

The Star

Parliament is at the crossroads

THE INSTITUTION of Parliament is in serious trouble in South Africa as an effective legislative instrument and as the ultimate seat of power for the country.

This year's session, which started in a mood of hope that reform would at last be put in motion, has ended abruptly and in total disarray. The Government has been caught in the snares of a constitution which it thought it had devised to its own advantage. The Labour Party is exploiting the system to the full. So far President Botha has given no indication of what steps the Government is taking to deal with its quandary.

Botha's silence

Mr Botha cannot afford to maintain his silence. His reform programme, such as it is, has been stopped in its tracks by the Labour Party refusal to pass amendments to entrenched clauses of the constitution which, inter alia, would enable him to appoint a black Cabinet Minister. He is now also unable to appoint a Prime Minister to chair the Cabinet, as he announced he would do. In addition, a Government move to validate the illegal government of kwaNdebele has been blocked and a long overdue move to provide for re-delimitation of parliamentary constituencies has been obstructed.

On top of that, Mr Botha quite outrageously continues to protect the chairman of the Indian Ministers' Council in spite of the fact that the man has been suspended from the Cabinet while a commission investigates irregularities in his administration. Clearly Mr Amichand Rajbansi no longer enjoys the confidence of the House he nominally leads. He is no longer allowed to set foot in the House of Delegates (from which he has been sus-

pended until next year) because a House committee has found his assertions in the chamber at variance with the facts.

The continuance in office of Mr Rajbansi makes a mockery not only of democracy, but also of the workings of the tricameral Parliament.

Through the dismissal of the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the suspension of Mr Rajbansi, there is now no coloured or Indian representation in the Cabinet. It makes Nationalist claims of consensus government under the tricameral system sound hollow indeed.

If there was a hopeful sign this session, it was that legislation has been passed to set up a national council including blacks to address the issue of black participation in the country's politics. But even that move (of doubtful effectiveness in resolving political stalemate) highlights the problem of parliamentary rule.

Rule by decree

At one level presidential decree is taking the place of parliamentary decision-making. A state of emergency circumvents the rule of law in vital areas. At another level, other bodies report their advisory work to Government instead of Parliament. When the Houses are deadlocked, a President's Council packed with state appointees can overrule the verdict of the people's elected representatives.

In theory Parliament still has the power to decide who runs the country and how. But now that power is being bypassed and frustrated at every turn. It is in the interests of the country that this parlous state be righted. The past session has been a sorry chapter in the legislature's often tempestuous but still proud history.

Survey: Natal says yes to Indaba plan

DURBAN. — A referendum on the KwaZulu Natal Indaba among Whites in Natal would result in a definite Yes vote for the proposals, a market research survey has found.

Information on the survey was provided by the Indaba in a Press release.

A survey conducted in April and May by market and opinion surveys concluded that 51 percent of Whites in Natal would vote in favour of the proposals, with 21 percent opposed and 28 percent undecided.

"This favourable attitude towards the Indaba also extended through each of the other provinces, though the undecided vote was substantially higher.

The "for" and "against" ratios were Cape: 33:12, Transvaal 41:16, and OFS 35:25.

"It also extended through the ranks of all political parties with the exception of the Conservative Party."

"The survey also showed that despite the government's protracted failure to formally react to the Indaba proposals, far more Whites in Natal felt the Indaba was making progress than believed it was losing ground."

Of the Natal respondents, 44 percent felt the Indaba had made "some of much" progress, as opposed to 18 percent who felt it was "petering out or had failed completely."

Twenty eight percent felt it made very little progress, with the remainder undecided.

Of the national sample, 39 percent felt the Indaba had made some or much progress, 18 percent felt it was petering out or had failed completely and 15 percent felt it made very little progress, with the remainder undecided.

"While previous surveys have shown the Indaba has majority support among White voters in Natal and throughout the country, this is the first time respondents have been asked directly whether they would vote for or against the proposals if given the opportunity," Prof Dawid van Wyk, the Indaba director, said.

"We are delighted by the clearly affirmative answer."

Two other questions tested the attitude of

Whites to the Chief Minister of KwaNdebele, Mr Mangosothu Buthelezi.

Responding to the statement: "Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is the kind of Black leader who could be trusted with power," 50 percent of the Natal sample agreed, 14 percent disagreed and 36 percent were neutral.

Of the national sample, 52 percent agreed or strongly agreed, 17 percent disagreed and 31 percent were undecided.

Responding to the statement, "Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi is a strong leader among the Zulus in Natal", 86 percent of the Natal sample agreed, one percent disagreed and 13 percent were undecided.

Of the national sample, 81 percent agreed, three percent disagreed and 17 percent were undecided.

The survey was conducted by sending postal questionnaires to about 2000 adults. — Sapa.

ANC-trained boy fears he 'will not be safe'

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter



Self-confessed ANC "freedom fighter", 15-year-old Herbert Mtshali.

A 15-year-old self-confessed former ANC "freedom fighter" — the youngest yet captured in South Africa — yesterday stripped an AK-47 rifle at an international press conference in Soweto and said his mission was to sabotage power stations and to recruit new members.

Herbert Nkosana Mtshali of Soweto, apparently undaunted by the presence of TV cameras, glaring lights and a dozen journalists, stripped the rifle in just over a minute.

"I was trained in Punga camp in Angola to dismantle the AK-47 in 50 seconds," he told the conference held at the Protea Police Station.

Herbert, in an unprecedented move by police, was presented to the media after the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, announced his capture this week and said the ANC had embarked on "a campaign of child revolution".

