

Multi-million rand boost outlined by PW

Big new jobs plan for E Cape

RAND Daily Mail
23 APRIL 1985

**Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN.**
MILLIONS of rands are to be pumped into the strife-torn Eastern Cape to alleviate rising unemployment in the area, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Representatives he said that two development schemes in the Orange River Project were to be updated and that as far as possible labour-intensive methods would be used to create the maximum number of jobs possible in the Eastern Cape.

Because unemployment had increased in the Eastern Cape, preference would be given to the parts of the scheme which fell in that area.

Mr Botha said that an extra R6 500 000 had been made available to the Department of Water Affairs, which meant that apart from the R94-million which had been provided for the Amatola regional scheme, work could start earlier than planned on the Lower Fish and Lower Sundays schemes.

"The updating of these two schemes will mean that the average R31 400 000 which was to be spent on ORP developments annually for the next 10 years will have to be increased substantially," said Mr Botha.

He appreciated, however, that this would not solve the unemployment problem in the short term.

Much had already been done to create jobs in the area, he said.

As many as 50 000 people had found work as a result. A significant number of these had been employed in Transkei and Ciskei.

And, he pointed out, R100-million had been voted in the last Budget to alleviate unemployment in the short term.

The money would be used for the continuation of work creation programmes while in-service training and the promotion of self-building schemes would also be considered.

Apart from this, a special committee to investigate a speeded-up programme of regional development in the Eastern Cape had found that various authorities and agencies had set-up new projects or were about to do so.

"The impact on unemployment, particularly during the construction phase, could be considerable, particularly if it is done on a co-ordinated basis," he said.

PRESIDENT P W Botha may have taken a first hesitant step toward a federal solution of South Africa's problems with his declaration in Parliament that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their designated "homelands" attain independence.

His announcement coincided with an invitation to opposition parties to serve on the special Cabinet Committee examining how to meet the political aspirations of blacks living permanently outside their assigned "homelands."

The invitation was quickly accepted by the Leader of the Opposition in the white chamber, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, whose Progressive Federal Party is strongly committed to a federalism. It was similarly accepted by the tiny New Republic Party, whose policy partially embraces federalism.

Significantly, the invitation was spurned by Dr Andries Treurnicht's ultra-Rightist Conservative Party, which, as the heir of the Verwoerdian tradition of complete political separation between the races, is hostile to federalism as a form of racial power-sharing.

The upshot is that the inclination towards federalism in the special Cabinet Committee will be boosted by the participation of the PFP and the NRP without being countered by the influence of the CP.

Officially, of course, President Botha is committed to the formation of a confederation between South Africa and the "black homelands," all 10 of which are destined to become nominally independent in terms of the original blue-

PW's first tentative steps to federation

R. DAILY MAIL 23/04/85

print drawn up by the high priest of "grand apartheid", Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

But confederation per definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement, with its inference of a common citizenship for all South Africans, is clearly inimical to confederation.

Political re-ordering of relations between dominant whites and subordinate blacks within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing within a single state, however much the ruling National Party may for political reasons try to camouflage that.

The NP itself acknowledged in a 1982 statement there can only be one central government for each territorial unit. As blacks living permanently outside their supposed "homelands" occupy the same territorial unit as whites, coloureds and Indians, they can, in terms of the NP's stated position, only be accommodated within government for that territory.

Given the NP's fear of black majority rule within a tightly centralised state, restructuring is likely to take place on a loosely linked federal model rather than within a unitary paradigm.

Two key factors appear to have impelled Mr Botha to take a guarded step away from confederation to federation: the collapse, under the pressure of rebellion in the townships, of black local authorities; and the adamant refusal of several key "black homelands" including KwaZulu with a resi-

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

dent population of 4-million, to accept Pretoria's offer of independence.

Established in 1983 under the Black Local Authorities Act, the new black township councils in white-designated South Africa were meant to serve as partial compensation to blacks for their exclusion from the new tri-racial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But, under relentless popular pressure in the townships, they have all but disintegrated. According to the latest official count more than 150 councillors have resigned. Several have been brutally murdered by black mobs. Of the 34 councils introduced in 1983, only five are still functioning according to the Urban Foundation.

As long as blacks are excluded from participation in central government, black local authorities will lack credibility and viability. Hence the need for change at the top of the political pyramid to provide a place for blacks and, thereby, to help bring an end to the ongoing rebellion in the townships.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made just that point in an interview in Rapport at the weekend, in which he re-stressed that blacks will have to be given a say at all levels in decision-making affecting them.

