanding 'Who recruited you?'."

Mr Berger said that after half an hour he was allowed to sit down again.

The trial continues today. — SAPA.

SA 'prunes' constellation grand plan

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RDM 25/2/81

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

PRETORIA has had to scale down its Constellation of States project from the original "grandiose" plan for links between nine Southern African countries to a mere restructuring of relations between itself and the independent black homelands, according to a prominent Afrikaans academic.

With the disppearance of initial hopes of internationally-recognised black states joining the constellation, South Africa's reasonable expectations on the sub-continent amount to a series of "scenarios", says Dr Deon Geldenhuys, of the Institute of International Affairs.

He lists the more modest, but theoretically attainable, objectives in an article in the latest issue of "Strategic Review", journal of the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies.

They include:

o Inducing neighbouring states to deny bases to guerrilla forces seeking the armed overthrow of constitutional government in South Africa — and, more hopefully, of persuading them to refuse to allow the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan-Africanist Congress to open offices in their territory;

o Forestalling Russia from gaining a political or, worse still, military foothold in these states;

o Maintaining or strengthening economic ties with states in the sub-continent — all of which have backed the "counter-constellation" which seeks to lessen dependence on South Africa;

o Prevailing on them to "display some moderation" in criticising South Africa's internal policies. "It simply cannot be expected of OAU member states to refrain from denouncing apartheid."

Dr Geldenhuys goes on to consider the possibility of South Africa using her tremendous economic power in Southern Africa to secure any or all of these objectives.

In broad terms, the use of economic leverage to obtain political ends can be of two sorts: incentives or rewards for states which comply with Pretoria's wishes, and disincentives or punishments for those which do not.

But Dr Geldenhuys warns that even the use of economic, and therefore non-violent, pressure is not without perils.

"In the already tense Southern African situation, tough economic measures might in future induce some black states to throw caution to the wind and step up confrontation with the Republic. (It) conjures up the image of an escalation-ladder, with the worst-case scenario being a repeat of the Rhodesian 'war of liberation'.

"The point to stress is that there are at least two players in the 'game' of economic reward and punishment, and that the party handling the economic levers — particularly in an already tense stituation — should take extreme care in its presumptions about the likely behaviour of the other party or parties."

Warning that South Africa's international position would be affected adversely if it were perceived to be "bullying" weaker Third World states, Dr Geldenhuys adds that economic pressure will in any case add grist to the mill of forces in the international community clamouring for sanctions against South Africa.

It is suggested that education is not the priority, but that the effective sequence is employment first for guardians and just the amount of training required to perform that job (e.g. crochet a square or handle a sewing machine + one week). With their salaries, and without health education, guardians can then buy food for their children and send them to school. There is no doubt that the aims of health education can be achieved by providing employment without health education. I would like to suggest that health education is in the main ineffectual and a very expensive distraction from the real issues and solutions.

CONCLUSION

I. List of investigations etc., on which paper is based.

1. Interviews with more than 5 000 guardians of malnourished children which formed part of the routine investigation of this condition, as well as many conversations with guardians of well-nourished children.

2. Pilot Study of 50 children who had been admitted to hospital for malnutrition to determine their progress three months after discharge.

[illegible] social background of 223 children with kwashiorkor
[illegible] with low weight for age (LWA) who were otherwise
[illegible]hy and 216 well-nourished (WN) children and the family
[illegible] there educational status in about half this number.

[illegible] the socio-economic circumstances of 100 children with
[illegible]rasmus who presented at a city hospital.

[illegible]test the effect of "mothering" on the growth of 34
[illegible]mus.

[illegible] in intensive ten week nutrition campaign - detection
[illegible]ate, need for hospitalisation.

[illegible] efficacy of the provision of milk under supervision
[illegible]ildren on an outpatient basis.

[illegible] children home.

9. Experience with a sewing factory established to employ destitute guardians of malnourished children.

Soviet warning follows SA raid

MAPUTO — Any attack by South Africa will push Mozambique closer to the Soviet Union, a senior Western diplomat in Maputo has warned.

Mozambique sees South Africa being increasingly supported by the Western powers after the election of President Reagan and the failure of the SWA/Namibia conference in Geneva, reports The Guardian.

The big question now, with the Soviet Union publicly showing its support for Mozambique, is whether Russian support will take only the form of aid in the event of a South African attack or if the Soviet Union will upgrade Maputo's defences.

ASSISTANCE

The Star's Africa News Service reports that in a clear reference to the South African raid on the ANC in Matola, the Soviet ambassador to Mozambique said at the weekend his government was "determined to assist any friendly country threatened by external enemies."

According to Sapa-Reuter, Mr Vodovin said the Soviet Union was sending more warships to Mozambique soon.

The cruiser Alexandr Suvorov is at present on what he described as "a working visit."

The Soviet ambassador said: "We are not threatening anyone, but if anyone attacks us or our friends we will give a suitable response."

The Star's Own Correspondent in Lisbon reports that Mozambique is considering moving additional MiG fighters from the north to Maputo.

But the Guardian reports that for the moment, neither Mozambique nor the Soviet Union seem anxious to see a build-up.

Although the Soviet Union is Mozambique's biggest military supporter, President Machel has been careful to keep the Soviet presence limited. There are no Soviet bases.

The Soviet Union is said to feel that the West treats South Africa as part of the Western camp.

PROVOCATIVE

New missile installations in Mozambique might be seen as provocative and could be used by the Reagan Administration as justification for military support for South Africa.

Angola alleged at the weekend that heavily armed South African troops were occupying part of its territory on its border with SWA/Namibia and that they at one stage had penetrated 250 km into Angola.

A Defence Force spokesman described the Angolan allegations as "a propagandist statement linked to the fact that the next UN meeting is to commence soon," reports Sapa-Reuter.

expression of family disruption and social disorganisation occurring in a poverty situation and that all these measures are merely substitutes and ameloration for their deficiencies and effects. The real solution is the restoration of family, and therefore community, life by providing employment with realistic remuneration where the people live. Normal child care and nutrition flow naturally from normal supportive family life.

- 19 -

PAS. (12gm/day) 16,8c. 17c

Z (2gm/day) 13,44c.

where is price for Z ?

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(1) Report of the Secretary for Health, 1977, Chapt. 2, P.7. "For the first time the Department is now in possession of reliable expenditure figures in connection with specific services .... ."

(2) Report of the Secretary for Health 1977, Ch.3, P.13, "The number of beds has gradually been decreased over the past few years and now stands at 12057." (See also annexure 12, P.66.)

(3) Report of the Secretary for Health 1977, Annexure 6, P.55 Tuberculosis, Expenditure 1976/77 R20 842 521; 1977/78, R19 547 960.

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Refugees fear kidnap

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — The kidnapping of a South African refugee from his home near Manzini last week has caused concern among members of the banned African National Congress, according to sources here.

The ANC members are said to be worried about their safety.

Police have so far found no sign of the refugee, Mr Joe Pillay, who was kidnapped last Thursday outside his home at the St. Joseph's Mission School near Manzini.

Police have announced the arrest of four men in connection with the kidnapping but have not yet taken them to court,

Pillay kidnap: rebels blamed

RDM 26/2/81

327 334 312 218

Southern Africa Bureau

MBABANE. — Four men arrested in connection with last week's kidnapping of a South African refugee are suspected members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MRR), Swaziland police sources said yesterday.

Mr Daya Pillay, a refugee school teacher, was abducted at gunpoint from St Joseph's School, near Manzini, and is believed to have been driven across the border into South Africa.

Swaziland Police arrested four men alleged to have been involved in the abduction shortly afterwards. The men are expected to appear in court in the next few days on charges relating to the kidnapping.

Police suspect that a fifth man drove across the border, taking Mr Pillay with him. He is thought to be a black South African, as a South African reference book was found near the scene of the kidnapping.

The motive of the kidnapping, according to the sources, was to win South African approval for the MRR, in the hope that Pretoria would be persuaded to grant the movement bases for its struggle against the Mozambique government.

The Zimbabwean and Mozambique governments say the MRR was originally backed by Rhodesia's government, but has since been taken over by Pretoria as part of its alleged "destabilisation campaign" against black governments in Southern Africa.

Mr Pillay, originally from Durban, fled South Africa in 1977 and was registered as a refugee with the United Nations High Commission in Swaziland.

His brother, Mr Rabilal Pillay, is reported to have been one of 12 men killed in the South African raid on Maputo.

Nat MP launches attack on Broeders

(327) RDM 27/2/81

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

PARLIAMENT was stunned yesterday when a long-serving Nationalist frontbencher, Mr M W "Giel" de Wet, launched a scathing attack on the Broederbond.

Mr De Wet, who is retiring from politics, was making his farewell speech in the Assembly after representing the Welkom constituency for 15 years.

Government and Opposition members sat silent when — during a wide-ranging speech — Mr De Wet suddenly accused the Broederbond of being a divisive force in Afrikanerdom.

He said it discriminated against some Afrikaners and caused "bitterness".

Mr De Wet, who is not a member of the Broederbond, said: "There was a time, 20 years ago and more, when that organisation did South Africa a service, but I say today — with the greatest responsibility at my disposal — that I think it is an organisation whose time has

As Mr De Wet spoke, Dr Andries Treurnicht, a former head of the Broederbond, [illegible] no reaction, and carried on writing.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who succeeded Dr Treurnicht as head of the organisation, was not in the Assembly at the time.

Within minutes of Mr De Wet's attack, the Parliamentary lobby was abuzz as members discussed it.

Several MPs said it was the first time they could recall a Nationalist MP slating the Broederbond publicly.

Mr De Wet's speech can be taken as one of the first public indications of divisions in National Party ranks over the role of the Broederbond.

A few years ago, no Nationalist public figure would have dared to make such a remark in public.

There can be little doubt that the secret organisation's role has been downgraded in recent years, particularly since Mr P W Botha took over as Prime Minister, and the Bond has become a factor in NP infighting.

The strength of the Broederbond is largely in the Transvaal, and it is an open secret that it tends to back the verkramptes in the NP's internal power struggle.

The present head of the Broederbond is Professor Carel Boshoff, who is also chairman of the SA Bureau of Racial Affairs, the conservative Nationalist think-tank that put forward the idea of a white homeland — an idea that has been publicly put down by the Prime Minister.

Prof Boshoff's succession to leadership of the Broederbond was a major setback for the verligtes, who managed to gain a hold on the organisation when Dr Viljoen ousted Dr Treurnicht.

There is little doubt that under the present leadership, there has been a cooler relationship between the Broederbond and the NP leadership — although most members of the Cabinet, including the Prime Minister, are Broederbonders.

The greening of Afrikanerdom



RDM 327
24/2/81

In this article, the first of a series of two, STANLEY UYS, the Rand Daily Mail's London Editor, gives his impressions of a recent visit to South Africa

WHAT struck me most about South Africa was the confusion that is prevailing in Afrikanerdom — the way the old certainties have disappeared, and been replaced by doubt, conflict and the crumbling of Afrikaner unity.

Afrikanerdom, of course, has never been the monolith that some people have liked to think it is: Afrikaners are a contentious people. But, by and large, since the Nationalist victory in 1948, Afrikaners have been a disciplined people. It is this discipline I saw weakening.

There is nothing particularly surprising about this development. The South Africa for which apartheid was conceived is not the South Africa of today, and the Afrikaners for whom it was conceived are not the Afrikaners of today. South Africa in fact has been growing out of its apartheid straitjacket, and Afrikanerdom with it.

It is proving to be an agonising experience for Afrikanerdom, but a very hopeful one for the country. It is simply no longer possible for an obsolete ideology like apartheid to provide the framework in which a modernising country like South Africa can grow and prosper.

Perhaps the current opulence in South Africa (the result of the gold boom) adds a particular emphasis to the modernising process that is taking place in the country. Be that as it may, I cannot see how the process can be reversed. There is a bustle and forward movement in South Africa that is unstoppable.

In some ways, no doubt, the boom has increased the disparities of wealth between white and black, but it seemed to me, viewing the steadily rising self-confidence of blacks, that whatever movement takes place in South Africa now — as long as it is movement — will accelerate the pace of change.

I found it enormously heartening to see so many Afrikaner Nationalists recognising and accepting the inevitability of change, but depressing to see how confused many English-speakers (with notable exceptions) had become.

It seemed to me the time has come for people to stop using meaningless terms like "cosmetic" and "superficial" to describe what is happening in South Africa. There is nothing superficial about it. Something fundamental is stirring in the country. It can be argued that much of this is happening unwittingly rather than wittingly. Fair enough, but to try to deny that a process of fundamental change is taking place is silly.

I was struck by what Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of National Education, said last November: "The core of South Africa's problem is that answers to problems of the past are not full answers to problems of the present . . . Let us be honest with each other: things have not worked out as we wanted. We will have to adapt policy and reform it in accordance with the existing reality of our situation."

The general election on April 29, therefore, as I see it, is an attempt by Mr P W Botha to come to terms with Afrikanerdom over the direction the country should take. This is nothing less than an endeavour by the National Party to reformulate its identity.

At the moment, the party is deadlocked within itself. Mr Botha's reforms have been blocked. Unless this deadlock can be broken, so that the process of reform can be re-opened and an outlet given to the changes that are welling up inside the country, change can turn into destructive conflict.

This, in my view, is what the April 29 election is about: it is an attempt to establish the ascendancy of what one might call the modern Afrikaners over the traditionalists. By modern Afrikaners I mean the whole generation of Afrikaners who no longer have the old racial hang-ups.

It is partly a question of age, partly one of attitude. A whole new breed of Afrikaners has emerged who are more relaxed about race, more affluent and therefore more self-assured, and generally more sophisticated. Against them are the traditionalists who simply can't shake off the historic race fears.

What the respective proportions of these two groups are, I cannot say, but on my visits to South Africa, I encounter more and more modern Afrikaners. liberals. All I am saying is that they are liberals. all I am saying is that they are more willing to live in an open society than Afrikaners have been in the past.

They no longer see the need for Afrikanerdom to be run as an exclusive club (although this is partly because the country is being increasingly Afrikanerised anyway), or for white and black South Africans to be shut off from each other in watertight compartments. They no longer need their daily fix of "swart gevaar" propaganda to prepare them for the mostly imaginary dangers that surround them.

But, in the three weeks I was in South Africa, it was abundantly clear that the traditionalists should not be underestimated. Just when I was leaving South Africa, shortly after Mr Botha's announcement of the general election, I saw the beginnings of what looks like being the biggest mobilisation of Rightwing white opinion the country has ever seen. Mr Botha will be subjected to pressures no other Nationalist Prime Minister has had to endure.

Some of Mr Botha's opponents are visible: The HNP, Connie Mulder, the white miners, Louwrens Muller, the Kappiekommando, and so forth. The invisible opponents are more formidable: the Afrikaner institutions, such as the Rapportryers, cultural organisations, and more specifically the Dutch Reformed Church.

Where Afrikanerdom has become institutionalised, it appears to be more traditionalist in outlook than the ordinary Afrikaner in the street — or at least this is what a succession of public opinion polls over the years tell us. These institutions could go either way. They could be mobilised for verligtheid or for verkramptheid.

Mr Botha's strategy, as I read it, is to secure a mandate in broad terms for the 12-point programme he presented to the Carlton gathering in November, 1979. This programme is sufficiently vaguely worded to give Mr Botha the flexibility he will need after the election.

To secure this mandate Mr Botha will conduct an aggressively verkrampte election campaign. There will be little place between now and April 29 for reformist idealism. What Mr Botha is doing is asking the country to take him on trust: to accept that he is using verkrampte means to achieve verligte ends.

The purpose of the election then, as I suggested earlier, will be to reformulate the National Party's identity, but without inviting a split in the party. Mr Botha has made it clear he does not want a split. His dilemma, though, is that if the NP does not re-define itself it can never become an instrument for reform.

Mr Botha's answer to this dilemma (if my reading of his strategy is correct) is that he will accept the inevitability of the hardline dissidents in his party being siphoned off into support for the HNP, which has been discredited in National Party eyes for the past few years and which only now is reaching out for respectability.

This would present Mr Botha with a larger and more formidable Rightwing Afrikaner opposition, and possibly one which will have a parliamentary platform for the first time. But he would retain control of the National Party as such.

After the election, if Mr Botha intends to pursue his reformist intentions, the NP can expect to be presented with a major reform — say, the admission of a limited number of coloureds and Indians to the House of Assembly on a separate voters' roll. The purpose of such a reform would be not only to help meet the aspirations of coloureds and Indians, but to contrive a test case for Afrikanerdom.

Afrikanerdom might well block the reform and fail the test. Mr Botha's election strategy might not work out as planned. Hardline opponents of reform might join the HNP, but the rest might remain in the party to use the parliamentary caucus and the party congresses to block reform.

Mr Botha is trying to bypass these essentially anti-reformist institutions with the new structure of Cabinet committees, a national security council, etc, that he has created, but there is a limit beyond which he cannot strip the party's basic, democratic institutions of their share in power.

If the election does not work out as Mr Botha has planned, if traditionalist Afrikanerdom asserts itself and blocks further reform, then heaven help South Africa. On the other hand, if the "fest" reform is successful, this could open the way for further reforms.

● **Tomorrow: Botha's election bait.**

Broeders and English vote: Questions

28/2/81 ST 327

Political survey



by GERALD SHAW

THE Prime Minister is about to embark on an intensive programme of speech-making around the country. Is it significant, perhaps, that he is heading straight for mining and industrial constituencies in the Transvaal and Orange Free State?

For South Africa is going to the polls with Nationalist Afrikanerdom in a curious state of unsettlement. Mr Botha has never really established his authority as Nationalist leader among Afrikaner miners and industrial workers, particularly in the Transvaal. There is a great deal going on under the surface.

A curious symptom of unsettlement this week was Mr Giel de Wet's parliamentary outburst against the Afrikaner Broederbond, an unprecedented attack on this secret society by a *Nationalist* frontbencher.

Mr De Wet, as it happens, is the retiring member of Parliament for Welkom, a mining constituency in the Free State, and he is retiring at the age of 54, in itself a curious circumstance.

Mr De Wet, a capable and popular MP, told his fellow MPs that he had never been a member of the Bond. He spoke of loyalty to one's party leaders as a prime virtue and seemed by implication to be contrasting such loyalty with the secret activities of the Broederbond.

Great courage

Those who were present in the Assembly say that his speech, a denunciation of the Broederbond as a disruptive force, required great courage. When he sat down, his hands were shaking.

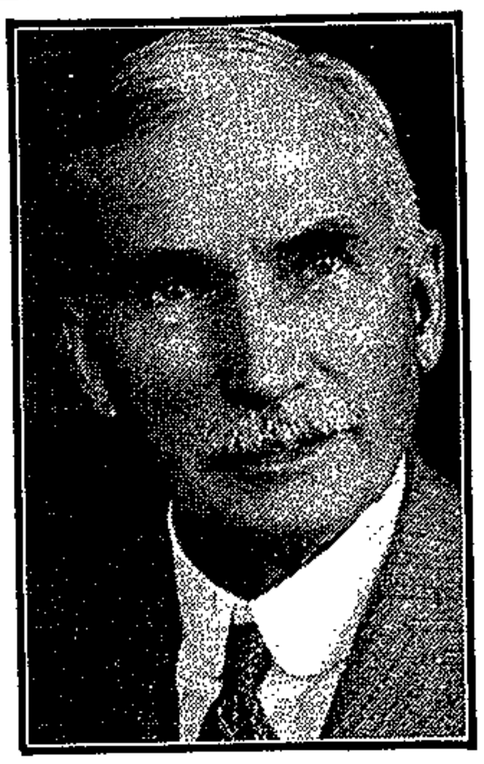
It is difficult to know what to make of this. No one doubts the pervasive influence of the Broederbond. But since Mr Vorster's day and his clash with the HNP, however, outsiders have had the distinct impression that this influence was being exercised *on behalf* of the National Party, which was firmly in the saddle and using the Bond for its own purposes, rather than vice versa.

All Nationalist prime ministers have to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Broederbond and make sure the society is working in harmony with them rather than undermining them. Mr Vorster was able to see to it that Prof Gerrit Viljoen succeeded to the chair after the verkramptes Dr Piet Meyer and Dr Andries Treurnicht.

With his own man in command, Mr Vorster was able to use the Broederbond to prepare Nationalist opinion for his policy initiatives such as the arrangements for mixed sport. But what is the situation now? Dr Viljoen's term of office has ended and in his place has come Professor Carel Boshoff, a Transvaal academic and Verwoerdian Sabra ideologue.

In the 1930s, when the Bond first became active in politics, standing out against the coming together of Smuts and Hertzog, and throwing its weight behind Dr Malan and his Purified Nationalists, it seemed to have taken unto itself the dominant and determining role in Afrikanerdom.

At a time of great confusion, with some Nationalist Afrikaners following Hertzog into Fusion with Smuts and others following Malan into the Purified (*Gesuiwerde*) wilderness, the Bond appears to have been very important indeed in proclaiming the purist Nationalist faith, separating the purist sheep from the fusionist goats and working towards the *Gesuiwerde* Nationalist triumph of Dr Malan's Herenigde National Party in 1948.



General Hertzog . . . he denounced the Broederbond

General Hertzog, the founder of Afrikaner Nationalism as a parliamentary force, regarded his achievement of Fusion betweeen the Nationalists and Smuts's SAP as a great step forward in reconciling the historic differences between Boer and Brit — and between Boer and Boer. So did General Smuts. The United Party was born in great hopes that sectional strife was at last at an end.

General Hertzog reckoned without the Broederbond — and without the immense emotional pulling power of chauvinist nationalism, particularly when the people in question have a history of oppression and suffering at the hands of an imperial power.

In 1935 General Hertzog became aware with alarm that the Afrikaner Broederbond was undermining inter-group reconciliation, as he saw it, and leading Afrikanerdom to rally behind the sectionalist party of Dr D F Malan.

General Hertzog went to Smithfield and made an historic speech denouncing the Broederbond, a courageous step but one which ultimately landed him on the political scrapheap. The political appeal of Dr Malan's strident, aggressive Nationalism was immense. It went straight to the heart of Afrikanerdom.

Because of the secret nature of its activities it is difficult to state with precision whether the Bond was quite as significant as General Hertzog's furious condemnation in his Smithfield speech suggested.

But enough is known to indicate that the Broederbond cannot be dismissed as an irrelevant cultural organization. It was then and is now a power in the land. So the gist of the Smithfield speech is worth recounting.

At Smithfield, General Hertzog quoted from a secret circular issued by the executive council of the Bond which declared that the primary consideration was whether "Afrikanerdom" would reach its ultimate destiny of "baasskap" in South Africa.

The goal was that the Broederbond "shall govern in South Africa".

General Hertzog denounced such talk as "Afrikaner-jingo self-glorification" which left no place in the sun for English-speaking South Africans.

Members of the Bond, said Hertzog, were secretly sworn not to entertain any co-operation aiming at national unity with the English-speaking section. The leaders and moving spirits of the Bond and of the Gesuiwerde Nationalists were the same people, he said. Only supporters of the Gesuiwerdes were allowed to become members and other Afrikaners were shouldered aside and kept in the dark.

But Dr Malan's Gesuiwerdes went from strength to strength. They were joined by many old Fusionists or Smelters after the war vote in 1939 and eventually, when the war was over, they swept into power in 1948. The Broederbond's 1935 aims had been realized. The "baasskap" of Afrikanerdom was an accomplished fact.

It remains so today. But within Afrikanerdom, who is the boss, Party or Bond? Now that there is a new prime minister and a new chairman of the Broederbond? Under Mr John Vorster, the party was certainly boss. Under Mr Botha, things seem rather unsettled.

Their aims

Mr P W Botha's aims and those of the Broederbond are hardly very different. Mr Botha believes that it is in everyone's interests that the Afrikaner should rule in South Africa and he has said so in clear terms in Parliament. He is perfectly honest about it.

Mr Botha, as an Afrikaner Nationalist in the Gesuiwerde Malan tradition, is himself a Broederbonder, naturally enough.

It is impossible for the outsider to guess at the inner significance of Mr Giel de Wet's denunciation of the Broederbond in the Assembly this week. Mr De Wet spoke under great strain. Who knows what subterranean stirrings are afoot?

Meanwhile, it is permissible to ask whether a government whose leaders are members of a secret society dedicated to the perpetuation of Afrikaner supremacy can legitimately seek political support in the English-speaking electorate and in the wider South African community.

Should not every Nationalist candidate seeking election in April tender his resignation from the Afrikaner Broederbond — as an earnest of good faith? Including the Prime Minister?

Botha's election bait: guns and butter



In this second article, STANLEY UYS, the Rand Daily Mail's London Editor, gives his impressions of a recent visit to South Africa

IN YESTERDAY'S article, I expressed the opinion that Prime Minister Botha is still committed to a programme of reforms, and that this is why he has called a general election on April 29 — to preempt the growing Rightwing movement in his party and to try to reformulate the party's identity so that he can proceed with the reforms at the point at which the Rightwing blocked them last year.

There is no point to this early election, as I see it, if Mr Botha has backed off from his reforms. Then he could simply sit back and wait for the elections to take place at their appointed time next year, secure in the knowledge that he had done nothing to upset Afrikanerdom and that he would receive the usual massive majority guaranteed to Nationalist Prime Ministers who toe the party line.

It is one thing to have good intentions, however, and quite another to implement them. During my visit to South Africa, I tried to find out what is likely to happen *after* the general election, and the prospect, I discovered, was not a particularly promising one.

First, there is the question of the exact nature of Mr Botha's reformist intentions.

As I have indicated, I am absolutely convinced — contrary to the opinion of many apartheid critics whom I met — that Mr Botha wants to proceed with the reform programme. But "reform" is not an absolute term: it needs to be explained.

Mr Botha, as I see it, has no intention of giving up what is known as "white survival". No meaningful share of political power is planned at this stage for either Africans, coloureds or Indians.

Second, Africans are not on Mr Botha's constitutional agenda yet. Such constitutional advancement as is being planned now is meant for coloureds and Indians. Africans will have to be patient.

Not even urban Africans will be accorded significant constitutional advancement at this stage, because too many urban rights would undermine the homelands policy, and the framework of the homelands policy is being retained because it is needed to ensure "orderly" change — for the transition later to regionalism and confederalism, and perhaps even to a form of federalism.

Third, no real changes are contemplated in other important areas of society. For example, white residential areas will not be desegregated, nor will white government schools be thrown open to all races, not even in the limited way in which white private schools are being opened.

Fourth, will Mr Botha be able to get even the limited reforms he has in mind past his caucus and congress? As I noted yesterday, South Africa is witnessing the biggest mobilisation of Rightwing opinion in opposition to an Afrikaner government the country has ever seen.

It is possible not only that the HNP will see its first MP elected, thus giving it a parliamentary platform, but that the verkrampte-verligte balance in the caucus will remain unchanged, or even that the verkramptes will return to parliament strengthened.

There is just a chance then that the election could go badly wrong for Mr Botha, although personally I doubt whether the clash would come until the parliamentary session later this year when Mr Botha begins to re-introduce his programme of reforms. But would the caucus and congresses even then be strong enough summarily to throw out Mr Botha's reforms? We will have to wait and see.

There is nothing illogical, in Mr Botha's terms, in running a verkrampte election campaign to achieve verligte ends. The raid on the ANC houses in Maputo on January 30, for example, set the tone for the campaign — images are being conjured up of an enemy massing on our borders.

At the same time, the country is booming, and a climate of affluence always provides a good setting for an election. Mr Botha then is in the fortunate position of being able to offer his followers both guns and butter.

Possibly, he is running scared. He must be haunted by what happened to Mr Dirk Mudge in the white elections in South West Africa. He wants to retain command of the National Party as such, not be left with a rump made up of Afrikaner verligtes and English-speaking recruits.

On the other hand, public opinion polls repeatedly, over the years, have indicated that the Afrikaner man-in-the-street is more verlig than the institutions of Afrikanerdom, and unless all these polls are mistaken, this gives Mr Botha some solid grassroots support. Most of the Afrikaans Press, too, are behind him.

Fifth and finally, there is the question whether, if Mr Botha re-introduces his reform programme and it is approved by the National Party caucus and congresses, this would change anything significantly. Considering all the reservations and qualifications I have just listed as attatching to the reform programme, would the programme add up to a row of beans?

Well, this depends on your "macro" view of politics — the wide-angle view.

If you are an ANC or black consciousness movement supporter, you will see "reforms" as irrelevant — as games white men play to while away the time. You will not join in the chorus of accusations against Mr Botha that he has lost credibility, because you never credited him with credibility in the first place. For you — *la lutta continua*.

Then, if you are, say, a white opposition politician who has become cynical about "reforms" because you have heard a lot of rhetoric but not seen much reform in practice, you might take the view that there is only one worthwhile fight, and that is the fight for civil liberties.

This, unless I am misreading her, is Mrs Helen Suzman's position. At the end of the day, when eventually she quits political life, she will be able to say she fought the good fight and came away unsullied by participation in the "reformist" games being played at Parliament.

But there is also another approach one can adopt, which is not as simplified and clear-cut as the other two positions, and that is to take the view that what Mr Botha's reforms are about are not blacks, but whites, and about the white power structure in particular. This happens to be my own view.

As I see it, the significance of the reforms Mr Botha might introduce after the elections will not be the benefit they might confer on blacks — even the admission of coloureds and Indians to the House of Assembly would not give these two groups real power — but the effect they would have on whites, and especially on the National Party.

I know there are some people in the opposition who dismiss "white politics" as irrelevant, but with due respect I would remind them that whites still rule South Africa, and that what happens to the white power bloc is not irrelevant, but of basic importance.

I believe the structure of white power in South Africa is changing significantly. Mr Botha and his immediate circle of colleagues and advisers, in a brief two-and-a-half years, have effectively destroyed the ideological stability Nationalists enjoyed for three decades. As a result, whites, and particularly Nationalists, have been thrown into confusion.

The psychology of apartheid has been tampered with to a point where many Nationalists, especially the traditionalists, no longer know where they are going: and Afrikanerdom is splitting, for the simple reason that you cannot tell people for 30 years that their very survival depends on the rigorous implementation of a totally packaged ideology, and then expect them to understand you and remain united when you inform them that segregation does not matter after all.

Until Mr Botha came on the scene, Afrikaner Prime Ministers — Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster — ruled their people with what one might call a natural authority: an authority derived from the volk.

Now, increasingly, Mr Botha is having to rule through a statutory authority. The whole decision-making and administrative structure he has created alongside the "natural" institutions of the Cabinet, the caucus and the congresses, the newly militarily-weighted autocracy in-the-making, is the manifestation of the enormous strains to which Afrikanerdom is being subjected.

One must ask oneself whether this turmoil in Afrikanerdom is not a symptom of a deeper, underlying change taking place in the country, because if the power structure is changing, surely other, prior changes have been taking place, too?

This is an evolutionary concept of change and one with a longer time scale. It would certainly not satisfy an impatient young black activist. But the change is there: a momentum has been created now which is unstoppable. Of this I am convinced.

This is the kind of reform I see on its way in South Africa. Steadily, over the years, the country has been breaking out of its apartheid straitjacket. The rhetoric that flowed from Mr Botha when he became Prime Minister — about South Africans having to "adapt or die" — was an acknowledgement of that process.

Mr Botha cannot go back along this path now — he would find himself out on a limb — nor do I think he would want to. He will have to keep running. There is no way now, as I see it, in which he can stop the world and get off.

Apartheid recipe to stay unchanged

(327)

DTPR 26/2/15

By Frans Esterhuyse
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The scene has been set for a general election campaign in which the Government will in effect seek a blank cheque from voters for re-shaping the Republic beyond recognition.

If there is any message from the Assembly's session, adjourned this week till after the election, it is that South Africa has been told virtually nothing about the Government's plans for the future.

Nobody knows exactly what the country's new constitution will look like, how the country is to be governed, or what awaits the citizens when the Government's "total strategy" comes into full play.

If some Nationalist visionaries were to get their way — which seems unlikely — South Africa would emerge from the election as something close to a one-party state, with nearly all serious opposition excluded from Parliament.

VISIONS

The Government's real reasons for holding the election now and the details of its hitherto nebulous visions of the future, have been subjects of guessing games among politicians from the Opposition parties.

Time and again during debates, Opposition speakers asked questions to seek clarity, or challenged the Government to explain.

But Government spokesmen remained poker-faced and each attempt by the Opposition resulted in a rebuff or red herring drawn across the trail.

One matter on which there is now absolute clarity is that the Government goes to the country as determined as ever to adhere to the National Party's apartheid principles, regardless of the consequences for South Africa.



Mr P W Botha . . . will not be party to any reforms.

AGREEMENT

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, made this clear at the start of the session and to this day he has not shown the slightest deviation from his stand.

First there was Mr Botha's catagoric statement: "I will not participate in the splitting of my party which I helped to build up over a period of more than 40 years."

This must be read together with the Prime Minister's equally catagoric assurance that there were no differences in principle within the National Party.

"On fundamental issues we are in agreement with one another," he said.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that Mr Botha and his supporters will not be a party to any reforms that could split the NP — not even if such reforms were to be recommended by the President's Council.

DITCHED

The Prime Minister made it clear too that any "drastic changes" recommended by the President's Council would be referred to the NP congresses.

Should such recommendations be unacceptable to a section of the NP and cause any danger of a breakaway, the outcome is obvious — the recommendations will be ditched.

This, then, is the grim prospect for any serious reforms that South Africans may be hoping for after the election.

Throughout the session, Government spokesmen took an unusually hard-line stand on fundamental race issues.

They were adamant that separate development would continue, that black people would remain excluded from the President's Council and that white political control would be retained and vigorously defended.

In this respect at least the Government has made itself clear — it is offering the electorate the same basic apartheid as before.

The drug market is characterised by a relatively high substitute elasticity of demand, but by relatively high substitute elasticity. Therefore there is a positive return to the manufacturer in promoting

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The use of motivation research in the drug industry shows that doctors are fearful that the vast range of drugs will turn them into mere pill dispensers. (19) The result is that advertsand direct mail concentrate on reassuring the doctor, and

. / ...

The amount of scientific information given.

The (offers of gifts, holidays and other inducements are made by detailmen and this practice has been frowned upon. (15)

The fact that detailmen represent only one company has been criticised. The idea of using drug-brokers in place of repre-

25.

are often excessive. In general, adverts are more moderate than those made in direct mail because adverts are subject to additional control by the Advertising Standards Authority.

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gifts, samples and bonuses. (20) Gifts are given to developed to prescribe a particular brand of e given a bonus for prescribing o get a free sample with every

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Broeder chief Boshoff denies anti-PW plot

By Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The chief of the Broederbond, Professor Carel Boshoff, has broken his silence on allegations that top members of the secret organisation are involved in a plot to undermine Mr P W Botha's policies.

Speaking amid the furore sparked by this week's surprise attack on the Broederbond by a Nationalist MP in Parliament, he said he had no knowledge of such activities by the Broederbond.

"If members are involved, I think it would be people acting in their private capacity," he said. He added that he therefore had no further comment.

But Professor Boshoff did confirm that he came to Cape Town a week ago to have discussions with "friends."

The visit coincided with allegations by verligte Nationalists that top members of the Broederbond were involved in a "secret strategy" to undermine the policies of the Prime Minister.

They said this was being done through meetings under the name of "study groups" where pertinent questions were asked about certain Government policy directions.

The attack on the Broederbond by the outgoing MP for Welkom, Mr Giel de Wet, is seen to bear out these suspicions.

Some conservatives even suspect that Mr de Wet had been put up to it by his verligte colleagues, while other Nationalist MPs have tried to dismiss it as a "purely personal axe" Mr de Wet wanted to grind.

But it has been pointed out, that immediately after branding the Broederbond as a divisive element, he appealed for loyalty towards the Prime Minister.

In his reaction to Mr de Wet's speech, Professor Boshoff said: "That is his personal opinion and he has the right to express it."

Although the Prime Minister himself is a member of the Broederbond, it is believed in political circles that the power wielded by conservatives in the secret organisation makes it one of the most formidable obstacles to his attempts to change Government policies.

Professor Boshoff's election as chcairman in the place of Dr Gerrit Viljoen is widely regarded as a conservative coup which could only widen the ideological schism between the two sections of the National Party.

(Report by L. H. Marshall, Press Gallery, House of Parliament, Cape Town.)



Professor Boshoff . . . "members acting in their private capacity."

TOTALITARIANISM

GENERAL

1 March — 31 March 1981

1981 ★

eders caught in meal rumpus

S. Times 1/3/81

327 ~~3 cont'd boards~~

Six men threaten to quit

A FINAL showdown between the Broederbond old guard in the Maize Board and the new National Maize Producers Organization (Nampo) was shaping up up this weekend.

Five members of the Maize Board are threatening to resign immediately which could seriously embarrass the Government and throw the country's R1 200-million maize industry into turmoil before the coming election.

The wave of disenchantment with al-

leged Broederbond manipulations that has been brewing particularly among maize farmers for two years, finally came to a head this week when

By MARTIN WELZ

Nampo refused to renominate six of the eight producer representatives on the Maize Board.

The six who have effectively been given notice that they will no longer be members of the Maize Board after their term expires in June include the chairman and deputy chairman of the board, Mr Ben Wilkens, Nationalist MP for Carletonville, and Mr Louis Rothman, Nationalist candidate MPC for Ermelo. Both are senior Broeders.

Now five of the six are threatening immediate resignation — four months before their term of office expires.

"When your boss tells you you're fired, you don't hang around for another four months. It's a sore point," Mr J J Theron, one of the board members who confirmed that he was considering resigning this week, told the Sunday Times.

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The threatened walkout comes at a crucial time, as the Maize Board must negotiate the new maize price for this year's biggest-ever crop within the next six weeks.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Pietie du Plessis, must fix the maize price before the crop starts coming in at the end of April, which could make it a major political issue only a week before the election.

And, say informed sources, if anything should go wrong, its the men in office on the Maize Board at the time who will take the rap.

First sign that the news was bad for the present incumbents on the Maize Board came at the Nampo general meeting earlier this week.

The 400 delegates from all regions of South Africa voted overwhelmingly in favour of a resolution barring farmers who accept political office from being appointed to represent them on the Maize Board or serving on their executive.

"Its a total onslaught on politics," the Broeder chairman of the Maize Board, Mr Wilkens, raged as he stormed out of the meeting. He announced that he intended resigning from the Maize Board immediately.

"Our members belong to all political parties — NP, HNP, PFP. If our representatives are also representatives of a particular party in Parliament or the provincial councils, this only creates problems between our members. We are a purely agricultural organisation," Nampo chairman Mr Fanie Fereirra retorted.

Nampo's nominations for appointment by the Minister of Agriculture were to have been kept secret until May, but by Thursday the news of the impending putsch had obviously leaked.

"I have not yet made a final decision, and it would only be good manners to discuss the matter with the chairman before I make an announcement. By Monday or Tuesday we should all know what is what," the vice chairman of the board, Mr Rothman, said when asked if he was resigning.

Mr M D H van der Hoven, a Maize Board member for 11 years, refused to confirm that he had resigned, but commented:

"It would only be reasonable for the new crowd to go in and negotiate the maize price. If one no longer enjoys their confidence then I suppose one must go."

The lack of confidence between Mr van der Hoven and Nampo is mutual. He never joined the new organisation.

"It is hardly courageous of them to want to resign now, but if they do we will immediately have to call a special meeting to nominate substitutes," Mr Ferreira said.

Of the six men on their way out, only one, Mr P T Steyn, representative of the Broeder-dominated co-operative group Unie Graan, was prepared to confirm that he would stay till the end of his term in June.

"It is difficult when you feel that you no longer have the confidence of the people who elected you, but I was appointed for a term and believe I have a responsibility to see it through," he said.

SA spy swop RDM 2/3/81 with USSR aborts

London Bureau

LONDON. — A deal to swop the Russian spy, Major Alexei Kozlov, who is being held in South Africa, for the leading Soviet Jewish dissident, Anatoli Shcharanski ended disastrously at the weekend.

Shcharanski's wife, Avital, who now lives in Jerusalem, telephoned London in distress yesterday to say that her husband was now facing even more severe confinement than before.

Yesterday she confirmed with the London offices of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry that a swop deal was being arranged, but had backfired "because of Press leaks".

Mrs Shcharanski, who married the day before she left Moscow for Israel in 1974 — the couple have never lived as man and wife — now fears it will be 1990 before she sees him.

She said Shcharanski's mother, Mrs Ida Milgrom, 72, who still lives in Moscow, had been served with written notice this weekend by the Kremlin authorities saying her son was being savagely punished.

Mrs Milgrom said that the written notice declared that her son, who is serving 13 years hard labour on charges that he spied for the United Nations, has been sentenced to six months solitary confinement in the notorious "Number 348 labour camp" at Prem in the Soviet Urals.

She said her 33-year-old son, who is reported to be going blind, had also been placed on half rations of food; would receive only one letter from the family every two months, and would be allowed no visits from

To Page 2

AIL, Monday, March 2, 1981

Plan to swop 2 RDM 2/3/81 spies fails

From Page 1

anyone throughout this year.

Mrs Shcharanski telephoned the news to London shortly after Israeli Radio broadcast the South African Sunday Times report that a swop deal might be concluded within two weeks.

Mrs Rita Eker, co-chairman of the Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry in London told me: "I can confirm we had been hearing for some weeks now, after years of fighting, that a swop deal was being negotiated.

"But it was a secret known to very few people.

"We had considerable hopes, but they have been completely destroyed now — and we feel sick.

"Some person has made a terrible mess of this and we blame the South Africans — probably the Government.

"Jewish organisations throughout the world are beside themselves with rage.

"For a reason they alone know, somebody in South Africa leaked this story. The Russians found out and in their usual brutal manner they are taking it out on Anatoli Shcharanski.

"Whatever chance there was for him has gone. It is over and he will be made to suffer for as long as his body can stand it.

"Somebody, and we are sure it is somebody in South Africa, must be damned for this failure."

Speaking on the camp he is likely to be kept in, she said: "God knows what brutalities he suffers. The only sport for the guards in that terrible part of the world is to beat up prisoners."

DD 2/3/81 (327)

Weekend ban on Lengisi funeral

MDANTSANE — An order prohibiting the burial of a former African National Congress executive member, Mr Joe Lengisi, here at the weekend was delivered to his home on Saturday night.

The order was delivered about 14 hours before the funeral service was due to start at his NU 3 home yesterday morning.

A relative said the order was delivered by Capt L. L. Nhonhonho of the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services. The relative said Mr Nhonhonho was accompanied by two plainclothes men believed to be from the agency.

The order was served after several mourners — including former political colleagues from various parts of South Africa and Transkei — had already converged on Mr Lengisi's home for the funeral.

The order stated the funeral could be held on any day of the week except a Saturday or Sunday. It also stipulated that the number of people who could attend the funeral should not be over 100.

By early yesterday morning a large crowd which had gathered at Mr Lengisi's home was stunned by the news of the ban.

A Duncan Village man, Mr C. J. Fazzie, who was one of Mr Lengisi's former colleagues in the ANC Youth League, addressed a section of the crowd and questioned why a man like Mr Lengisi, who was not a prominent leader, should be refused burial on a day chosen by his family and friends when there had been no interference with funerals of men like Steve Biko, Robert Sobukwe and Robert Resha.

Arrangements have been made by the family for the funeral service to be conducted by Rev A. M. Bottoman, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Africa this morning.

Mr Lengisi was active in politics during the late 1940s. He joined the ANC Youth League in East London in 1947 and was elected secretary. He later became an executive member of the ANC.

Mr Lengisi was convicted in 1950 in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act with other Eastern Cape leaders. He was served with banishment order in 1953. He returned to East London when the banishment order was lifted.

Mr Lengisi is survived by his wife, Florence, and six children. — DDR.

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a job, and it may be equally difficult to get a job without first having a house. In Fraserburg not even the municipality will employ a man unless he has a house.

It may in fact be difficult for most farm workers to get a job even if they can get a house. None of the officials spoken to thought there was unemployment in the towns and a BAAB official in Graaff Reinet said that in February there were only 187 registered African work-seekers on the books for the entire Karoo BAAB area.(18) However, official statistics on unemployment are notoriously unreliable.(19) Appendix 2 contains an attempt to point out some of the difficulties encountered in either accepting unemployment figures (for the four magisterial districts) quoted in the 1970 census or in drawing from them more plausible figures.

But however many jobs are available, only the unskilled jobs will be open to most of the farm workers surveyed, 75 percent of whom had no

Call for farmer to serve his full sentence

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The 75-year-old Rawsonville farmer, Mr Phillipus du Toit, freed 10 days ago after serving 18 months of his three-year prison sentence for beating a labourer to death and seriously injuring two others, is to face a petition calling for him to return to jail.

Consumer ombudsman Mr Eugene Roelofse, who presented a report to the Attorney-General which led to a rare increase in sentence when Mr du Toit appealed against his one-year imprisonment, is this week to address university campuses on Mr du Toit's release.

Mr Roelofse launched an investigation into the killing of one of Mr du Toit's labourers after a Worcester Circuit Court judge found him guilty of chaining three labourers by the neck and beating them with a hose.

APPEAL

One man, Mr Hendrik Jacobs, died of the beating.

Mr du Toit was sentenced to three years' jail of which two were suspended for three years.

He appealed against the sentence on the basis of his age and poor health but the Attorney-General filed a cross-appeal calling for him to serve his full sentence and the chief justice, Mr Justice Rumpff, reversed the two-year suspended prison term, describing Mr du Toit as "sadistic" in his treatment of farm labourers.

After the appeal Mr Roelofse discovered Mr du Toit had not been called on to serve his sentence more than a month after the outcome of the appeal.

DELAY

It was said at the time an administrative logjam in the office of the Appeal Court registrar was the reason for the delay.

Mr du Toit was handed over to the Pollsmoor Prison on June 20 1979 to serve his sentence and was released on February 20.

A Department of Prisons spokesman said Mr du Toit had been released on parole. He said the length of sentence served by any prisoner was judged entirely on the merits of his case and it was not unusual for a man to serve only half his sentence.

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KDC chief seat was unacceptable

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The former chairman of the KwaZulu Development Corporation, Dr Lawrence McCrystal, was told by each member of the KwaZulu Cabinet that it was totally unacceptable that he should accept nomination to the President's Council.

This was revealed today by KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who was commenting on Dr McCrystal's resignation as chairman of the KDC.

Dr McCrystal was asked to resign by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, after being told by Chief Buthelezi that Dr McCrystal was no longer acceptable because he had joined the President's Council.

"Each individual member of the Cabinet told him in clear terms that it was unacceptable that he should join the council and remain on as chairman of the KDC," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi said he wished to point out that Dr McCrystal had resigned as chairman of the Council of the University of Zululand on his own initiative, after his appointment to the President's Council.

"He must have known that he would be harassed by the students, who would not have accepted him following his appointment to the PC.

"If this is the reaction of students who don't represent anybody, surely the situation would be very much worse for us who are elected by the people," Chief Buthelezi said.

Commenting on a statement by Dr McCrystal that he was "shattered", the KwaZulu leadership did not see the value of the President's Council, Chief Buthelezi said: "That is a most extraordinary statement.

"Must we accept our own rejection? The exclusion of blacks from the council is a move to remove them from the body politic."

KNEW PC (327) (2) unacceptable. Star 3/3/6

NP uses army 'to force integration'

RDM 4/3/81 (327)

By DON MARSHALL
Pretoria Bureau Chief

THABAZIMBI.— The Government was using military national service to condition young South Africans into accepting racial integration, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said in Thabazimbi this week.

He said black and white soldiers were being treated in the same wards at the military hospital in Voortrekkerhoogte.

"Speak to our young men when they return from the border and they will tell you that they had to share tents and had to shower with black soldiers."

He said these practices weakened the white man's moral fortitude, because his patriotism could never be the same as the black person's.

The HNP leader was addressing a political meeting in the opening phase of a campaign in which he hopes to wrest the Waterberg constituency from the sitting National Party MP, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He said a victory at the polls for the HNP in the General Election in April would signal a return to traditonal NP policies — the Verwoerdian ideals of strict racial segregation.

Attacking Government moves to narrow the wage gap between white and black workers, he said whites were resigning from the police force because of low salaries and because blacks were being promoted over their heads.

"The Government's path is away from racial discrimination — otherwise known as apartheid — and, for them, racial integration is the only course open.

"From this, there can be only one logical conclusion — political integration."

He said the Nationalist Government was preparing people to accept mixed marriages and the scrapping of the Immorality Act.

The General Election was called to cover up the Right-wing uprising against the Government and to win the Nats more time, he said.

"There has been an explosion in this country, and the whites now realise that they are being sold out step by step," said Mr Marais, referring to Government moves to eliminate racially discriminatory practices.

"We are discarding our moral standards in order to become internationally accepted," he said

Replying to a question, Mr Marais said that an HNP government in South Africa would cut food and fuel supplies to African countries to the north which harboured terrorists.

"Terrorism is barbarism in its worst form, and we would win the respect of the world if we cut food and fuel supplies and severed our transport links if these countries did not respond."

An HNP government would use the country's "military might" to sweep terrorists from neighbouring countries, he added.

Referring to the traditional apartheid policies projected by Dr Verwoerd and other Nationalist prime ministers before him, Mr Marais said: "Time is on our side. If we stand firm for another few years, apartheid will stand out like a beacon to the rest of the world."

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Clerics asked to boycott Republic festival

CT 5/3/81

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28

Staff Reporter

METHODIST clergymen have been called on to "steer clear" of celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Republic because of its "divisive" nature.

The call — in an editorial of Dimension, the official newspaper of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa — has come against a background of opposition to the festivities.

