

79 ^{THE CITIZEN} terros held ^{22 JUNE 1988} this year

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. —

The 23 trained ANC terrorists arrested in the latest counter-insurgency actions of the South African Police brings to 79 the number of terrorists arrested so far this year, with a further ten killed in clashes.

The latest arrests, with a huge horde of arms also confiscated, is the largest single operation so far this year, and follows close on the ar-

rest of the White ANC cell at Broederstroom.

A spokesman in the office of the Minister of Law and Order said yesterday that a total of 591 ANC terrorists had been "neutralised" in the past 18 months, of whom 63 had been shot dead. The rest had been arrested, had deserted the ANC or been effectively removed from the ANC network.

These figures did not include the two terrorists who had been killed, one in the Cape and one in Natal, when devices they were handling exploded.

In 1987, 490 terrorists had been "neutralised", of whom 44 had been shot dead.

The most recent armed clashes were report-

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79 terros

^{CITIZEN} caught ^{22 JUNE 88}

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ed by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, last week when he disclosed that nine ANC terrorists had been killed in a shoot-out near the Swaziland border.

This group was trying to infiltrate into South Africa in order to carry out acts of terrorism on Soweto Day, June 16, said the Minister.

THE STAR
22 JUNE 1988

**PW 'stuck his
neck out for us all'**

PARLIAMENT — Black leaders such as Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu, should be prepared to stick their necks out and take risks in the interests of South Africa and participate in the national council, Mr Andre Fourie (NP Turffontein) said yesterday.

In the second reading debate on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, he said that this was what the State President, Mr P W Botha, as leader of the National Party, had already done to bring coloured people and Indians into the present dispensation.

He told other political sectors, both right-wing and left-wing: "If you don't want to participate, don't stand in our way."

— Sapa.

SA diplomat in Cairo

THE CITIZEN - 22 JUNE 1988

'No quick fix' is expected

CAIRO. — A senior South African diplomat, the first known to visit Egypt since the Second World War, said yesterday he did not expect quick results from Angolan peace talks opening here this week.

"We're very realistic about it," Mr Andre Jaquet, the Foreign Ministry official heading an advance group of eight diplomats and security men, said.

"We don't expect a quick fix but we want a lasting solution. The issues are very complicated and they won't be resolved in one meeting. But we are certainly going to give it a good try."

The group arrived on

Monday night to prepare for the talks opening on Friday between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.

"It's been a good experience," the SA official said, adding that his team was well received at Cairo airport on Monday night.

Mr Jaquet said South Africa was pleased that the conference was taking place in Africa.

"We have finally come to realise that salvation does not come in Europe but in Africa."

South Africa's main negotiators, led by Mr Pik Botha, are due to fly in at

the last minute, he said.

South Africa's advance men were a rare sight in the capital of a founder of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Apart from students and "liberation" movement officials, no South Africans are known to have come to Egypt since its soldiers fought with Allied armies against Nazi Germany in Western desert tank battles 45 years ago.

Some South Africans are buried in the Commonwealth war cemetery at El-Alamein on the Mediterranean coast.

The Angolan Government confirmed yesterday that it would attend the meeting.

For the three-day Angola talks, Egypt has relaxed a law banning South African passport holders and is laying on tight security for Pretoria's Ministers.

It is laying on communications links with Johannesburg. Cairo Press reports said 200 South African journalists were due.

But no formal contacts are expected with South

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'No quick fix'

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African officials and Egypt will only provide facilities and logistics for the conference at the secluded Hyatt Al-Salam Hotel near Cairo airport.

"Our only role is as host and looking after everyone's welfare," an official said.

US assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester

Crocker, Washington's top African expert, is expected today and some Angolan delegates were due last night, sources close to the talks said.

Cairo was chosen as a compromise venue for the third round because it is an African city — as required by South Africa — but is uninvolved in Angola or South West Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

JHB CORPORALS HELD IN BOTSWANA

THE CITIZEN — 22 JUNE 1988

Late flash

A SPOKESMAN for the South African Defence Force confirmed last night that a patrol, which was gathering information in Botswana near the South African border, was involved in the shooting incident with the Botswana police yearly yesterday morning.

"The Botswana police fired on the patrol which was forced to return their fire. In this process members of the Botswana police were wounded," the spokesman said.

"The patrol returned safely to their base. This action was not aimed against the government or the people of Botswana and the accusation that South Africa made itself guilty of state terrorism, is preposterous especially coming from a country which allows terrorists to operate from its territory against the RSA.

"The two people who are allegedly held in Botswana, were not involved in the shooting incident. Regarding the allegations from Botswana about their connections with the SA Defence Force, no comment will be made unless the Botswana Government provides more details," the statement said.

GABORONE. — Botswana yesterday named two White Johannesburg corporals it said were captured after a gunbattle near the border as a South African commando group prepared to raid the capital, Gaborone.

President Quett Masire said three Botswana policemen were injured, one critically, in what he termed an act of state terrorism. He said five South Africans escaped.

Mr Ponatshego Kedikilwe, Minister for Presidential Affairs, told reporters the two captured men were Johannes Basson and Theodore Hermansen, both from Johannesburg.

Neither the SADF nor Foreign Affairs officials would comment on the Botswana claims.

According to earlier reports from Botswana Basson's age was given as 25 and his address as Claremont, Johannesburg, Corporal Hermansen said to be 30. lives in Cyril-dene, Johannesburg, according to the Botswana Government.

"We have always known about these raids but now we have concrete evidence," Mr Kedikilwe said. Basson admitted he

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Jo'burg corporals held

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was a corporal in the South African Defence Force.

The two men were brought from police headquarters in manacles to be transferred to a prison. Asked by a reporter what he was doing in Botswana, Hermansen replied: "I don't know."

Officials said they believed the two men were drivers sent to pick up the other five after a planned attack on Gaborone.

The incident was followed at dawn by a bomb explosion that wrecked a lorry and shattered windows in a Gaborone suburb. It was not clear if the two events were linked.

"At about 10.30 hours last night, three policemen were injured, one critically, when the patrol vehicle in which they were driving was fired on by five South African commandos, three of whom were White and two Black," Mr Masire's statement said.

The six-man unarmed police patrol surprised the South Africans by a railway line near Kgale Mission, a Roman Catholic girls' school about 8km

south of Gaborone.

"The South African commando group were preparing to mount a raid on Gaborone. Two other South African Whites who drove away in two cars from the scene of the incident when the police arrived and were later arrested at a BDF (Botswana Defence Force) road block are in police custody for questioning," the statement added.

Mr Masire said the commando group, after shooting the police, drove off in the police vehicle, which was later found abandoned at the border.

Attempts to have Botswana's claims confirmed by the SADF and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, failed yesterday.

Gen Malan referred all inquiries to the defence force's public relations office in Pretoria; who in turn claimed that they could not comment on the matter.

A spokesman said an investigation had been started and as soon as the result of the investigation was known, a statement would be issued.

Foreign Affairs officials also would not comment. A spokesman for the department could not confirm or deny that it had been contacted by the Botswana Government; nor was the spokesman prepared to give details of the incident.

"The Botswana Government reiterates its position that the problems of apartheid in South Africa will not be solved by cross border raids, murder of innocent civilians and shooting at unarmed policemen in cold blood," the Botswana Government said in its earlier statement.

It accused South Africa of committing acts of state terrorism and condemned its actions.