Stripping the assault rifle in the manner of a trained soldier — identifying each part and laying them out with their rapid reassembly in mind — Herbert said he was taught weapon hand-

ling and limpet mine theory for three weeks in Angola with about 25 other recruits.

Recruited in Soweto by an ANC member called Thabo on November 18 last year, he said he was arrested by the SAP in Hillbrow on Monday last week after re-entering the country in March.

He was 14 at the time of his arrest but turned 15 on Wednesday.

"I now regret joining the ANC. I am now going to work with the police and go back to school. The ANC can't win against the SAP. To be a member pays nothing. They can fight but where will they end up?" said the slightly-built and bespectacled boy.

He joined the ANC of his own free will — "I was a comrade and concentrated on politics" — but changed his mind after his arrest.

The police had not promised him anything, nor had told him what to say

However, he said he would have to join the police for his own protection from possible ANC retaliation.

"I don't think I will be safe in Soweto from ANC members. I was a freedom fighter but now I'm nothing," he said.

Six Robben Island prisoners were unconditionally released on Wednesday before completing their sentences. The men were released between a few months and four years before their prison terms ended, after remission of sentence for "good behaviour and adaptation in prison", a Prisons Services spokesman said.

The six are Mr Monde Tshete (33), Mr Vuysile Matinise (35), Mr Ben Mashinini (45), Mr Gallo Veto (33) and Mr Richard Chauke (38) — all sentenced in 1977 to between

6 Robben Island prisoners set free

THE STAR 11/7/88

11 and 15 years' for sabotage or "participation in terrorism" — and Mr Keno Hlatshwayo (28), sentenced to seven years' in 1983 for "participation in terrorism".

The six had rejected the Government's 1985 freedom offer to political prisoners if they renounced violence.

The Prisons spokesman said: "The release of all

prisoners is considered from time to time by the relevant statutory bodies, in the process of which a variety of factors such as the nature of the crime, previous record, length of sentence, portion of sentence already served, health condition, age, prognosis etc are taken into account."

Several of the released men spoke of their sur-

prise and shock at their unexpected freedom.

Mr Matinise was due for release in 1992 and was shocked when prison authorities told him to pack his bags because he was going home.

Mr Tshete, a jazz musician and a member of the band formed by prisoners on Robben Island, had served 11 of his 13 year-sentence.

"My release came as a hell of a shock because it was the last thing I expected. I'm sad at leaving my friends behind." — Pretoria Bureau.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Dammit! ^{11/7/88}

A MINI limpet mine went off in a cafe in the centre of Pretoria yesterday, injuring 18 people.

A limpet mine was placed in a restaurant in East London last Friday night. Fortunately, a waitress saw the bomb and the restaurant was evacuated in time. One shudders to think what terrible casualties would have resulted from an explosion while diners were still having their meals.

Yet nobody abroad seems to be shocked by the ANC's foul deeds.

Necklacing? Ah yes, that worried people abroad when it dawned on them what savagery was being perpetrated by the ANC's "comrades" in the townships.

But that innocent men, women and children, including unborn babies, are being killed or maimed by ANC terrorists does not seem to upset them.

They think South Africa is evil because people like Archbishop Tutu say it is on a par with Nazi Germany.

And so when terrorists plant bombs and landmines, they just assume that the Whites are getting what they deserve.

The truth is quite different. It is not just Whites who are victims, but Blacks as well, since the attacks are indiscriminate and anyone who happens to be in the vicinity can be killed or maimed.

Foreign governments worry about the Sharpeville Six, who were in a mob that killed and burned a Black Deputy Mayor and who were sentenced to death in accordance with the law; they make this a cause celebre and the Six a symbol of apartheid's wickedness, when they are nothing of the kind.

But the same foreign governments have no compassion, no thought, for the victim of that bloody murder, or for the victims of ANC terrorism.

The White House Press secretary is silent when outrage follows outrage; spokesmen of other foreign governments are just as silent. When they do feel it necessary to make any statements, they simply cluck-cluck about all forms of violence, not the specific attack.

Contrast this with the response when terrorists of the Irish Republican Army kill British soldiers by booby-trapping their vehicles, when they set off a bomb at an Armistice Day ceremony, or when they attack a bus carrying schoolchildren. Britain is outraged, and so is everyone else.

But what is the difference between what the IRA does and what the ANC does? Both have causes for which they are fighting. Both use terrorism. Both are equally guilty of maiming and killing innocent people.

So we say to overseas governments: Why don't you rid your countries of ANC offices? Why don't you put the ANC on the list of terrorist organisations that civilised people must shun?

Dammit! People are being killed or maimed by ANC terrorists yet you deal with the terror masters as if they have no blood on their hands.

Have you all gone mad?

Boy terro

A 15-year-old trained ANC terrorist was presented to the media yesterday.

"He was trained (in an ANC camp in Angola) together with hardened terrorists and sent back to South Africa to identify specific targets to sabotage," Mr Adriaan Vlok, the Minister of Law and Order, said earlier this week.

Mr Vlok said this illustrated ANC president Oliver Tambo's earlier statement that youth had to be seen as the "shock troops" of the ANC.

It has been clear all along that youngsters have been roped in by the ANC to carry out acts of violence including stonings, arson and necklacings, but that a boy as young as 15 was trained as a terrorist is absolutely shocking.

Do we have to have boys engaged in this ghastly traffic in death and destruction?

ANC terrorist (15) tells of training in Angola

By Tony Stirling

THE youngest trained ANC terrorist ever captured by the police was yesterday introduced to the South African and International media at a Press conference in Soweto.