Several organizations, including teachers' bodies, the Labour Party, the Kwazulu cabinet and the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), have decided to boycott the celebrations.

And in a statement yesterday, the Anglican bishops said the church "cannot identify itself with the Republic festival for the simple reason that the majority of its church members cannot affirm the form of society in which they find themselves".

Large-scale festivities have been planned throughout the country to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Republic on May 31, 1961.

The programme for Cape Town — announced last month by the Administrator, Mr Gene Louw — will run from May 1 to 16 with the opening ceremony on the Grand Parade on May 1. It includes a Capab concert, sport events, choral presentations, student programmes, exhibitions and the indoor events of the South African games.

The climax will be at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood, with float parades, a flying demonstration and the release of pigeons. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, will deliver his festive message there.

The Dimension editorial said there was "no way the Methodist Church of Southern Africa can give *carte blanche* support to a festival which commemorates 20 years of the erosion of the rule of law and freedom of speech and religion".

It quoted novelist Dr Alan Paton, who said he "could not possibly celebrate a republic which allows detention without charge, trial or access, just like all the most disreputable republics in the world".

Among the teachers' organizations which have declared their opposition to the festival are the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Atasa) and the Joint Council of Teachers' Associations (Joctasa).

In a strongly-worded resolution at their annual conference earlier this year, Joctasa — which represents nearly 80 000 black teachers — said the festival was "fundamentally alien to disenfranchized, disinherited and oppressed people".

The Labour Party conference in December last year called for a boycott, saying: "As black people, we have nothing to celebrate."

Nusas has also called for non-participation in the festivities, because "the majority of South Africans had no say in the formation of the Republic and South Africa is still a racist society."

Allegations on jail life are denied

TREMENDOUS strides have been made in improving prison conditions, says a Department of Prisons spokesman in reaction to allegations about conditions on Robben Island.

Exi'ed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader, Mr Nyati Pokela, has made a number of serious a.usaticns about alleged abuses on Robben Island. **SOWETAN** asked the Department of Prisons to comment on them.

"As far as Mr Pokela's allegation with regard to food is concerned, it should be pointed out that the well-balanced diet of prisoners has always been drawn up by qualified dieticians," a department spokesman said.

"Prisoners are issued with enough standard clothes which are suited to the season and working conditions.

"The necessary formal channels including access to their attorneys for issuing complaints do exist. Prisoners are given every opportunity to lodge complaints of any kind, including those about clothes, food, assaults and maltreatment.

"No record exists that Mr Pokela lodged any complaints with regard to food, clothing or people being buried in the way he indicated."

Mr Pokela alleged that during the first few years he was on the island, warders would sometimes bury people up to their necks in sand and then urinate on their heads.

"The prison service's policy with regard to assaults by warders on prisoners is well known," the spokesman said.

"It is as follows: Members are strictly prohibited from assaulting prisoners and if such an assault does occur, members are punished in terms of the applicable prison regulations.

"As far as the isolation of a prisoner is concerned, it must be pointed out that the forfeiture of privileges does not include a prisoner's bible.

"Over the last couple of decades tremendous strides have been made in South Africa as elsewhere in developed countries of the world in improving prison conditions."

The spokesman said Mr Pokela was wrong in attributing improvements to conditions in the prison to visits by the International Red Cross.

Banning slammed

By LEN MASEKO

A RECENTLY-FORMED writers' group has condemned last week's banning of a book written by Soweto author Miriam Tladi as "not only a senseless act against a writer but an iron-fisted act against all black South Africans."

The African Writers' Association (Awa) was reacting to the ban on her book, "Amandla", by the Censorship Board last week. This was Miriam's second novel — her first, "Miriam at Metropolitan", proved highly successful with sales spreading to overseas countries.

A statement issued to SOWETAN after the group's meeting this week, read: "Miriam Tladi is one of our novelists and will remain faithful and accurate interpreter and recorder of our history exposing the protracted war against her creative expression".

"Individual and mass literary bannings will not daunt or force us into distorting and misrepresenting our cultural heritage and history.

"Amandla is a mirror that has been torn apart because the viewer did not like the truth he saw. We are committed more than ever to mirror as accurate as possible the conflicts and crises of the South African socio-political conditions especially affecting us blacks.

"The banning of "Amandla" is not only a senseless act against a Soweto writer but an iron-fisted act against all blacks. This has come as no surprise because there has been relentless suppressive acts against black writers."

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Miriam Tladi . . . latest book banned

Thus about a dozen Government Departments are concerned in industrial health. (Could also include BAD - housing) but overlapping occurs mostly not among them but between them and the Department of Health. (Mostly Labour Department) Within the same Department or same Act there is overlapping. This confusion is increased by lack of uniformity in qualifications between inspectors and officials in different Department.

CHAPTER X Deficiencies in Statutes and existing facilities

Provisions of Public Health Act are too general and not properly applied. Minister can deal with occupational health indirectly but no power to make regulations specifically pertaining to occupational diseases. This has led to other departments introducing legislation despite the fact that these overlap general provisions of the Public Health Act. Thus numerous Departments administering the legislation relating to industrial health.

There is need for a single Act.

Legislation does not differentiate between occupational disease and accidents.
Mandatory prescriptions regarding industrial health officers are minimal. Legislation is not comprehensive enough - existing statutes do not cover all productive and other workers that it should in regard to occupational disease.
Workers doing the same work enjoy different cover under the existing legislation because of artificial legal definitions and provisions.

Deficiencies in existing facilities

There is a scarcity of industrial hygienists, industrial health nurses and medical

CHAPTER XI Industrial health at the place of work and industry in general

A lack of statistics prevents true picture of incidence of occupational disease in S.A. But it appears that there is wide spectrum of industrial disease in S.A. as in any other western country.

Employers and employees not really conscious of occupational disease yet.

Lack of organisation and shortage of persons whose specific function is to prevent occupational disease.

Legislation in separate departments overlaps and because there is no central authority can cause delays.

There is a need for reorganisation and various categories of trained persons to ensure preventive and promotive health service, and that any proposed service be treated as a whole. Industrial health should be approached from point of view of worke and employer and from point of view of state and their respective actions.

The more voluntary and skilful the entrepeneur's organisation or industry is the less coercion, inspection and legislation is necessary on the part of the state. State should consult workers and employers in dealing with problems connected with prevention of occupational disease. Since these arise from acitivities of workers and employers

Employer/ees at place of work should be health conscious, liability (whether voluntary

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UK phone can be tapped from SA

(32) Rdm 5/3/81

London Bureau

ONDON. — Using modern
urveillance techniques, a secu-
ity policeman in South Africa
ould tap the telephone of a
uspect in, say, London, and
lso monitor his movements in
is home here.

This is one of the startling
ew facts revealed in a BBC
rogramme on sophisticated
quipment now being used by
ecurity forces and others for
urveillance.

Distance is no longer a prob-
em. A television camera with
pinhole lens can be sited in
he ceiling of a room. The hole
r the ceiling need be no more
than a fraction of a centimetre
in diameter. Through this hole
the camera will be able to film
the entire room.

All a security policeman in
Pretoria — or say, a private
investigator in Sydney — would
need, would be a telephone and
a television monitor screen.
The telephone in the suspect's
home would be specifically
wired to trigger the television
camera. The power supply to
transmit the picture to the
monitor screen would be avail-
able in the telephone circuitry.

As soon as the suspect's tele-
phone number was dialled, the
television camera would be
triggered and begin sending
still pictures of the room at the
rate of one every 32 seconds.

Micro-chips have fired sur-
veillance equipment from the
limitations of size. A small bug
can be inserted in the junction
box of a suspect's telephone
and activated by dialling his
number from anywhere in the
world. A predetermined signal
is sent along the telephone line
and activates the bug.

The person doing the surveil-
lance can then listen in to any-
thing that is said in the room or
over the telephone when the
receiver is lifted.

Another astonishing piece of
equipment developed in West
Germany is a camera which
can concentrate a light on a
window 200 yards away. The
light, which is invisible, hits
the window and is broken up by
vibrations on the glass caused
by conversations taking place
inside the room. The vibrating
light is then reflected back to a
receiver, passed through a
special optical lens, and con-
verted into sound.

Everything said behind the
pane takes place (at Kid, the
former agent who now runs his
own electronic equipment store
in London, claimed he had been
responsible for 500 to 600 "bag
jobs" — breaking into premises
to install bugs. Of these, 70
were in Britain. He did not
have warrants for any of his
bugging activities.

Telephone tapping operations
by police, customs officers and
security agents were given a
clean bill of health yesterday
by Lord Diplock, who was
asked by the government to
investigate allegations of abuse
of the practice.

His report said the rules of
telephone tapping were being
observed.

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Special Branch, and the ordi-
nary police.

No telephone intercept is
supposed to take place without
a special warrant signed per-
sonally by the Home Secretary.
Last year 467 such warrants
were granted. But critics of the
system say many telephone
intercepts take place without
authorisation.

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former agent who now runs his

Court doors close for newsman's appeal case

5/3/81 5/m

By John Allen

BLOEMFONTEIN — Appeal Court judges today ruled that the appeal of a senior South African journalist against convictions and sentences under the Official Secrets and Defence Acts should be heard behind closed doors.

Deon Jean du Plessis, assistant editor of The Sunday Tribune and formerly assistant editor of The Star's Africa News Service, brought an appeal before Mr Justice Corbett, Mr Justice Trollop and Mr Justice van Heerden.

Last year Mr Justice Fritz Steyn of the Rand Supreme Court imposed an eighteen-month jail sentence, three six month sentences and a R250 fine on Mr du Plessis after convicting him on five counts under the Official Secrets Act and one charge under the Defence Act.

He was sentenced to an effective jail term of six months.

Mr Chris Human, for the State, today applied for an order that the appeal hearing be in camera. Mr Justice Corbett granted the application and ruled that no information should be published other than that already authorised by the court.

The trial judge revealed that Mr du Plessis had received a file of secret military signals sent between SWA/Namibia and Pretoria and that he had made allegations of illicit South African involvement in the Zimbabwe/-Rhodesian war in the manuscript of a book.

He was found to have given the signals to a police officer of what was then Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, and sentenced to a suspended sentence of six months. He has petitioned for leave to appeal conviction on this charge.

He today appealed against a sentence of eighteen months, of which twelve months were conditionally suspended for five years, on two charges relating to the signals.

The other three charges which form the subject of the appeal relate to a manuscript on the Zimbabwe/Rhodesian war in 1977 and 1978.

Mr du Plessis is appealing against a conviction for offering the manuscript to a London publisher. He was cautioned and discharged on this count.

Mr du Plessis is applying for leave to appeal against a conviction for communicating secret information to the publishers Jonathan Ball. He was fined R250 (or one month) and sentenced to six months jail, which was suspended, on this count.

. . . /

5. Undefined

'Subsequent choi
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choice of facilit
choices' at Suurb
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first, or giving
experiment with
without. At Kirk
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did not make sub
doctors elsewher
Satisfaction w
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relief, some re
was permanent.
treatment. Alt

32.

Women of working age were the main

i.e. towards doctors. W
clinic attenders.

Those who had chosen t
for family planning or g
it was cheaper, or neare
ailment to be minor. Th
women that clinics could
diseases but that for th
doctor.

4.2.3. Table 5: Subseq

Ado	Kirkwood	Suurberg	Bersheba	Total
No subsequent[1] choice: 42	21	13	11	87 (70%)
12 (29)	6 (22)	12 (48)	8 (42)	38 (30%)
No. of cases where subsequent choice made:				
Clinic 5	1		4	10
Nearest doctor 3		6	4	13
Doctor elsewhere 3	4	5	4	16
Hospital 1	1		2	4
No treatment or home care 2		3	2	7
Other practitioner	1			1
Total subs. choices: 14	6	15	16	51

1. Referral was not counted as a subsequent choice.

Queenstown, aangestel het om as kiesbeampte vir die kiesafdeling Queenstown op te tree in die plek van mnr. A. C. van Heerden, wat by Proklamasie 35 van 1981 as kiesbeampte vir gemelde kiesafdeling benoem is.

Queenstown, to act as returning officer for the electoral division of Queenstown, in the place of Mr. A. C. van Heerden, who has been named in Proclamation 35 of 1981 to act as returning officer for the said electoral division.

GG 7466 6/3/81

No. 478 6 Maart 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 478 6 March 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/19

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/108	*Amandla* (Staffrider Series Number Six)	Miriam Tlali	(a)
P81/1/119	*Honesty*	Linda Lauren	(a)
P81/1/168	*Certain Rich Girls*	Ann Pinchot	(a)
P81/1/169	*Death Walkers*	Gary Brandner	(a)+(b)
P81/1/205	*Successful Sex*	Dr E. L. Kenyon	(a)
P81/2/40	*Ross Auto & City Cars*—1980 (Kalender/Calendar)	Pictorial Press	(a)
P81/2/41	*J.E.G. Diesel (Pty) Ltd*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P81/2/48	*Turner Morris*—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Printed by Stationers Engraving (Pty) Ltd	(a)
P81/1/192	*Naakte lyke op sleepwa/Naked corpses on trailer* (Foto/Photograph)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(a)
P81/1/192	*Mensfetusse in donker plastieksak/Human foetuses in dark plastic bag* (Foto/Photograph)	Copyright by Dr and Mrs J. C. Willke c/o Hayes Publishing Co., Inc., Cincinnati, Ohio	(a)

No. 479 6 Maart 1981

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERKLARING DAT PUBLIKASIE ONGEWENS IS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van genoemde Wet op hersiening beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 479 6 March 1981

SETTING ASIDE OF DECLARATION THAT PUBLICATION IS UNDESIRABLE

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 15 (2) of the said Act on review that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P81/1/189	*Full Disclosure*	William Safire	In SK./G.G. 6266, GK./G.N. 53 van/of 12/1/79.

No. 480 6 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a)+(b) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 480 6 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a)+(b) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P81/1/12	*Hamburgers en Hotdogs*	E. W. S. Hammond	In SK./G.G. 7398, GK./G.N. 200 van/of 6/2/81.

No. 481 6 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPEL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 24 Februarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appel aangeteken teen die beslissing op 19 Februarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is.

No. 481 6 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 24 February 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 19 February 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81-2-31	*Horoscope*	Linda Lauren.

No. 482 6 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—APPEL DEUR DIREKTORAAT

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 23 Februarie 1981 kragtens artikel 13 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appel aangeteken teen die beslissing op 17 Februarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is.

No. 482 6 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—APPEAL BY DIRECTORATE

On 23 February 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 17 February 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81-2-32	*Stern* Nr 49, 27 November 1980	Gruner and Jahr A.G. & Co., Hamburg.

No. 483 6 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—VERLOPE TEN OPSIGTE VAN APPEL

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 24 Februarie 1981 kragtens artikel 14 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appel aangeteken teen die beslissing op 19 Februarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 14 (3) (b) van genoemde Wet verlof tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan vra, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

No. 483 6 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—REPRESENTATIONS IN RESPECT OF APPEAL

On 24 February 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 13 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 19 February 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 14 (3) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81-2-36	*Television & Home Video* Vol 2, No 12, December 1980	Link House Magazines (Croydon) Ltd, Dorset.

No. 486 6 Maart 1981

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937

VANSVERANDERING.—SCHMUTZ IN HUEBSCHER

Dit het die Staatspresident behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet 1 van 1937), Peter Frédéric Schmutz, woonagtig te Westmeathweg 17, Parkview, Johannesburg, te magtig om die van Huebscher aan te neem.

No. 486 6 March 1981

ALIENS ACT, 1937

CHANGE OF SURNAME.—SCHMUTZ TO HUEBSCHER

The State President has been pleased, under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937), to authorise Peter Frédéric Schmutz, residing at 17 Westmeath Road, Parkview, Johannesburg, to assume the surname of Huebscher.



FINGERPRINTING: How the Govt will have its thumb on everyone

RDM
6/3/81

By SHEENA DUNCAN of the Black Sash

FINGERPRINTING is an integral part of the total control exercised by the State over the freedom of movement, citizenship and life chances of all black South Africans.

They have had to submit to having their fingerprints taken as a matter of course, which are stored permanently in the Reference Bureau in Pretoria together with other particulars of each person's life-long residence and occupation, movements and family affairs, from birth to death.

Now compulsory fingerprinting and control is to be extended to all of us — so-called coloured and Asian people and white people.

The Population Registration Draft Bill published on the January 14 amends the iniquitous Population Registration Act of 1950, which provides for the classification of all South Africans into racial groups and into ethnic subdivisions of those groups, and for the compilation and maintenance of a register of the whole population of South Africa.

It is this Act on which the whole apartheid structure is built and as long as it remains on the statute book race discrimination remains the most fundamental characteristic of our society.

The new Bill provides for uniform identity documents to be issued to people of all population groups, and for their fingerprints to be included in the population register.

This will apply to all people who are permanently resident in South Africa and to all South African citizens who are resident in South West Africa or in the independent homelands.

With the fingerprints will be stored (as is required at present) a person's identity number which tells his sex and date of birth, his race classification and whether or not he is a South African citizen. The identity numbers of black people will be changed to show these particulars as they apply for new identity documents.

Also included in the register is a person's place of birth, his place of residence and postal address, his electoral district, the date of his naturalisation or registration as a South African citizen if he was not a citizen by birth, and, if he is an alien, his country of origin and date of arrival in this country.

Also included are his photograph, particulars of his marriage, particulars of his passports and permits to leave South Africa and the dates of his departures and returns, his driver's licence, gun licences, his occupation, the official language he prefers and eventually his death or permanent departure from the Republic.

Most of these particulars are also shown in his identity document, as is now to be his thumbprint. After a date to be fixed by the State President, an endorsement to show that he has voted in an election may also be made.

People who already have identity documents will not need to have their fingerprints taken until they apply for a re-issue. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, has said that people applying for endorsements in their identity documents would have to submit to having their fingerprints taken.

Fingerprints of blacks which have already been taken and stored in the Reference Bureau will now be included in the population register.

This very comprehensive recording of every person's particulars — made possible by modern computer technology — will now be supplemented by more effective means of maintaining a record of every person's movements as he changes his place of residence and postal address.

To make sure that people who are over the age of 16 comply with the requirement that they must within 14 days notify The Director General of Internal Affairs, or a representative of his department, of any change of residence or postal address, the Bill places onerous duties on all employers and on anyone who sells or rents property to anyone else.

Clause 5 amends Section 10 of the Act and lays down that "no person may employ any person or grant permission that anybody resides permanently on premises belonging to him or sold by him to such person" unless that person has within 14 days provided evidence to the employer, landlord or seller that he has an identity document and has notified the Director General of his change of address or that he has applied to be issued with an identity document. The penalty for contravening this Section is a fine of up to R100.

In a statement reported when the Bill was published, Mr Heunis said his department was engaging in a programme to decentralise the system to the point where every city and town — "however small" — would have its own representative of his department.

Those representatives would be in constant contact with local offices of Government departments, other governmental authorities and private sector organisations such as banks, building societies, life insurance companies and estate agents. They would all be used to assist with the immense task of keeping an up-to-date register of the population and the addresses of registered persons.

One of the purposes of the Bill, as set out in the preamble, is "to set up a network controlling the identity of the holders of identity documents and registered residential and postal addresses". This wording is repeated in the sub-title to the proposed new Section 10 A: "Network for examining of identity documents and notices of change of address".

The section provides that any State department, statutory body, educational institution or any other body or person may, if requested by the Director General (or departmental representative), require that any employee or client produce his identity document to have his identity and address checked.

Not only will a landlord and an employer be concerned with policing a person's movements, but so also may his bank, his building society, his doctor, dentist, hospital, lawyer, Minister or anyone else with whom he has dealings.

If he does not have an identity document or if it does not correctly reflect his address they can take steps to make sure that he fills in the necessary application forms or notification of a new address and ask him to deliver it, or deliver it themselves, to the regional representative of the department.

To complete the control, if any peace officer requests a person to produce his identity document, he "shall forthwith comply with the request".

If the identity document is not with the person concerned he must be allowed to fetch it if it is within a distance of 5 km. The peace officer concerned may use his discretion to allow the person concerned to produce the document at a police station within 7 days. The penalty for failing to produce is a fine of up to R100.

It is astonishing that this proposed legislation should have aroused so little public protest.

Some people seem to think that it will serve white South Africans right to be subjected by black people for so long. This argument fails to take into account that the extension of fingerprinting and control to all groups in a sense "legitimates" and entrenches the fingerprinting of Africans because it can no longer be fought on the grounds that it is discriminatory.

But the removal of "hurtful discrimination" in this respect does not make the proposals morally right. It merely extends a grievous wrong to more people.

Nor will it be members of the white group who will suffer the most. It will be the so-called coloured and Asian people who, by the nature of the practicalities of South African life, will be increasingly victimised.

To consent to this legislation is to willingly become subservient to the bureaucrats who, in the name of the State, are already much too powerful and whose present role in this society is far removed from the democratic concept of the "civil servant".

Parliament has never been representative but is now being side-stepped altogether. Unelected and unrepresentative officials are our rulers.

The power which has been handed over to officials does not make them infallible or even efficient. One of the most commonly presented causes of human problems in the records of the Black Sash Advice Offices is the sheer ineptitude, carelessness and arrogance of officials who deal with the public.

The storing of information in a computer does not ensure its accuracy, but officialdom claims that this is so and claims it even more stridently when the inaccuracies are attached to a set of fingerprints.

Mr X has spent his whole adult life vainly attempting to refute information stored about him in the Reference Bureau's computer in Pretoria. When he was young, before he had applied for his first reference book, he was arrested and charged with "failing to produce". His fingerprints were taken for the first time when he was arrested.

He states that because he was arrested with a group of Rhodesian men, some official wrote him down as being born in Rhodesia. Now the computer says his fingerprints belong to a Rhodesian — a prohibited immigrant — and because the computer never lies, no proof he can produce will persuade the department that he is a born and bred South African.

Mr Y is accused of having a forged reference book because someone else's fingerprints matched up with his identity number. How can he prove that the error is not his dishonesty but someone else's mistake? The computer never lies.

Dozens of the cases in our files are concerned with the errors made by the officials who feed the computer. Someone is now said to be a citizen of BophuthaTswana and not a South African anymore because a Tswana-speaking clerk spelt his name in the Tswana way long ago when he first applied for a reference book.

Someone else cannot get a birth certificate because his birthplace was written on the application for his first reference book (and in the computer) as being the place where his father was born. Because he cannot obtain a certificate of the late registration of his birth he cannot have his Section 10 (1) (a) qualification recognised, so he cannot rent or buy a house and is not allowed to have his wife and children live with him.

Someone else who has lived and worked in South Africa since 1952 is not allowed to stay or work here because 20 years ago he was jailed for three years for theft. In 1979 his application to register in his employment was "not recommended" because when his fingerprints were checked the computer disgorged that long-ago offence for which he has now been punished over and over again.

In this case there is no error in the computer but how many of us can contemplate with confidence what it means to be forever and irrevocably tied to the mistakes of our past?

As important as all this is the violation of the concept of individual privacy. Section 17 of the principal Act provides that the particulars in the register and identity documents are not to be published or communicated except in certain cases.

But the certain cases turn out to be not at all specific. The Director General can give any particulars in the register relating to any person to any State department or local authority, or any statutory body. Furthermore, he can give these particulars to any person who applies in writing giving reasons for the request and pays a fee if he (the Director General) "is satisfied that it is in the interests of the . . . person to furnish such particulars".

Silicon chips and the Director General make a deadly combination which will succeed in subjecting all of us unless we attempt to intelligently understand the processes at work in our society and determine to assist them by all means within our power.

Mr Heunis is reported to have said that it is in the interests of all citizens — black and white — "to enjoy the same privileges and protection under the Population Registration Act".

The Minister's choice of words is reminiscent of the ordinances and decress of the world's most authoritarian and oppressive dictatorships. It is all in line with total strategy as enunciated by the Prime Minister.

It has nothing whatsoever to do with that justice and peace and individual independence which characterises the free peoples of the world.

Comment by Sheena Duncan, 510 Voortrekker House, Johannesburg.

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GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 548 6 Maart 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

[illegible] Publikasies of voorwerpe wat deur die Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Ongewenste Publikasies, 1974, [illegible] van genoemde Wet.

LYS/LIST PSL 20

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 548 6 March 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, [illegible] publications or objects [illegible] the said Act

Inskrywing No. Entry No	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
PSL 2-68	*Nzoyoo, Mandla: An Appeal to the People of South Africa smuggled out of Robben Island* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress of South Africa.....	(e)
PSL 2-69	*Basic Documents of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa), The*	The Pan Africanist Congress of S.A., Lusaka, Zambia	(e)
PSL 2-70	*1981: Build our Democratic SRC now* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated.....	(e)
PSL 2-71	*Spokes*	The Editorial Committee, Inter Youth Publications, Cape Town	(e)
PSL 2-83	*Imperialist Strategy in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa*	May 19th Communist Organization, New York Red River Women's Press, Texas	(e)
PSL 2-92	*Liberation through Participation*.....	National Campaign for Solidarity with ZANU Women's League, New York	(e)
PSL 2-89	*Zimbabwe: The Struggle Continues*.....	Material Aid Campaign for ZANU, NYC, NY	(e)
PSL 2-90	*Torch, The* Vol 6, No 2, From Jan 16 to Jan 22, 1981	The Forge Reprod, Montreal, Quebec.....	(e)

No. 542 6 Maart 1981

ALGEMENE VERKIESING VAN LEDE VAN DIE VOLKSRAAD EN VAN LEDE VAN DIE PROVINSIALE RADE.—VERBETERINGSKENNISGEWING

Proklamasie 33, gedateer 27 Februarie 1981, word hierby gewysig deur vervanging van die Kiesafdeling Houghton, Departement van Binnelandse Aangeleenthede te vervang met Departement van Gesondheid, Welsyn en Pensioene.

No. 543 6 Maart 1981

ALGEMENE VERKIESING VAN LEDE VAN DIE VOLKSRAAD EN VAN LEDE VAN DIE PROVINSIALE RADE.—VERBETERINGSKENNISGEWING

Proklamasie 33, gedateer 27 Februarie 1981, word hierby verbeter deur vervanging van Kaapstad en 25ste, respektiewelik, met Pretoria en 26ste, respektiewelik.

No. 542 6 March 1981

GENERAL ELECTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY AND OF MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.—CORRECTION NOTICE

Proclamation 33, dated 27 February 1981, is hereby amended by the substitution for Department of Internal Affairs of Department of Health, Welfare and Pensions, next to the Electoral Division of Houghton.

No. 543 6 March 1981

GENERAL ELECTIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY AND OF MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.—CORRECTION NOTICE

Proclamation 33, dated 27 February 1981, is hereby corrected by the substitution for Cape Town and 25th of Pretoria and 26th, respectively

RDN 6/3/81 (822)

Church call to snub Republic festivities

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Methodist clergy have been called on to "steer clear" of celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Republic because of its "divisive" nature.

The call — in an editorial of "Dimension", the official newspaper of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa — has come against a background of opposition to the festivities.

Several organisations, including teachers' associations, the coloured Labour Party, the KwaZulu Cabinet and Nusas, have decided to boycott the celebrations.

And in a statement yesterday, the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Bill Burnett, said on behalf of the Anglican bishops that the church "cannot identify itself with the Republic festival for the simple reason that the majority of its church members cannot affirm the form of society in which they find themselves".

Large-scale festivities have been planned throughout the country to celebrate the anniversary of the birth of the Republic on May 31, 1961.

The programme for Cape Town — announced last month by the Administrator, Mr Gene Louw — will run from May 1 to May 16, with the opening ceremony on the Grand Parade on May 1.

It includes a Capab concert, sport events, choral presentations, student programmes, exhibitions and the indoor events of the South African Games.

The climax will be at the Cape Showgrounds, Goodwood, with float parades, a flying demonstration and the release of pigeons. The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, will deliver his festive message at the showgrounds.

The "Dimension" editorial said there was "no way the Methodist Church of Southern Africa can give carte blanche support to a festival which commemorates 20 years of the erosion of the rule of law and freedom of speech and religion".

It quoted the reasons given by Dr Alan Paton for his refusal to participate in the celebrations.

Dr Paton said he "could not possibly celebrate a republic which allows detention without charge, trial or access, just like all the most disreputable republics in the world".

Among the teachers' organisations which have declared their opposition to the festival are the Teachers' Association of South Africa (Atasa) and the Joint Council of Teachers' Associations (Joctasa).

In a strongly-worded resolution at its annual conference earlier this year, Joctasa — which represents nearly 80 000 black teachers — said the festival was "fundamentally alien to disenfranchised, disinherited and oppressed people".

The Labour Party conference last December called for a boycott, saying: "As black people, we have nothing to celebrate."

Nusas has also called for non-participation in the festivities, because "the majority of South Africans had no say in the formation of the Republic and South Africa is still a racist society".

Hit by a police bullet: Man gets R48 000

C Herald 7/3/81

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PIETERMARITZBURG. — A man of 35 who was made a complete and hopeless paraplegic by a policeman's bullet was awarded R48 642 by Mr Justice Shearer in the Supreme Court here last week.

The award was made jointly and severally against the Minister of Police and detective constables Israel Mchunu and Danie Njilo, of Plessislaer here.

Mr Sinothi Majosi of Edendale was, according to an orthopaedic surgeon who testified in the case, unable to enjoy any amenities of life apart from speech, hearing and sight.

LIABLE

Mr Justice Shearer said that Mr Majosi had been shot in November 1978 in circumstances which made the Minister and the detectives liable to him.

He was now paralysed below the chest, had continual back and chest pain, was incontinent, had suffered and would suffer from recurrent bedsores, had recurrent urinary infection and was susceptible to bronchial infection.

The latter two conditions would reduce his life expectancy by about 10 years.

In the past 28 months he had been in hospital for 21 months, and he would need more hospital and medical treatment.

LIMITED USE

If his bedsores healed sufficiently he might be able to use calipers and crutches, and then drag his feet along.

Since his home was situated on a hillside, both a wheelchair and crutches were of limited use.

He awarded Mr Majosi R31 500 in general damages for his pain, shock, discomfort, loss of amenities of life, and lower expectation of life.

In arriving at an award of R14 000 for his expected loss of earnings, Mr Justice Shearer said that he had considered his past earnings, probable working life had he not been shot, capitalisation, work record, inflation and other factors.

KNIFE

Mr Majosi had had seven convictions, including one of culpable homicide involving the use of a knife, which, allied to a violent disposition and an erratic work record, would have limited his ability to remain in employment, the judge said.

He was awarded R1 000 for his past and future hospital and medical expenses. Being a paraplegic, he was a free patient of Edendale hospital.

An amount of R2 152 was awarded for loss of earnings.

Mr Alistair Dickson, instructed by Mason Buchan and Company, appeared for Mr Majosi and Mr R C Hiemstra for the State Attorney.

Apartheid blamed for border war

C. Herald 7/3/81 (327)



ARCHBISHOP Dennis rley . . . 'Can the majority white people even become aware?'

THE war on South Africa's borders is caused by apartheid, and not by any external threat.

This is the opinion of most church leaders interviewed at a time when resistance to the dictates of what they regard as an unjust society has been dramatically emphasised by

● The South African Council of Churches' refusal to meet the Chaplain General of the Defence Force to discuss the border war, whether it is just, and conscientious objection to it and,

● The decision by eight Durban churches to ask their congregations to pray for South Africa's future during a military parade through the city on Republic Day.

In interviews this week, church leaders advised whites to give serious thought to the intense resentment experienced by blacks in the face of continual denial of social, economic and political rights.

Affirming their churches' traditional support of Christian conscientious objection, they expressed concern over escalating violence on South Africa's borders and blamed apartheid for the fighting.

'Can the majority of white people ever become aware?' asked Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, predicting that the intensity of black resentment made continuing violence inevitable.

Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SACC, said South Africa was fighting a civil war. 'The crisis isn't at our borders. It is inside the country. People have gone across the borders because of the internal situation. Correct the internal situation and there will be no trouble on the borders.'

Mr Chris Aitken, general secretary of the Presbyterian Church, said his church was questioning the 'automatic assumption of many people' that South Africa is engaged in a just war.

'Our Assembly passed a resolution in October last year.'

Dr John de Gruchy, professor and head of the University of Cape Town's Department of Religious Studies, and chairman of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa said: 'We believe the escalation of violence is making the possibility of a peaceful solution more and more difficult.

FOOTER

'We would say that whatever the forces are at work now in the situation, the escalation of violence is rooted in apartheid.'

Churchmen are concerned over escalating violence

Bishop Tutu told students at the University of Natal this week the border war was being waged to entrench oppression and exploitation in what he described as the most vicious system the world has seen since nazism.

Later, he told the Sunday Tribune he had refused an invitation to the SACC from the Chaplain General of the Defence Force, Major General Koos van Zyl, to take part in talks centred on the border war and conscientious objection.

'The time is not right for us to meet with the Chaplain General. I believe in negotiation, but after the SADF's raid on the ANC in Maputo, and after allegations of atrocities in Angola, followed by the calling of an election in which we have no part, I thought it would be counter-productive for us to meet at the present time.

'We have not cancelled the talks; we have only postponed them. We hope a more auspicious time will come.'

In a telephone interview Major General van Zyl said his main aim in calling the meeting was to get a group of 12 Christian clergymen and theologians around a table to discuss the sensitive issues of whether the war and our society are just or unjust and the questions of conscientious objection and alternative forms of national service.

'We want to know what theologians think about these sensitive matters, and how we should interpret what the Bible says about them. We want to take these things out of the political arena and into the theological field.'



● BISHOP Desmond Tutu . . . 'People have gone across the border because of the internal situation.'

7318 57 Rm

SP man dies after shot

327

The Security Police constable who was found shot in the head at his home this week, has died.

Constable G du Plessis, a clerk at the John Vorster Square was found by the family's domestic servant who had heard a shot.

He was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital where he died early yesterday.

Nat tension over changes to PM's plan

(327) S. Express 8/3/81

NEW tension is building up between the verligte and verkrampte camps in the National Party over important changes which have been made to the Prime Minister's 12-point plan on the eve of the General Election.

The changes — which were disclosed in the Nationalist Press this week — have been made under cover of "rounding-off work at the highest level" to bring the plan up to date with policy directives established by Mr P W Botha.

Several of the points in the much-publicised plan have been re-worded to lay more emphasis on the verligte policy directives initiated by Mr Botha, particularly the concepts of "regional development co-operation" with the Black states and "shared responsibility" with the Coloureds and Indians.

Verkrampte followers of the Transvaal leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, are seething about

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

the changes, which they see as an underhand attempt to win the Nationalist Left and bludgeon conservative Nats into accepting the Prime Minister's policy directions.

The Treurnicht camp — and indeed Dr Treurnicht himself — have not found the plan easy to digest in its original form and there is still a strong residue of resentment that it was never voted on when it was put to the NP congresses in 1979.

Although Dr Treurnicht has paid lip-service to the Prime Minister's plan, he has always laid heavy emphasis on those points which support his unyielding separatist philosophy, while largely ignoring those points which seek to phase in more liberal race policies and remove "hurtful" discrimination.

The "new" 12-point plan is being sold to the Nat electorate as an edited version — and there is no doubt that the editor is the Prime Minister himself.

The edited document is likely to serve as the party's key policy guideline in the election campaign and in its new form is likely to cause severe problems in Transvaal constituencies where NP representatives are facing strong challenges from the far-Right.

The most controversial changes are the shift in emphasis from independent states to independent nations or peoples (volkere) and the introduction of the concept of "regional development co-operation", in line with the Prime Minister's recognition that homeland consolidation is not the last word in the grand apartheid scheme.

But perhaps the change which is likely to cause the most severe tension in the party is the introduction of the term "shared responsibility" between Whites, Coloureds and Indians. This is being seen by verkramptes as a thinly-veiled attempt to phase in power-sharing between these groups.

Meanwhile, political observers have expressed surprise at the relatively verligte tone of Mr Botha's first election speech in his George constituency this week. He emphasised that he was seeking electoral approval for a path of consultation aimed at ensuring peace in Southern Africa.

He said that the policy direction he had initiated was aimed not only at securing the freedom of his own people but of other peoples as well.

Mr Botha made it clear that he was seeking only the votes of "reasonable" people and if the electorate wanted to vote him out the best time to do so was at an election.



"MY HERO!"

Boycott threats hit Republic Day

S. Times 8/3/91 327

There is nothing to celebrate say churches, blacks, teachers, Nusas

By G R NAIDOO

THE 20th Republican Day celebrations, which will centre on Natal this year, have turned into a political hot potato for the Government.

Already three large churches — the Catholic, Anglican and Methodist — as well as Nusas, Inkatha, the South African Indian Congress, Reform Party of the South African Indian Council and the Labour Party of South Africa have called on their members to boycott the celebrations.

The Administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, who will perform the opening function in Maritzburg, wrote to all members of the South African Black Alliance earlier this year inviting them to a meeting to discuss the celebrations.

But on the eve of the meeting his office announced that the proposed meeting had been called off. No reasons were given.

The South African Black Alliance has passed a resolution to boycott the Republic Day Celebrations. The KwaZulu Cabinet did the same.

Little for joy

Chief Minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said: "We have no citizenship rights and the Government is busy trying to strip blacks of their birthright as citizens of South Africa.

"In terms of human rights and dignity what have we, as blacks, to celebrate in the last 20 years?"

The KwaZulu Government issued a directive saying that schools and pupils under its control "will not be allowed" to take part.

The Teachers' Association of South Africa, representing about 6 000 Indian teachers in South Africa, says it is of the "firm belief" that until there is parity of educational services for all South Africans, it does not see its way clear to giving support to nationwide celebrations organised by the State.

The Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the church with the largest black membership in South Africa, says it cannot give its unqualified support to the festival which will reach its climax in Durban in May.

Dimension, official newspaper of the church, says in an editorial that there was very little for peace-loving Christians, committed to the reconciling love of Christ, to celebrate what was essentially a "festival of sectarianism".

Erosion of law

"Our leadership should make it clear to the ministers under their discipline, to leaders in the church, to members and adherents, and to the nation as a whole, that there is no way that the Methodist Church of Southern Africa can give carte blanche support to a festival which commemorates 20 years of the erosion of the rule of law, freedom of speech and religion," says the editorial.

The Rt Rev Phillip Russel, Anglican Bishop of Natal, said that his church had called on its congregations not to participate in the celebrations for similar reasons espoused by the Methodist Church.

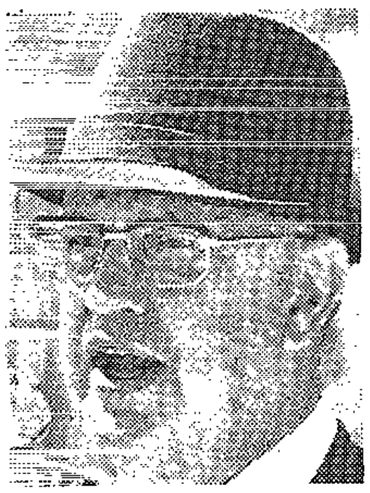
Archbishop Dennis Hurley, head of the Catholic Church in South Africa, said that the church would not participate officially in the celebrations, but the matter would be discussed by the Diocesan Pastoral Council.

The South African Indian Council has already decided not to take part in the celebrations "because the Indian community has nothing to celebrate".

The Teachers' Association of South Africa, representing the Indian teachers of South Africa, said that until there was parity of educational services for all South Africans, it could not support a nationwide celebration organised by the State.

The Labour Party unanimously rejected the call for celebrations and called on all blacks to join the boycott.

Nusas felt it was vital that all democrats took a stand against Republic Day and the celebrations because "it is important to recognise that the Republic is symbolic of the anti-democratic nature of South African society."



● Mr PW Botha. . . humiliated Dr No



for the Right



● Mr Jaap Marais . . . can he win this time?

part of a plot by Mr Botha to oust him as Transvaal leader.

● Watching stunned as Mr Botha consolidated his personal power and brought all the key planning functions of government under the safe umbrella of his own department.

● Being given a relatively junior Cabinet portfolio, although in seniority he ranks 11th in the 20-man Cabinet. He has consoled himself, however, with the fact that as Minister in charge of the Civil Service he would be able to play a central role in keeping it White.

● Having to [illegible] party to legislation downgrading the strength of the Transvaal by reducing the ratio of parliamentary seats to its growing population.

● Having to go along with the establishment of the multi-racial President's Council and the introduction of Botha-nominated MPs to pack the caucus.

● Watching his Waterberg constituency being adversely delimited in terms of his support areas.

● Being subjected to the unprecedented humiliation of being told by Mr Botha to get his Transvaal Nat house in order.

● Getting little support from his Cabinet colleagues when he emerged with a very tarnished image from the Cillie report on the Soweto riots.

● Being humiliated by Mr Botha's invitation to Mr Louis Nel, MP for Pretoria Central, to rejoin the party. Dr Treurnicht had expelled Mr Nel for his attempts to embarass him.

● Suffering a humiliating rebuke from Mr Botha and his lieutenants when he dared to invite the disgraced Dr Connie Mulder back into the NP.

What is remarkable is that Dr Treurnicht has not only survived all these humiliations but has also scored significant victories. Examples would be his strong stand against the idea of one Parliament for Coloureds, Whites and Indians and his coup in getting his supporters in as nominated MPs.

But his credibility with the Right has suffered severely.

Since Mr Botha's humiliating treatment of him at last year's Transvaal congress, Dr Treurnicht's traditional supporters inside the party have gone underground in their attempts to gain control of the party and many have lost confidence in his ability to take an effective



● Prof Gerrit Viljoen . . . ousted Dr Treurnicht

stand against Mr Botha's policy direction.

Why then, many ask, can Dr Treurnicht not continue with his skilful balancing act in paying lip-service to Mr Botha while continuing to undermine his efforts to change the course of Afrikaner Nationalism?

The reason is to be found in the phenomenal recent growth of Right-wing activity at Nationalist grassroots level and the blurring of the lines between the NP and the formerly "lunatic fringe" on the Right.

The NP leadership realises that the much-predicted split in Nat ranks is already taking place at grassroots level.

And the fact is that the splintering off of Nat support from below also means a splintering off of Dr Treurnicht's power base.

Once he loses his power base and the split consolidates itself, Dr Treurnicht will become dispensible to the Botha camp and his political days will be numbered.

But by the time the crunch comes there will also no longer be a ready-made leadership position for him in the new Right.

Now the political tight-rope walker par excellence is running out of time and rope. And his moment of reckoning is not far off.



● Dr Andries Treurnicht . . . fighting for survival

Party own choice — Bond

THE Afrikaner Broederbond would not act against members who decided to join Dr Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party or the new Right-wing group Aksie Eie Toekoms (AET), Broederbond chief Professor Carel Boshoff, said.

In an exclusive interview with the Sunday Express this week, Prof Boshoff said party membership was a personal decision.

"We do not prescribe to members on a political basis."

This follows recent reports that senior Broederbond members were involved in a plot against the leadership of Mr P W Botha.

Last month a Broederbond delegation led by Prof Boshoff visited Cape Town shortly before Mr Botha was due to enter the third reading debate on the mini-Budget, following rumoured purging by the Broederbond of members who were actively working against the Prime Minister's policy.

But Prof Boshoff denied knowledge of any plot or the source of the rumours.

He also dodged questions as to whether there was a formal Broederbond decision that members of the Herstigte Nationale Party could be members of the organisation.

He said: "By their congress decision recommending steps against the Broederbond, HNP members have disqualified themselves from belonging to the Broederbond."

Dr Connie Mulder, who is still a member of the Broederbond, would not answer questions about his membership when approached this week.

In a speech during a symposium at the University of Pretoria this week Prof Boshoff warned that the country had become bogged down because it had departed from the concept of diversity of peoples which, he said, was just as much the will of God as was unity.

This may be seen as a veiled warning to Mr Botha that he is departing from the sacred principles of Afrikaner nationalism.

BOYS SAY 'OOM' TOLD THEM OF 'TOTAL ONSLAUGHT' FACING SA

Pupils complain of propaganda at veld school

S. Express 8/3/81 327

JOHANNESBURG high school pupils who returned from a veld school in Barberton have complained to the Sunday Express about a political lecture entitled "The Total Onslaught Against South Africa" given to them during their 10-day stint in the bush.

And the headmaster of the school said this week he would "certainly" take the matter up with Transvaal Education Department.

The boys claimed the lecturer, known to them only as "Oom", discussed topics ranging from Azapo, a legal Black political organisation, to spreading Christianity throughout South Africa and the world. Several of the boys at the camp were Jewish.

They allege that "Oom" had told them popular South African magazines like, 'Scope' and 'Giggles and Gags', were "immoral" and "communist-inspired". Also on his list was the film 'Grease' and the pop song by Boney M, 'By the Rivers of Babylon'.

The boys, all of them Standard Eight pupils, did not want to be identified for fear of victimisation.

By BARRY LEVY

They claim "Oom" told them Azapo — the Azanian Peoples Organisation — wanted to overrun South Africa and change its name. But, they say, "Oom" said they would never achieve this because "we are too strong".

"Oom", they said, also told them South Africa "was being infiltrated by communists" but that if war did come to South Africa "it would be impossible for us to lose because God is on our side".

As proof of this, the Sunday Express was told, "Oom" had cited an example on the SWA/Namibia border in which a Swapo bomb had landed in the midst of a South African platoon but did not explode.

After the lecture the boys were shown two films, one entitled, 'What Then?', which dealt with the devastation a war could cause if bombs were dropped on South Africa's cities. The other, entitled 'Guardian', and issued by the SADF, was about the might of South Africa's military forces.

Commenting on the boys' claims, the Director of Education for the Transvaal, Professsor J H Jooste, said he would have to "hear the other side" for himself before he could comment.

However, he did say the idea of the veld schools was to give pupils "a wonderful time in the bush" and that "we do not condone political or ideological discussions there. That is definitely not the intention of the veld schools."

Prof Jooste said that before the TED investigated the matter "the boys must speak to their headmaster. And if he deems it necessary to pass it on to us, then we will investigate."

This week the Sunday Express spoke to one of the teachers at the Barberton veld school.

He confirmed that a lecture on the "Total Onslaught Against South Africa" had been given to the children and said the lecture had been compiled by the four teachers at the veld school from their own information and "documents" supplied by the TED.

However, he said, the lecture given to the boys who complained "might have sounded political because the teacher who gave it to them could not speak English very well."

But, he added, "we must pay



● The Scope picture of model Lorraine Paul which appeared with the article mentioned at the veld school.

TREURNICHT BALANCING ON A SHORTENING TIGHTROPE

Dr No fights

THE NATIONALISTS' most controversial politician stepped into the full glare of the election spotlight this week to deliver the first salvoes in his fight for political survival — and indeed the survival of the National Party in its present form.

And it is no co-incidence that Dr Andries Treurnicht made his election debut in the former constituency of his predecessor, Dr Connie Mulder, who is making a determined bid to capture Randfontein for his National Conservative Party.

At a rowdy election meeting Dr Treurnicht told the audience he was more conservative than Dr Mulder (and he should know) and asked them what purer policy the Herstigte Nasionale Party or the NCP could offer when it came to maintaining racial separation.

Dr Treurnicht is involved in a bitter struggle for political survival, the outcome of which will be determined by his ability to convince the tens of thousands of disaffected Nat supporters that he is still the true leader of conservative Nationalism and that the NP is the only true home for conservatives.

And the raging row over Coloured participation in Craven Week Rugby was tangible proof that last year's blow-up, which nearly led to a final showdown between Dr Treurnicht and the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is far from resolved.

But with the same determination that Dr Treurnicht is trying to convince the Nat rank-and-file that his beliefs are still alive and well and flourishing, a formidable array of challengers on the Right of the NP have launched a ruthless onslaught to destroy him.

The Right-wing campaign is aimed at destroying his waning political credibility and will test to the limit his extraordinary survivalist abilities.

The battle which is being waged around the NP's hard-line Transvaal leader will to a large extent determine to what extent the present grassroots turmoil in Nat ranks becomes a fully-fledged split affecting all facets of Afrikanerdom's cultural, social and political life.

More than ever before in his turbulent 10-year political career this remarkably youthful 60-year-old is standing at the crossroads of political credibility.

Even if he succeeds in beating his former political colleague and friend, Mr Jaap Marais, for the fourth time at the polls in April he will only have passed the first in a series of demanding tests which are in store for him during the next 10 months.

Many believe that the writing is on the wall for Dr Treurnicht and that, while he could indefinitely survive verligte campaigns to discredit him, a concerted and sustained campaign from the Right could force him into a corner and render him dispensible to the Nat establishment.

The man who has always been seen by verligtes and the Opposition as the Dr No of Nat Afrikanerdom is fast becoming Dr Yes to the growing forces on the Right.



S Express 8/3/81

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By JOHN BATTERSBY

Political Correspondent

The clearest indicators that the Right-wing campaign against Dr Treurnicht is entering its final phase have come in recent weeks:

- The surprising decision of the Herstigte Nasionale Party's fiery leader, Mr Jaap Marais, to again take on Dr Treurnicht in his (admittedly somewhat altered) homeground of Waterberg, when he could have settled for a "safer" HNP constituency such as Rustenberg, Carletonville or Koedoespoort.
- The thinly veiled attempt by a member of the newly formed Aksie Eie Toekoms to embarass Dr Treurnicht by claiming that he would be formally invited to lead the new ultra-conservative movement.
- The acutely embarassing claim by his younger brother, Mr Attie Treurnicht, the HNP's candidate in Mossel Bay, that Dr Treurnicht's real sympathies lie with the HNP, but that he has not yet made up his mind.

