

ILANGA, MAY 30 — JUNE 1, 1988

Imibono yabafundi. Lobela: uMhleli, ILANGA, 128 Umngeni

Okungihluphayo emoyeni ngomfundisi omkhulu uTutu

MHLELI.— Ngithi ake ngiveze nakhu okungihluphayo kakhulu emoyeni wami ngoMfundisi omkhulu uBhishop Tutu. Ngiyathula ngibuke izinto ngendlela ezenzeka ngayo, mina-ke angilandeli ngisho eyodwa inhlango yezombusazwe kumbe inyonyana.

Engosini imibono yabafundi ngithi ake ngiphawule ngoMfundisi omkhulu ukuthi wenziwa yini ukuba kuthi uma uHulumeni esehlela ukuba kekhulelwe mayelana nezimali eziqhamuka emazweni angaphandle nokho-ke uMfundisi ukhala uyaqamba uma uMnuz. Coetzee ehlongoza ukuzivala.

UMfundisi omkhulu uthi lemali isiza abantu abantulayo kuleli nokho wayecabangeni kuqala uma ezivala lezimali ethi alinswinye leli kwezomnotho usuke ecabangeni ngabantulayo na? Kusolisa sengathi kunagamaqiniso amakhulu ukuthi lemali isiza eku-khuliseni udlame koMnyama noMnyama.

Ngikhuluma nje kunemindeni eyakhahlemezeka ngalolunswinyo lwakho baba Mfundisi banginxusa ukuba uBishop omkhulu angakhali uma sekuqondene naye, kuhle impela manje isikhuni sibuya nomkhwezeli nokho-ke

sengathi izingane zesi-kole lezi ezimlandelayo kunye nezisebenzi zingazibuza ukuthi wayibhenka kuphi imali yeNoble Peace Prize. Kungabe iphesheya kwezilwandle noma lapha eMzansi Afrika.

Lowo umbuzo ubheke kwabamlandelayo nakuye uqobo awuphendule ngokukhulu ukwethembeka.

Lokhu phambi kuka-Nkulunkulu uma engumgcotshwa othembekile phambi kuka-Nkulunkulu oneqiniso ekugcineni, ngithanda ukwazi kuye umfundisi omkhulu ukuthi kanti unswinyo lusho ukuthini, okungukuthi angakhali ngoba manje useyamelekelela uHulumeni omkhulu njengoba esenswinya yena uqobo umbhishobhi omkhulu uTutu.

Mfundisi omkhulu yizona izimali eziqhamuka kwamanye amazwe lezi esezicatshwa ngwa ukuvalwa akungakhohlakali ukuthi unswinyo lwenze ukuba uMzansi Africa uye ngokuya kancane uqina bayenza ukuba ibentamo lukhuni kakhulu ngamanye amazwi sengathi ubhizi ulekelela ukugqilazwa komuntu omnyama lapha e-Afrika yokhokho nengiyithandayo engumama ubaba ugogo nomkhulu wami. Ngiyabonga.

T.P. Ntshingila
ESIKHAWINI

FOCUS

A look at workers' rights

THIS booklet comes at a time when there is much talk about **WORKER CONTROL** by most trade unions in South Africa. The only way in which workers can assume effective control of their organisations is by participating actively in meetings. In order to do that, a knowledge of the rules of debate is crucial. Nothing is more frustrating than being prevented from speaking in a meeting because this or that rule says you cannot say certain things. I have no doubt that this booklet will assist workers in a real way.

A rather important question is raised at the beginning of the booklet: **WHY HAVE RULES?** The answer is telling: **BECAUSE WE ASSUME WE ARE DEALING WITH A DEMOCRATIC ORGANISATION. DICTATORS HAVE NO USE FOR RULES.**

This statement is important because there is a growing number of people, inside and outside of trade unions, who are showing a distaste for rules. Each time the question about adopting and following rules is raised, they are quick to shout: **BUREAUCRACY!** At face value they may seem to

ILO PUBLICATIONS: A GUIDE TO RUNNING A TRADE UNION MEETING; AND WAGES: A WORKER'S EDUCATIONAL MANUAL

Prices: R1,50 and R8,95 respectively
Review by: Mandla Seleane

be occupied with a dislike for officialdom. But after a much closer examination, we soon discover that they are in fact asking for licence to do just as they please. This booklet, therefore, will be a timely reminder that those of us who parade as agents of social change cannot at the same time be dictatorial. In order to prevent ourselves from breeding little dictators in our ranks, there is a need to adopt and respect certain rules.