He is Herbert Nkosana Mtshali, who was arrested in Hillbrow on Monday and who turned 15 on Wednesday.

After the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, referred to Mtshali's capture in a speech in Durban earlier this week, because of demand and the fact that the Minister and other senior persons had referred to the abuse of children by terrorists, it was decided by Mr Vlok and the Commissioner of Police to grant the Press access to the youth.

It was stressed, however, that Mtshali was an Internal Security Act detainee, and the fact that access was being granted to him was an "exception", and that this was not to be regarded as a precedent for gaining similar access to other Internal Security Act detainees in future.

The first act that Mtshali, who is from Soweto, performed was to dismantle and then put together an AK 47 rifle, the weapon commonly used by the ANC.

Demonstrate

He told the Press that he was able to reassemble an AK 47 after taking it apart in 50 seconds, and demonstrated this to the media.

He said he learned to do this during a three-week training course at the David Rabkin Centre at the Pango training-camp in Angola.

He indicated that he had also been shown how to dismantle certain of the weapons used by the South African security

forces, but had forgotten how to do this.

Mtshali also indicated that he was familiar with the use of other kinds of ANC weapons, and was able to identify the Scorpion machine pistol, one of the less commonly used weapons available to the ANC.

He said he had been attending school at Rockville in Soweto and was a standard six pupil. He had been a "comrade", and had, of his own volition, decided to join the ANC after reading about the organisation in pamphlets that were available in the township.

"I was not forced to join the ANC," he said.

Border

He said he had met an ANC member called Thabo, and together with this man and another youth of about 18, they travelled to Johannesburg, Pretoria and Rustenburg by taxi, and then caught a bus which took them close to the Botswana border.

The three crossed the border into Botswana, from where an ANC car took them to Zimbabwe and then on to Lusaka in Zambia.

He had met both Chris Hani, commander of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and Steve Tshwete, political commissar of Umkhonto.

From Lusaka they flew to Luanda in Angola and then went to the Pango camp.

He spent about four months outside South Africa in all, and only three weeks of these undergoing training.

Reconnoitre

He left South Africa on November 18 last year and returned in March, and his task for the ANC

was to reconnoitre power stations.

Mtshali said he was one of a group of 25 or 26 people undergoing training in the use of weapons at the time he was in Pango. He had requested to be permitted to return to South Africa so that he could continue with his schooling.

He said that after his capture on Monday he had decided to join the police and help capture other ANC terrorists because he did not want to go to jail and was afraid he would not see his parents again.

Decision

He said having made this decision, he would have to remain with the police since the ANC would track him down if he did not.

"As a member of the ANC you can fight, but where does it lead you?" he said. He indicated that he had come to realise that the ANC could not win against the police.

Although the police permitted as wide a range of questions as possible to Mtshali, it was stressed that because of continued investigation into certain aspects of his activities, certain details of his activities remained sub judice because of possible charges against him.

He said he now regretted having joined the ANC, and hoped that he would be permitted to see his parents and return to school. "I don't want to be charged".

He said that in the group which trained with him at Pango were youths of 16 and 17 and some "old men" of 25. "I was the youngest".

Brigadier Herman Stadler, Chief of Security Intelligence, said al-

"shock troops" to spearhead senseless murder of defenceless people of all races in our beautiful country.

"In so doing, the evil ANC/SACP alliance has already destroyed thousands of young lives," it said.

Enough other 14-year-olds were known to have received training as terrorists by the ANC, Mtshali was the youngest trained terrorist ever captured in South Africa.

Mtshali was arrested in Hillbrow while on his way to see a friend.

Statement

In a statement issued at the Press conference by the Minister of Law and Order, it was said that the fact that a youth of 15 had undergone terrorist training at the instigation of and under the auspices of the ANC and was sent back to South Africa to commit acts of terror was a clear indication of the ANC/SACP alliance's modus operandi of using children as so-called "shock troops" in their callous revolutionary onslaught against South Africa.

"The ANC/SACP alliance boasts that they use children to commit their gruesome deeds. This was clearly illustrated last year when the ANC said children form the so-called "young lions" and

No forced removals, says Heunis

477 000 *Natal Witness* hectares *11/7/88* added to KwaZulu

by STRINI MOODLEY

A TOTAL of 477 000 hectares of land has been added to the homeland of KwaZulu and the present 26 separate areas have been reduced to 19 as part of the government's consolidation plan.

This was announced by Mr Chris Heunis, the minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, at a press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Heunis said the consolidation of KwaZulu and the additional land approved by the cabinet had been worked out in such a way that no further forced removals would take place.

The additional land given to KwaZulu did not include any white towns, and land in a further 18 areas was still under consideration, he said.

Negotiations on the final allocation of 18 areas in Natal still had to be concluded but it was expected this would result in the addition of about 500 000 hectares of land to KwaZulu.

A large proportion of the additional land consisted of 215 000 hectares of state land known as the Makatini Flats, including the Ndumu Game Reserve in the Ingwavuma and Ubombo districts.

The only area affected in the immediate vicinity of Pietermaritzburg is the land referred to as Rietvallei farm — 180 hectares in extent, situated north and west of the Merrivale/Boston tarred road, and which belongs to the South African Development Trust which has been de-proclaimed and added to KwaZulu.

Plessislaer has been included in the Edendale complex to be utilised for industrial purposes.

Mr Heunis said the initial consolidation proposals had implied the resettlement of some 143 000 people, but the final decision taken by government now meant "there will be no enforced removal of communities".