The claim is not that farfetched if one recalls that during the run-up to his first successful electoral clash with Mr Marais, Dr Treurnicht openly invited HNP members back into the Nat fold and said the only reason he was opposing the HNP was because of "certain techniques" that it was using — not because of any difference in principle.

But the key to Dr Treurnicht's vulnerability to a concerted Right-wing attack lies in understanding how he has survived countless attacks by verligtes and the Nat Press and two major confrontations with Nat Prime Ministers.



● Dr Connie Mulder . . . less conservative?

The answer is that the values and principles which he so articulately espouses represent the essence of Afrikaner Nationalism. He is the kragdadige and hard-line face which is central to its survival.

He also has an extraordinary ability to give ideological substance to racial prejudice, and in so doing, he speaks for a considerable slice of grassroots Nats without whose support any Nat Prime Minister would be sent into the wilderness.

But while surviving, Dr Treurnicht has had to pay a considerable price in terms of his own political credibility.

With each confrontation he has compromised a little more on his stated principles and the hard-line pronouncements that his followers love to hear.

First it was putting his name to the 1977 three-Parliament constitutional proposals under Prime Minister Mr B J Vorster.

Then it was the humiliating process of being a party to the introduction of integrated sport, against which he had taken such a strong stand.

Under Mr Botha he has suffered several serious humiliations calling for further compromise:

- Putting his name to Mr Botha's 12-point plan which opens the way for the phasing out of hurtful discrimination.
- Having to endure Mr Botha's humiliating criticism of him at the Transvaal NP congress last year, when the Prime Minister asked incredulously what kind of mentality if was that suggested Coloureds and Whites could not play sport together, but could fight together on the border.
- Having to be party to Mr Botha's economic integration policies after always espousing the view that a free market would inevitably lead to social and political integration.
- Being circumvented by a process of extra-parliamentary commissions and committees on discriminatory practices, and seeing these implemented through a growing trend of government by ministerial decree and exception.
- Being ousted as chairman of the powerful Afrikaner Broederbond by the verligte Dr Gerrit Viljoen. And later seeing Dr Viljoen brought into a senior Cabinet position over his head amid suggestions that it was

"Blerrie left-wing liberals!"

CT 9/3/81

SA moves seen as inclining her neighbours towards Russia

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From ANTHONY DELIUS

LONDON. — There is a good deal of guesswork going on in African foreign affairs departments and embassies to the United Nations about why South Africa is playing an apparently much more dangerous international game than usual.

In the last few months Pretoria seems to have gone out of its way to increase the nervousness of the black states lying along or close to her northern borders and cause them to resuscitate or even increase their links with the Soviet Union. Is this meant to draw President Reagan's attention to South Africa as a southern "bastion of the Western world", or had she already been given a hint to dramatize the situation as an excuse for more open American support and co-operation for a staunch ally against communism and "terrorism" in spite of dubious race policies?

Opportunities

Of course the African argument is that it is precisely the apartheid policy that provides the Soviet with all its best opportunities to increase its influence and even its presence in Southern Africa. By linking itself more closely with South Africa in trade, finance and defence, Washington can only lessen its influence throughout the whole of sub-Saharan Africa from Kenya to Angola. But this seems to be met by General Malan's contention that black Southern Africa has already placed itself so much within the Soviet power orbit as to have something like 500 ex-Warsaw-bloc tanks menacing South Africa's borders from Angola to Mozambique. All this would seem to be a *fait accompli* beyond further argument, calling only for American action to support whatever South African tanks are facing along this menacing thin red line strung out across the subcontinent from Luanda to Maputo.

Those Africans who are fairly well informed about the internal white politics of the Republic might just as well be inclined to believe that General Malan was talking more in his capacity as a politician than a geo-strategist. After all, there is an election campaign going on in the country, and there is nothing like a scare about a black uprising or a Red invasion for stampeding the white voters behind the party in power. The spectacle of the UN General Assembly engaged in yet another mass condemnation around South Africa's empty seat is also worth stimulating for this purpose.

However, the Africans and their representatives and allies at the UN have long ceased to have any hopes of white voters doing anything but increase the number of votes for the National Party at each monotonously succeeding election. This simply confirms what most of the world believes already, that white South Africans are nearly all mindless racists. Whether the greater number of voters appear to support the Botha tendency or the Treurnicht tendency is a matter of little or no moment to Africa or the Third World. What really concerns them is whether America is using South Africa or *vice versa*.

Recently the Africans, as part of the third or non-aligned world, have helped defeat the designs of those who want to commit their movement to what amounts to Soviet international leadership. Now they see the one country against whom they could all unite because of its race policies, South Africa, apparently trying to bring about a confrontation between East and West in Southern Africa. And if not that, then America using South Africa as a willing handyman in some "imperial" ambitions on African soil.

In each of the four black states that lie between the Republic and the rest of Africa, South Africa seems to have brought about moves drawing the countries closer to Russia and East European Iron Curtain states, particularly in the matter of arms dependence.

South African actions on the soil of Angola and allegedly on Zambian soil have been persistent enough to keep that whole area in a state of great nervousness. It has been well known that the Angolans have been anxious to enter into expanding economic relations with the West, and especially the Americans, in spite of Luanda's marxist inclinations. Nevertheless the South African raids have kept the Angolans heavily dependent on Russian, East German and Cuban aid, and the more relaxed conditions from which both the West and the Angolans could profit are being seriously hampered.

In addition, although the Angolans would like to disentangle themselves gradually from the South West African Peoples' Organization activities, they are now forced by the South African challenges into reaffirmations of support for Swapo and the greater use of their territory for the provision of Soviet supplies to these guerillas.

In neighbouring Zambia, which might have been expected to calm down somewhat because of her dependence on South Africa for goods and because the Zimbabwean civil war is now over, the apparent threat from the south has caused President Kaunda to turn to Russia for arms supplies, particularly for air defence.

Zimbabwe's present ruler, Mr Robert Mugabe, has no great reason to be grateful to the Russians. They supplied his rival leader, Mr Joshua Nkomo, with arms but didn't give Mugabe's followers any, and they spent a great deal of effort trying to down-grade Mugabe and up-grade Nkomo. Yet Mugabe now feels he has sufficient evidence of South African meddling in his affairs or building up threats to his regime that he is looking to international support against these threats wherever he can get it. In the last few weeks he has at least accepted Soviet representation in Zimbabwe.

The clearest case of South African provocation, it must seem to most African observers, were attacks by South African forces on a couple of dozen African National Congress officials living near Maputo. Few African observers are going to believe that three hutfuls of ANC plotters are such a threat to the powerful and well-armed Republic that it justified sending armed raiders across a neighbour's borders to deal with them.

Either way, there is always a possibility of such manoeuvres rushing people, whether in Africa or America, into decisions which might never have had to be taken on more mature reflection.

Methodist Church shuns Republic Festival

Argus 10/3/81 327

Religion Reporter

THE Methodist Church could not support this year's Republic Festival, 'which commemorates 20 years of the erosion of the rule of law, and freedom of speech and religion,' according to the Church's official journal, Dimension.

In an editorial Dimension said: 'The Methodist Church has watched, often raising loud voices of protest, as Republican governments have separated people of colour.

'It has seen the demise of thriving congregations as Republic governments have forced people to move from their homes of generations — all to fulfil a bigoted ideology.'

The article quoted South African author Dr Alan Paton as saying: 'I could not possibly celebrate a republic which claims to be a democracy and yet has shown such a contempt for the rule of law.

'Nor a republic that allows detention without charge, trial or access, just like all the most disreputable republics in the world.'

'Divisive'

Endorsing Dr Paton's stand, Dimension said the Republic Festival was by its nature deeply divisive of South African society and therefore of the Church.

During the years of republican rule a number of actions had hindered the proclamation of the Gospel. For example, church mission hospitals had been appropriated, clergymen banned and church members detained.

Among the clergymen banned were the Rev Brian Brown and the Rev Theo Kotze.

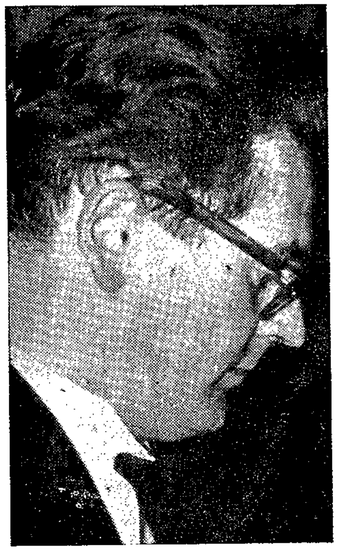
Sectarianism

A 'notable' recent detention had been that of Duman Gqubule, 15, son of the president-elect of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Dr Simon Gqubule.

'There is very little for peace-loving Christians committed to the reconciling love of Christ to celebrate in what is essentially a festival of sectarianism,' Dimension added.

'Our ministers and leaders should realise the divisive nature of this event and should steer well clear of it.'

(Report by B Stuart, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)





Joe Slovo and Ruth First ... "white intellectuals who constitute an army of officers without soldiers".

'A revolution in SA is a fantasy'

(327) RDM 10/3/81

More than 20 years ago Professor Julius Lewin, then of the University of the Witwatersrand, wrote a perceptive article entitled "No revolution around the corner".

Applying the conclusions of the Harvard historian Crane Brinton on four major revolutions to South Africa, Professor Lewin concluded that South Africa was not in a pre-revolutionary situation and the regime could continue "almost indefinitely and certainly for a good many years".

Now two American scholars have written a detailed book in which they consider South Africa's present potential for revolutionary violence. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.





P W Botha and Gen Magnus Malan ... bulwarks against revolution in South Africa.

THE prospects for armed overthrow of the present South African system — whether by foreign invasion, internal rebellion or external guerrilla assault — are so remote as to "belong in the realm of military fantasy", according to Dr Lewis Gann and Dr Peter Duignan, of the American-based Hoover Institution.

Gann and Duignan, two academics who have specialised in the decline and fall of European colonialism in Africa, consider these three scenarios for the violent end of the current South African order in their newly-published book *Why South Africa Will Survive.**

The title of their book, which seems to be a calculated reposte to R W Johnson's study, *How Long Will South Africa Survive?*, gives their answer to the recurring question on the strength and durability of South Africa as the last white-ruled state in Africa.

The pivot on which their assessment is based is that South Africa is not as riddled by insoluble internal contradictions as Pretoria's enemies believe and that the underlying reality is strength rather than weakness.

In rejecting the sharper criticisms of exiled South Africans, Third World ideologies and Western liberals and radicals, the authors come close at times to being apologists for South Africa's rulers.

But to reject their study as a mere apologia would be a mistake: their assessment of South Africa's chances of survival against attack from without and revolt from within is based for the most part on sober argument and sustained analysis.

Gann and Duignan consider the ability of the South African establishment to withstand violent attempts to overthrow it under various headings. For purposes of convenience their assessment is summarised under the same headings.

1. CONVENTIONAL WAR AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

Although the Organisation of African Unity can put together a formidable force on paper, the authors estimate its chances of mounting an invasion of South Africa as negligible.

"The members of the OAU . . . lack a common military organisation, military doctrine, leadership, training methods, deployment plan and general staff . . .

"(Member) nations could supply weapons, training and military bases on the borders of South Africa. But the African states could hardly send their own armies against South Africa.

"Such an operation would endanger the stability of armed centred states such as Zaire and Nigeria, whose armed forces are essential to the strength of the existing governments."

Zaire and Nigeria Gann and Duignan point out have two of the biggest armies in black-ruled Africa: Zaire had 34 400 men in 1977 and Nigeria 221 000 in the same year.

Moving on to the theoretical option of a Soviet-backed invasion by Cuban and East German "proxy armies", the authors reject it as highly unlikely.

"Cuba itself is not in a position to launch another large military campaign overseas. Its total armed strength in 1978 was only 189 000 men and more than a fifth of them were (already) heavily engaged in Africa.

"Even a more powerful state such as East Germany, whose armed peacetime forces number 201 000 men including security units, could not contemplate a major effort outside Europe (although minor ventures may be possible)."

These difficulties aside, there is the problem of finding a viable base for a land invasion of South Africa.

Mozambique is still dependent on South Africa as an employer of her labourers, a buyer of her hydro-electricity and a provider of technical and administrative aid.

"Mozambique, moreover, is deficient in communications, especially traffic links from north to south. Only one bridge crosses the Zambesi . . .

"Angola is even less likely than Mozambique to menace South Africa." The prevailing civil war and economic crisis apart, north-south communications are "totally inadequate".

Zimbabwe would be better suited as a land base because its extensive communications and substantial industries would be of vast potential importance to an invading army.

But Zimbabwe is heavily dependent on South Africa economically, a fact which explains Mr Robert Mugabe's "conciliatory line" regarding Pretoria.

A sea-bourne invasion by the United Nations is a theoretical possiblity. In 1965 the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace prepared a contingency plan for a UN invasion as a prelude to an internal rising.

But, according to Gann and Duignan, a South African "D-Day" would be a more difficult undertaking than the Allied invasion of North Africa or even Normandy during the Second World War.

"An invading force would also have to reckon with the possibility that South Africa, in desperation, might employ a few nuclear weapons (which would) make a 'D-Day' landing of the kind practiced in Normandy in 1944 as obsolete as a charge of armoured knights at the battle of Agincourt."

2. PROSPECTS FOR A VIOLENT REVOLUTION

The potential revolutionary leadership lacks a strong industrial base. It is drawn mainly from the ranks of professional people, from the "industrial periphery" and is "ill-suited" to wreck an industrial economy.

Gann and Duignan conceed the increasing role of blacks in skilled and sub-managerial positions has improved the potential of revolutionaries, but in their view the improvement is marginal.

"Managerial positions in industry have not been infiltrated, nor have leading posts in the civil service, the fighting forces and the police."

Revolutionaries cannot aspire to key positions in the vital industries — including the arms, petro-chemical, iron and steel, telecommunications and aviation industries — and cannot for that reason disrupt or take over these industries.

In the authors' estimation the main revolutionary vehicle is the South African Communist Party (SACP), as the African National Congress is "indistinguishable in outlook from the SACP".

While the SACP benefits from the support of "gifted intellectuals" — the authors name Ruth First, wife of the SACP leader Joe Slovo, and Brian Bunting, author of *The South African Reich* — the party is not as strong in South Africa as its image abroad suggests.

Besides being largely out of touch with their own country, subject to severe internal quarrels and fearful of South African agents in their midst, the SACP suffers from a "major deficiency": its exiled leaders are mainly white intellectuals who constitute "an army of officers without soldiers".

It is alienated from the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Unity Movement. Nor does its largely white leadership commend itself to the newer black consciousness movement.

Moreover, Gann and Duignan add, by ignoring the black homelands the SACP forgets the "Leninist principle that revolutionaries should operate through any institution that actually commands some degree of power".

3. NON-VIOLENT AND SEMI-VIOLENT WAYS TO REVOLUTION

Gann and Duignan consider the potential of industrial strikes, civil disobediance, protest marches, riots and sabotage for bringing down the present white-controlled structure to be minimal.

"At present the black labour force in South Africa is too isolated politically, too heterogeneous in character, too poorly organised and too unstable to stage the equivalent of the British general strike of 1926.

"The former British High Commission territories, the countries along South Africa's northern rim and the (black) homelands within . . . provide (South Africa) with a great reserve army of migrant labour.

"Until this army has been 'demobilised', the strike organiser's task will remain immensely difficult."

The series of school boycotts in recent years and the unrest which was often associated with it have had, in the opinion of the authors, little revolutionary potential.

"School boycotts, however impressive, do not affect the basic power structure. In the long run they merely limit the education obtained by the students, thus making their struggle for a good job even harder than it was in the first place . . .

"The riots threw into sharp relief the internal conflicts between young people and their elders, between men with jobs and the unemployed, between workers and students."

Observers who expected white morale to collapse seem to be "oblivious to the fact that similar predictions had been made for a generation" — that earlier riots supposedly presaged similar consequences."

Taking a broader view, Gann and Duignan state: "Unarmed or poorly armed rioters cannot seize the means of production or of governance, as the widespread but wholly unsuccessful outbreaks in 1953 in East Germany showed."

Turning back to South Africa, they add: "Violent outbreaks may in fact strengthen government control by cementing white unity across class lines."

4. THE FUTURE OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

The authors preface their appraisal with the observation that guerrilla warfare has being sheathed in an "aura of romance" but that its history is "full of failures as well as successes".

They identify four situations in which guerrillas have succeeded in toppling the established authorities.

- Where the incumbent power, weakened by war and disillusioned in its mission, gives up the battle for a *trans-maritime* possession rather than face international disapproval and escalating expenditures. Examples include Britain in Ireland after the First World War and France in Indo-China and Algeria after the Second World War and, with qualification, Portugal in Africa.
- Where local guerrilla or partisan forces are supported by a powerful regular army. Examples embrace Spanish guerrillas in co-operation with Wellington's British army against Napoleon, support of the Red Army for Tito's partisans against the Wehrmacht in Yugoslavia, and reinforcment of communist guerrillas in South Vietnam by North Vietnamese soldiers.
- Societies in which the ruling class is "divided, dispirted or corrupt", as appeared to be the case in South Vietnam. Here penetration of the "coercive machinery of the state" by revolutionaires is of vital importance.
- Situations where the ruling class, though militarily efficient and politically resolute, is "excessively weak" numerically. UDI-Rhodesia, which survived for 14 years despite international sanctions, is the obvious example.

None of these situations, including the apparently analogous Rhodesian case, apply to South Africa, the authors contend.

"The South Africans are in a much stronger postion (than the Rhodesians). South Africa's white population outnumbers Zimbabwe's nearly 20 times. South Africa's frontiers are defensible much more easily than Rhodesia's . . .

"The country's physical size would pose enormous logistic problems for the guerrillas, while government forces could rely on an excellent system of roads and airfields."

In spite of these advantages, however, South Africa should brace itself for urban terror, including assassinations, attacks on whites at random and detonation of bombs in crowed public places.

But experience in Kenya, Ulster, Lebanon and Israel suggest that "terror pays only temporary dividends and that ordinary men and women can adjust to perils with astonishing resilence".

The authors do not rule out the possibility of convergent guerrilla raids from neigbouring states, but counter that Israel has shown that similar raids from neigbouring Arab states are of limited efficacy.

"South African resources are much greater than Israel's and its geographical size is almost 60 times greater. Hence South Africa can rely up on defence in depth in a manner unthinkable to the Israelis."

*(WHY SOUTH AFRICA WILL SURVIVE, by L H Gann and Peter Duignan. Published by Tafelberg. R21,00).

SOWETAN 10/3/81

Fosatu six to appeal to Botha

SIX trade-union affiliates of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) are to appeal to the Minister of Manpower Utilisation against the racial terms of their registration.

If the appeals fail, warned Fosatu General Secretary Mr Alec Erwin, the next step could well be the de-registration of the unions involved.

Five Fosatu unions were recently registered for certain race-groups only and another — the National Union of Textile Workers — is expected to receive a racial registration certificate in the near future.

Fosatu embraces the principle of non-racial unionism and agreed in 1979 to register its affiliates on condition that they could gain for all races. Since these unions have a largely black membership, their withdrawal from the registration exercise would be a major blow to the credibility of the State's new labour reforms.

DOUBTS

In a statement at the weekend, Mr Erwin said the granting of racial certificates "raised serious doubts as to whether non-racial unions will be allowed in South Africa".

Non-racial registration for the areas and occupations represented by the unions was "entirely possible in terms of the law," and it was up to employers to support the federation in its non-racial stand.

Otherwise Mr Erwin warned, Fosatu "had common ground with other progressive unions which have chosen not to register, and will be prepared to stand with them."

Meanwhile, the refusal of the Fosatu-affiliated Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) to use its racial registration certificate has brought a setback to another body — the powerful Engineering Industrial Council.

Several registered engineering unions are known to favour Mawu's inclusion in the council, which meets today to negotiate a new agreement for the industry.

However, said Mr Erwin, Mawu would not apply for membership of the council at this point as "we believe the registration matter should be finalised".

Any attempt to "bulldoze" unions into industrial councils before this crucial issue was resolved "would not be in the interest of any party".

STAATSKOERANT

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GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWING.

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 477 27 Februarie 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 477 27 February 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/18

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/2/44	*Homeland News*	Evangelisches Missionswerk, Hamburg	(d) + (e)
P81/2/45	*Biography of Comrade William Khanyile* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	Nie vermeld nie/Not stated	(e)
P81/2/50	*Statement on the Death of Comrade William Khanyile during the Murderous Attack on the Refugee Residences in Matola, People's Republic of Mozambique* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	(e)
P81/2/67	*Life for Africa, A*	Naomi Mitchison	(e)
P81/2/85	*President Sam Nujoma: 'Our struggle has never been against individual, minority white settlers ... It has been against a system.'*	Department of Information & Publicity, SWAPO of Namibia, Luanda	(e)
P81/2/86	*Evening of Solidarity with Women of Southern Africa, An*	Twin Cities' Committee for the Liberation of Southern Africa	(e)
P81/2/91	*Free Mandela!* (Kleefseël/Sticker)	SRC, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	(e)
P81/2/92	*Release Prisoners of Apartheid!* (Kleefseël/Sticker)	SRC Media Comm, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	(e)

INHOUD

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Goewermentskennisgewing			
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(327)

'WHY SHOULD WE WASTE OUR TIME CELEBRATING THIS REPUBLIC?'

Independence for the 'whites only'

SOWETAN 11/3/81

327

By SAM MABE

A NUMBER of people interviewed yesterday believe that there is no reason why they should participate in the forthcoming celebrations to mark the 20th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa.

In a snap survey carried out by the **SOWETAN** yesterday, people were asked whether they thought there was a role they could play in the Republic festivities.

Non-participation in the law-making machinery by blacks and apartheid were cited as the main reasons why the festivities should be boycotted.

Miss Anna Diale from Orlando East said: "Niks, the independence of this country was given to whites and not to us. That is why it was even given without us being consulted. I see no reason why we should waste our time with those celebrations. We should in fact pretend to be unaware of them."

Mr Enoch Tau (27), a window dresser, said there was no way blacks had benefited from the Republic's independence.

"If there was equality where all had an equal share of the country's wealth and if laws were made by all of us with no regard to skin colour or any form of discrimination, we could perhaps be celebrating something now," he said.

Mr Goodman Seatlhodi (21) from Soweto said: "I feel that such celebrations have nothing for us. It will be like celebrating your own defeat in your own country. Can you celebrate your defeat?

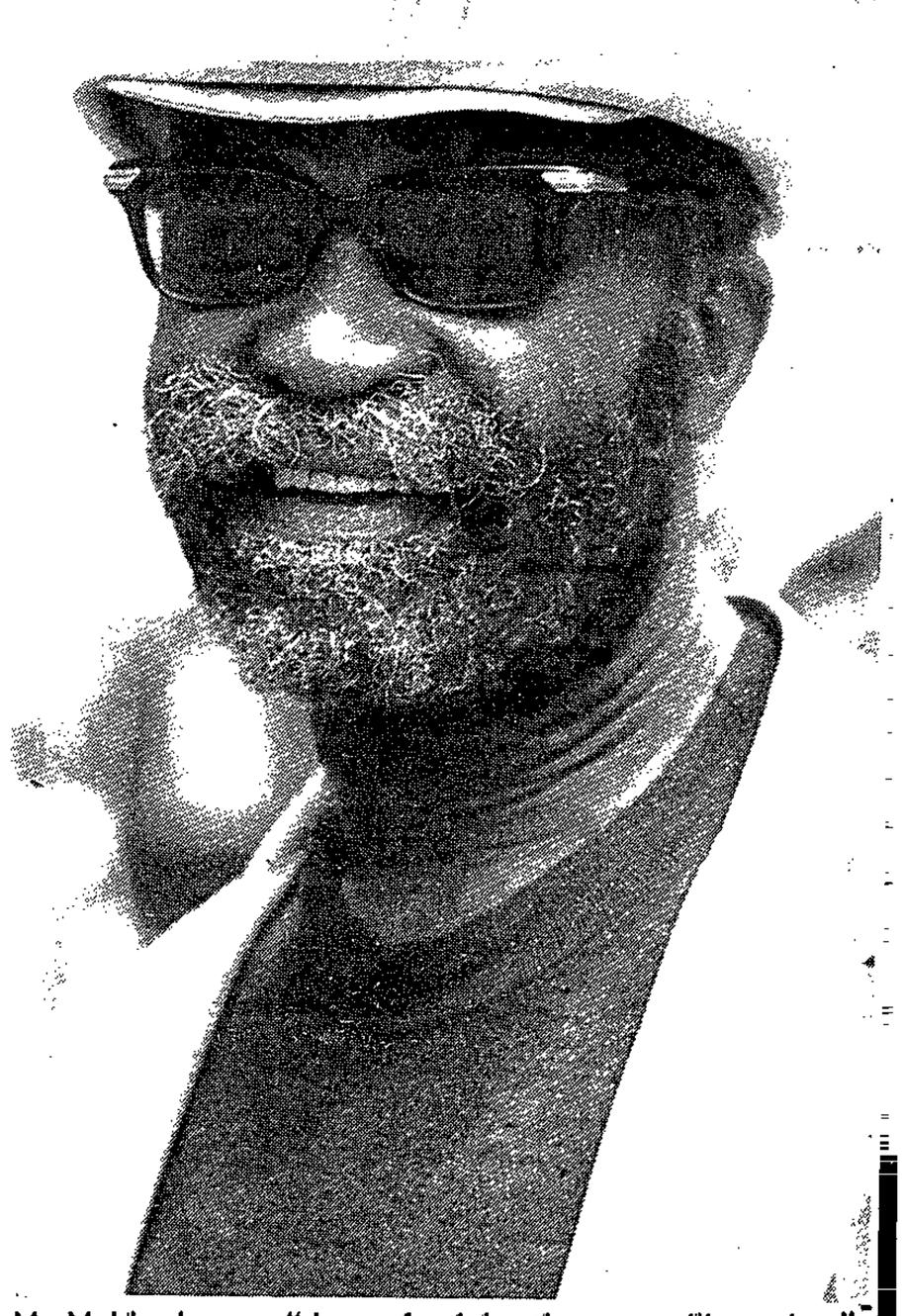
"When we have commemoration services on days that are significant to our lives, police frustrate us by going to such places and intimidate us. We should just be left out. Those festivities are a non-event as far as I am concerned."

Mr E L Makhetha an official of the Soweto Civic Association, said: "That is nonsense my boy, we have nothing to celebrate man. Those celebrations are for the whites and not us. The days of our celebrations are still coming when this country will be ruled justly.

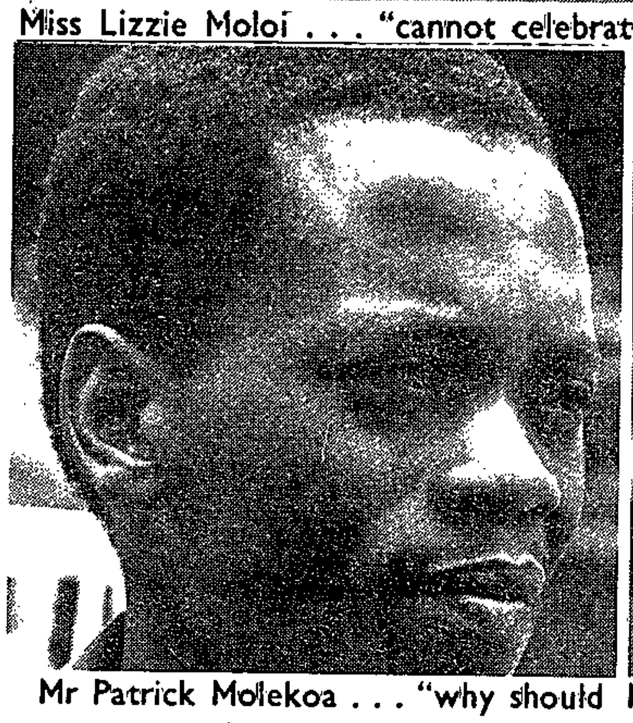
"If we celebrate now we will not only be irrelevant but will be putting the cart before the horse. We are still involved in the struggle for our rights and only after we achieve our goals can we think of celebrating."



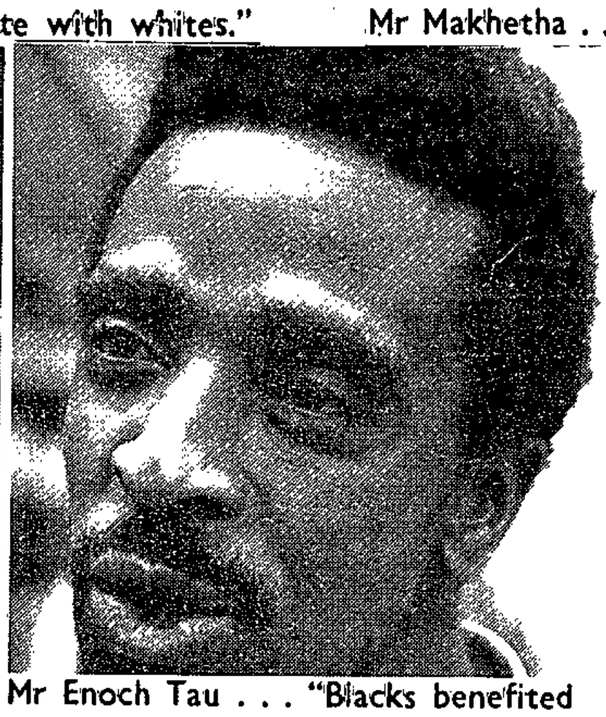
Miss Lizzie Moloi . . . "cannot celebrate with whites."



Mr Makhetha . . . "days of celebrating are still coming."



Mr Patrick Molekoa . . . "why should we celebrate apartheid."



Mr Enoch Tau . . . "Blacks benefited nothing."



Mr Goodman Seatlhodi . . . "Can you celebrate deaths of your brothers?"

Mr Patrick Molekoa, a waiter at a Johannesburg hotel, said: "If we are left out in so many other things that happen in this country, why should we now be required to be part and parcel of the celebration of apartheid?

"Right now these cops will come and start asking me to produce a passbook and if I cannot produce it, I'll be in trouble. We are poor because we are underpaid while whites have the best of everything in life.

"They should stop making oppressive laws for us and allow us to participate in the law-making machinery first, then we'll participate in everything else that happens in this country."

Miss Lizzie Moloi, of Diepkloof, said: "I have been looking for a job since last year and I cannot get one because I am black. Whites do not have problems in getting jobs because they are protected by laws which discriminate against us. How can I then celebrate with them?"

Mrs Nerriah Mafoko (37), a furniture saleslady said: "What are you talking about? Those celebrations have nothing to do with us. In fact, as far as whites are concerned, our existence is a hindrance to them.

"You only have to look at the laws they pass against us to understand what I mean. There is nothing we can boast about which can be attributed to the Republic's independence. Not when we had incidents like in Sharpeville and Soweto where people were gunned down.

"Some of us are virtual widows because we live alone without our husbands who are rotting in jails."

The Republic festivities are also being boycotted by leading black soccer teams like Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates who supported a call by Mr George Thabe, president of the South African National Football Association and the Football Council of South Africa, for the boycott of Festival Games.

According to Mr Thabe, the stance was taken because of the "blatant racism" displayed against black teams at some venues.

Need for change — and the birth of the President's Council

ST 12/3/81

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By DAVID WELSH
Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town. This is the first part of a three-part article.

THE idea of "change" notoriously means different things to different people. In a highly polarized society like South Africa groups that are located in different parts of the social hierarchy have different aspirations, visions and resources.

The extent of these differences has become dramatically apparent in recent debates over possible new political forms and other institutional changes. The abstract notion of the need for "change" is universally accepted, except in the most obscurantist of white right-wing circles for whom even the limited changes of recent years are unacceptable.

There can be little doubt that the intense concern with changes has in itself (regardless of actual institutional changes) generated some significant effects: heightened aspirations among those who stand to benefit most from changes and a decline in the legitimacy of the *status quo*.

Untenable

However much it remains the dominant feature of South African society, racial discrimination is now widely regarded as untenable, and ostensibly at any rate there is a preparedness to do away with it at least in some respects.

Thus in a public opinion poll carried out for Rapport early in 1980 74,5 percent of a large sample of white voters agreed, or were inclined to agree, with the proposition that legislation which discriminates solely on grounds of colour should be repealed; 66,5 percent of Afrikaans-speakers and 86,5 percent of English-speakers made up the overall figure.

Of course there is a great difference between assenting to a proposition like this in the abstract and accepting the consequences and implications of the repeal of specific laws. I will return to this point later, as well as the related issues of what discrimination actually is and what, in the mind of the government, constitutes "necessary" discrimination. In the interim I will define discrimination simply as institutionalized inequality of access to power, status and amenities.

The major focus of debate today concerns the adoption of a new constitutional and political framework and its probable midwife the President's Council. The council has its roots in the report of the Theron commission of 1976 which essentially found that the political institutions established for the so-called coloured group were unsatisfactory and recommended that ways be sought of giving the coloured people direct representation in the different authority structures. It recommended further that a committee of experts be charged with the task of preparing more detailed proposals for a new system based upon something other than the existing Westminster system of government.

In effect the government followed this recommendation, and in the course of 1977 produced a set of proposals embodying three racial parliaments operating under the aegis of a multiracial council of cabinets, chaired by the State President who, in the new system, was to have substantial executive powers.

The proposals were made an election issue in 1977, whereafter they were put in the form of a constitutional bill and referred to a parliamentary commission under the chairmanship of Mr A L Schlebusch, the Minister of Justice and of the Interior. The commission was given the widest possible terms of reference "to inquire into and report on the introduction of a new Constitution for the Republic of South Africa". It took a mountain of evidence but produced only a slender interim report which, however, contained some important recommendations. All parties accepted the following conclusion:

(a) That the Westminster system of government, in unadapted form, does not provide a solution for the constitutional problems of the Republic and that under the present constitutional dispensation the so-called one-man-one-vote system will probably lead to minorities being dominated by majorities and to serious conflict among population groups in the Republic, with disastrous consequences for all people in the Republic, and does not provide a framework in which peaceful co-existence in the Republic is possible;

(b) that in the process of designing future constitutional structures there should be the widest possible consultation and deliberation with and among all population groups, in an attempt to raise the level of acceptability of any proposals in this regard. (para. 8)

Noteworthy in this finding was the agreement among all parties, including the Nationalists (whose membership on the commission included five cabinet ministers), that the test of a constitution's viability was its acceptability among all population groups, and, by implication, its capacity to regulate and contain conflict. I personally would accept the further proposition that Westminster-type models of government, with their inherent winner-takes-all characteristic, are inappropriate in a deeply cleavaged society like South Africa.

The majority of the commission (without the support of the PFP and with the qualified support of NRP members) went on to propose a nominated President's Council of "nationally acknowledged experts" and "persons recognized by their respective communities as leaders", derived from the white, coloured, Indian and Chinese groups. Putting aside for the moment the exclusion of blacks, it is notable that the commission recognizes the need to draw community *leaders* into the deliberative process.

A further recommendation was made to establish a separate council of black South African citizens with which the President's Council could consult. As is well known, in the storm of controversy which the proposals and the government's reaction created the idea of a black council was summarily dropped.

Fate unknown

Nothing in the commission's report referred to the three-house system which had earlier been proposed by the government, although the idea of the President's Council was part of that whole package. At present the fate of the three-house system is unknown and it is presumed to be on ice, although as recently as December 1980 Mr P W Botha said that his policy still favoured a State President with executive powers and a council of cabinets for joint deliberations between white, coloured and Asian members.

The Schlebusch commission itself advanced no reasons for excluding blacks from the President's Council, but obviously the major ideological consideration was that the inclusion of blacks would have symbolized the prospect of a common federal or unitary political system for all races, which is completely against the grain of official policy. Minister F W de Klerk offered several reasons in Parliament: (1) The constitutional position of blacks differs radically from that of the coloured and Asian groups; (2) blacks already had channels of communication with the government; and (3) "the entire course of development and history of the black peoples differs to such an extent from that of the coloured and Asiatics that a different approach, a differentiated approach to dialogue structures is justified". In addressing the Cape congress of the National Party in October 1980 Minister Heunis claimed that "if blacks were included in the council, there would be no chance of reaching consensus on a new constitution. It will lead to a white versus non-white confrontation on the first day."

Non-negotiable

At no point has the government wavered in its determination to keep blacks off the council and the Prime Minister himself has stated unequivocally that it remains a non-negotiable issue. Whatever Mr Botha and some of his colleagues may really think, it is certain that any attempt to include blacks would have evoked serious problems with the conservative wing of the Nationalist caucus, many of whom are,



to say the least, unenthusiastic even about the idea of the President's Council itself.

Clearly, in these circumstances there was little or no chance of the council's gaining any credibility among the coloured or Asian groups, or, for that matter, from the PFP, whose support or at least acquiescent participation the government keenly sought as a means of legitimating the new dispensation. Long before the establishment of the council the leaders of the (coloured) Labour Party were under heavy attack for "collaborating" in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, even if they were instrumental in bringing about its demise. Several of its leading members (including the Rev A Hendricks and Mr David Curry) were invited to join, but the party rejected participation out of hand, saying that the council would have to function within the framework of National Party policy and that as a minority group it would be doubtful if they could exercise any significant influence on decision-making.

Expelled

The solitary Chinese member of the council, Mr Ken Winshiu, was expelled from the Pretoria Chinese Association for accepting membership. The association said that his acceptance had come to them as a "bombshell", there having been no prior government consultation with its leaders or other representative organizations. This episode is quite revealing in the light of the Schlebusch commission's recommendation that members should be recognized community leaders.

The final membership list showed that the President's Council's ordinary members consisted of 38 whites, 6 coloured and Indian people, and one Chinese. Active politicians (25) made up the biggest single category, while businessmen (8), academics (8) and senior civil servants made up the other significant groups. On the whole it is not a particularly distinguished assembly. It is also quite clearly dominated by people of Nationalist persuasion — in the circumstances, naturally, little else could be expected. Moreover, the council is a purely nominated body, and the communities represented have not been able to choose their own representatives.

(To be continued)

Kidnapped SA refugee returned

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE South African refugee who was kidnapped from Swaziland about three weeks ago was brought back to Swaziland and dropped near Mbabane about three hours before dawn yesterday, according to an informed Swaziland-based source.

The refugee, Mr Dayan Pillay, is understood to have returned yesterday to St Joseph's School, near Manzini, where he teaches. He could not be contacted for comment last night.

A tip off about the return of Mr Pillay to Swaziland came within hours of a report by the Times of Swaziland that the Deputy Prime Minister's Office had sent a letter to Pretoria officially asking for the return of Mr Pillay from South Africa.

A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs was not aware of the request when the Rand Daily Mail spoke to him yesterday. Neither he nor the Director General for Foreign Affairs, Dr Brand Fourie, could be contacted last night.

But an official South African source said as far as he was aware Mr Pillay had been detained by border police under the immigration laws and "eventually allowed to go".

Mr Pillay, who is officially recognised as a refugee by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, fled South Africa in 1977. Four men were arrested in connection with the kidnapping within two or three days of his disappearance.

According to Swaziland police sources, the men were suspected members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, which is alleged to be encouraged by South Africa in its bid to topple President Samora Machel.

But one of kidnappers is said to have dropped a South African reference book at the scene of the kidnapping.

The four men were subsequently reported to have appeared in court in connection with the kidnapping. The "trial", however, was held in camera, the accused were never officially named and the charges never made public.

The four men were unofficially named as Mr Armanda da Silva, Mr Petro Kgoadi, Mr George Foremen and Mr Musa Eseme. Three were said to be Portuguese-speaking.

One was named by African National Congress sources in Swaziland as an ANC "deserter".

Some reports have described Mr Pillay, who is said to be a South African of Indian origin, as the brother of one of the 12 ANC members killed during the SA Defence raid on Maputo in January. But an official source last night expressed doubt that any of the dead were Indians.

Sharpeville: two days of mourning

Services are being planned throughout the black community by the Azanian Peoples' Organisation for March 21 and 22 to commemorate the twenty first anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings, and four days have been set aside by Azapo to be observed by blacks every year.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr George Wauchope, announced yesterday that blacks had been asked to observe March 16 to March 22 as a national week of mourning.

"We have requested Soweto traders to mourn with the nation on March 21. We have asked that they close their shops at 2 pm when the services start.

"We have also asked the chairman of the Soweto Taverners' Association, Mr Lucky Michaels, to ask his members to observe this period. We have written to the NPSL, Sanfa and showbiz promoters to postpone their shows," Mr Wauchope said.

Venues for the prayers to be held on March 21 and 22 would be announced later in the week.

Apartheid a mistake, Koornhof says in interview

By Henry Reuter,
The Star's Africa
News Service

NAIROBI — Most members of the South African Cabinet want all apartheid laws to be scrapped to bring about the equality of all races, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Koornhof, is reported here to have told a Kenya newspaper columnist.

Kenya's Lonrho-owned Standard newspaper today carries a front page exclusive interview stated to have been given by Koornhof to its columnist, Michael Kabugua, who has been visiting South Africa.

It quotes Dr Koornhof as saying that apartheid is dead so far as he is concerned. "History is full of mistakes made by human beings but these wrongs are put right when people realise that they have made mistakes.

BILL

"We are on our way to bring about changes in this country and have equality of all our people."

A Bill to scrap all discriminatory laws in South Africa will be tabled in Parliament and voted on before the end of this year, Dr Koornhof is quoted as saying.

The Standard also reports him as forecasting that as soon as the independent African nations realise that South Africa is introducing laws against discrimination and bringing about genuine changes, they will change their attitudes towards the Republic.

"The Minister said he was not making this statement to make the outside world happy or fool anybody but it had become clear that equality was necessary in South Africa if the country was to survive," the report adds.

In an editorial, the Standard said the democratic world sought not only the abolition of the entire concept of apartheid, but also the abandonment of the separate homelands policy and the introduction of one-man-one-vote elections.

"If, and only if, these conditions are met, would we then advocate an end to hositilies against South Africa by the world community," the Standard writes.

Kidnapped refugee tells of his ordeal

RDM 13/3/81

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'Mail' Africa Bureau

MBABANE — Mr Dayan Pillay, the South African refugee who was kidnapped from Swaziland, told yesterday how he was taken back under cover of darkness after one of his captors told him: "We made a mistake."

Mr Pillay's ordeal began one evening three weeks ago when he was visited by four or five men at his room at St Joseph's Mission School, near Manzini. He spoke to newsmen yesterday in the office of Mr A R Shabangu, permanent secretary to the office of Deputy Prime Minister, describing how the men overpowered him, forced him to accompany them to a nearby car, ordered him inside and instructed him to lie down.

Mr Pillay, a thin man who fled South Africa from Durban in 1977 denied first reports that he had been abducted at gunpoint.

"The car then drove off," he said. Later it stopped and he was told to get out.

"I was ordered out, blindfolded and made to walk," Mr Pillay recalled. He walked until he and his kidnappers crossed a fence.

The party was then picked up by another car and taken to a building where he was detained. Four days later, the "chief" of the captors, a white man, told him: "We made a mistake."

But he had to wait for more than two weeks before he was again blind- folded, put in a car and driven to Mbabane, where he was dropped in the middle of the night.

Asked how his captors had looked after him, he said: "I was well looked after to a degree." He refused to elaborate. But he was confident that he would be able to identify his abductors.

Mr Pillay seemed reluctant to give details of his interrogation by his captors, although he did confirm that they wanted to know why he fled South Africa.

Mr Pillay is reported to be the brother of one of the 12 African National Congress members killed during the raid in Maputo by South African commandos in January.

He refused to say whether he was a member of the ANC.

Mr Pillay, a teacher, said: "I am glad to be alive. I am glad to be back in Swaziland."

According to an official South African source, Mr Pillay was detained at the border for alleged contravention of South Africa's immigration laws and "then allowed to go".

Four men who were arrested in connection with his kidnapping and reportedly charged in a secret trial were granted bail yesterday.

RDM 13/3/81

5 refugees appear in court

GABORONE. — Five South African refugees appeared briefly before Mr R F Hunt in the Gaborone Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of robbery with violence and unlawful possession of arms and ammunition.

They are Mr Mzwandile Minya, 30, of Kanye; Mr Sipho Tshabalala, 26, of Otse, near Lobatse; Mr Lucas Lingwathi, 30, of Tlokweng; Mr Vusimuzi Banda, 22, of Gaborone; and Mr Patrick Tshabalala, 25, of Otse.

They were not asked to plead and were remanded in custody until March 31 pending further police investigations.

The accused are alleged to have robbed Mr Joseph Tlale and Mr Michael Molelekwa, of the Gaborone Standard Bank, of R22 661 and a car in the Khatleng district on October 10 last year.

They are also alleged to have been found in possession of arms and ammunition near the Lokabi cattle post in the Kanye district between October 30 and November 6, last year. — Sapa.

No. 547 13 Maart 1981

WET OP VREEMDELINGE, 1937

VANSVERANDERING—HAMAN IN LUBBE

Dit het die Staatspresident behaag om, kragtens die bepalings van artikel 9 van die Wet op Vreemdelinge, 1937 (Wet 1 van 1937), Lynda Jacquiline Haman, woonagtig te Steelpoortstraat 41, Suidheuwels, Johannesburg, te magtig om die van Lubbe aan te neem.

No. 547 13 March 1981

ALIENS ACT, 1937

CHANGE OF SURNAME—HAMAN TO LUBBE

The State President has been pleased, under the provisions of section 9 of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937), to authorise Lynda Jacquiline Haman, residing at 41 Steelpoort Street, Suidheuwels, Johannesburg, to assume the surname of Lubbe.

No. 550 13 Maart 1981

VERBOD OP BESIT VAN ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat die ondergenoemde publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (3) van genoemde Wet die besit van genoemde publikasies verbied. Genoemde verbod is kragtens artikel 9 (5) van genoemde Wet deur die Appelraad oor Publikasies bekragtig.

No. 550 13 March 1981

PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION OF UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has under section 9 (3) of the said Act prohibited the possession of the said publications. The said prohibition was confirmed by the Publications Appeal Board under section 9 (5) of the said Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voorbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/10/134	*Screw* No 499, September 25, 1978	Milky Way Productions Inc, New York	(a)
P80/10/135	*Zipper* Issue 12	Zipper Magazine, London	(a)
P80/10/242	*Rapier* - Vol 1, No 3; Vol 1, No 6; Vol 1, No 8	Gold Star Publications Ltd, Surrey, England	(a)

No. 551 13 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 551 13 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P80/9/58	*Princess Daisy*	Judith Krantz	In SK./G.G. 7295, GK./G.N. 2333 van / of 14/11/80.

No. 552 13 Maart 1981

AFKEURING VAN ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974—

(a) beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprent binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is;

(b) die rolprent afgekeur; en

(c) die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet, ter syde gestel.

No. 552 13 March 1981

REJECTION OF FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974—

(a) decided that the undermentioned film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act;

(b) rejected the film; and

(c) set aside the conditional approval of the film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/1/4	*Cruising*	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

No. 549 13 Maart 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis dat die onderstaande publikasies of voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet:

No. 549 13 March 1981

UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications or objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act:

LYS/LIST P81/21

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P81/1/177	*Dirty Mind* (Grammofoonplaat/Gramophone Record d.i. op grond dat die omslag No BSK 3478 ongewens is/i.e. on the ground that the cover No BSK 3478 is undesirable)	Prince	(a)
P81/2/72	*Leuke Ogenblikken* Nummer 31	Classics Nederland N.V. Naarden	(a)
P81/2/73	*Sexy Humor* Nr 47	De Vrijbuiter, Tilburg/De Schorpioen, Strombeek-Bever	(a)
P81/2/74	*Sexy Humor*—Nr 117	De Schorpioen, Strombeek-Bever	(a)
P81/1/163	*Still Life with Woodpecker*	Tom Robbins	(a) (b)
P81/1/35	*Fanny*	Erica Jong	(a) (b)
P81/1/204	*Glynda*	Susannah Leigh	(a)
P81/1/17	*Number to Call is . . ., The*	Raymond Thompson & Treve Daly	(a)
P81/2/66	*Amateur Photographer*—Vol 163, No 1, January 3, 1981	IPC Business Press Ltd, Surrey	(a)
P81/1/171	*Legacy of Beulah Land, The*	Lonnie Coleman	(a), (b)+(d)

No. 553 13 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE.—VERTOE TEN OPSIGTE VAN APPÈL

Die Direktoraat van Publikasies het op 2 Maart 1981 kragtens artikel 14 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, appèl aangeteken teen die beslissing op 25 Februarie 1981 van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die tydperk waarin persone bedoel in artikel 14 (3) (b) van genoemde Wet verloë tot die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, Privaatsak X114, Pretoria, ten opsigte van genoemde appèl kan rig, word hierby bepaal as 10 dae vanaf die datum van hierdie kennisgewing.

No. 553 13 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS.—REPRESENTATIONS IN RESPECT OF APPEAL

On 2 March 1981 the Directorate of Publications appealed under section 14 of the Publications Act, 1974, against the decision on 25 February 1981 of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The period within which persons referred to in section 14 (3) (b) of the said Act may make representations to the Publications Appeal Board, Private Bag X114, Pretoria, in respect of the said appeal is hereby determined as 10 days from the date of this notice.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P81/2/43	*Chiang & Mao* - China 1919-49	Bernard Barker.

No. 554 13 Maart 1981

ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

In *Staatskoerant* 7357 van 9 Januarie 1981 vervang Goewermentskennisgewing 68 van 9 Januarie 1981 met die volgende Goewermentskennisgewing.