In Botswana yesterday, a bomb exploded under a vehicle in Gaborone at six in the morning.

According to the Botswana police the explosion destroyed the vehicle and damaged a house. Both the vehicle and the house belonged to Mr Allison Seeketso, a building contractor in the city.

No-one was injured in the incident.

SOWETAN

22-06-88

POLITICS AND THE MASSES

Just an illusion for them says Dr Jatta

About the 31 organisations "working day and night to destroy South Africa": "They are not working against apartheid but against South Africa.

"They don't make any distinctions between black and white. They want total isolation.

"They could be working in a positive manner to bring about change but they are not.

"For example they could be coming up with strategies that would

FOCUS

help the South African Government change the rules quicker."

On destabilisation of the Frontline States: "Who's destabilising Ghana, Senegal, Gambia, Uganda . . . There ain't no white Frontline States.

"That's all jive. Politics is an illusion for the masses."

On the recent three-

day stayaway: "I won't give my impression but I'll give the impression of the taxi-cab driver who picked me up and took me to Parktown. He said: 'You see, three days and somebody showed up on Thursday and didn't have a job.'

"The thing is at the end of the day who was hurt? You see I am very conscious of trying to hurt in order to get an advantage. Because that

still sets everybody back. Black folks lost wages."

(But remember if that little old American woman Mrs Rosie Parks didn't stand up and say she had had enough of bus apartheid in America things would have stayed that way for much longer. They also suffered in Montgomery, Alabama, for many months while they boycotted buses, but they won in the end).

On colour: "One thing I know is the colour all round the world is green. It's the money, or the gold or the platinum . . . It is your balance sheet that counts."

SOWETAN

22 - 06 - 88

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

ONCE again we are not expecting miracles. On the face of it, the offer of amnesty to political exiles, including members of the ANC, is an attractive one.

We do not wish to appear churlish but the quid pro quo to exiles to denounce violence if they wish to come back home smacks of blackmail. This is particularly true of members of the ANC who have for one reason or another taken the option of the armed struggle to unseat the Government.

The exiled organisations have said many times that they were forced into taking this option after years of unfruitful peaceful protest. It seems unreasonable to ask these people to make such undertakings, particularly when things are still far from normal in the country.

There are exiles though, who left the country and are not members of either the ANC and PAC who would feel more comfortable about the offer.

A serious caveat for all exiles is that the offer is badly timed. The Government by its own admission has re-instituted the state of emergency and in fact toughened it. The signal sent out to those in the country and perhaps even more strongly for those in exile is that the State will brook no resistance to political dissent.

There is no democratic forum through which people can express their grievances when even the Press is becoming something of a toothless bulldog. Editors are finding it even more frustrating to do things which they believe to be in the public interest.

While those in exile will do almost anything to come back home — to a safe and secure South Africa — it will take considerable courage for anybody to take up the offer now.

We repeat our view. We know the Government is trying to do certain things which in the eyes of their constituencies are far reaching. At the same time those who have suffered oppression for so many years do not feel the time is at all ripe to celebrate. And who can blame them.

22/6/88

1,5-m pilgrims will attend SA firms to 'stage' Pope's Lesotho Mass

MASERU. — "Shepherds tend their flocks in Lesotho's harsh mountainous and impoverished corner of Southern Africa.

So, when Pope John Paul comes here in September, Lesotho will have to turn to neighbouring South Africa for help in coping with a massive influx of pilgrims.

When the Pope celebrates Mass in Maseru on September 15, the stage on which he stands and the microphone that will carry his message to a crowd of up to two million will both come from South Africa.

The South African Army may even be called in to throw pontoon bridges across the Caledon River to prevent chaos at the single narrow border crossing outside Lesotho's capital of Maseru.

"It is going to be really very difficult, I am not ashamed to say that," Colonel Sekhobe Letsie, a member of Lesotho's ruling six-man military council, said.

At peak holiday times the bridge carries up to 100 000 people a day, mostly Basotho miners

returning from South Africa to their mountainous homeland, which is encircled by and almost totally dependent economically on South Africa.

South African officials say the border bridge could theoretically cope with 180 000 people in 24 hours.

But at this rate it would take two million pilgrims more than 10 days to enter Lesotho and another 10 days to leave.

The local church organisers are planning for 1,5 million people but say this could easily become two million.

"It's anybody's guess," the church's co-ordinator for the visit, Bishop Ignatius Phakoe, said in a recent interview.

He said Lesotho's Bureau of Statistics had been called in to draw up a more scientific estimate of the likely crowd.

But in South Africa itself there are some who doubt whether the expected crowds will, in fact, turn up.

Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban said he would be in Maseru but he would be surprised if more than a few thousand other South African

Catholics made the journey.

The visit to Lesotho will be the highpoint of Pope John Paul's Southern African tour, which will take him to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique from September 10 to September 19.

The tour does not include South Africa — a Vatican decision which has left South African Catholics with mixed feelings.

On the outskirts of Maseru the Pope will conduct an open air service for the beatification of Father Joseph Gerard, a 19th century French missionary who brought Catholicism here.

The mass will be held in a huge open space, ringed by spectacular sandstone cliffs, which is occasionally used as a racecourse and as a firing range by the Lesotho Army, but most of the time it is just another grazing area for cattle.

The Lesotho church has also approached South African companies to sell pre-packed food to the crowds, offering them attractive advertising and sponsorship deals in ex-

change.

The church expects a bill of R5,5 million while the Lesotho Government is responsible for organising water, sanitation and tented camps for the pilgrims.

Areas have already been earmarked around Maseru, while the tents themselves are likely to come from South Africa.

If the Pope speaks out and video system that will relay his words will have been supplied by a South African television company, Africa Television News.

The company has paid R200 000 for an exclusive contract with the Lesotho church for live television coverage of the Papal visit.

Even the stages on which the Pope will celebrate Mass in Maseru and in Roma, 35 km away, will be built by a South African firm in Ficksburg, just across the border.

The church seems to be looking forward to a massive South African influx, saying the Pope's visit will promote goodwill throughout the Southern African region. — Sapa-Reuter.

Blacks may become Deputy Ministers

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government yesterday launched new reform initiatives to bring Blacks into the Cabinet and to set up a forum to negotiate a new dispensation to include Blacks in central government.

The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, is considering possible Black Deputy Ministers to assist Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Training, according to government sources.

Deputy Ministers in these posts are possible later this year or early next year, and the necessary legislation may be introduced at the short session of Parliament starting on August 22.

At present the constitution requires Ministers to be or to become Members of Parliament. It is proposed to amend the constitution so that the State President may make appointments from outside of Parliament.

This would enable Mr Botha to appoint Blacks, until such time as a new constitutional dispensation had been established. The inclusion of Blacks in the country's executive, either as Minis-

ters or Deputy-Ministers, will go hand-in-hand with two other steps, namely the creation of a forum to negotiate a new dispensation and the inclusion of Black representation in the President's Council.

Mr Heunis yesterday asked the first-ever joint meeting of the three Houses of Parliament to approve the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, which provides for a national forum to negotiate the inclusion of Blacks in government.

In this body, Blacks would directly or indirectly elect 30 of the 59 members. The forum will advise the government not only on achieving a new dispensation but on all existing or proposed new legislation.

"The Bill is proof of the government's sincerity — which I believe Parliament shares — that constitutional structures must be developed representing all South Africans and in which power will be shared in a manner preventing domination," said Mr Heunis.