One of the 18 areas still to be decided on was north of Durban, which was intended for industrial development in KwaZulu.

"Following a thorough evaluation of the evidence and representations, a report was submitted to, and approved by, the cabinet.

"The decisions will, where necessary, be submitted to Parliament for final approval," Mr Heunis said.

The chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development, National Party MP for Vryheid Mr Jurie Mentz, said the proposals meant KwaZulu would be in 19 separate geographical regions instead of 26 as at present.

When asked if the proposals had the approval of the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mentz said the chief had been informed.

'Open areas' bills published



HEUNIS

CAPE TOWN — Three bills making provision for the establishment of free settlement areas, stricter control of retained group areas and for voting rights in free settlement areas, were published today.

The Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs will meet on August 2 to deliberate on the three bills: the Free Settlement Areas Bill, the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill and the Group Areas Amendment Bill.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said he hoped the committee would be able to reach agreement on whatever changes were required to have the bills ready for Parliament to debate in the forthcoming session, starting on August 22.

He said there were broad objectives which the legislation addressed.

The first was the securing of community life and the protection of the vested rights of these communities and individuals.

The second was the establishment of open residential areas where members of all population groups could obtain occupation or ownership rights.

Further, it was necessary to ensure that people living in or owning property in areas earmarked for opening up were properly consulted, and to create a body to investigate the desirability of opening up particular areas.

Finally there was a need to establish the procedures and methods by which people living in open areas could exercise their voting rights at local authority level.

Other aspects the bills deal with include making provision for financial compensation to property owners whose properties are adversely affected and the creation of advisory officials to direct on evictions and on the avoidance of slum creation. — Sapa.

See page 2

N. Watres
Tutu asks
police to *1/1/88*
prosecute
after insult



JOHANNESBURG — Archbishop Desmond Tutu asked police yesterday to prosecute a white man for insulting him during a flight from Johannesburg to Cape Town, a spokesman said.

The archbishop's personal chaplain, the Reverend Christopher Ahrends, said a passenger, whose name was given to police at Cape Town's D.F. Malan Airport, taunted Archbishop Tutu in Afrikaans, causing other passengers to snigger. — Sapa-Reuter.

Tutu in plane incident

CITIZEN

1/7/88

CAPE TOWN. — Archbishop Desmond Tutu and his chaplain, the Rev Christopher Ahrends, are laying charges against a fellow air traveller after allegedly being abused by him yesterday.

The Archbishop was "belittled and provoked" by a fellow passenger as he climbed aboard an aircraft from Jan Smuts Airport to Cape Town, Father Ahrends said.

When Father Ahrends later tried to establish the man's identity, he threatened to "break the neck" of the priest, Father Ahrends claimed.

The Archbishop laid a complaint with police at the DF Malan Airport charge office on his arrival in Cape Town. Father Ahrends will lay a charge today.

"The man was with a number of other men on the bus taking us to our aircraft at Jan Smuts Airport. He seemed to be talking about the Archbishop and the men were sniggering," Father Ahrends said.

"As we walked up the

aircraft steps behind him, he turned around, looked down at the Archbishop and said in a mocking

tone, 'Hello Desmond'.

"His attitude was clearly provocative and belittling but the Archbishop ignored him.

"He then persisted, baiting the Archbishop and saying 'Ek groet jou, Hoe gaan dit?' When the Archbishop replied 'Yes?' The man continued aggressively 'Hoe kom praat jy so baie k.k oorsee?' Many passengers overheard him and there was again sniggering.

"The Archbishop took the matter up with a cabin steward, who reported it to the captain of the aircraft. Later the captain told me the incident would be reported to the

police at D F Malan Airport.

"However, when we disembarked at DF Malan it seemed as if nothing was going to be done about the matter. So as we entered the airport building I tried to ascertain the man's identity. He refused to speak to me, then said 'Ek gaan jou blerrie nek breek'.

"I then called a police officer, who summoned his superior, and we then laid a complaint at the DF Malan charge office.

"We will not tolerate threatening and abusive behaviour towards the Archbishop, who was clearly hurt by the incident," Father Ahrends said.

AN ITEM from the minutes of a recent meeting of the management committee of the Johannesburg City Council makes rather sad reading. It concludes that the only new city with which Johannesburg could be twinned as a sister city is Santiago, Chile.

Perhaps it is the lot of a pariah country to be condemned by association with other political outcasts on the basis that misery likes company.

However, it is worth recalling that when Johannesburg celebrated its centenary two years ago, the Mayor of Sydney, the most significant VIP this city received, only visited Johannesburg because it had a Progressive Federal Party (PFP) Mayor.

The PFP in Johannesburg will obviously not rest the case it presents to the voters of the city on such incidental instances. Yet they are symbolic of the general isolation, international disinvestment and polecat status visited on our country — and its major city — by the attitudes and actions of the National Party (NP) government.

The PFP intends regaining control of Johannesburg, taking the city into the year 2 000 and beyond. It does not intend to do so with a vaguely-defined set of attitudes, encompassing a gushing sentimentality and appeals to the moral outrage of voters, with which the party has been wrongly associated in the past.

The future is based on concrete proposals for innovative and orderly change. The PFP city council caucus has again become a creative engine, generating the ideas and plans for growth and renewal in Johannesburg.

