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# COMMENT & OPINION

## A WEEKLY SURVEY OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS AND RADIO

### NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### TOWARDS PLURAL DEMOCRACY

SOUTH AFRICA'S policy aimed at a plural democracy, the Minister of Information, Dr C.P. Mulder, told the Transvaal National Party Congress in Pretoria last week

He said that though apartheid and separate development had negative connotations abroad, the world understood plural identities, ethnic groups without a concept of inferiority or superiority, indicating language, cultural, religious and other differences between peoples.

The Government believed in separate identities. It also understood separate nationalisms and was granting separate parliaments to other race groups so that they could determine their own destinies, but it would not allow other races to share power in the White parliament.

Dr Mulder claimed that though many countries consisted of plural societies, the world refused to acknowledge the same plurality in SA. One writer had estimated that 10-million people died between 1945 and 1974 as a result of ethnic differences, the Minister said, adding: "We must now bridge the concepts of ethnicity, development and interstate relations."

Addressing the congress, the Premier, Mr Vorster, endorsed Dr Mulder's views on no sharing of power in the White parliament and rejected calls for a national convention "to bring about one man, one vote and escape the beneficial measures that separate development had brought about."

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In a TV interview, he said he was sure the homelands would follow Transkei to independence, but the decision was up to them.

As regards Coloureds and Indians, Mr Vorster expected a great deal from the Cabinet Council to discuss communal interests, and reportedly foresaw all three groups having their own parliaments.

Meanwhile the leaders of the Progressive Reform Party, Mr Colin Eglin, has proposed a coming together of all "enlightened citizens" who share a commitment to abolish discrimination, share effective power at all levels of Government, and meet with Blacks to thrash out a pattern of peaceful co-existence.

At the congress the Premier warned that those who were destroying educational and other facilities were punishing nobody but themselves, because money that could have been used for more and better facilities now had to go for rebuilding the destroyed buildings.

And Johannesburg's Medical Officer of Health, Dr Alex Smith, told the Press that unless the situation in Soweto returned to normal and the preventive health programme could be resumed, the town was faced with an upsurge in infectious diseases.

"We have succeeded over the past 25 years in bringing down the infant mortality rate in Soweto from 500 per 1 000 births to between 50 and 60," he said in an interview. "We are very much afraid that this figure will now again rise drastically."



Get it right

RAND DAILY MAIL (E - SEPTEMBER 16)



**BEELD, Johannesburg (September 15)** says it was probably unavoidable that the unrest caused resistance among many people towards the elimination of hurtful discriminatory measures, and blames the Herstigte Nasionale Party for whipping up these feelings.

**THE DAILY NEWS, Durban (September 15)** regards the CRC's response to rioting in the Cape as strong evidence that the unrest stems from more than "sectional agitation" and an eye-opener for Whites who viewed the riots in superficial terms.

**THE CITIZEN, Johannesburg (September 15)** points out that Transkei is the second Southern African state — and SWA could be a third — without world status, but urges the West to reconsider its attitude since Transkei has good development prospects and could be a stepping stone to an economically successful "confederation of Southern African states."

**OGGENDBLAD, Pretoria (September 15)** notes the two poles of NP premises, outlined by Dr Connie Mulder — identity, no sharing of power, and maintaining law and order. In discussing changes, "adjustments to basic premises are not included."

**DIE TRANSVALER, Johannesburg (September 15)** says the NP is not averse to change, but it should not be rash and thoughtless, neither should it be brought about too slowly.

**DIE VOLKSBLAD, Bloemfontein (September 15)** says the intimidation of Black and Brown workers is becoming part of a plan to paralyse South Africa from within. Workers should have the grit to refuse to go along with intimidators who form part of the "imperialism of this century."

**OOSTERLIG, Port Elizabeth (September 15)** says that progress and power sharing in South Africa is possible only along the road of separate development and distribution of power.

**EASTERN PROVINCE HERALD, Port Elizabeth (September 16)** condemns the Government's education policy for Blacks and urges a "generous, confident integration of education and job opportunity" to promote Black contentment and aid exploitation of SA's "great natural resources."

**DIE VADERLAND, Johannesburg (September 16)** finds the term "plural democracy" quite acceptable, but adds that it should be accompanied by the elimination of discrimination based on colour.



THE CAPE TIMES (E — SEPTEMBER 11)

**THE STAR, Johannesburg (September 16)** understands the "no work, no pay" policy but feels that employees who come to work regardless deserve "some extra recognition" and that employers should recognise that the strike has its roots in the "battle for a better life."

**THE WORLD, Johannesburg (September 16)** is astonished at Dr Mulder's warning that Blacks "must not push the White man too far" since in its opinion the boot is on the other foot.

**THE NATAL MERCURY, Durban (September 17)** regards the National Party's change of heart towards multi-racial sport as evidence of a "major rethink" that could pave the way for meaningful changes across the whole spectrum of apartheid.

**RAND DAILY MAIL, Johannesburg (September 17)** welcomes the mooted opposition joint talks but endorses Mr Eglin's proviso that an alliance must have unequivocal goals which it defines as sharing power and discussing how this can be done.

**THE ARGUS, Cape Town (September 17)** says everybody's interest will be served by a rapid return to normal, but regards it as the Government's responsibility to make everyone understand that changes can and will come without revolution.

**PRETORIA NEWS, Pretoria (September 18)** says the violence coinciding with the Kissinger talks should inspire the participants to success because the masses of Black and White do not want a violent alternative.

**DIE BURGER, Cape Town (September 20)** uses an American precedent to point out that unrest is characteristic, not of suppressed peoples but of socio-economically progressing groups who are being given rights, as in SA. The emancipating process should not stop, but it should be carefully controlled.

**HOOFSTAD, Pretoria (September 21)** sees the campaign for a national convention as a carefully thought-out plan to unseat the Government through non-parliamentary procedures.

**TO THE POINT, Johannesburg (September 24)** regards changing the policy's name separate development to plural democracy as possible evidence of a new emphasis which would be difficult to reconcile with discrimination.

# Beeld

## Change

In his opening address to the Transvaal congress of the National Party, Dr Connie Mulder gave much attention to the call for change in South Africa, and what the National Party's attitude towards it should be, particularly against the background of the current unrest.

The call, in part, has been rather ill considered. It is thus with justification that Dr Mulder pointed out that those who vaguely called for change, should spell out the details and implications of their plans. The electorate would then have something concrete before it.



But on the basic point he re-emphasised the Government's attitude. The National Party is and remains the party of organised change which allows all people to assert human dignity.

The Government wishes to build on what has already been achieved — and it is a tragedy that the unrest is delaying the expansion.

The leader of the National Party in the Transvaal said the Government would continue to bring about such changes in our society, because it realised that stagnation or retrogression would be deadly. It would not allow itself to be deviated from this course: it wanted to increase the pace of change.

It was probably unavoidable that the unrest, the burning of various facilities in Black and Brown areas created a resistance among many people to improving services and eliminating hurtful discriminatory measures. The Herstigte Nasionale Party and other rightwing excrescences have revelled in whipping up these feelings.

Reacting to this sort of agitation, Dr Mulder, on behalf of the Government, gave the only honourable answer: The changes which must come about, will be brought about, even at an increased tempo.

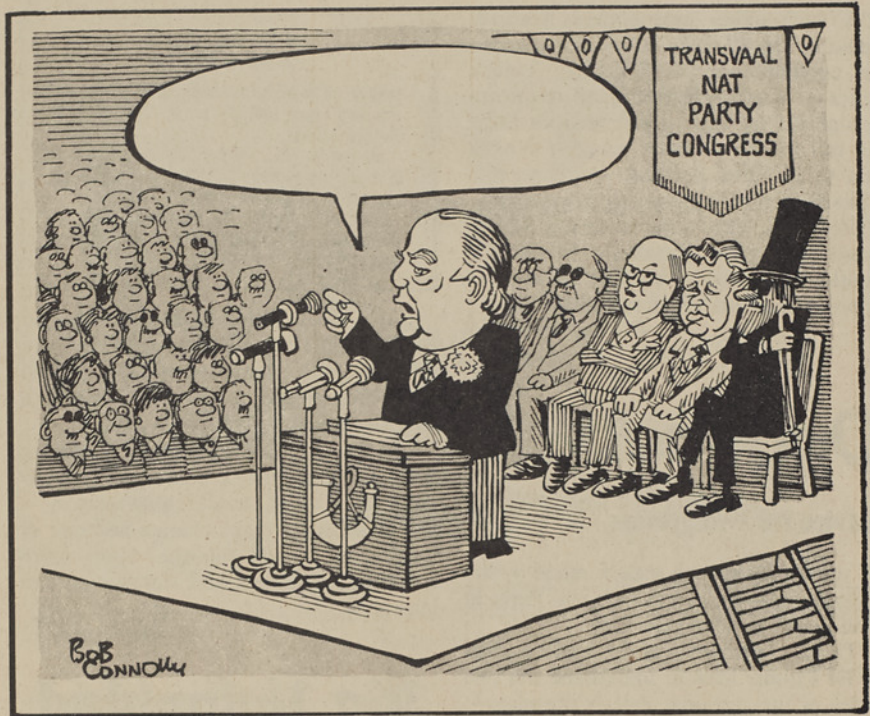
A — September 15

## The Daily News

### United front

THE Coloured Representative Council's unanimous response to the rioting in the Cape is strong evidence that the unrest stems from far more than sectional agitation. Even Mrs Alatheia Jansen, the Government appointed CRC executive chairman (dismissed by many as a Nationalist stooge), is on the deputation to see the Prime Minister. So are members of the hitherto cautious Federal Party and two quiet independents. Their brief, given unanimously before the current session started yesterday, is not only to discuss the Cape problems urgently, but the general unrest in South Africa and, significantly, the release of detainees.

There has been an unreal tendency to see the mixed-race people of the Cape as rather carefree, colourful and amusing appendages of the White establishment. A kind of quaint Gamat version of those faithful Amos 'n Andy retainers beloved of the American South. It could be that what Watts and Little Rock did to that cosy American dream, Manenberg and Retreat will have done for the Cape equivalent.