Unique

The booklet states that it is neither exhaustive nor final. There is therefore much scope for its users to supplement it with other readings. But this booklet is unique in that it is written in simple language. This will help in removing the monopoly of skills from only the learned, as workers will be able to take control of their own future.

Issues covered in the booklet are: The Basis for a Good Meeting; Introduction and Handling of Motions; The Role of the Chairperson and the Secretary; How to Challenge the Chairperson; The Quorum and

Points of Order.

The discussion relating to the rules of the Quorum is both interesting and illuminating. It is true that unless these rules are observed vigilantly, a minority might conspire to and in fact take the union for a ride. But it is also true that members who do not like items on the agenda may play fast and loose with the union. Nothing stops them from conspiring to stay away from a meeting in order to ensure that the meeting will not quorate, thereby blocking the decisions they do not like. In order to ensure that this does not happen, a number of unions have it built into their constitutions that if the initial meeting does not quorate, it will be postponed to a fixed date. If the second meeting also fails to quorate, it will proceed as though it did in fact quorate. Therefore those who might conspire to prevent decisions from being taken are taken care of in this manner, which also ensures that decisions are taken democratically.

It is undeniable that meeting procedure will vary from place to place. It is regretful, however, that the booklet has collapsed all points which can be raised in a meeting into the **POINT OF ORDER**. There is general agreement that the Point of Order is a



WORKERS stage a protest.

powerful point and can in fact interrupt a speaker mid-sentence. Other points which can be raised in the meeting do not enjoy that sort of status. This point is acknowledged in the booklet too: "... Closure may be moved at any time, except when a speaker has the floor..."

Conflating all the points is unfortunate because it has the effect that people will take advantage of the power

of the Point of Order in order to raise trifling matters and to interrupt speakers under unacceptable conditions. This, then, would increase confusion rather than minimise it. This would be quite counter-productive, since the rules of debate are intended to minimise confusion.

WAGES: A WORKERS' EDUCATION MANUAL

This book comes at a time when the government has announced wage freezes in the public sector. In announcing the wage freezes, the government not only asks the business community to follow suit: it in fact, threatens to compel obedience through legislation. This book is important in that it shows us the sort of things that the government in any country should do in order to fight against inflation before resorting to coercion. The book suggests further that wage freezes are not necessarily the best way of fighting inflation. Put differently, the book argues that **RIISING WAGES** in fact have the potential to solve inflation and to create new job opportunities. Therefore the government's arguments in this area are not all that can be said on the subject.

But maybe the best way of starting a discussion of the book is

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KUVUKE amadlingozi ezinkulu-
ngwaneni zabantu abebezolalela
uNdunankulu waKwaZulu Inkosi
uMangosuthu Buthelezi obekhu-
luma eGlebe Stadium ngobunzima
bonswinyo olukhungethe umuntu
omnyama kuleli. Lona nguMnuz Al-
bert Buthelezi waseHadebe Section
eNatalspruit eNtilasifali.

MAY 30 - 1 JUNE

ILANGA

Lichithiwe isu lokunswinya i-SA emkhulekweni

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI :- Izihlewele zabantu abebalelwa ezinkulungwaneni ezingaphezulu kwamashumi ayisikhombisa abebhlangene emhlanganweni obusezinkundleni zemidlalo eGlebe Stadium obekukhuluma kuwo uNdunankulu waKwaZulu Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi ziphinde zezwakalise ukusichitha isinyathelo sabanye abaholi beBandla kanye nabezinye izinhlangano abahambisana nokuba lelizwe linswinywe kwezomnotho.