The refusal of leaders of several key non-indepen-

dent "homelands" to accept independence has confronted Mr Botha with an impasse in his quest to establish a confederation. Of these leaders, the most important is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu. His followers account for a quarter of South Africa's of 24-million blacks.

But even leaders of the nominally independent "homeland" have expressed opposition to the confederation.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has advocated the creation of a South African federation as the way to overcome the South Africa's problems.

Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima is a signatory to a declaration by the South African Federal Union, an alliance of "homelands" opposed to apartheid.

The declaration set as its primary goal re-unification along federal lines between South Africa and its putatively independent homelands.

Chief Buthelezi, who heads the powerful Inkatha movement, has declared that he is prepared to accept a non-racial federation as a compromise solution between black hopes for, and white fears of, a strongly centralised state based on universal adult suffrage.

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi and President Botha re-established man-to-man contact in January after a hiatus of five years.

Their meeting should be seen in the context of the meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond, a pro-Government student union.

These developments have taken place amid reports that the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is re-appraising the three-year-old Buthelezi Commission Report. The reports have been confirmed unofficially.

Published in 1982, the report recommended a form of power-sharing between black and white in the KwaZulu-Natal region. Originally it was rejected by Mr Botha's administration. Now, however, it is under reconsideration.

Of equal relevance is a recent largely unpublicised meeting in Cape Town, between Mr Botha's chief constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, and Chief Buthelezi. As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, is chairman of the special cabinet committee investigating how to fulfil black aspirations.

As former university academics concluded in a recent analysis of the shift toward federation: "There is evidence that Natal-KwaZulu is being seen by many reformers as the laboratory for (new) units of representation appropriate to the second tier within a federalist scheme."

Reports by

Sapa

SA Govt not prepared to abdicate — PW

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. —

The South African Government was not prepared to "abdicate" and have the police and the military dismantled, in order to have the "dubious privilege" of joining the African National Congress in a so-called National Convention, the State President, Mr P W Botha said.

He was speaking on the security threat to South Africa in the House of Representatives at the start of the committee stage debate on his State President's Vote in the Budget.

In a similar worded message to that which he gave in the House of Assembly last week, he warned that the potential for countrywide violence had increased markedly, but that the state of affairs generated by the "forces of hatred" could not be accepted.

The UDF was hoping to create an escalating spiral of violence aimed at making the country "ungovernable".

"There is no political party in this House that can satisfy the demands of these forces of hatred, which are dictated to by

Moscow," Mr Botha said.

"But I can also say that these forces are not representative of the large majority of the South African people.

"This state of affairs cannot be accepted; we are not prepared to abdicate," he said to numerous interjections of "hear! hear!" from members of the House.

Later Mr Botha, said he had not closed the door on any organisation but only on vilnec.

He was replying to the leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz.

Mr De la Cruz had warned that the ANC and the UDF had to be brought into the negotiating process.

"He went to speak to Black leaders on Robben Island," Mr Botha said. "I speak to elected Black leaders who represent millions of voters."

He spoke to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the leaders of Venda, Qwa Qwa and Bophothatswana.

"No Black leader or person is jailed in South Africa because he differs from the Government on political matters.

"I am not closing the door on any organisation. I am closing the door on violence," the President said.

Discussion

Not since 1910 had there been more discussion and negotiation between White, Black and Coloured leaders than at present.

"And then the members come to tell me we are closing doors.

"Why does he not admit that there have never before been more discussions on a level of

equality with each other."

As far as his offer to the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela was concerned, he was sure that Mr Mandela was not a free man to take the decision to accept the offer.

"I think there are forces stopping him or putting stumbling blacks in his way," Mr Botha said.

He was not going to pursue responded to issues raised by the Leader of the Labour Party, the

Rev Alan Hendrickse, during the debate.

Issue

He was cheered by members when he said the issue of the Political Interference Act was under discussion in Government ranks and that he was sure a satisfactory conclusion would be reached.

He should not be blamed when he took a stand.

"I speak on behalf of 66

percent of the White electorate and I took an oath to uphold the constitution which they agreed to.

"No constitution is of course perfect. But a country like South Africa is easy to put on fire.

"Any fool can do it but it takes numbers of wise men to take it away from the fire.

"There are those who form the population of this country who have deep feelings for what they believe in.

