

FOCUS ON FACT

THE NATAL MERCURY

China changes tack on S.A. dialogue

- 7 OCT 1975

from DENNIS BLOODWORTH in Singapore

If the sudden astonishing shift in Peking's policy towards Pretoria last month really left some South Africans gasping, as some reports suggest, the most surprising aspect of the switch will have been their surprise.

Speaking at a banquet for a distinguished guest from Zambia, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien signalled Chinese approval for a dialogue between the Black States and South Africa and Rhodesia when he praised the virtues of "dual tactics."

For until then the Chinese had used the expression "dual tactics" to denounce all those ready to parley with "the South African racist regime," which was firmly branded "the common enemy of the African people."

Less than two months ago Peking propagandists slanged their detested Russian rivals for warning Africans that without detente "it is difficult to talk seriously" about the development of the Third World. "Can the African people indulge in a detente with colonialist and racist regimes?" asked the Chinese with heavy irony.

Now, it seems, the answer is yes.

Vice-Premier Li scarcely bothered to conceal his cards. He said straightforwardly enough that the Africans could use dual tactics "to wage a tit-for-tat struggle," talking and fighting simultaneously in order to "complete the liberation of the entire African continent."

His remarks were general, but he was addressing visitors from Zambia, and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda met Premier John Vorster of South Africa only in August.

Vorster has been energetically seeking a formula for relaxing racial tension and ending the clash of colours which threatens all Southern Africa with creeping guerrilla war.

But while he has sketched out for the sceptical Blacks a plausible pattern for a new South Africa within which, he claims, man could actually coexist with man in a dignified manner, the keystone for any bridge between

Black and White must be a peaceful settlement of Black claims to majority rule in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia, however, Vorster's conciliatory if crafty policy has foundered on the intransigence of the hard-headed Premier, Ian Smith, and the bush-fire war continues to smoulder.

To avert what he evidently fears may grow into a subcontinental "Vietnam," Vorster has risked the wrath of the durable Rhodesian by pulling his own South African security units out of the fray.

Pale skin

Moreover, when newly-independent Mozambique threatened to stop the flow of Rhodesian goods through its ports, the South Africans were quick to tell Smith that they could not handle more of his traffic than they were taking already. Beneath a thin pale skin of Caucasian *bonhomie*, Smith thinks he has been disgracefully let down by Vorster, and Vorster thinks Smith an obstinate menace.

That was the mood earlier last month when an exasperated Vorster failed to persuade Smith to talk constructively to the fragile coalition of Rhodesian Blacks opposing him, the coalition then fell apart, and all arguments for the stub-

born Rhodesian Premier to give a little ground at once lost even more weight.

For the Maoists, this was a classic case of a "contradiction" — like the built-in "contradictions" that would ultimately destroy the capitalist world.

A few days after the Black opposition split, Li Hsien-nien spoke up for "dual tactics."

If Vorster wanted to talk, talk, Li implied. If Smith wanted to fight, fight.

If the talking took in Smith, the tough Rhodesian could anyway be expected to be even tougher now and to antagonise both Vorster and Black Africa even more.

Even if he did not actively antagonise Vorster, the readiness of Black Africa to negotiate with the South African Premier would in itself help to woo Pretoria away from Salisbury, leaving Rhodesia isolated and Smith ready to be subdued if he were not subdued already. And when Rhodesia had been isolated and subdued it would be the turn of South Africa.

There would be another reason for this reasoning. During the iconoclastic turmoil and violence of the Great Cultural Revolution in China, at which many of Africa's entrenched masters looked askance, moderate leaders in Peking became anxious to win back international confidence — in the face

of a dangerous Muscovite challenge — by creating an image of China as an unassuming, reliable, efficient and correct champion of the underdog.

Future policy

In Africa, in particular, the Chinese were already choosing the pillars of their future policy with care.

Zambia, a sovereign State since 1964, depended on transport systems run by the Whites of Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique for its commercial lifelines, yet it was staunchly "non-aligned" and devoted to the cause of African freedom.