Ethula inkulumo yakhe kulomhlangano uNdunankulu waKwaZulu utshele abebekulomhlangano ukuthi kukhona abantu abathi bangabakhulumeli bo-

quqaba abawelela emazweni aphesheya abafuna umhlaba ukholwe ngukuthi kunengozi yokuba umazabalazo wehluleke kulelizwe. Uthe lababantu bayaziwa yilabo abayizisebenzi kulelizwe wathi bafika phakathi kwazo ngenhloso yokuzophemba imikhankaso yokuduba, ukuteleka futhi bafike nezigebe nguzokwesabisa labo abangavumelani nabo.

Uthe abantu abakhanakasela ukuba lelizwe linswinywe ngezomnotho yilabobantu abasebenzisa umbusazwe wokwesabisa futhi abahambisanayo nokuba izinkinga zakulelizwe zixazululwe ngendlela yendluzula. Uthe lababantu batshela umhlaba ukuthi abantu abamnyama kulelizwe

Iphela ekhasini 3

Pa. 1 of 2

Luchithiwe unswinyo

Isuka ekhasini 1

sebeqoke ukusekela ukubhoniculwa kwezikhonkwane zomnotho kanti sebezimisele ngokuhlupheka okukhulu njengoba belahlekelwa yimisebenzi yabo.

Ngesikhathi ebuza ezihlweleni ukuthi ngabe wenza iphutha yini uma etshela umhlaba ukuthi abantu abamnyama bakuleli kabahambisani nonswinyo bezwakale besho ngazwi linye bethi usuke ekhuluma lokho okusezinhliziyweni zabo futhi bathi namanje bayaluchitha unswinyo.

Uqhube wathi uhlala ewutshela umhlaba ukuthi abantu abamnyama kabahambisani nonswinyo wathi ubuye abatshele ukuthi nxa kunganda imisebenzi kubantu abamnyama kunganda futhi kuqine ukuphikiswa kobandlululo kuleli. Uthe umhlaba uyawutshela ukuthi abantu abamnyama abangaphakathi kuleli bazolugeda ubandlululo ngisho noma uMongameli wakulelizwe uMnuz P.W. Botha uyathanda noma akafuni.

Uthe kulezizinsuku ezimbalwa ezidlule kunebandla elikhulu lezithunywa ebeli-

seYurophu ngenhloso yokuyokhuthaza abaholi bakhona ukuba baliqinise unswinyo kodwa zahlangabezana nemibizane ngesikhathi uNgqongqoshe wezangaphandle eBrithani ekwenqaba ukukwamukela lokho obekufunwa yilezizithunywa. Uthe phakathi kwalezizithunywa bekukhona ebezimele iNgqungquthela yabaBhishobhi bamaKatholika (Catholic Bishop's Conference), uMkhandlu wamaSonto akuleli(SACC) kanye nabebemele iBandla lamaWeseli.

Ubuye wezwakalisa isidingo esikhulu sokuba kube khona ubunye phakathi kwabamnyama wathi kuyamehlula yena njengomholi ukuthi noma ngubani ozibiza ngomholi wehluleka kanjani ukubona ukuthi ubunye phakathi kwabamnyama budingeka kangakanani. Uthe ukuntuleka kobunye kwabamnyama kuleli kudalwa ngabakhulumeli babantu abafana noArchbishop Desmond Tutu kanye nabanye abaholi bamabandla abathi lelizwe malinswinywe ngezomnotho.

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to quote from it on page 26: "In their day-to-day operations, trade unions work within the structure of the economy as it stands. If they want to change the social system, they organise campaigns with that object as a separate activity."

Quite naturally, therefore, the book starts where workers and trade unions are for the time being. It analyses problems facing workers in capitalist countries, socialist countries as well as countries operating mixed economies.

The issues it addresses are arranged as lessons which flow very easily and smoothly into one another. It assumes nothing.

The opening chapter traces the evolution of the WAGE SYSTEM. This is important because an understanding of how a problem arose is crucial for the struggle to remedy it.

BASES FOR FIXING WAGES is an extremely important lesson and comes about at a rather opportune moment. Matters covered under this heading include: A LIVING WAGE; NUTRITIVE NEEDS; COMPARATIVE STUDIES: RELATIVE WAGES; LEAP-FROGGING: EQUAL PAY FOR WORK OF EQUAL VALUE: THE CAPACITY OF THE INDUSTRY TO PAY etc.