"Our object is that such institutions should develop through the proposed council.

In other words, the council will be an instrument for further reform, not the end of that reform."

Mr Heunis stressed that the only item on the agenda was participation by all in a new constitutional deal.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives

and leader of the Labour Party, supported the Bill.

"I believe this Bill does open the door to a South Africa in which all can play a part," he told the joint meeting of Parliament.

"The real issue in South Africa is Black aspirations, which can no longer be denied. As long as the majority of South Africans are excluded from decision-making, we can reach no solutions."

Mr Hendrickse said there were real White fears, but the majority of South Africans firmly rejected injustice and inequality. South Africans should not listen to "the prophets of doom".

His own participation in the debate was evidence of change. "I stand as a participant in the highest echelon of government, which is Parliament. But 12 years ago I was incarcerated by the Nationalist government," said Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates and leader of the National People's Party, also endorsed the Bill.

"Today we have a tryst with destiny," Mr Rajbansi said.

In spite of flaws in the present constitution, the decision of Indian political parties to make use of it had been correct, for change in South Africa had to come about by peaceful means. Parliament could re-shape the future of South Africa.

The support of the majority parties in all three

Houses appears to ensure the Bill will be approved.

At the start of yesterday's joint meeting of Parliament, the Conservative Party asked the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, to rule that the meeting was "out of order".

Mr Frank le Roux, chief CP whip, said the rules required "all interested parties" to be consulted by the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, on matters to be referred to a joint meeting. He said this consultation had not taken place.

Mr Le Grange said he would give his ruling this afternoon.

The CP is opposed to the measure because it envisages "power-sharing".

The Natal Witness 22/06/88
Newcastle man charged with terrorism, possessing firearm

Witness Reporter

A NEWCASTLE man who is charged with a count of terrorism and possessing an unlicensed firearm appeared in a city regional court yesterday.

Mr Mduduzi Mthembu (32) is also charged with three alternative counts to the count of terrorism, which include the possession of an AK47 assault rifle.

At the opening of the state case yesterday, Mr Mthembu pleaded not guilty

before magistrate Mr G.J. Barnard to all counts.

It is alleged by the state that Mr Mthembu was contacted in May, 1987 by an ANC member, Muzi, who showed him how to strip and assemble the AK47.

It is further alleged that he hid the AK47 and ammunition in a certain house in Osizweni township (Newcastle) and that he was aware that Muzi was an ANC member and intended to

use the AK47 and ammunition for the furtherance of the ANC's aim of overthrowing the state.

A member of the security branch, Captain de Beer — who is also an expert on the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and Umkhonto we Sizwe — gave the court a detailed history of these organisations and the way in which ANC recruits were trained in-

side South Africa.

A Newcastle security branch member, Warrant Officer Disre Carr, said Mr Mthembu was arrested at a house in Osizweni on March 1, 1988 after Muzi had identified him.

W/O Carr said after his arrest, Mr Mthembu had pointed out an AK47 rifle and ammunition hidden in one house and a Berretta pistol hidden in another house. The case continues.

Non-starter

The Natal Witness 22/06/55

The Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which provides for the establishment of a constitutional council is but a cosmetically adjusted version of the National Council Bill published late last year. Only its name and the provisions regarding the chairmanship have changed. The proposed constitutional council will be a purely advisory body. It will also probably contain a majority of National Party supporters. These two facts mean that it will be as effective in improving the constitutional position of blacks as was the short-lived Natives' Representative Council — a purely advisory body established in 1936 as "compensation" for the disenfranchisement of black voters.

But it is doubtful whether the constitutional council will live long enough to prove its own uselessness. The functioning of the council will obviously depend on the willingness of credible black leaders to participate in its deliberations. Already Chief Buthelezi has, in no uncertain terms, ruled out any involvement in the council, and there is no reason to suppose that any black leader of standing will fail to follow suit. For this reason the bill is a non-starter, conceived by a government still determined to impose its own wishes to the exclusion of others.

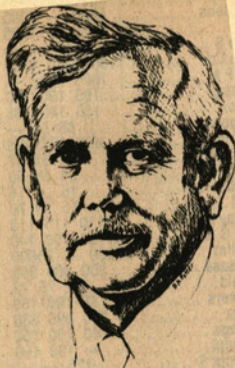
Perestroika

The Natal Witness 22/06/88

The economic implications of Soviet perestroika are becoming increasingly apparent. More freedom for the individual has met with dissatisfaction from those who see ~~their more~~ enterprising fellow citizens reap the material benefits of the new policy, while dissatisfaction has also been expressed by those who favour reform but who feel that the bureaucracy is still hindering economic liberalisation. But inequalities and official resistance to change are predictable problems, and it is the hope of Mr Gorbachev that they will be overcome just as they have been in China, where departures from socialist economics began some years ago.

We wish Mr Gorbachev luck in his experiment — a Soviet Union which is more open, less rigid and more concerned with creating a liberal climate inside its borders than expanding its influence externally will obviously be easier to live with. All people deserve the opportunity to prosper and widespread prosperity is possible only in a free economy in which enterprise is rewarded. And herein lies the relevance of perestroika to South Africa — both the present and (more importantly) the future rulers of this country must recognise the inherent inability of a regulated economy to "deliver the goods". It would be truly ironic were the next generation of Soviets to enjoy more economic freedom than their South African contemporaries.

22/06/88



Mr CHRIS HEUNIS

Bill lays participation groundwork — Heunis

THE minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in introducing the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill yesterday that it was the first time in South Africa's history that legislation had been presented to Parliament that was aimed at laying the groundwork for the participation in government of all South Africans.

He said the bill would obviously be rejected on the one hand by those who wanted to entrench racism, and on the other hand by those who had no regard for the protection of group rights.

However, the bill would be welcomed by people who were prepared to search for constitutional solutions in the interests of South Africa and all its people.

Mr Heunis said the government believed it enjoyed the support of the majority of South Africans in the search for peaceful change through negotiation and for that reason most South Africans would support the proposed national council.

Mr Heunis said all South African leaders had a responsibility to support the bill. They would be neglecting their duty if they did not.

He said the bill allowed for the participation of any political group in the national council as long as it was interested in peaceful change.

The only item on the agenda was a constitutional system for the country that gave all South Africans a say in government without one group dominating others.

The debate continues until Friday.

Constitutional bill CP fails in bid to halt joint debate on bill

Parliamentary Correspondent

THE Conservative Party failed yesterday in a bid to halt the first joint parliamentary debate on a constitutional technicality.

The speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, said he would rule today on an argument by the CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, that lack of consultation by the chief whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, made the joint debate invalid.

The debate, on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill which provides for the establishment of a national council, went ahead in the meantime.

In reaction to the CP's attitude to constitutional reform in general and to the bill in particular, Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said during the debate that if the CP was not prepared to make a contribution and to meet the challenges facing South Africa, it should get out of Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse said the bill was a significant step forward, and vindicated the LP's decision in 1983 to participate in the tricameral Parliament on the basis that it was the beginning and not the end of constitutional reform.

The Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, rejected the bill as a flawed non-starter. He said the national council provided for in the legislation was little more than the original President's Council or the old black advisory council.

Mr Eglin said the objections to the bill of leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had to be considered seriously. He urged the government to refer the measure back to the joint committee on constitutional affairs for further negotiation with black leaders.

