

Racial representation^{3 STAR} debate in Zimbabwe^{18/08/87}

The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — The Zimbabwe Parliament is to debate a Government proposal to abolish the 30 specially reserved white seats in the house of Assembly and the Senate in the first of a series of constitutional amendments.

The move to abolish racial representation comes seven years after Zimbabwe's independence. It has been delayed until now due to a safeguard in the Constitution which blocked major changes, but this has now lapsed.

The white members

are to be replaced by representatives chosen by Members of Parliament sitting as an electoral college. They will include some whites.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe's ruling Zanu party holds a big majority and will effectively choose the new representatives.

The next constitutional measure to follow the abolition of the white seats will be a Bill to provide for an executive president, as opposed to the present constitutional head of state, who is President Banda, and a Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe.

2/1

16/2/2

18.2.1

Polluted water kills 14 in India

NEW DELHI — At least 14 people, including nine children, have died in the past two weeks after drinking contaminated water in the drought-hit Rajasthan state.

According to a newspaper report today Rajasthan is the worst hit of the nine Indian states suffering drought.

The conservative *Statesman* newspaper said the victims drank the contaminated water after all other water sources dried up in two villages near

Barmer, 650 km south-west of New Delhi. ^{STAR 18/08/87}

At least 150 million of India's 780 million people have been affected by the drought. Crop and other losses run into billions of rands.

Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi said on Saturday he had instructed government departments to step up public food distribution.

Scientists are unsure why the monsoon failed this year. — Sapa-AP.

3.10

Huge electricity bills issued as Soweto's council tackles deficit

57K 2
18/08/87

Soweto residents face huge electricity arrears bills — some in excess of R1 200 — as the city council tries to wipe out a R111-million rent and services deficit.

Residents say they are being overcharged, that the meters run too fast and that these have not been read for some months.

Soweto mayor Mr Nelson Botile confirmed the meters were running too fast and advised residents not to pay more than R50 a month pending an investigation.

He said his council had asked Anglo-American to check the meters, but an Anglo-American spokesman said no formal approach had been made.

Mr Rene du Toit, Soweto city engineer, said as the meters aged, they slowed down.

RENTALS CHEAP

House rentals in Soweto were so cheap that electricity appeared unreasonably expensive.

Soweto town clerk Mr Nico Malan said meters were not being read because of intimidation, therefore a standard charge of R30 to R50 a month was being imposed.

Chairman of the management committee Mr Letsatsi Radebe said meters were being read. Mr du Toit said that since February meter-readers had been accompanied by armed guards.

A resident said the meters were

not being read and that it was "all guesswork" at the moment.

Soweto's electricity is ostensibly the cheapest on the Reef. Yet residents in three-roomed and four-roomed houses with few appliances pay up to R248 a month.

Soweto's bills include a monthly R12 charge to pay R268,5 million for the electrification of the township and a monthly R4 service levy.

Residents also pay an initial R700 to be connected to the electricity supply.

Mr Malan said residents were meant to pay R30 a month for the electrification but the council had reduced this to R12. It was negotiating with the Government to subsidise the rest, he said.

Residents say the council is trying to force them to pay up.

One resident, who wanted to remain anonymous for fear of victimisation, said: "The council won't even record the birth of a child on a lodger's permit unless you've paid your rent and electricity arrears."

"You are told to pay if you want to apply for a liquor or taxi licence and even if you want to add on to your house."

Housing director Miss Estelle Bester denied that the council refused to register children.

Electricity has allegedly been cut in Orlando East, Orlando West Extension and Dube, where bills have not been paid.

16/8/87

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent
THE NATAL MERCURY 18/8/87

CAPE TOWN—An angry President Botha yesterday lashed the Press and the 'alternative media' for negative reporting and 'deliberate, miserable lies' about South Africa.

In a thinly veiled warning of action if the media did not put its house in order, Mr Botha said: 'As long as this negative force of destruction is abroad we will not be able to deal with our problems.'

'As long as everything the Government does is so negatively presented, we will not succeed.'

Concluding his reply to his budget vote, Mr Botha said that if anything was putting the brakes on change it was the negativism in the country.

'Look at how the National Council has been denegated. Look at the suspicion that has been created,' he said.

He had gone out of his way to create the best possible relations with all sections of the South African newspaper industry and had held frank discussions with the media.

The Press was a vital bearer of accurate information and he believed that 'that which the public has the evident right to know, no authority should keep from it.'

Acute dangers

Secrecy for the sake of secrecy or to conceal incompetence and corruption would not be tolerated by the Government at any level.

He had never feared justified criticism and MPs would remember his warning that acute dangers were looming, 'threatening the relations between the authority and the Press and between the Press and the public'.

'My problem is that some Press organisations and some Press members disregard their obligations and responsibility to a large degree,' said Mr Botha.

Even nine years ago there had been evidence of decay in a section of South Africa's political journalism.

'It was as if a devil of political devastation had taken hold of sections of our journalism,' he said.

'In recent times we have seen a repetition and deterioration of this phenomenon.'

Mr Botha said he had tried to reach agreement with the Press on voluntary restrictions on certain reports. Also, he had arranged for members of the media to be given the fullest briefing about the 'nature, extent and the tactics of the forces of revolution that were unfolding against the country'.

The Government had not wanted to take action against members of the Newspaper Press Union, but special measures had become necessary to combat the 'revolutionary onslaught'.

However, the Press had refused to co-operate and some sections of the newspaper industry had continued 'as if they were out to urge the spirit of revolution along'.

A large section of the Press had been brought into disrepute, he said, adding that he wanted to give a few examples of what had happened.

'It does not necessarily involve outright lies,' he said.

'It is often rather a case of blatant distortion and stage setting. It finds expression in misrepresentation and the creation of negative perceptions.'

The first example of this, he said, was in newspapers and magazines that could be classified as the 'so-called alternative media'.

'Most of these publications unashamedly support the Leftist radical groups and views in the country,' said Mr Botha.