Thus the PFP stands poised to present its case in crisp, relevant and unapologetic terms. And Johannesburg is at the crossroads: either we will remain a shunned and racist backwater, falling ever further behind even the metropolitan strides

Putting Jo'burg on the road to a new urban vision

Business Day. 11/7/88

TONY LEON/PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council

made by Durban and Cape Town, or we can adopt the high road and make ours a modern, harmonious and user-friendly city.

At the PFP municipal candidates' conference last weekend, Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly, among other notable Johannesburgers, endorsed this approach.

By contrast, the NP in Johannesburg have no vision of the future, except a determination to cling to power and to use the elections as a means of saving face in the wake of the imminent collapse of the NP through the length and breadth of the Transvaal.

They will probably not even bother to defend their record in governing the city, since it is tarnished with so many errors of judgment, not to mention the gravy train and the champagne and caviar tastes which the NP has come to regard as the inalienable right of government.

They will therefore centre their campaign around Prog-bashing and an appeal based on the real fear of Conservative Party (CP) encroachment.

While the CP garnered only 12% of the general election vote in Johan-



□ LEON ... "concrete proposals"

nesburg last year, any further inroads which they make will be because the NP have been unwilling or unable to provide anything approaching a real alternative to the apartheid doctrine espoused by the hard right.

CP propaganda capitalises on the non-enforcement of existing NP legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, while the NP is not prepared to make the decisive break required from the failed policies of the past.

Those who now vote CP have decided that, given a choice between old-style apartheid and the aimless drift of NP apartheid, the real thing is preferable.

And that is where the PFP makes its mark. It offers a choice and not an echo.

The PFP vision is not based on a stark choice between unconditional surrender and an irrational — and costly — insistence on racial domination. Rather, it is a recognition of the fact that we have never had white cities or black cities.

Past attempts to govern in the interests of only one community have been to the cost of all communities — residents are being soaked in taxes, levies and subsidies to pay for unviable segregated local authorities and services. The Johannesburg bus service alone has run up an astronomical loss of R120m in six years in order to pay for two separate services.

The PFP commitment is based on individual choice. That is why we are planning the post-apartheid city based on urban reality and not on wishful — and expensive — thinking.

The orderly management of the transition to a secure, prosperous and non-racial city requires a redefining of the problem. We need:

□ A municipal police force;

□ An acceptable and enforceable minimum community standard in suburbs which are defined by shared values rather than race;

□ To make carrying capacity, not pigment, the criterion for use of facilities;

□ To return power to elected councillors in open forum and to reverse the trend of unaccountable and secret decision-making;

□ To govern Johannesburg in the interests of all its citizens, instead of seeking to impose a culture, dictated by Pretoria's obsession with controlling all aspects of the city's life, including Sunday cinemas; and

□ To enter into a real partnership with business, so that the best business brains in SA can be harnessed, accepting that economic growth is the basis for urban renewal.

I am confident that we can achieve this ideal. The PFP our opponents face in Johannesburg is not the soft touch it might once have been. We have fielded men and women as candidates who represent a potent blend of experience and vigorous determination.

The hard political times we face have not deterred some of the brightest young professionals from flying the PFP banner in the city; nor have they discouraged 12 stalwart incumbents from offering themselves for re-election.

And what a prize we have to fight for. No less than the chance to banish from the most important city in Africa and divisive clouds of repressive and atrophying nationalism — and to start building an exciting new Johannesburg.

COMMENT

Man of honour

FEW people will be surprised by Colin Eglin's announcement that he plans to relinquish the leadership of the PFP, a position which he assumed when his party was thrown into confusion and despair by the sudden abdication of its previous leader more than two years ago. The task of holding the party together fell to Eglin not because he was charismatic, nor glamorous, nor because he was a popular politician, but because he was steady under fire. He was chosen, in a word, for his courage.

That courage has been sorely tested. In the following year, he pulled the party together and restored its spirit. With an eye to the future, he gave responsibility and opportunity to bright young members and canvassed the party for bright ideas. Some of those ideas were too bright — the concept of "turbocharge" — and some, such as the strategy of pulling together the various strands of opposition to apartheid, were daring.

The party, its morale shattered by the abdication of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was just beginning to believe in itself again when the general election campaign of 1987 began. At the start, all the portents seemed favourable but two factors were to fracture its spirit once again: the first was the campaign against parliamentary participation, itself fuelled by the message of disillusion which Slabbert carried to traditional PFP support groups; the second was a fundamental shift to the right by the white electorate, which was the result of

township violence and general mayhem. The National Party exploited those trends and the effect at the polls was devastating.

Eglin, himself, became the target of an embittered corps of second-echelon party members. Prominent among them were some of the unsuccessful election candidates. Eglin, who had refused in Parliament to condemn Slabbert for the "hurt and damage" he had caused, was entitled to feel hurt and damaged again. But even his admirers were forced to concede that for a party in decline, challenged from within its own traditional constituencies, its major strategy of uniting the opposition seized from it by the upstart Independents, Eglin was not the man. Courage, dignity, decency and political experience are invaluable assets in public life, but political revival demands the spark, the flair, the inspiration which even Eglin's close friends do not claim for him.

We assume, at the time of writing, that leadership will be transferred to Eglin's old friend, Dr Zach de Beer, and that the transfer will — unlike last time — be orderly and considerate of everybody's interests. There will be ample opportunity later to consider De Beer's qualities as a leader.

For the moment, we pay respect to a man whose personal qualities are those we would most like to see expressed in our national life, and to say the voters of Sea Point, the PFP and Parliament itself, are fortunate he is remaining on the front benches to assist his new leader.