He said that the council might at times give the illusion of success, while in reality it would be prolonging the agony of political polarisation and conflict.

The PFP seriously doubted whether the council would be an appropriate body to initiate the critically important process of negotiation on a new constitution.

The CP's first spokesman in the debate, Mr Moolman Mentz, said the bill represented a further step by the government towards capitulation to demands for black rule.

He said that the CP was relentlessly opposed to it.

Although the answer to South Africa's problems should be sought along a constitutional road, that road should be one which resulted in every group and nation having the fullest freedom.

The government would not succeed in this new constitutional dispensation without the co-operation of the CP, and the CP said unequivocally it was not prepared to give this co-operation.

It was not prepared to go along with a so-called undivided South Africa.

The National People's Party leader, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the bill was important because it provided the platform for negotiating further constitutional reform. He urged all responsible leaders to make use of the platform.

Mr Rajbansi said the most important step was to establish the council.

Stress should not be placed on how good or bad the planning was which was used to make up the council, but rather the quality of people represented.

The bill was the product of a joint exercise of the three houses of Parliament in which common ground was found "on the main question of black participation in Parliament".

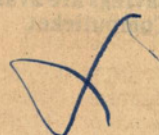
THE NATAL

WITNESS

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22/06/88

by Dawid van Wyk



most irrationally radical of the American people, *genuinely* wants to see a reformed South Africa rejoin the family of nations. Only a mindlessly destructive fringe wish to see the destruction of this nation, in the context of its established development structure and heritage.

The nature of power in South Africa, and its entrenchment in Afrikaans hands is not easily understood, in the sense that the difficulties faced by the Afrikaner in the role decreed by his less-enlightened fellows has never been grasped. It is because of this that the U.S. has not yet fully perceived that encouragement — measurable in a tangible sense — can still play a more positive part in encouraging change than purely punitive measures.

Nor have they realised, in my view, that the present series of punitive and isolationist measures are in fact having the reverse effect to that intended: they are, in a word, pushing white South Africa right.

I have formed, out of my visit, a

clear perception of the significance of the Indaba proposals and its process and spirit. It is obvious that they represent precisely the sort of change the U.S. seeks. This is a view, incidentally, shared by President Reagan and Secretary of State Schultz, as well as by a wide cross-section of America's public and private sector leadership.

It is clear to us that the Indaba, in addition to its obvious regional implications, has a major national significance as a model for negotiated powersharing. Moreover, as an example of what can be achieved in South Africa, the Indaba has major international significance.

Of this we have no doubt whatever. It is for the South African government to realise that they have available to them — on their doorstep, as it were — an example of what the world seeks in the context of reform and minority-protected powersharing. The fact that our government has yet to act upon or accept these proposals remains a profound mystery to the Americans.

United States/South Africa

The Natal Witness 22/06/88

An attitude of frustrated concern

Professor Dawid van Wyk, director of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba, has just returned from an intensive month-long tour of the United States as a guest of that country's Information Service. During his visit he met with government officials, academics, business representatives, members of minority and human rights organisations, as well as many private citizens. In the following extract from a speech given in Durban yesterday, he highlights his conclusions about the attitude of the United States towards South Africa.

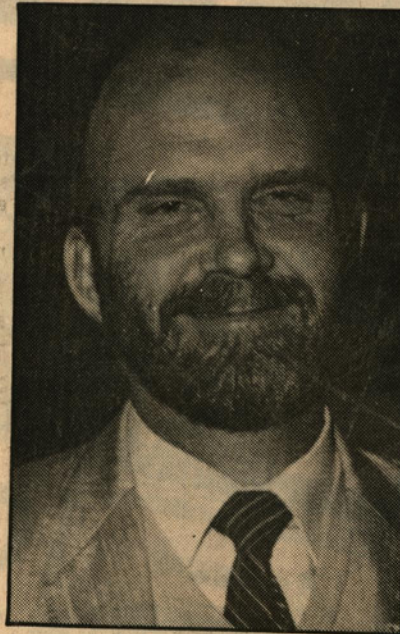
THE attitude of the public and private sectors in the U.S. towards South Africa is one of frustrated concern. In consequence, there is an air of despondency attached to the debate and a real perception that we have an extraordinary talent for shooting ourselves in both feet at every opportunity. In spite of this, there is a genuine availability on the part of powerful lobbies, as well as government itself, to resume positive contacts with this country if we will simply help ourselves.

A first, and ultimately critical step in this direction, is the removal of

statutory discrimination in South Africa. In other words, the removal, not simply dilution, of apartheid.

Regarding sanctions and disinvestment, this movement is not only extremely well co-ordinated and organised, but it has long since left the hands of those who conceptualised it as a positive force for change. It now has a life of its own, and although there is a limit to how much more these measures can be strengthened, we must accept that it will almost certainly become internationalised at least among the trading partners of the United States.

The reversal of this movement, the springing of the ratchet which we seem to jointly tighten, will be a difficult and lengthy process. The key to it is the translation of this government's rhetoric into urgent and irrevocable action. A change in the White House, in my view, may up-weight the level of vitriol directed at this country, but in real terms, it will have little effect on the isolationist lobbies that are driven independently of the Presidency.



Dawid van Wyk

In this regard, it must also be recognised that any American President, in common with all but the

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Many foreign firms leaving SA

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Most world attention has focused on the withdrawal of American businesses from South Africa, but a new report here shows that a large number of non-American corporations have also quit — more than 40 percent of them since January, 1987.

The report, compiled by the respected Investor Responsibility Research Centre, an independent non-profit research organisation, says that about 115 non-American multinational companies have joined the 162 US corporations that have disinvested from South Africa since January 1984.

Of the non-American companies, 49 are British. The total of 115 includes 12 Canadian, eight French, seven Australian and seven West German corporations.

The IRRC report, released this week, comes on the eve of renewed debate in the US Congress over tough American economic sanctions against

South Africa and its findings are likely to be cited by opponents as well as supporters of punitive measures.

Opponents of sanctions will use it as evidence that the US needs more than ever to invest in South Africa, to provide the economic empowerment that blacks require to gain political power.

Supporters of sanctions will say that it shows disinvestment to be a growing world trend and that the US cannot afford to lose its moral leadership by going against an international movement against apartheid.

While most disinvesting companies that gave reasons for their withdrawal cited weak economic conditions in South Africa, some told the IRRC that domestic pressure in their home countries had become too difficult to withstand.

The IRRC itself has taken a neutral, non-partisan position.

The report also examines the 606 multinational companies that continue to have direct investment or

employees in South Africa.

The largest number — 195 — are British, followed by 150 American and 137 West German companies.

British corporations also dominate the list of the leading foreign employers in the Republic — providing 16 of the 25 firms that provide the most jobs.

Of the remaining companies, 29 are from Switzerland and 24 from France. Others are the Netherlands (14), Australia (12), Canada (12), Italy (8), Sweden (6), Austria (4), Denmark (4), Belgium (3), Spain (2), Greece (1), Israel (1), Norway (1) and Portugal (1).

The report lists 88 European, Australian and Far Eastern corporations that do business in South Africa through non-equity links.

"A disproportionate number of these companies are Japanese since the Japanese government has prohibited companies from making direct investments in South Africa," the report says.

PAGE 1

THE STAR JUNE 22 - 1988

Survey tells what SA blacks want

By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — When debate on a new round of anti-South African sanctions resumes in Congress today, both opponents and supporters are likely to cite black South African opinion in their arguments.