Tanzania was not only impeccably anti-imperialist and committed to a socialist programme of reform, but strategically placed as a springboard for exiled militant movements of Blacks bent on liberating the neighbours.

Zambia and Tanzania represented the height of revolutionary respectability, therefore, and offered quick access to the anti-colonial crusade itself.

Mozambique may be added to the list of approved African States. For Mozambique is now independent and Marxist, and before its Frelimo chiefs took power in June, Vorster and Smith were already bracing themselves against the possibility that the country would become a base for training armed guerrillas to be launched against their territories, just as Tanzania had been a base for Frelimo action against the Portuguese in Mozambique.

Zambia, Tanzania, and Mozambique are the main Black African States involved in the diplomatic net-mending which brought Kaunda to Victoria Falls to meet Vorster in the interests of a Black-and-White detente. But they are also the States within whose frontiers between 3 000 and 7 000 guerrillas are training — or waiting ready-trained.

Three counts

This "dual tactic" now wins a nod from Peking on three counts.

First, it is in the best talk - and - fight Chinese tradition — there must always be weapons to give weight to the words.

Secondly, any talking is more likely to widen the gap between an increasingly concerned Vorster and a Smith cock - a - hoop over the collapse of his home - grown adversaries, and so render them both more vulnerable.

Thirdly, the Chinese are not going to "drop a stone on their own foot" by quarrelling with the policies of African friends who can provide a geopolitical dike against the Soviet influence seeping through the other parts of the continent.

Arms THE NATAL MERCURY against - 7 OCT 1975 Smith plea

Mercury Correspondent
NEW YORK — Mozambique foreign minister Joaquim Chissano called for "a complete and total boycott against Rhodesia" and pledged the Frelimo Party and the country "are ready to assume all responsibility in conformity with their international duty," in his country's first major speech at the General Assembly of the UN yesterday.

But Mr. Chissano gave nothing away on how and when Mozambique intended to fulfil this apparent undertaking to blockade Rhodesia.

He also avoided making any direct reference to Southern African détente and dialogue.

He expressed Mozambique's "military solidarity" with the banned African National Congress and the "South African people's struggle against apartheid."

He pictured a tense frontier situation with Rhodesia "compelling us to armed confrontation."

He called for all "peace loving peoples" to lend "combat" support to the ANC.

"Realising that the policy of bantustans is insufficient to contain the tide of nationalism, new types of concentration camps are being organised into which the South African regime intends to throw its opponents."

"Lately repression against its own citizens has been intensified to a level so far unknown in that country."

"Practices such as those taking place in South Africa take on the form of colonialism and Nazism."

Land-buying *The Natal Mercury* *Oct 7 1975* ban angers Coloureds

Mercury Reporter

EMPANGENI—A Zululand Coloured leader yesterday hit out at laws which prohibit "South Africans from buying land in their own country."

Speaking at a meeting of the Zululand Regional Development Association, Mr. N. F. Strydom, an executive member of the

Dunn Descendants' Association, criticised the lack of housing for Coloureds in Zululand, and Eshowe's "five-year ruling" banning of Coloured from buying land in the town.

"Wherever our children work, they are not allowed to live. You have to live in Eshowe for five years before you can buy. Garages are being turned into small bungalows. This is critical, we are not allowed to buy land in our own country," he said.

The Dunn Association's other representative, Mr. Dan Dunn, also attacked the lack of Government action in clearing land — about 900 hectares which had been granted to the Dunn clan — of squatters who occupied nearly 1 400 acres of land. "On this land we could cultivate between 30 and 40 000 tons of sugar cane," he said.

Mr. Dunn emphasised that the African squatters were at the present time unwilling to move from the area, "because they had not been told exactly where they were going, or what compensation they were to receive."

THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1975

THE message to the Government from last week-end's Turfloop detente conference is that no one regards Nationalist "homeland independence" policy as anywhere near a complete answer to South Africa's constitutional problems.