Some of the calculations made in order to arrive at a living wage are fairly involved. Reading them, I could not help remembering what Marx said to French socialists who tried to simplify his works so that workers could find them easy to follow: THERE IS NO ROYAL ROAD TO SCIENCE. ONLY THOSE WHO ARE PREPARED TO TRAVEL THE STEEP ROAD OF STUDY WILL ACQUIRE IT.



CHIEF Buthelezi

BLACK UNITY GREATLY NEEDED — CHIEF

KWAZULU Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday black South Africans would struggle "until apartheid was totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a prayer meeting in Durban for black unity during which he spoke on the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

He said in South Africa, where blacks "were conquered in the land of their birth . . . history demands that we struggle for justice and total equality for all South Africans . . ."

"I tell the world that black South Africa will never ever rest until apartheid is totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi said South Africa was passing through a very difficult phase and that the situation was "very dangerous."

He said sanctions was not the only alternative left and was not the last thing that could be done before "violence overtakes us all to destroy everything."

He told the crowd:

"Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence."

Spokesmen

He told the crowd the issue that confounded the whole black struggle for liberation was that black spokesmen who "represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody; posture as your saviours and speak on your behalf."

He mentioned Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Rev Frank Chikane, SACC secretary general and Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi.

Companies

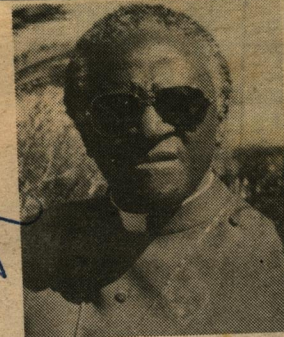
"They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said blacks "would invariably be the first to feel the pinch" of economic measures against South Africa.

"The Government which does not represent us, but which represents white interests, would immediately cut down on black services. They would be stingy on funds for education facilities. They would be stingy on money for health facilities. We would not have money set aside for black housing."

Chief Buthelezi said black unity was "desperately" needed in the country.

He said the South African Government was constitutionally on the run, but "most certainly not on the run from revolutionary attack."



ARCHBISHOP Tutu



ALLAN Boesak



REV Chikane



ELIJAH Barayi

Clash looming between employers and unions

'DAYS OF PROTEST' ROW

SOWETAN - 30 MAY 1988

A SHOWDOWN is looming between major employer groups and two of the country's biggest labour federations over "days of protest" planned for next week.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), has called for three days of "peaceful protest" on June 6, 7 and 8.

The National Council of Trade Unions has, on the other hand, decided on five days of "national protest" starting from June 6 to June 10.

The protests are against the controversial Labour Relations Amendment Bill which, if enacted, will drastically weaken unions by curtailing most of their rights, including the right to strike.

Big business was contemplating taking action against Cosatu, its affiliates and members over the protest, the

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Days of protest' clash

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federation said at the weekend.

Cosatu said a number of companies — including Anglo American Corporation — had indicated that they were

considering legal action "to suppress the protest action".

"These companies have given notice of their intention to take action to suppress the protest action by interdicting the unions, and threatening to punish the unions by suing them for damages," the federation said.

These companies, according to Cosatu, included Sasol, Iscor, Haggie Rand and Gold SA.

Spokesmen for these companies could not be reached for comment yesterday, but a Sunday newspaper quoted an Anglo spokesman as saying the mining group was seeking urgent clarification about "the protest action" from the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Mine-workers.

The Anglo spokesman denied, in the report, that the company intended to take legal action to prevent the protest.

"It's (Anglo) concern with the unilateral action planned by Cosatu and its affiliates is that it should not heighten conflict, lead to violence and promote confrontation with the SA police," the company said in the report.

Cosatu added: "While they claim to distance themselves from apartheid, they are not above using apartheid laws to suppress the limited and peaceful protest of the voteless against measures that directly affect their lives."

Buthelezi makes plea for Black unity, 'equality'

DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday Black South Africans would struggle "until apartheid is totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy".

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a prayer meeting for Black unity in Durban during which he spoke on the issue of sanctions against South Africa.

He said in South Africa, where Blacks "were conquered in the land of their birth . . . history demands that we struggle for justice and total equality for all South Africans . . ."