For two years now, apart from high profile visitors like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African blacks have been absent participants in the dispute about their attitudes, with opponents of sanctions claiming that they reject US sanctions, and with supporters insisting that blacks are willing to suffer short-term economic pain to win political control.

For the first time, there is now a reliable guide as to what South African blacks actually want — a survey conducted by analyst Miss Meg Voorhes of Washington's Investor Responsibility Research Centre.

The Voorhes study is a survey of surveys, an analysis of previous polls

that have examined South African blacks' attitudes toward sanctions.

Miss Voorhes concluded: "As far as can be determined by public opinion polls, the majority of Africans in South Africa do not advocate that United States and other foreign companies withdraw from South Africa and do not favour other economic sanctions ... as a tactic to help end apartheid if those measures will also increase black unemployment."

She noted that three polls sponsored by separate organisations between June 1984 and May 1986 had shown evidence that a substantial minority of urban blacks — some 25 percent — advocated disinvestment by foreign companies.

The two most recent polls found a "hard-core minority" — ranging between 14 and 26 percent — that favoured sanctions even if they caused many blacks to lose jobs.

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

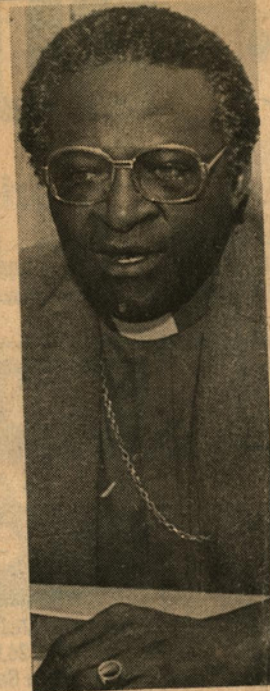
conceivably support sanctions and disinvestment if they were convinced that such actions would not increase black unemployment.

"Some of the polls also show that many blacks are not convinced that disinvestment and sanctions will help end apartheid," she found.

Miss Voorhes said the ambivalence expressed in black opinion surveys was reflected by the leaders of organisations that had 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."

It will be difficult for liberals who support tough new sanctions to dismiss the impartial findings of a respected Washington organisation like the IRRC.



Archbishop Tutu ... one of the few voices to be heard in the US.

SEE PAGE 2

1,5-m pilgrims will attend SA firms to 'stage' Pope's Lesotho Mass

MASERU. — "Shepherds tend their flocks in Lesotho's harsh mountainous and impoverished corner of Southern Africa.

So, when Pope John Paul comes here in September, Lesotho will have to turn to neighbouring South Africa for help in coping with a massive influx of pilgrims.

When the Pope celebrates Mass in Maseru on September 15, the stage on which he stands and the microphone that will carry his message to a crowd of up to two million will both come from South Africa.

The South African Army may even be called in to throw pontoon bridges across the Caledon River to prevent chaos at the single narrow border crossing outside Lesotho's capital of Maseru.

"It is going to be really very difficult, I am not ashamed to say that," Colonel Sekhobe Letsie, a member of Lesotho's ruling six-man military council, said.

At peak holiday times the bridge carries up to 100 000 people a day, mostly Basotho miners

returning from South Africa to their mountainous homeland, which is encircled by and almost totally dependent economically on South Africa.

South African officials say the border bridge could theoretically cope with 180 000 people in 24 hours.

But at this rate it would take two million pilgrims more than 10 days to enter Lesotho and another 10 days to leave.

The local church organisers are planning for 1,5 million people but say this could easily become two million.

"It's anybody's guess," the church's co-ordinator for the visit, Bishop Ignatius Phakoe, said in a recent interview.

He said Lesotho's Bureau of Statistics had been called in to draw up a more scientific estimate of the likely crowd.

But in South Africa itself there are some who doubt whether the expected crowds will, in fact, turn up.

Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban said he would be in Maseru but he would be surprised if more than a few thousand other South African

Catholics made the journey.

The visit to Lesotho will be the highpoint of Pope John Paul's Southern African tour, which will take him to Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique from September 10 to September 19.

The tour does not include South Africa — a Vatican decision which has left South African Catholics with mixed feelings.

On the outskirts of Maseru the Pope will conduct an open air service for the beatification of Father Joseph Gerard, a 19th century French missionary who brought Catholicism here.

The mass will be held in a huge open space, ringed by spectacular sandstone cliffs, which is occasionally used as a racecourse and as a firing range by the Lesotho Army, but most of the time it is just another grazing area for cattle.

The Lesotho church has also approached South African companies to sell pre-packed food to the crowds, offering them attractive advertising and sponsorship deals in ex-

change.

The church expects a bill of R5,5 million while the Lesotho Government is responsible for organising water, sanitation and tented camps for the pilgrims.

Areas have already been earmarked around Maseru, while the tents themselves are likely to come from South Africa.

If the Pope speaks out and video system that will relay his words will have been supplied by a South African television company, Africa Television News.

The company has paid R200 000 for an exclusive contract with the Lesotho church for live television coverage of the Papal visit.

Even the stages on which the Pope will celebrate Mass in Maseru and in Roma, 35 km away, will be built by a South African firm in Ficksburg, just across the border.

The church seems to be looking forward to a massive South African influx, saying the Pope's visit will promote goodwill throughout the Southern African region. — Sapa-Reuter.

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JHB CORPORALS HELD IN BOTSWANA

Late flash

A SPOKESMAN for the South African Defence Force confirmed last night that a patrol, which was gathering information in Botswana near the South African border, was involved in the shooting incident with the Botswana police early yesterday morning.

"The Botswana police fired on the patrol which was forced to return their fire. In this process members of the Botswana police were wounded," the spokesman said.

"The patrol returned safely to their base. This action was not aimed against the government or the people of Botswana and the accusation that South Africa made itself guilty of state terrorism, is preposterous especially coming from a country which allows terrorists to operate from its territory against the RSA.

"The two people who are allegedly held in Botswana, were not involved in the shooting incident. Regarding the allegations from Botswana about their connections with the SA Defence Force, no comment will be made unless the Botswana Government provides more details," the statement said.

Naas to play?

Citizen Correspondent

THERE is a growing belief in Northern Transvaal rugby circles that Springbok and Blue Bulls captain Naas Botha will change his mind and play in the ISM Shield North-South match at Newlands on Saturday.

Professor Daan Swiegers, convenor of the national selection committee, said late yesterday afternoon that he had still not heard from Botha.

Botha originally told Prof Swiegers that he would not be available for the Newlands encounter because he intended going to England for the Wimbledon tennis championships.

TO PAGE 2

GABORONE. — Botswana yesterday named two White Johannesburg corporals it said were captured after a gunbattle near the border as a South African commando group prepared to raid the capital, Gaborone.

President Quett Masire said three Botswana policemen were injured, one critically, in what he termed an act of state terrorism. He said five South Africans escaped.

Mr Ponatshego Kedikilwe, Minister for Presidential Affairs, told reporters the two captured men were Johannes Basson and Theodore Hermansen, both from Johannesburg.

Neither the SADF nor Foreign Affairs officials would comment on the Botswana claims.

According to earlier reports from Botswana Basson's age was given as 25 and his address as Claremont, Johannesburg, Corporal Hermansen said to be 30. lives in Cyril-dene, Johannesburg, according to the Botswana Government.