Just as important and urgent a message from the conference was that the Foreign Affairs Association arranged the talks to get South Africans to talk about external detente, but the delegates insisted that internal detente was the overriding priority.

White speakers and delegates repeatedly channelled their thoughts towards finding machinery to direct internal change. The other races concentrated the force of their oratory at the total eradication of race discrimination and the need for the country to make a new start in race relations.

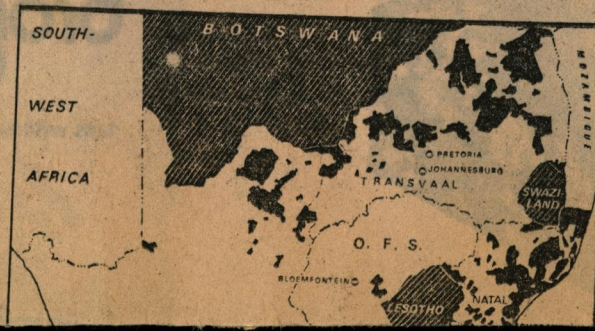
The White call for a new constitutional initiative reached its high point in the constructive speech of Prof Nic Rhodes of the Uni-

A week-end conference to discuss external detente ended up discussing internal problems.
JOHN PATTEN reports . . .

Message was loud and clear

THE DAILY NEWS

- 7 OCT 1975



The rain

and amusing Mr
Maguzshi who in one

ty of Pretoria.

Its pith was to be found in his line of argument which pointed strongly to a conclusion that South Africa's constitutional future lay in a compromise between Government and Opposition policies, but with the Government's policy being implemented to completion first.

In fact, he was suggesting:

- First, the establishment of independent homelands in line with apartheid ideology;

- Secondly, the adoption of a Swiss-type constitutional system — a federation in fact, although he tactfully did not use the word — for the rest of South Africa, and

- Thirdly, he said, he must be "brutally frank" in saying there could be only one dominant group in each state of this Swiss-type system.

"It is because the Afrikaner does not want to abdicate that we must experiment with other types of models," he said.

Professor Rhoodie's incisive contribution — all the more significant because of his credentials as one of the "think-tank" moulders of the apartheid idea — was made in the context of a welter of important comments from important sources on South Africa's constitution.

There was Prof. Hans Jansen, an African



South Africa's homelands: Nowhere near the complete answer to the country's constitutional problems.

studies expert from Stellenbosch University, who rejected the present constitution because its British origin made it suitable only for a homogeneous population. He urged the development of a constitution adapted to South African conditions.

Prof Marinus Wiechers, a constitutional expert from the University of Pretoria, followed with his words: "We will have to find in this country a new form of government institution — a constitutional arrangement where the aspirations of these peoples can be accommodated."

Then came Prof Tjaart van der Walt, theologian of Potchefstroom University with his contention: "The homeland idea is beautiful, but it is ostrich politics to believe this will provide a final solution."

Finally there was United Party MP, Mr Lionel Murray, with his proposal that until constitutional change could be brought about, all race representation should be provided for

in the Senate to establish a forum for co-operation and consultation between the races.

This clarion call for constitutional change from speakers with impressive status was not answered by a single call for the status quo in policy — in spite of the presence of numerous separate development Nationalist supporters.

The nearest to an opposing note came from the somewhat doctrinaire young Nationalist MP, Mr Albert Nothnagel, who said: "I do not think that in the future we can talk of co-operation unless we recognise the diversity of the peoples".

From the side of other race groups came a statement from one delegate which drew a burst of enthusiastic applause. "We must make a stop, a full stop, not a comma," he said in urging South Africans of all colours to start again in their approach to race relations.

Then there was the Black delegate who asked: "When this honeymoon (the conference) is over, what happens outside these doors?"

And also the burly

speech said: "We are not the problem, because we are together. The problem is the people who are not here."

Near the end of the conference he contributed again: "What are we going to do from here on? There must be committees. Each group must go home and approach its own people to make a success of detente. Mr Vorster has shown the way."

There was strong speculation at the conference that, through the State President opening the talks, the Government had given its nod of approval. It was even whispered that the Government was blessing the conference as a scene-setter for change.