Dear Sir,
I AM writing to protest at Business Day's characterisation of the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, in an editorial on June 20, as having been part of the pro-sanctions lobby in the US, and its statement that my recent report — "Black South Africans' Attitude on Sanctions and Disinvestment" — represents a major change in thinking for my organisation. Both characterisations lack any justification whatsoever.

In fact, IRRC is dedicated to providing impartial reporting and analysis on business and public policy issues that affect corporations and institutional investors.

IRRC does not recommend policies or actions. We have never recommended sanctions against SA, nor have we come out in opposition to them.

My report's conclusions were carefully stated. To quote briefly: "As far as can be determined by public opinion polls, the majority of Africans in SA do not advocate that US and other foreign companies withdraw from SA and do not favour other economic sanctions against SA as a tactic to help end apartheid if those measure will also increase black unemployment."

"What almost all of these polls also show is that many more blacks

might conceivably support sanctions and disinvestment if they were convinced such actions would not increase black unemployment.

"Some of the ambivalence expressed in the black opinion surveys is reflected by the leaders of organisations that have large black constituencies. The policies of major union, political and church organisations range from unconditional support for comprehensive economic sanctions, to support only for sanctions that will not increase black hardship, to adamant opposition to any form of sanctions or disinvestment."

I am disturbed that so much of the Press coverage of my report should focus on the polling data and neglect the views of the black political leadership I quoted so extensively.

I do not believe that the polling data alone gives an accurate picture of the state of black South Africans' thinking on sanctions and disinvestment when some of the most influential organisations, such as the UDF and Azapo, may no longer engage in political activity. Under these conditions, black political leaders who favour sanctions are handicapped in

their ability to communicate their views to the wider populace.

Of course, you are entitled to your opinions. You are not entitled to distort the truth to underscore your political points. By irresponsibly characterising IRRC as a formerly pro-sanctions organisation that has changed its mind, you are doing just that.

MEG VOORHES
Assistant Director
SA Review Service, IRRC
Washington

Dear Sir,
E SIMONS (Letters, June 22) says he would expect the End Conscription Campaign to remain "deadly silent" when Cuban troops and Swapo "terrorists" were on the border of Namibia. Why? The reason there is a build-up of Cuban troops on that border is a result of SA's invasion of Angola and the consequent jockeying

LETTERS

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for advantage between the opposing forces as our esteemed leaders attempt to extricate South African forces from the mess they have got them into.

Dozens of young conscripts have been killed and probably hundreds injured in this exported war, and the casualties could be far higher if the power game continues. Anyone who is not concerned about such developments must be an idiot. Simons appears to understand neither the ECC nor the nature of the war in Southern Africa. We invite him and others to debate these issues with us rationally rather than resort to petty insults.

CHRIS DE VILLIERS
ECC Publicity Secretary
Johannesburg

Dear Sir,
IN your News Digest column on June 22, Archbishop Tutu's spokesman John Allen is reported as being suspicious of the anti-Tutu sanctions airport demonstrators' prior knowledge of Tutu's "highly privileged travel arrangements, when only a small group within the church should have known..."

I happened to be at Jan Smuts when he left for Russia. Before his arrival from Cape Town I observed busloads of black schoolchildren and adults arriving and asked a couple of children why they were there. They replied: "I don't know." It appeared, too, that the entire world media was there, as well as dozens of priests and bishops. The antisocial behaviour of the pro-Tutu crowd was horrendous, and their threatening attitude to the anti-Tutu group very frightening. I would like to add my disgust at the white clergy who, from the fringes, incited the crowd to this behaviour. The language directed at me for objecting was despicable.

Tutu's own behaviour at "departures" was amazing, when he attempted to re-emerge for the benefit of the media, and shouted: "You set your dogs on my people". What dogs?

What I'd like to ask Allen is: how did the international media know the departure time, and who arranged to bus in all the children and adults?

"Only a small group within the church should have known" doesn't hold much water. Instead of deliberately persuading the public of supposed leaks by the authorities, Allen he should look to his own people and their role in the leaks.

ALANA BARRY
Johannesburg

In Chief Minister's information

The Natal Mercury, Friday, July 1, 1988

Buthelezi talks to Jeugkrug S A

CAPE TOWN—Neither jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela nor Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party could be left out of talks on the country's political future, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president, said in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Addressing about 450 delegates to the second congress of the Afrikaans youth group Jeugkrug S A, Dr Buthelezi said inadequate representation around the negotiating table would produce inadequate results.

He said every leader should be free to accept or reject invitations to negotiate a new dispensation.

'It would be as absurd to exclude Dr Nelson Mandela as it would be to exclude Dr Andries Treurnicht.'

He said the Leader of the Opposition had as much right to take part in any talks as Mandela and jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

'I regard the far Right as a threat to South Africa, but I would not attempt to negotiate a future without it being possible for them to be present.'

'If the State President re-

gards the far Left as a threat to the country, then he must insist that they are there, or at least that they be given the opportunity to be there.'

Dr Buthelezi said he refused to take part in the Government's proposed National Council for blacks as it would be 'rigged'.

'If I joined the council I would have to sit with whoever town councils acting as electoral colleges decide must sit with me.'

Blacks who did take part in the council stood 'every chance of being endorsed right out of political relevance', he said.

The congress ends on Saturday. — (Sapa)

N. witness
**All must
be invited
to talks
— chief**



CAPE TOWN — Neither jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela nor Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party could be left out of talks on the country's political future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president, said in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Addressing 450 delegates at the Afrikaans youth group Jeugkrag SA, he said inadequate representation would produce inadequate results. — Sapa

Group Areas Act is given stronger teeth

Harsh new legislation to enforce the Group Areas Act — while opening some areas to all races — has been tabled in Parliament.