Major policy speech

RAND DAILY MAIL (E — SEPTEMBER 15)

It is fortunate that the representatives of all Coloured opinion are united in their concern about the unrest. The temptation for many of the White electorate to see it in superficial terms might otherwise have been irresistible. And that would have been dangerous indeed for a country which can no longer afford the luxury of self delusion.

E — September 15

## THE CITIZEN

### Unrecognised independence

IT comes as no surprise that nine governments of the European Economic Community have decided against recognising the Transkei when it becomes independent on October 26. There is little doubt that though born legally (and unlike so many other countries, in peace) the Transkei will be cold-shouldered on to the sidelines with Rhodesia and Taiwan by a world at play with political double standards.

But the Transkei's Independence Day presents another interesting aspect: it introduces into Southern Africa a second state that doesn't have world status. And with the fickleness of the Western powers, who can say that an independent South West Africa won't become the third such territory? And Bophuthatswana, which wants its freedom, the fourth?

It can be argued that enjoying official status in the eyes of the world can be politically and economically advantageous to a newly independent state. Agreed. But the question arises: Are there any serious disadvantages in not being recognised?

In the case of South West Africa, we would say, only one. Swapo, through a government in exile, is likely to seize the opportunity as a tailormade reason for increasing terrorism. Apart from that, in the case of South West Africa, the Transkei or any other homeland that chose independence, we would say no. Because South Africa as a former mother country, will offer all the economic and technical assistance needed to set these territories on the road to self-efficiency. And we believe others will follow suit.

Influential private investors have already shown great interest in sinking funds into homelands projects. And Rhodesia — in spite of being the world's Number One whipping boy and sanctions-sufferer — has proved conclusively that there are always people willing to trade.

Certainly there will be an uproar in the United Nations and the OAU demanding non-recognition for the Transkei. The axe will undoubtedly fall again for South West. But how many times can the axe be used before it is blunted and loses its cutting edge?

While the Third World rants, we would urge the West once again to reconsider its attitude towards the Transkei before turning a back upon it.



A successfully independent Transkei could be the stepping stone to a successful confederation of Southern African states — whether or not all of them are recognised by the United Nations. And we can see all partners being in a position to pick the political and economic fruits of such a tree.

Does the West want to retard such a possibility for the Transkei — indeed, for Southern Africa — because it doesn't approve of South Africa as a progenitor?

E — September 15

## Oggendblad

### Advice for two groups

IT was an interesting speech made by the Transvaal leader of the National Party in Pretoria Town Hall yesterday.

To the constituents of the National Party Dr Connie Mulder underlined the two poles of the National Party's premises — and it would be well to note them.

He said that the NP would retain certain basic matters — identity, no sharing of power in political matters, and maintaining law and order.

Those in the opposition who so easily ask for other premises, should see once and for all that in discussing changes, adjustments to basic premises are not included.

But, — and it is an important but, — those in the party who believe changes are bad, must have another look at Dr Mulder's speech.

Time and again he reiterated the necessity for change. He even spoke of radical change and pointed out that change is part of the NP itself.

A — September 15

## Die Transvaler

### NP and changes

THE Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, and the leader of the NP in the Transvaal, Dr Connie Mulder, have again emphasised that the NP is not opposed to changes.

A condition is they should not be sought for their own sake, as Dr Mulder put it yesterday at the Transvaal NP Congress. Change should have a purpose.

It is a standpoint taken in the country's best interests.

The qualification is that the necessary changes should be brought about in good time; if not, well-disposed people, for whom points of friction should be eliminated, are driven into the arms of inciters and deceivers pursuing their own aims.

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Rash and thoughtless changes, as Dr Mulder indicated, would jeopardise the security, good relations and stability of all population groups. And changes that take place too slowly would do the same.

Leaders are to some extent forced to bring about as many changes as they consider their most conservative voters — those who only resist change because of their fears — will tolerate. Here more forceful persuasion and convincing are necessary.

A — September 15

## Die Volksblad

### Half a loaf or no bread

THE increasing and partly successful intimidation of Black and Brown workers on the Witwatersrand and in the Western Cape is increasingly revealing itself as part of a plan to paralyse South Africa from within so that, with help from outside, a revolution may be stirred up. In the past there have been efforts to keep workers from their jobs with threats and the exploitation of grievances. These attempts enjoyed limited and short-lived success.

Now they go about it in a different manner. School children, young people and the idle were used, in initially peaceful and "deserving" protests, to provoke the police. Law-breaking, arson and rioting soon followed, so that the police had to act more and more roughly and many rebels and instigators had to be locked up.

The aim was to stir up feeling against the police and the Government so that also law-abiding people, workers and White students, would rise up, be willing to strike and refuse to attend classes. This immediately gives the anarchists better ground from which to threaten those who refuse to strike with assault, damage and violence. As stated openly by the ANC, the PAC and the SA Communist Party, they hope that the whole operation will snowball and soon overrun the South African economy and peace and order in the country. This is what constitutes revolution.

In South Africa this is attempted under the banner of liberation of the Black and Brown masses from the White "oppressors." Everybody will realise how dan-

gerous this could become if there are not enough people and leaders who see through this falsehood, and who counteract it with everything in their power, for the police and even the army cannot put a complete end to it on their own.

The realisation that the country now has to deal with the imperialism of this century, the addiction of body and soul at the cost of many lives by submission to a clique, or tribe or foreign power, should give Black workers enough grit to say we do not go along with it; we choose our homeland freedom or Cabinet Council dispensation which, even if it is said to be half a loaf, it is better than no bread at all.

A — September 15

## Oosterlig

### Power: division and distribution

ALL staunch Nationalists side with the Prime Minister in rejecting the present cry for a national convention. Every attempt to reach agreement in this manner must, with the current thoughts about integration among non-Nationalists, amount to one man, one vote — Black rule.

Nothing will come of power sharing, no matter how protected the position of White and Brown minorities. It could create problems for the Blacks themselves as they are divided into large and small nations. One Black nation, envisaged by some leaders, is nevertheless possible.

Unless White and Brown can be integrated into a largely Black South African nation-to-be without problems among the two groups, which no realist can foresee, the individual political rights which the Blacks would give to non-Blacks would be useless. And Black domination in the place of White domination is after all no progress towards a fair political dispensation.

Progress and power sharing is possible only along the road of separate development and distribution of power. In the old British South Africa, London's power was divided between the Whites of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Blacks of Zambia and the three Protectorates.

The separate developing and power sharing, with the one country not dominating the other — that is distribution of power, because the fate of Southern Africa is no longer being determined only by Whites. Next to independence there now also exists consultative decision making. In South Africa this process is being taken further with the coming independence of Transkei. An independent Transkei will have more say about the destiny of South



Africa than before. White South Africa accepts this participation, because it has the right and power to resist it should it be used to its disadvantage.

Such participation can be granted to other Black nations in the same way. It could even be taken further by, for example, appointing a states-general who would take binding decisions for the component parts. The unity of greater South Africa could be maintained in this way, because every part would be able to go its own way if it wanted to.

Participation is given to the Coloureds and the Indians through representation on the Cabinet Council, where their leaders take decisions together with the White leaders. The only problem is that these leaders would not be responsible to three similar parliaments.

Without territorial separation the ideal of absolute equality and effective participation in rights is unattainable. Without further development of the political structure, the parliament of the Whites must remain the ultimate decision maker.

But — and this is what makes the course of separate development in the long term so much more fruitful than early ripe integration — the eventual say can be placed with another body. It could even be the states-general, in which the Blacks are also represented.

Such a development would, however, only be possible if the confidence required between the various national groups could be built up. Before the Whites can entrust their fate to the say of a states-general, where decisions are taken by consensus, or to a federal parliament, where votes are taken, a pattern of deciding their own issues should be firmly established.

This is, of course, something which will have to evolve. It will not be established overnight at a convention at which opponents of separate development are in the majority.

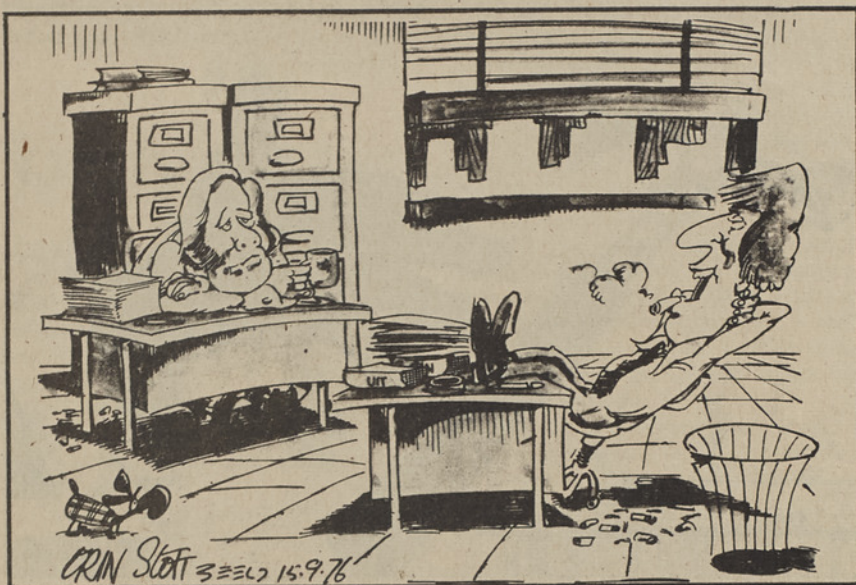
In short: The road to closer political co-operation runs through the greatest possible separation; without the one the other will never be possible.

A — September 15

## Eastern Province HERALD

### Fresh approach is needed

EDUCATION is a subject of disappointment, anger and pain to a large number of South Africans today — people in all age groups, from adolescents to elders. But it cannot be brushed aside. Whatever emotions it may arouse, it is something that needs to be thought about deeply now. It has to be faced as an indicator of



"Let's play 'Soweto-Soweto' ... you intimidate me and tomorrow I'll stay away from work!"

BEELD (A — SEPTEMBER 15)

how far our society has gone off balance because the Government failed to plan objectively and imaginatively for education. It has to be examined afresh as a most important part of the new socioeconomic situation we shall have to create for the future. Whatever view one takes — that the present unrest is all part of a communist, revolutionary plot, cunningly exploiting the well-known phenomenon of teenage rebelliousness, or that it was the inevitable explosion of the pot allowed to boil while the lid was bound down — whatever the concept, education remains the key to the future.