"We have always known about these raids but now we have concrete evidence," Mr Kedikilwe said. Basson admitted he

TO PAGE 2



MPHONYANA (right), joins her sister, MPHO, for a pram ride on Monday through the corridors of the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto. Mphonyana, the weaker of the separated Siamese twins, underwent a second skin graft on her forehead yesterday. The operation is said to have gone well.

Picture: Courtesy of the University of the Witwatersrand.

See Page 3

SA diplomat in Cairo

'No quick fix' is expected

CAIRO. — A senior South African diplomat, the first known to visit Egypt since the Second World War, said yesterday he did not expect quick results from Angolan peace talks opening here this week.

"We're very realistic about it," Mr Andre Jaquet, the Foreign Ministry official heading an advance group of eight diplomats and security men, said.

"We don't expect a quick fix but we want a lasting solution. The issues are very complicated and they won't be resolved in one meeting. But we are certainly going to give it a good try."

The group arrived on

Monday night to prepare for the talks opening on Friday between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States.

"It's been a good experience," the SA official said, adding that his team was well received at Cairo airport on Monday night.

Mr Jaquet said South Africa was pleased that the conference was taking place in Africa.

"We have finally come to realise that salvation does not come in Europe but in Africa."

South Africa's main negotiators, led by Mr Pik Botha, are due to fly in at

the last minute, he said.

South Africa's advance men were a rare sight in the capital of a founder of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Apart from students and "liberation" movement officials, no South Africans are known to have come to Egypt since its soldiers fought with Allied armies against Nazi Germany in Western desert tank battles 45 years ago.

Some South Africans are buried in the Commonwealth war cemetery at El-Alamein on the Mediterranean coast.

The Angolan Government confirmed yesterday that it would attend the meeting.

For the three-day Angola talks, Egypt has relaxed a law banning South African passport holders and is laying on tight security for Pretoria's Ministers.

It is laying on communications links with Johannesburg. Cairo Press reports said 200 South African journalists were due.

But no formal contacts are expected with South

TO PAGE 2

79 terros held this year

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN.

The 23 trained ANC terrorists arrested in the latest counter-insurgency actions of the South African Police brings to 79 the number of terrorists arrested so far this year, with a further ten killed in clashes.

The latest arrests, with a huge horde of arms also confiscated, is the largest single operation so far this year, and follows close on the ar-

rest of the White ANC cell at Broederstroom.

A spokesman in the office of the Minister of Law and Order said yesterday that a total of 991 ANC terrorists had been "neutralised" in the past 18 months, of whom 63 had been shot dead. The rest had been arrested, had deserted the ANC or been effectively removed from the ANC network.

"These figures did not include the two terrorists who had been killed, one in the Cape and one in Natal, when devices they were handling exploded.

In 1987, 490 terrorists had been "neutralised", of whom 44 had been shot dead.

The most recent armed clashes were reported

TO PAGE 2

Blacks may become Deputy Ministers

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government yesterday launched new reform initiatives to bring Blacks into the Cabinet and to set up a forum to negotiate a new dispensation to include Blacks in central government.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, is considering possible Black Deputy Ministers to assist Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Training, according to government sources.

Deputy Ministers in these posts are possible later this year or early next year, and the necessary legislation may be introduced at the short session of Parliament starting on August 22.

At present the constitution requires Ministers to be or to become Members of Parliament. It is proposed to amend the constitution so that the State President may make appointments from outside of Parliament.

This would enable Mr Botha to appoint Blacks, until such time as a new constitutional dispensation had been established. The inclusion of Blacks in the country's executive, either as Minis-

ters or Deputy-Ministers, will go hand-in-hand with two other steps, namely the creation of a forum to negotiate a new dispensation and the inclusion of Black representation in the President's Council.

Mr Heunis yesterday asked the first-ever joint meeting of the three Houses of Parliament to approve the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, which provides for a national forum to negotiate the inclusion of Blacks in government.

In this body, Blacks would directly or indirectly elect 30 of the 59 members. The forum will advise the government not only on achieving a new dispensation but on all existing or proposed new legislation.

"The Bill is proof of the government's sincerity — which I believe Parliament shares — that constitutional structures must be developed representing all South Africans and in which power will be shared in a manner preventing domination," said Mr Heunis.

"Our object is that such institutions should develop through the proposed council.

In other words, the council will be an instrument for further reform, not the end of that reform."

Mr Heunis stressed that the only item on the agenda was participation by all in a new constitutional deal.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives

and leader of the Labour Party, supported the Bill. "I believe this Bill does open the door to a South Africa in which all can play a part," he told the joint meeting of Parliament.

"The real issue in South Africa is Black aspirations, which can no longer be denied. As long as the majority of South Africans are excluded from decision-making, we can reach no solutions."

Mr Hendrickse said there were real White fears, but the majority of South Africans firmly rejected injustice and inequality. South Africans should not listen to "the prophets of doom".

His own participation in the debate was evidence of change. "I stand as a participant in the highest echelon of government, which is Parliament. But 12 years ago I was incarcerated by the Nationalist government," said Mr Hendrickse.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates and leader of the National People's Party, also endorsed the Bill.

"Today we have a tryst with destiny," Mr Rajbansi said.

In spite of flaws in the present constitution, the decision of Indian political parties to make use of it had been correct, for change in South Africa had to come about by peaceful means. Parliament could re-shape the future of South Africa.

The support of the majority parties in all three

Houses appears to ensure the Bill will be approved.

At the start of yesterday's joint meeting of Parliament, the Conservative Party asked the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, to rule that the meeting was "out of order".

Mr Frank le Roux, chief CP whip, said the rules required "all interested parties" to be consulted by the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, on matters to be referred to a joint meeting. He said this consultation had not taken place.

Mr Le Grange said he would give his ruling this afternoon.

The CP is opposed to the measure because it envisages "power-sharing".



West Germany's STEFFI GRAF returns a shot from Hu Na of the United States during their first round match on Number One Court at Wimbledon yesterday. Steffi won 6-0, 6-0. See Back Page.

Markets mark time

By Don Wilkinson

THERE was a strong wait-and-see atmosphere about international financial and bullion markets yesterday, with operators disinclined to do much ahead of the communique expected as the G-7 summit in Toronto concluded its deliberations.

While most market men expected yet another bland statement, there was always the possibility that something concrete would emerge on top of Monday's slight rise in West German interest rates, which had raised the possibility that Britain would follow suit.

In calm and quiet markets, London gold was fixed in the afternoon at \$451.65, down 5c on its morning level and \$2.55 below Monday afternoon's fix. Platinum lost ground after the previous day's upward flurry, both metals reflecting the continued mild strength of the dollar.

The result in local markets was a slight fall in the rand to R2,2790/2805 from Monday's R2,2715/30, but the financial rand slid steeply to R2,993/03 from R2,94/98.

This latter weakness helped to stem the decline in gold shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the all-gold index losing four points to 1 243.

Industrials moved only narrowly, their index finishing at 1 622 against Monday's 1 621, while the small movements were mirrored in the overall index, unchanged at 1 703.

Summit offers debt relief to poor

TORONTO. — Leading industrial nations wrapped up a summit yesterday with an accord offering some debt relief to the poorest Third World nations but no major new proposals to ease other stresses in the world economy.

Leaders of the United States, Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada held final plenary talks to finish a communique in which aides had toiled until 5 am at the 14th annual economic summit.