They used all the techniques he had mentioned to further 'revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism.'

Another phenomenon which was closely related was the sudden increase in the so-called alternative agencies attempting to provide news services. These amounted to 'nothing but propaganda'.

'The entire matter concerning alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with,' Mr Botha said.

Other tactics employed were the conspicuous omission of positive events or negative reporting on positive events, such as bringing into disrepute black leaders who did not support the ANC.

'Distorted image'

There was also the repeated use of old archive material of the most negative kind, the careful selection of news events and material which benefited 'Leftist and radical organisations', the selective application of facts which were not incorrect in themselves but which created an 'incomplete and distorted image', and the calculated use of editorials to subtly violate the truth.

Blatant lies were also used from time to time.

He quoted from several editorials from a daily newspaper, without naming it.

He described one editorial, which claimed 'Pretoria has brought incalculable misery to its poverty-stricken neighbour by backing the guerilla organisation Renamo as a surrogate to wreak havoc across the face of Mozambique' as 'a lie, a deliberate, miserable lie'.

Mr Botha referred to a Black Sash publication which quoted him as saying, when he was still Minister of Defence, that the education system had to be used to train people for war.

This also was 'a lie'.

The Government knew that, fortunately, this was not the norm in the country's newspaper industry.

'There are still respectable and responsible newspapers, but even they feel the pressure in an environment that is being created by a reckless section of the media,' said Mr Botha.

● See Page 7

SA universities' racial 'mix'

SIR — There are four 'white' English residential universities in South Africa — Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes and the Witwatersrand and five Afrikaans residential universities. In addition to these the University of Port Elizabeth is bilingual.

In 1985, the latest year for which official statistics are available, the English residential universities had proportionately more than 20 times (in fact 20,57 times) the number of non-white students than did the Afrikaans universities.

The highest non-white ratio at an English university in SA was 25,01% at the University of Natal (since increased to 27,95% in 1987) whilst the largest percentage at an Afrikaans university was 1,70% at Stellenbosch. Another factor which you may care to consider is that more students attended the Afrikaans residential universities (13,390 more) than the English ones.

This discrepancy is aggravated by the higher non-white enrolment at the 'white' English universities and the probability that the

historical position still obtains that more Afrikaans-speaking students attend English universities than vice versa. The non-white enrolment at the five Afrikaans universities was, in total, a mere 0,86% in 1985 with the University of Pretoria having a percentage of just 0,08%.

These ratios are changing, of course, but probably more so at the English universities.

Mr FW de Klerk has called upon the universities to put their houses in order. He was, of course, referring to student disturbances and made no reference to the racial composition of the white universities. The universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal have recently been very much in the news for disruptions on campus.

Apart from Rhodes University these are the only white English residential universities that we have in SA; in fact they are also the only white universities with instruction only in the English medium, since the University of Port Elizabeth and Unisa (a non-residen-

tial university) are bilingual.

How do the English universities comply with Mr de Klerk's instruction to restore peace to their campuses if they do not recognise the racial factor? Whilst the English universities fostered a greater and increasing non-white component, the Government not only allowed it to develop but also made the taxpayer foot the bulk of the cost (64% State contribution, according to UN Chronicle, July 1987).

It is fact, not fallacy, that the greater the intermixing the less the peace. There are some nine non-white universities within SA's borders yet the English-speaking university student (who in any case appears to be a dying specimen) has to 'mix it', and with what consequences?

The principals of the English universities do not seem to be able to see the splinter in the eye, and neither does Mr de Klerk. Quo vadis the English universities in SA? Do they know where they are going?

M FALCK

Durban

Cosatu's 'call is irrational'

The Natal Mercury 18/8/87

ON THE face of it, which is to say by the standards of reason applied in a western democratic culture whose members have traditionally been blessed with a freedom of choice rarely found elsewhere, Cosatu's call for mandatory sanctions and disinvestment is irrational: there is no logic in a trade union advocating strategies that can only result in its dissolution.

In fact, if a recent rebriefing trip to S A taught me anything, the call is profoundly and tragically rational. Furthermore, it is rational not simply in the impersonal, political sense of making the country ripe for revolution, but — much more importantly — at an intensely personal level as well. Until it is understood why this is so, the prospects for a humane future in S A, even post-apartheid, will remain bleak in the extreme.

To use a grammatical metaphor, black South Africans exist in the passive mood, and have been condemned to do so for generations.

With few exceptions, they are people to whom and for whom things, some good, most frightful, are done. Put another, more colourful way, their historical experience has been one of being on the receiving end of whatever happens to be coming down the pipe.

Whether it be the obscene social engineering of apartheid or the largesse of a western company trying to justify its presence in S A to angry shareholders, black South Africans have virtually no say in what comes down the pipe.

Their free will is as restricted as that of Homeric characters whose lives and decisions are directed by the theocratic machinery of Olympus. As deadly serious as the game is, they are not players so much as playthings.

The Olympians of white S A and the outside world know that this cannot go on, yet do nothing to change the fundamental nature of the relationship. Across the spectrum, the basic question is what should we do about 'them'. Variants include: how do we control 'them'? How do we satisfy 'their' aspirations? How do we empower 'them'?

For all but a tiny handful of whites in S A, the problem boils down to one of co-optation. How to fit 'them' into 'our' society in a manner that does not radically change 'our' lives but improves 'theirs' to the extent that 'they' will live contentedly with us, or we can at least live side by side with a minimum of friction.

Co-optation takes various forms, some insidious and coercive, others more genuinely concerned. At one extreme, there is the totalitarian kindness of the joint management committees and their related control mechanisms. Under this method, docility is extracted in return for certain material rewards — release from detention, for example.

At the other end of the scale, the emphasis is on development, uplift, dialogue and affirmative action. In moral and practical terms this is infinitely preferable, but the inescapable fact remains that 'we' are still in control of the process and they are 'beneficiaries', recipients not actors. 'They' are 'victims' whom 'we' have a moral duty and a po-

Washington Letter

Simon Barber



litico-economic imperative to devictimise.