Nationalist policies landed the country in today's sorry mess because they had the wrong approach. The overriding consideration in the minds of the politicians, then as now, was to protect the interests of the White minority against threats, implicit and invented, posed by the large Black population majority. The ideologists began to compound rather than solve the problem when they separated education into race groups and allowed a glaring favouritism to develop. Instead of being far-sightedly generous in the creation of its Bantu Education system, they allowed it to have the effect of being little more than a basic-literacy scheme. Appeals to change the emphasis to secondary and technical education were ignored.

The contribution that the results of these miscalculations have made to discontent and disorder are obvious — from the ready presence of criminal elements to senior pupils' anxieties and resentments. But the lesson to be learnt now is that the whole system and the objectives of education, particularly that for Blacks,

must be replanned to ensure a peaceful, smoothly evolving society. There has to be a generous-minded, confident integration of education and job-opportunity in a modern industrial economy. Old, fearful policies, which have unbalanced development and wasted opportunities to exploit the country's great natural resources have to be scrapped or revised.

Instead of having Cabinet Ministers mumbling about concessions and making quickly amended pronouncements, it would be much more reassuring to the public to hear that Government planners are working on a complementary education, technical training and unemployment scheme. This has become a most important need in the main industrial areas. There is no objection to rapid development of the homelands. This is sensible. But the promotion of contentment through economic promise among the urban workers has surely proved itself now a more urgent, because bigger, problem.

E — September 16

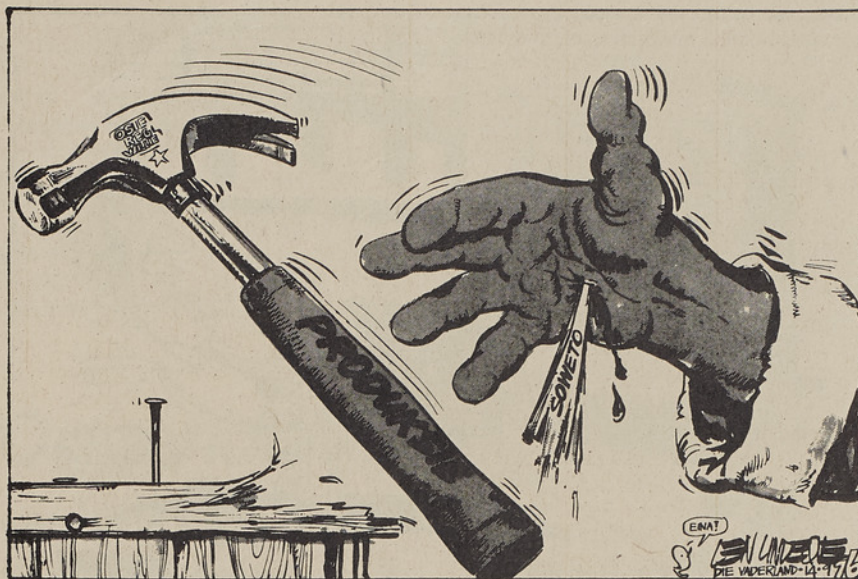
## Die Vaderland

### New name

DR CONNIE MULDER'S key name for the third phase of separate development — plural democracy — sounds quite acceptable when heard for the first time.

And if this term, rather than separate development, will contribute to greater understanding from the outside world of the positive aspects of our policy, it can only be welcomed.





Splinter in the flesh

DIE VADERLAND (A - SEPTEMBER 14)

Dr Mulder pointed out that it is an accepted term in the international world, where numerous other countries accept plural communities on other bases.

The term by itself, however, will not wipe out the negative approach to South Africa and its policy. But it could succeed if it is accompanied by a dynamic campaign to eliminate all unnecessary discriminatory measures based on colour and which are in no way concerned with retaining a separate identity and political power.

Any right-minded person will acknowledge that South Africa urgently needs to present a new image to the outside. And this could be done without us having to relinquish anything which is truly significant.

A - September 16

## The Star

### Strikes: employers have two duties

THE Soweto "stay-away" has created an awkward dilemma for many thoughtful employers. During the earlier disturbances and strikes they paid their workers, even though they did not come to work. Those employers believed workers exposed themselves to very real danger if they ignored that first strike call, and should therefore not suffer through involuntary absence.

But as the strikes grow almost into something like "a way of life," the backlash has set in and more employers are beginning to say: enough is enough.

In the sense that the strikes are essentially political and are not normal - let alone legal - domestic industrial disputes, there is some justification for the policy of "no work, no pay." It is tough, and certainly unfair on the genuine cases of workers terrified to expose themselves and their families to violence if they defy the strike calls. But the truth is that if workers do not favour the strike, yet know they will be paid anyway, there is no incentive for organised resistance to intimidators. And if employers continue to pay, they are virtually financing the strike themselves.

But employers do have two important moral obligations, one to their loyal workers and the other to themselves. The first is to the 30 to 40 percent who have been coming to work anyway. There can only be contempt for the companies that sent home those who came to work, and docked half their pay. Nor can one admire the insensitivity of businessmen who take the loyalty of their staff for granted and pay them the usual rate for defying the strike movement. Workers who have taken undoubted risks deserve a bonus, some extra recognition, and if they do not get it can hardly be blamed for losing heart.

Employers also have an obligation to recognise that the strike has its roots in the battle to achieve a better life for urban Blacks. Employers are caught in the crossfire of this battle and if they simply sit tight with their heads down, they may become prime casualties as the conflict grows.

They owe it to themselves and their workers to recognise that industrial peace is inextricably linked to the disabilities and aspirations of the urban Black workforce. Businessmen, individually and

through their organisations should bring every pressure at their disposal to bear on government to accept this, and to make the changes needed to keep the wheels turning and South Africa solvent.

E - September 16

## THE WORLD

### Who is being pushed too far - and by whom?

THE Minister of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, is a formidable and powerful man. As leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, he is the man most likely to succeed the present Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, if for any reason the latter decided to step down. So whatever Mr Mulder says, people must take note.

We assume, too, that what he says is with the full approval of the party hierarchy in Government.

This is why we were surprised at remarks he made at the congress of his party in Pretoria this week. He is reported to have said that Black South Africans must "not expect too much from the Whites" in this country, and that we "must not push the White man too far." "Everybody has a limit," the Minister said.

We are not aware that the Black man has pushed the White man in this country too far. We are also not aware what constitutes a situation in which the limits of the White man has been tested to the fullest. It is our opinion that it is the urban Black who should have been uttering the words that the Minister said at this congress.

If there are any complaints at all from a people who have been pushed "too far," then these must come from our urban people. If there is a section of our population which has reached the limit of which the Minister speaks, then our people have reached it.

We have talked. We have pleaded. We have done everything conceivable to bring home our genuine grievances, but with little success.

The present unrest must, therefore, be seen in its proper context, namely as an unfortunate reaction to the multiple injustices perpetrated against urban Blacks for so long. So, before Mr Mulder - and those who think like him - complain about being pushed too far, they must pause to think how far - and how long - we have been pushed around.

E - September 16



# The Natal Mercury

## The great leap

THE sheer magnitude of the National Party's change of heart towards multi-racial sport hardly leaves much doubt that the party is in the throes of a major re-think concerning its racial attitudes generally. The Transvaal's support for lifting restrictions on multi-racial sport from club level upwards heralds the dismantlement of one of the most powerful pillars of apartheid, and sets the stage for what might well be an intriguing new scenario in the Nationalist camp.

That the move will be hailed by the great majority of Whites throughout the country is beyond doubt. Even die-hard Nationalists have come to realise that few other aspects of race discrimination have done as much to damage the country's image overseas and wreck relations at home than the barriers on the playing fields.

Among Opposition Parliamentarians, the English-speaking Press and other institutions and individuals who have relentlessly attacked the Government down the years for its failure to come to terms with the inevitable, the proposed new disposition in sport is an occasion for rejoicing and thankfulness. However, there should also be sober realisation that the move has come at a perilous juncture in the country's fortunes, and that this is not a moment to crow but rather to consolidate.

If the "new deal" in sport is ratified and accepted as future Government policy — and there seems little doubt about that happening with the Transvaal solidly backing it — then the way is open for the Government to institute meaningful changes across the whole spectrum of apartheid. If the various races can mix on the playing fields then there is no valid reason why they should be separated in scores of other situations, where bringing them together would pay infinitely greater dividends to the country than keeping them apart.

Meanwhile, world reaction to this latest development should enable South Africans to assess who are the sober critics of Government policies and who are the jingoists. Logically the Government's abandonment of apartheid in sport should make this country eligible once more for membership of organisations which have cast her into sporting isolation because of her domestic sports policies. However, it would be naive to suppose that that will be automatic in every instance.

The militant anti-South Africa bloc will not be slow to move into other fruitful areas of attack in an attempt to keep us isolated. The Government's task now

should be to ensure that they get as little room as possible in which to manoeuvre.

E — September 17

## RAND Daily Mail

### A call to those who will share

ONLY a very real fear for the future could persuade the Progressives and the United Party to forget the bitterness that has gone before. So it is a measure of the gravity of these times that the two should now be making cautious approaches to one another about combining forces in some way.

The crisis is not just because the country is in ferment but also because the Prime Minister steadfastly refuses to recognise it. Here is a recipe for continuing disturbance, for racial ill-will, if ever there was one.

Sir De Villiers Graaff made the first move last month when he offered to stand down as leader of the UP, if need be, in the interests of creating a coalition of Government opponents. Now Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PRP, has responded by suggesting joint talks to create "an agreed opposition strategy." Last night Sir De Villiers returned to the theme of unity with even more urgency.

There is no doubt urgency is necessary. Nationalists themselves are worried about the Government's apparent inability to act positively over Black grievances and aspirations. The idea of concerted action by opponents is growing: If the Government will not do anything, somebody else must. Sir De Villiers and Mr Eglin have read the mood of the country aright.

But Mr Eglin is correct to sound the cautionary warning that was sounded by this newspaper too when Sir De Villiers first made his call. It is not enough simply to ask all opponents of the Government to join together. The alliance must stand for something too.

It must have unequivocal goals that are supported wholeheartedly.

It has long been recognised, even by the Government, that the alternative to separate development — which is proving to be such a disastrous policy — is multi-racialism. There is not a political no-man's-land between the two where real forces can marshal.