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) (c) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van die Wet ongewens is nie en die volgende voorwaarde opgelê: "Die verspreiding van die publikasie word daaraan onderhewig gestel dat dit sonder die huidige stofomslag of met 'n omslag wat eers deur 'n publikasiekomitee goedgekeur word, versprei mag word.".

No. 554 13 March 1981

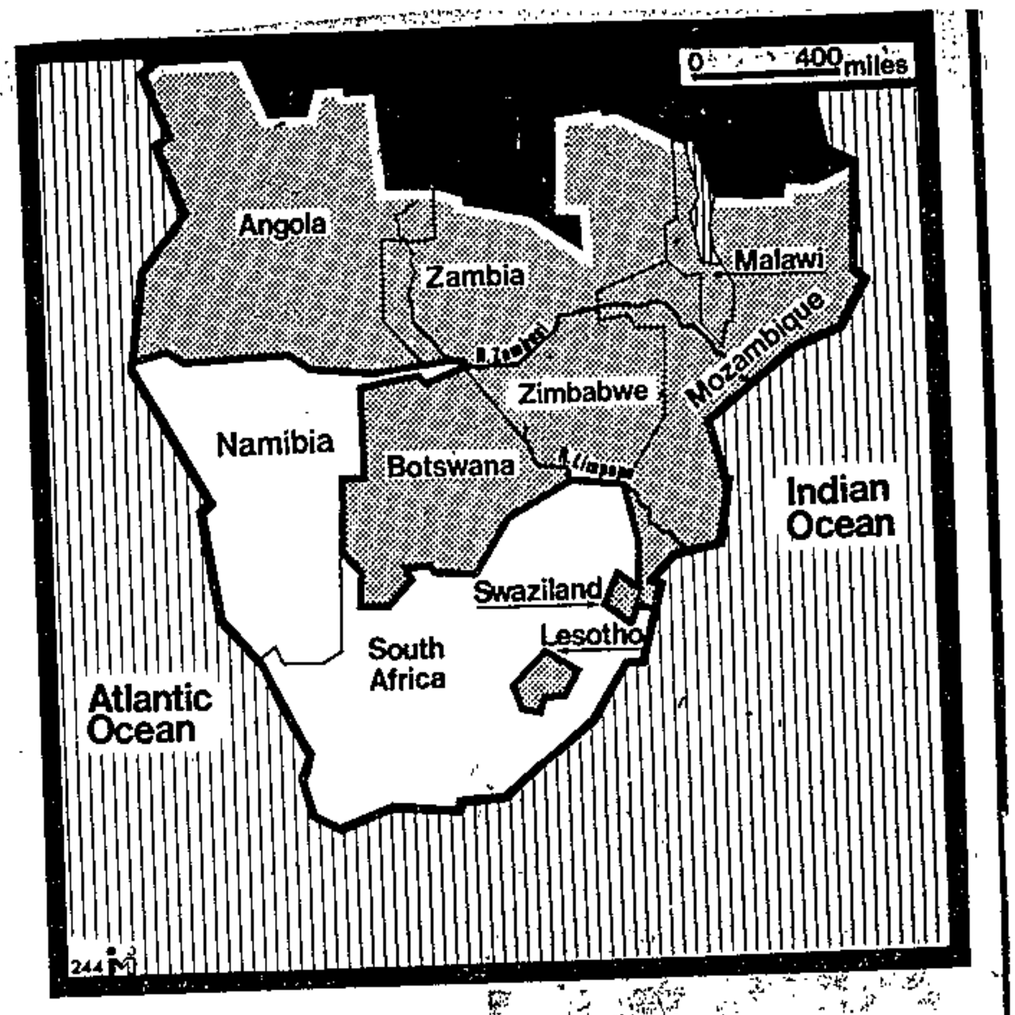
UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

In *Government Gazette* 7357 of 9 January 1981 substitute Government Notice 68 of 9 January 1981 with the following Government Notice.

The Publications Appeal Board has decided under section 13 (5) (c) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the Act, and has imposed the following condition: "The distribution of the publication is made subject to the condition that it may only be distributed without the present dust-cover, or with a cover previously approved by a committee of publications.".

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer
P80/7/46	*Store up the Anger*	Wessel Ebersohn.

'Stalemate in Southern Africa'



By PATRICK LAURENCE

Southern Africa Editor

A SITUATION of stalemate has developed in Southern Africa, with the division of The sub-continent into rival camps split on political and ideological lines, Dr Deon Geldenhuys, of the Institute of International Affairs, says in a new publication.*

The stalemated parties are the Pretoria-backed Constellation of States (Consas) and the "Counter-Constellation" or, as it is known more formally, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Council (SADCC).

When Consas was first mooted by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in March 1979, the hope was that it would embrace 40-million people drawn from 10 states south of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers.



P W BOTHA
. . . four in his camp

Since then, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zimbabwe have turned a deaf ear on Pretoria's overtures and joined SADCC instead. As a consequence Consas has had to surrender its original grand vision and to settle for more modest dimensions.

"In its reduced shape, Consas has been formalised between South Africa, Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Venda," Dr Geldenhuys notes.

Its formal birth was marked by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the four countries at Port St Johns in Transkei in February, 1980. Later, in July, 1980, a summit meeting of the heads of government of the four countries was held in Pretoria.

By the time of the Pretoria summit, the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, had already declared that Consas would be a "form of confederation", although its original aim of facilitating economic co-operation and development remained.

Commenting on the commitment to confederation, Dr Geldenhuys says: "Given the fact that the constellation-confederation is composed only of South Africa and its independent former homelands, it could be argued that a confederation is essentially an internal device to join together, both economically and politically, what separate development has put asunder."

But Dr Geldenhuys goes on to posit the view that Consas might be used to as a lever against the resistance of those homelands which have held out against independence under the new confederal dispensation.

By restricting full membership of Consas to independent homelands and "by reserving the full scope of economic benefits for full members, South Africa probably hopes that non-independent homelands might be persuaded to seek independence".

SADCC was conceived in part as a response to Consas which, in the view of South Africa's black-ruled neighbouring states as distinct from former homelands, threatened to intensify South African economic dominance on the sub-continent.

Dr Geldenhuys characterises the relationship between South Africa's black neigbours and South Africa as "a dependency relationship" rather than one of economic interdependence.

SADCC has had three key meetings — in Arusha, Tanzania, in July 1979, in Lusaka, Zambia, in April 1980 and Maputo, Mozambique, in November 1980. It has nine member states, six of which are landlocked.

The nine are Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania. Its primary objective is to lessen economic dependence on South Africa, particularly transport, trade and labour.

The co-ordinator of the SADCC programme is Botswana's President, Dr Quett Masire, who took over after the death of Sir Seretse Khama last year.

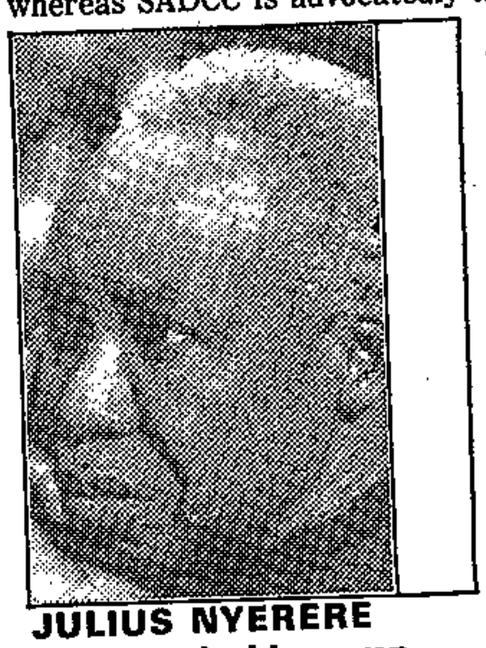
As the Maputo conference made clear last year, SADCC is heavily dependent on Western aid for fulfilment of its projects — with Western nations seeing financial aid for SADCC initiatives as a "constructive alternative" to sanctions against South Africa and "a means of divertinmg attention from their continued close economic ties with South Africa".

Comparison of Consas and SADCC reveals both "striking similarities" and "profound dissimilarities", Dr Geldenhuys says.

Similarities include a common commitment to economic development as well as comparable institutions to finance development (Consas' Development Bank and SADCC's Development Fund) and transport (Consas' Committee on Transport and SADCC's Transport Commission).

Dr Geldenhuys lists several factors which accentuate differences between the two groups:

- Consas is conceived a counter to the "Marxist order", whereas SADCC is advocatedly anti-apartheid.



JULIUS NYERERE
. . . nine in his camp

- Consas advocates "free enterprize" as an alternative to Marxism, whereas four SADCC members — Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia — espouse varieties of socialism.
- Consas stands for acceptance of political "realities" such as "multi-nationalism" and "self-determination" and, as a logical corollary, "homelands", whereas SADCC is committed to ending white government and to majority rule.
- Consas accepts independent homelands as members, whereas SADCC limits membership to internationally-recognised and "liberated" states.

The common stress on economic development is important as it is likely to act as a constraint on violence, Dr Geldenhuys reasons.

"A violent confrontation between them will be a severe setback to both sides' ambitious programmes for economic development . . . Both SADCC and South Africa have a vital interest in avoidance of war."

Equally important, Dr Geldenhuys continues, economic development presumes the absence of mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa: if they are applied, Pretoria will "export" the consequences to SADCC countries and wreak havoc with their economies.

"Thus SADCC members have a material interest in preventing economic sanctions against South Africa," Dr Geldenhuys says.

But, in spite of these considerations, division of the sub-continent into rival blocs has emphasised political and ideological differences and led to a form of stalemate.

The stalemate does not pertain on the military level, where South Africa is "undeniably superior to the combined military strength of the SADCC countries", or to the economic sphere, where South Africa is again paramount.

"The new regional stalemate manifests itself primarily in the improbability of either grouping extending its membership (except for Zaire and Namibia probably joining SADCC and future independent homelands joining Consas)."

Dr Geldenhuys does not foresee the SADCC countries making a significant contribution to the "liberation of South Africa" by overthrowal of the existing order.

"Rather than SADCC promoting meaningful change within South Africa from the outside, Consas might do so by serving as an instrument for internal restructuring, starting with a confederation."

President's Council and the 'non-negotiable'

CT 13/3/81

327

By DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town. The first part of this three-part article appeared yesterday.

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has invested a good deal of political and moral capital in the President's Council and if it fails it will do him a great deal of damage.

There has been much speculation about precisely what role Mr Botha had in mind in establishing it.

Most theories see the council as being essentially a manoeuvre in the continuing fight for the soul of the National Party. The council is there to legitimize Mr Botha's initiatives and thereby neutralize the Treurnicht faction of the party or at least isolate its resistance.

Alternatively, it has been said, the President's Council is a way of damping down potentialy divisive issues inside the party; they can be referred to the council, and, at least temporarily, be shelved. These two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

The pattern in appointments is difficult to discern. Among the Nationalist politicians put on the council several appear to be party stalwarts who needed positions after the Senate had been abolished or whose continued occupation of cabinet posts had become an embarrassment for the government. But this is by no means true of all. Mr A L Schlebusch, who, as Vice State-President, is the chairman of the council, held a powerful balancing position within the party as a senior cabinet minister and leader of the party in the Orange Free State. He was also one of Mr P W Botha's most trusted allies, whose support was decisive in enabling Mr Botha to secure election to the prime ministership in 1979. Likewise, Dr Denis Worrall was highly regarded within the party and could reasonably have expected a cabinet post in the foreseeable future.

Conservatives in the party have all along been suspicious of the council and reports indicated that several had refused invitations to serve on it, fearing that they would lose their influential positions in the caucus for powerless positions in a body whose success they doubted. Yet Mr A J Raubenheimer, formerly the Minister of Water Affairs, Forestry and Environmental Conservation and an influential conservative in the Transvaal party, was persuaded to head the physical planning committee of the council. One must speculate that his appointment came as a result of pressure (he was not a notable minister) and was intended to help secure conservative commitment to the council's recommendations.

In considering the likely working of the President's Council it seems clear that its autonomy will probably be formal rather than real. It is not within the character of the National Party to create institutions or other bodies which have genuinely open-ended assignments. For example, it would be hard to imagine that the council would come up with a set of constitutional recommendations that departed in any fundamental way from established party policy. If one examines recent debates on possible constitutional alternatives it is clear that the government has laid down quite emphatically what is acceptable and what is not.

The heart of the constitutional and political question facing South Africa is the political status of blacks, but this, in the very nature of the council's constitution, must be confined largely to working out the details of a confederal relationship with the "independent" black states, semi-autonomous homelands and other entities that are still to be created. Mr Botha has been emphatic that confederation is as far as he will go; and he has been equally emphatic in ruling out any thoughts of a unitary system, federation or a consociational democracy.

If these are "non-negotiable" issues, what then is there left for the President's Council to discuss other than the much narrower issue of how the coloured and Asian groups are to be linked in to the "white" political system? In comparison with the magnitude of the issues surrounding possible black incorporation this may sound trifling, a mere matter of detail; but within the party it is a potentially explosive issue, one on which there might well be a split. This consideration lends support to the view that the essential funciton of the President's Council is to mobilize support for Mr Botha's initiatives and to neutralize the conservatives.

Many of the other constitutional and political issues that the council will discuss seem to follow much the same pattern: "Non-negotiable" principles have been laid down by the party leadership, but details remain to be worked out. Group areas, separate education and separate community life are "non-negotiable" in this sense. When seen in conjunction with the constitutional "non-negotiable", one is entitled to ask what really burning issues are there left to discuss? The solid core of old-style apartheid is left intact.

Even if it has to operate within this relatively constricted framework it can be expected that the recommendations of the council will carry weight. The Prime Minister has said that if it came up with far-reaching constitutional proposals he would consider the possibility of submitting them to a referendum, although, he was careful to add, the proposals would first be laid before the National Party congresses. On the face of it the prior involvement of the congresses seems to scotch those interpretations that saw the idea of a referendum as a means of by-passing the congresses or the caucus. I suspect that Mr Botha is confident, in the light of many opinion surveys, that conservative resistance to his initiatives (such as they are) is far less and far more diffuse among the electorate at large than within his caucus and the congresses. It would be difficult for the conservatives to oppose the idea of a referendum, which is, after all, a respectable democratic institution.

Nothing in this should be taken as implying that Mr Botha is on the verge of contemplating far-reaching changes in established policy. His actual record of reform is lamentably thin and the apparent paralysis of his government cannot be wholly blamed on the right wing of the party. If one analyses the content of his speeches one finds a great deal of encouraging rhetoric proclaiming the need for change but hardly anything in the way of actual concrete reforms. The core institutions of racial domination remain intact, and Mr Botha has acknowledged that his "12-point programme" is little more than a restatement of the principles of separate development.

One has to recall that in describing the Treurnicht-faction of the National Party as "conservative" or "right wing" these terms are very relative, and to believe that inside Mr Botha is a liberal straining to break out is a serious misunderstanding of political reality. The actual ideological gap between Mr Botha and Dr Treurnicht is probably not all that wide. In the main the conflict is a power struggle which uses ideological issues as weapons. As I have indicated, not only have the core institutions of separate development remained untouched, but for the most part they have been designated as "non-negotiable" issues. Even tentative suggestions for "improving" the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts have so for come to nothing. Major statutes like the Group Areas Act, which have been enforced in a highly discriminatory way, have little or no chance of repeal or substantial amendment.

(To be concluded)

Black states 'need' SA ties

Staff Reporter

SOME British and American observers believe the independent frontline states are opposed to becoming springboards for aggression against South Africa.

They are convinced that these states regard the building up of their economies as their main priority and therefore realize the need for good relations with South Africa.

This emerged during a recent conference held in London under the joint auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).

The input by British and American participants was analysed in Johannesburg yesterday by Mr D P de Villiers, managing director of Nasionale Pers, who was one of 14 leading South Africans who attended the London conference in December. He was taking part in a panel discussion arranged by the SAIIA.

Mr De Villiers said the British participants included the head of the Southern African Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, members of parliament, academic and institutional researchers, church leaders, business leaders and journalists.

If relations between South Africa and its neighbours were to grow, the West's own ties with Southern African states would be with an "integrated economic region".

This would mean the West would not have to choose between black Africa and South Africa.

"It was stated as a firm conviction, even as a fact, that the governments of the independent frontline states, whatever their public rhetoric might be, regarded the building up of their economies as the main priority for the next decade or so, and that they realized their effective dependence on good practical relations with South Africa for this purpose.

This created tremendous opportunities for South Africa, as long as three conditions were met. These were that:

- The "Namibian impasse" was resolved soon.
- South Africa did not make it too difficult for the neighbouring states by trying to formalise economic and technological relations. This tended to be counter-productive, creating a political need for them to demonstrate their opposition to apartheid.
- Progress was made with internal reform.

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REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
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GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

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DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE SAKE

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

No. 440

13 Maart 1981

No. 440

13 March 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

LYS KRAGTENS ARTIKEL 16 VIR DIE TYDPERK APRIL 1975 TOT DESEMBER 1979

Komitees bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet gedurende die tydperk April 1975 tot Desember 1979 beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasies en voorwerpe ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet. Die beslissings is in ondergenoemde *Staatskoerante* bekend gemaak:

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

LIST UNDER SECTION 16 FOR THE PERIOD APRIL 1975 TO DECEMBER 1979

Committees referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act during the period April 1975 to December 1979 that the undermentioned publications and objects are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The decisions were made known in the undermentioned *Government Gazettes*:

Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel Section 47 (2)	Staatskoerant Govt Gazette	
			No	Datum Date
AALC Reporter—Vol XIII, No 3, March 1978	The African–American Labor Center, New York	(e)	6024	19/5/78
Abandon—No 1515 (Plakkaat/Poster)	Printed in Germany by Scandecor	(a)	5452	18/3/77
Abandoned Woman, The (d.i. slegs die 1978 uitgawe met die No ISBN 0 09 917870 2/i.e. only the 1978 edition with the No ISBN 0 09 917870 2)	Richard Condon	(a)	6216	17/11/78
Abasebenzi—No 6, September 1975; No 7, October 1975; No 8, December 1975; No 1, January 1976; No 2, February 1976	Ngokukhutshwa vi KHOMISHINI YEMIVUZO, SRC University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	(e)	5080	9/4/76
Abba Abba	Anthony Burgess	(b)	5709	12/8/77
Abolitionist of Clark Gable Place, The	Charles Webb	(a)	5192	2?/?6

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INHOUD

No.		Bladsy No.	Staatskoerant No.
	Binnelandse Aangeleenthede, Departement van		
	Goewermentskennisgewing		
824	Publikasiewet (42/1974): Ongewenste publikasies of voorwerpe: Lys P81/22	1	7491

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	Internal Affairs, Department of		
	Government Notice		
824	Publications Act (42/1974): Undesirable publications or objects: List P81/22	1	7491

COST OF PEPTIC ULCERATION IN R.S.A. - JULY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

- Medical care R18,9 million (37,2% of total cost)

Consultations (private practitioners)	R1,5 m
Diagnosis (tests: barium meal, gastroscopy, etc.)	R2,1 m
Drugs	R4,5 m
Provincial hospitals	R8,9 m (47%)
Private hospitals (bed rate, theatre, dispensary)	R1,3 m
Surgery (surgeon, aneasthetist, assistant)	RO,6m

- Whites: 54,6% of cost
  - Outpatients: RO,3 m (3%)
  - In-patients: R8,6 m (97%)
    - Transvaal: 50% of cost
    - Number of patients: 15 270
    - Surgery: 22,4%
    - = f (hospital days x cost/day)

Surgical	42 568	(12,4
Nonsurgical	127 152	(10,?
Total	169 720	(11,1

- Lost productivity (absenteeism) R31,9 million (62,8% of total cost)
- Total cost R50,8 million

COST OF PEPTIC ULCERATION IN THE R.S.A. - JULY 1976 TO JUNE 1977

- Lost productivity (absenteeism) R31,9 million (62,8% of total cost)
  - Method of calculation: Man-years lost x value/man-year
  - Morbidity R19,9 m (62,2%)
    - Temporary absenteeism R8,0 m (40%)
      - -Period of diagnosis (consultation and tests) (2 working days)....
      - -Surgery (29 working days) .....
      - -Rest-period (15 working days/20% of cases) .....
    - R11,9 m (60%)

R m	White %	Man-years lost				
		White	Black	Asian	Brown	Total
2,1	89	323	35	55	30	443
2,7	86	397	56	96	51	600
3,1	90	477	46	79	42	644
8,0	88	1 197	137	230	123	1 687

70,9%)

- Medical care
- Total cost

'Kidnap' mystery grows

The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — A refugee has claimed that he was taken across the border into South Africa after being kidnapped in Swaziland and was returned, blindfolded, three weeks later.

Mr Dayan Pillay, who fled to Swaziland from Durban in 1977, gave a brief account of the incident when he was interviewed in Mbabane yesterday after giving statements to Swazi officials.

But several aspects of the incident are still not clear. Mr Pillay said he was blindfolded when he was taken out of Swaziland and again when he was returned and was unable to give details of how he was taken across the border.

Mr Pillay said five men overpowered him on February 19 at his home at St Joseph's Mission School, near Manzini, where he was a teacher. He was taken away in a car but only one of the five men took him across the border.

While in South Africa he was interrogated only about why he had left the Republic in 1977.

Official sources in Mbabane said that Mr Pillay phoned his family three times while he was held in South Africa.

1980 'WORST YEAR FOR BLACK REPRESSION'

Argus 14/3/81 327

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. Last year was the worst on record for repressive legislation relating to blacks in South Africa, according to an annual report of the Black Sash.

The annual Black Sash conference heard today that people who sought help included:

● Those with jobs but who were not allowed to work. 'It is simply not true that anyone who has a job and accommodation can be registered. This applies only to people who have Section 10 rights in the urban areas,' the report said.

● Migrant workers caught up in the annual contract system. They were not allowed to change jobs, which put limits on improvement of their lives as they acquired new skills.

● 'Foreigners'. 'Over and over again black people, both South African Citizens and foreigners,' contrast with great bitterness in their position compared to the encouragement and welcome laid on for white immigrants,' the report says.

● People with housing problems. 'Even those who can afford to buy a house under the 99-year leasehold are told there are no houses. Complaints about bribery and corruption are rife,' the report says.

● People with citizenship problems. 'Since 1976, more than 6,75 million black South Africans had lost their citizenship because their 'Homelands' became indipendent. 'All children born to these people after the date of independence, regardless of place of birth, are foreigners,' the report said.

Mrs Joyce Harris, national president of the Black Sash, said whites were living in a fool's paradise 'deliberately created by the Government, and are in for a rude and painful awakening in the future.'

Mrs. Harris told delegates: 'The vast majority of white people appear to be totally unaware of the effects of Government statements and actions on black people.'

She blamed this lack of awareness on Government's policy of 'delusion — or is it illusion'

Reviewing the Government's record for 1980, and the Prime Ministers 12-point plan, Mrs Harris found no deviation from long-established National Party principles.

The meeting heard that the Ministry of Co-operation and Development had used the Crossroads settlement as a 'striking example of what can result when influx in unmanageable proportions takes place.'

Delegates were told that the Ministry of Co-operation and Development, in a letter earlier this year, said: 'We (the Ministry) now find ourselves dealing with the valid complaints and representations of the established black population of the Western Cape that the Crossroads community has made inroads on their job and housing opportunities.'

(News by Marion Duncan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



MRS JOYCE HARRIS — Whites are living in a fool's paradise . . .

Reality breaks through as election palls

4/3/81 327

Political survey



by GERALD SHAW

THE 1981 election campaign is proceeding in an atmosphere of bored apathy as the Nationalist government struggles to find an issue which will stir the blood of the electorate.

The total onslaught rhetoric and all those heavy television documentaries about the communist threat are putting the voters to sleep. Even Mr Pik Botha's regular appearances are steadily losing their power to engross.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the rising grey eminence in the National Party, who has a shrewd eye for an issue, is trying to whip up a bit of excitement by dragging the endangered Bok tour of New Zealand into the campaign, using an opening provided for him by Mr David Dalling, MP, in a poorly-worded statement. But it is an artificial issue. Most South Africans are profoundly resentful of attempts overseas to harass and insult the Bok touring team. Most South Africans, by the same token, are reluctant to play into the hands of the boycotters by cancelling the tour. This is not at issue.

So this horse will not run either. There is an air of laboured artificiality and even farce in the whole campaign.

Rigged

The way the electoral system has been rigged since 1948, a general election engages the interest and enthusiasm of a relatively small section of the population. The outcome is not in doubt.

Once the Nationalists had removed coloured and African representation from Parliament, they were firmly entrenched in power, accountable to a whites-only electorate dominated by Afrikaners. As there are more Afrikaners than English-speaking South Africans — by a large margin — all that is needed is to keep the Afrikaners united in the same political camp to ensure victory after Nationalist victory at the polls.

So far, this has been a relatively easy task for the Nationalists. Simply by appealing to history and beating the sectional drum, election after election has been an Afrikaner Nationalist walk-over. Had the Nationalists not broken the solemn pact of Union and disfranchised the coloured people in the constitutional crisis of the 1950s, of course, this could not have taken place.

In the first or second general election after 1948, the Nationalists would have been back in the political wilderness. The rapidly-increasing numbers of coloured people on the common roll would have stopped the Nationalist advance in its tracks. Coloured voters were hardly likely to vote for a government that was subjecting them to humiliating racial legislation and driving them out of districts they had occupied for generations.

That is why the constitutional crisis of the 'fifties was a critical turning point in South African history.

Before that, the removal of Cape African voters from the common roll had been a watershed — in the 1930s. When the Nationalists came to power, they inherited a truncated system of African representation — whites representing Africans on a separate roll — which Dr Verwoerd abolished when he announced the Bantustan policy.

Now there is a whites-only Parliament ruling over a population in which most of the people are black and brown and only a minority are white. Inevitably, such a Parliament is not at all responsive to the needs of the African, coloured and Indian population groups.

Accordingly, these population groups have been oppressed and discriminated against, pushed from pillar to post, as it were, and many of their political leaders have been banned, imprisoned or have gone into exile.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen ... grey eminence

In this situation, revolutionary pressures have been building up since the 1960s and there have been outbursts of violence at regular intervals since 1960. No one imagines that such pressures are able to dislodge the government in the foreseeable future, however. The state in South Africa is immensely powerful. It is equipped to ride out prolonged internal disorders without losing control, just so long as no one minds a steadily rising casualty toll.

Which faction

The April election is not going to change anything and everybody knows it. There is some interest in seeing which faction of Afrikaner Nationalism is on the upswing, whether it is the Botha-Viljoen modernists or the HNP traditionalists.

Most analysts believe that the Botha-Viljoen faction will hold its own comfortably against the traditionalists although the HNP may pick up a few seats in the mining areas of the Transvaal. And Dr Connie Mulder may well be returned in his old seat at Randfontein. This would be pretty embarrassing for Mr Botha. But it would mean a minor re-arrangement of the deckchairs on the South African ship of state. The ideological differences between the HNP and the Botha-Viljoen faction are less important than many people think. The rank and file of the HNP and of the National Party in the Transvaal have very similar attitudes, hence Dr Treurnicht's fence-sitting between the two.

All the factions in Nationalist Afrikanerdom share the same goal — the maintenance of Afrikaner hegemony in South Africa. The differences arise in the methods they propose to use to maintain Afrikaner control.

The Botha-Viljoen modernists believe in a sophisticated brand of pragmatic Nationalism which will be prepared to take non-Nationalists under its protective wing and even co-opt some suitably acquiescent coloured people and Asians into the white laager.

Control of SABC

No one expects Mr Botha to lose more than a few seats to the HNP. His control of the SABC is now undisputed and the same goes for the Afrikaans press to a great extent as well. So things are not likely to change very much at the April election.

The campaign will pursue its artificial and rather contrived course. Beneath it all, however, the South African reality will remain, breaking through at intervals to remind us that the African giant is stirring.

The apartheid bureaucracy was at it again this week, mindlessly baiting the giant. There was yet another one of those pass raids at Langa, with Bantu Administration Board inspectors accompanied by riot police going about their miserable business in their own inimitable way, stirring up hatred and resentment of whites.

It may be asking too much to expect these officials to act with gentleness, consideration and courtesy when they knock people up in the small hours of the morning. In the nature of things, it is an ungentle exercise. But is it really necessary to drive people in terror over the rooftops, which is what seems to have happened when a fleeing man fell from the roof of the Langa barracks? When he recovers consciousness, it appears, this hapless individual will be charged under the pass laws with the rest of them.

The operation was commented upon by Mrs Daphne Wilson, regional chairman of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The Institute and the Black Sash have been monitoring the goings-on this week at the Langa barracks and Mrs Wilson has been disgusted by the whole proceeding.

Hounding

She spoke this week of officialdom's hounding of the residents in the barracks in the course of this appalling raid. As she says, it is indeed frightening to think that people should be abused and hounded whose only crime is that they wish to live together as families or to find work to feed their families.

There were other intimations this week of the South African reality, as bands of singing blacks marched down Adderley Street, Cape Town, from the Supreme Court to the railway station and riot police were again deployed in the centre of the city, not only in the townships.

The South African reality is grim. No wonder so many people prefer the soothing syrup of "Dallas" and its accompanying diet of dream and delusion on SABC TV. And no wonder they are bored by an election which offers no real choice to anyone who hopes for change and reform to save South Africa.

left because of redundancy (2)
was fired because of criminal conviction (dagga) (1)
and left for unknown reasons (4).

Note: The figures in brackets total 48, not 44, because some workers listed more than one previous job.

Asked h olve problems, workers said
they went to ked him to make changes.
None wer whether or not he had
complied in t

It is cle t unless demands for change
are backed up ave if no change is made, there
is no reason, ll, why the farmer should make
changes. And , to be effective, require

1) that the able to carry them out -
that he sl eptable alternative
and 2) that his n some loss to the farmer,
either bec difficult to find or because
that parti ard to replace.

These two c basis of any power the
worker might hav g conditions, and require
further study.

1. Alternatives ope

It has been 2-53) that most farm
workers have nev but that there is a degree
of movement from er. The chances of a
worker's finding farm, at an acceptable wage
rate, are linked lons of supply and demand

Robbins.

His book has been declared undesirable on the grounds that it is harmful to the relations between any sections of the inhabitants of South Africa, because it brings a section of South Africans "into ridicule and contempt" and because it is prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or peace and good order.

Also banned yesterday were "Fanny," a book by American poet and outspoken writer Erica Jong, and "Still-life with Woodpecker," the latest book by American author Tom Robbins.

Dr Lambley fled to Britain in 1978 on the day the naked body of his patient, Shirley Jenner, was found in her Clairemont flat.

The book, entitled "The Psychology of Apartheid," was published in England by Secker and Warburg last year.

It puts forward the thesis that English-speaking South Africans are almost as much the victims of the Afrikaner establishment as blacks.

Dr Lambley claimed that his research and samples showed that Afrikaners were more scared of and more prejudiced against English-speaking whites than against blacks.

CAPE TOWN — A book by Dr Peter Lambley, the Cape Town psychologist who fled to England after the mysterious death of one of his patients, has been banned, according to a list released by the Directorate of Publications.

Own Correspondent

Lambley's book on apartheid banned

'Total strategy' has long reach

CT 1473181 327

By DAVID WELSH, Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town.

This is the last part of a three-part article.

IT IS ironic that while government spokesmen proclaim their adherence to the core institutions of the established order, they simultaneously proclaim the need for change and, obliquely, point out the failure of separate development.

A notable case of this occurred in November 1980 when the newly-appointed Minister of National Education (and former head of the Broederbond), Dr G van N Viljoen, said that "the kernel of South Africa's problem was that the answers to the problems of the past are not full answers to problems of the present". He then listed a number of the biggest problems which, he (correctly) said, remain unsolved.

These were: (1) To establish political self-determination for the coloured and Indian groups just as for the whites; (2) to create a forum for political expression for urban blacks; (3) to convince all homeland leaders to accept independence; and (4) to create economic self-sufficiency in the homelands together with social and political separation.

He concluded his speech by saying: "Let us be honest with one another, things have not worked out as we wanted them to. We shall have to adapt and reform our policy in the light of the present reality of our situation."

One is entitled to ask: If these are the failures of separate development where are its successes, and do the government's suggested reforms come anywhere near solving the problems?

I believe that in one respect at least significant change has occurred, and this is what I alluded to right at the beginning of this article: If one compares what political leaders are saying today with what was being said 20 years ago in the heyday of Dr Verwoerd a difference of tone and emphasis is immediately apparent.

Verwoerd was the high priest of separate development, supremely confident of the correctness and viability of his policies and ruling with a heavy hand that tolerated little or no opposition, at least from within his own ranks. Today that attitude and the style of government that went with it has been substantially modified. The crucial factor that has gone is that intangible quality deriving from a mixture of self-confidence, self-righteousness and high morale. There is a defensiveness about the leadership today which one never found in Verwoerd, and a fairly widespread pessimism among whites about their future in South Africa.

In a Rapport poll of white attitudes of May 1980 no fewer than 67,3 percent of Afrikaans-speakers and 76,3 percent of English-speakers (overall 71,1 percent) indicated that they expected war and internal violence. Military chiefs and political leaders have been warning about this for some years and Mr Botha himself has apparently indicated that he believes that a revolution in South Africa is possible.

Obviously South Africa is a good deal more beleaguered and more turbulent now than it was 20 years ago, and the defensiveness is understandable. Mr Botha has defined all these forms of pressure as the "total onslaught", and his response is the "total strategy" which has been officially described as "the comprehensive plan to utilize all the means available to a state according to an integrated pattern in order to achieve the national aims within the framework of the specific policies. A total national strategy is, therefore, not confined to a particular sphere, but is applicable at all levels and to all functions of the state structure."

The same document says that "the resolution of a conflict in the times in which we now live demands interdependent and coordinated action in all fields — military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural, etc".

What this essentially means is that the state will not hesitate to arm itself with whatever powers and take whatever steps it considers necessary to defend itself against the legion of opponents, internal and external, whose activities together make up the total onslaught.

Reading between the lines and looking at some of the implications of the total strategy, one might well reach the conclusion that for "total" one can read "totalitarian". This may be going a bit far if one sticks to technical definition of "totalitarianism" but it seems to me clear that the reach of total strategy will extend into every sphere of society.

Some have seen Mr P W Botha as the de Gaulle in a South African version of the "de Gaulle option'", i.e. the strong man who takes on supreme power to subject an acquiescent society to far-reaching reforms. It could be that there is some truth in this, although I see no evidence for it. De Gaulle, whatever his faults and excuses, had a clear vision, and he knew that France had to get out of Algeria.

I strongly doubt whether Mr Botha possesses anything comparable. Indeed, if one asks the hard questions of whether he understands the gravity of the underlying conflicts in our society and whether he can appreciate what is actually needed if South Africa is to avoid a massive and sustained racial confrontation one has to conclude that the answer is "No".

We are likely to see an election campaign in which the worst possible kind of "swart gevaar" electioneering is used. For Nationalists there can be no excuse that this is an exigency of election time. It is inexcusable and disgusting under any circumstances, but in South Africa in 1981 it carries an added dimension of sheer craziness.

(Concluded)

The machine that stands between PW and change

S. Express 15/8/81 (327)

THE monolithic Transvaal National Party machine, with Dr Andries Treurnicht at the controls, stands between the Prime Minister and any real change he envisages to give Blacks a fairer political deal in South Africa.

The showdown may come soon.

And both sides in the tussle have been preparing themselves for it.

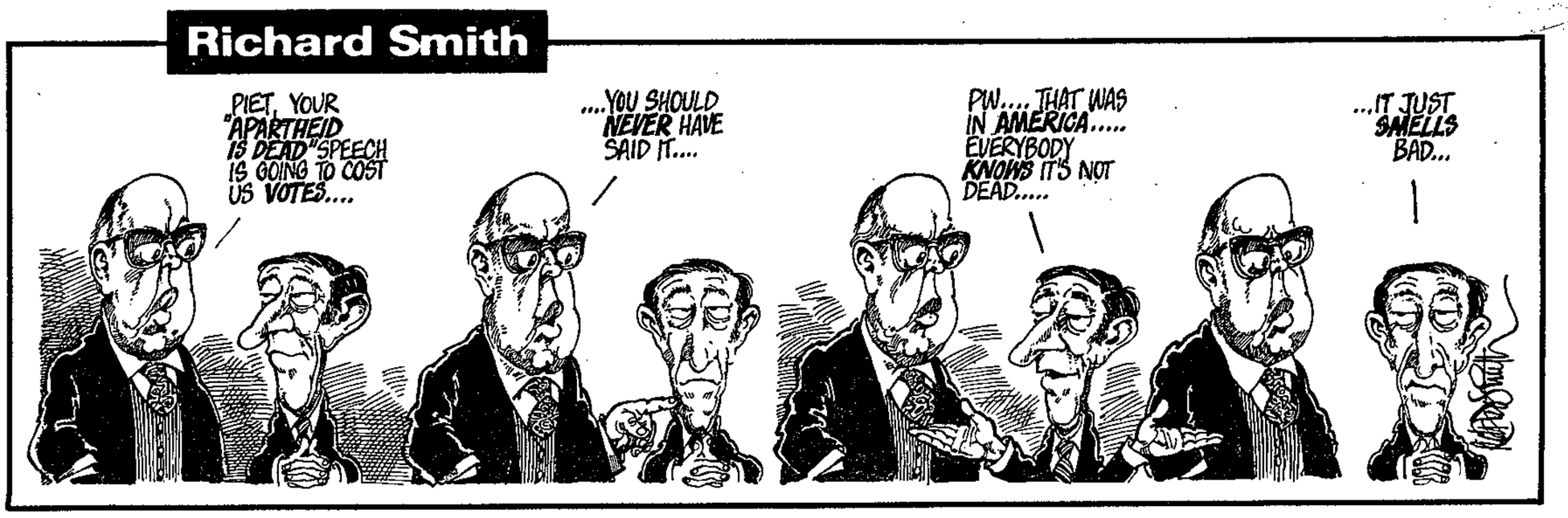
The issue of one Parliament for Coloureds, Whites and Indians is an explosive one in the Nationalist establishment.

The Transvaal leader, Dr Treurnicht, has taken a strong and uncompromising stand against the idea.

Last week Dr Treurnicht told an election meeting in Randfontein that the Government's 1977 proposals for three separate Parliaments still represented official National Party policy.

And at a meeting in his Waterberg constituency this week, Dr Treurnicht expressed the hope that the President's Council would find the 1977 plan the most sensible one.

He said that if the council proposals differed drastically from the official plan the matter would have to go before the NP congresses.





By JOHN BATTERSBY

Political Correspondent



Mulder call for denial

If the congresses rejected the proposals that would be the end of the matter, he said.

Last week the Minister of Water Affairs, Dr Nak van der Merwe, told an NP information meeting in the Free State that anyone who held a referendum over something that had been rejected by a National Party congress "needed his head read.

"If an NP congress rejects it, then it is rejected. Then we begin again from scratch."

At a meeting in the Pretoria City Hall this week the leader of the National Conservative Party, Dr Connie Mulder, stated categorically that Mr Botha was planning to draw Coloureds and Indians into one Parliament with Whites — on separate voters' rolls — and challenged Mr Botha to deny it.

The referendum controversy has raged since Mr Botha's speech at Ladismith last year when he threatened to by-pass opposition in his own ranks by calling a referendum on President's Council proposals which deviated drastically from NP policy.

"If I get stuck, even within my own ranks, I will go to the people," Mr Botha said at Ladismith in the context of seeking approval for far-reaching constitutional proposals.

Mr Botha's remarks were widely interpreted as a strong indication that he intended going over the head of resistance in his Parliamentary caucus and in the verkrampte-dominated Transvaal party machine.



Botha's escape hatch

But during his speech in the No-confidence Debate in January this year Mr Botha made it clear that he would seek NP congress approval for drastic constitutional proposals before resorting to a referendum — which would still help him survive the caucus gauntlet.

However, Mr Botha left himself an important escape hatch from being stymied by an obstructionist Transvaal congress — when he replied to a question across the floor of Parliament by the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Harry Schwarz, who had asked what would happen in the event of the Transvaal congress rejecting proposals.

Mr Botha claimed that there was a laid-down procedure in the NP constitution to deal with a dissenting congress.

Mr Botha's claim threw the warring verligte and verkrampte factions of his party into confusion and fuelled verkrampte suspicion that he might take the unprecedented step of pushing through controversial constitutional change with a majority of provincial congress support, even if one congress rejected the proposals.

Verkrampte Transvaal MPs, who are deeply suspicious of the remark Mr Botha made during that debate — and its implications for the jealously guarded federal/democratic structure of the party — insist that there is no provision for such procedure in the constitution and that neither the Federal Council of the party nor a national congress could be used to force a dissenting province to conform.

They say that both the Federal Council and a national congress can only reach advisory decisons and that the autonomy of each of the four provincial congresses is unambiguously and jealously protected in the constitution.

"There is no precedent of which I am aware where one congress goes against a proposal approved by the other three congresses," one verkrampte Transvaal MP told the Sunday Express.

"And there is definitely no provision in the National Party constitution to force the dissenting congress to conform," he said.

Meanwhile the pro-Botha camp has gone on the defensive over the issue, with verligte MPs reluctant to put an interpretation on the Prime Minister's remarks.

Mr Botha told Mr Schwarz there was a prescribed procedure to be followed if one congress differed from the others. . .

Mr Schwarz: Yes, then you go to the Federal Council.
Mr Botha: No. The Federal Council is purely advisory.
Mr Schwarz: If I am wrong, then give me the answer.
Mr Botha: In the constitution of the party there is a prescribed procedure which the honourable member can come and sort out with me. It is spelled out how the work of the congresses differ. It is prescribed what must be done until agreement is reached.
Mr Schwarz: Tell me what it is.
Mr Botha: I am busy with other things now.
Mr Schwarz: Andries (Treurnicht) has a veto right.

Amid loud interjections the Prime Minister then glanced across at the Minister of Internal Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, who appeared to be mouthing something.
Mr Botha: I can assure the honourable member that as I know our congresses they have very seldom, if ever, differed substantially on matters of extreme importance. There is, among other things, one thing that can be done and that is to call a national (uniale) congress and talk out the matter until agreement is reached.

Mr Schwarz told the Sunday Express he had taken the matter up with the Prime Minister privately and had received a reply which was confidential.

"I am therefore unable to say anything further on the matter."

Senior Nationalists with an intimate knowledge of the party constitution are reluctant to discuss the matter.



National meeting unusual

A pro-Treurnicht Transvaal MP pointed out that the summoning of a national congress was a highly unusual step and had never been used to force agreement on a controversial proposal.

Meanwhile the Sunday Express has studied the constitution of the Cape National Party and can find no reference to a laid down procedure to deal with a situation where provincial congresses cannot reach agreement on an important issue.

Article 81 of the constitution states that the head council (hoofraad) of the party can organise a national (landswye) congress in the Cape or elsewhere in the Republic with other NP organisations or people but the decisions taken at such a congress will not be binding unless approved by the (Cape) congress.

In Appendix 10 of the constitution of the Federal Council of the party, it is spelt out.

Under the heading "Functions", in paragraph 6.8 it states that the council can organise national (landswye) congresses which can have only an advisory function on party or "volk" matters.

It also stipulates that the agreement of the executives of the head councils of the four provinces must be obtained on a time and procedure for such a congress.



Unlikely PM will succeed

The final paragraph of the Federal Council constitution under the heading "Autonomy of Provincial Organisations" reads:

"Nothing contained in these articles shall be interpreted as in any way affecting or detracting from the principle of the separate and autonomous existence of the provincial organisations."

A comparison with the constitution of the Transvaal National Party reveals that although the wording is not identical, essentially the same principles are enshrined in it.

It is quite clear the only way Mr Botha could "deal" with a dissenting congress would be to override it on the basis of a straight three-to-one majority, or to call a national congress, broadening the area of consensus by drawing the support of Botha-loyalists in the Transvaal.

It would be an unprecedented step, essentially in conflict with the party's federal structure.

And it is clear from the final NP nomination results announced this week that Mr Botha is not likely to substantially improve his position in the caucus after the Election and would almost certainly be unable to push through drastic proposals.

Treurnicht in control of the congress that could halt PM's plans

KIDNAP CAPER ON THE SWAZI BORDER

S. Tribune 15/3/81

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RIGHT-WING GROUP SEIZES REFUGEE — AND THEN DELIVERS HIM TO THE S.A.P.

Tribune Reporters and Tribune Africa News Service

SOUTH AFRICAN refugee Daya Pillay was the victim of right-wing members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement who abducted him in Swaziland and then handed him to police in the Transvaal because they didn't know what to do with him.

A Sunday Tribune probe this week discloses that Durban-born Mr Pillay, 35, was suspected by the MRM of being involved in terrorist activities.

After kidnapping him from his home at St Joseph's Mission School near Manzini they turned him over to police at Oshoek border post and [illegible] captors told him not to [illegible] Press about [illegible] question him in Swaziland.



DAYA PILLAY
They hit me

After a week he was taken to a police station, where he was kept in a cell for two weeks. He was well treated.

On Tuesday night he was put in a car and driven for what he estimated was about three hours. Then he was blindfolded and put in the boot of the car. After a short drive he was returned to the back

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against South Africa.

The SAP held and questioned Mr Pillay at length, but released him when it was found he was not involved in terrorist activities. It is understood that his kidnappers then took him back over the border and released him near Mbabane.

Lieut-Colonel Leon Mellet, of the SAP's directorate of public relations, said police were not involved in any way with Mr Pillay's amazing adventure and made it plain they had no further interest in him.

"Mr Pillay was brought to us and certain allegations were made against him. Naturally we investigated these and he was questioned in this regard.

"When it was established that the allegations were unfounded, Mr Pillay was released."

In an interview at his home Mr Pillay told the **Sunday Tribune** of the events after his kidnap.

Mr Pillay said he was moved to several places after being taken across a fence that he thinks marked the border. He is convinced that all of these places were in South Africa.

At one stage he was kept in a police cell and later was allowed to make telephone calls "home" from another police station that he thinks was at Ermelo.

Mr Pillay said that by "home" he did not mean his house in Swaziland but he declined to identify the place or people he telephoned.

Mr Pillay said he was blindfolded for much of the time. He was reluctant to give details because his it to those who had worried about his disappearance to tell some of the story.

He was abducted, he said, by three Mozambic- and two South Africans who were either blacks or coloureds. They seized him inside his house at St Joseph's Mission School on the night of February 19 and threatened to shoot him if he resisted.

"They called me a terrorist," he said. "I kicked and screamed to get as much attention from my neighbours as possible, but they forced me into a car and then punched and hit me.

"They pushed my head on to their laps so I could not see where the car was going but I don't doubt that we passed through Manzini and then Mbabane."

Mr Pillay said the car stopped on a road near a fence he thought was close to the Oshoek border post. He was thrown over the fence, blindfolded and put in the boot of another car, which he had seen standing some distance away

Still blindfolded, he was driven for about 24 hours, with two stops where he was taken inside buildings, he said. He was given nothing to eat or drink.

The blindfold was taken off on Friday night in a house where he was interrogated by white South Africans, he said.

Mr Pillay said he was asked about other refugees in Swaziland and his activities there. At one stage he was told that the abduction had been a mistake and that the intention had been only to

was left on the roadside and when he got the blindfold off found he was near Mbabane. He hitched a lift to St Joseph's Mission.

Mr Pillay said he had been visited by ANC representatives after his return to Swaziland. He said he was sympathetic to the aims of the ANC but "I am not made for that sort of military world."

Four men were arrested at Manzini the day after staff at St Joseph's Mission said they saw Mr Pillay being abducted and noted the numbers of the two South African-registered cars involved.

The men have appeared in court on charges said by police to be connected with the abduction and have been released on bail of R800. The proceedings were in camera and police have refused to identify the men.

The Durban family of Mr Pillay are in Manzini today, visiting the self-exiled refugee.

The Pillays will also visit another member of the family, 29-year-old Visvanathan Pillay, who skipped the country with Mr Daya Pillay and another Merebank man, Krish Rabibal. Mr Rabibal was one of the 12 ANC members killed in the Maputo raid by the South African Defence Force.

The family want the two Pillays to return to South Africa but this is not possible. Both are registered with the United Nations as refugees.

The younger brother, Vis Pillay, is a member of the banned African National Congress but Mr Daya Pillay is not.

Back page Tribune Finance

PW'S SECRET PLAN TO OUTWIT RIGHT

S. Express 15/3/81 (327)



● P W Botha ... protecting himself against Transvaal hardliners

THE Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, is keeping under wraps a secret contingency plan to prevent the verkrampte-dominated Transvaal party machine of Dr Andries Treurnicht from blocking key aspects of his constitutional reform programme.

The Sunday Express can disclose today that, although there have been strenuous attempts to obscure and even distort the fact, Mr Botha is grimly determined to call a national referendum if the Transvaal National Party congress stands in the way of proposals to draw the Coloured and Indian groups into a unitary parliamentary system with Whites.

This is despite claims by two Cabinet Ministers in the past fortnight that NP congresses would have the final say in any drastic Constitutional deviations proposed by the President's Council.

By JOHN BATTERSBY
Political Correspondent

The Sunday Express has discovered that Mr Botha will go ahead with a national referendum if he can get the support of the Cape, Natal, and Free State congresses of his party.

If Mr Botha then succeeded in getting the backing of the White electorate — and the Coloured and Indian electorates on separate rolls — he would have substantial backing to push far-reaching proposals through his conservative parliamentary caucus.

And he would use such support to smash any opposition to his plans by the Transvaal, which is by far the most powerful of the provincial Parties.