President Ronald Reagan, at his last such gathering before he leaves of-

fice on January 20, acknowledged that the session had to tackle "some differences of opinion" on his wish for swifter action to scrap the costly subsidies paid to farmers by the affluent nations.

Delegation sources also suggested the 34-point communique would largely gloss over such problems as the record Budget deficit of the United States, while the debt package will deal with only a fraction of some R2.4 trillion owed by all the Third World.

The United States and some others at the summit gave only a cautious response to a bold Japanese initiative to extend debt relief to bigger, middle-income debtors. Japan's proposal will not be adopted here, leaving help on the debt owed to governments by the poorest of the poor as the signal achievement from three days of talks.

French Finance Minister Mr Pierre Berégovoy called it "a message of hope" and told reporters that 20 sub-Saharan African nations would initially be eligible for relief, and 10 other countries might be added later.

● See Page 10.

Jo'burg corporals held

FROM PAGE 1

was a corporal in the South African Defence Force.

The two men were brought from police headquarters in manacles to be transferred to a prison. Asked by a reporter what he was doing in Botswana, Hermansen replied: "I don't know."

Officials said they believed the two men were drivers sent to pick up the other five after a planned attack on Gaborone.

The incident was followed at dawn by a bomb explosion that wrecked a lorry and shattered windows in a Gaborone suburb. It was not clear if the two events were linked.

"At about 10.30 hours last night, three policemen were injured, one critically, when the patrol vehicle in which they were driving was fired on by five South African commandos, three of whom were White and two Black," Mr Masire's statement said.

The six-man unarmed police patrol surprised the South Africans by a railway line near Kgale Mission, a Roman Catholic girls' school about 8km

south of Gaborone.

"The South African commando group were preparing to mount a raid on Gaborone. Two other South African Whites who drove away in two cars from the scene of the incident when the police arrived and were later arrested at a BDF (Botswana Defence Force) road block are in police custody for questioning," the statement added.

Mr Masire said the commando group, after shooting the police, drove off in the police vehicle, which was later found abandoned at the border. Attempts to have Botswana's claims confirmed by the SADF and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, failed yesterday.

Gen Malan referred all inquiries to the defence force's public relations office in Pretoria; who in turn claimed that they could not comment on the matter. A spokesman said an investigation had been started and as soon as the result of the investigation was known, a statement would be issued.

No-one was injured in the incident.

Fewer road collisions

ROAD traffic collisions in April this year (32 645) were down 12 percent compared with the previous month (37 095), according to the latest figures by the Central Statistical Service in Pretoria.

However, the CSS points out that although there was a decrease in the number of collisions between March and April, the number of casualties during April (10 417) increased by 0.9 percent over the March figure (10 108).

Police swoop, recover arms

DURBAN. — Amanzimtoti CID officers swooped at the weekend, arresting five Black men and recovering 19 of 70 firearms which were stolen from a farm at nearby Entombeni in January.

Lieut Bala Naidoo, SA Police Liaison officer, said most of the seized firearms were part of a collection which had belonged to a former mayor of Amanzimtoti, the late Mr Jimmy Altersky. — Sapa.

79 terros caught

FROM PAGE 1

ed by Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order, last week when he disclosed that nine ANC terrorists had been killed in a shoot-out near the Swaziland border.

This group was trying to infiltrate into South Africa in order to carry out acts of terrorism on Soweto Day, June 16, said the Minister.

Political comment in this issue by M A Johnson, posters, headlines and subediting by P W M Taylor, both of 28 Height Street, Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

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Naas to play?

FROM PAGE 1

The selectors, however, included Botha in the North side and said that anybody who withdrew would have to produce a valid medical certificate. . . or they would not be considered for the Springbok team.

Saturday's game is the final trial for the selection of the Springbok team, scheduled to meet a World XV later this year.

Prof Swiegers said he too believed that Botha would play. If he still intended to go to Wimbledon he would not have left this late.

Botha has to be back early next week to practice with Northern Transvaal for their vital Santambank Currie Cup game against Western Province at Newlands on Saturday next week.

Prof Swiegers added that there had been no further withdrawals from Saturday's game. Three Springboks — Piet Kruger, Johan Heunis and Rudi Visagie — pulled out on Monday because of injuries.

Springbok centre Michael du Plessis, who is at flyhalf in the South side, has apparently also changed his mind. It was reported last week that Du Plessis would not play because of a knee injury.

But he played for WP against Free State at the weekend and has since given no indication that he intends withdrawing.

'No quick fix'

FROM PAGE 1

African officials and Egypt will only provide facilities and logistics for the conference at the secluded Hyatt Al-Salam Hotel near Cairo airport. "Our only role is as host and looking after everyone's welfare," an official said.

US assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester

Crocker, Washington's top African expert, is expected today and some Angolan delegates were due last night, sources close to the talks said.

Cairo was chosen as a compromise venue for the third round because it is an African city — as required by South Africa — but is uninvolved in Angola or South West Africa. — Sapa-Reuters.

Parliament

Reports by Sapa

Bill will destroy folk: CP

THE Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill was an ill-fated step on a road which had to lead to Black majority government and the demise of the Afrikaner people and other minority groups, Mr Moolman Mentz (CP Ermelo) said yesterday.

In the first reading debate on the measure, he said that the CP was relentlessly opposed to it.

Although the answer to SA's problems should be sought along a constitutional road, that road should be one which resulted in every group and nation having the fullest freedom.

The government would not succeed in this new constitutional dispensation without the cooperation of the CP, and the CP said unequivocally it was not prepared to give this cooperation.

It was not prepared to go along with a so-called undivided South Africa.

The Leftists were saying of the Bill that it was on the right road but that the method by which participation was effected was wrong. They argued that provision should be made for bringing in other leadership figures and that the insistence on a group basis for representation on the National Council should be abandoned.

The NP would be forced to accept these arguments as they were a necessary consequence of the principles of the bill.

This implied rejection of the protection of minority rights and of own community life.

The government had come to the end of the options available on the path on which it had chosen to walk.

If it wanted to succeed on the path it had chosen it would have to give in to Black demands to free Mandela, to unban organisations, lift the state of emergency and abolish the Group Areas Act.

Even the so-called moderate leaders of the National States were setting as preconditions for participation the demands made by radical leaders.

The success of the implementation of this constitution was completely dependant on Blacks allowing themselves as a people to be drawn into making SA a country of minorities.

This was the only basis on which the constitution would succeed.

If Blacks were not prepared to do this, the whole philosophical basis of government policy fell away.

The government would be obliged to go for the Leftist option of what was attainable but unacceptable.

"We call on you today to stop it. You will destroy the nation (folk) from which you come."

Seize opportunity for negotiation, urges Heunis

PARTICIPATION in the National Council to be established to work out a new dispensation up to the highest levels for all in South Africa would be a powerful demonstration that Black and White did want to stand together and strive to overcome violence and chaos, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said.

"All peace-loving South Africans must now seize the opportunity to prove their commitment to negotiation," he said in his second reading speech on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill.

His speech marked the start of the first ever joint debate between White, Coloured and Indian parliamentarians in the new chamber of Parliament.

"The Bill contains no impediment on the free participation by any political organisation or individual interested in peaceful democratic processes and in constitutional power-sharing."

"The agenda is open."