An opposition alliance must commit itself to sharing power with Black people at all levels of government — and to discussing with Black people how this can best be done efficiently.

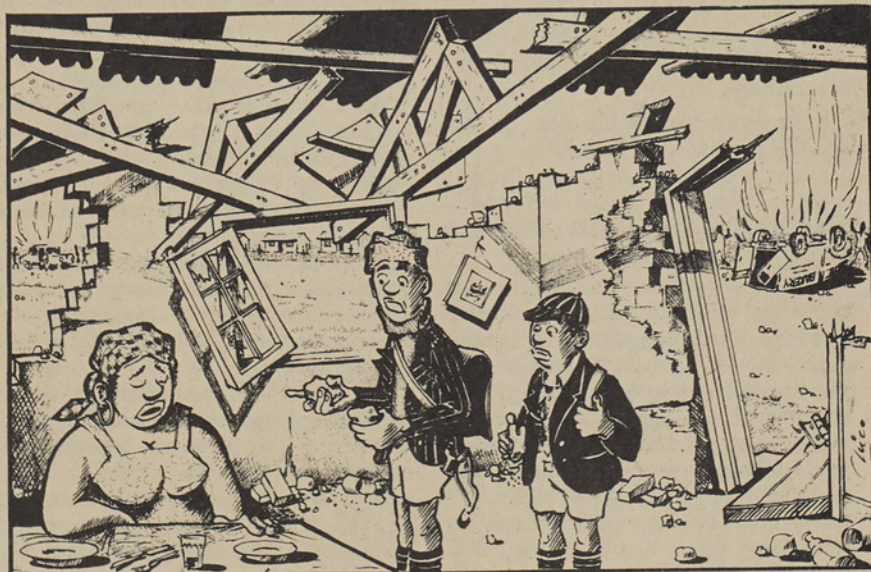
The "enlightened alliance" must be for all those who are ready to share — genuinely. It cannot also be for those who simply think they have a better way of protecting White privilege.

E — September 17

## The Argus

### Heal the wounds and build anew

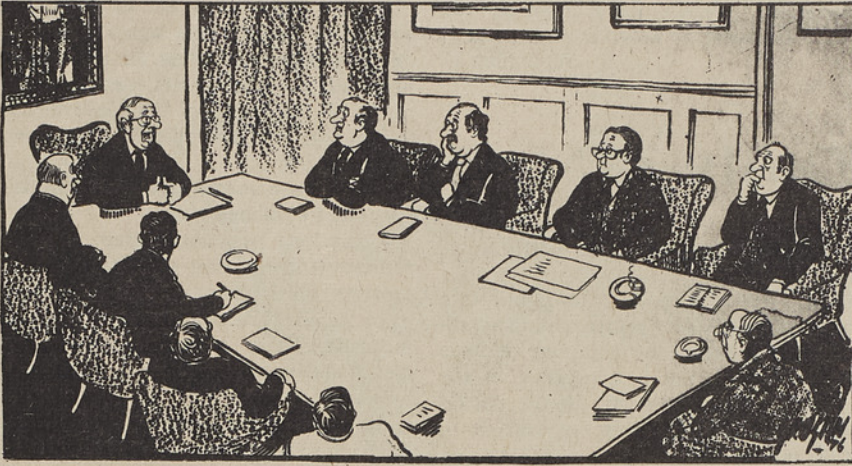
NOTHING is more obvious than that the interests of all peoples in Cape Town and the Western Cape will be served by a rapid end to the current unrest, whether that unrest takes the form of stay-aways, boycotts, street demonstrations or unvarnished vandalism, pillage and terrorism. The community must return to normal life because it cannot afford to do otherwise.



Now that you've done your thing . . . I suppose you want to know where you're going to sleep?

THE CITIZEN (E — SEPTEMBER 15)





"Gentlemen, the Prime Minister might not think the situation critical, but organised commerce is seriously concerned and I ask you, who on earth is going to make the tea?"

THE CAPE TIMES (E - SEPTEMBER 15)

This is not to suggest that 'normal' means simply what went before. It has been said, and with probable truth, that Cape Town will never be the same again. It would be an insensitive society indeed if this were so, if when the tumult dies, people, specially the Whites who rule, will shrug off what has happened as an episode without deep meaning for the community, for the country, and think that there is nothing wrong with our society except that some agitators have been allowed to get out of hand.

Only a fool would think that changes, drastic changes, are not needed to avoid in the future the troubles of the present. But the first essential is to restore an atmosphere in which words can replace stones and bullets in the political struggle, in which meetings between people, between minds, can try to heal the scars of the past weeks, to allay fears and suspicions and put human relationships on a healthy basis.

It is a mammoth task but it can be done and the process must begin now, before continuing unrest in a vicious cycle of action and reaction, assault and reprisal, provocation and repression, threatens to choke the life of our country.

The stay-aways have shown how interdependent the Black and White communities are. It is a dependence, each on the other, on which our future must be built. The workers must go back to work, for an economic breakdown will threaten the livelihood of all. The pupils and students must go back to their studies, the police, ambulancemen, hospital staff to their normal duties. Commerce must resume normally. And the community must rebuild but with a new vision and a new opportunity for creating harmonious interracial relations, an opportunity that must be allowed by all in authority.

There are people who are evidently seeking change by revolution. This is not the way and it will not succeed. But the people, all the people, must be made to understand that changes can come and will come without revolution. It is the Government's responsibility in particular to bring this understanding.

E - September 17

## Pretoria News

### Warding off the violence

LIVES have been lost again on the Reef in violent overnight protest. There have been bomb hoaxes, arson attempts and scare-mongering on a significant scale — all clearly aimed at coinciding with the Kissinger-Vorster summit. However valid the grievances of the perpetrators may be, their efforts are sadly misguided.

For it is precisely this — the unacceptability to masses of White and Black people of a violent alternative — that has helped bring us to the point where a massive international peace offensive is now centred in Pretoria.

And nothing could underline more boldly the need for it to succeed than the violent protest. Far from jeopardising the peace talks, the violence should inspire its participants.

But Blacks who are inclined to take to the streets should consider another — and sinister — fact; there is beginning to emerge a Right-wing backlash. There have been various warnings of the dangers of such a situation (including warnings from Blacks themselves and from the Prime Minister).

Nothing could be more damaging to this nation than a situation in which Left-wing Black radicals and Right-wing White

reactionaries confront one another. Neither of them can afford the consequences.

E - September 18

## DIE BURGER

### Not an oppressed mass

VIEWS have been expressed at a sub-committee of the United States Senate about the situation in South Africa which deserve consideration also in this country. They are definitely not for American consumption only.

The ideas originate with Mr John Chettle, director of the South Africa Foundation in Washington, who drew a comparison between the present unrest in South Africa and the past experience of the United States. He pointed out that in the United States there had been no real violence in the days of serious discrimination against Black Americans. The violence came only after the start of the elimination of discrimination. Similarly, he said, there had been no noteworthy violence in South Africa in the days of earnest discrimination. It came only after the start of action against discrimination.

In South Africa, as was the case in the United States, steps against discrimination coincided with an increasing opposition to it by people who were no longer prepared to put up with it as their ancestors had. To a large extent it can be attributed to the progress they have made economically as well as socially.

That progress among the Black, Brown and Asian people is something of which South Africa is justifiably proud, and it is something for which the National Party and successive Nationalist Governments can claim the credit. They created the opportunities which are being used more and more by the respective national groups — to their own credit as well as that of the country as a whole. Because no country can progress if it is saddled with an uneducated mass which remains backward.

But the further people progress socially, economically and in other spheres, the greater becomes their opposition to discrimination and the stronger their insistence on wider civil rights.

An oppressed mass does not rebel or revolt, because they have no hope. They are those who have already got somewhere and, precisely because of this, want to get still further. And who then, consciously or unconsciously, create situations in which gangsters and other perpetrators of violence for violence sake come to the fore.



This is an important aspect of the situation confronting South Africa. It is an extremely nettling situation to handle. It is obvious that law and order must be restored, but it is just as obvious that the matter does not rest there. Suppression would be no answer to the problem. It would merely lead to new outbursts, each probably worse than the other, which South Africa with its particular circumstances, more so than any other country, cannot afford.

On the other hand, uncontrolled change would be equally dangerous. As evidence of this, is the experience in the United States to which Mr Chettle referred. Not that there had been absolutely no control in that country; without it things would have been far worse. The lesson is that it is easier to talk about change than to handle it.

This does not mean that change should not come about; it means that action should be timeously taken to maintain the initiative, which is a prerequisite for the exercising of the necessary control.

A — September 20

## hoofstad

### A dangerous course

WE see a disquieting undertone in the idea of a national convention for South Africa which is now being propagated strongly in certain circles to enforce a new dispensation for the country's race relations.

The Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, referred directly to this phenomenon at the Transvaal conference of the National Party last week, when he disclosed the underlying factors which are contributing to the current Black and Brown riots.

And during the discussions of the past week between certain people and the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, this line of thought was repeated, among others, by an embittered Mr Sonny Leon of the Coloured Labour Party, and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — the latter uttering an unveiled threat of violence as well.

The undertones of this campaign are clearly in agreement with those controversial remarks by the ProgRef MP, Mr Harry Pitman, that, in the foreseeable future, the Whites will operate from outside the existing political structure, and listening to the Coloured leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse's address on tape amid great acclamation during a ProgRef meeting.

It is clear to us that this movement must be seen in its entirety as a carefully thought out plan to unseat the Government through non-parliamentary proce-

dures. This playing with fire will flatten itself against a wall of White resistance, with bloody results which have clearly not been considered.

The chasm between national aspirations of the Whites as represented in the scope of the mandate to the Government, and of those who think differently and who are now no longer willing to oppose the Government on matters of principle through existing processes of democracy is too big for any national convention to find a common ground for South Africa's ultimate destiny.

A — September 21



### New name, new emphasis?

AT first sight the suggestion that a new term should replace separate development may seem little more than window dressing. If Information Minister Dr Connie Mulder has the idea that "plural democracy" is an improvement, a better phrase, we agree with him. Certainly, to put it mildly, "apartheid" has, in the Minister's words, a "negative connotation." For many years it was equated only with restrictions and prohibitions that earned South Africa the unenviable reputation of being a racist society. "Separate development" was an improvement, but it too had the germ idea of apartheid in it, and, in any event, the international community did not take to it, certainly not in its ordinary news reports. And however much the SA Government tried to put across the idea of *development*, it was always the separate part that got the emphasis.