"I tell the world that Black South Africa will never ever rest until apartheid is totally vanquished and is replaced by a real multi-racial democracy. I tell the world that we will not compromise. We will set-

tle for nothing less than total equality in a multi-racial democracy."

Chief Buthelezi said South Africa was passing through a very difficult phase and that the situation was "very dangerous".

He said sanctions were not the only alternative left and was not the last thing that could be done before "violence overtakes us all to destroy everything".

He told the crowd: "Do you agree with me when I tell the world that it is totally untrue that those who argue the loudest for sanctions most want peace? I tell the world that Black workers know that those who most argue for disinvestment are already committed to the politics of confrontation or are already committed to the politics of violence."

He said he tells the world that in medium and

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long term there was nothing the State President and the ruling National Party could do to stop "the march towards democracy reaching its goal."

"I tell the outside world that it is wrong to decide whether or not to apply sanctions against South Africa on what the State President is doing," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said Black South Africans would remove apartheid and would not let it survive.

He told the crowd the issue that confounded the whole Black struggle for liberation was that Black spokesmen who "represent nobody and who are answerable to nobody, posture as your saviours and speak on your behalf."

He mentioned Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, Rev Frank Chikane, SACC Secretary General and Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi.

"They stomp the world speaking on your behalf calling on foreign companies to withdraw from South Africa".

Chief Buthelezi said Blacks "would invariably be the first to feel the pinch" of economic measures against South Africa.

"The government which does not represent us, but which represents White interests, would immediately cut down on

Black services. They would be stingy on funds for education facilities. They would be stingy on money for health facilities. We would not have money set aside for Black housing."

He added: "We are already suffering because of the government giving less money for all these things that Blacks need so desperately. We already have huge backlogs which are not suffered even by our Indian and Coloured brothers to the same extent."

Chief Buthelezi said Black unity was "desperately" needed in the country. — Sapa.

Mauritius walk out at OAU meeting

ADDIS ABABA. — Mauritius, protesting against criticism of its links with South Africa, on Saturday stormed out of the closing session of an African summit which called for intensified armed struggle against apartheid and Pretoria's rule in South West Africa.

"We came here to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), not to be insulted ... I have no alternative but to

walk out of this closing session," Foreign Minister Satcam Boolell told the few heads of state left in the Ethiopian capital.

A report by the OAU liberation committee cited Mauritius as one of three OAU member states collaborating with the Pretoria government through trade and other ties. The others were the Seychelles and Equatorial Guinea.

Mr Boolell said Mauritius had asked for the reference to be deleted and was making the protest because the conference had ignored its request. The accusation was "self-righteous and hypocritical".

OAU Secretary-General Ide Oumarou described the walkout as deplorable but gave no explanation why the report did not name other African states which have failed to cut ties with South Africa in protest at its apartheid policies.

Mauritius allows South African Airways to land at Plaisance Airport on its way to and from the Far East; South African companies have invested in hostels in the Indian Ocean state and, like most countries in Southern Africa, it buys large quantities of South African goods.

The new OAU Chairman, President Moussa Traore of Mali, told a post-summit news confer-

ence that the liberation committee had not condemned the three states but had merely expressed concern at their South African links.

"If we close our eyes to such realities and truths, we would be colluding with apartheid," he added.

Resolutions passed by the 30 heads of state and government who attended the three-day meeting call for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa and ask member states to support the three OAU-recognised movements — the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa and SWA's Swapo.

They deplored British and American use of the veto in the UN Security Council to thwart attempts to make sanctions legally binding.

The conference invited member states to follow the example of Tanzania and Zimbabwe and open talks with the frontline countries on security assistance. Tanzania and Zimbabwe have sent troops to Mozambique to fight the rebel Mozambican National Resistance and protect important installations.

Sapa-Reuter.

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THE CITIZEN COMMENT

30/05/88

How cute!

HOW cute of Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Wynand Malan.

They weren't going to meet the ANC in Lusaka. Well, that was true, wasn't it? They were going to meet the ANC in Frankfurt. So they weren't lying, were they?

Each claims he had his own agenda and that the one had nothing to do with the other.