The showdown could come over suggestions of one Parliament for Coloureds, Whites and Indians. The Transvaal leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has made it quite clear that he would not accept the idea.

He has said publicly that any proposals which differ drastically

● To Page 3

PW plans referendum

From Page 1

drastically from the official constitutional plan put forward by the NP in 1977 would have to be put to the party's provincial congresses first.

And, almost certainly with the intention of pre-empting any move by the PM to go over the heads of the provincial congresses, Dr Treurnicht has stated that if the congresses rejected the proposals, that would be the end of them.

The Minister of Water Affairs, Dr Nak van der Merwe, has also told a meeting that anyone who held a referendum over something that had been rejected by a National Party congress "needed his head read".

"If an NP congress rejects it, then it is rejected," he said.

But top-level conservative Nationalists are nevertheless deeply concerned, particularly over replies Mr Botha gave Mr Harry Schwarz on what would happen if a single congress opposed proposals for constitutional change.

The PM's replies did not clarify the issue, but they left him the escape hatch in case of Provincial opposition — the referendum.

● Pages 22 /23: The Machine that stands between PW and change.

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS,
Division of .....
Beattie Building,
Rondebosch.
7700

Broederbond is a service organisation. As such, it serves the country, its people — it's an Afrikaner organisation so, in the main, it serves Afrikaners and their future.

QUESTION: So, if I understand you correctly, the issue is of Afrikaner development and growth? That's one of the goals of the Broederbond?

ANSWER; Yes. Afrikaner culture is a small culture in a big world and, if you don't take measures to ensure that this small culture retains its character in the big world, then it disappears.

Question: So, in terms of your reply, do you then rule out the possibility of 'jobs for pals' in pursuit of that policy?

ANSWER: I don't think there is any other criterion other than merit. No person is promoted beyond his merits. The organisation does not have the power to decide who is to be appointed to the highest position in their field.

QUESTION: But one understands that one Broederbond mode of operation is to ensure infiltration both in the greatest degree and number into positions of power. Let us look at the civil service as an example. One of the charges made against the Broederbond is that, if there is a broeder director general of a State department, he will try to ensure that his successor and senior officials are also broeders. Now, as I understand Mr Giel de Wet, he's saying that other non-broeder officials, who may be highly competent, don't get the chances they deserve on merit. In this way does the Broederbond modus operandi not open itself to "jobs for pals?"

ANSWER: I known nothing of such an effort. I know of no such attempt to penetrate in such a way.

QUESTION: Another of the charges is that the Broederbond has divided Afrikanerdom into "first class" Afrikaners (Broeders) and "second class" Afrikaners (non-Broeders).

ANSWER: As far as I know, the Afrikaner Broederbond is a small organisation. It has only a few thousand members, while the Afrikaner people comprise three-million people. So, to talk of division between Afrikaners (for this reason) is not a debate. The Broederbond is a small group of people working in committee.

QUESTION: Mr Giel de Wet also told our reporter, Willian Saunderson Meyer, that the Broederbond is part of an attempt to undermine the position of the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha.

ANSWER: I know nothing of that.

QUESTION: What is your opinion of the decision by 15 schools on the East Rand not to participate in this year's Craven Week, apparently because of the partcipation of coloured schoolboys?

ANSWER: This is a private mattter in which the headmasters' right to exercise their choice applied. And it is therefore a matter over which those headmasters were answerable to their communities of parents. That's why I do not involve myself in it.



Carel Boshoff . . . the white man works for his own existence . . .

QUESTION: You must be aware that the interpretation of the headmasters' decision, both in the English Press and in certain sections of the Afrikaans Press, has been that it exhibits racism — that the only reason for the schools non-participation is the presence of coloured children. At this delicate stage in political and institutional developments in this country, do you think the country can afford this kind of...?

ANSWER: I see the matter differently, actually. The Minister gave the schools the right to choose. Now, you can't give them the right to choose and then accuse them over the choice they have made. If you give them the right to choose, then you must also give them the right, in accordance with their convictions (oortuigings), to exercise their choice. Otherwise it makes no sense to give them the choice.

QUESTION: Do you, also, "take your hat off" to the headmasters?

ANSWER: (laughter): That's a private matter ... that's a private matter.

QUESTION: Are you aware of basic differences of outlook which have developed in the National Party?

ANSWER: I reckon that, between Afrikaner members, there's a lot of exchange of thought on the way in which the practical politics must be worked out. But, I believe that, in the eventual goals, there isn't a difference. It's a question of the way in which the goal is reached. On this, there are differences.

QUESTION: Do you think these differences are serious?

ANSWER: It may become serious. It may become serious.

QUESTION: Do you expect it to become serious?

ANSWER: Not at this moment.

QUESTION: Then how would you like to see the principles of the National Party worked out in practice?

ANSWER: Well, my principle is that we have in South Africa different nations, and, if we cannot provide for the needs of the different nations, (if we cannot allow) everyone of them to reach out for independence and, instead, try to mix everyone up in a kind of common society, we are heading for disaster. Therefore, I think all we should try to do is to make it possible for the different nations to live alongside each other, working together on common concerns, with each having power of sovereignty over its own affairs.

QUSTION: Would you include the coloureds in that?

ANSWER: I think the coloureds will also in their own way have to get control over their own affairs. And in affairs of common interest (gemeenskaplike sake), be able to deal with the whites. As I see it, we should make it possible for the coloureds to decide on their own affairs and also to have opportunities for co-operation with the whites in matters of common interest.

QUESTION: Do you think the black African people should have the same opportunities to co-operate with the whites as the coloureds?

ANSWER: I'm in favour of a commonwealth of states, of nations in South Arfica. This commonweolth will make it possible for the different black nations to take part in discussions and also to have structures in which they can meet to sort out their problems of common concern. So, I think we will have a kind of commonwealth of nations comprising the Republic of South Africa and the different black nations.

'The Broederbond does not have to busy itself with trying to justify itself and try to get public sympathy or support'

THE THOUGHTS OF CHAIRMAN CAREL

S. Tribune 15/3/81 (327)

Howard Barrell interviews the Broeder boss



HIS lips move silently as he reads last week's Sunday Tribune article listing the objections to the Broederbond made by retiring National Party MP for Welkom, Mr Giel de Wet.

A distinctly Pretorian (or is it Praetorian), anti-septic secretary has just hosted my short wait, and I am now seated in the Pretoria University office of the Hyper-afrikaner himself, Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of Afrikanerdom's secret elite, the Broederbond.

Carel Boshoff doesn't seem particularly forceful. Instead, he is courteous and mild-mannered.

I've been promised ten minutes. We move into the interview. It's being conducted on the understanding that he is chairman of the Broederbond's executive.

That must be the Sunday Tribune's assumption, he says. And, he adds, it must be understood that he is not making any statements on behalf of the Broederbond.

A committee table to his right, an imposing set of academic gowns to his left, he rumbles through his carefully considered replies. Here and there he evades, but, more often than not the difference in terms of reference between the questions and his outlook makes dialogue difficult.

The liberal is come into the presence: Professor Carel Boshoff is a very approachable man.

Why this openness on the part of this master of our master? Is it a strategy? Or, merely, that Carel Boshoff is a friendly, modest man?

But, before that becomes clear, our 10 minutes has extended into 45 and he has allowed the Sunday Tribune to make him late for his next appointment in central Pretoria.

"We must talk more. We haven't really got to basics yet," are his last words.

QUESTION: How do you react to the recent attacks on the Broederbond by Mr Giel de Wet, MP for Welkom, and others?

ANSWER: My point of departure is that these attacks have been made by people who have reached their own conclusions, who have formed their own private opinions. The grounds on which these people have formed their opinions, they alone know. I don't know if they got their information from members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. It also doesn't matter to me. The Broederbond does not have to busy itself with trying to justify itself and try to get public sympathy or support. It is an organisation based on principle and it tries to live out that principle.

QUESTION: I take it then you do not agree with the opinions of Mr Giel de Wet?

ANSWER: Yes, well, that speaks for itself. I reject the accusations made against the Broederbond.

QUESTION: Well, let's look at one or two of the charges. Mr de Wet says that the Broederbond promotes "baantjies vir boeties" (jobs for pals). What is your opinion of that charge?

ANSWER: The

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff is the dean of the Theological and Missionary Science Faculty at Pretoria University. He is also the leader of the Broederbond, Afrikanerdom's most shadowy and powerful enclave. This week, with a general election closing in, Afrikanerdom riven by dissent on its right wing and the Broederbond itself under fire from some fellow Afrikaners and nationalists like retiring Welkom MP Giel de Wet for its exclusivism, Professor Boshoff agreed to an interview with the **Sunday Tribune's** Howard Barrell.

within the Republic of South Africa, you will have structures for whites and coloureds and Indians to work out their common concerns.

QUESTION: So the Republic of South Africa would include only whites, coloureds and Indians, the black African people will be members of other "national states," and the various 'states' would meet on matters of common concern?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: If it were to be decided that the coloureds should be Members of Parliament, what would your attitude be?

ANSWER: Well, I think that's not been worked out yet. The implications have not yet been worked out. So I would be very reluctant to say anything on that at this moment.

QUESTION: When will the implications have been worked out?

ANSWER: The President's Council is working on it and the different organisations, like the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (Sabra), are also working on this. And Sabra will give testimony to the President's Council to help the council to come to conclusions.

QUESTION: A lot has been writtten about Oranje (Sabra's ideal of a whites-only growth point on the banks of the Orange River, whose guiding spirit at this stage is Dominee Hendrik Verwoerd, son of the former South African Prime Minister) There's been a lot of laughter over it as well. How serious are you about this idea of a whites only . . .?

ANSWER: Yes. I think the caricature of Oranje is ridiculous. But I think the principle of white growth points — as part of regional development — is quite reasonable. You see, in this policy of regional development, you'll have co-operation between the whites and the blacks, between whites and coloureds, and then you may also have development of black communities in their own national states where you'll have black growth points. The white growth points will not be pieces of land somewhere where you try to create a white homeland. White growth points are just practical planning for the establishment of the Republic as an area where you have the whites in power and where you want it possible for them to maintain power.

QUESTION: Last year you spoke out against economic integration, which must lead, you said, to racial integration. Do you still hold that viewpoint.

ANSWER: I make the distinction between economic integration and economic co-operation. If we have economic integration in the sense that the national states have not got an economic base for their own government, I don't think it makes sense. On the other hand, if those black governments also have an economic base for their political power, then there are opportunities for co-operation, and then one has the ideal situation where we work together but in distinct unities. You see, in a certain sense, I think the whole world is economically integrated. But then you have the different states taking responsibility for the economic base on which they build their political power. And we need that also. Otherwise we will have an open community where national unities are going to clash.

QUESTION: Why do you fear an open society so?

ANSWER: I think it will lead to a politically unitary state. And a unitary state is not possible in the diversity of South Africa.

QUESTION: Other people say separate development is not feasible in South Africa and that we are drifting towards a revolutionary war as a result of separate development.

ANSWER: Yes, well, it's a matter of working for the solution for South Africa. A unitary state will certainly lead to a confrontation between nations in South Africa. And I think the recognition of the different nations and planning for their self expression and self-determination makes it possible to create something through which we can work together and co-operate. But with a politically unitary state, with one-man-one-vote, it's just not possible to maintain peace or stability.

QUESTION: That last statement of yours is a proposition, I take it. You have no grounds or evidence for making it.

ANSWER: Yes, I've seen it for the last 25 years in Africa: Zimbabwe, Angola, Nigeria, Burundi, the Congo.

QUESTION: Are there not other explanations for the conflicts in those countries?

ANSWER: Yes, I think the ethnic reality has not been taken into account.

QUESTION: Acknowledging that ethnic reality then, are there not other factors such as colonial economic exploitation.

ANSWER: Yes but I think the real explanation of colonial powers' (behaviour) is that they took what they wanted as long as they could and then left people in the situation where it was impossible for them to create stability because the colonial powers had not taken into consideration the reality of ethnic groups.

QUESTION: As a reporter in black politics, I foresee that more and more black youths will leave the country for military training and come back to fight for a unitary state.

ANSWER: Yes, if we haven't a clear future view and ideal for a person to work towards. I think we can create an ideal for black and white youth to work for and support. Therefore, I think we should hurry up, we should create this commonwealth and make it something to live for and work for.

QUESTION: You say "we — the whites, I take it — will be able to give the people an ideal to live for.

ANSWER: The leaders of the nations.

QUESTION: You are probably aware — though you may not agree — that a large portion of black people, probably the majority, hold no truck at all, and give no support to the leaders of what you call the "national states". As I understand it, people are leaving the country to return and fight because they feel they are being denied the right to self-determination. The way to achieving that self-determination is by returning with an AK 47 and shooting until they win the right. How are you and other leaders in the present power structure going to absorb these people into this ideal commonwealth you visualise?

ANSWER: Well firstly, I'm not sure that black leaders (of the national states) haven't got support and stature among the black people. I think a number of the ethnic groups recognise their leaders. don't think we can create the whole future according to the minority in, say, the urban areas. I think that, even in the urban areas, people like Chief (Gatsha) Buthelezi, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Dr Cedric Phatudi have got great influence. And I think it is because we have not yet had a clear picture of this commonwealth that people presume that this thing (is intended) to separate them from the wealth of the country, from development, leaving them in poor, backward mini-states dependent on the white republic as a kind of boss country or a boss state. I think the whole caricature of apartheid which has been put to people is not the real ideal of peoples living together.

QUESTION: Ethnic elections for specific "national states", elections in which groups such as the African National Congress have not been allowed or able to participate, are not seen as any mandate from black people for attempts by the Government and homeland leaders to split South Africa up into a commonwealth. Why is it that you find it impossible to agree to a referendum in which all parties, legal or presently banned, can organise and express their opinion on the constitutional future of South Africa?

ANSWER: No. I think there's no clear picture of what they will be asked to vote for. I think that, when you call people to air their views, you should have a clear picture of what their different options are. Before we have sorted out the future of this country for all its inhabitants. I don't think it's possible to let people en masse to decide on the outcome.

QUESTION: So, then we have the minority, which doesn't know where it is taking the nation, deciding for the majority how it is going to stumble through the darkness. (Laughter). Would it not be better to have the whole country decide how it is going to stumble through the darkness of the next few years or more?

ANSWER: If you refer to the minority as the whites, don't think they don't know where they are going. In the first place, they plan for the survival of the whites in South Africa in such a way as to maintain their standard of living and their standards, contribute to the country as a whole and towards the establishment of governments and self-determination for the different ethnic groups in South Africa.

QUESTION: Are you aware of anybody in black politics who is saying that the whites should not be allowed to survive, to contribute to the country as a whole?

ANSWER: It's not a matter of survival only, you know. Survival is quite possible in a kind of personal isolated form of existence. But the survival of a nation, as the Afrikaner nation sees it, is a matter of self-determination also.

Question: Well, what you say in effect does not sound any different from baasskap.

We, the white race in South Africa, or we the Afrikaner, arrogate it to ourselves to decide how a nation of 24 to 30 million people are going to live for the next five years and possibly thereafter, and we will brook no interference in our right to make that decision.

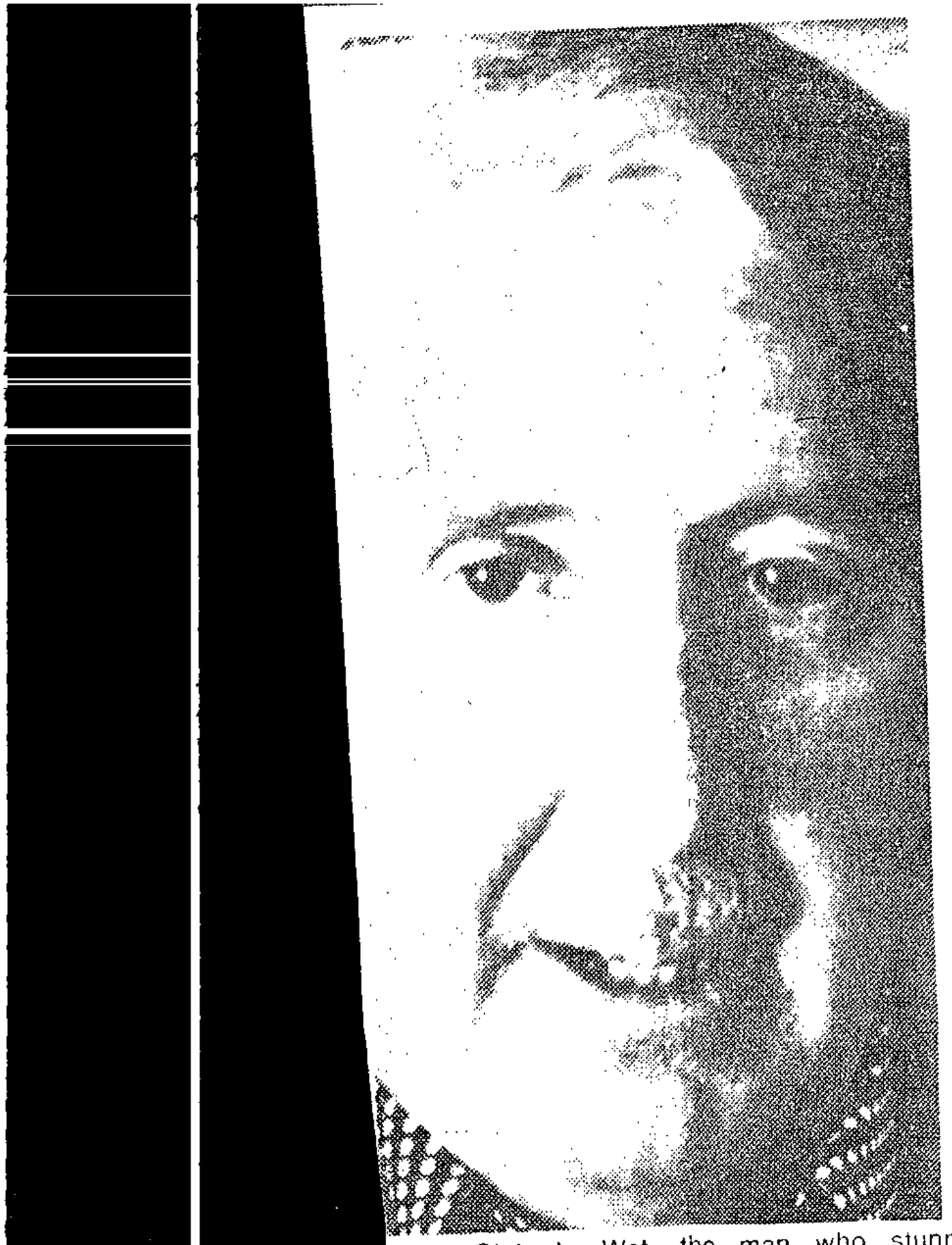
ANSWER: I think that the white man works for his own existence and self-determination and to make it possible for the black nations to reach the same. If they decide to become one nation — say the Ciskei and Transkei decide to join up, or KwaZulu and Kwa Ngwane decide, it is not for us to forbid it. So it's not a matter of prescribing the way in which other nations should conduct their future. It's just that the whites are working for their own self-determination and for other nations to do the same. And there is no Baasskap in that.

QUESTION: But given effective white control of power, given the white occupation of the best land, the land already industrialised and with the necessary infrastructure, is it not inevitable that the commonwealth you envisage will be dominated by a white baas nation?

ANSWER: Well, I see it in this way. What is established will be through financial power. That we have developed into only four centres of wealth is perhaps the major source of our problem. That's the real reason for our discomfort. If we can now in this commonwealth, create a development bank and work together in developing growth points, then I think we can distribute our manpower and our finance more in terms of the needs of the country.

QUESTION: But does this not conflict with the free enterprise ethic of the Prime Minister and the views of his economic adviser, Dr Simon Brand, on decentralisation?

ANSWER: No, there is no conflict. It makes it possible for free enterprise to decentralise and bring more opportunities into existence.



Giel de Wet, the man who stunned Parliament with his attack on the Broederbond

Chetty: I've got nothing to say

2/4/81

5 Extras

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5/3/81

Report and picture:
DESMOND BLOW
Chief Reporter

GABORONE — Mr Shun Chetty, the Johannesburg attorney who fled South Africa 20 months ago, slipped into Botswano 10 days ago to see members of his family and make arrangements with an advocate to pay his debts.

Mr Chetty, who was struck off the role of attorneys for unprofessional conduct, owes over R40 000 to advocates. He also owes a travel agent about R3 500.

He came to prominence as defence attorney in some of the country's most dramatic trials. He was due to appear before the Law Society a couple of days before he fled the country, but failed to do so and did not give any explanation.

I understand that when his advocate, Mr Ernest Wenzel SC, left him last Tuesday morning, he had with him an affidavit which Mr Chetty hopes will clear his name. But Mr Chetty is likely to still have difficulty explaining why he left his clients in the lurch when he fled the country.

He and his wife, Fazela, spent five days seeing members of their families. He had discussions for four days with Mr Wentzel and attorney Mr Norman Kades. On Wednesday the couple began their trip back to Bangkok, where Mr Chetty is employed by the United Nations International Commission of Refugees.

Mr Chetty refused to speak to White journalists while in Gaborone because of what he terms the "adverse publicity" he received from the English-language Press when he left the country in August 1979.

"I have nothing to say," he told me when he answered the door of his room at the Holiday Inn. The room was booked in the name of Dr M R Varachia, his wife's maiden name.

Asked whether he wanted to reply to the publicity he had received, he said "I know more than anyone what adverse publicity I have had, but I have nothing to say."



● Shun Chetty on his way out of Botswana

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

(WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE)

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS,
Division of .....
Beattie Building,
Rondebosch,
7700

TELEPHONE: 69-8531, Ext. 117

In reply please quote .....

FOUND: The map behind the Sasol blast

S Times 15/3/81 (5'A) 218 327

ANC DOCUMENTS SEIZED AT MATOLA PROVE LINKS WITH BOTH CUBANS AND THE PLO

DETAILS of ANC planning for the attacks last June on the Natref refinery at Sasolburg have been found on copies of a large-scale map captured by South African forces during the Matola raid into Mozambique on January 30.

By NEIL HOOPER

Arrows marked on the map show the line of attack on both installations, and a dotted line marked "retreat" shows the routes taken by both attacking units to a joint "pick-up point".

The map is among several documents captured from ANC headquarters in Mozambique and supplied to the Sunday Times by South African Military Intelligence.

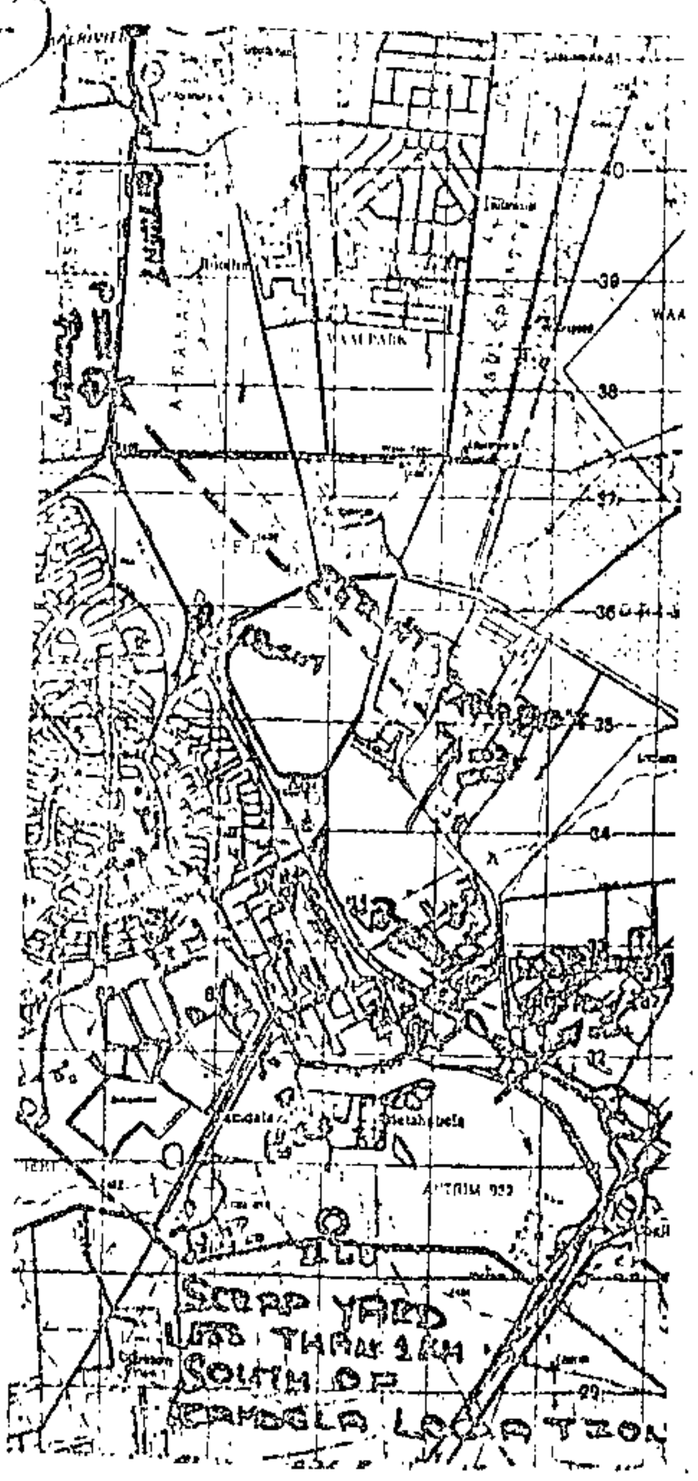
The information supports claims that the ANC and its deputy military commander, Mr Joe Slovo, maintain ties with the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Cuban intelligence. The President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, met Cuba's Fidel Castro in 1978.

Elaborating on these ties, Maj-Gen Johann Coetzee, head of the Security Branch, said in an interview that it had been established that Eumelio Rodriguez, 37, a top Cuban agent of Cuban intelligence (DGI), had been acting as the contact between the ANC and the PLO.

"DGI (Intelligence) and DSE (Security) operations are both now controlled by the Cuban Ministry of the Interior. The Africa Desk officer is Guillermo Garcia," Gen Coetzee said.

"The biggest Cuban intelligence operation in Africa is run from Freetown, Sierra Leone. The operation there fell under the ambassador, who until recently was Alfonso Perdomo, 49, who is also a DGI officer. There is a large amount of intelligence traffic between Freetown and Maputo, Salisbury and Luanda," he said.

The Cuban agents have been sent to Mozambique as surrogates for the Soviets to monitor the Mozambique intelligence network, SNASP (National Service of Public Security) with headquarters in a building known as "Twin Towers" in Maputo.



The captured document: Lines of attack and retreat lead to and from the two Sasol targets

Codename

Apart from Rodriguez, South African intelligence has also identified two other top Cuban DGI agents operating in Africa and who have made regular visits to Maputo.

One is Sergio Nunez, 40 — he uses the codename "Aldo" — who was last seen in Maputo in October last year. In intelligence circles he is considered a "whizzkid" in gathering technical intelligence.

The second is Oscar Blackstock, 35, who is now in Maputo after working for the DGI headquarters in Freetown.

His present responsibilities are to co-ordinate the activities of the SNASP head in Salisbury, Antonio da Rocha.

Gen Coetzee said that apart from spying on South Africa, Da Rocha's main operation in Zimbabwe was to mount a covert operation to support a "socialist revolution" which the Cubans (with Soviet backing) hope will topple Mr Mugabe's government and bring Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU party to power.

The third Cuban agent, Eumelio Rodriguez — the contact between the ANC and the PLO — is said to have been involved with Castro's Cuban forces since the age of 15.

The captured documents given to the Sunday Times are:

- Two copies of the map.
- Two pamphlets, one in Portuguese and one in English, published in connection with a 1979 conference in Lisbon in support of the PLO. An article mentions in passing that the ANC helped in planning the conference, and that members of the planning secretariat met the leader of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma.
- A photograph, taken at the conference, of PLO leader, Yassir Arafat, on a platform with a Portuguese member of the same planning secretariat.

Mandela 'can go to Transkei'

Own Correspondent

NAIROBI. — A Kenya newspaper editor says he has been told by President Kaiser Matanzima of Transkei that ANC leader Nelson Mandela, will be freed from jail on Robben Island as soon as he agrees to get out of South Africa and settle in Transkei.

Mr Michael Nabukua, editor of the Standard in Nairobi, says he was told that an agreement to this effect had been reached between South African and Transkei.

Mr Kabugua, who recently interviewed several cabinet ministers in South Africa, said Chief Matanzima told him about the alleged agreement in an interview in Umtata.

President Matanzima had said he was still waiting for Mr Mandela's reply.

Mr Kabugua quotes Chief Matanzima as saying: "I approached South African leaders, pointing out to them that Nelson Mandela was from the Transkei and that since Transkei had become independent South Africa had no right to keep him in their jails."

This applied to all other political prisoners in South African jails who originated from what is now Transkei, Chief Matanzima said.

In the same issue, the standard says in an editorial that there is no such thing as a republic of Transkei since it has never been recognised by any state (other than South Africa) and Mr Mandela should be free to go anywhere.

bonus was calculated according to the number of days worked during the year. Of these,

3 fell into the R20,01 to R25 range,
8 fell into the R25,01 to R30 range,
4 fell into the R30,01 to R35 range,
8 fell into the R35,01 to R40 range, and
1 fell into the > R40 range

during a full working year.

In addition, one worker received a fixed percentage (one percent) of the farmer's income at the annual yearling sales, said by th[illegible]t to R400 in a good year. Workers, both tho[illegible] hunting and others, could earn additional b[illegible] those animals classified by farmers as 'ver[illegible]rs'. At the time of this survey, farme[illegible]om R10 to R20 for the pelt of a lynx or r[illegible]o R1 for the pelt of a silver jackal or g[illegible]or a dassie pelt. One professional hunte[illegible] this way, apart from his cash wages, last y[illegible]

(c) Wages in kind.

An attempt was [illegible] payments in kind made to workers and to [illegible]tive' value to as many of them as possibl[illegible] exceptions are housing and firewood, which[illegible]cluded in the calculations.

The main items [illegible]rs were: meat, milk,

Lack of protest deplored

It was astonishing that the proposed compulsory fingerprinting and documentation had aroused so little public protest among whites, said the national vice president of Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan.

In a paper on Fingerprinting — Total Strategy and Total Control, Mrs Duncan said: "Some people seem to think it will serve white South Africans right to be subjected to pass laws and to the same indignities and controls which have been suffered by black people for so long.

"This argument fails to take into account that the extension of fingerprinting and control to all groups in a sense legitimises and entrenches the fingerprinting of Africans, because it can no longer be fought on the grounds that it is discriminatory."

She said the extension of the system would not mean any less harassment of blacks who would be "increasingly victimised."

The consent of whites to these increased controls meant further power for "bureaucrats who in the name of the State are already much too powerful."

Weekend services to mark Sharpeville

Services to commemorate the 21st anniversary of the shootings at Sharpeville have been planned for various centres on the Reef with the biggest at the St Francis Anglican Church in Rockville, Soweto, on Sunday at 2 pm.

The Johannesburg West Branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) will hold a service at the Bosmont Methodist Church in Hexarivierberg Avenue on Saturday at 3 pm and the Solidarity Front at the Jiswa Centre in Lenasia on Saturday at 2 pm.

On Sunday the Pretoria branch of Cosas will meet at the Anglican Church in Mabopane, at 1 pm and in Atteridgeville at the Anglican Church in the afternoon.

Cosas plan a service on Saturday afternoon at the Alexandra NGK in Afrika and the Kwa Thema, Springs, branch at the St Barnabas Church, also on Saturday afternoon.

A service in Soweto on Friday evening will be at a venue still to be announced with another at the Dube Y on Saturday evening.

Plans to boycott Republic Day festivities

STAR 17/3/61

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) held an emergency meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend and decided to form parent-teacher committees to plan anti-Republic Day festivities.

It called on the community to boycott all celebrations because "we cannot celebrate our oppression" and resolved to hold regular prayer meetings between now and Republic Day "to explain to the people all the incidents that have happened during the last 20 years."

On examination fees being increased for matric and junior certificate the meeting said it condemned "this exploitation of students by the racist regime. We see this as a way of chasing students away from schools to join industry where they will be more exploited."

Cosas said it was not surprised by the "cool" stand taken by teachers because they knew they were benefiting from the recent increases: "Their salaries have been increased on condition that they co-operate in exploiting their own children."

Cosas asked the students not to pay the increased fees and the teachers not to demand such fees.

The Republic Day festivities, planned to commemorate the severing of ties by South Africa with the Commonwealth 20 years ago, also came in for sharp criticism.

"We cannot celebrate our own oppression and it is important for our people to understand that since South Africa became a republic in 1961 the black people have been subjected to repressive laws."

Cosas is the second national organisation to boycott Republic Day festivities. The first was the South African Council of Churches.

The Soweto Community Council has said it will join in the celebrations.

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(239) U.G.31, 1922, Table 7.

(240) Van der Horst, S.T., Native Labour in South Africa (London, 1971), p.206.

(241) Du Toit et al, op. cit., p.19.

(242) Horrell, M, and Horner, D., (eds.), A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg, 1974), pp.241-242.

(243) Department of Statistics based on statistics of the Department of Mines.

(244) Copies of Financial Mail for relevant years, quoting press releases of COM.

(245) Ibid.

(246) MPA, 1978.

(247) Presidential Address of Mr W.P. Van der [illegible] COM, 27 June 1978.

(248) Financial Mail, 18 Aug. 1978,

(249) Ibid, p.597.

(249a) RMBOD, 1973-1974, p.5.

(250) National Research Institute f[illegible] 5th Annual Report, p.17.

(251) Ibid., Foreword.

(252) RMBOD, 1973-1974, 1974-1975, 1976, for difficulty [illegible]

(253) NRIOD, 4th Annual Report 1974, p.6, Table 6.

(254) Ibid., Table 6.

(255) Ibid., 1975 and 1976, p.8.

(256) RMBOD, 1973-1974, p.3.

(257) Ibid., 1975-1976, p.3.

(258) Ibid., 1973-1974, 1974-1975, 1975-1976, 1976-1977, Tables XV.

(259) Ibid., Tables XXIVB.

(260) Ibid., Tables XVI.

(261) Ibid., 1975-1976, p.2.

(262) NRIOD, 1975 and 1976, Foreword.

(263) RMBOD, 1973-1974, 1975-1976, p.2 and p2.

(264) Ibid., 1974-1975, 1975-1976, p.6 and p.4.

(265) Ibid., 1974-1975, p.6.

(266) Ibid., 1975-1976, p.2.

(267) Ibid., 1973-1974, pp.5-6.

(268) Ibid., 1973-1974, 1974-1975, p.3 and p.3.

(269) NRIOD, 1975 and 1976, Foreword and p.11.

(270) Ibid., 1974, p. 8, 1975 and 1976, p.12

I would like to thank the following people for their help:

Dr M.Hurwitz, Dr L.Irwig, Dr Pullinger, Dr N.Saxe, Mrs A. Ratcliffe, Professor I. Webster and Professor S. Zwi.

DD 17/3/81

Answers please

(327)

In a few short weeks the white people of East London will be going to the polls to vote to send two white men to Parliament. Would somebody please give me one good reason why black people in Mdantsane are not going to the polls to vote to send two black men to that same Parliament?

Who gave the white man permission to answer for the needs of, and decide on the future of the black man?

If we are perfectly honest, we must admit that the white man is the immigrant to this fair country of ours. Whether our forebears came from France, from Holland, from Britain, or wherever — we the white people are the original immigrants.

The black people surely need us for we have done, and are doing a considerable amount of good for the country. But, we also need the black people in order to bring about the fruition of all our schemes and dreams.

Basically we need each other.

Why then are we cutting this country up into "laagers"? I get more than a little hot under the collar when I see a map of South Africa on our TV screen and see what has been done to this beloved land in order to give the black man his area, and the white man his area.

Why is it necessary for there to be a Ciskei? Why is it necessary for there to be a Transkei? Why is it necessary for there to be any so-called black homelands? Why can we not all be South Africans standing together and working for the wellbeing of all peoples?

Why cannot the black men have their own black representatives in Parliament to speak out for them? Find me a white man who truly knows and understands the blacks and their needs. And by the same token, find me a black man who truly knows and understands the white man and his needs.

We, the whites, have somebody in Parliament to speak out for us. Why in God's name cannot the blacks have their own people in that same Parliament to speak out for them?

When are we going to stop talking about being a Christian country, and actually start being a Christian country by sharing and caring for each other as united South Africans?

J. E. Hall,
805 Kennaway Court, EL.

Sash calls for festival boycott

GRAHAMSTOWN — A call to boycott the Republic Festival this year was made by the national conference of the Black Sash in Grahamstown at the weekend.

A resolution, passed unanimously, said the Black Sash believed the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the Republic was no cause for celebration for the majority of its citizens.

It was less so for those from whom South African citizenship had been wrested by legislation.

The Black Sash called on its members and the public to boycott the festival in May, this year.

Delegates pointed out that where it came to schools it was not compulsory for children to participate in Republic Day activities.

Mrs Solveig Piper of Durban, advised Black Sash members to inform school principals that their children would not attend school that day rather than expose them to exclusion and victimisation.

Mrs Margaret Nash, of Cape Town, suggested that in addition to a boycott members should involve themselves in "counter activity" on that day.

It should become a season for generating opposition to injustice and "mourning for the countless victims of apartheid." — Sapa.

'Homelands make millions non-SAs'

GRAHAMSTOWN. — More than six and three quarter million blacks had lost their South African citizenship through the independence of Transkei, Bophutha-Tswana and Venda, the national conference of the Black Sash was told at the weekend.

In a report to the conference, one of its advisory officers said another million blacks would probably cease to be South African citizens when the Ciskei became independent in December.

He said the housing shortage in Soweto was chronical and complaints were received daily.

In another report, Mrs Sheena Duncan, national vice-president of the Black Sash said that notwithstanding, an appeal court judgement last year which established the right of many blacks to live legally in urban areas, commissioners and administration boards were consistently refusing permission.

In a statement yesterday, the Black Sash challenged the Minister of Manpower Utilization, Mr S P Botha to begin introducing a free labour market by removing restraints on contract workers.

CT 17/3/81

Two groups join boycott

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The black Congress of South African Students (Cosas) has joined a list of organizations calling for a boycott of this year's Republic Festival.

The Lenasia-based People's Candidates group also added its name to the list yesterday.

The Cosas executive yesterday issued a statement saying it would form student-parents committees to hold "anti-Republic Day" services.

"We are calling on the people to boycott any activities connected to Republic Day celebrations. In addition, with other organizations, we will hold regular prayer meetings from now until the end of May."

Among the organizations which have called for a boycott of the festival — to mark the 20th anniversary of the Republic — are the South African Council of Churches, members of the South African Black Alliance, the Azanian People's Organization and other black consciousness bodies, the Soweto Committee of 10, the Natal Indian Congress, the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the University of Natal.

The leader of the People's Candidates, Dr Rashid Salojee, said blacks saw no point in celebrating an event that had nothing to do with them. Dr Salojee said he would appeal to principals — especially those in primary schools — not to let their pupils take part in activities which the black community vehemently opposed.

The festival, with its motto of "Unity in Diversity", will cost more than R2 million, it has been estimated.

Duncan hits out at fingerprinting

WHITE consent to legislation demanding the fingerprinting and compulsory documentation of all races is subservient to an already too-powerful bureacracy, and a spurious legitimising of discrimination.

This hard line was taken at the Black Sash conference yesterday in a paper on Fingerprinting — Total Strategy and Total Control, by national vice-president of the organisation Mrs Sheena Duncan.

Mrs Duncan said: "It is astonishing that this proposed legislation should have aroused so little public protest.

"Some people seem to think that it will serve white South Africans right to be subjected to pass laws and to the same indignities and controls which have been suffered by black people for so long.

"This argument fails to take into account that the extension of fingerprinting and control to all groups in a sense legitimises and entrenches the fingerprinting of Africans, because it can no longer be fought on the grounds that it is discriminatory."

She said, too, that the extension of the system will not mean any less harassment of blacks. They will be "increasingly victimised."

Gunshot cripple sues for R80 000

327 ROM 19/3/81

Court Reporter

A BEDFORDVIEW script-writer-playwright who fired a shot which has left a man a permanent paraplegic was sued for R80 000 in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The court was told that Mr Johathan Molomo was shot by Mr Louis Wiesner, of Van der Linde Road, Bedfordview.

Mr Molomo, of Block 9, Itafani Hostel, Tembisa, Kempton Park, is asking for the damages for medical expenses, loss of amenities of life, and present and future earnings.

Mr Molomo, who is still in Natalspruit Hospital, said in papers before the court that he was shot on July 7, 1979, while taking a shortcut home from work across the grounds of St George's Home for Boys — which is next to Mr Wiesner's property.

Mr Wiesner told the court that he had seen Mr Molomo in a stealthy attitude in a spot in his garden where there was no path. It was a place where nobody had any right to be.

He said he called to Mr Molomo, saying: "Come here Stand."

But Mr Molomo ran away. He warned him that he had a loaded gun and would shoot if he did not stop. Mr Molomo kept on running and two shots were fired.

When a third shot was fired Mr Molomo was already outside Mr Wiesner's property, the court was told. The shot struck the ground, riccocheted, and hit Mr Molomo in the spine.

Dr Colin Froman, a Johannesburg neurosurgeon, told the court that Mr Molomo was a permanent paraplegic from the chest down. The bullet was still lodged in his spine, and there were also pieces of shrapnel in the track of the bullet.

Mr J F Ludorf, appearing for Mr Wiesner, argued that he had suspected that Mr Molomo was there for a dishonest purpose and had had no other way to stop or arrest him. He had been entitled to shoot and was not liable to pay damages.

Mr B Ancer, appearing for Mr Molomo, said Mr Wiesner's evidence had not been satisfactory — his explanation was too good to be true.

Mr Ancer said Mr Wiesner was a man of imagination — he was a scriptwriter, and had written dozens of plays.

Mr Wiesner had told the court that there were no other people in the vicinity, said Mr Ancer, but he could not have been sure of this — which placed a question mark on his reliability and honesty.

Mr Ancer also said that two witnesses had told the court that Mr Wiesner had often walked round with a weapon.

The hearing was postponed indefinitely for judgment.

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Allister Sparks, Benjamin Pogrund, John Ryan, Bernardi Wessels; newsbills by Peter Bunkell; headlines and sub-editing by Paul Holroyd; cartoons by Bob Connolly; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.



Mr Eugene Roelofse at Wits yesterday after speaking to a packed audience on the independent study of the torture and abuse of farm labourers in South Africa. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

(4) (327)

RPM 18/3/81

Farm torture a national problem, says Roelofse

By MARIKA SBOROS

THE idea that farmers are allowed to beat labourers at their own discretion was as South African as boerewors, Mr Eugene Roelofse, the independent ombudsman, said yesterday.

Mr Roelofse said this at a lunchtime talk at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday on a national, fulltime investigation he has launched into assault and torture of farm labourers.

"South Africa is the only country except Chile, where agricultural productivity is dependent on violence towards the labourer," he said.

Mr Roelofse called for the Governemnt to ban sjamboks to protect South Africans from the "white skollie" element in rural farming communities.

Mr Roelofse told a packed meeting yesterday that he was aware that some farmers treated their labourers well, but said that torture and abuse of labourers was a problem that was national and widespread.

He asked students to examine their consciences and "become part of the movement to stamp out this kind of thing".

Among the examples of torture and assault on farm labourers, Mr Roelofse gave were:

● A Natal farmer who shot a pregnant woman because she stole a log of wood.

● A Transvaal farmer who beat two labourers with a whip made from a stick and a coat hanger because they were the last to finish picking a row of tomatoes.

● A Kalahari farmer who electrocuted a young labourer on his hands, chest and toes after a cow went missing.

Mr Roelofse said that the high incidence of labourers being beaten naked, having their clothes cut from them before an assault, or their sexual organs wounded, indicated a sexual perversion on the farmers' part.

"I think this sadistic element is due to sexual maladjustment on the part of farmers in sexually repressed Calvinistic communities," Mr Roelofse said.

Mr Roelofse's office has circulated a petition nationwide calling for the reimprisonment of a Boland farmer, Mr Phillipus du Toit, 75, of the farm Rustfontein, near Rawsonville, who was released last month after serving 18 months of a three year sentence.

Mr Du Toit was convicted of chaining three workers by the neck and flogging them. One later died.

Women's group to boycott festival

RDM 18/3/81

324

Staff Reporter

THE Women's Federation of South Africa has called for a boycott of this year's Republic Festival.

A federation spokesman said the group would call a meeting of church and other bodies.

The aim would be to form an "anti-Republic Festival committee".

She said the federation had already approached black consciousness groups and other organisations, which would meet soon to decide a date for the meeting at which a strategy for the anti-Republic Festival campaign would be formulated.

Among the organisations which have called for a boycott of the planned festival — to mark the 20th anniversary of the Republic — are the SA Council of Churches, members of the SA Black Alliance, the Azanian People's Organisation and other black consciousness bodies, the Soweto Committee of 10, the Lenasia-based People's Candidates Party, the Black Sash, the Natal Indian Congress, the Congress of SA Students, the National Union of SA Students and the University of Natal.

On Saturday, millions will remember Sharpeville martyrs



The wounded at hospital.



A victim is carried by police armed to the teeth.

Sharpeville, where 69 people were killed

ON March 21, 1960, thousands of blacks throughout the country responded to a call by the Pan Africanist Congress (now banned) and when the day ended about 71 were dead after police action.

The worst hit was Sharpeville, where 69 died and more than 200 were injured. Two people [illegible]

March 21 1960, Vereeniging was on that day "without servants".

As the day continued the crowd grew bigger.

At one stage the crowd had swelled to about 20 000. Police, in order to cope with the situation, had reinforcements brought in.

Police told an inquest later that tear gas or batons [illegible]

Town.

The Sharpeville disaster was followed by sporadic outbursts in various parts of the country and the toll, according to figures from various sources show that about 83 people died, 266 injured, 3 black constables died, 33 whites injured and 25 black constables injured.

This Saturday those who died will be remembered in services throughout the country. Most black organisations in the country are involved in the services.

The catalogue of events on March 21, 1960 throughout the country reads grimly. From early morning hundreds had converged on police stations in response to a call by the PAC.

The PAC had called on all men in the pass-carrying age group to surrender themselves to police stations.

The organisation had launched this campaign in protest against the pass laws.

This campaign was the first major one by the relatively young organisation, and to the surprise of South Africa mustered support numbering thousands of blacks.

In Sharpeville, 9000 people had gone to the municipal offices by 7 am. According to The Star of

We would have been wiped out, a senior policeman told the inquest magistrate.

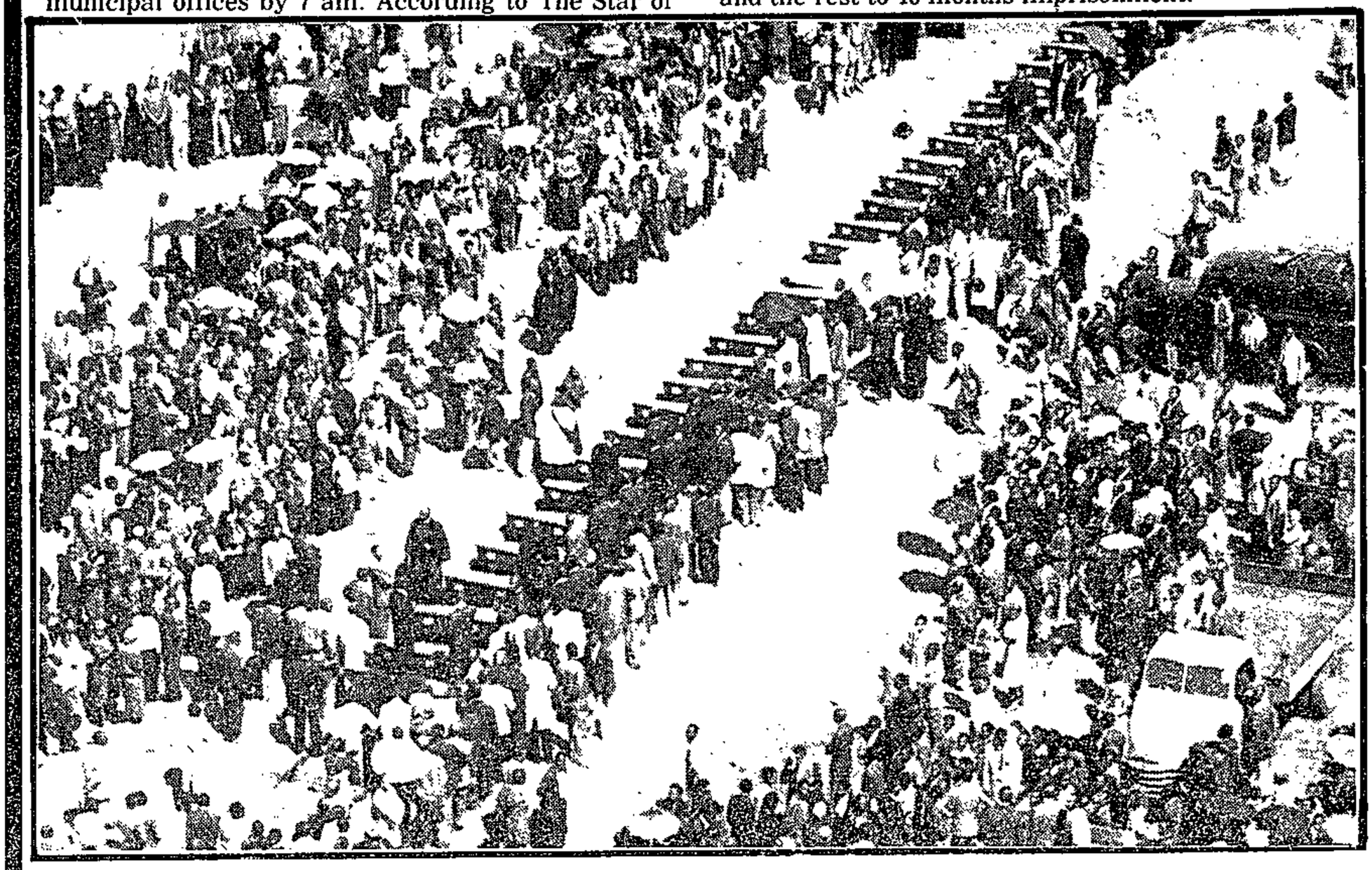
The fateful shots were fired after 1.30 pm, after the crowd had been given five minutes to disperse. According to records police fired sten guns and rifles, killing and wounding scores of people.