Reason for decision to close

'Advertisers did not support the Mail'

By TONY STIRLING

THE Rand Daily Mail — which is to be closed at the end of the month — failed because advertisers were not prepared to support it.

This was the clear message given yesterday at the annual meeting of the SA Associated Newspapers board by Mr Ian MacPherson in response to a number of questions posed by Pat Sidley, president of the Southern African Society of Journalists operating in the capacity of a shareholder.

Mr MacPherson said advertisers were not prepared to invest in the Mail because:

- Other publications (as a White medium) provided higher reach, more cost efficiency of this market and did not involve a huge wasted non-White readership;

- In spite of the Mail's high Black profile (as a Black medium) — 72,3 percent of its readers are Blacks — it was still outperformed by specific Black media in cost and coverage.

- The profile of the Mail (as an all-race medium) did not match the profile of product users.

"Actual product users, personal characteristics, tastes and comprehension vary to such an extent across racial groups that this approach cannot be successfully implemented," Mr MacPherson said.

Dwelling with this aspect in response to SASJ questions, he said the Mail had lost 50 percent of its White readership in the past 10 years. The White readers were replaced by Blacks.

"It should be noted that Saan invested a great of marketing sales effort and promotion in developing the new consumer concept."

"This promoted the market of Whites, Coloureds, Asians and urban Blacks — the Rand Daily Mail's readership."

"Despite extensive marketing activity in this area the majority of advertisers found the concept did not apply to their markets," Mr MacPherson said.

At the meeting, Mr MacPherson also disclosed a fact which has long been speculated upon — that the Sunday Star is not profitable.

In response to an SASJ question he said: "The Argus hope that the Sunday Star (which has merged with the Sunday Express) will in the foreseeable future become profitable."

No indication of the losses of the Sunday Star were given in Mr MacPherson's statement on the matter.

"During the past 10 years we lost 40 percent of our advertising volume."

"The revenue remained static during this period while production cost was ever increasing," a factor which he ascribed to inflation.

"In 1981 we reached a

point where the Rand Daily Mail's direct expenditure exceeded its revenue. Thus from that year it could not contribute to the company's profits."

"The decision to close the Rand Daily Mail and to merge the Sunday Express with the Sunday Star was a painful one and taken only after exhaustive consideration of all the factors involved and against the background of substantial losses," Mr MacPherson said.

Referring to Business Day (at present part of the Mail) but which is to be launched on its own at the end of the month as a national daily financial newspaper, Mr MacPherson said he did not expect the new publication to be immediately profitable but a turn in this respect was expected by next year.

Parliament

'SA could ^{CITIZEN} be united ^{23/04/85} as single nation'

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — South Africa could be united in a single nation under one flag and a common citizenship, the Labour Party leader, Mr Alan Hendrickse, said.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also chairman of the Minister's Council and a member of the Cabinet, spoke on the Budget vote of the State President.

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, was the right man to lead the country to peace and to the recognition of individual rights.

He recounted the 20 year-long history of his party's fight to gain a foothold in the seat of real power — Parliament itself — and said that for the first time people other than White had become part of the decision-making process in South Africa.

"No matter what others may say to decry it, it is a reality," he said.

"For the first time also people other than White are in the highest echelons of power, the Cabinet."

The Labour Party had taken the right decision to participate in the new dispensation, he said.

"We have no doubt it was the correct decision because our presence contributed to the progress reached.

"We may not have reached the decision on (the repeal of) the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act if we had not been here.

"There is a need for the realisation of the hopes and aspirations of the other people in South Africa," Mr Hendrickse said.

"We must take cognisance of the total Black aspiration and take note of the problem of sharing a common citizenship.

"Without a common loyalty the forces of evil could divide while a common patriotism bound together," he said.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

23/04/85 Team effort

WE CONGRATULATE the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party for declaring their willingness to join the Cabinet committee considering the future of the Blacks.

Particularly the PFP, which has abandoned the boycott mentality that was evident when it refused to participate in the original President's Council, thus depriving itself of the opportunity of having any say in the constitutional reforms that were being planned.

Although the PFP campaigned for a "No" vote in the referendum, it has been doing its best to play a constructive role in the working of the new Parliament and dispensation.

Nevertheless, the Leader of the White Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has not suspended his criticism of the constitutional set-up and of the Government's policies.

Fair enough.

The PFP has to stick by its principles, even though it has no hope of coming to power, and as the Official Opposition its duty is to oppose.

Besides, the ruling party and Government are now following some of the very ideas propounded over the years by the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party or their predecessors.