However noble the efforts of the Urban Foundation or the Sullivan signatories association or of individual companies and organisations, it is ultimately 'we' who decide what good works need to be done, and 'we' who disburse the necessary funds.

'They', poor creatures, are merely fodder for 'projects' designed to assimilate them into what 'we' all too often condescendingly call 'the First World' — as opposed to their 'Third World'.

This is by no means to criticise such projects, much less to side with the cynical Left in the US Congress who see 'aid to disadvantaged South Africans' (the official American phrase) as an attempt to forestall revolution by gilding apartheid's cage. The point is not that trying to redress the consequences of apartheid and indifference is wrong or worthless. Far from it.

What must be noted, however, is that the effort, by its very nature, has certain highly contradictory implications: chiefly that even as it seeks to elevate the beneficiary, it impresses on him just how little he controls of his own destiny. His range of choices is extremely limited: to be trained, housed, employed, advanced in ways that 'we' pretty much dictate, or face the oblivion of poverty, violence and privation.

In such a context, the simple making of a significant decision about one's life and of thus becoming, however fleetingly, a free agent assumes an importance, and imparts a dignity, that those lucky enough to enjoy democracy cannot readily appreciate.

IT DOES not matter much whether the decision is ultimately wise or foolish, because what counts more than anything else is the act of decision itself.

This begins to explain why Cosatu's decision to advocate an inherently self-defeating policy is rational nonetheless. To have opted otherwise would have been to accede to what 'we' wanted to hear, to succumb to 'our' reasoning, to be co-opted however unwillingly. Quite understandably, the union chose to say no, we are free to see things our way. In so doing, it validated itself as an actor, not a permanent victim.

Obviously there was a heavy political and ideological component to the decision as well. But what is really interesting here (to me, at any rate) is at the human, individual level — the level of people wanting to take control of their lives, to prove they are of consequence, and being forced, as a result, to take a logically suicidal position.

It is in this light that the sanctions calls of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Alan Boesak become not only intelligible but reasonable. Both regularly insist they can conceive 'no other way' of freeing black South Africa, and in their own terms, they are exactly right. The empirical evidence that the strategy will succeed is strongly against them, but the empirical evidence is not at issue here. Neither, indeed, is the massive suffering that will likely be visited on blacks.

Tutu, Boesak and others want sanctions in order to demonstrate to white South Africa that the grammatically 'passive' majority can take decisions and shape events with consequences beyond the white establishment's control. The potential folly of those decisions, and the hardship they could cause, are immaterial. What counts is the sense of liberation that comes from making them.

The longer black South Africans are denied full responsibility for and control over their own destinies, the more they will seek to burn down the house because that is the only authentic, self-generated choice available to them — the only way they can be doers rather than 'does'.

Cosatu *mercenary* 'arrogance'

18/3/87
SIR — Cosatu's arrogant little men are sounding more and more like tin-pot dictators by the day. Not only does Mr Barayi support the communist-terrorist ANC quite openly, but he expects us to believe that the so-called 'working-class' will 'rule' after economy is in 'its' hands' ('50% now, the rest later').

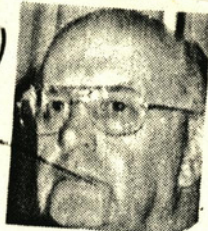
Since he does not appear to know, or else chooses not to mention the fact, not a single communist or 'worker' revolution in history started at so-called grass-roots level — all of them were conceived, manipulated and enforced from above.

The vanguard party of strictly professional revolutionaries thereafter consolidated power in their hands exclusively, while the poor 'proletariat' remained just that — effectively voiceless and powerless.

Who does Mr Barayi think he is fooling?

REALIST

PW attacks *Business Day* 'lying' Press



● BOTHA

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — President P W Botha yesterday lashed the Press and the "alternative media" for negative reporting and "deliberate, miserable lies" about SA.

In a thinly veiled warning of action if the media did not put its house in order, Botha said: "As long as this negative force of destruction is abroad we will not be able to deal with our problems. "As long as everything government does is so negatively presented, we will not succeed."

Parliament — Page 4

Concluding his reply to his budget vote, Botha said if anything was putting the breaks on change it was the negativism in the country.

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create the best possible relations with all sections of the South African newspaper industry and he had held frank discussions with the media.

The Press was a vital bearer of accurate information and he believed "that which the public has the evident right to know, no authority should keep from it".

Secrecy for the sake of secrecy or to conceal incompetence and corruption would not be tolerated by government at any level.

He had never feared justified criticism and MPs would remember his warning that acute dangers were looming "threatening the relations between authority and the Press and between the Press and the public."

"My problem is that some Press or-

● To Page 2



PW lashes 'negative reporting'



● From Page 1

ganisations and some Press members disregard their obligations and responsibility to a large degree," said Botha.

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He said government had not wanted to take action against members of the National Press Union but special mea-

sures had become necessary to combat the "revolutionary onslaught".

However, the Press had refused to cooperate and some sections of the industry had continued "as if they were out to urge the spirit of revolution along".

"It does not necessarily involve outright lies. It is often a case of blatant distortion and stage setting. It finds expression in misrepresentation and the creation of negative perceptions."

Strike meeting on again today

NUM, Anglo *Business Army* in move to *Aug. 18, 1987* end violence

ALAN FINE

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and Anglo American met for three hours yesterday and will continue discussions today on ways of eliminating violence on strike-bound mines.

Anglo's Bobby Godsell described the discussions as "constructive". NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said, however, he did not wish to characterise the talks as positive until, and unless, they were successfully concluded.

The discussions were adjourned to allow Anglo to consider a number of NUM proposals tabled at yesterday's meeting at a Johannesburg hotel.

Ramaphosa said the union was willing to accept Anglo's proposals and communicate them to strike committees, provided the company accepted the union's suggestions.