The aftermath included the usual spontaneous outbreaks of violence in other areas, and the swift action by the authorities in detaining leaders, banning meetings and outlawing organisations.

In other parts of the country March 21 saw thousands marching and the usual police activity. In Cape Town Philip Kgosana led crowds to the city centre, while in Evaton, near Sharpeville, crowds were dispersed.

In Soweto Robert Sobukwe, the PAC leader with other senior members of the organisation, surrendered themselves to the Orlando police. Among them were many Soweto men, including Orlando High School students, who responded to the anti-pass call.

Sobukwe was sentenced to three years imprisonment, his lieutenants including Potlako Leballo and Zeph Mothopeng, two years imprisonment and the rest to 18 months imprisonment.



Thousands bury the victims in a moving mass funeral.

18, 1981

Buthelezi joins festival boycott

THE SOUTH African Black Alliance, under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has joined several other organisations which are going to boycott festivities to mark the 20th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa.

By SAM MABE

One of the latest organisations to join the growing list of boycotters is the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), which this week issued a statement saying: "We cannot celebrate our own oppression."

Speaking to **SOWETAN** yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said even the KwaZulu cabinet passed a resolution to boycott the festivities which will be centred in Natal.

He said there was no point in blacks celebrating Republic Day because they had no citizenship rights. The Government, he said, was busy at this time trying to strip blacks of their birthright as citizens of South Africa.

"Blacks were not consulted about the launching of the Republic because they are regarded like inanimate things. How can we celebrate something about which we were not even consulted in terms of human rights and dignity.

"What have we as blacks to celebrate in the last 20 years," the Chief asked. "We expect the Afrikaners to understand this as they never celebrated Empire Day while South Africa had dominion status," the Chief said.

A spokesman for Cosas said students and parents from all over South Africa were asked over the weekend to form anti-Republic Day committees and to mobilise all people in this country to boycott any activities connected to Republic Day.

The spokesman said Cosas, in consultation with other black organisations, will hold regular prayer meetings on all days that Republic Day celebrations will be going on, until the end of May.

"We cannot celebrate our own oppression and it is important that our people understand that since SA became a republic in 1961, blacks have been subjected to a myriad of repressive legislation."

Also featuring among the names of organisations which have called for the boycott of the festivities are the Black Sash, South African Council of Churches, Azapo, Soweto Committee of Ten, Natal Indian Congress, the National Union of South African Students and the Lenasia-based People's Candidates.



Chief Buthelezi . . .not celebrating Republic Day.

A renowned artist, Professor Walter Battis, is reported to have resigned from the Republican Festival Committee on the grounds that the festival had become a political issue and would not be truly representative of South African art.

No democracy in SA says Zinzi Mandela

CAPE TOWN — The South African system of government could only be described as a "mockery of democracy," Ms Zinzi Mandela, daughter of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

She was addressing about 1 000 students on the Nusas theme, Students for a Democratic Future.

Ms Mandela said it was not the black man who had decided there was no longer room for negotiation. It was the white man's laws which left the black man "no choice but to take up the spear and respond to the challenge.

"In the words of Chief Albert Luthuli, who, when he was asked what his attitude was to this country's laws, said "I am a black man, and if any man attacks my kraal I should take my spear and defend my kraal.

"This is today every black child's inevitable answer to the present situation, if we are to attain our honour and dignity. We are not prepared to turn the other cheek any longer. What choice can any man be left with where every aspect of his life is violently interfered with?"

Ms Mandela condemned the "balkanisation" of the country into homelands' attempts to create a black middle class, and the continued detentions of black students.

"The so-called Department of Education and Training promised that there would be no further arrests should students return to school, but it was only two weeks ago that some student leaders were detained."

She asked the audience if they were prepared "to march the streets hand-in-hand with black students during the next inevitable unrest.

"If not, how then are you going to prove your identification with the black youth in the building of a democratic society?

"It is not us who decided that democracy in the SA situation should be the government of the majority by the minority at gun point. There could be no better ingredient for armed conflict than this."

"What is South African democracy? The black man's concept of democracy is none other than the Freedom Charter, and no white man can decide otherwise for him."

(News by R. Wicksteed, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town).

Shoplifter leaves R875 000 will

LONDON — Lady Isobel Barnett, the radio and TV personality who committed suicide after conviction for shoplifting a tin of tuna fish and a pot of cream, left nearly R875 000 in her will published yesterday.

Lady Barnett, 62, was found dead in her bath last October, four days after being convicted of stealing the tuna fish and cream, worth a total of about R1,50 from a village store. — SAPA-AP.

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TABLE 22 (a)

Distribution of workers according to family income per head

(R per week)

Family income per head	Number of workers	Cumulative %
> 10,00	19	
9,01 - 10,00	5	100,00
8,01 - 9,00	5	85,38
7,01 - 8,00	4	81,54
6,01 - 7,00	11	77,69
5,01 - 6,00	16	74,62
4,01 - 5,00	25	66,15
3,01 - 4,00	24	53,85
2,01 - 3,00	16	34,62
1,01 - 2,00	5	16,15
0 - 1,00	0	3,85
TOTAL	130	

Mean: R19,70 a week.

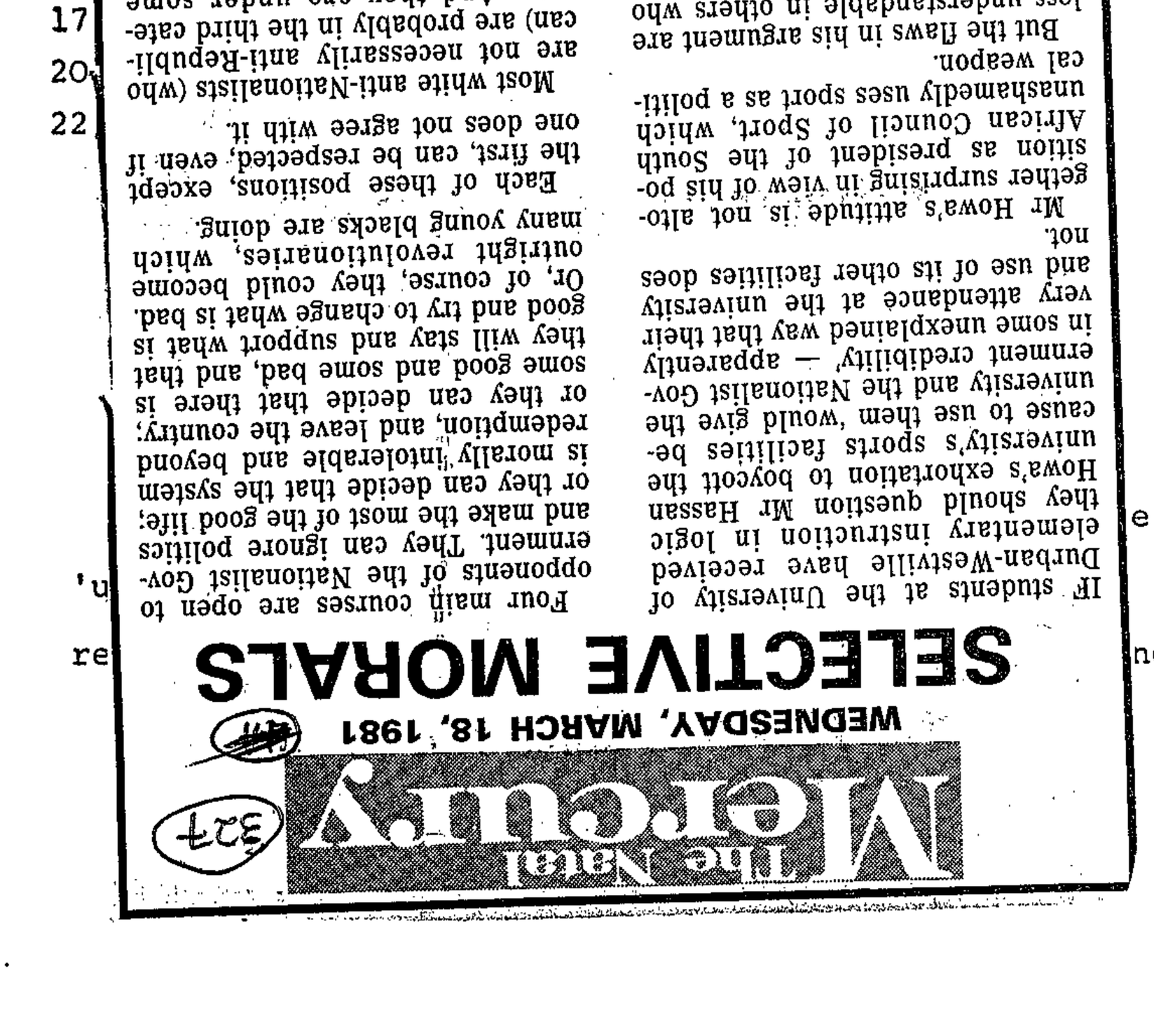
Range: R 6,41 to R34,40.

(ii) Milk.

Most of the workers (89%) were given, free, a daily milk ration. On some farms the farmer took the 'top' off the milk before handing it out to workers, on others workers were given full milk and on a few farms workers were given some skim and some full milk daily. The table below shows the distribution of workers according to milk ration (skim plus full milk) in litres a week.

TABLE 11

Distribution of ... Milk ... res a week.



IF students at the University of Durban-Westville have received elementary instruction in logic they should question Mr Hassan Howa's exhortation to boycott the university's sports facilities because to use them 'would give the university and the Nationalist Government credibility' — apparently in some unexplained way that their very attendance at the university and use of its other facilities does not.

Mr Howa's attitude is not altogether surprising in view of his position as president of the South African Council of Sport, which unashamedly uses sport as a political weapon.

But the flaws in his argument are less understandable in others who engage in selective moral sanctions on the basis of expediency or convenience rather than the consistent application of a set of principles.

One area which is currently troubling some consciences is that of participation in or support for the cultural programmes and exhibitions being promoted as part of the Republican Festival, as distinct from the mass celebrations.

To boycott an otherwise worthy concert or an art exhibition simply because it is part of the festival suggests a failure to think one's continuing citizenship of the Republic through to a logical conclusion.

Four main courses are open to opponents of the Nationalist Government. They can ignore politics and make the most of the good life; or they can decide that the system is morally intolerable and beyond redemption, and leave the country; or they can decide that there is some good and some bad, and that they will stay and support what is good and try to change what is bad. Or, of course, they could become outright revolutionaries, which many young blacks are doing.

Each of these positions, except the first, can be respected, even if one does not agree with it.

Most white anti-Nationalists (who are not necessarily anti-Republican) are probably in the third category. And they are under some obligation to think their position through to a logical conclusion before selfrighteously boycotting festival functions that are in themselves open to all races and are likely to have an uplifting influence on the community.

Those who can find nothing of merit to support in the festival should earnestly consider whether they can in all conscience continue supporting the Republic (as distinct from its Government) in innumerable other ways, not least by paying taxes to the State, and enjoying the considerable benefits of living in it.

SELECTIVE MORALS

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1981

The Natal Mercury

327

re ncluded.

CT 19/3/81

Roelofse wants sjamboks banned

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The idea that farmers are allowed to beat labourers at their own discretion was as South African as boerewors, Mr Eugene Roelofse, the independent ombudsman, said yesterday.

Mr Roelofse said this at a lunchtime talk at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday as part of a national, full-time investigation he has launched into assault and torture of farm labourers.

"South Africa is the only country except Chile where agricultural productivity is dependent on violence towards the labourer," he said.

Mr Roelofse called for the government to ban sjamboks to protect South Africans from the "white skollie" element in rural farming communities.

He said sjamboks had "injured countless people" and were often used in assaults on farm labourers.

National problem

Mr Roelofse told a packed meeting on the university campus that he was aware that many farmers treated their labourers well, but he added that, although he did not know the extent of torture and abuse of farm labourers, the problem was national and widespread.

He asked students to examine their consciences and "become part of the movement to stamp this kind of thing out".

Among the examples of torture and assault on labourers Mr Roelofse gave were:

- A Natal farmer who shot a pregnant woman because she stole a log of wood.
- A Transvaal farmer who beat two labourers with a whip which he had made from a stick and a coat hanger because they were the last of his labourers to finish picking a row of tomatoes.
- A Kalahari farmer who electrocuted a young labourer on his hands, chest and toes after one of the farmer's cows went missing.

Sexual perversion

Mr Roelofse said that the high incidence of farm labourers being beaten naked, having their clothes cut from their bodies before an assault, or having their sexual organs wounded, indicated a sexual perversion on the part of the farmers.

"I think this sadistic element is due to sexual maladjustment on the part of farmers in sexually repressed Calvinistic communities," Mr Roelofse said.

Mr Roelofse's office has circulated a petition nationwide calling for the reimprisonment of a Boland farmer, Mr Phillipus du Toit, 75, of the farm Rustfontein, near Rawsonville, who was released last month after serving 18 months of a three-year sentence for culpable homicide.

Mr Du Toit was convicted of chaining three workers by the neck and flogging them. One of the labourers later died of his injuries.

A letter had been sent to the South African Agricultural Union, asking them to send the petition to farming associations and communities, Mr Roelofse said.

"I have not had a reply from them," he said.

1937 (Wet 1 van 1937), John Henry Cooper Lewies, woonagtig te Naudestraat 405, Wonderboom-Suid, Pretoria, te magtig om die van Cooper aan te neem.

No. 585 20 Maart 1981

VERBOD OP BESIT VAN ONGEWENSTE PUBLIKASIES

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat die onderstaande publikasie ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (3) van genoemde Wet die besit van genoemde publikasies verbied. Genoemde verbod is kragtens artikel 9 (5) van genoemde Wet deur die Appèlraad oor Publikasies bekragtig:

of 1937), to authorise, John Henry Cooper Lewies, residing at 405 Naude Street, Wonderboom South, Pretoria, to assume the surname of Cooper.

No. 585 20 March 1981

PROHIBITION ON POSSESSION OF UNDESIRABLE PUBLICATIONS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided under section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publications are undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has under section 9 (3) of the said Act, prohibited the possession of the said publications. The said prohibition was confirmed by the Publications Appeal Board under section 9 (5) of the said Act:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie Publication	Skrywer of voorthringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
P80/10/219	*Sechaba*—No 8, Aprile 1980 (Edizione Italiana)	l'Assessorato ai Rapporti Internazionali del Commune di, Reggio Emilia	(e)
P80/11/33	*Lenin: On Peaceful Coexistence*—Articles and Speeches	Progress Publishers, Moscow	(e)
P80/11/147	*Mayibuye*—No 10, November	African National Congress	(e)
P80/11/142	*Dawn*—Vol 4 No 6, June 1980	African National Congress	(e)
P80/11/185	*Playgirl*—Vol 3 No 2 July 1976; Vol 6, No 1, June 1978; Vol 6, No 2, July 1978; Vol 6, No 4, September 1978; Vol 6, No 6, November 1978; Vol 6, No 11, April 1979; Vol 7, No 10, March 1980	Playgirl Inc, California	(a)
P80/12/1	*Umkhonto*—Lerumo (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress	(e)
P80/12/6	*Anti-Apartheid News*—Nov 1980	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	(e)
P80/12/7	*Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*—No 31, Nov–Dec 1980	Internal Defence and Aid Fund, London	(d) – (e)
P80/12/8	*Workers' Unity*—Issue No 22, October 1980	South African Congress of Trade Unions, London	(e)
P80/12/30	*Club International*—Vol 7, No 5	Paul Raymond Publications Ltd, London	(a)
P80/12/36	*Ins & Outs of Oral Sex, The*	Cand Haven Ltd, London	(a)
P80/12/37	*Spicy Victorian Erotica*—Vol 1, No 6	Nie vermeld nie, Not stated	(a)
P80/12/49	*Sechaba*—October 1980	African National Congress of South Africa, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	(e)
P81/1/1	*Anti-Apartheid News*—October 1980	Anti-Apartheid Movement, London	(e)
P81/1/2	*Love*—3rd Quater, 1980	ANC	(e)
P81/1/76	*International Mobilisation*—Vol 1, No 3, November 1980	World Peace Council in cooperation with the United Nations Centre against Apartheid, Helsinki	(e)
P81/1/78	*Sechaba*—November 1980	African National Congress of South Africa, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania	(e)
P81/1/87	*Oui*—Vol 9, No 5, May 1980	Playboy Publications Inc., Chicago	(a)
P81/1/88	*Popular Jokes*—Vol 14, No 69, Aug 1978	Visual Varieties Inc., New York	(a)
P81/1/95	*Mandela's Message from Robben Island* (Pamflet/Pamphlet)	African National Congress of South Africa	(e)
P81/1/106	*Mayibuye*—No 11, 1980	African National Congress	(e)
P81/1/112	*Penthouse Variations*—October 1980	Edited by Derek Manley	(a)
P81/1/118	*Enjoyment*—Issue 3/80	Co-opetative Motivation Research, Cheshire	(a)
P81/1/122	*Southern Africa: Freedom and Peace*	Canon L John Collins	(e)
P81/1/129	*Focus on Political Repression in Southern Africa*—No 32, Jan–Feb 1981	International Defence and Aid Fund, London	(e)
P81/1/130	*Amandla*—Nummer 12, December 1980	Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika, Amsterdam	(e)
P81/1/150	*Revolutionary Thought in the 20th Century*	Edited by Ben Turok	(e)

No. 586 20 Maart 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die ondergenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet gewysig deur te bepaal—

(a) dat sekere addisionele weglatings aangebring moet word.

No. 586 20 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, varied the conditional approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act by stipulating—

(a) that certain additional excisions be made.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R81/1/10	*Raging Bull*	United Artists Corporation (S.A.) (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

SAIC head in death threat

DURBAN. — The chairman of the South African Indian Council, Mr A Rajbansi, received a death threat early yesterday morning, warning him that "blood would flow on his doorstep".

Mr Rajbansi said the caller, who he said had a strong Afrikaans accent, referred to remarks he made in this chairman's address to the SAIC this week.

He said the caller had obviously taken exception to his reference to the consequences of a breakdown in negotiations between blacks and the Government.

In his speech, Mr Rajbansi had warned that the situation in South Africa would deteriorate to such an extent that "the events in Zimbabwe could look like a Sunday school picnic".

Mr Rajbansi said yesterday he was not disturbed by such "pranks" and sympathised with the caller for ignoring the realities.

He said he had not reported the matter to the police yet, but would take added precautions to protect his family.

Meanwhile, at the SAIC session yesterday the members endorsed a call to elect a council to meet the Ministers of Justice and Community Development over the prosecution of alleged Group Areas Act offenders in the Transvaal.

An Exco member, Mr I F H Mayet, stressed the urgency of a meeting with the Ministers, because prosecutions in terms of the Act were already taking place.

"Now is the time we must get results. If we don't, then I am afraid that the frustrated moderates could either become impotent or radical," he said.

The Rev E J Manikam made a strong plea for the council to give attention not only to the Group Areas Act but to other related acts, such as the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Acts.

(News by: A Nanackhand, 86, Field Street, Durban)

Swazi MPs question 'secret' kidnap trial

RDM 20/3/81 327 ~~329~~ ~~212~~

Southern Africa Editor

SWAZILAND'S Minister of Justice, Senator P M Dlamini, has been asked in parliament why the trial of the four alleged kidnapppers of a South African refugee was held in camera.

The four men were released on bail of R800 at about the same time as the refugee, Mr Dayan Pillay, was brought back to Swaziland under cover of darkness and dropped in Mbabane.

Questions to Sen Dlamini in the House implicitly connected the release of the four men with the return of Mr Pillay, thus heightening speculation that the return and the release were part of a deal struck between Swaziland and South Africa.

In reply to questions about the "secret trial", Sen Dlamini said it was the prerogative and duty of magistrates to decide whether national security was best served by holding a trial in camera.

African National Congress sources in Swaziland are reported to be uneasy about the circumstances surrounding the abduction and release of Mr Pillay after he had been questioned by South African border police.

According to official South African sources, Mr Pillay, whose kidnappers were said to be members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement, was held under South Africa's immigration laws and "eventually allowed to go".

Mr Pillay's version — given at a news conference in the office and presence of a top Swaziland Government official — was that he was interrogated, only to be told his detention was "a mistake" and taken back to Mbabane.

Sen Dlamini was also asked what steps he had taken to secure compensation for the family of Mr Samuel Shabangu, a Swazi Government official who died after being detained in the Free State while on his way to Lesotho in 1978.

He replied that a letter of demand had been sent to Pretoria by the Swaziland Government, but that some responsibility for securing compensation also rested with Mr Shabangu''s family.

More top Govt jobs given to Broeders

RDM 20/3/81 327

By TONY STIRLING and EUGENE HUGO

LISTED members of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond continue to get top Government posts — and latest examples are the new Director-General of the SABC, Mr Steve de Villiers, and the new Commissioner of Prisons, Lieutenant-General J F Otto.

Mr De Villiers, appointed yesterday, is named in the book The Super Afrikaners, which says he joined the Broederbond in Pretoria in 1963 while head of the SABC's Bantu Service.

The book says Gen Otto — appointed on February 23 — became a Broeder in 1967 while assistant commander of the Kroonstad Rehabilitation Centre — a claim he denied last night.

Mr De Villiers took over the SABC helm from another Broederbonder, Mr Jan Swanepoel, and Gen Otto succeeded General W M du Preez, who was also a Broeder.

Three other recent senior appointees in the Prisons Department are also listed Broederbonders. They are:

● Lieutenant-General Willem Hendrick Willemse, appointed Chief Deputy Commissioner

of Prisons from March 1;

● Major-General Gert Nieuwoudt du Plessis, now Deputy Commissioner, administrative auxilary service;

● Brigadier E A Venter, replacing Brigadier E van Wyk as Assistant Commissioner in charge of security.

And according to information received by the Rand Daily Mail, the Prisons promotions overlooked several officers of equivalent or senior rank who are not Broeders.

They are:

● Lieutenant-General M C P Brink, a Chief Deputy Commissioner of Prisons (in line for the Commissioner of Prisons post);

● Major-General G D Cilliers, Major-General M J May, Major-General P A G Rietz, and Major-General A C Sephton, all possible considerations for the post that went to Gen Willemse.

Approached for comment, Gen Otto said last night that he was not a member of the Broederbond; that all appointments were made on merit; and that he was "rattled" to be told that three out of four recent appointees were Broederbonders.

"I don't know of any case where membership of the Broederbond was taken into account for Prisons Department appointments," he said.

Gen Otto said he was appointed by the Cabinet and he did not know what merits were taken into account.

"I give you the assurance that appointments are made purely on merit. There is a selection process from brigadier upwards and it is not strange that in any one rank a junior man is appointed over a man with more seniority."

The commissioner agreed that he was at Kroonstad at the Rehabilitation Centre at the time he is alleged to have entered the Broederbond.

But he added: "The nearest I have been to the Broederbond was as a member of the Vryburgers in Kroonstad, which was an Afrikaner organisation collecting funds for charity."

He said he could not say that he did not want to be a member of the Broederbond. "Perhaps they still want to get hold of me."

Gen Otto said that the appointment of senior officers in his department followed his recommendations — without any consideration being given to Broederbond membership.

The Minister of Prisons, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was not available for comment last night.

STAATSKOERANT

VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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POSVRY - POSTFREE

Vol. 189] PRETORIA, 20 MAART / MARCH 1981 [No. 7500

PROKLAMASIE

van die Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 65, 1981

DATUM VAN INWERKINGTREDING VAN ARTIKELS 2 EN 4 VAN DIE DRANKWYSIGINGSWET, 1980

Kragtens die bevoegdheid my verleen by artikel 9 van die Drankwysigingswet, 1980 (Wet 48 van 1980), verklaar ek hierby dat artikels 2 en 4 van genoemde Wet op 1 Junie 1981 in werking tree.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Kaapstad, op hede die Elfde dag van Maart Eenduisend Negehonderd Een-en-tagtig.

M. VILJOEN, Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-rade:

D. J. DE VILLIERS.

PROCLAMATION

by the State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 65, 1981

DATE OF COMING INTO OPERATION OF SECTIONS 2 AND 4 OF THE LIQUOR AMENDMENT ACT, 1980

By virtue of the powers vested in me by section 9 of the Liquor Amendment Act, 1980 (Act 48 of 1980), I hereby declare that sections 2 and 4 of the said Act shall come into operation on 1 June 1981.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Cape Town this Eleventh day of March, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-one.

M. VILJOEN, State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Council:

D. J. DE VILLIERS.

GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 662 20 Maart 1981

ONGEWENSTE PERIODIEKE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, wat kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde Wet beslis het dat onderstaande publikasie of voorwerp ongewens is binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet, het kragtens artikel 9 (1) van genoemde Wet elke latere uitgawe van genoemde publikasie of voorwerp aldus ongewens verklaar.

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 662 20 March 1981

UNDESIRABLE PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, which decided in terms of section 11 (2) of the said Act that the undermentioned publication or object is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act, has in terms of section 9 (1) of the said Act declared every subsequent edition of the said publication or object to be so undesirable.

Beskrywing No. / Description No.	Publikasie of voorwerp / Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer / Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) / Section 47 (2)
1981 [illegible]	*In Struggle* No. 238 (Vol. 8, No. 22) February [illegible], 1981	Unity Press Inc, Montreal, Canada.....	*(e)*

Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) Section 47 (2)
Mass Struggle for Democracy..... Tuesday, March 3, 1981.....	Higher Education Study Group, Braamfontein	(e)
Nelson Mandela: I am prepared to die.....	Projects Comm, University of Cape Town, Rondebosch	(d) (e)
Letter of Information for South African War Resisters (Nonshirk Newsletter)	International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London	(e)
The Struggle, No 248 (Vol 8, No 22) February 17-24, 1981	COSAWR	(e)
Sechaba, Vol 16, No 12, March 20, 1981.....	Unite Press Inc, Montreal, Canada.....	(e)
Patriot Free Azania (Voorwerp Object—T-hemp T-shirt)	Republican Press (Pty) Ltd, Durban.....	(a)
	Nie vermeld nie Not stated.....	(e)

No. 663

20 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, besluit dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bepaling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap Entry deleted
P81/2 32.....	*Stern*—Nr 49, 27 November 1980.....	Gruner Jahr AG & Co, Hamburg.....	In SK. G.G. 7439, GK. G.N. 391 van of 27/2/81.

No. 663

20 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Publication or object Publikasie of voorwerp	Author or producer Skrywer of voortbringer	Entry deleted Inskrywing geskrap
P81/2 32.....	*Stern*—Nr 49, 27 November 1980.....	Gruner Jahr AG & Co, Hamburg.....	In SK. G.G. 7439, GK. G.N. 391 van of 27/2/81.

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	PROKLAMASIE		
65	Drankwysigingswet (48/1980): Datum van inwerkingtreding van artikels 2 en 4. ..	1	7500
	GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS		
	Binnelandse Aangeleenthede, Departement van		
	Goewermentskennisgewings		
661	Wet op Publikasies (42/1974): Ongewenste publikasies of voorwerpe: Lys PSL 23.	2	7500
662	do.: Ongewens.....	1	7500
663	do.: Geskrap.....	2	7500

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	Government Notices		
661	Publications Act (42/1974): Undesirable publications or objects: List PSL 23.....	2	7500
662	do.: Undesirable.....	1	7500
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Authority tells of mind of terrorist

20/5/81 Rdy

By CHRIS MARAIS

A TERRORIST with a university background reaches his killing stage by the age of 25, after having run the full gamut from peaceful demonstrations to ultimate, selective assassination.

This is the view of an international authority on terrorism, Dr Richard Clutterbuck, who is in South Africa on a seminar tour.

"Some organisations using terror as a force recruit members down the line, using university-trained people as well as those without much education," he said.

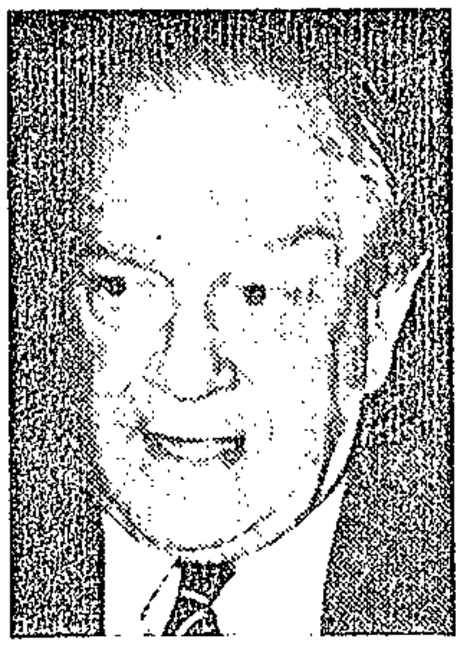
"Take a university student, who is dissatisfied with the system in some way. To bring attention to this, he joins in demonstrations.

"After a while, he finds that demonstrating doesn't achieve anything. Then he makes his protest more violent, more disruptive, hoping it will achieve something.

"It doesn't, so he carries the violence further, setting fire to things, going on to casual bombings to destroy installations. This is when people start getting killed, not always the terrorist's specific enYmy.

"Often, the victim is an old nightwatchman, or a member of the public. This makes the terrorist and his attempt unpopular in the eyes of the world. So, he becomes more selective, making his target people like judges and other public figures.

"A terrorist with university experience goes through a kind of escalation of frustration. The interesting fact is that in Germany, as far as research shows, nobody has ever been



Dr Richard Clutterbuck

killed by a terrorist under the age of 25. They don't seem to reach that personal killing stage until they are about 25."

Dr Clutterbuck said terrorists from higher education levels were mostly found in Spain, Italy, West Germany and amond the intellectual leadership of a number of Latin American countries.

A former major-general in the British army, Dr Clutterbuck has completed many years of research into political violence. He lectures throughout the Western world on subjects related to terrorism.

Discussing the training of anti-terrorist squads in Britain and Europe, he said only the "creme de la creme" of each country's fighting units ever had the chance to apply for a post in the elite groups.

One of the groups discussed was the Special Air Service (SAS) in Britain.

"Training is extremely rigorous. For instance, the SAS men have to learn to rush into rooms and kill the terrorists without hitting one of the hostages. To simulate this in training, one of their own number is placed in a room — he represents the hostage — and is surrounded by a number of targets which are the terrorists."

The squad has to storm the room, with only seconds to put two fatal bullets into each of the terrorists, leaving the hostage unharmed, he said.

Dr Clutterbuck said the SAS had trained for last year's Iranian Embassy attack seven years before it happened.

"They have to be prepared to put their own lives on the line for something in which they have no personal concern at all," he said.

Asked about the possibility of there being a system of international terrorism, he said:

"I do not believe there is a central ops room handling terrorism throughout the world, if that's what you mean.

"I do know that there is an informal kind of co-operation going on between various groups, like the provision of safe houses and the like.

Dr Clutterbuck said that since 1973, when airports throughout the world reacted to hijacking attempts by imposing a 100% search of passengers, the numbers of hijacks had decreased by 90%.

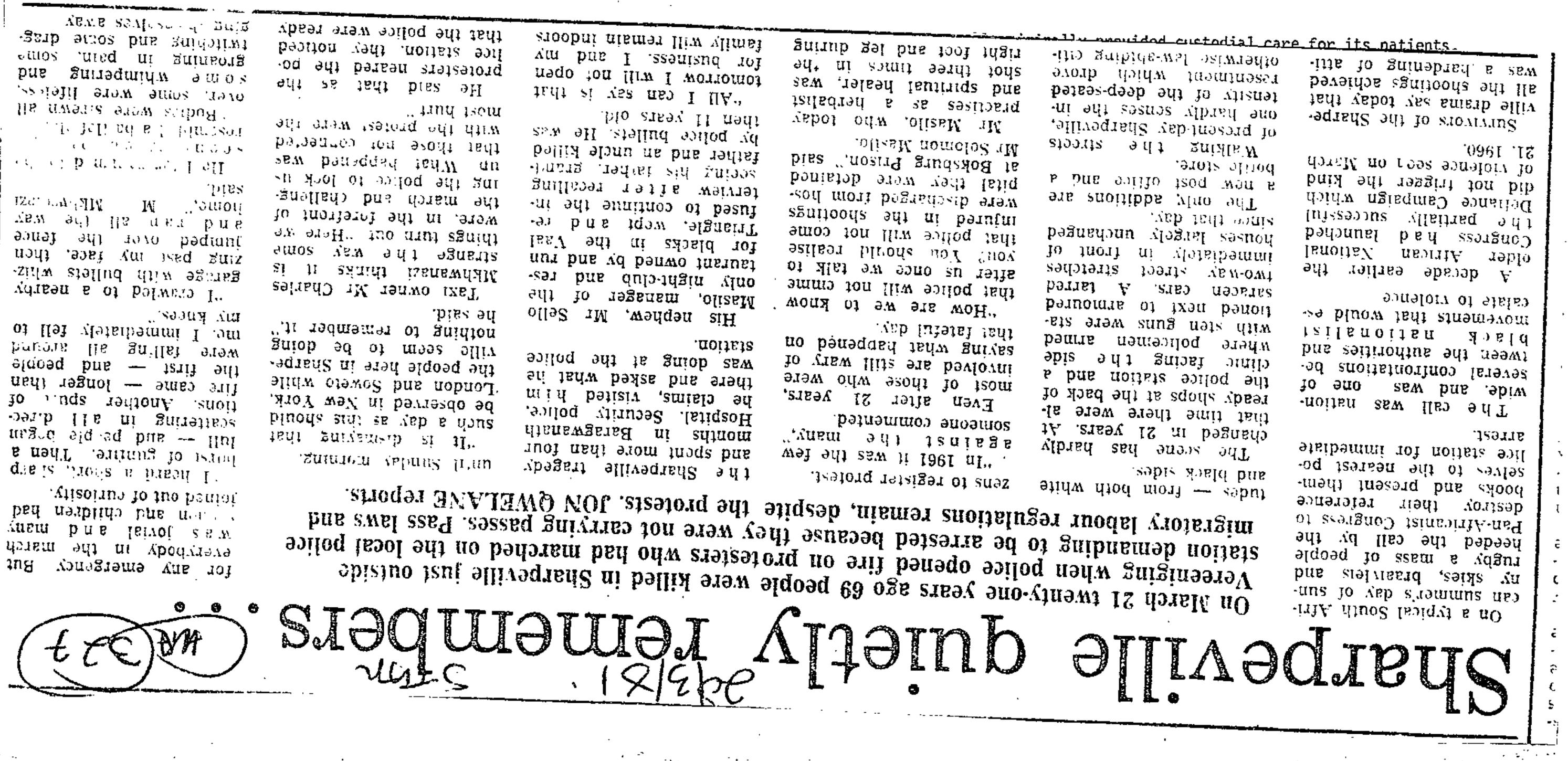
"However," he warned, "every time a hijack attempt succeeds in one way or another, it is an encouragement to other potential hijackers."

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Allister Sparks, Benjamin Pogrund, John Ryan, Lin Mango, newsbills by Peter Bunkell, headlines and subediting by Chris Smith, cartoons by Bob Connolly; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg

The opening of Westlake Institution marked the first effort by the state to provide facilities for 'Coloured' retards. A small percent of black mental defectives have nevertheless been accommodated in state mental hospitals.(17) These patients may be transferred to the private company-run institutions for care. The state assistance to Category II institutions (see Appendix III) catering for mental retardation was heavily biased in favour of facilities for white retards.

The plans for 1976 make no provision for facilities specifically for black mental retards. Facilities for 1 130 mentally defective whites and 1 000 mentally defective Coloureds are being planned. This highlights further the racial discrimination permeating the mental health system.

All patients in Smith Mitchell institutions are certified, and are all referred from "mother" state mental hospitals. Smith Mitchell receives a daily tariff per patient from the Department of Health. Despite the fact that Smith Mitchell is a private profit-making enterprise, their links with the Department of Health are close. Initially most nursing staff at Smith Mitchell institutions were seconded from the Department of Health. Although the situation has changed over the 13 years since 1963, the Department still employs key staff at the institutions. The Department also stages annual inspections of all institutions. Should Smith Mitchell be unable to deal with any individual patient the patient is referred back to the "mother" hospital for further treatment and referrals.



Sharpeville quietly remembers ...

On March 21 twenty-one years ago 69 people were killed in Sharpeville just outside Vereeniging when police opened fire on protesters who had marched on the local police station demanding to be arrested because they were not carrying passes. Pass laws and migratory labour regulations remain, despite the protests. JON QWELANE reports.

On a typical South African summer's day of sunny skies, braaivleis and rugby a mass of people heeded the call by the Pan-Africanist Congress to destroy their reference books and present themselves to the nearest police station for immediate arrest.

The call was nationwide, and was one of several confrontations between the authorities and black nationalist movements that would escalate to violence

A decade earlier the older African National Congress had launched the partially successful Defiance Campaign which did not trigger the kind of violence seen on March 21, 1960.

Survivors of the Sharpeville drama say today that all the shootings achieved was a hardening of attitudes — from both white and black sides.

The scene has hardly changed in 21 years. At that time there were already shops at the back of the police station and a clinic facing the side where policemen armed with sten guns were stationed next to armoured saracen cars. A tarred two-way street stretches immediately in front of houses largely unchanged since that day.

The only additions are a new post office and a bottle store.

Walking the streets of present-day Sharpeville, one hardly senses the intensity of the deep-seated resentment which drove otherwise law-abiding citizens to defy the hated pass laws and risk police bullets.

Mr Solomon Masilo, said to register protest.

"In 1961 it was the few against the many," someone commented.

Even after 21 years, most of those who were involved are still wary of saying what happened on that fateful day.

"How are we to know that police will not come after us once we talk to you? You should realise that police will not come immediately in front of houses largely unchanged since that day.

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(327) 21/3/87

RDM 21/3/81 (327) (3)

Fiasco as Dr K addresses Wits

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

PANDEMONIUM reigned for almost an hour at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday as the guest speaker, Dr Piet Koornhof, battled to shout a few disjointed sentences of his speech above jeers, shouting, singing and cheering.

The noise came from about 300 of the 1 200 students who packed the great hall for the lunchtime meeting.

Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, had been invited by two campus organisations, Political Forum and the Students Moderate Alliance, as a speaker in the series of political talks by spokesmen of the political parties contesting the General Election.

As Dr Koornhof walked onto the stage he was greeted with chanting of "Amandla," "Sieg Heil," "Free Mandela," "Get out" and "Remember Sharpeville."

About 200 students, many of them black, who were sitting near the front of the hall, waved posters bearing similar slogans and swastikas.

Another group of students, mostly sitting at the back of the hall, supported Dr Koornhof, chanting "Stem Nasionaal, stem Nasionaal" and trying to shout down the other student group.

Dr Koornhof attempted to start his address in a jovial mood, battling against the roar to "thank" the students for a "warm and hospitable welcome". He was soon drowned out with shouts of "Get out, fascist," "bull . . ." and "Where's your pass?"

Dr Koornhof responded: "At least it's exciting at Wits."

By the end of the meeting, a visibly furious Dr Koornhof was pelted with paper balls, made mostly with crumpled posters.

On two occassions during Dr Koornhof's attempt to speak, a few hundred students stood to sing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, the song of the banned African National Congress.

Dr Koornhof then shouted over the microphone, challenging the students to sing the National Anthem, Die Stem.

The rival group of students stood up and sang Die Stem. At one point Dr Koornhof joined in, singing loudly over the microphone.

The majority of students who squeezed their way into the hall, sat in silence, overwhelmed by the two rival groups.

At one point Dr Koornhof attempted to silence the students, and the audible words over the microphone were: "You are a disgrace to your University and South Africa . . . I am a Minister of State." He was soon drowned out by shouts of "Mandela can't speak, Mandela can't speak".

On three occasions the chairman, Mr Tony Leon, attempted to take the microphone and call for a vote on whether students wanted the meeting to continue.

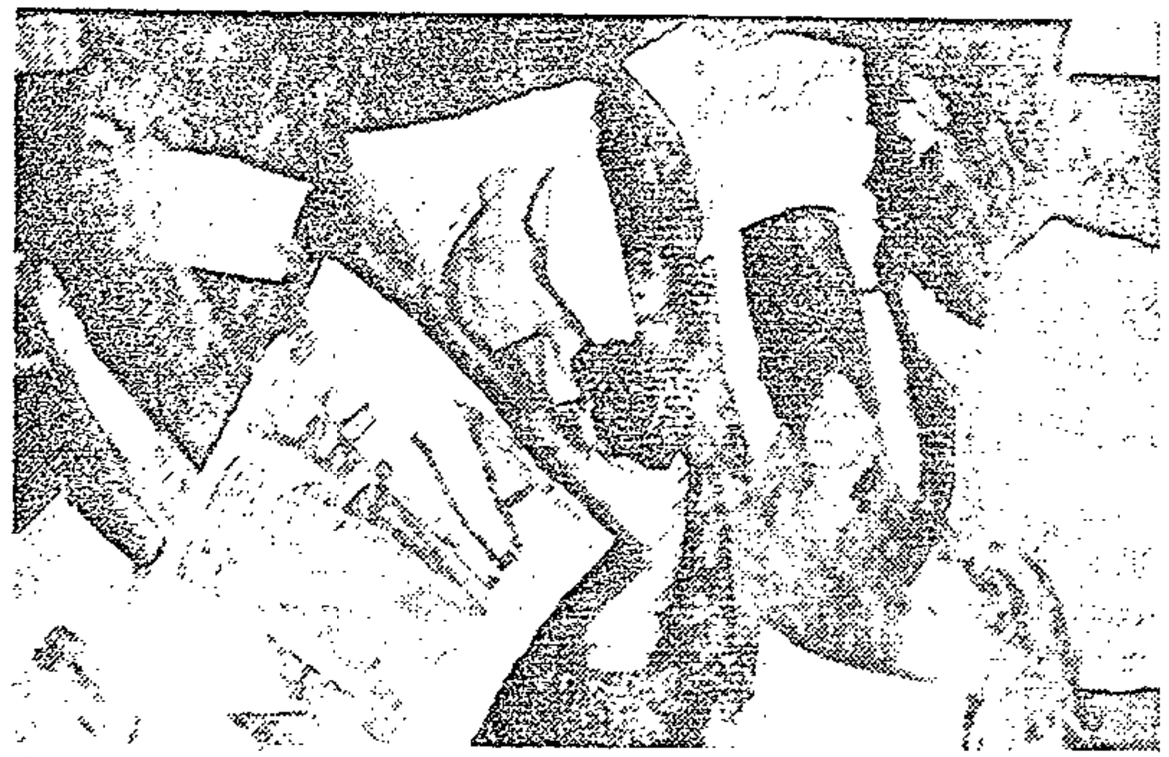
Dr Koornhof did not hand over the microphone, saying repeatedly he was determined to stand there for the full hour.

A photographer who leant out from a vantage point near the roof to photograph the audience was jeered and booed by students who suspected him of being a Security Police photographer.

As Dr Koornhof left the hall with his private secretary and the National Party MP for Johannesburg West, Mr Roelf Meyer, he repeated that he thought the students had disgraced the university.

After the meeting several scuffles between opposing sides broke out in the aisles of the hall as students left.

(Report by Helen Zille 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)



Wits students wave posters at the Minister of Co
Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, as he tries to addr

Chanting Wits students drown Koornhof speech

~~341~~ 327 CT 21/3/81

Own Correspondent

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Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, had been invited by two campus organizations, Political Forum and the Students Moderate Alliance, as a speaker in the series of political talks by spokesmen of the political parties contesting the general election.

Professor P Tyson, deputy vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, yesterday condemned the behaviour of students who had disrupted the meeting.

Heckling

It would not have been inappropriate for Dr Koornhof to have been heckled, Professor Tyson said, but he should not have been denied the opportunity to make his point as that is a denial of the freedom we preach."

As Dr Koornhof walked on to the stage he was greeted with chants of "Amandla", "Sieg Heil", "Free Mandela", "Get out" and "Remember Sharpeville".



Banner-waving students at yesterday's meeting at Wits.

A group of students, mostly sitting at the back of the hall, supported Dr Koornhof, chanting "Stem Nasionaal, stem Nasionaal" and trying to shout down the other student group.

Dr Koornhof attempted to start his address in a jovial mood, battling against the roar to "thank" the students for a "warm and hospitable welcome." He was soon drowned out with shouts of "Get out, fascist," "Bull. . . ." and "Where's your pass?"

Dr Koornhof responded: "At least it's exciting at Wits."

At the end of the meeting, a furious Dr Koornhof was pelted with paper balls, made mostly with crumpled posters.

On two occassions during Dr Koornhof's attempt to speak, a few hundred students stood to sing Nkosi Sikelele Afrika.

Dr Koornhof then shouted over the microphone, challenging the students to sing Die Stem.

The rival group of students stood up and sang Die Stem and at one point Dr Koornhof joined in, singing loudly over the microphone.

Most of the 1 200 students who squeezed their way into the hall, sat in silence, overwhelmed by the two rival groups.

On three occasions during the meeting, the chairman, Mr Tony Leon, attempted to take the microphone and call for a vote of whether students wanted the meeting to continue.

Dr Koornhof did not hand over the microphone, saying repeatedly he was determined to stand there for the full hour in front of the students.

Fascism

A photographer who leaned out from a vantage point near the roof to photograph the audience was jeered and booed by students who suspected him of being a security police photographer. The photographer could not be traced for comment.

Mr Tony Leon, who chaired the meeting, said the refusal to hear a dissenting point of view amounted to "fascism of the left."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, interviewed later, said: "You cannot stand for freedom of speech and not give a man a hearing. I think it is rank discourtesy to invite a man to the campus and then deny him a chance to put his point of view however disagreeable it may be."

(Report by Helen Zille, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

Chaos as Koornhof is silenced by students



Students wave placards and shout down Dr Koornhof at a campus meeting yesterday.

DD 21/3/81 (327)

JOHANNESBURG — Pandemonium reigned for almost an hour at a lunchtime meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, as the guest speaker, Dr Piet Koornhof, battled to shout a few disjointed sentences of his speech above jeers, shouting, singing and cheering from about 300 of the 1 200 students who attended.

Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, had been invited by two campus organisations as a speaker in a series of political talks.

As Dr Koornhof walked onto the stage he was greeted with chanting of "Amandla," "Sieg Heil," "Free Mandela," "Get out" and "Remember Sharpeville."

About 200 students, many of them black, waved posters bearing similar slogans and swastikas.

Another group of students supported Dr Koornhof, changing "Stem Nasionaal, stem Nasionaal" and trying to shout down the other student group.

Dr Koornhof attempted to start his address jovially, battling against the roar to "thank" the students for a "warm and hospitable welcome." He was soon drowned out with shouts of "Get out, fascist," "bullshit" and "Where's your pass?"

Dr Koornhof responded: "At least it's exciting at Wits."

By the end of the meeting, a visibly furious Dr Koornhof was pelted with paper balls.

On two occasions during Dr Koornhof's attempt to speak, a few hundred students stood to sing Nkosi Sikelele IAfrika, the black anthem.

Dr Koornhof then shouted over the microphone, challenging the students to sing the national anthem, Die Stem.

The rival group of students sang Die Stem and Dr Koornhof joined in, singing loudly.

The majority of the students sat in silence, overwhelmed by the two rival groups.

At one point Dr Koornhof attempted to silence the students, and said over the microphone: "You are a disgrace to your university and South Africa . . . I am a minister of state."

He was soon drowned out by shouts of "Mandela can't speak, Mandela can't speak."

On three occasions the chairman, Mr Tony Leon, attempted to take the microphone and call for a vote of whether students wanted the meeting to continue.

But Dr Koornhof repeatedly said he was determined to spend the full hour in front of the students.

After the meeting, several scuffles between opposing students broke out in the aisles of the hall as students left.

Strong reaction to the students' behaviour came from Professor P. Tyson, deputy vice-chancellor of Wits, who condemned their actions.

It would not have been inappropriate for Dr Koornhof to have been heckled, but he should not have been denied the opportunity to make his point "as that is a denial of the freedom we preach," Prof Tyson said.

His views were supported by the Progressive Federal Party MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, and Dr N. Motlana, chairman of the Committee of 10.

But Mr Sammy Adelman, president of the Wits SRC, said: "I don't see how a minister who is denying millions of South Africans the most basic democratic rights can be expected to be allowed to exercise his democratic right to campaign for a racist regime on a campus where he is not welcome."

(News by H. Zille, 177 Main Street, Johannesburg).



Dr Piet Koornhof makes a point at yesterday's meeting on the Wits campus.

Students under fire for disrupting speech

3M 327 RDM 21/3/81

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

PROFESSOR P TYSON, deputy Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, yesterday condemned the behaviour of students who caused pandemonium at a lunch time meeting on the campus at which Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, had been invited to speak.