In the end, the talks took a course which even the planners might not have anticipated. Mr Michael O'Dowd of Anglo-American openly admitted he had to change his speech because he saw people wanted to talk about internal detente, not detente abroad. The message in that true assessment of conference feeling must be only too clear to the Government.

Socially, the conference was also revealing. All colours shared all facilities, from lunch and tea venues to common toilets.

Where Johannesburg's Civic Theatre struggles to get permission for mixed audiences, Black, Brown and White rubbed shoulders in the audience for the show, Ipi Tombi, in the heart of the conservative deep platteland — without anyone apparently batting an eyelid.

Vote means bus boycott continues

THE DAILY NEWS

7 OCT 1975



"Akagitshelwa amabasi" — "no riding the buses" . . . Residents at Madadeni Township outside Newcastle packed a churchhall on Sunday to vote solidly in favour of continuing their bus boycott. The meeting was called by Madadeni Town Council. Below: The Rev J. T. Seoka addresses the crowd of 1000.



THE DAILY NEWS

Accommodate Blacks, plea to NPB

- 7 OCT 1975

Daily News Reporter



PITMAN — Stamp
out indignities

BLACKS must be provided with accommodation in Natal Parks Board game reserves, Mr Harry Pitman, joint provincial chairman of the Progressive-Reform Party in Natal, said today.

He was commenting on "revelations of blatant racialism and mismanagement in the NPB" made last week in The Daily News by former game ranger, Mr Gordon Bailey.

Mr Pitman said Mr Bailey's allegations "which were not denied by senior members of the board," justified his party's year-long campaign to achieve direction in the Parks Board's policies.

He said it was essential, if Natal's reserves were to be preserved, that Black staff be trained for responsible positions in the NPB and that all racial in-

dignities be stamped out.

He called for Black accommodation in NPB reserves; a public committee of inquiry on the purpose and possible effects of dams on the Umfolosi River; and a more equitable distribution of funds and effort between conservation and recreation.

Mr Pitman called for better use of "experienced staff who have been transferred into obscurity."

He said the United Party-controlled Exco needed to be reminded yet again that Natal's game reserves were irreplaceable.

THE DAILY NEWS, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1975

HERERO CHIEF MINISTER AIMS AT UNITARY SWA

Talks may give birth to non-racial political party

THE DAILY NEWS

- 7 OCT 1975

WASHINGTON, Tuesday. HERERO Chief Minister Clemens Kapuuo said here yesterday he was still aiming for a unitary South West Africa with its peoples sharing not only legal equality but also the territory's land and natural resources.

And the Rehboth Baster leader, Dr B. J. Africa, said there was a possibility of a political party emerging from the adjourned constitutional conference on South-West Africa that would transcend racial and tribal barriers.

Chief Kapuuo, Dr Africa and South-West Africa Legislative Assembly leader, Mr Dirk Mudge, were the most sought-after mem-

bers of the 34-man group from the territory who met a score of pressmen.

The South-West Africans are visiting the United States, West Germany and Britain before returning to the conference at Windhoek on November 3. They arrived here yesterday morning from New York and will be meeting today with U.S. officials

from the Department of State.

Mr Mudge, who said the Whites had "no idea to divide South West Africa into separate independent states," avoided spelling out specific Nationalist Party proposals at the constitutional conference.

The conference had started from scratch with no preconditions. He felt that it would have to be imaginative

in deciding on a future system for South West Africa.

Other African countries had tried and failed to run according to European constitutional systems. Why should South West Africa not have an original system specially designed for its requirements? he asked.

Chief Kapuuo was asked what kind of state he wanted in the territory and what had

caused him to change his stance in favour of a unitary South West Africa and the withdrawal of South Africa.

"I haven't changed anything," he replied. "I am still of the old opinion — the general opinion of the people. They are for South West Africa as one country."

"As to what kind of constitution is adopted, that will be for the conference to decide."

CHIEF KAPUUNO ... a unitary South-West Africa