He said the company's proposals were insufficient, but believed adoption of the entire package would help restore calm on Anglo's mines.

Anglo has proposed that all hostels should function normally under management control; there should be normal

SUGGESTIONS by the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) that the miners strike had cost the gold mining industry about R93m were dismissed yesterday by a Chamber of Mines spokesman.

He said the LMG's estimates of the number of people out on strike were inflated as were its utterances on the cost of the strike. The LMG had said Rand Mines' foregone profit could not be calculated because cost figures had not been released by the Harmony Mine, its only gold mine — the LMG said — to be affected by the strike. That was not true. Harmony had not been affected by the strike at all.

access to hostels for workers, management and union officials; there should be normal access to shafts and plants with areas designated for peaceful picketing, should the union request this; and force or the threat of force should not be used by management, the union, or union members to prevent workers from striking peacefully or working normally.

The NUM told Anglo that mine secur-

● To Page 2

NUM, Anglo try to end violence

ity personnel should stop maintaining a visible presence. They should be removed from hostel areas and cease patrolling. In addition, Anglo should agree not to call in the SAP under any circumstances.

This, Ramaphosa said, would remove many causes of provocation.

Further, NUM said, charges laid against scores of strikers in the past week should be withdrawn. Among those are 33 Ergo employees charged with trespass.

Ramaphosa said: "If the company withdraws these charges we will believe Anglo is not in collusion with the State against us." Another 53 Western Deep Levels miners are facing public violence charges.

The NUM further proposed the mines should be opened to the media so the

media could assess where violence originated; Anglo should reverse its decision to charge strikers for food and accommodation; and workers disabled in strike violence should be compensated from a fund which should be established by Anglo.

It also said workers allegedly being detained in mine security barracks should be released.

Godsell declined to comment on the NUM proposals while talks were in progress.

Meanwhile, all mining groups except Gencor reported no change in strike levels yesterday.

A Gencor spokesman said attendance improved at a number of the group's gold mines.

● From Page 1

Naive to think no majority support for ANC, says Slabbert

STAR 18/08/87
Militancy in South Africa's black townships was much stronger than that found among members of the ANC at Dakar, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.

At a private function at the Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), Dr Slabbert said it was naive of people to think there was no majority support for the ANC within the country.

"If the Government chose to describe the ANC as terrorists, then it would have to call eight to 10 million South Africans terrorists as well.

"Nothing secret happened in Dakar."

Issues listed for discussion included strategies for change, the structure of a new government, the structure of the future economy and the problem of national unity.

The issue of violence as a means of change took up two days of tough debate. The ANC argued that blacks faced violence daily in the townships. This resulted in both parties deciding to differ "with regret" on the question of violence as a means of change.

Both delegations firmly supported the idea that negotiation was the best way to solve South Africa's problems. But the ANC said this could be achieved only on condition leaders were freed, organisations unbanned and apartheid legislation changed.

Dr Slabbert said he was reluctant to address impersonal mass meetings, but it was more important that a "dynamic be set up in which real talks could happen". Blacks were still willing to talk he added.

The RAU meeting was hosted by the vice-chairman of the SRC, Mr Deon van Greunen, in his personal capacity and was attended by about 100 selected academic staff and students.

11/11

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

18/AUG/87

Crumbling PFP

THE Progressive Federal Party is beginning to crumble, just as the United Party did — a party of irreconcilable elements — conservatives, centrists and liberals.

What was known as the Houghton Clique is now the Old Guard; the Young Turks consist of the Left-wingers and the Young Progs.

And so it comes as no surprise that Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont and chairman of the PFP's unrest monitoring and action committee, has resigned.

No surprise because Mr Van Eck, known as a firebrand who spearheaded the PFP's monitoring of alleged police brutality during the unrest in the Eastern Cape (his committee is disparagingly referred to by the government as the Van Eck Commission), was clearly out of step with the party leadership.

He makes this clear in his resignation statement. The May election setback had "shocked the party's leadership into a state of paralysis" and it had become scared of alienating any more White votes instead of taking a bold lead on sensitive issues, he said. Mr Van Eck also made it clear that the party's reaction to the PFP politicians who made the Dakar trek had been one of the main reasons for his resignation.

Mr Peter Gastrow, the party's national chairman, and MP for Durban Central, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Mr Pieter Schoeman, member of the President's Council, had to apologise to the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, for not having discussed the proposed visit to Dakar "properly and timeously with the leader of the party."

Mr Van Eck said he had no fundamental differences with the PFP's policies or principles, but there had been a growing unwillingness within the party to accept the practical consequences of its professed desire and commitment towards genuine negotiation and forging closer links and alliances with extra-parliamentary organisations "that share our commitment to a non-racial South Africa."

Although the party had "always professed its commitment to genuine negotiations, the distressingly petty and negative way in which it responded to PFP representatives going on the Dakar mission "can only be interpreted as a lack of commitment to genuine negotiations in practice."

It will be interesting to see whether the Dakar trekkers, particularly Mr Gastrow and Mr Cronje, will stay in the party.

For as the Dakar row has shown, all that the parliamentary caucus achieved after exacting an apology from the trekkers was a temporary truce.

The party is simply unable to get its act together.

The rot started when Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, then the blue-eyed boy of the PFP and generally regarded as a charismatic leader, resigned as leader of the party and of the Official Opposition and opted, instead, for extra-parliamentary politics.

He was followed out of the party and out of Parliament by Dr Alex Boraine, the party's federal chairman at the time.

The defection of two such prominent leaders immediately cast a doubt about the party's future.

But worse was to come. The party suffered a serious setback in the general election this year, with a net loss of six seats. But even worse, it ceased to be the Official Opposition, the Conservative Party taking over this role.

Then came the Dakar trip by the three Progs — and the PFP was in more trouble. Public indignation became so pronounced, particularly after the massive car-bomb explosion in Johannesburg, that there was immediate speculation in the Prog Press that the party might split.