In a comment on the chaotic meeting, during which Dr Koornhof battled to make himself heard above jeering, shouting, singing and cheering, Prof Tyson said the university encouraged its members to be critical, dispassionate and to listen to all points of view before making a decision.

"We reject intolerance and believe freedom of expression is central to our concept of academic freedom. We therefore believe that a person should be allowed to make his point before being criticised. This applies not only in person to person discussions, but also in public meetings," he said.

It would not have been inappropriate for Dr Koornhof to have been heckled, but he should not have been denied the opportunity to make his point "as that is a denial of the freedom we preach," Prof Tyson said.

Mr Donald Rallis, chairman of Political Forum, one of the groups that organised Dr Koornhof's meeting, said the organisation aimed at promoting "intelligent and meaningful political debate amongst students".

With this aim in mind the organisation had invited the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw and Dr Koornhof as a National Party spokesman to address the students in the run-up to the General Election.

Mr Rallis said he wished to point out it was a "vocal minority" that had disrupted the meeting.

"Their behaviour does not further the ideal of freedom of speech or the goal of academic freedom that the University of the Witwatersrand has stood for throughout its history," he said.

Most students would probably not have agreed with what Dr Koornhof had to say, but were appalled at the way he was treated, Mr Rallis said.

Mr Tony Leon, a committee member of Political Forum, who chaired the meeting, said the refusal to hear a dissenting point of view amounted to "fascism of the Left".

Mr Ghaleb Cachalia, a member of the Black Students Society, defended the disruption of the meeting. He summed up the feeling of the group of students and sixteen student organisations opposed to a Government Minister being invited to the campus.

He said Dr Koornhof had been invited to Wits to "speak freely to air his views about the forthcoming elections when the majority of people in this country are not allowed to vote".

While Dr Koornhof was granted the freedom to speak, those who "fundamentally" opposed the Government was immediately denied freedom of speech, Mr Cachalia said.

For this reason there was no sense in talking about Dr Koornhof's democratic right to speak until others enjoyed the same right.

The Black Students' Society and other campus groups who opposed the invitation to Dr Koornhof, stood for everybody's democratic right to speak, he said.

Dr Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, took a different line.

He said: "I think that if students invite a person to the campus it is common courtesy to hear him out. I disapprove of such behaviour."

Commenting on the fact that many students had opposed the invitation, Dr Motlana said: "That is a fight the students should have had out before Dr Koornhof came to the campus."

Once he was there, he should have been allowed to speak. "The students shouldn't have gone to the meeting merely to disrupt it," he said.

Dr Motlana said he had been invited to speak at the University on Tuesday next week "and I wouldn't like to see them doing the same thing after I have been invited to speak".

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, supported Dr Motlana's view.

"While I fully understand the frustration and intense disappointment about Dr Koornhof's unfulfilled promises, nevertheless, the principle of freedom of speech mut be respected.

"You cannot stand for freedom of speech and not give a man a hearing.

"You may decide from the beginning you are going to disagree with what he says but I think it is rank discourtesy to invite a man to the campus and then deny him a chance to put his point of view however disagreeable it may be," Mrs Suzman said.

She had spoken at both the Universities of Stellenbosch and the University of the Orange Free State and was given a courteous reception on both campuses although she was sure many students disagreed very strongly with what she said.

(Report by Helen Zille, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

POLITICAL comment in this issue by Allister Sparks, Benjamin Pogrund, newsbills by Mike Stent; headlines and sub-editing by Chris Smith; cartoons by Bob Connolly; all of 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.



MINISTER of Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koornhof tries to make himself heard while some of the Wits students jeer, sing, chant and wave posters.

Jeers for Koornhof

NM 21/3/81 (327)

Pandemonium at Wits as opposing students chant and sing during speech

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Pandemonium reigned for almost an hour at a lunchtime meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday, as the guest speaker, Dr Piet Koornhof, battled to shout above jeers, shouting, singing and cheering of about 300 of the 1 200 students.

Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, had been invited by two campus organisations, Political Forum and the Students' Moderate Alliance, as a speaker in the series of talks by spokesmen of the political parties contesting the general election.

As Dr Koornhof walked on to the stage he was greeted with chanting of 'Amandla', 'Sieg Heil', 'Free Mandela', 'Get out' and 'Remember Sharpeville'.

About 200 students, many of them black, who were sitting near the front of the hall, waved posters bearing similar slogans and swastikas.

Another group of students, mostly sitting at the back of the hall, supported Dr Koornhof, chanting 'Stem Nasionaal, stem Nasionaal' and trying to shout down the other student group.

Dr Koornhof attempted to start his address in a jovial mood, battling against the roar to thank the students for a 'warm and hospitable welcome'.

He was soon drowned out with shouts of 'Get out, fascist', and 'Where's your pass?'

Dr Koornhof responded: 'At least it's exciting at Wits.'

By the end of the meeting, a visibly furious Dr Koornhof was pelted with paper balls.

On two occasions during Dr Koornhof's attempt to speak, a few hundred students stood to sing *Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika*.

Microphone

Dr Koornhof then shouted over the microphone, challenging the students to sing the national anthem, *Die Stem*. The rival group of students stood up and sang *Die Stem* and at one point Dr Koornhof joined in, singing loudly over the microphone.

The majority of the students sat in silence, overwhelmed by the two rival groups.

At one point Dr Koornhof attempted to silence the students, and the audible words over the microphone were: 'You are a disgrace to your university and South Africa . . . I am a Minister of State.'

He was soon drowned out by shouts of 'Mandela can't speak, Mandela can't speak'.

On three occasions during the meeting, the chairman, Mr Tony Leon, who is also a committee member of Political Forum, attempted to take the microphone and call for a vote on whether students wanted the meeting to continue.

Dr Koornhof did not hand over the microphone, saying repeatedly he was determined to stand there for the full hour in front of the students.

Mr Leon slammed the behaviour of students who had disrupted the meeting, calling them a 'disgrace to the university' and apologising to Dr Koornhof.

After the meeting several scuffles between opposing sides broke out in the aisles as students left the hall.

Prof P Tyson, deputy vice-chancellor of the university, yesterday condemned the behaviour of students who had disrupted the meeting. He said the university encouraged its members to be critical, dispassionate and to listen to all points of view before making a decision.

'We reject intolerance and believe freedom of expression is central to our concept of academic freedom.

'We therefore believe that a person should be allowed to make his point before being criticised.'

Freedom

Mr Donald Rallis, chairman of Political Forum, one of the groups who organised Dr Koornhof's meeting, said it was a 'vocal minority' that had disrupted the meeting.

'Their behaviour does not further the ideal of freedom of speech or the goal of academic freedom that the university has stood for throughout its history,' he said.

Most students would probably not have agreed with what Dr Koornhof had to say, but were appalled at the way he was treated, Mr Rallis said.

Mr Leon said the refusal to hear a dissenting point of view amounted to 'fascism of the Left'.

He said it was ironic that many of the students who had disrupted the meeting were Nusas members and the Nusas theme for 1981 was 'Students for a demo-

TURN TO PAGE 2

of individual immunity or susceptibility to the disease, and believe that

Koornhof

FROM PAGE

cratic future'.

Mr Ghaleb Cachalia, a member of the Black Students' Society, defended the disruption of the meeting.

Courtesy

He said Dr Koornhof had been invited to 'speak freely when the majority of people in this country are not allowed to vote'.

Dr Motlana, chairman of Soweto's Committee of Ten, said: 'I think that if students invite a person to the campus it is common courtesy to hear him out. I disapprove of such behaviour.'

Dr Motlana said he had been invited to speak at the university on Tuesday next week 'and I wouldn't like to see them doing the same thing after I have been invited to speak'.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, said: 'You cannot stand for freedom of speech and not give a man a hearing.'

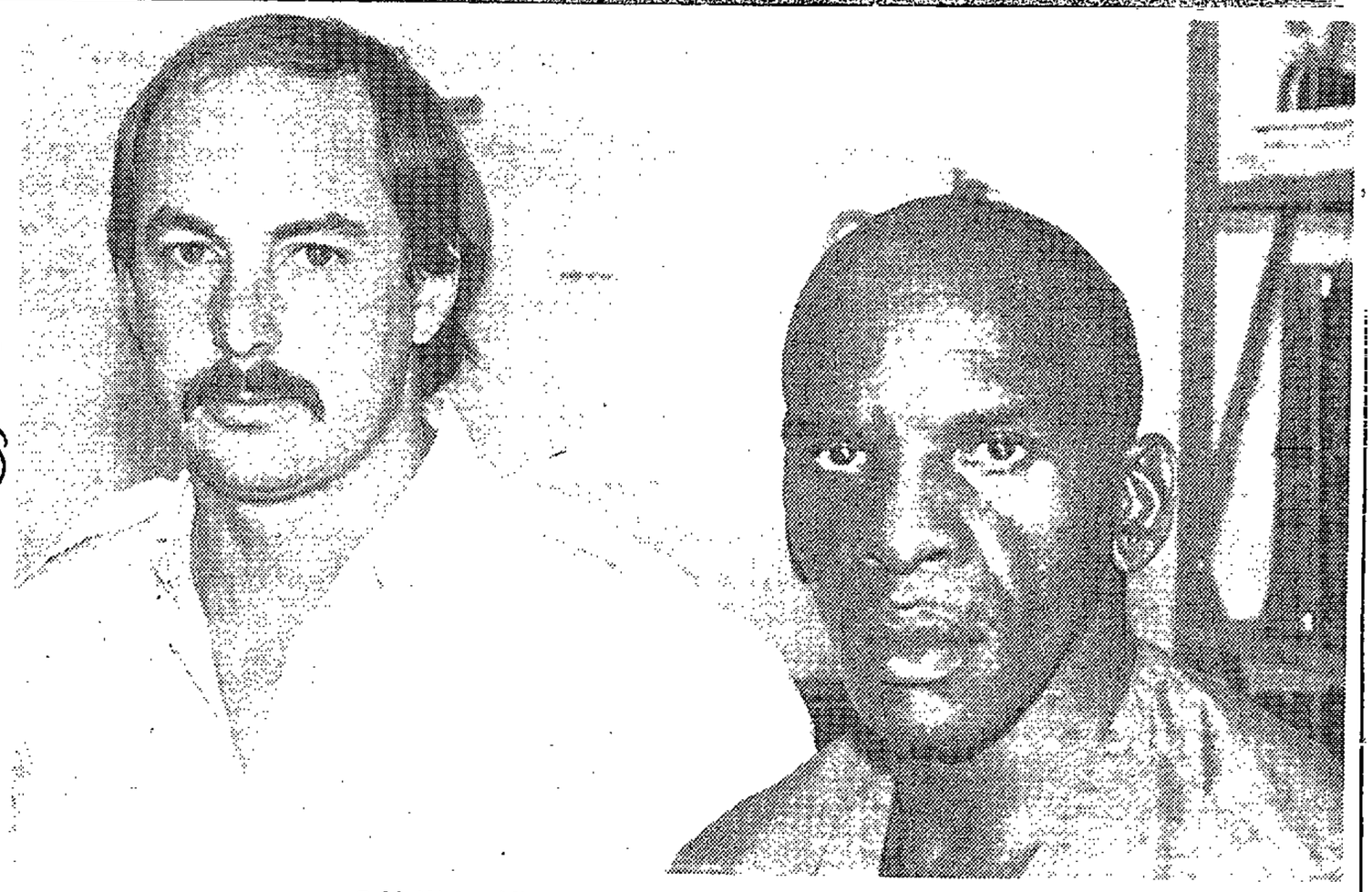
(Report by H Zille, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

to support.(264) Whilst the Chamber of Mines provides 'excellent

WALTER CLAIMS HE WAS HANDCUFFED, BEATEN AND GIVEN ELECTRIC SHOCKS

Railways Police accused of assault, torture

S. Express 22/3/81 327 251 270



● Mr Walter Mkhize and his employer Mr Mark Cutting.

FRIDAY the 13th is a day Walter Mkhize, 36, of Durban would sooner forget. But the scars he now carries will be a constant reminder of the torture he allegedly suffered at the hands of four Railways policemen.

The South African Police have opened a docket and are investigating several charges against the officers.

This week, in a sworn statement handed to the police — a copy of which was obtained by the Sunday Express — Mr Mkhize told of his night of terror and torture.

He claimed the men — who identified themselves as Railways policemen — first swore at him and then assaulted him with their fists.

Later, he alleges, he was beaten and given electric shocks on his genitals and other parts of his body.

SUNDAY EXPRESS EXCLUSIVE

By DARYL BALFOUR

Mr Mkhize, speaking awkwardly because of a swollen mouth, told the Sunday Express that on Friday evening he went to a hotel near where he worked to fetch some money from a friend working there.

"As I came out of the hotel three White men and a woman were standing in the hotel entrance. I asked them to excuse me, which they did, and I walked past.

"When I had gone past one of them called out in Afrikaans: 'Hey, jou kaffir, wat dink jy is jy? Kom hier.'

"I replied: 'Are you calling me a kaffir?' and after he replied yes, I told him to 'go and get stuffed' and turned to walk away," Mr Mkhize said.

Mr Mkhize said he was then grabbed from behind and thrown to the ground.

"They picked me up and one of the men punched me in the mouth while another hit me behind my ear. I again fell and they continued assaulting me until a South African Police squad car pulled up.

"One of the members of the group told the sergeant in the car that he was in the Railway Police and produced identification. He also alleged that he had a warrant for my arrest and that I was being assaulted for resisting arrest," Mr Mkhize said.

He said he told the sergeant it was the first time he had been told anything about an arrest warrant and asked to see it. He was told it was at the Railway Police office.

Mr Mkhize said he was then taken to the Railway Police offices in the police car.

"Then they came to me and asked me to sign a note saying that I would not lay any charges of assault against them," Mr Mkhize alleged in his statement.

He told them he was not prepared to sign any such note, but said he did not intend laying charges.

Mr Mkhize alleged he was then told that if he signed the note he would be allowed to go home. He agreed, but when told to write his identity number on the note he confused the numbers. When he men noticed the error they allegedly accused him of lying and attempting to cheat them.

"One of the men took my hands and handcuffed them behind my back while I was seated on a chair.

"Then one of them took my shoes and socks off and put a towel over my eyes," Mr Mkhize alleges.

After further assaults Mr Mkhize said he heard one of the men — a fourth man had joined them — suggest he be given a "tokoloshe" to make him talk.

"At one stage I felt something being laced around my toes on the left foot and something else wrapped around the second toe of my right foot.

"Then one of the men said: 'give it to him'.

"I felt a jarring shock to my body and fell to the floor with the chair. The towel fell off my head and I could see four men in the office," he alleged.

After further shocks and more questioning, Mr Mkhize alleged, the electric wire was attached to his genitals and the shocks resumed.

"I must have fainted because when I woke up there was water being thrown over me. They carried on asking questions and resumed the electric shocks.

"Then I heard one of the group say that that was enough for they might kill me."

He said he was then put in a van and taken to the Cato Manor cells. He was held there until the Saturday evening when he was taken to hospital.

Mr Mkhize said in his statement that he had suffered swollen and cut lips, bruising behind an ear and on his wrists, a bloody nose and burns on his toes and penis where the electric flex was wrapped.

The senior investigating officer of the Railways Police in Durban, Colonel D S Malan, refused to comment and said the matter was in the hands of the Attorney-General.

Mr Mark Cutting, Mr Mkhize's employer for two years, said he was disgusted by the alleged torture and assault.

He said Mr Mkhize had proved "100% reliable" and had never been in trouble.

a very important, usually very destructive, role.

As with all organisations, committees and groups, these power struggles are based on personality clashes and peoples emotional desire for power, jealousy, etc. In the reserves these conflicts are set within the context of the various patron - client relationships operating. There are certain local patron figures involved with most, if not all, the community projects I came across. They play a central role in securing support and assistance from groups outside the area, be these government, charity or whatever. As liason people they also bring in new ideas techniques and contacts.

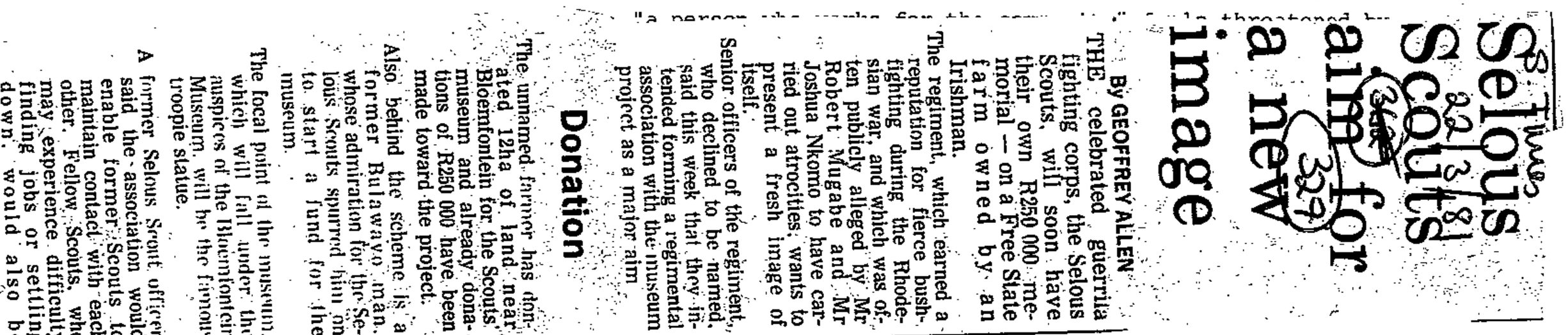
While there are cases whe- jects to benefit themselve- can by no means generalise- prestige value of being in- seem pretty general. This people are not also sincere aim to overcome.

Very often the patron figure transport rider. Often all t- area are involved, for example priests, nurses, doctors and teachers. Often there are only a few "community figures" in an area and thus it happens that all of them may expect to be given prominent positions in the project and are insulted if this does not happen. For example, in the Ipoti creche project, there was no emphasis on specifically including the most educated people in the area, although the project was generally advertised and it was open to everyone to come forward and play some role if they wished. A group of teachers and a priest were very insulted by this and told government officials and local people that the project was run by a clique and that it was going to be a business for that clique and not a creche anyway.

The occurance of clique controlled projects, the suspicion of them and the antagonism they generate is pretty general and influential. In Kwa-Zulu there is a creche project which is

being assisted by a local development agency. An old lady had been looking after large numbers of children for years, and the project was to turn the set-up into a formal creche with a special building and later other staff. When the old lady's son heard of the plans for the creche, he advised his mother not to get involved because a project in an area always means power struggles and group conflicts and she would be drawn into these. However, he later did support the creche project and it did later lead to tensions and conflict in the area, which are now partly resolved due to a committee having been elected.

It happens fairly often that someone who gets prestige as



Selous Scouts aim for a new image

By GEOFFREY ALLEN

THE celebrated guerrilla fighting corps, the Selous Scouts, will soon have their own R250 000 memorial — on a Free State farm owned by an Irishman.

The regiment, which earned a reputation for fierce bush-fighting during the Rhodesian war, and which was often publicly alleged by Mr Robert Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo to have carried out atrocities, wants to present a fresh image of itself.

Senior officers of the regiment, who declined to be named, said this week that they intended forming a regimental association with the museum project as a major aim.

Donation

The unnamed farmer has donated 12ha of land near Bloemfontein for the Scouts' museum and already donations of R250 000 have been made toward the project.

Also behind the scheme is a former Bulawayo man, whose admiration for the Selous Scouts spurred him on to start a fund for the museum.

The focal point of the museum, which will fall under the auspices of the Bloemfontein Museum, will be the famous troopie statue.

A former Selous Scout officer said the association would enable former Scouts to maintain contact with each other. Fellow Scouts, who may experience difficulty finding jobs or settling down, would also be assisted.

Another dimension to the power struggle issue is that it inhibits all kinds of grass roots response and involvement from local people. Where patron figures are involved in projects mainly for prestige and power they do not foster any attempts by the ordinary poor people to direct and be responsible for the project. Thus one gets the situation that has arisen at the Zenzele centre at Idolophu. NM wants to remain in control and so she dominates the project and dampens all initiative from ordinary poor people and they lose all self-confidence and either leave completely or accept a subservient role. Thus the project has no real popular base and it cannot really work.

15. <u>EXPERIENCE OF "DEVELOPMENT" LEADING TO A CHANGE IN CONSCIOUSNESS</u>.

In various parts of this paper I have mentioned but not isolated the importance of the educative aspects of being involved in

py and the cash that went astray

S. Times 22/3/81

(25) 327

A SELF-CONFESSED South African spy, Mr Karl Zachary Edwards, used another South African spy to send nearly R100 000 of funds intended for community development to South Africa where it landed in a bank account controlled by Mr Edwards himself.

He then lent almost half the money to a long-standing friend, and later tried to obtain retroactive approval from the charitable organisation expecting the money.

Mr Edwards has admitted working as a South African spy.

He said he worked in close contact with the Security Branch agent, Capt Craig Williamson.

But he has refused to say whether he worked for the Security Branch or for the National Intelligence Service (formerly BOSS).

The bizarre story of the money that went astray begins about 1978 when Mr Edwards persuaded the World University Service (WUS) to double its annual R50 000 gift to the Environmental Development Agency (EDA), a local charitable organisation which he had helped to found and for which he was fundraiser.

The full sum — R99 890 — was channeled at Mr Edwards's request via his long-standing friend, super-spy Capt Williamson, who was then operating undercover as a senior official in the International University Exchange Fund in Geneva.

The IUEF funded a variety of anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa, some open and some clandestine.

According to WUS, a cheque for the full amount was sent to Capt Williamson, after which the money apparently moved through a mysterious European company to the Banque National de Paris.

WUS sources say the money was later split so that R50 000 went to EDA and the rest to a Johannesburg-based company, Development Consultants SA, of which Mr Edwards was the sole director.

Capt Williamson disputes this version, saying he was asked by WUS to send a cheque for 200 000 Swiss francs to South Africa. The cheque was already made out to Development Consultants when he received it, and he merely mailed it to that money has been invested on behalf of, and for the benefit of, the Environmental Development Agency.

"It is hereby confirmed that the Environmental Development Agency has sole and full jurisdiction over the disbursement of the funds, for the purposes for which they were originally intended, i.e. rural and community development."

The EDA directors refused to sign, and told Mr Edwards and Mr Vianello they wanted the money paid into their agency's account immediately.

Mr Vianello made erratic repayments of the principal sum but refused to pay the interest of R1 500 because, he said, a present co-director of EDA, Mr Cedric de Beer, had been nasty to him.

Mr Edwards also channeled money from Geneva through an EDA sister organisation to the Grahamstown self-help project Delta, whose leader, Mr Guy Berger, was this week found guilty in Port Elizabeth on seven counts of contraventions of the Internal Security Act.

In his role as fundraiser for EDA, Mr Edwards also obtained R3 000 from an educational fund controlled by Capt Williamson's sister Alisa.

At the time that he left EDA Mr Edwards helped establish another funding organisation, Rural Community Development Trust, together with Professor G R Bozzoli the former principal of the University of the Witwatersrand.

At Mr Edwards's suggestion Mr Vianello was made the trust's accountant but after its first two years he was not reappointed.

According to the trust's financial report for 1979/80 an amount of R710 was sent to Mr Guy Berger's Delta organisation in 1978 for building materials required for a community centre at the Thornhill resettlement camp near Port Elizabeth.

The money came originally from the International University Exchange Fund.

At Mr Beger's trial a witness identified only as M A confirmed that he had been at Rhodes University with Mr Berger and that he had channeled R200 to Delta.

Port Elizabeth-born Mr Edwards has confirmed that he was a secret agent in February 1980 when Capt Williamson returned to South Africa from Geneva.

He said that he intended talking about his exploits once he had ministerial approval, but has not done so.

This week he could not be traced. However, Mr Edwards did have a table booked for last night at the very expensive Hertford restaurant near Johannesburg, a Security Branch haunt where he lived until January 1980.

Together with Capt Williamson he was a uniformed South African policeman until 1970.

After leaving the force he infiltrated the student organisation Nusas where he met Mr Cedric de Beer who was in charge of arranging seminars.

In 1976 they both attended a Nusas seminar in Maritzburg on rural development.

Mr de Beer said: "Out of the talks there and through our continuing conversations, the idea for EDA arose.

"Ironically, Karl and I started the agency in the same week in 1977 that Williamson left for Europe to continue his spying activities.

"Karl was not really much use in the administration.

"He was very secretive, often disappeared for long periods — he was once gone without explanation for six weeks — and had a very manipulative manner.

"In the end he did so little around here that we suggested to him after a series of very tense meetings that he should resign."



South African spy Karl Edwards, left, and Security Branch man Craig Williamson

Williamson used to send 'lost' charity funds

By GEOFFREY ALLEN and MARTIN WELZ



rivate consumer spending in 1951 to 1959. Annexure to

SUMPTION EXPENDITURE IN
CES (1959)

company's address in Johannesburg. He says exchange control records confirm his account.

In any event, by the time the money was transferred from Geneva to Johannesburg — sometime in 1979 — Mr Edwards had resigned as co-director of EDA at the request of its present directors and had no authority over its financial affairs.

He banked R50 000 in a defunct EDA account but retained the remaining R49 890, and later lent it to an old schoolfriend, Sydney Vianello.

The EDA co-directors, Mr Cedric de Beer and Mr Robert Berold, wrote to the World University Service about this time to inquire exactly what amount had been negotiated by Mr Edwards and whether it was intended for them.

In reply, a WUS official wrote that the money had been intended for EDA and was transferred from Geneva in August 1979.

He wrote: "I agree entirely about financial transactions taking place through intermediaries which seems to me to be entirely superfluous and over-dramatic.

"The loan made by Karl to Vianello is very worrying. We are extremely concerned that money should have been lent to an individual at all, irrespective of the purpose of the loan or the rate of interest. I have written to Karl about this and would like you to request that the money be transferred back to EDA immediately."

The story of how WUS sent the money via a circuitous route through Mr Edwards's bank account emerged this week after Mr Vianello, a former employee of the Anglo American Corporation, had agreed in an out-of-court settlement to pay R750 in interest charges on the loan.

Before the out-of-court settlement was reached, Mr Vianello told the Sunday Times that as a friend and accountant to Mr Edwards he had arranged the circuitous transfer of the money through Europe.

Mr Vianello, who with Mr Edwards was educated at the Grey High School in Port Elizabeth and Rhodes University, now claims to control five companies of his own.

He approached the Sunday Times to discover whether the court application, set down for last week but abandoned after the settlement, would be reported.

Later, he admitted that transferring the money without proper authorisation into Mr Edwards's account amounted to theft.

"I did it because he asked me to . . . I'm very worried about my name coming into this," Mr Vianello said.

According to documents lodged with the EDA, Mr Edwards attempted to get EDA officials to sign an agreement lending the R49 890 to Mr Vianello.

He first told the EDA directors by telephone that he had "lodged" the money with Mr Vianello, then called a meeting at which he introduced them to Mr Vianello and asked them to sign a document which he had himself signed on September 5 1979.

The document purported to be an agreement by which Mr Edwards, as sole director of Development Consultants SA, invested the money with Mr Vianello.

The agreement says: "This

Police question Erapo leader

By SELLO RABOTHATA

THE secretary of the East Rand People's Organisation (Erapo), Mr Ntuli, claimed yesterday that security police had questioned him on his organisation's activities.

Mr Ntuli, of Thokoza, said that three plain clothes policemen had come to his place of employment at about 10.00 am. They questioned him on Erapo's constitution, aims and were concerned with black consciousness organisations, he claimed.

He added that after he told the policemen that the organisation had no constitution, they had told him that they would come again tomorrow (Wednesday).

MOURNING

Meanwhile, Mr Ntuli said that Erapo would not like to see the people in the East Rand ignoring the mourning period. He has said that if in future shows were held during this period, Erapo would take further steps.

Erapo had earlier called for the cancellation of the Heat Wave 81 festival held at the Sinaba Stadium on Saturady, but later agreed to the staging of the festival on condition that the groups observed a two minutes silence in commemoration of the Sharpeville shooting.

Col F N Swart, the PRO for East Rand Police, was yesterday not available for comment on Mr Ntuli's allegations.

STAATSKOERANT

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Vol. 188] KAAPSTAD, 24 FEBRUARIE 1981 CAPE TOWN, 24 FEBRUARY 1981 [No. 7458

GG

KANTOOR VAN DIE EERSTE MINISTER

No. 432. 24 Februarie 1981.

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

No. 432. 24 February 1981.

It is hereby notified that the State President has assented to the following Act which is hereby published

S.A Republic Constitution

327

Challenge to critics on the Dr K fiasco

RDM 24/3/87

327

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

BLACK students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday posed a series of questions to the university administration and critics of the students' behaviour during the controversial appearance by Dr Piet Koornhof.

The Black Students' Society (BSS) said in a statement: "We hear much criticism about the students' action, not least from the university administration."

The BSS asked:

- "Where were the critics and the opposition to the pelting with eggs of Helen Joseph (now banned) at a campus mass meeting?
- "Where was the administration's support for the Free Mandela campaign?
- "Where was the administration when three students and a lecturer at the university were arrested during the schools boycott last year and finally silenced under the Riotous Assemblies Act?"

The principal and vice-chancellor, Professor J D du Plessis, said through a spokesman at his office yesterday that he did not wish to comment.

Prof Du Plessis and senior academics at the university have condemned the behaviour of those students who demonstrated against Dr Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

Prof Du Plessis has announced the holding of an official inquiry.

The chairman of the Wits Students' Representative Council, Mr Sammy Adelman, was reported at the weekend as saying he would not co-operate with the inquiry.

The students' actions have also been condemned by a number of individuals and organisations, and endorsed by others.

In its statement, the BSS said Dr Koornhof's meeting was organised by "PFP students on campus in co-operation with the Students' not-so-moderate Alliance".

"The aim of the meeting was to give Dr Koornhof the opportunity to put his Government's case for the veiled preservation of a white-dominated South Africa to students in the light of the forthcoming not-so-General Election.

"Those who were present at the meeting witnessed a spontaneous outburst by half the students in the capacity-packed hall."

The BSS said the outburst was in protest against Dr Koornhof and the Government he represented, and against "the past and intended policies aimed at enforcing and maintaining the status quo".

"We firmly uphold the essential and universal principles of freedom of speech, but it is important to note that this principle is constantly denied to the majority of South Africans.

"Moreover, it is enforced by bannings, arrests, detention without trial, forced removals and even the death penalty. Dr Koornhof at least was only subjected to heckling."

- Sapa reports that in a statement yesterday, Prof Du Plessis said any attempt to prevent a speaker invited by a recognised student society from expressing his views on campus was in conflict with the ethos of the university and brought the institution into disrepute.

"The University is committed to the concept of academic freedom. The freedom of expression is an inherent component of academic freedom."

(News by A Akhalwaya, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg.)

(127 workers had no cattle at all)

one had 5 cows.

one had 2 and

One worker had one cow,

Cattle:

4 had 4 donkeys.

3 had 3 donkeys and

21 had two donkeys

2 had one donkey each,

100 workers had no donkeys, (76, 92%)

Donkeys:

DD 24/3/81 (BLK) (327)

Wits principal slates student action

JOHANNESBURG — Any attempt to prevent a speaker — invited by a recognised student society — from expressing his views on the campus of the University of the Witwatersrand, was in conflict with the ethos of the university and brought the institution into disrepute, the university's vice-chancellor and principal, Professor D. J. du Plessis, said in a statement yesterday.

Prof Du Plessis was reacting to the behaviour of a group of students who disrupted a meeting last Friday at which the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, had been invited to speak but was shouted down.

"The university is committed to the concept of academic freedom. The freedom of expression is an inherent component of academic freedom," said Prof Du Plessis.

He said the behaviour of the students "was contrary to the university's basic principles and most strongly deprecated".

"I greatly regret our students should have been guilty of such unscholarly behaviour and bad manners towards an invited guest. The cause of freedom of speech is damaged by such gross misbehaviour," he said.

Meanwhile Students Representative Council chairman, Mr Sammy Adelman, maintains Dr Koornhof had not been invited by the student body as represented by the SRC and was therefore unwelcome on campus.

"Wits has consistently been a target of government repression, bannings, detentions and intimidation. When a man who boasts 3 017 blacks being forcibly removed from their homes, and is responsible for the enforcement of the pass system, speaks on campus the day before the 21st anniversary of Sharpeville, it is sheer hypocrisy to ask that he be given a fair chance," a statement by the students reads.

The students' reasons for protesting against the presence of Dr Koornhof have been endorsed by prominent figures such as Nadine Gordimer, Andre Brink, the Rev Sam Buti, Dr Nthatho Motlana, Hassan Howa, Dr Essop Jassit, David Webster, Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash, Neusa, Nusas and Saspu — the black students society at Wits. — SAPA.

Editorial opinion, Page 14.

647: Miller, op. cit., p. 2.

Johannesburg, 1977), p. Bouhuys and Gee, in Tho 1 330.

83. Ziskind et al, op. cit

84. Warwick and Webster, 1 204; Spencer, op. op. cit., p. 21.

85. Green et al, op. cit. p. 13.

86. Green, op. cit., p.

87. International Labour of Occupational Heal p. 946.

88. Ibid., pp. 693-694; op. cit., pp. 59-60, pp. 371-373.

89. Green et al, op. cit

90. Ibid., Reid, L., 'Th in Rogan, (ed.), op

91. Green, op. cit., p.

92. Ibid., pp. 698-699.

93. Ibid., p. 702; Sha evidence of I. Webs

94. Steele, op. cit., p

95. Miller, op. cit., p

96. Ziskind et al, op. 56-57; Hunter, op

97. Irvine, op. cit.,

98. Hunter, op. cit., p. 907.

99. Ziskind et al, op. cit., p. 647; Miller, op. cit., p. 2.

100. Ibid., p. 698.

101. Ibid., p. 702; Shaw writers refer to the 'hostile' evidence of I. Webster, Green, op. cit., p. 691, in Liebow and Smith (eds.),

102. Steele, op. cit., p. 38; Warwick and Webster,

30.

63. Archibald, R.McL., 'Personal Protective Equipment', in Rogan, (ed.), op. cit., p. 314; 145; Ziskind et al, op. cit, p. pp. 1 006-1 007.

69. Ziskind et al, op. cit., pp. 645, 661; See also Hunter, op. cit., pp. 999-1 000, for illustrations of changes in industrial processes.

70. Webster, op. cit., p. 59.

71. Webster, I.,(a) 'Simson Memorial Lecture: Silicosis in South Africa', in Shapiro, (ed.), op. cit., pp. 359-360. See also Hunter, op. cit., p. 1 008, who states that the use of aluminium by pottery workers showed neither positive nor negative results in provoking silicosis. industrial processes.

72. Webster, op. cit., p. 59.

73. Ibid., Hunter, op. cit., p. 1 007; Unnumbered Government Publication 1937, p. 226.

74. For detailed anatomical descriptions, see Warwick, R., and Williams, P., (eds.), Gray's Anatomy (35th edition, Edinburgh, 1973) pp. 1 190-1 196 passim.

75. Ibid., p. 1 172; Webster, op. cit., p. 13; Weibel, E.R., 'Airways and Respiratory Surface', in Liebow, A.A., and Smith D.E., (eds), The Lung (Baltimore, 1968), p. 1.

76. Webster, op. cit., p. 8; See also Warwick and Webster, op. cit., p. 1 200.

76a. For a detailed description see Warwick and Webster, op. cit., pp. 1 184ff; Webster, op. cit., p. 7; Farber, S.M., and Wilson, R.H.L., 'Chronic Obstructive Emphysema', Clinical Symposia, V.20, No. 2, April-May-June 1968, pp. 36-38; Robbins, S.L., Pathologic Basis of Disease (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 783.

77. Weibel, op. cit., p. 5. Many writers refer to the 'hostile' environment. See, for example, Green, op. cit., p. 691, and Liebow, A.A., 'Epilogue', in Liebow and Smith (eds.), op. cit.,p. 369.

77a. For a comprehensive description, see Spencer, op. cit., V. 1, pp. 48ff.

78. Farber and Wilson, op. cit., p. 38; Warwick and Webster, op. cit., p. 1 203.

79. Weibel, op. cit., p. 2.

80. Farber and Wilson, op. cit., p. 38; Warwick and Webster, op. cit., p. 1 203.

81. Ibid; West, J.B., 'Disturbances of Respiratory Function' in Thorn, et al (eds.), op. cit., pp. 1 333 - 1 334; Weibel, op. cit., p. 5.

82. Farber and Wilson, op. cit., p. 38; Warwick and Webster, op. cit., p. 1 204; Weibel, op. cit., p. 5.

DD 25/3/81

(327)

Boshoff: ditch idea of violent overthrow

UMTATA — The idea that the Afrikaner government of South Africa could be overthrown by violence and its wealth and territory distributed among other nations should be abandoned, the chairman of the Broederbond, Prof Carl Boshoff, said at the University of Transkei here yesterday.

Prof Boshoff, chairman of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and dean of theology at Pretoria University, was giving a lunch-hour address promoting a constellation of states.

"My objective for Southern Africa is a sub-continent of sovereign states who co-operate with each other on an equal basis," he said.

"Normal inter-state relations require recognition of the fundamental right of self - determination. African states have appealed for this right, enabling them to cast off the colonial yoke and end foreign domination. Therefore we are not moving against the tide of international thinking.



PROF BOSHOFF

"A nation must be granted the right of giving priority to its own interests, otherwise smaller nations will be swamped. We in South Africa will not accept cultural suffocation."

Prof Boshoff said nations would meet and co-operate only if they enjoyed equal status in the international community, and one culture could not dominate others.

A unitary state was not acceptable because it could be prescribed for homogeneous populations only and was inconsistent with the right of self - determination. A confederation would demand drastic redefinition of boundaries, and it was unlikely Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana would become members because of their foreign policies.

"A confederation will not come about while there is a tendency to deny Afrikaners their right to self - government. Afrikaners will also resist a federation because of their minority position."

Prof Boshoff said the main purpose of a constellation of states was to promote economic development, provide employment, raise living standards and improve education.

"Regional co-operation is important in African states because they have limited purchasing power. It is unavoidable, because eight of the 13 states in the sub-continent are landlocked."

Obstacles to a constellation of states were politically motivated. Most states could not manage without South Africa's assistance in power generation, food production, financial and technical aid and provision of employment.

"South Africa is so powerful that to exclude it would make co - operation meaningless."

Prof Boshoff said many states which should join a constellation associated themselves with the international onslaught against South Africa.

Other obstacles to a constellation were that it would not solve the domestic problems of states involved, their ultimate aims had to be similar, and states with underdeveloped economies could not work with highly industrialised states.

"To distribute the wealth to all the nations would be disastrous. But a constellation seems to be the only answer, because everybody stands to gain from co-operation on an informal basis."

He said South africa and the homelands granted independence should prepare for greater future co-operation by solving citizenship and boundary problems.

"I am confident more and more states will overcome their prejudice and associate themselves with a constellation."

Asked whether his talk reflected Broederbond policy, Prof Boshoff said it was his personal view.

Replying to a question on the future of coloureds, Indians and urban blacks in a constellation, he said the President's Council would solve that problem. "We could create a kind of self - government for blacks in urban areas."

Another member of the audience said South Africa's white community was far from being homogeneous, and asked why the government discriminated against whites by denying them self - determination.

Prof Boshoff replied that the future of English whites was with the Afrikaners. — DDR.

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Note: The figures in brackets total 48, not 44, because

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75

impossible: the authorities maintain a reasonably efficient system of policing pass requirements among Africans who are admittedly less scattered but far more numerous than farmers. It may be that the absence of written contracts of employment between farmers and most workers would make the task of the inspectors impossible, but it seems that this problem needs more careful study before it can be considered insuperable.

The problem not voiced by the 1951 Commission or by the Theron Commission is that many farmers, at least in the Karoo, seem to be in a position to respond to any pressure to raise wages by reducing their labour forces. The abundance of cheap labour available to the farms has encouraged farmers to employ more workers than are physically necessary to run the farm. Many of the farmers interviewed during this survey pointed out that in Australia, for example, where farm workers earn wages far higher than South African farm wages, farmers keep one or two workers on to handle a flock, and an area, which in South Africa would 'need' 10 workers. Smaller labour forces are made possible by the use of dogs, by carefully planned camp and run fencing (so that sheep can be directed from one place to another and handled by a minimum of workers) and by the use of contract workers at peak times - shearing, dosing, dipping, transport etc.

If wages and other costs on South African sheep farms are nearing the levels at which this sort of change becomes profitable - a question which cannot be answered here - moves to raise wages would not only reduce the chances of those already unemployed, or erratically employed, of finding jobs, but would a

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Tutu: Apartheid could cause war

UNITED NATIONS — Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu repeated his prediction here that South Africa would have a black premier in 10 years but warned of "World War III" if the apartheid situation was not resolved soon.

The general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, who addressed the UN Special Committee against Apartheid, said he spoke on behalf of "millions."

He had talks earlier with UN Secretary-General, Dr Kurt Waldheim.

Bishop Tutu described apartheid as "one of the most vicious systems since Nazism," and said the voiceless in South Africa were thankful to the committee for working to make South African authorities come to the conference table before it is too late.

"We do not want violence. Our people are peace-loving to a fault."

Bishop Tutu gave a five-point plan for South Africa: common citizenship for all, an end to Bantustanisation, abolition of separate education for blacks, repeal of pass laws and a national convention of all South Africans to determine their own future. — SAPA-AP.

He said he was travelling to various countries to urge Governments and church leaders "for God's sake and the sake of world peace, to take action and exert political, diplomatic and economic pressure to make South African

Many people lie to papers, says reporter

327
2 Feb.
STAR 25/3/21

By John Murray
Chief Court Reporter

Many people lie when approached by newspapers for information, a Sunday Times reporter said at the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Eugene Hugo, head of investigations at the newspaper, had been explaining why he relied only on first-hand information during a currency scandal which shook Rhodesia in 1978.

He was appearing in a R30 000 defamation action before Mr Justice O'Donovan.

His newspaper and the Sunday Express were alleged to have independently written articles incorrectly implicating former Rhodesia Front MP, Mr Rodney Simmonds in a multimillion rand Defence Fund fraud.

The court heard at the time the articles appeared on July 16, 1978, there were two separate police investigations in Rhodesia, one into fraudulent currency contraventions and another not involving fraud.

Mr Hugo said he had ignored reports in The Star and Rand Daily Mail on July 13 and 14, 1978 to this effect, preferring to go on information he had gained from his own contacts.

"Many sources lie," he told the judge, "and these articles could have been incorrect. Connie Mulder lied that there had been no Government money in financing The Citizen, and that was in Parliament."

He said his Salisbury contacts, whom he refused to name, indicated only one investigation into allegations of Defence Fund fraud.

Mr R D Levin, appearing for SAAN, owners of the two Sunday papers, told the judge reference to documents on Mr Simmonds trial was "vital."

The judge ruled that Mr Levin should be allowed to see the documents.

(Proceeding)

5.2 Projects as providing some involvement in cash economy and experience of wider systems.

One must see the way in which the participants value the projects in the context of their environment. Many people obviously believe in "development", "progress" and change from the old way of life. For these the choice is probably between the dairy, garden or ~~whatever~~ similar project as a vehicle to these ends, or nothing.

In a discussion with members at Inkomo, they said that they had realised that they were being badly used by N.M. but they still thought that participation in the dairy was worthwhile for what it taught them.

In the course of their involvement in the project people learn various technical skills and others related to group work. They learn about channels of liaison with outside groups, whether these be officials, shopkeepers or people selling cows. They learn about the various restrictions on what they can achieve from their position in the group relative to other members. People become aware of what the project

6 Relating the problems encountered by projects to wider systems

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Ex-prosecutor wants pass

By NORMAN NGALE

MR Rudolf Klein, former prosecutor at the Pretoria's commission-er's court, expressed a wish yesterday that he had been invited to the Sharpeville commemoration services.

"I would challenge the Nationalist Government to issue me with a reference book so that I could carry the mark of humiliation, having seen the realities of the passbook," Mr Klein said.

He told SOWETAN in an interview that he would rather associate with the people who had experienced the hardships of apartheid.

In his 62-page report submitted a record of what transpired at the 439 commissioners' courts that dealt with passbook offences.

His wish, Mr Klein said, was to see the passbook vanish and be substituted by identity cards for all races.

He said that while prosecutor at the Pretoria commissioner's court he was subjected to the horror of seeing about 120 innocent people pass daily before him without any single offence committed.

No prosecutor can remain at the court without being insane, Mr Klein said.

In Pretoria alone, he said, 40 060 people had been convicted on pass offences in the past decade out of a total 244 901 throughout South Africa.

He described the reference book as the "key-hole" through which the authorities would probe all records, statistics, documents and personal history of the black man.

He lashed at Dr Piet Koornhof for telling an overseas audience that apartheid was dead, while it was still alive and well and when the Minister of Co-operation and Development's first smoke-screen backfired — namely the Free Concept Act 1980 — the minister referred to it a select committee for the creation of another smoke-screen.

"My personal conviction is that Dr Koornhof will never remove the hurtful passbook, not the restrictions entailed in it and that no human rights will be given to a black man under this government's rule," Mr Klein said.

After completion of his articles of clerkship he intends practising among blacks and would handle certain cases without charge he said.

SOWETAN, Wednesday, March 23/24

the supply of labour. The following method has therefore been used: In the text below, an attempt has been made to value the [illegible] to the farmer of payments in kind. From this is subtracted the price the worker paid to the farmer and the [illegible] value - to the farmer - of payments in kind [illegible] contains the same calculations applied to meat and [illegible] ted on the prices workers would have to pay [illegible]. The different rates of payment in kind, cash [illegible] (cash plus kind) and family income which result [illegible] and these different values are also listed [illegible].

(i) Meat:

Workers on di[illegible]ted with meat, usually 1/2, 1/4 or 1/8 [illegible]ers' estimates of the value of their [illegible] to R30; these differences might [illegible]ferences in market value, or they [illegible]e fact that on some farms workers were al[illegible] slaughter sheep (and naturally chose [illegible]est) while on others the farmer chose it. [illegible]e was no way of assessing the va[illegible]ms, it seemed safest to ascribe a single [illegible].

The value cho[illegible] the economists at Grootfontein in [illegible]ents in kind made by the farmers in [illegible] sheep is assumed to weigh about 18 [illegible]s to the farmer

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Students taken to task

NM 25/3/81

SIR — I can only look, with contempt and absolute disgust, upon the actions of the students of Wits University during their recent meeting with Dr Piet Koornhof.

These political louts are surely aware of the fact that Dr Koornhof was not there to conduct a political meeting but was present at their invitation. He was, therefore, entitled to the common courtesy that any decent people extend to a guest.

The fact that Dr Koornhof refused to be browbeaten or intimidated by their shocking behaviour proves that he is a far greater man than any of them.

An apology from the Rector of Wits is surely overdue and should be demanded. I have personally assisted Eric Winchester in a number of his campaigns for the now defunct UP and since the demise of this party I have been in the political wilderness. But now the students of Wits, our future

To the campus rabble of Wits, I say a sincere 'thank you'.

C W MORAN
38 Stableford Road
Bluff
Durban

Guards out for Motlana at Wits

25/3/81

327

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Tight security was in force yesterday at a lunchtime mass meeting organised by the University of the Witwatersrand's Academic Freedom Committee.

Students had to leave their bags outside and show their student cards to security guards manning the entrances before they could enter the Great Hall to hear Dr Ntatho Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, and Mr Arthur Chaskalson, a Johannesburg advocate, speak on 'academic freedom in an unfair society'.

In what was clearly an attempt to forestall any heckling or rowdiness after last week's vociferous reaction to a speech by the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, university security officers also kept a close eye on the audience during the meeting.

'It is absolutely impossible to have academic freedom in a society as unfair as ours,' said Dr Motlana.

'South African whites are unfortunately descendants of the slave-owners of the last century, when it was a major crime to teach a slave to read or write.

'Today, there are few things they fear as much as an educated black mind. Their greatest fear, however, is mixing among schoolchildren.

'When you talk about this, whites from the Right to the Left start sweating.'

He had once 'got talking' to the head of the Broederbond, who could countenance his 25-year-old daughter attending the same university as Dr Motlana's 25-year-old son.

'But the idea that we could live next door and let our five-year-olds play with each other was unacceptable,' Dr Motlana said.

'Whites fear that the children might get to know each other, like each other, and, God forbid, love each other.'

He said South Africa was the only society in the world today where the thrust of education was to separate and segregate — 'not to create a common society, but to make sure there are no shared symbols'.

'Many leading South Africans have, over the years, joined with you in what is almost a yearly ritual, fighting for academic non-segregation.

'But the fight is a non-starter, because they refuse to go beyond that and dirty their hands with politics,' he told the students.

Political

'It is politicians . . . who decide who may be admitted to which school, and it is therefore a political fight in which we must demand not only that schools and universities be open to all, but that society must be structurally and fundamentally changed.'

Mr Chaskalson, director of the Legal Resources Centre, said it was possible, 'at best', that the Government might introduce the 'hollow doctrine' of separate but equal education once the Human Sciences Research Council had reported on the state of black education.

'At worst it will retain the present system of discrimination,' he said.

Separate but equal had failed in the United States for the same reason it would fail here: Separate facilities could never be equal.