"There is only one item on the agenda and that is a constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans are represented and can participate without domination," Mr Heunis said.

Structures

The council to be established was not a goal in itself, but an instrument through which new structures could be brought about.

"(It) will be an instrument for further reform, not the end of that reform."

Discussions over the past two years which had led to the final formulation of the Bill had already gone beyond the scope of the measure before the House and "are inevitably already dealing with further constitutional development".

"These discussions to which the Bill has given rise should therefore now be channelled through the negotiating body."

The Bill was proof of the government's sincerity, which he believed Parliament shared, that constitutional structures representing all South Africans and in which power would be shared in a manner preventing domination, had to be developed.

Noting the constitutional landmarks in South Africa since Union in 1910, Republic in 1961, and the implementation of the new constitution in 1983, the Minister said the Bill before Parliament was yet another one.

Foundation

"It is the first time in the history of our country that legislation is being introduced with the goal of laying a foundation for the participation of all South Africans and communities in the political and governing processes."

The Bill confirmed important points of departure which he believed all parliamentarians shared.

All were bound to an

evolutionary process and all were in favour of a parliamentary process of negotiated change.

"We believe a blueprint which will answer all our problems is not possible and that the course of development of people and communities must determine the content of constitutional models."

"We believe that, because not all South Africans do not yet have participation in the parliamentary process, that Parliament must create forums and opportunities for discussion and consultation with leaders from different communities."

Debate on the Bill amounted to addressing the core constitutional problem of South Africa.

Solution

It represented a choice in favour of a negotiated solution and stood in contrast to any revolutionary or violent struggle.

"It addresses the alternative of the revolutionary and the proposed council stand in the path of the revolutionary."

No prophet was needed to predict the Bill and the

proposed council would be mercilessly fought by these revolutionary and violent forces.

"Those who want to perpetuate racism, will certainly say the legislation is the last nail in the coffin of the Whites."

"Those who place no premium on the protection of own cultural values of people and communities, will undoubtedly say the legislation is too little too late."

"But those who are prepared to search dedicatedly for solutions in the interests of the country and all its peoples, will see in our gathering here today, and the legislation, an attempt to give content to the high ideals of liberation and freedom," Mr Heunis said.

Support

The government believed it had the support of the majority of the population when it said it chose the path of peaceful change through negotiation.

"We believe the majority of South Africans will support the proposed council."

Mr Heunis said it was vitally important that the

supporters of negotiation now be mobilised, and that those South Africans now be given a negotiation forum behind which they could throw their support and in which they could express their peaceful aspirations.

"We can no longer expect these South Africans to resist revolutionary agitation if we don't turn the alternative into a reality."

"We see the revolution in all its horrible reality every time a bomb explodes."

"We owe it to our people to show them the alternative in a body such as the legislation proposes," Mr Heunis said.

"In short, it is a motion of confidence in our country and its people, and in the process, a motion of no confidence in those who want to make us fail."

"With this legislation, as with the constitution in 1983, we are saying we want to negotiate further."

"We are prepared to share political power without domination, and want to contribute to the peaceful liberation of people," he said.

'The start of a new era' in S Africa: Hendrickse

THE Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill marked the start of a new era in South African politics and also fully justified the Labour Party's decision to take part in the tricameral Parliamentary system, the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said.

In the First Reading Debate he said that, de-

spite its inadequacies, it opened a door to a peaceful solution and to a South Africa in which all could play a role.

In terms of importance, yesterday's joint debate far exceeded the establishment of Union in 1910 and the Republic in 1961, Mr Hendrickse said.

For Coloured people, 1910 had marked the beginning of a process of political dispossession. Before then, they had the right to vote for and be elected to Parliament. This right was subsequently removed.

Critics and those who were not interested in finding a solution should adopt a historical perspective and view matters in the light of the reality of the present situation.

He was not saying all was well in South Africa,

but there were people in the country who were seeking to make a positive contribution to its well-being and that of its people, Mr Hendrickse said.

In the South African situation, participation was clearly the answer.

The majority of Black people, including Coloureds and Indians, had opted for participation as a means of peaceful change. That in itself was indicative of the age of wisdom, he said.

Those who were having difficulty deciding whether or not to take part should remember that in 1950, when the ANC faced a decision on whether or not to take part in Parliamentary elections of a separate voters roll for a White native representative, their leader, Nelson Mandela, had led the organisation to accept participation. As a result Mr Sam Kahn had been elected, Mr Hendrickse said.

The principle of the dispossessed getting a voice in government should be one of the primary considerations of those who doubted the wisdom of participation.

Those who were standing aside because of the present non-participation of Mandela should remember that the Bill did not prevent his partici-

pation.

The LP's presence in the chamber yesterday afternoon vindicated its 1983 decision to participate in the tricameral system, recognising as it had then that this was a beginning rather than an end and that the reform process had to start somewhere, he said.

Nothing but participation by all South Africans in all decision-making processes of the country could bring the desired peace and security.

The Bill was a product of compromise in the interests of the country, Mr Hendrickse said.

This did not mean anyone was abandoning their principles, but rather that they accepted that the future depended on a willingness to give and take and to consider other peoples' perspectives.

There had been a revolution of thinking in the minds of members and supporters of the National Party. There were also real fears among some Whites.

"It is no longer just a question of White-Black fears, but we have the development of a situation of White-White fears and Black-Black fears."

"In finding a constitutional model, recognition will have to be given to these White-White fears and Black-Black fears and to polarise White-Black fears."

'All have role in council'

ALL people who could play a role in the new National Council should make use of it, even if the new body contained deficiencies and discrepancies, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday.

Speaking in the first joint debate in the new chamber on the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill, Mr Rajbansi said the most important step was to establish the council.

Stress should not be placed on how good or bad the planning was which was used to make up the council, but rather the quality of people represented.

The Bill was the product of a joint exercise of the three Houses of Parliament in which common

ground was found "on the main question of Black participation in parliament".

It was significant that the Bill only provided for a plan for a new constitutional dispensation, it did not provide an agenda. The agenda was open "so no future constitutional model is prescribed".

Blacks had quite correctly objected to prescriptive measures. They were now being given an effective say as an interim measure in the processing of government.

The House of Delegates stood committed to ridding South Africa of apartheid.

"It is our ideal to ensure that all South African citizens participate in the process of government and it is also our ideal that all our citizens share equally the wealth

of our country irrespective of race, colour and creed."

It was to be noted "with satisfaction" that structures were being created for these ideals. It was significant that the others were not prescribing "one man one vote" ideologies.

Indians were not in parliament because of any selfish ideas but because they believed that they could play a role in the broadening of Democracy, said Mr Rajbansi.

THE promotion of Constitutional Development Bill did not provide for a model for Black participation in the highest level of the decision making process, but a structure — the proposed National Council — in which such a model could be found, Dr Helgaard van Resnburg (NP Mossel Bay) said.

A future constitutional dispensation should be the result of negotiation between representatives of all South Africans, Dr Van Resnburg said in debate on the Bill.

Although not everyone was in agree-

Bill does not provide model for Black role

ment of what was a fair constitution to all, no-one could deny that the proposed national council would provide for the political participation of everyone.

The council's biggest challenge and test was to escape the dilemma of numbers, because reform was not the process of swapping White domination for Black domination.

Constitutional reform had arrived at the halfway stage of its development, namely, the tricameral parliament, from which South Africa could now depart for new constitutional horizons.