Although Mr Eglin issued a statement saying he was satisfied that PFP members at Dakar had made a positive contribution to the well-being of this country and its people, Mr Harry Schwarz, senior PFP frontbencher took the opposite view, saying: "I am not prepared to negotiate with somebody who has an AK47 on the table."

We believe that Dakar will be the immediate issue that will lead to further breakaways from the PFP, for the party is clearly divided between those who believe the trip was necessary and those who feel that it was not only wrong, but that it harmed the prospects of the party recovering from its miserable showing in the election.

There is also a further problem — the attraction to Left-wingers of doing a Van Zyl Slabbert by entering the extra-parliamentary arena.

Although Mr Van Eck remains in Parliament as an Independent, others we are sure, will follow Dr Slabbert's example.

The PFP we are sure, will not vanish from the scene, but it will be reduced to a fumbling, crumbling, ineffective party.

And it can blame itself for its own troubles, for like the UP, it tried to be all things to all men, which is impossible in politics.

Race no basis for protection, but . . . **PW committed to group rights**

By BRIAN STUART

CAPE TOWN. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday

committed the government to the protection of cultural, religious and language rights, but not protection on

the basis of race.

In a major policy statement, Mr Botha spelt out government policy in regard to the protection of

individual and minority rights, and firmly rejected Conservative Party pleas for separate, racially exclusive states.

"The real challenge in South Africa today is to find a harmony and equilibrium between individual human rights, the cultural, religious and language rights of all minorities, and political rights for all minority groups," said Mr Botha.

It was necessary to find a system of checks and balances between all competing interests, and possibly to do so in a constitution.

Mr Botha referred to a speech by Mr George Shultz, US Secretary of State, in which he said the US would never support the replacement of apartheid by repression in some other form. A Democratic future for all South Africans required reliable constitutional guarantees for the rights of majorities, minorities and individuals.

"From our point of view, the same assurance of security should be given to all groups, and that is what we intend to do," said Mr Botha.

It was therefore government policy to give protection to those minorities "wishing to be protected" in regard to cultural, language and religious rights.

He had been asked how these rights were to be protected.

"The protection will be given on a non-racial basis, because the purpose is not to protect a racial group, but to protect culture, religion and language which, as we all know, transcend racial groups.

"So much for those who still accuse us of racism.

"One of the universally recognised minority rights is that of self-determination. This right is recognised by the government, and we will continue to respect the right of minorities to establish, on a voluntary basis, self-governing or independent states.

"For those Black fellow-citizens remaining outside the jurisdiction of the self-governing or independent states, whether in urban or rural areas, the fullest possible civil and minority protection must be given.

"Mechanisms and instruments to ensure protection must be devised to reflect the special needs of the South African situation, including the need for order and stability.

"In other words, we will not discriminate in the protection of Rights," Mr Botha told the House of Assembly.

However, it was also government policy that all significant minorities should be given participation in the government of the country.

This should take place in such a manner that governmental power was shared, with no one group being able to dominate the others.

Each minority should "command sufficient pol-

itical power" and have adequate institutions so as to avoid being overwhelmed in the exercise of its minority rights.

Mr Botha said the SA Law Commission had been asked to investigate a Bill of Rights for South Africa, and a report could be expected probably in the first half of next year.

The government wished the commission to obtain international constitutional expert advice "so as to present parliament with the widest possible range of options and alternatives".

Mr Botha slammed the CP, official opposition in the House of Assembly, for its policy of territorial separation between race groups.

He questioned whether it would be prepared to meet other groups around a negotiation table to seek agreement on the issue — which would be

joint decision-making.

"If not, will the CP divide South Africa without negotiation, unilaterally? And what of the millions of Blacks in the urban areas and the millions on farms?" asked Mr Botha.

If all political parties were not prepared to undertake the massive change that total partition would require, then it was time to "stop talking about partition and to start seeking practicable alternatives".

In regard to pressures from outside, Mr Botha said there was agreement that the international community could not prescribe a constitutional future to South Africans.

"Why pressurise us? Why sanctions? Why interference by foreign government when we are supposed to solve our own problems?" Mr Botha added.

There was also pressure from liberals without the county for a "non-racial society", which implied that the group character of South Africa's multicultural community could disappear.

Non-racialism was a myth. If parliament decided tomorrow to be "non-racial", the country's cultural, language and religious groupings would remain intact.

PW slams CP policy of total partition

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — South Africans should know that total partition of the country was only possible if all parties co-operated in a massive effort and it was agreed to impoverish all other development efforts to achieve the goal, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said.

Replying to debate on his Budget Vote, he said: "I maintain these sacrifices and these costs will not be borne by the population, and that another solution therefore has to be sought through a process of consultation, negotiation and power sharing in order to protect minorities and to develop our multi-cultural state further."

Mr Botha said the Conservative Party owed it to the public to clarify whether its policy of partition — a process achieved through negotiation — was not really a policy of secession, a process which was unilateral and sometimes violent.

Diplomats' activities reported

THE issue of foreign diplomatic personnel in South Africa who were encouraging extra-parliamentary activities in the country was being taken up with the governments concerned, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to a question during debate on his Budget vote from Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) to the effect that he should name the countries of the diplomats he had referred to last week, Mr Botha said the matter would be dealt with when the joint select committee, to be appointed to investigate the issue, started sitting.

"But I have taken it up with the governments concerned."

"The embassies know very well to which extent their members are participating in extra-parliamentary activities," Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

In one of its information pamphlets on partition, the CP referred to countries such as Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden and Denmark as examples of partition, but this was incorrect.

Other processes of forming states, with which partition was often confused, included decolonisation and secession or segregation in particular.

Partition constituted the division of the territory of a state into two or more separate states, taking place through a process of negotiation.

"Partition of one state into two or more independent states should be distinguished from geographic subdivision within a state, as in connection with the states in a federal country like the United States, as well as our own self-governing national states, which are not independent."