Close eye kept on audience

26	L.C.G. DouwesDekker	The Process of Collective Bargaining and its implication for Industrial Relations Policies. (R0,75)
27	Marc Best	The Scarcity of Domestic Energy: A Study in Three Villages (R1,00)
28	Jonathan Myers	Asbestos and Asbestos-Related Disease in South Africa (R1,00)
29	Dudley Horner/ Alide Kooy	Conflict on South African Mines: 1972-1979 (R0,75)
30	George Ellis	The 'Quality of Life' Concept: An overall framework for assessment schemes (R2,00)
31	Don Pi	work of a private labour

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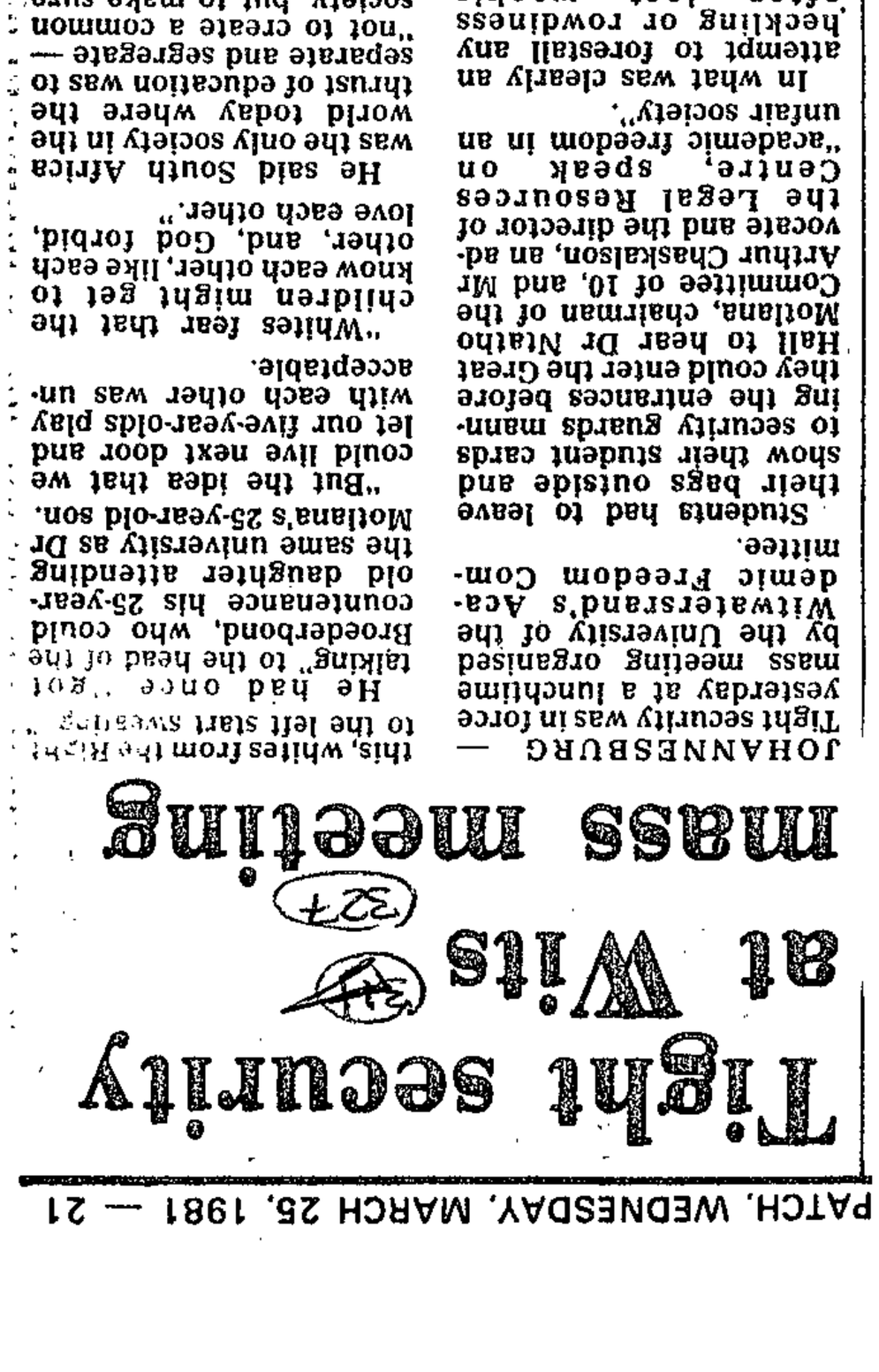

PATCH, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 25, 1981 — 21

Tight security at Wits mass meeting

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"But the idea that we could live next door and let our five-year-olds play with each other was unacceptable.

"Whites fear that the children might get to know each other, like each other, and, God forbid, love each other."

He said South Africa was the only society in the world today where the thrust of education was to separate and segregate — "not to create a common society, but to make sure there are no shared symbols".

Mr Chaskalson said complete segregation in education would be untenable "even if the same amount of money were to be spent on blacks and whites, even if facilities were equal, even if black teachers were as well trained as their white counterparts — and this cannot possibly be so in the immediate future," — DDC.

Judge s dismiss journalist's appeal

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Appeal Court today dismissed an appeal by Jonathan (John) Matisonn, former Political Correspondent of the Sunday Express and now SA Morning Group representative in Washington, against a sentence of 14 days jail.

Mr Matisonn was sentenced on March 9 1979 by a Cape Town magistrate for refusing to divulge the identity of the go-between who had put him in contact with the person who gave him his information for an article in the Sunday Express of December 3 1978.

The article was headlined: "Rightwing churchman operates unauthorised bank account in US."

The magistrate found that Mr Matisonn had been properly brought before the court in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act, that the question put to him was fair, relevant and material, and that his failure to reply was not on account of any just excuse.

On February 21 last year the Cape Supreme Court confirmed the sentence.

It found that the appeal on the merits could not succeed and there were no grounds to interfere with the sentence.

In the Appeal Court, counsel for Mr Matisonn relied on two contentions:

- The refusal by the magistrate at the inquiry to deal with the question of the validity of the subpoena and to hear evidence in regard to the assertion that there were reasonable grounds for believing that there had been an abuse of the process provided for by Section 205.
- The right of a prosecutor to specify at the inquiry from the bar offences not set out or alluded to in the subpoena and thereby to require the witness to answer questions regarding such other offences. — Sapa.

PAS.	(12gm/day)	16,8c.
Z	(2gm/day)	13,44c.

References.

(1) Report of the Secretary for Health, 1977, Chapt. 2, P.7. "For the first time the Department is now in possession of reliable expenditure figures in connection with specific services .... ."

(2) Report of the Secretary for Health 1977, Ch.3, P.13, "The number of beds has gradually been decreased over the past few years and now stands at 12057." (See also annexure 12, P.66.)

(3) Report of the Secretary for Health 1977, Annexure 6, P.55 Tuberculosis, Expenditure 1976/77 R20 842 521; 1977/78, R19 547 960.

(4) Overseas Report, Dr. H.H. Kleeberg, I.U.A.T., Annual Meeting, Instanbul, 24-28 Oct. 1977.

(5) I.U.A.T. Bulletin Vol. 52, Oct. 1977, P.41. Tuberculosis: Too many Hospital Beds. (Abstract from Press Release WHO/20 2-6-77 & World Health Statistics Report, Vol 30, 'No. 1, 1977).

(6) Amer. Rev. of Resp. Dis. Vol.112, No.6 Dec.75, P.757, Tuberculosis Care in General Hospitals: Arizona's Experience, Suzanne Dandoy & Roberta Hansen.

(7) S.A. Medical Post, July 1974 P.11 McMaster University
Dr. R

(8) I.U.A
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English Press should toe the line — Cillie

By Caroline Braun

The English-language Press was dangerously negative in its criticism of the Government, said Professor Piet Cillie, head of the Department of Journalism at the University of Stellenbosch.

Addressing the Steyn Commission of Enquiry into the Mass Media yesterday (Wednesday), Professor Cillie said the Opposition Press should not write inflammatory statements which endangered the safety of the State.

"We are living in dangerous times, and the English-language Press should have a greater sense of responsibility towards the well-being of the State and its citizens," he said.

"The Press has a function to be critical of authority, but this criticism should be positive and constructive. The English Press should stop harping on negative aspects, and rather give recognition and support to the Government for the changes and reforms it is implementing."

Professor Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers and former editor of Die Burger, said unless the English Press changed its ways, there was a danger the Government would clamp down on the whole Press, Afrikaans included.

"The Afrikaans press would then suffer, although it would be totally innocent.

"The English Press should toe the line because there is no way you can win against the Government. If there is a confrontation between the Press and the Government, the English Press must not expect the Afrikaans Press to support it. We cannot support anything that endangers the safety of the State."

Professor Cillie said the idea of forming a central controlling body for journalists, was worth investigating, but because the English Press had totally divergent views on what they considered "good" and "bad" journalism, there would be difficulty in drawing up a code of conduct.

Matisonn to return to serve sentence

Mr John Matisonn, Washington correspondent for South African Associated Newspapers, is expected to return to South Africa soon to serve a 14-day jail sentence.

This follows the dismissal today of his appeal against conviction for failing to answer a question before a magistrate.

After hearing of the Appeal Court's decision in Bloemfontein, Mr Matisonn said from his Washington home today that he would consult with his lawyers to establish the legal requirements.

"Then I'll obviously have to arrange my trip home to serve the sentence," he said.

Mr Matisonn was employed by the Sunday Express when he was subpoenaed to answer questions about a report he wrote in December 1978.

The report dealt with an unauthorised bank account operated by the chairman of the controversial Christian League of Southern Africa, the Rev Fred Shaw, in the United States.

The league was later identified by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, as a recipient of secret Info funds.

● **Page 3 — Judges dismiss journalist's appeal.**

64

No. 664 27 Maart 1981

EWENSTE PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

-PRODUCING ...Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publi-
IATION CENTS, 1974, het kragtens artikel 11 (2) van genoemde
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e following

LYS/LIST P81/24

Inskrywing No. / Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp / Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer / Author or producer	Artikel 47 (2) / Section 47 (2)
	Rademeyer's Electrical & Hardware - 1981 (Kalender/Calendar—met foto/with photograph "The Right Things in the Right Places")	Calendar Specialist, Durban	(a)
	Ramset Fastening Systems -1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Valleypress, Parkhurst	(a)
	Cape Fastner Supplies (Pty) Ltd—1981 (Kalender/Calendar)	Calendars International	(a)
	Blood Target (Gunslinger Series)	Charles C. Garrett	(a) -(b)
	Honey—January 1981	Honey Magazine, London	(a)
	Love's Raving Tide	Patricia Matthews	(a)
	Sunset People	Herbert Kastle	(a)
	Hunted	Jeremy Scott	(a)
	Giants in the Shadows (Book III, The Manipulators Trilogy)	Gloria Vitanza Basile	(a)
	First Fire	Francesca Greer	(a)
	Stomping Ground	Denis Hamill	(a)
	Glass Arcade, The	Adrian Brooks	(a)
	Tuakhoas 1— 1—November 1980	Uitgewers Pannevis, Pinegowrie	(a)
	Poems all over the place— Mostly 'seventies	Allen Ginsberg	(a)

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No. 665 27 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (e) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 665 27 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (e) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. / Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp / Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer / Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap / Entry deleted
P80/9/82.....	*Work in Progress* - No. 14 September 1980	Editorial Collective, Braamfontein	In SK./G.G. 7258, GK./G.N. 2123 van/of 9/10/80.

No. 666 27 Maart 1981

TERSYDESTELLING VAN VERKLARING DAT PUBLIKASIE ONGEWENS IS

'n Komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, het kragtens artikel 15 (2) van genoemde Wet op hersiening beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) van genoemde Wet ongewens is nie. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

No. 666 27 March 1981

SETTING ASIDE OF DECLARATION THAT PUBLICATION IS UNDESIRABLE

A committee referred to in section 4 of the Publications Act, 1974, decided under section 15 (2) of the said Act on review that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Inskrywing No. / Entry No.	Publikasie of voorwerp / Publication or object	Skrywer of voortbringer / Author or producer	Inskrywing geskrap / Entry deleted
P81/2/112.....	*Seven Days Seven Girls*	Compiled by: Steve & Linda Gilroy, Alex Groen	In SK./G.G. 5911, GK./G.N. 468 van/of 10/3/78

No. 667 27 Maart 1981

AFKEURING VAN ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974—

(a) beslis dat die ondergenoemde rolprent binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (a) van genoemde Wet ongewens is;

(b) die rolprent afgekeur; en

(c) die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van die genoemde Wet, tersyde gestel.

No. 667 27 March 1981

REJECTION OF FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974—

(a) decided that the undermentioned film is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (a) of the said Act;

(b) rejected the film; and

(c) set aside the conditional approval of the film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Vertoëmaker Representer
R81/1/11.....	*The Boogey Man*.....	Romay Films.

No. 668 27 Maart 1981

WET OP PUBLIKASIES, 1974

ROLPRENT

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies het kragtens artikel 24 van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, die voorwaardelike goedkeuring van die onderpenoemde rolprent deur 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet gewysig deur te bepaal—

(a) dat genoemde rolprent onvoorwaardelik goedgekeur is.

No. 668 27 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS ACT, 1974

FILM

The Publications Appeal Board under section 24 of the Publications Act, 1974, varied the conditional approval of the undermentioned film by a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act by stipulating—

(a) that the said film is unconditionally approved.

Inskrywing No. Entry No.	Rolprent Film	Voorlegger Submitter
R81/2/34.....	*The Competition*.....	Ster-Kinekor (Edms.) Bpk./(Pty) Ltd.

STAATSKOERANT
VAN DIE REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
GOVERNMENT GAZETTE

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GOEWERMENTSKENNISGEWINGS

DEPARTEMENT VAN BINNELANDSE AANGELEENTHEDE

No. 735 27 Maart 1981

PUBLIKASIES OF VOORWERPE

Die Appèlraad oor Publikasies, het kragtens artikel 13 (5) van die Wet op Publikasies, 1974, soos gewysig, beslis dat die ondergenoemde publikasie nie ongewens is nie en het die beslissing van 'n komitee bedoel in artikel 4 van genoemde Wet dat genoemde publikasie binne die bedoeling van artikel 47 (2) (A) van genoemde Wet ongewens is, ter syde gestel. Die ondergenoemde inskrywing ten opsigte van die publikasie word hierby geskrap:

Inskrywing No.—P81/3/100.
Publikasie of voorwerp.—Scope—Vol 16, No. 12, 20 Maart 1981.
Skrywer of voortbringer.—Republican Press (Pty) Ltd, Durban.
Inskrywing geskrap.—In *Staatskoerant* 7500, Goewermentskennisgewing 661 van 20 Maart 1981.

DEPARTEMENT VAN JUSTISIE

No. 736 27 Maart 1981

VERBOD OP BYEENKOMSTE.—ARTIKEL 2 (3) (a) VAN WET 17 VAN 1956

Aangesien ek, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister van Justisie, dit nodig ag tot handhawing van die openbare rus, verbied ek hierby ingevolge artikel 2 (3) (a) van die Wet op Oproerige Byeenkomste, 1956 (Wet 17 van 1956), enige byeenkoms in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika van 1 April 1981 tot en met 31 Maart 1982, behalwe in die gevalle van byeenkomste—

(1) van 'n bona fide-sportaangeleentheid; of
(2) wat geheel en al en vir solank as wat hulle duur binne die mure van 'n gebou plaasvind; of
(3) wat ek of die landdros van die betrokke distrik te eniger tyd uitdruklik magtig.

Gedateer te Pretoria, op hede die 24ste dag van Maart 1981.

H. J. COETSEE, Minister van Justisie.

586—A

GOVERNMENT NOTICES

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

No. 735 27 March 1981

PUBLICATIONS OR OBJECTS

The Publications Appeal Board, in terms of section 13 (5) of the Publications Act, 1974, as amended, decided that the undermentioned publication is not undesirable and set aside the decision of a committee referred to in section 4 of the said Act that the said publication is undesirable within the meaning of section 47 (2) (A) of the said Act. The undermentioned entry in respect of the publication is hereby deleted:

Entry No.—P81/3/100.
Publication or object.—Scope—Vol 16, No. 12, 20 March 1981.
Author or producer.—Republican Press (Pty) Ltd, Durban.
Entry deleted.—In *Government Gazette* 7500, Government Notice 661 of 20 March 1981.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

No. 736 27 March 1981

PROHIBITION OF GATHERINGS.—SECTION 2 (3) (a) OF ACT 17 OF 1956

Whereas I, Hendrik Jacobus Coetsee, Minister of Justice, deem it necessary for the maintenance of the public peace, I hereby prohibit, in terms of section 2 (3) (a) of the Riotous Assemblies Act, 1956 (Act 17 of 1956), any gathering in the Republic of South Africa from 1 April 1981 up to and including 31 March 1982 except in the cases of gatherings—

(1) of a bona fide sporting nature; or
(2) taking place wholly and for as long as they last within the walls of a building; or
(3) at any time expressly authorised by me or the magistrate of the district concerned.

Dated at Pretoria, this 24th day of March 1981.

H. J. COETSEE, Minister of Justice.

7523—1

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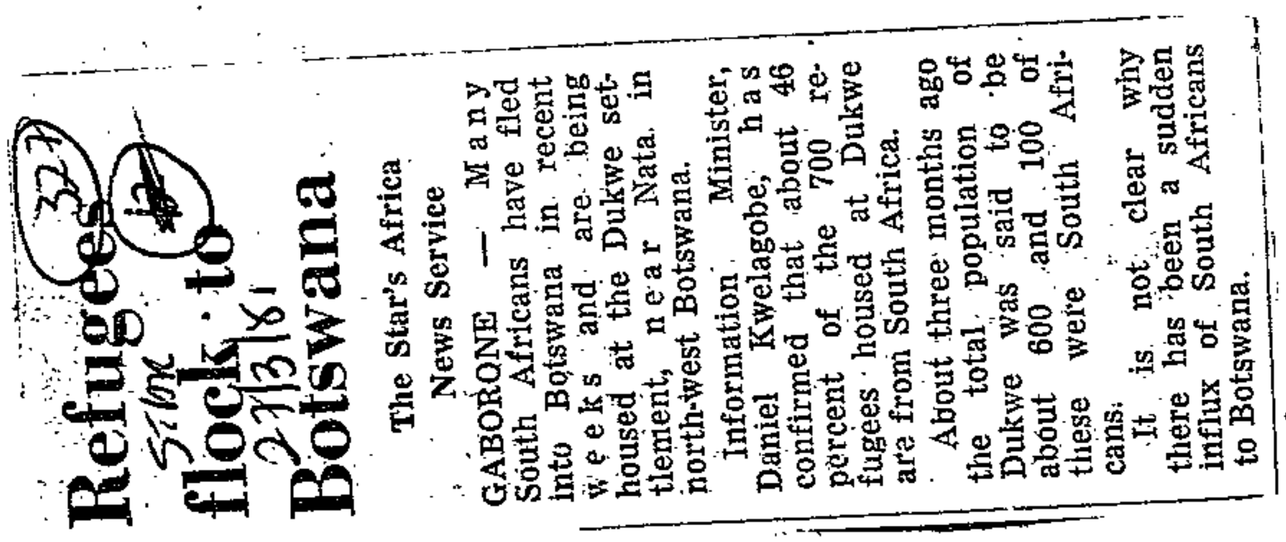
proportion of available labor to them at the expense of those that were less labor intensive, less demanding in terms of the timeliness of attention, or of less importance to the family. Tobacco and cotton were given priority over corn, corn over manioc , and manioc over the small subsidiary crops.

Fuchs has found for developed countries using three types of data (cross section within countries, cross section among countries, and sometime series) that the negative association between mortality and per capita income is disappearing. However according to Fuchs "The marginal contribution of medical care to life expectancy, holding the state of the art constant, is also very small. Current differences in mortality across and within developed countries are primarily related to 'life-style', diet, exercise, smoking and psychological stress".



Refugees flock to Botswana

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Many South Africans have fled into Botswana in recent weeks and are being housed at the Dukwe settlement, near Nata, in north-west Botswana.

Information Minister, Daniel Kwelagobe, has confirmed that about 46 percent of the 700 refugees housed at Dukwe are from South Africa.

About three months ago the total population of Dukwe was said to be about 600 and 100 of these were South African Africans.

It is not clear why there has been a sudden influx of South Africans to Botswana.

DD 27/3/81

I won't resign says Wits SRC head

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Sammy Adelman, president of the Witwatersrand University SRC, has said he would not resign his position "under any circumstances" following his involvement in the disruption of Dr Piet Koornhof's speech on the campus last week.

This week 1 500 students signed a petition calling for his resignation and those of other SRC members who "emulated his disgraceful behaviour".

Mr Adelman said yesterday that the SRC, as a body, had not been involved in either the organisation or disruption of the address but that he, as an individual, had supported the incident.

Both the SRC executive and 18 of the SRC's 24 members have issued statements supporting Mr Adelman.

The SRC executive said it had been constitutionally empowered to prevent the meeting but that their resolution was sufficient warning of possible consequences.

The organisers of the meeting, the Student Moderate Alliance and Political Forum, had therefore "acted in a highly irresponsible manner by going ahead with the meeting".

The SRC executive also claimed that SMA had "strong 'Info' and NP links".

"This SRC's record is better than that of any SRC in the past 10 years. This is largely due to Sammy Adelman," they stated. — DDC.

RELEASE JAILED LEADERS — EX-HNP WIFE

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Argus
28/3/81

Staff Reporter

THE former wife of an arch-verkrampte and founder member of the Herstigte Nasionale Party has attacked Afrikaner attitudes and called for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

She is Miss Ada Stuijt, whose ex-husband, Mr Robert van Tonder, is one of the country's leading 'taalvegters' and editor of the Afrikaans right-wing publication, Die Stem.

Mr van Tonder is also the founder of the Boerestaat Komitee, whose purpose it is to establish an Afrikaner homeland in South Africa.

Miss Stuijt, a former Miss Holland and finalist in the Miss Universe competition, campaigned vociferously with her husband for the Boerestaat Komitee and wrote regularly for Die Stem.

Miss Stuijt also write a column for Beeld under the pseudonym Ciska. She was organiser of the 'Write a Dutchman Campaign' — aimed at preserving the Afrikaner identity.

In a statement from her home in Holland, Miss Stuijt told Weekend Argus: 'If the Afrikaner nation does not divert itself from unchristian acts and unchristian ways of doing things, it will become a doomed nation.'

Since her departure from South Africa in April 1979 she had come to realise that South African publicity about its political system at home differed from this in the rest of the world.

Miss Stuijt admitted that her research had made her realise she had been 'painfully wrong' in supporting the Afrikaner and the Boerestaat cause.

In Holland she had had the chance to read all the uncensored versions of Breyten Breytenbach and Andre Brink; she had read the speeches of Mangaliso Sobukwe, Vusumzi Make and Henry E Isaacs and had time to study the ideas of Steve Biko and Beyers Naude.

'I no longer wish to remain silent,' said Miss Stuijt. 'I must open my mouth now and say what is right and what is wrong.

'If I, an unimportant little woman, who has been raised in the Afrikaans atmosphere, who loves the Afrikaner, his language, his customs, who fought to maintain Afrikaner rights; if I can say that and mean it, then there must be many more Afrikaners who will say: "So far, but no further, will we allow it to continue?" '

Miss Stuijt said the time had come for South Africa to 'get its leaders' out of jail and exile; to start talking with organisations such as trade unions, civic associations and church bodies, to gather at a round table and to start listening.

'It took me two years to get rid of all my horrible prejudices, picked up during a lifetime of Broederbond-education,' said Miss Stuijt. It was hard, she said, but it could be done.

Miss Stuijt's advice to the Afrikaner: 'Take that black hand which is still extended to you in friendship, in hope. It may be your very last chance.'



MISS ADA STUIJT, former wife of Robert van Tonder and former Miss Holland. This picture was taken in Cape Town in 1960.

How can SA avoid the horrors of Rhodesia?

GT 28/3/81 (327)

Political survey



by GERALD SHAW

THE great submerged issue in the 1981 election campaign is Rhodesia. There is a general determination among whites that South Africa should not go the same way as the new Zimbabwe.

When they express this determination, people are articulating a fear of black majority rule, a reluctance to find themselves in a situation where the white community has no effective political say.

On the Nationalist side, and among the NRP as well, there is a cynical inclination to exploit these deep-seated fears and uncertainties.

It is not always done crudely and directly any more, but this *swart gevaar* tactic remains a major electoral weapon, clouding rational thought and impairing sober judgment.

So it might be a useful exercise to recall the broad outlines of recent Rhodesian history.

Let it be agreed that the present situation in Zimbabwe is one in which blacks have political control and whites have little power beyond the limited and defined role conceded to them by the ruling group. And let it be agreed that South African whites, as a whole, do not welcome such a prospect for themselves.

Far better

For our present purposes, there is no need to indicate that Zimbabwe, although not yet out of the wood, has done far better than anyone expected, notably in avoiding a Shona-Ndebele civil war and in keeping the confidence of most whites. The much-heralded white stampede to the South has yet to take place. After a dreadful and destructive war, it is remarkable how quickly a return has been made to something approaching normality. It is a case of so far, not so bad after all. All real friends of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe will hope that it stays that way.

But the question of how well or badly the whites are faring under black rule or will fare in the future in the new Zimbabwe is not at issue here.

The question is how did Rhodesian whites get into this situation of relative political impotence? What must white South Africans do to avoid a rerun here of the Rhodesian experience?

In Rhodesia, as it was then, one mistake after another was made by the white political leadership. Instead of seriously negotiating a compromise with African nationalism right at the start, in the days of Tiger and Fearless, when reasonable terms could have been enforced from a position of strength, the Rhodesian Front steadily stonewalled — in the delusion that undiluted white control could go on for ever.

They really believed this — and were convinced that because they could not be beaten in the terrorist war they would come out on top in the end.

What they did not understand until too late was that they did not have to lose the terrorist war to lose the political kingdom. Right until the end, the Rhodesian armed forces were undefeated. But this availed nothing.

The fact is that a minority situated as the white Rhodesians were situated must win the minds and hearts of the black masses. It is a *political* problem rather than a military one. They cannot go on forever ruling the country at the point of a gun. At some point, so many able-bodied men have to be drafted into the armed forces to fight terrorism that the economy of the land starts to run down. And then the end is in sight.

Unless the mass of the people oppose the terrorists, refuse them food and shelter and turn them in, unless the masses support the security forces and the *status quo*, the terrorists can go on for ever. At some point the strain on the economy and the whole social structure begins to tell and at that stage negotiations invariably begin. By this time, thousands have died in warfare. There have been frightful atrocities and reprisals in response to such atrocities. So many of the population have suffered directly in the war that bitterness and resentment are general.

By this time, furthermore, the whites' position of power has eroded. By now there is no chance at all of "winning the minds and the hearts of the people" and the only thing left to do is to negotiate — from a position of weakness.

This is what happened in Rhodesia. This is how the new Zimbabwe was born. The whole process was readily predictable from the start, given the lack of insight of the Rhodesian Front. Such a waste of courage and grit — to no good purpose.

What lessons?

So what are the lessons for South Africa? In the first place, it is fatal to allow a terrorist war to get a hold. Once this happens, the security forces are at a terrible disadvantage. They are expected to win the minds and hearts of the people and they are expected to be militarily effective. These two aims are often irreconcilable. The anti-terrorist activities of the military, of necessity rather robust and indiscriminate, tend to alienate the masses.

The way for South Africa to avoid the Zimbabwe road is to short-ciruit the whole dreary process.

Instead of negotiating from a position of weakness once a terrorist war has run its miserable course, scorching the earth and poisoning the minds and hearts of the people, the thing to do is to negotiate from strength — before the war has really begun.

The thing to do is to identify the accepted and influential leaders of the population, including proscribed African nationalist leaders, and to begin the process of patient and protracted negotiation which, ultimately, must lead to a national convention.

It would be the task of such a convention to ratify a dispensation which reasonable, moderate people in all communities could live with, a dispensation in which *political power is shared and no one group is able to attain a position of dominance over any other group.*

If the holders of power wait too long before negotiating, on the other hand, then South Africa will follow the Rhodesian road, exchanging one form of group domination for another form, with black domination succeeding white domination.

The moral of the story is clear. He who seeks to maintain all in his own hands will lose all. He who refuses to negotiate *seriously* from a position of strength will eventually find himself negotiating from a position of weakness — with little effective say in the ultimate result.

It happened to the Rhodesian Front, which towards the end was polling an overwhelming majority of the votes of the white population. The RF won the elections, year after year, as the Nationalists are winning the elections, year after year. What good did it do them?

Another move to the right in the April election, swinging more white support behind the National Party and their appendage, the NRP, will in time produce the same effect which a similar electoral trend produced in Rhodesia.

So far, we are not doing any better than the Rhodesians did in coming to terms with reality. The President's Council, a sop to verligte thought, perpetuates the illusion that the Nationalist government is prepared to negotiate the fundamentals of separate development and Afrikaner Nationalist control of South Africa.

For confrontation

The Nationalist government, for all the talk of a Botha reform, is not prepared to negotiate its sole control of the country. It is headed inexorably for confrontation, and it is as well to accept this.

Nationalist propaganda, with the Zeesen-like bleating of SABC "Current Affairs" broadcasting, seems calculated to induce yet another Gadarene stampede at election time, much as similar propaganda did in Rhodesia, where the press was emasculated at an early stage.

In South Africa there is still something of a debate in progress. And there is still an opportunity on April 29 to begin changing direction.

If the opportunity is not seized by some, at least, of the white electorate in order to reverse the prevailing trend, it is difficult to see how the Rhodesian experience can be avoided here.

There will be an important difference, however — in the time scale and in the volume of bloodshed and horror which will engulf the country, before the same inevitable result is reached. The Rhodesian war will seem to have been an inconsequential skirmish in comparison with the battle for South Africa.

At the end of it all, what is left of South Africa will hardly be fit for whites to live in, or for blacks or anyone else.

It does not have to happen like that. There is no reason why South Africa should not profit from the Rhodesian experience. There is no reason why this country should not choose the better way — of timely negotiation from strength to save South Africa.

Govt extends the ban on gatherings

CT 28/3/81 324 327

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The government yesterday extended its ban on gatherings until March 31 next year.

According to a proclamation in yesterday's Government Gazette, Mr H J Coetsee, the Minister of Justice, has banned "any gathering in the Republic of South Africa from April 1, 1981 until March 31,1982".

The banning was announced in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act.

Gatherings not affected by the banning are: Bona-fide sports gatherings, gatherings in buildings, gatherings authorized by the minister or by a magistrate.

Yesterday Mr Alf Widman, parliamentary candidate for the Progressive Federal Party in Hillbrow, criticized the banning extension and described it as an incursion into free speech.

Mr Widman who serves on the PFP's justice committee, challenged Mr Coetsee to make a statement giving the reason for the banning of open-air gatherings.

"I do not want him to justify it. I challenge him to state the reasons for the banning, especially in the light of the impending elections," Mr Widman said, because some parties would perhaps want to hold an open-air fete in aid of the election and they would be prohibited from doing so in terms of the ban.

Former Rhodesians spread Rightwing propoganda in SA

IDM 28/3/81 (327) ~~242~~

FORMER Rhodesians who bitterly resent the advent of black rule in Zimbabwe are becoming a factor in the election campaign, particularly in Natal, where many of them have settled.

Candidates in several parts of the country have reported that the presence of the former Rhodesians is creating a distinct Rightwing backlash.

They report that it is not that so many of the former Rhodesians actually have a vote in this country that is troubling them. The real problem is the cumulative effect of what they are saying to the voters while offering themselves and what happened to them personally as examples of what could happen in South Africa.

Canvassers have found a particularly marked effect on this level in the student area around the University of Natal.

But, it has also been reported from the Eastern Cape and in the Cape Peninsula particularly around Simonstown.

Opposition canvassers have also reported that they have found that certain Nationalist workers are exploiting the current unsettled situation in Zimbabwe as a new form of "swartgevaar" tactic.

They are warning voters, particularly the elederly, that if they vote for anything but the National Party the same thing will happen in South Africa.

Tension mounts at Wits over Dr K demo

RDM 28/3/81

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

THE atmosphere at the University of the Witwatersrand was said to be extremely tense yesterday as more claims and counter-claims were made in the wake of Dr Piet Koornhof's chaotic meeting on the campus last week.

In developments yesterday:

- A spokesman for the Students Representative Council said its president, Mr Sammy Adelman, had received at least three anonymous death threats, which he had reported to police;
- The SRC vice-president, Mr Jeremy Clark, said he had been threatened with violence and was going to report it to police last night;
- The Black Students' Society (BSS) said a white woman student had laid a charge of assault with the university authorities against a black student;
- The BSS claimed black students were being intimidated and threatened with violence by white Rightwingers, and that it was becoming risky for them to walk on the campus in the evenings.
- About 3 000 signatures are now believed to have been collected for a petition calling for the resignation of Mr Adelman and other SRC members who supported his defence of the demonstration against Dr Koornhof;
- The SRC claimed growing support from Wits academics for those who demonstrated against Dr Koornhof.

The BSS said in a statement — headed "the death of the great liberal university" — that the "independent and spontaneous action of a large number of students one week ago has really rallied the forces of reaction on the campus".

The principal and vice-chancellor, Professor J D du Plessis, was said to be at a meeting yesterday and unavailable for comment.

The Rand Daily Mail understands that some academics have privately voiced strong disagreement with a statement by the chairman of the university's council, Dr N Stutterheim, in which he hit out at the demonstrators' behaviour.

Dr Stutterheim said the university was financed largely from public funds, bequests and donations. "There rests a responsibility on its council to ensure these funds are applied optimally for the purpose of promoting the aims and interests of the university."

Last night, Mr Clark, the SRC vice-president, said there were several irregularities in the petition seeking to oust Mr Adelman, and neither he, nor Mr Adelman, nor most of their colleagues, had any intention of resigning.

Ultimatum: Art lecturers must back festival or quit

S. Express 29/3/81 327

TECHNIKON STAFF PUT ON RACK BY 'POLITICAL' ORDER

By DARYL BALFOUR

ART lecturers at the Natal Technikon in Durban have been instructed to support the controversial Republic Festival art exhibition next month — or else.

The order comes from the director of the technikon, Mr Alan Pittendrigh, who told the Sunday Express this week: "If they don't like it they can resign."

Asked to confirm his orders, Mr Pittendrigh replied: "Yes, I told the head of the art school that we will participate in the Republic Festival. I suppose you can call that a directive.

"Our attitude as a technikon is that we support the Republic Festival. The lecturers must realise that they work for this technikon and therefore they will take part in the festival art exhibition.

"And if they don't like that they must resign their jobs because the technikon is Government subsidised and they shouldn't take salaries from it."

The festival art exhibition is to be held in Durban's Marine Terminal in May, but a number of artists and organisations have refused to be associated with it.

Both the Natal University and the Natal Society of Arts have said they will not participate, although they have not forbidden members to do so as individuals.

But the head of the art department at the technikon, Mr Hugh Dent, confirmed he had received instructions that his department must submit works to the exhibition.

"As a Government department we were given instructions to participate in the Republic Festival, so that's that," he said.

"I was going to put it to the rest of the art school for a vote — but that was futile once we got the directive."

Mr Dent said local artists had decided at an international conference on "The State of Art in South Africa", held two years ago in Cape Town, that they would not support any Government-aided exhibitions.

He added, however, that artists should have a free choice.

"There's R10 000 prize money in this and if the artists are not really concerned with what the celebration is about, they can go for it.

"But in my opinion nobody can say it is not a political exhibition. I don't know how any committee can stand up and say the exhibition is not politically motivated. It's a Government celebration."

Mr Pittendrigh added that the artists should not attempt to dictate to the technikon.

"That's like the tail wagging the dog. We will not be concerned with any decisions taken by any group of artists at any conference. If they don't like it they're free to resign."

But it is believed that a lot of artists who have said they will participate could still pull out.

Ms Hannah Lurie, a Durban sculptor and one of many who has refused to exhibit at the festival, laughed when told of the technikon directive.

"How can anyone force someone to exhibit? All you have to say is that you have nothing suitable for display," she said.

Ms Lurie said she had decided 'ages ago' not to participate in the exhibition. The council of the Natal Society of Arts had also decided not to submit any works.

A lecturer at the technikon, Mrs Diana Kenton, said she had made a personal decision to dissociate herself from the exhibition, but pointed out that while a directive had been sent to staff to support the festival, this did not mean they had to submit work.

"The directive is mainly apropos the students and their work. We wanted to put the whole situation to them, but then the directive came through so we couldn't do that."

Mrs Kenton said the exhibition was politically motivated because the money put into it was only available because of the festival.

Another lecturer at the technikon, who asked not to be named, said a lot of students and lecturers were aware that the festival art exhibition was not purely an art exhibition "but a Government front — a big public relations exercise".

But he said a lot of the younger students were politically unaware. "They don't even know of the debate surrounding the issue."

Dr Sylvia Kaplan, president of the Natal Society of Arts, said she felt the directive was very dictatorial. "Artists should be left to make their own decisions."



● Art head Mr Hugh Dent . . . ordered to submit work for the Republic Festival.

Black students back blacklist

DD 31/3/81

JOHANNESBURG — Representatives of a number of predominantly black student organisations have come out in support of local and international moves to isolate South African sport and of the United Nations sport blacklist.

Delegates who met at the University of Durban-Westville at the weekend also rejected participation in any Republic Day celebrations.

And in another resolution, they accused the University of the Witwatersrand's administration of "hypocrisy" for its stand on student behaviour during the chaotic meeting of Dr Piet Koornhof on the campus.

A statement issued after the meeting said delegates included members of the Black Students' Society at the universities of Witwatersrand, Natal and Cape Town, the SRC of the University of Durban-Westville, and representatives from the University of the Western Cape, the University of Transkei, Turfloop, Rand College of Education, Transvaal College of Education, Medical SRC of the University of Natal and SA Black Intervarsities Committee.

A few white students also attended the conference.

The delegates affirmed their commitment to the struggle for a nonracial, democratic South Africa, and endorsed the SA Council on Sport (Sacos), led by Mr Hassan Howa, as the sole representative of the nonracial sports movement in the country.

The sports resolution noted that there was a dire shortage of sports and other fundamental facilities for blacks and that the international community could not be deluded by these "so-called changes while the majority of South Africa's population continues to be denied fundamental human rights".

They also condemned the proposed Irish rugby tour of South Africa and the proposed Springbok tour of New Zealand.

The students said the creation of the Republic of South Africa resulted in the entrenchment of racial laws. — DDC.

TABLE 36

Distribution of workers by number in family (x) and cash wage (y)

No. in family \ WAGE (R)	0-2,50	2,51-5	5,01-7,50	7,51-10	10,01-12,50	12,51-15	>15	TOTAL NO. OF WORKERS
1		6	4	5	2	1		18
2	1	4	1	4	2			12
3	1	3	4	1	1		1	11
4		1	7	4	6	1	2	21
5		2	8	3	1		2	16
6	1	2	2	2	5	2		14
7			3	2	1		2	8
8								
9								
10								
11								
12								
>12								
TOTAL NO. OF WORKERS								130

26	L.C.G. DouwesDekker	The Process of Collective Bargaining and its implications for Industrial Relations Policies. (R0,75)
27	Marc Best	The Scarcity of Domestic Energy: A Study in Three Villages (R1,00)
28	Jonathan Myers	Asbestos and Asbestos-Related Disease in South Africa (R1,00)
29	Dudley Horner/ Alide Kooy	Conflict on South African Mines: 1972-1979 (R0,75)
30	George Ellis	The 'Quality of Life' Concept: An overall framework for assessment schemes (R2,00)
31	Don Pinnock	Telona : Some reflections on the work of a private labour recruiter (R1,00)

BOOKS

Farm Labour in South Africa. Francis Wilson, Alide Kooy and Delia Hendrie (eds.). David Philip, Cape Town, 1977. (R9,00)

Economics of Health in South Africa Volume I : Perspectives on the Health System. Gill Westcott and Francis Wilson (eds.). Ravan Press, Johannesburg and David Philip, Cape Town, 1979. (R4,00)

Economics of Health in South Africa Volume II : Hunger, Work and Health. Francis Wilson and Gill Westcott (eds.). Ravan Press, Johannesburg and David Philip, Cape Town, 1980. (R4,00)

Training of black doctors slated 31/3/81

RUSTENBURG — Black doctors "churned out" by medical schools in South Africa were "completely useless, uneducated, wrongly motivated and impossible to re-educate," according to the Bophuthatswana Minister of Health and Social Welfare, Dr K. P. Mokhobo.

Addressing black doctors, he said the "apartheid mentality" was firmly rooted in the minds of many blacks. "Bantu" education had left "an enormous toll" and the current "directionless" medical education was "a tragedy".

He said he was looking forward to the day when a medical school was set up which addressed itself to a majority society in a realistic way — "a place of proper education, not narrow indoctrination with irrelevant medical facts."

Bophuthatswana was not responsible for its social, political and economic problems, because the Batswana had never determined that their country be raped, plundered and confiscated.

"We did not deliberately plan resettlements. We did not create Winterveld. We did not build matchbox hovels for our people."

Bophuthatswana, "like any other post-colonial desert," was not the first independent nation left with poverty, disease and ignorance by the colonial powers.

"The only sin we are accountable for was to decide on the road to self-determination at any cost and regardless of these daunting disadvantages. However, we are paying the price with no regret," he said. — SAPA.

One worker was simply described as having been on the farm'less than one year'.

The tables show that about a quarter of the workers had been on the farm for less than one year and a further 18 percent for more than 20 years. About 13 percent of all workers had been on the farm for less than two months.

c) Schooling.

Ninety-one workers (74,59% of those whose schooling was known) had not been to school at all. Unisa's figure for the four areas studied - 52 percent[11] is considerably lower, presumably because the areas include districts in and around major urban centres, where schools are more numerous.

TABLE 28

Distribution of workers according to schooling completed.

School standard completed	Number of workers	%
NONE	91	74,59
Sub A	1	0,82
		4,10
		3,28
		1,64
		4,10
		5,74
		4,10
		1,64
		100,00*

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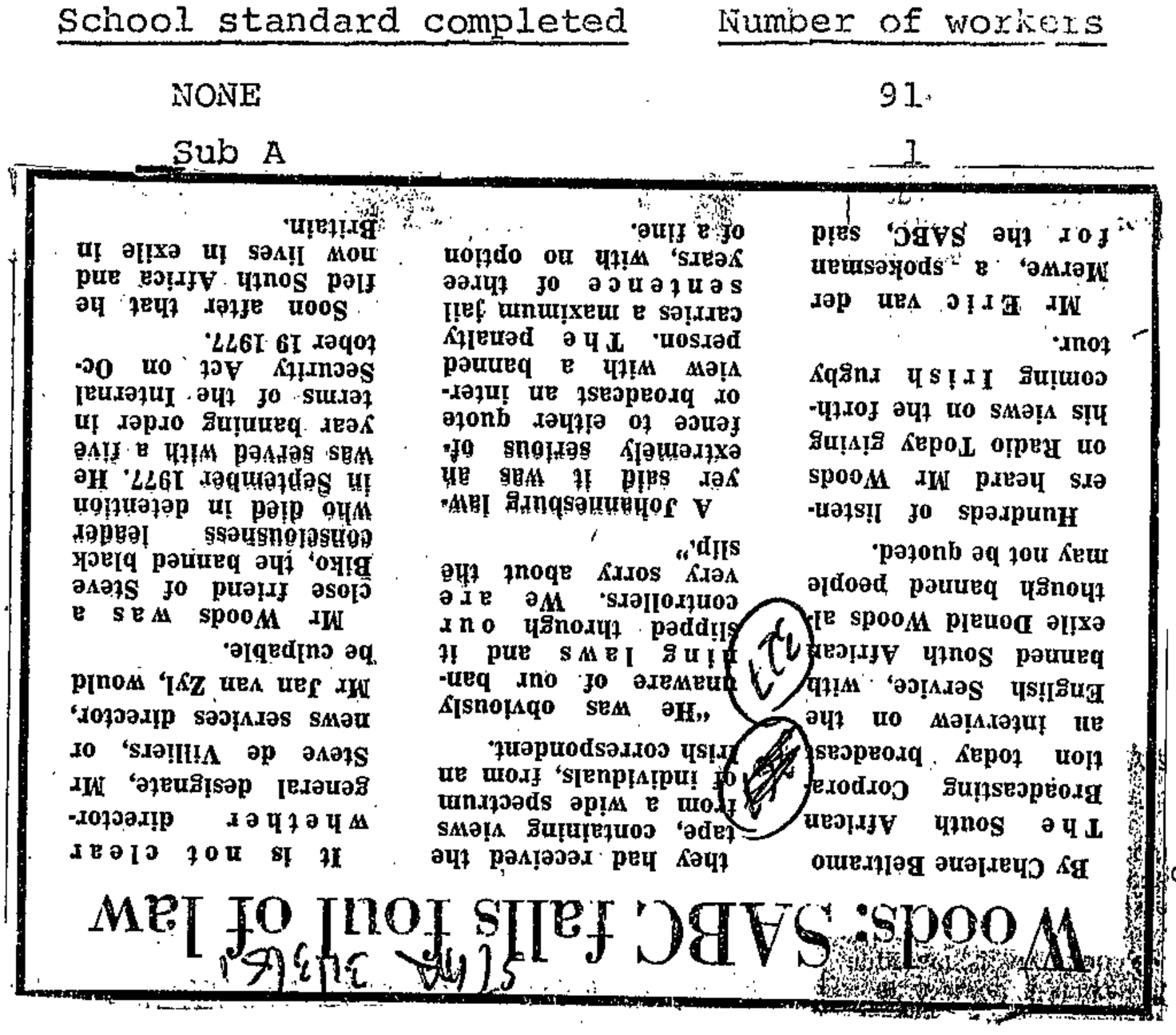

Woods: SABC fails foul of law

By Charlene Beltramo

The South African Broadcasting Corporation today broadcast an interview on the English Service, with banned South African exile Donald Woods although people may not be quoted.

Hundreds of listeners heard Mr Woods on Radio Today giving his views on the forthcoming Irish rugby tour.

Mr Eric van der Merwe, a spokesman for the SABC, said it is not clear whether director-general designate, Mr Steve de Villiers, or news services director, Mr Jan van Zyl, would be culpable.

Mr Woods was a close friend of Steve Biko, the banned black consciousness leader who died in detention in September 1977. He was served with a five year banning order in terms of the Internal Security Act on October 19 1977.

Soon after that he fled South Africa and now lives in exile in Britain.

They had received the tape, containing views from a wide spectrum of individuals, from an Irish correspondent.

"He was obviously unaware of our banning laws and it slipped through our controllers. We are very sorry about the slip."

A Johannesburg lawyer said it was an extremely serious offence to either quote or broadcast an interview with a banned person. The penalty carries a maximum jail sentence of three years, with no option of a fine.

Once again, inspection of the table suggest that these two variables are not associated to any significant extent. This is not surprising, in view of farmers' replies to questions about the schooling of workers. Of 31 farmers questioned, only two said, without qualification, that they preferred to employ workers who had been to school. Four farmers preferred not to answer,seven were in favour of limited schooling for farm workers and 11 farmers were indifferent [illegible] tually preferred workers not to have bee [illegible] that only one person - the farmer [illegible] inking, that when workers tried to ma [illegible] own (a practice which they might have [illegible] ey made mistakes, that workers who had bee [illegible] they knew everything' and tried to te [illegible] o do.

What th [illegible] ages? Tests done for individual f [illegible] force was 5 or more and where both v [illegible] for each worker, suggest that on some [illegible] ferentiate between workers according to [illegible] on farm and number in family, as T [illegible] show.

Demos and backing for SA mayor

ERMELO — There is growing support for South Africa among the upper classes of the Netherlands, the Mayor of Ermelo, Mr Hennie Otto, said after his return from a visit to that country.

Threats of trouble were received from the anti-South African Polisario movement at venues where Mr Otto was to speak but no trouble followed.

At Middelburg he was heckled by demonstrators. Pamphlets were distributed by the Anti-Apartheid Beweging with 32 proposals for new South African policies and appeals for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Mr Otto told his audiences it was wrong to believe that South Africa had a homogenous population of blacks. There were eight ethnic groups, each with their own cultures and areas, and they were not without political rights.

If conditions were so bad, why did more than a million workers from Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and other areas voluntarily come to work in South Africa, he asked.

Mr and Mrs Otto were on their last official engagement as the centenary mayor and mayoress of Ermelo as the guests of the Nederlandse-Zuid Afrikaanse Werkgemeendschap

Woman wins her appeal

CAPE TOWN — Dorothy Klemeinshaw, part-time secretary to the banned Anglican priest, the Rev David Russell, had her conviction for possessing two prohibited publications and sentence of R100 (or one month's imprisonment) set aside in the Cape Town Supreme Court today.

In a reserved judgment handed down, Miss Justice L van den Heever, with Mr Justice C Broeksma concurring, allowed her appeal.

The publications were: "Steve Biko — I Write What I Like" and Rioters Digests (June-September 1976). — Sapa.

Rev Shaw admits to link with Nats

THE Rev Fred Shaw, head of the Christian League of Southern Africa, yesterday admitted for the first time the existence of a formal contract between himself and the Government.

But he denied that he or the League had sued or sent letters of demand for R260 000 to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, or to an official in his department.

Mr Shaw said that his personal contract with "the state" was under discussion at the request of the department. He said, however, that there was no dispute between himself and the department.

He denied that the Christian League had a contract with the Government.

Extensive details of the contract which were published at the weekend showed that Mr Shaw undertook to infiltrate churches affiliated to the SA Council of Churches and to campaign against the SACC.

He was paid R340 000 for the work.

Mr Shaw yesterday refused to discuss details of the contract.