Which explains, no doubt, why Dr Van Zyl Slabbert had talks with the ANC the day after the NDM had talks with the ANC — nice coincidence — and why five of the NDM delegates attended the Slabbert-ANC talks as "observers".

There were also reports that Dr Slabbert had arranged the NDM-ANC talks, but that was just coincidence, too.

After all, when one is dealing with the ANC, you don't have to be too forthcoming about your intentions.

Better to keep the newspapers — and the public — guessing about who is going to speak to the ANC, where and when they are going to speak to the ANC, and what the purpose of the talks are.

If, in the process, you set a few red herrings, nobody can accuse you of being devious or of not telling the truth.

However, hoodwinked newspapermen and members of the public won't forget it all in a hurry.

They will remember how a Sunday newspaper breathlessly reported a "Slabbert bombshell" — he was returning to Parliament. This report was "over the top," he told another Sunday newspaper.

In another Prog newspaper Dr Slabbert denied he was "rallying the Left to participate in Parliament" and stated emphatically, "Nor do I intend to go back."

However, the Prog Press quoted Idasa and NDM sources as saying that Dr Slabbert's return to Parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups, trade unions and the UDF.

The sources quoted him as saying he would not return to Parliament under conditions similar to those which caused him to walk out a little more than two years ago.

So in terms of Slabbert Speak, a language of some complexity, a "No" may be a "Yes" or even "Maybe," depending on circumstances — and you can believe what you want to believe.

Denying that he or Idasa officials were going to Lusaka with the NDM last week or in the foreseeable future, Dr Slabbert said he was going to Vancouver, Canada, to receive an honorary degree from Simon Fraser University on June 2 and would be out of the country for three weeks.

He just happened to land up in Frankfurt, it seems, on his way there.

Dr Slabbert also made it clear he was acting independently of the NDM. But according to Prog newspaper reports, "Slabbert, who has had close contacts with the ANC, has acted as an intermediary in preparation for the talks" (between the NDM and the ANC.)

All of which makes the events of last week not just cute but downright strange.

The upshot of the talks with the ANC were as to be expected. The ANC would not end the use of violence, nor would it participate in parliamentary politics.

Nevertheless, Mr Malan intends to hold further talks with the ANC. We hope not.

For one thing, Mr Malan has no mandate from anyone to negotiate with the ANC — he heads a tiny and insignificant party which could not persuade any organisation, still less the tough and ruthless ANC, to change its policies.

Secondly, talking to the ANC gives it a legitimacy it does not deserve (Britain might as well talk to the IRA and Israel to the PLO, even though both, like the ANC, are terrorist organisations).

And, finally, every bomb that goes off — and there were four last week — heightens the revulsion of the great majority of South Africans to any friendly contacts with the ANC while it engages in terrorism.

The sooner Mr Malan understands this the better.

Govt 'rationalising' industrial policy

BUSINESS DAY 30/05/88

GOVERNMENT is revising its industrial decentralisation policy and is likely to adopt a "more rational approach" in the future, according to a top Development Bank official.

Urban policy senior executive Stef Coetzee told a homelands' conference at the weekend decentralisation had achieved only limited success.

Too many growth points had been created, which meant scarce capital was spread too thinly to try to serve too many needs.

Calling for fewer growth points, Coetzee said attention should rather be focused on areas where growth had occurred naturally over time.

But whoever governed SA would still have the "outer peripheral areas" as a reality. If rural populations from the homelands were to migrate to the city, resources would still be required for them.

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Karl Maygar of Wits' Department of International Relations said some foreign entrepreneurs were making profits in the homelands, but mainly from the generous incentives offered by the SA government.

The only solution he could see to the poverty and decline of the homelands was reintegration into SA.

Richard Haines of Unisa's Department of Development Aid and Politics said a diminished sense of responsibility by the state had led to a declining morality of society.

Andrew Matheba of the University of Bophuthatswana's Political Science Department said he saw no hope of countries like Bophuthatswana and Transkei ever being recognised internationally.

Homelands 'serve a function'

THE homelands, seen as autonomous entities, did not compare favourably with even the poorest countries in Africa, but nonetheless had served a valuable political function within the SA system, said Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the weekend.