Secession or segregation as a means of forming states, occurred when certain inhabitants of a state decided to separate or break away from the state in which they lived to establish a new state or join a neighbouring state.

"Secession is often a unilateral act, and sometimes a violent act, as in the case of Biafra in 1967," Mr Botha said.

Well known examples of secession included Portugal from Spain, Norway from Sweden, Iceland from Denmark and Bangladesh from Pakistan.

"The examples mentioned by the CP are therefore not examples of partition, but in fact of secession, and the CP owes the public clarity on its policy," Mr Botha said.

"If the CP suffers from the delusion it is going to take over the government, and then wishes to establish independent states for Whites, Indians and Coloureds, they will have to take the cost of creating those states into account, including the costs of expropriation and consolidation," Mr Botha said.

He said that the cost

since 1936 of consolidating the independent and self-governing states was about R1 220 million, worth about R3 400 million in today's monetary values.

Taking into account the other urgent development needs of South Africa, the question was whether the taxpayers were able to, and prepared, to af-

ford further sums of this size.

"In view of the astronomical sums of money involved, how do we wish to implement such a large scale consolidation of land without consulting or negotiating with those affected by it?"

Members of the CP had admitted already there would be non-whites in

their White state, even after implementation of their policy.

The CP owed answers to the public as to what they would do about the political rights of the 10 million Blacks that would be in the White state and of those that would still be born in the territory.

"They will have to make arrangements, just as now."

ANGLO AND NUM FAIL TO AGREE

CITIZEN 18/8/87

ANGLO American — the mining group worst affected by the current strike — and the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) last night failed to reach agreement on methods of limiting violence.

Senior representatives of the two sides met for more than three hours

By TONY STIRLING

yesterday to discuss the issue of ending violence.

With both sides having put proposals and no agreement having been reached, Anglo and NUM have agreed to continue discussions on the matter today.

According to both sides, the issue of wage

negotiations, which is the central issue to the dispute, was not touched upon during yesterday's talks.

Anglo — which suggested the talks — made four specific proposals which included:

- The normal functioning of all hostels, including the functioning of canteen, ablution and other essential services being under the control of management — as was normally the case;

- That there should be normal access to hostels by workers, management and union officials;

- That there should be normal access to shafts and plants, with areas designated for peaceful picketing should NUM request this; and

- That force or the threat of force should not be used by management, the union or union members to prevent workers from striking peacefully

or working normally.

In the event of a breach of these conditions both sides should notify each other, but that management remained responsible for maintaining peaceful conditions on its property and would continue to ensure protection of life and property.

The talks yesterday did not touch on the issue of wages and benefits over which the NUM called the strike.

Anglo's team at the talks were headed by the company's industrial relations manager Mr Bob-

by Godsell, Mr Kallie van der Kolf — head of Anglo's manpower resources division, Mr Bob Williams — regional manager of Vaal Reefs, Mr Bob Flint from Anglo's coal division, Mr Dan Nkuba — assistant industrial relations manager and Mr Don Newby, also from Anglo's industrial relations division.

The NUM team consisted of: Union president Mr James Motlatsi, general secretaries Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Marcel Golding and the Union's legal advisor Mr Kevin Pillay.

After the talks, Mr Ramaphosa, said it would be "difficult to describe them as positive."

He outlined the union's proposals, which he said would eliminate the level of violence that has been seen on mines in the past few days.

He said the NUM had told Anglo its four propo-

Breakdown in Anglo, NUM talks

FROM PAGE 1

sals were not sufficient to return the mines back to normal.

The NUM proposals are:

- That Anglo agree to "demobilise" mine security forces;

- Mine security forces must be removed from the hostels;

- Mine security must not patrol the mines;

- Mine security should not be visible;

- That Anglo should not call the SAP onto mine property under any circumstances;

"The SAP presence caused a lot of provocation to our members . . ."

- Charges against workers arrested during the strike should be withdrawn by Anglo;

- If agreement is reached, a monitoring system with an independent arbitrator should be set up to assess any claims of breach of the agreement; and,

- The NUM also suggested that all workers injured in violence on the mines, whether inflicted by mine security or the

SAP, should be compensated and a fund be set up for this purpose.

The general secretary believed if workers knew they were to be compensated for their injuries, their attitudes towards management would melt.

There had been a decrease in the number of people taking part in the eight-day-old coal and gold mine strike called by the NUM, a spokesman for the Chamber of Mines said yesterday in a Sapa report.

"A significant number of workers on four mines affected by the strike returned to work today," the spokesman said. He added that no new mines had joined the strike.

The spokesman dismissed suggestions by the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) that the strike had cost the gold mining industry in the region of R93 million.

"The LMG's estimates of the number of people out on strike are grossly

inflated and so are its utterances on the cost of the strike to the industry. What is more, the LMG has said in a statement that Rand Mines' foregone profit cannot be calculated because cost figures have not been released by the Harmony Mine, the only gold mine in the group — according to the LMG — to be affected by the strike.

"This is simply not true. Harmony has not been affected by the strike at all," the Chamber said.

The Chamber said that 104 striking NUM members had been locked out at the Nuclear Fuel Corporation (Nufcor) yesterday afternoon at its Suurbekom plant near Johannesburg after deadlock was reached in wage negotiations at a Conciliation Board meeting earlier in the day.

The lockout was imposed because of management's concern about possible damage to its

plant "in the light of recent incidents of sabotage elsewhere in the industry".

In a telex to the NUM yesterday, the Chamber said it was not prepared to negotiate further wage increases, though it was prepared to negotiate certain working conditions.

The Chamber accused NUM of not negotiating "in good faith" when the opportunity was there and that the NUM had "made a mockery of the negotiating process". The Chamber also accused the union of not being interested in arriving at a mutually acceptable settlement, but of "going through the motions" to reach a formal deadlock and to eventually stage a legal strike.