If, therefore, the National Party — under pressure to modify and adapt its policies — is thinking of plural democracy as a possible successor to separate development, it will need a gigantic effort to persuade the world to accept it at this stage. It will also have to demonstrate that this is much more than a question of semantics, and that it actually visualises a new phase of a developing policy. Any constructive change in emphasis will draw attention to the aims of a policy designed to promote full self-determination for different ethnic groups.

There is one thing a change of name would do for the benefit of all. It would make it impossible for us to justify some of the lesser and unnecessary discriminatory practices that have caused irritation and criticism for so long. Such practices might still be thought consistent with "apartheid" or "separate development." But one cannot plead for separate entrances in post offices, for instance, on

the grounds of plural democracy. Perhaps, therefore, the new terminology, if adopted, would serve a useful purpose in turning our thinking away from the trivial, towards the important issues of nationhood and dignity that must be solved.

E — September 24

## SOUTHERN AFRICA

### KISSINGER TALKS — PROGRESS

DR HENRY KISSINGER flew out of South Africa on Monday after reporting progress during the weekend's historic, three-way summit with the Rhodesian and SA leaders and their negotiators.

Addressing pressmen on the lawn at Mr Vorster's Pretoria residence, Libertas, the US Secretary of State said he believed that Mr Smith would recommend favourably to his Cabinet and Rhodesian Front Party caucus the proposals he had put to him during eight hours of talks.

On an earlier occasion Dr Kissinger had reportedly said that he would not meet the Rhodesian leader unless Mr Smith was prepared to accept the principle of majority rule.

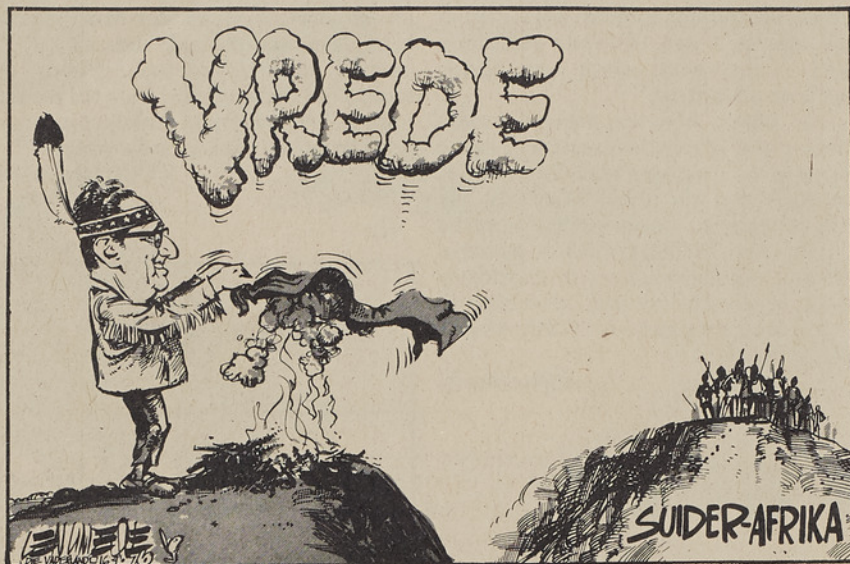
In his statement, Dr Kissinger said that while the Rhodesian "constitutional processes" took place, he would seek "certain clarification" with the presidents of Black Africa. He had also presented the Rhodesian delegation with the joint US-British view on Rhodesia's political and economic future, and the view of the Black African presidents.

In the talks between Dr Kissinger and Mr Vorster, "considerable progress" was made on SWA according to an American official. While in Pretoria, the US Secretary of State also met a wide cross-section of White and Black SA leaders.

The summit opened up a week of consultations in what is being called Dr Kissinger's new Southern African shuttle diplomacy. He is reporting back to Presidents Kaunda and Nyerere this week and will visit London for talks with British Prime Minister James Callaghan before returning to Washington at the weekend.

The Prime Minister spelt out SA's attitude to Rhodesia at last week's Transvaal congress of the National Party. He said SA had not and would not prescribe solutions, but he and the Rhodesians welcomed the American initiative because if a political solution for Southern





DIE VADERLAND (E - SEPTEMBER 16)

Africa failed, SA would have to "step into the breach."

He pointed out that the Rhodesian and SA policies differed considerably and that SA did not, like the Rhodesians, aim at "responsible majority rule."

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, has expressed the view that the current "peace offensive" could succeed and Southern Africa could in future depend on the support of the free world against the "communist danger" if SA and other African states were also prepared to throw in their full weight — and SA was prepared to do it.

**THE FRIEND**, Bloemfontein (September 16) doubts whether Black leaders will heed Dr Muller's call to enter into a new peace offensive, but urges them to do so as the benefits of violence are "illusory," and if things get worse they, as well as Black citizens, will be "crushed beneath the ruins of their own houses."

**DIE BURGER**, Cape Town (September 17) says that the five Black "frontline presidents" advocate "violence as the only way" to disguise the fact that they could not come to an agreement among themselves, and this constitutes Dr Kissinger's first and most important obstacle there.

**DIE VOLKSBLAD**, Bloemfontein (September 17) believes that inspire their veto of the worst UN resolutions against South Africa, America and the West allowed themselves to be dragged far along the way to win favour with the Afro-Asians and even the communist.

**THE CITIZEN**, Johannesburg (September 18) believes Mr Vorster can afford to be firm as well as flexible in insisting on firm treaty guarantees for Whites' rights in Rhodesia and SWA and refusing to hand these countries over to "Marxist

chaos" — which Dr Kissinger would be naive to expect.

**HOOFTAD**, Pretoria (September 18) reiterates that SA will not forfeit its principles and will maintain its policy of separate development. In speaking to Black African leaders, Dr K. should bear this in mind; also SA's "bloodless" role in achieving Transkei's independence.

**RAPPORT**, Johannesburg (September 19) hopes Mr Smith's party accepts that the time for bravado is now past, and that a solution must be found which would ensure peace and order in Southern Africa.

**THE WORLD**, Johannesburg (September 20) is pessimistic about the success of Dr Kissinger's "11th hour" efforts to avoid "bloody confrontation," not because "we have reached a point of no return," but because of the failure of Mr Vorster and Mr Smith "fully to appreciate the urgency of the situation."

**DIE VADERLAND**, Johannesburg (September 20) hopes that Dr Kissinger can act as a diplomatic catalyst to start a political movement towards a new meaningful dispensation in Southern Africa, and to save the subcontinent from internal bloodshed and Russian-Communist domination.

**PRETORIA NEWS**, Pretoria (September 20) sees no overnight solution; it is enough to accept the principle of evolutionary change by means of give and take. But there will be no progress if extravagant demands are made.

**DIE TRANSVALER**, Johannesburg (September 20) says the fact that Dr Kissinger spoke to leaders of various groups and races in South Africa should not be interpreted as improper interference in the country's internal affairs.

**THE STAR**, Johannesburg (September 20) believes that the success of the exercise now depends on Mr Smith agreeing to majority rule (even if in more than two years), and the front line presidents concurring — or the consequences will be terrible for Black and White alike.

**OGGENDBLAD**, Pretoria (September 20) discerns signs of progress in the fact that Dr Kissinger and Mr Smith have talked and emphasises Mr Vorster's important role. It speculates on the possibility of Mr Smith having "declared his willingness to take a visible and great step."

**RAND DAILY MAIL**, Johannesburg (September 21) sees hope in the Rhodesian attitude despite possible last-minute hitches, and is optimistic about SWA, but believes that the ultimate key to peace lies in SA, where change is just as imperative.

**DIE BEELD**, Johannesburg (September 21) discusses the three aspects of Dr Kissinger's visit — Rhodesia, South West and South Africa. It comments that well-informed Dr Kissinger was probably only being polite by not telling those who favoured a national convention that they were clinging to a pipe-dream.

## The Friend

### Strategy of violence

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Hilgard Muller, has wisely called on the Black states of Southern Africa to enter into a new peace offensive in a bid to find a non-violent solution to the problems of the subcontinent. The call in fact amounts to a plea for a return to the brave, optimistic days when detente held out so much promise.

In the present climate it seems unlikely that the heads of the Black states involved will heed his call. Even though a number of them have agreed to talk to the United States Secretary of State Dr Kissinger on his present trouble-shooting African tour, they have ruled out any possibility of a cessation in terrorist activities against the Governments of White-ruled Southern Africa.

There is no question, Zambia's Dr Kaunda told newsmen this week, of relaxing the pressure and allowing the forces of White-ruled Southern Africa to build up strength. Dr Kaunda, who has been in close touch with his neighbouring counterparts recently, almost certainly reflects the new joint strategy. Henceforth it is to be the stick and the carrot... but mainly the stick. If Dr Kissinger can come up with a tempting enough package-deal



carrot to lure all the key Southern African negotiators, Black and White, they will be able to nibble at it only with the sound of terrorist gunfire present in the background.

Superficially there is much to be said for this strategy. South Africa, the former strong man of the south, is seen to be troubled by daily domestic uprisings, and things are going exceptionally well for the proponents of violence.

The benefits of violence are, however, illusory. While militants claim there is little or no chance of a peaceful solution being found, this remains true only because the militants are making it so — not for lack of peaceful initiatives.

And Black leaders would do well themselves to reflect on the warnings of the militants that what we have seen is only the beginning of violence. Thus far Black citizens and neighbouring Black economies have been the chief victims of terrorism.

If things should worsen considerably it is inevitable that many Black leaders will find themselves crushed beneath the ruins of their own houses when they pull away the pillars of stability.

E — September 16

## DIE BURGER

### Black obstacle

DR KISSINGER'S first host in Africa was President Nyerere of Tanzania who, after their talks about a peaceful settlement, expressed himself quite pessimistically in rather cheerful terms.

This is no roaring paradox, for Tanzania has for long taken the formal attitude that the time for peaceful solutions is past and that violence offers the only way ahead. It has also more or less been agreed upon by the five Black "frontline presidents" (Kuanda, Nyerere, Machel, Neto and Kgama) who recently met in Dar es Salaam. It is not strange that the state which is the furthest from the front line is the most enthusiastic about such a dismal prospect.