Penalties for contravening the Act are drastically increased, properties illegally occupied may be sold by the State, inspectors are appointed to police the Act and the State no longer has to provide alternative accommodation for people evicted under the Act.

Fines are increased from R400 to R10 000 and from two years' to five years' imprisonment for property owners who allow transgressions, and from R200 to R4 000 and from one to two years' imprisonment for illegal occupation of property.

The legislation circumvents the Supreme Court ruling that alternative accommodation must be found before Group Areas Act transgressors can be evicted.

At the same time legislation has been introduced to open some areas to all races and to set up management committees to give mixed residents of these areas a vote in municipal affairs.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, introducing the new legislation yesterday, denied that the measure was harsh and said it was designed to implement the Group Areas Act properly.

It would protect the rights of people to their own community life and to land tenure.

He said the Government's new group areas policy announced in October last year by President Botha was being implemented with three new Bills. The Group Areas Amendment Bill altered the Group Areas Act to give it more teeth, the Free Settlement Areas Bill provided the machinery for opening some areas to all and the Local Government Affairs in Free Settlement Areas Bill made provision for local authority representation for the open areas.

Penalties for transgressors would be drastically increased, Mr Heunis said, and eviction orders would be mandatory on conviction.

Inspectors would be appointed to check on illegal possession and occupation of property in group areas.

Blacks would also be brought into the group areas system. Existing development areas for blacks would become black group areas.

To prevent speculation when areas were identified for certain groups, the Bill would determine a basic value of a property at the time it was advertised that it might be re-proclaimed.

Mr Heunis also said the Free Settlement of Areas Bill would provide for those people who wanted to live in open areas.

The State President would have the power to proclaim these areas on the advice of a Free Settlement Areas Board and would have the power to amend or repeal the proclamation of a free settlement area.

All industrial land would be opened to all races and present delays in the proclamation of free trading areas would be overcome by giving local authorities the power to declare the areas open once the State President had given his approval.

The legislation makes it clear that the proclamation of Free Settlement Areas will be carefully controlled and will ultimately be an "own affair". The decisions as to which areas should be opened will rest with the Ministers' Councils of the whites, Indians and coloured people.

A Free Settlement Board of experts will be appointed to investigate and advise on which areas should be opened.

The Ministers' Councils will be given a veto right on any decision to create a free settlement area in their group areas. They can also decide which areas should become free trading areas.

Govt urged to make red-tape bonfire

Scrap the rules which shackle trade — Assocom

By Michael Chester

The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry has urged the Government to hold a "red-tape bonfire" as a top priority in setting new economic goals.

A special issue of the *Assocom Review* business newsletter, released today, argues that economic progress in South Africa has been "shackled and discouraged by a lattice-work of laws and regulations administered by a burgeoning bureaucracy with all its tangle of red tape".

"The first essential to achieving future growth is to dismantle many of these restrictive laws and hold a red tape bonfire."

Pleading for more freedom for informal sector operations, the review says researchers estimate that while 12,4 million black South Africans should be economically active, in fact only about 6,9 million of them have steady jobs.

The current workless total of 5,5 million threatens to increase considerably unless the economy expanded at an unprecedented rate, says the Review.

"Now, on the threshold of the 21st century, we must return to our economic roots — to the cottages and houses of black South Africans, to spark vitality into the economy and to relieve the misery and want," says the review.

Assocom recalls that Dr Jan Lombard, deputy governor of the SA Reserve Bank, has said that if 4 million people each earned as little as R5 000 a year, the total purchasing power of consumers will leap by R20 billion a year — equal to 25 percent of the national wage bill last year.

Assocom sets out an "Agenda for Action" to restore peaceful co-existence and prosperity inside South Africa by the year 2 000.

Among the items needing urgent action are:

●Deregulation: Further progress must be made in cutting through the tangle of red tape which not only impedes the operation of formal markets but which deters the development of the informal sector.

●Group Areas: A flexible approach to this key issue is essential and the changes which have taken place in living patterns should be recognised.

●Schools: South Africa no longer has the fat to waste its resources. Fill empty classrooms with people who are hungry for education.

●Removals: People want stability and security of tenure so that they can live in peace and earn a living.

●State of Emergency: This should be ended as soon as circumstances permit, restoring normality to our society.

●Politics: Negotiate with the real political leaders of all groups and make a success of the national council.

FRIENDS, NOT ENEMIES

●Foreign relations: Avoid provoking the world. We need friends not enemies, good neighbours not antagonists, trade missions not armed incursions, diplomacy not confrontation.

●Inflation: Action, not talk, is necessary to curb inflation. Steps which should not be taken: price and wage freezes; Steps which should be taken: cut government expenditure; hunt out and bust cartels where these are against the public interest."

●Urbanisation: The drift to towns and cities is an historic process that cannot be halted. It can, however, be retarded by making the rural areas more habitable — with homes, not hovels.

"These targets are neither impossible or impractical," says the Review. "They can be realised if there is the political will and the economic thrust to reach the goals set for our society by the year 2 000."

Don't call us black, say British Asians

Asians in Britain have launched a campaign to stop people calling them black. They say the term has become too politicised and no longer represents their culture.

The revolt came to a head last week when the Commission for Racial Equality published its annual report, in which Asians were classified under the heading "Blacks". Asian community leaders protested that they should have their own separate status.