The NUM declared a dispute with the Chamber on June 30 after wage negotiations broke down and a strike ballot was held the following week in which most NUM members opted for a stoppage.

More defections from PFP likely

By BRIAN STUART
CAPE TOWN. — Political parties in the House of Assembly believe there may be further defections from the Progressive Federal Party following the defection of Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont.

Mr Van Eck said in an interview yesterday: "I

think there are serious divisions in the parliamentary caucus and the party generally.

"They don't necessarily have to lead to the party breaking up, but unless

they are addressed, they can."

Mr Van Eck is the fourth PFP MP to quit the party in the past 20 months. The others are Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the former lead-

er, Dr Alex Boraine, former chairman of the PFP Federal Council, and Mr Horace van Rensburg, former MP for Rosettenville.

Mr Van Rensburg was regarded as to the right of the PFP, and Dr Slabbert and Dr Boraine quit to establish the extra-parliamentary Institute for Democratic Alternatives in SA (Idasa), which is also supported by Mr Van Eck.

There is wide speculation that the independent movement, headed by Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, may soon establish a new political party, drawing further support from PFP ranks.

"Whether you look at the PFP inside Parliament or outside Parliament, you see unambiguous shifts of mood and allegiance which will create intolerable strains within

TO PAGE 2

More likely to defect from PFP

FROM PAGE 1

the party," said one commentator.

Many parliamentarians feel the PFP's Left will increasingly look to Dr Slabbert for its style and attitudes, and that the centre may cohere with the Malan-Worrall independents.

With the government due to step up pressure on extra-parliamentary groups, the PFP would be forced into a position of either supporting radical groups or supporting action against them, NP members said yesterday.

● PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said in a statement yesterday he was "disappointed" at Mr Van Eck's resignation. At no time had Mr Van Eck discussed his problems with Mr Eglin.

"The commitment to rid South Africa of the present government is not peculiar to Mr Van Eck. This commitment was and remains a commitment of the PFP.

"Mr Van Eck's allegations that the party has become 'virtually unwill-

ling to take a bold lead, especially on the issues or policy aspects that are sensitive,' is nonsense.

"There is no softening whatsoever in the party's willingness to give a bold lead. There is certainly no weakening on policy issues," Mr Eglin said.

Mr Van Eck told The Citizen that he would not resign his Claremont seat.

● Mr Peter Gastrow, PFP chairman and MP for Durban Central, commented: "There is unfortunately very little space for lone rangers in politics".

The two PFP members of the House of Assembly who went to Dakar, Mr Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronjé (Greytown), made it clear they had no thought of quitting the party.

Mr Van Eck's resignation was also preceded by that of Mr Paul Vorwerk, who quit last week as PFP regional director in the Western Cape.

● Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, yesterday joined other PFP leaders in calling on Mr Van Eck to resign his

Claremont seat.

Since the caucus attitude on the Dakar talks seemed to be the culminating reason for Mr Van Eck's resignation, she asked why he had not taken a stand in the caucus at a time a statement was issued 10 days ago.

"Could it be that the announcement of the postponement of the next White election to 1992, and the knowledge he would not have to stand for re-election in 1989, was the decisive factor?" asked Mrs Suzman.

● Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi and chief National Party director of information, said it was interesting that Mr Van Eck had accused the party caucus of being several degrees to the right of rank-and-file opinion within the PFP.

● Mr Clive Derby-Le-wis, information spokesman of the Conservative Party, said it was "just a matter of time" before the PFP divided, with some of its members of parliament seeking new political homes.

Luyt called off tour

CITIZEN 18/8/87
By JAN de KONING

DR LOUIS Luyt, the driving force behind plans to stage a rebel Australian rugby tour of South Africa, admitted yesterday that he had finally called it off.

Dr Luyt convinced top players not to go ahead with plans to stage a tour in defiance of the South

African Rugby Board. They held a meeting at his house in Saxonwold on Sunday.

"I told the players they should think carefully. One must never start something one cannot finish," Dr Luyt said yesterday.

Several leading provincial and Springbok stars attended the meeting. They included Naas Botha (Northern Transvaal), Craig Jameson (Natal), Danie Gerber (Eastern Province) and Transvaal's Du Plessis brothers Carel and Michael.

Dr Luyt said yesterday the players' "good sense prevailed", but he did not see the situation improving for South African rugby. "There is not much the IRB can do to help us," he said.

He had had no choice but to talk with the players, because too many of-

TO PAGE 2

Luyt called off tour

FROM PAGE 1

officials had simply turned their backs on them, he said.

The players became frustrated when the SARB decided not to go

ahead with plans to stage an unofficial tour, despite the availability of about 30 top Australian players who were ready for the trip.

Dr Luyt openly backed the tour plans, and called for a special executive meeting of the SARB. When he realised he would not have enough support, he withdrew the application for the meeting.

The players then started planning to organise a tour. Players from four unions — Natal, Northern Transvaal, Transvaal and Western Province — signed a petition in which they demanded a tour by "rebel" Wallabies.

The petition was handed to the SARB offices at the weekend, but will now be tabled only as information at the next meeting of the executive, because the "whole matter has now been finalised".

All that is now left for the SA players is to wait and see if a proposed tour by a South Pacific team materialises. The team will consist of players from Fiji, Tonga and West Samoa.

Some Australians and New Zealanders may be included in the team to play in two Tests against the Springboks — on October 10 in Durban and on October 17 at Ellis Park.

● The president of the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union and vice-president of the SA Rugby

Board, Prof Fritz Eloff, said yesterday it would not be in the interests of South Africa to break away from the International Board, reports Sapa.

Speaking at a monthly meeting of the NTRU in Pretoria, Prof Eloff said if South Africa broke its ties with the IRB, it would be the end of official tours.

"I believe 1988 and 1989 will be vital in South African rugby history. Although the IRB cannot make any promises regarding tours, we must remain within the fold to at least secure our future.