The policy of disruption agreed upon in Dar es Salaam was not the only failure in statesmanship. Their efforts to unite Rhodesia's dissident Black resistance movements were in vain. The gulf between the two ANC wings (which has practically petered out) could not be bridged and at least parts of the terrorist forces in the field are rejecting both and following their own minds, if not the minds of Machel and Moscow.

What the five president's attitudes then add up to is that for the future, war against Rhodesia is the only way, but that an alternative for the regime objected to is a collection of disparate Black Rhodesian factions which would culminate in civil war. This is the "Black majority rule" that the Black presidents envisage for Rhodesia, at no matter what price.

At this stage it is not possible to say what Dr Kissinger thinks of such a policy, or lack of one. In any case, it is totally unacceptable to people of any sensibility, White and Black, in Southern Africa, including Zambia, where objections are openly published to the intolerable position of Rhodesia's government surrendering to a Black civil war that might result

in even more bloodshed and havoc than the Angolan faction and tribal wars.

People who want to move Rhodesia to majority rule within a specific time should after all fulfil their primary obligation to its residents to give them a credible idea of the aspect of such a government, the elements that would constitute it, and what the new dispensation would involve. The five presidents themselves have admitted that they themselves could not and cannot do this. It feeds the suspicion that among themselves they are deeply divided in their preferences: that in fact they favour various resistance movements rather than others and that in their power game against each other the power struggle among the "liberators" is augmented.

It could have no other effect on White, as well as order-loving Black Rhodesians, than to harden them against all flexibility of thought or policy, which in turn would give terrorists and their Black promoters in neighbouring states some apparent justification for advocating violence as the only way.

This again forces the suspicion that violence is not so much the only solution for Rhodesia, but in fact the only one which could enable the Black presidents and the African caucus behind them to maintain a semblance of unity among themselves.

It is this "united" Black violence front that constitutes the first obstruction to statesmanship. It is Dr Kissinger's first and most important obstacle.

A — September 17

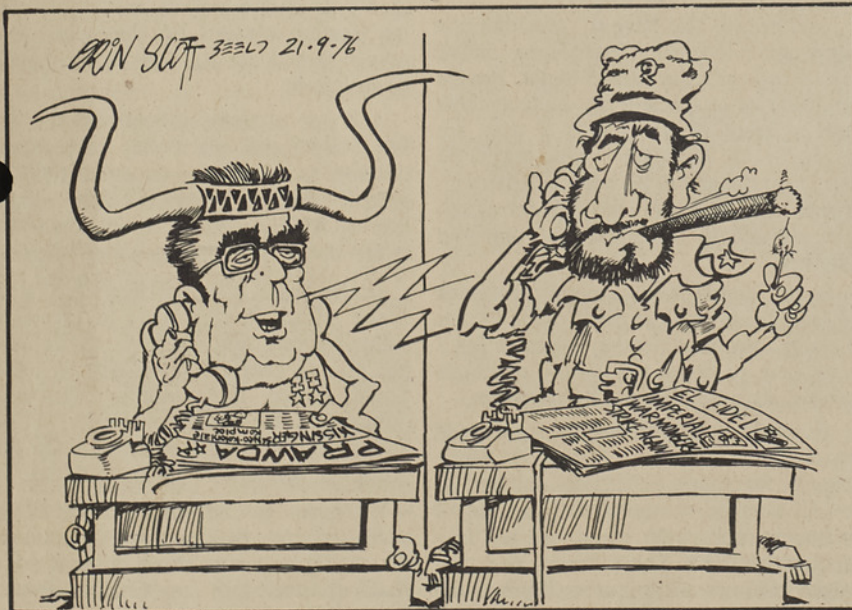
## Die Volksblad

### Kissinger in Pretoria

DR Henry Kissinger's first visit to South Africa and his third meeting with Mr John Vorster takes place on the eve of the United Nations session, a short time before the American presidential elections, in the middle of intensified terrorist activities in Southern Africa, armed interference in this part of the world by the communists, and protracted unrest inside South Africa.

It is taking place after exactly 30 years of continued and intensified attacks on and decisions against South Africa in the United Nations and 20 years after the vanguard of uhuru struck Africa. The existence of a White nation and a White-controlled southern tip of Africa became for many a festering grievance, which the communists have cleverly exploited for their own purposes.

Although they vetoed the worst resolutions against South Africa, America and the West allowed themselves to be dragged far along the way to win the favour of the Afro-Asians and even the commun-



Comrade Brezhnev: "Fidel, up to now it is only Gatsha, you and I who are against peace in Southern Africa."

BEELD (A — SEPTEMBER 21)



ists. South Africa kept on sounding warnings until America and other Western nations, particularly this year, were shocked to see the Russians and their Cuban accomplices make their appearance in Southern Africa and that other Black Southern African states were willingly accepting aid from the Reds.

There are many members who want to use the United Nations session this month for the gravest decisions and, if they can achieve them, for steps to be taken against South Africa, particularly now that South Africa has not acceded to UN demands on South West Africa. Americans will be watching closely how their Government acts because they realise the importance to America and the West of a South Africa and Rhodesia in civilised, democratic hands.

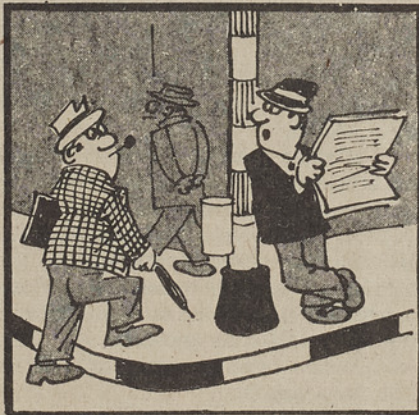
America will seek to veto in the UN if it must but to do so it needs grounds, which Dr Kissinger must provide; namely, progress which is being made towards peaceful co-existence in South Africa, South West Africa and Rhodesia. If it looks deeper and is properly informed, we believe it will find what it seeks so that it can also cool down the attitude of the Black frontline presidents.

A – September 17

## THE CITIZEN

### Vorster won't pull punches

HARD in-fighting is bound to be the keynote of Mr Vorster's third round of talks with Dr Henry Kissinger. No one, least of all the Prime Minister, expects any punch-pulling in this return bout,



"The first Kissinger-Vorster test match was in Bavaria, the second in Zurich, and the third in Pretoria."

RAND DAILY MAIL (E – SEPTEMBER 18)

which could well prove vital to the peaceful future of our part of Africa.

Mr Vorster, however, can afford to be firm as well as flexible. He has a number of strong points in his favour, not a few of them provided by the "enemy" camp. First is that Dr Kissinger's recent envoys-at-large in Africa, Mr William Schaefe and Mr William Rogers, appear to have won some measure of confidence – even good faith – from tune-calling African leaders. Although the US fact-finding mission last month skirted around the very countries most directly concerned, they undoubtedly sounded out Black opinion and did not report back with a flat rejection.

Another is that the US recently protested sharply against the virulent anti-South African militancy of the UN Commissioner for Namibia, Mr Sean McBride, whose IRA background seems to have blinded him towards the scourge of terrorism.

This means there is some hope of obtaining firm guarantees for White rights and property in Rhodesia and South West Africa, and that Mr Vorster can strongly state South Africa is not prepared to countenance these countries being handed over to Marxist-orientated governments.

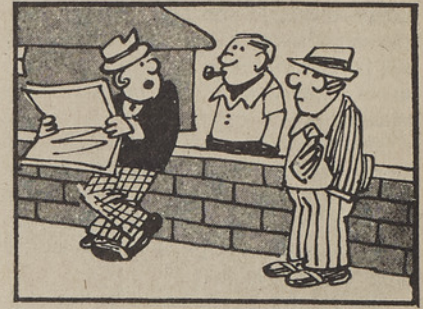
We have seen too often the chaos and bloody upheaval following in the wake of such a move, and it would be naive indeed of Dr Kissinger to imagine Rhodesia and SWA would, miraculously, be exempt. Mr Vorster will have every right to insist that SWA's controlled progress towards independence must be achieved at our pace, not one dictated from outside.

And he will also have to insist that any agreements reached in Pretoria be ratified by a treaty with the United States. Private promises of guarantees are unacceptable and a waste of time, even if they are made by Dr Kissinger – who might be very near the end of his road as America's prime negotiator and whose undertakings are subject to Congressional approval anyway.

So the United States' commitment must at least be as good as those made by Mr Vorster, who looks to be in power for a long time to come and whose decisions are bound to be accepted by his caucus.

It is, of course, difficult for the United States to be seen as a backer of White regimes in Southern Africa, and her internal problems naturally make her shy of assuming such a role. But a little less pre-occupation with Third World demands and a little more cognisance of practicalities will go a long way towards setting the Vorster-Kissinger conference table solidly on the ground.

E – September 18



"This shuttle shuffle diplomacy is very subtle, eh?"

RAND DAILY MAIL (E – SEPTEMBER 18)

## hoofstad

### He must attend to this

FOR all Southern Africa this weekend is of vital importance. What happens behind the closed doors of the conference between the South African Premier, Mr Vorster, and the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, will undoubtedly be noted in the annals of this part of the continent's history as the turning point in the world approach to us.

We believe that the South African attitude towards the points at issue will be spelled out to Dr Kissinger, as the Premier earlier this week had set out the South African standpoint at the National Party's Transvaal Congress.

It is that South Africa accepts the US as the Western leader, that it identifies itself with Western pursuits, that it is more than prepared to play its part in protecting Western interests, but that in the process it should not be expected to forfeit its principles.

And one of these principles is that by racial separation the policy of separate development will be maintained. For the greatest part of its achievement as the leading African country is, after all, due to the internal stability this policy ensures.

Dr Kissinger does not like the policy. Black African leaders such as President Julius Nyerere and Dr Kenneth Kaunda are putting pressure upon him to force South Africa into another direction. Among the Black spokesmen he will be addressing this afternoon some share the sentiment of a multiracial South Africa.