The campaign is led by Mr Inder Singh Uppal, a Sikh who is senior community relations officer for Hounslow Council, west London, where 25 000 Asians live.

Mr Uppal, who recently won a long battle with his council over the same issue, has helped found a new group, the Asian People's National Association, to fight for independent recognition. He said: "Calling Asians blacks does not come naturally to us."

Even the deputy chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, Professor Bikhru Parekh, a Gujarati from India, says that in his experience of meeting Asians "about 70 percent resent it, 10 percent identify themselves as black, and the rest do so with qualifications."

Professor Parekh, who teaches political theory at Hull University, said Asians in Britain initially accepted the word black because they shared a common predicament with Afro-Caribbeans.

"Later, the word became load-

ed. To be black was necessarily to be radical. If they voted Liberal or Tory they were not 'real' blacks. Black became a term of political manipulation."

A working party from the commission has begun consultations to decide whether a redefinition is necessary. Commission chairman Mr Michael Day is sympathetic but fears that the row will deter companies and government bodies from monitoring the number of black people they employ.

Mr Day said the government had only reluctantly agreed to include a question on people's ethnic origins in the 1991 national census. The question might be dropped, as happened before, if there were a new row over definition.

STRONGLY OPPOSED

Britain has 760 000 people of Indian origin, 397 000 Pakistanis and 103 000 Bangladeshis. This compares with 534 000 West Indians and 103 000 Africans. Nearly half are British-born.

Redefinition, many community leaders think, could make it easier for the Tories to improve political links with Asians. The move is being strongly opposed by Britain's most influential black leaders, including Mr Bernie Grant, Labour MP for Tottenham. He condemned any change as divisive, adding: "I know of Caribbeans who are paler skinned than Madrasis from south India." — *Sunday Times, London.*

Friday 1 July 1988

Include Mandela *CITIZEN* and CP — Buthelezi

CAPE TOWN. —Neither jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela nor Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party could be left out of talks on the country's political future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, said in Stellenbosch yesterday?

Addressing about 450 delegates to the second congress of the Afrikaans youth group Jeugkrag S A Chief Buthelezi said inadequate representation around the negotiating table would produce inadequate results.

Chief Buthelezi said every leader should be free to accept or reject invitations to negotiate a new dispensation.

Chief Buthelezi said the Leader of the Opposition had as much right to take part in any talks as Mandela and jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

"I regard the far Right as a threat to South Africa, but I would not attempt to negotiate a future without it being possible for them to be present.

"If the State President regards the far Left as a threat to the country, then he must insist that they are there, or at least that they be given the opportunity to be there."

He said he refused to take part in the government's proposed National Council for Blacks as it would be "rigged".

Friday 1 July 1988

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Inconsistencies in ^{CITIZEN} Buthelezi's ^{1/7/88} speeches

IF one carefully reads the speeches of Chief Buthelezi as reported in your paper one is inundated with a lot of contradictions, inconsistencies, implications, trivialities and ravelled-out details. Some examples should be furnished:

- He rejects violence but insists on Mandela's participation in negotiations (Citizen 23 April) for which purpose he then should get Mandela to renounce violence.

- He says Black SA will not be divided into a

number of minorities (Citizen 22 June) but he ignores the fact that historically, traditionally and linguistically the Blacks have divided themselves into separate identities.

- He says there is an undeniable Black majority in SA (Citizen 23 April), of which the clear implication is that he favours a government by them — a plain racist approach.

- He, from time to time, demands full explanation from the State President about constitutional matters (Citizen 23 April), but is against prescription by the Whites and SP (Citizen 23 April).

- He stated that he was not consulted about the constitutional changes the SP had in mind (Citizen 23 April), but he had refused meetings with the SP.

- He said reform was too little too late (Citizen 26 April) but he admitted a journey of a million miles commences with a first step in the right direction/

- He wants to know how the National Council will work and is not aware of its agendas (Citizen 22 June) but he is against prescriptions by the SP and apparently does not realise that the National Council will have to lay down its own procedures.

- He often asks for more information about matters to be negotiated but forgets that those matters will have to be ironed out by the National Council, otherwise he will be the first to complain about prescription by the SP.

- He mentions goodwill (Citizen 22 April) in SA amongst Black and White but he is apparently only prepared to go to the negotiation room on his own terms rather than on an open agenda.

My advice to him is: Stop talking so much about negotiation and rather go to the negotiation conference on an open agenda to partake in negotiation.

M COEN

Pretoria

Right and left 'should be present at talks'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Neither ANC leader Nelson Mandela nor Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party could be left out of talks on SA's political future, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Addressing about 450 delegates to the second congress of the Afrikaans youth group Jeugkrag SA, Chief Buthelezi said inadequate representation around the negotiating table would produce inadequate results.

INVITATIONS

The kwaZulu Chief Minister said every leader should be free to accept or reject invitations to negotiate a new dispensation. "It would be as absurd to exclude Dr Nelson Mandela as it would be to exclude Dr Andries Treurnicht."

The chief said the CP leader had as much right to take part in any talks as Mandela and jailed Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng.

"I regard the far right



Chief Buthelezi . . . Give all leaders an opportunity.

as a threat to South Africa, but I would not attempt to negotiate a future without it being possible for them to be present. If the State President regards the far left as a threat to the country, then he must insist that they are there, or at least that they be given the opportunity to be there."

Chief Buthelezi said he refused to take part in the Government's proposed National Council for blacks as it would be "rigged". Blacks who did take part in the council stood "every chance of being endorsed right out of political relevance".