No doubt, in the climate of change, there will be other Opposition ideas which, considered today to be politically wayout and unfeasible, will in time be similarly taken over.

Dr Slabbert has never accepted that the PFP is irrelevant, what with Coloureds and Indians able to speak for themselves in Parliament and a reformist government taking the initiative for change.

He has hinted that when the Right-wing backlash threatens the ruling party's grip, the NP may have to consider alliances with other reformist parties.

This, too, may happen, however unlikely it seems at present.

One stumbling block, of course, would be the Left-wing of the PFP, the so-called Houghton Clique, which would not readily have anything to do with the NP. Nor would the party's youth wing.

It is also doubtful whether staunch Nationalists would be keen to have any association with the PFP as such.

But politics in this country has taken unpredictable turns before today. Anyone watching the reformist zeal of the present Government must wonder at the thought that it was a Nationalist Government which introduced apartheid in the first place.

The new broad South Africanism of the Government, which has resulted in English-speakers being taken into the Cabinet, is also a radical departure from the previously ex-

clusive Afrikaner rule of the NP.

But with reform, White politics is changing dramatically — the battle now being between reformist and apartheidist parties, with the Government the arm of reform and the CP promising to block or reverse the process.

Against this background, the decision of Dr Slabbert to join the Cabinet committee is not strange.

Although he and his party have consistently called for a national convention, Dr Slabbert has accepted Mr P W Botha's invitation to all parties to join a "national team effort to seek solutions to burning problems".

Dr Slabbert says this is an important step, recognising that no one party can resolve the country's problems.

He intends to ensure that the committee "becomes a relevant forum for considering structural change, a sort of semi-national convention".

And he has pledged to use what influence the PFP has to draw in Black leaders who have shunned the Government's overtures.

It is a pity the Conservative Party has refused to participate since, even though it cannot accept power sharing, its voice should be heard.

As the PFP learnt when it boycotted the President's Council, there is nothing to be gained by standing outside any body that seeks solutions, whether one agrees or not with what may be ultimately decided.

The Natal Witness

Tuesday, April 23, 1985

Botha's offer

PRESIDENT Botha's offer to opposition leaders to join him in his search for solutions to the country's political problems may be seen as a statesmanlike attempt to elevate the constitutional debate above the realm of party politics or a sign of growing desperation, depending on one's point of view.

To us, it seems at very least an acknowledgment that the constitution upon which we were asked to vote some eighteen months ago is not alleviating our political problems but exacerbating them, as blacks react violently to the sight of Indians and coloureds sharing power and privileges with whites to their own exclusion. We would be more persuaded of Mr Botha's statesmanship had he not chosen to couple his invitation to white and black leaders with his most vehement attack yet on the UDF. If the search for an acceptable constitution is to be worthwhile, Mr Botha is going to have to talk to certain leaders of the UDF — however much he may dislike their tactics and utterances.

The essence of Mr Botha's predicament (and it is a deep one) is that he cannot pick and choose with whom to negotiate on behalf of blacks. The more he cracks down on black leaders who supposedly encourage and foment violence, the more he weakens the credibility of those who come forward to participate in his informal "black forum" or whatever.

It might help matters were the President to re-consider his own attitude towards "violence". No one of sense and goodwill supports or condones violence, but there are vastly differing perceptions about where the blame lies for the violence which now stalks our land, and at what the violence is directed. When the President demonstrates an awareness that the violence is not one-sided, and offers to talk to black leaders without pre-conditions, then we will herald the step as real progress towards the negotiated solution that he seems — courageously — to be inching towards.

Citizenship

A FUNDAMENTAL right upon which modern citizenship rests is that allowing people to enjoy the citizenship of the country of their birth. It is a birthright that in a normal society is passed on to their descendants. Since the introduction of the black citizenship laws in 1949, however, this has not been the case in South Africa.

In his opening address to Parliament this year, President Botha announced that the Government was prepared to negotiate on the citizenship laws, which have been elaborately designed to denationalise millions of black South Africans. Now the Government is apparently considering a form of common citizenship for all, thus reversing a grotesque Verwoerdian policy, the product of an ideology which envisaged that one day there would be no black South African within the borders of the Republic.

Nothing has changed in the years since these laws were enacted except that they have become more complicated. They continue to reflect the contorted dogma which pervaded the original grand scheme of apartheid. We welcome, therefore, any move — however small — towards ridding ourselves of this racially-based legislation reminiscent of that enacted in Germany in the Thirties.