We hope that Dr Kissinger will listen to the different views with an open mind. He should also note the standpoint of a Black leader such as Chief Minister Kaizer Matanzima, who yesterday, at the largest press conference he has probably yet addressed, proudly attested to South Africa's bloodless role in solving the issues



of the process of independence which will next month culminate in Transkei's full sovereignty.

These factors will determine a part of the continent's acceptance.

A — September 18

# Rapport

## Optimism

THERE is guarded optimism that the extremely delicate negotiations for peace in Southern Africa have a chance of success. There are also many complicating factors which impede long-term solutions. But one thing which the people of Southern Africa know well is that instant solutions, which are acceptable to all and which will instantly defuse situations, do not really exist.

Hence the road of negotiation on which Dr Kissinger must travel to and fro. In addition are varying degrees of eagerness for a peaceful settlement. Some Black leaders believe that time is on their side, without paying much attention to another element, outside Africa, which regards time as its main ally. It is more convenient to keep the fire burning down south.

Yet President Kenneth Kuanda surprised everyone again by lowering the tone of his voice: He has no objection to Dr Kissinger talking to Mr Ian Smith, as long as no status is accorded the Rhodesian leader.

Dr Kaunda has a decided interest in the finding of a peaceful solution. His country can too easily be in the firing line if large scale war flares up in Rhodesia. It is significant that he allows a conditional door open for Dr Kissinger.

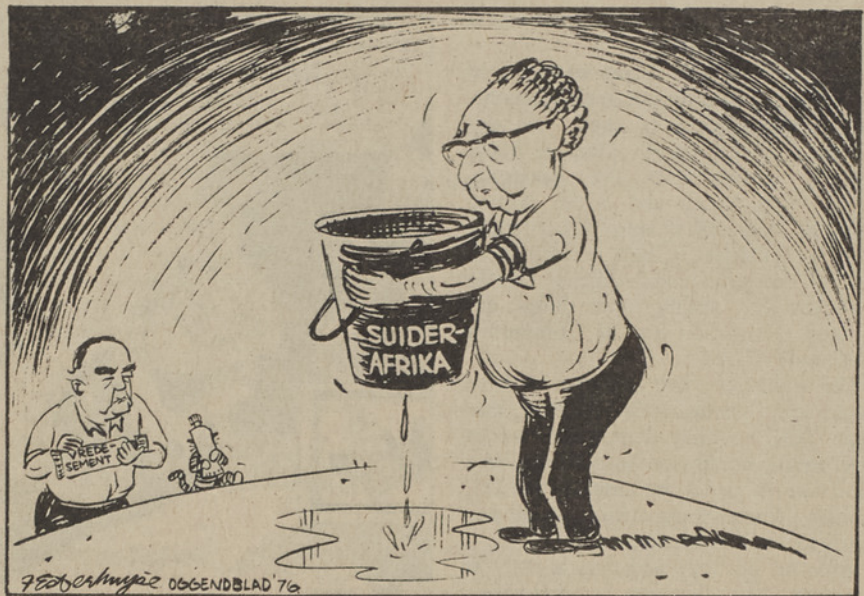
Mr Smith who is also in Pretoria this weekend has just received a mandate from his party's congress to talk if there is a chance.

Hopefully it is accepted that the time for bravado is now past, and that a solution must be found which will ensure peace and order in Southern Africa.

Sharp reaction from Moscow about the negotiations between Mr Vorster and Dr Kissinger shows unequivocally how anxious Russia is that the peace talks should not succeed.

On the other side is the determination of Mr Vorster that the Southern African situation will be resolved, and Dr Kissinger's energy in this connection. In striving for this there are no easy decisions or alternatives. But we have great faith in Mr Vorster's ability to do everything possible. He, in particular, knows what is at stake.

A — September 19



There's a hole in the bucket, dear Henry . . .

OGGENDBLAD (A — SEPTEMBER 18)

## THE WORLD

### Why we are pessimistic about Dr K's chances

IT may well be that future generations will bemoan the fact that the United States of America, as the leader of the Western world, waited until just about the 11th hour before taking sufficient interest in the affairs of Africa.

One can well understand the predicament of United States Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger, who is working against time to attempt to avoid the bloody confrontation that the entire Southern Africa is heading for. Whilst one can sympathise — and in many ways admire the stamina he demonstrates towards the maintenance of peace — we cannot but feel a certain pessimism about his chances of success.

Far from suggesting that we have reached a point of no return, we somehow doubt the ability of both the South African Prime Minister, Mr Vorster and his Rhodesian counterpart, Mr Ian Smith, to fully appreciate the urgency of the situation.

In spite of the massive evidence that this country is in a state of national unrest and is facing a far greater crisis than we have ever known, Mr Vorster insists that there is no crisis at all. Despite heavy evidence that polarisation among the country's racial groups is reaching alarming proportions, Mr Vorster says that race relations have never been better.

Rhodesia, on the other hand, is in even worse shape. With communication between the government there and the Black nationalists completely broken down, Mr Smith arrogantly clutches onto the reins of power without any evidence at all of a willingness to seek a way out of the country's crisis.

This is why we are pessimistic.

E — September 20

## Die Vaderland

### Dr Kissinger

WE do not wish to claim that Southern Africa presents Dr Kissinger of the United States with the greatest challenge of his career. But our problems certainly cannot be shrugged off. And if Dr Kissinger can contribute towards peace in our subcontinent, every thinking South African will be most grateful.

The United States diplomat might have come with a preconceived master plan. We do not know. But if this were the case, it would be a dangerous approach for somebody who for the first time was encountering South Africa and its complex, clashing elements.

Dr Kissinger will undoubtedly listen to the various claims and views. This he has in fact already done to a large extent. It should be sufficient to make him aware of the superhuman results which certain circles expect of him.

There are those who honestly and earnestly seeking a solution, a settlement which takes into consideration the needs and aspiration of all the various popula-



tion groups of South Africa. Our Prime Minister leads this group.

But there are also those, seemingly in the majority, who do not seek solutions, but merely yielding to their own demands. And they mostly demand Black majority governments for Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. Some of these voices were heard loudly from within South Africa, among them that of talkative chief official Gatsha Buthelezi who, among other things, demanded recognition for the Communist ANC and PAC.

The multiplicity and loudness of these voices could persuade Dr Kissinger, that Cape Town's White Parliament is not very significant in Southern Africa. We hope that this is not the case, for the US, and even worse, South Africa, would pay dearly for such a mistake.

What we do hope and pray is that Dr Kissinger can become a diplomatic catalyst and set in motion a political movement towards a new, more responsible and peaceful dispensation in a part of the world where the various nations need each other too badly to make war. Only in this way can South Africa be saved from internal bloodshed and Russian-Communist domination.

If this does not happen, South Africa, as predicted by Mr Vorster, will have to step into the breach.

A — September 20

## Pretoria News

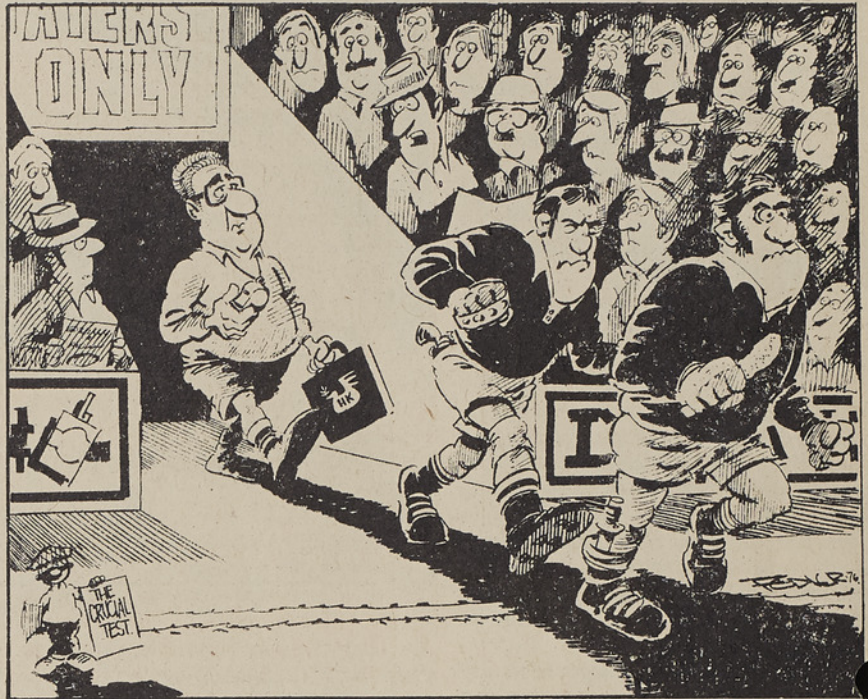
### The Kissinger way: Finding a balance

TWO things must be made clear about the momentous visit to southern Africa of Dr Henry Kissinger, the American Secretary of State.

- One is that it is absolutely essential that he should have come. This is because, given the complexity and acuteness of the problems, there really is no other peaceful means of solving the sub-continent's problems than by the negotiating processes that he epitomises.

- The other is that, in spite of the aura of hope that now surrounds his efforts and his own immense diplomatic and negotiating skills, there will be no overnight solution, no miracle formula. This is because negotiated settlements are not achieved by any other means than by patient discussion, step-by-step agreement and gradual implementation.

Thus, the important thing now is to renew the determination to seek peaceful solutions and to gain acceptance for the principle of evolutionary change, by taking concrete steps towards such change.



"Good heavens! Is that really why he's here?"

THE STAR (E — SEPTEMBER 18)

Equally, however, there will be no progress while intransigent and extreme postures are taken and there will be little chance of peaceful settlement if impossible pre-conditions and impractical dead-lines are set.

This applies on all sides. It applies to those who demand handover to a black military transition government in Rhodesia; or white intent on maintaining Rhodesia's status quo; or to those who refuse to take account of the highly significant developments at the Turnhalle; or those who demand immediate majority rule; or those who refuse to accept any other system than pure separate development.

For the truth is that any peaceful outcome will be a balance of current positions based on give-and-take by all parties. And it will take time to work out. The only other solutions can be based only on total surrender by one side or by total subjection of one by the other — and these solutions are either completely impractical or too ghastly to contemplate.

E — September 20

## Die Transvaler

### Bend or break in Pretoria

SURELY the most punishing, difficult and decisive lap of Mr Vorster's and Dr Kissinger's peace initiative for Southern Africa was that of the past weekend.