"If we cut ties, it will destroy that platform we have, and leave us with

nothing," he said.

He was aware of a petition by players supporting a tour, "and I want the players to know that they are our top priority.

"I will be meeting with (Northerns captain) Naas Botha tomorrow, and I will be informing him what I said at tonight's meeting.

"Had the Wallabies toured, it would not have been their strongest side, and had we beaten them, it would have been a hollow victory.

"There might have been two tours at the most. After that we would have been in the wilderness and got nothing ever again."

'Alternative' newspapers, news agencies to be probed

CITIZEN By BRIAN STUART 18/8/87

CAPE TOWN. — The pro-revolutionary activities of the so-called "alternative Press" in South Africa "must be investigated and dealt with", the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in parliament yesterday.

While he announced no immediate steps, his speech reaffirmed reports in parliamentary circles that the government is urgently considering methods to curb pro-revolutionary newspapers, publications and news services.

Mr Botha told the House of Assembly that in spite of earlier warnings, sections of the newspaper industry had continued to behave as if they were trying to further the revolutionary cause against South Africa.

That Mr Botha was also referring to estab-

lished newspapers, was obvious from a series of quotes from the Cape Times of July 3, July 8 and July 14.

He did not name the Cape Times or other newspapers in referring to "the calculated use of editorials in an attempt to subtly violate the truth, and attempt to propagate Leftist and radical messages on an almost continuous basis."

One example he quoted was clearly from the Cape Times of July 14: "The Dakar declara-

TO PAGE 2

'Alternative' newspapers to be probed

FROM PAGE 1

tion . . . is an encouraging document. There is a surprisingly broad area of agreement between the Slabbert group and the ANC . . . If Pretoria is wise, it will scrap the prohibitions which prevent South African public opinion from forming an independent judgment of ANC attitudes and policies".

Mr Botha said that after being elected Prime Minister, he committed the government to strive even harder for the best possible relations with all sections of the South African newspaper industry.

His view was that the printed word was still the safest and most reliable means of communication between the authority and the people.

"That which the public has the evident right to know, no authority should keep from it. Secrecy for the sake of secrecy, or to conceal incompetence and corruption, will not be tolerated by the government at any level of public administration".

The problem was that some Press organisations and Press members disregarded their obligations and responsibility to a large degree.

Mr Botha said that when he became Prime Minister it was evident that "a devil of political devastation" had taken hold of sections of the country's journalism. In recent times, there had been a repetition of this phenomenon.

Towards the end of last year he had met representatives of the newspaper industry and

the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) in an attempt to reach agreement on voluntary restrictions on the publication of certain reports.

The government did not wish to take steps and clash with the NPU, but the outcome of the discussions was that the Press groups refused to co-operate voluntarily with the government to avert a threat against the entire community.

"Rather than assist the government in the spirit of my commitment to increased co-operation . . . some sections of the newspaper industry in South Africa have continued as if they were out to urge the spirit of revolution along," Mr Botha added.

"Through their actions, a large part of the Press brought South Africa into disrepute".

These actions did not necessarily involve outright lies. It was often rather a case of blatant distortion, misrepresentation and the creation of negative perceptions.

Referring specifically to the so-called "alternative Press", Mr Botha said they practised subtle propaganda to further a revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism.

There was also a sudden increase in so-called "alternative" agencies attempting to provide a news service to existing and alternative newspapers, but the news amounted to nothing but propaganda.

"The entire matter concerning alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with", Mr Botha added.

He told the House of Assembly that some newspapers omitted positive events and brought into disrepute Black leaders and organisations which did not follow and expound ANC views.

Use was made of outdated material, which was a popular technique of certain foreign television services.

There was also a care-

ful selection of news events and photo material to benefit Leftist and radical organisations and put them in a positive light.

The selective application of facts which were not incorrect in themselves also created an incomplete and distorted image.

Mr Botha then quoted editorial articles from the Cape Times, but without naming the newspaper.

He also quoted the education committee of the Black Sash, which "has the nerve to allege in writing" that when he was Minister of Defence in 1976, he supposedly said: "Our education system must train people for war".

"I never said anything of the kind," Mr Botha added.

Mr Botha's Budget vote was approved by the House of Assembly. Tomorrow the State President's vote will be debated in the House of Representatives, followed by the House of Delegates on Thursday.

ANC officials get 43 years in jail

CITIZEN 18/8/87
Court Reporter

TWO Russians trained terrorists who held high ranks in the banned ANC, who had trained recruits and returned to South Africa on an unsuccessful mission, were yesterday sentenced to totals of 21 and 22 years' imprisonment respectively.

However, with certain sentences still running concurrently, Solomon Moloi Makape (34), one time chief of defence in Angola ANC camps, will serve an effective 11 years imprisonment, whereas Theodore Vusimusi Zwane (36), one time chief of ordinance at Angola ANC camps, will serve an effective 12 years.

The difference arises from the sentence differentiation on one count under the new Internal Security Act, where Makape possessed more weapons than Zwane.

On the first charge, under the old Terrorism Act, the accused were

each sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate, Mr I J J Luther, for becoming members of the ANC, holding rank in the banned organisation and training recruits at the Angola camps, after the two accused themselves had undergone military training in Russia.

On the second count, also under the old Terrorism Act, the accused were sentenced to five years each for receiving military training.

On the third count, Makape was sentenced to nine years and Zwane to 10 years.

In passing sentence, the magistrate noted that the accused had left South Africa and were susceptible to overtures from the ANC because both accused felt they had grievances against the system in the Republic.

The court said that the sentence should also be a deterrent to show persons

that the risk was not worthwhile.

Regarding the return to South Africa, 18 months prior to their arrest, the magistrate said the aim of the accused's mission was not clear to the court, but "it was obviously not a goodwill visit" to South Africa.

Fortunately for the accused, said the magistrate, there had been no confrontation with the Security Forces on their return. Both accused had indicated to the court that they would have used their weapons if challenged.