On Sunday night it received new momentum when the Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, became directly involved for the first time — with the hopeful expectation which the development immediately evoked.

To what extent the balance shifted in the positive or negative direction last night, was not absolutely clear. But one readily wishes to accept that important breakthroughs were made during the weekend's difficult negotiations in regard to a possible political settlement which would place developments in Rhodesia and the whole of the sub-continent on a new and peaceful course.

That matters will ultimately take the favourable turn, is a hope which must never fade. Particularly at this critical stage of the negotiations there is still a greater responsibility, not only on the part of the Whites in Rhodesia, but also on the country's Black leaders.

The other aspect of Dr Kissinger's Pretoria talks also deserves attention.

The fact that he used the opportunity to talk to numerous leaders representative of various groups and races about South African matters should not be interpreted as improper interference in our internal affairs. His meetings at this level were specifically aimed at familiarising himself with the broad spectrum of our country's unique problems.

A — September 20





THE STAR (E - SEPTEMBER 16)

# The Star

## Rhodesia's choice in black and white

THE focus of Southern Africa's "make-break" week has shifted from Pretoria to Rhodesia and its neighbouring Black states. The decisions upon which the future of the whole region will largely depend, must now be taken by the Smith Government, by Rhodesia's Black leaders and by the so-called "frontline Presidents." None of these decisions will be easy.

Most difficult of all will be the decisions Mr Smith and his political supporters will have to make. They are being asked voluntarily to loosen their hold on power and privilege in Rhodesia, to run the risk of the political instability and economic insanity that has marked much of emergent Africa. But they must understand, nevertheless, that their choice now is between the certainty of total war and the possibility of economic and political progress in the future. The choice between a certainty and a calculated risk guaranteed (insofar as this is possible) by both America and Britain.

Mr Smith has walked this road at least four times since UDI. On each occasion Rhodesia came within a hair's-breadth of settlement. On each occasion Rhodesia's White leaders were unable to take the final step. On each occasion Mr Smith stalled and back-tracked to the unsatisfactory status quo. And, on each occasion his options narrowed significantly, until now there is no alternative but to settle or fight to a bitter finish.

However, if Mr Smith can produce the settlement goods, so should Rhodesia's Black leaders. And the front-line Presidents should concur. Because the situation would then no longer centre on whether Rhodesia would get Black majority rule but on when that rule would come. And if an interim period of be-

tween two and four years is envisaged, this should be accepted. Black militants could not win in less time, and their victory could only be pyrrhic.

It would be tragic indeed if Rhodesia, having finally been freed of White intransigence, fell victim to the Black variety.

Everybody now involved in the settlement initiative must understand that the alternative is total war - and they must understand that the consequences of this will be just as terrible, just as devastating, for Black as for White.

E - September 20

# Oggendblad

## A process begins

SIGNS of progress in the umpteenth attempt to find a solution to the Rhodesian constitutional issue were evident yesterday in the final declaration made at the end of the day-long negotiations.

What is of importance is that in the first place Dr Kissinger and Mr Smith have talked. In this respect Mr Vorster's important role cannot be over emphasized.

In the second place it is important that a process has evidently been initiated and that attempts to reach a settlement have not been abandoned.

It indicates that Dr Kissinger sees a possibility of persuasion in Mr Smith's attitude.

This he first wants to clear with the leaders of the Black neighbouring states which in turn indicates that Mr Smith is willing to move, but is still troubled by one of two matters - probably both.

One is his reluctance to yield to demands for a Black government within two

years and the other is his fear that even if he yielded, it would not mean the end of the terrorist struggle.

Within these two issues there also is the question of who would guarantee that an agreement would be kept and how such a guarantee would work.

It is, of course, only possible to speculate about the particulars, but what would certainly be a basic factor in the negotiations is how Rhodesia could retain its White population.

That is why the matter of guarantees is of great importance. A White exodus would without doubt result in the three clashing terrorist factions creating an Angolan situation - precisely what the US wants to prevent.

For Mr Smith merely to return and to tell his people that he would hand over to a Black government is out of the question.

Yet it would seem he has declared his willingness to Dr Kissinger to take a visible and great step in this direction.

Without it the progress made would not have been possible.

A - September 20

# RAND Daily Mail

## Keep your fingers crossed

THE Kissinger peace offensive in Southern Africa has made what looks like a promising start in Pretoria.

The hopeful signs include:

- An indication that the Rhodesian Premier is prepared to move towards majority rule within a reasonable time, since



SUNDAY EXPRESS (E - SEPTEMBER 19)



the Americans let it be known beforehand that without such an assurance a Kissinger-Smith meeting would not be on;

- Dr Kissinger's own statement afterwards that he believed Mr Smith would recommend favourably to Rhodesians the proposals put to him.

- Mr Smith's statement that he and his colleagues now had "a very clear understanding of the position of Rhodesia as far as the free world is concerned."

But while these are hopeful straws, it is still too early to start uncrossing fingers for several reasons.

Similar proposals to those of Dr Kissinger's involving transition to Black rule have been accepted by Mr Smith in the past, only to have agreement dashed by some detail which proved unacceptable to the Rhodesian leader and his colleagues.

Then, too, the frontline Black African presidents will also have to sanction whatever peace package is produced, and some degree of consensus must be reached among Rhodesia's rival Black groups if it is to prove workable.

Since Turnhalle, South West Africa has looked far more hopeful. This is confirmed by Dr Kissinger who reported "considerable progress" in his talks with Mr Vorster on that territory.

Which leaves South Africa itself.

At a meeting with American Embassy staff in Pretoria Dr Kissinger bluntly denounced separate development, saying the United States "cannot agree with any

concept that is based on the separation of races."

The parade of African, Indian and Coloured leaders who pleaded with him to put pressure on this Government to change its policies can only have served to reinforce Dr Kissinger's opposition to apartheid.

And the sobering thought is that whatever solutions are found for Rhodesia and South West Africa, the ultimate key to peace in this whole region lies in South Africa itself where change is as imperative as it is in the other two territories.

With one difference: we have slightly, but only slightly, more time.

E — September 21

## — & Beeld

### The visit

THE Kissinger visit may be divided into three sections.

Rhodesia and South West are the two outside sections, while our own political relations are the internal section.

On Rhodesia, the US Secretary of State has reported progress. From the South African point of view, the matter has been provisionally settled. Mr Ian Smith and his Cabinet now have to make certain decisions which will be put before the

Front and, should they be carried through, before the Rhodesian nation.

The greatest task lies in the hands of Dr Kissinger. He has to convince the presidents of Zambia and Tanzania to accept the decisions of the Libertas talks.

We expect that his undeniable diplomatic brilliance will be fully tried in Tanzania, for President Nyerere is a politician with strong communist ties. If progress is made here, we may indeed look forward to a suspension of the state of war north of us.

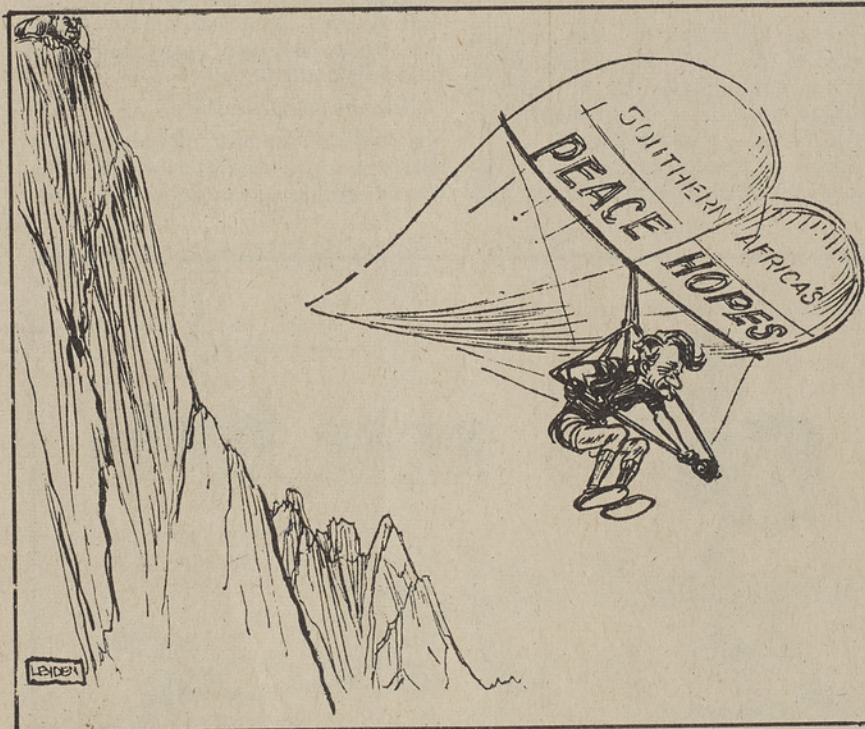
On South West, the Government and Dr Kissinger also made such marked progress that the venom has been taken out of the issue. Unlike Rhodesia, it is a matter which can on the face of it be unravelled without serious hitches.

Dr Kissinger used the opportunity to talk with the country's leaders on different matters. We see this as a gesture by a leader towards his liberal electorate back home. He must be able to say that he consulted a cross-section of South Africans. Mr Vorster did not oppose these talks, because they do not affect our government.

What did strike us, was the usual choir of voices about the plan for a national convention which was extolled to Dr Kissinger. The Leons, Buthelezis and Eglins speak wildly of a convention, but have they ever given much thought to it? What is the agenda for such a convention? Does it concern one man, one vote, the abdication of White political power in South Africa?

Dr Kissinger, who is well acquainted with power politics, and who has now been informed about, for instance, the Turnhalle's consensus politics, which is based on group interests, was probably only being polite by not telling the convention people straight out that they are clinging to a pipe-dream.

A — September 21



On a wing — and a prayer

THE DAILY NEWS (E — SEPTEMBER 15)

#### LANGUAGE CODE

For those readers who are not familiar with South Africa's news media a code indicates whether editorials and cartoons originally appeared in English-language or Afrikaans-language newspapers. An A or E preceding the date of publication — at the end of each editorial and under each cartoon — denotes Afrikaans or English. E/A denotes English and Afrikaans, as in the case of radio commentary broadcast in both languages.

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