Speaking at a conference on the homelands, Schlemmer, director of the Wits Institute of Policy Studies, said the homelands should not be re-

NEIL JACOBSON

garded as autonomous areas but as peripherals to core SA.

They had over the years functioned with some effect within the SA political system. Among other things, they had provided forums for alliances with black politicians that would otherwise not have occurred.

BUSINESS DAY

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BUSINESS DAY

MORE than 30 000 Inkatha members in Durban yesterday endorsed KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stand against economic sanctions, rejecting the campaign for world economic isolation of SA by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders.

Inkatha called on Tutu and other clergymen advocating sanctions to consult "the black masses (who) reject disinvestment as a strategy", to ensure their actions were not divisive.

□ □ □

THE ANC has confirmed to NDM leader Wynand Malan it is holding Paul Annegarn, 23, allegedly the fifth member of an all-white Broederstroom ANC cell.

Police reported capturing the other four alleged members of the cell with a huge arms cache on a Broederstroom small-holding near Pretoria on May 8.

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, May 30 1988

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New sanctions will be tough

DIANNA GAMES

THE American Chamber of Commerce has met government leaders, including President P W Botha, to impress on them the seriousness of new sanctions legislation being considered by the US House of Representatives.

Amcham president Ian Leach said South Africans tended to be complacent about sanctions, but government action which inflamed US public opinion could lead to the legislation being enacted in its current form.

Leach told a Press conference on Friday that Amcham members had met President Botha and five SA Cabinet ministers since a five-man Amcham delegation visited Washington last month to lobby US legislators against the imposition of further mandatory sanctions against SA.

Leach warned that any action by SA which further inflamed American public opinion could result in the new Bill, known as the Dellums Bill, being forced through. If the Bill was not dealt with before the US election, it could well be put before a Democratic President, who would not veto it.

The proposed Bill contains what would be the severest measures yet imposed by the US on SA. It includes the prohibition of all US investment, an almost total trade embargo and a provision mandating US action against countries and individual foreign companies which take commercial advantage of the Bill.

The US market was such that any company or country faced with the threat to its US operations due to its direct trade with SA would undoubtedly have no option but to sacrifice its SA trading relations, Leach said.

Leach said the recent restrictions placed on the Press and 17 local organisations had pushed the SA issue back to centre stage. There was also major concern about government's threat to curb foreign funding to local organisations, he said.

The chamber called on government, business and South Africans of all races to appreciate that the means of stopping further punitive measures lay in SA hands.

Non-violent strategy to be debated

Churches meet to thrash out political stance

By Jo-Anne Collinge

An unprecedented two-day emergency meeting of hundreds of church representatives begins in Johannesburg today in an attempt "to develop effective non-violent action to pressurise the South African Government to the negotiating table".

At least 250 delegates from most mainstream churches — Catholic and Protestant — as well as representatives from several of the African independent churches are attending the convocation, which is being organised by the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

The gathering follows the visit of a top-flight interdenominational delegation of church leaders to Europe, where they had an audience with the Pope and urged continued international pressure on Pretoria.

Legitimacy

In a document prepared for the convocation, SACC general secretary, the Reverend Frank Chikane, says that if the church is to minister to the oppressed it will have to take a stance on the legitimacy of the present authorities and consider appropriate steps to be taken if it were to judge the present government illegitimate.

"If the church could approve only non-violent methods it would have to lead the way in proving that non-violence could be effective in removing an illegitimate regime from power.

"But if the church stops at the 'traditional' line where religion is said to end and politics to begin, if it does not cross this imaginary line in order to test its non-violent methods in the field, it will forfeit any legitimate right to condemn those who go further into the arena of life and death for the sake of justice."

SACC vice-president Mrs Sheena Duncan, in the same publication, asserts that non-violent protest action by the churches has been mainly symbolic and sporadic.

"These symbolic actions are important but they are not planned with a fixed goal and an ongoing follow-up. It is only in the last months that the church leaders have become serious and unanimous in the need to act in a focussed,

planned and strategic way.

"This is in contrast to the secular organisations, which have in recent years undertaken very successful actions involving organisation, discipline, courage, strategic planning and considerable sacrifice.

"These actions have been boycotts, non-participation, work stayaways — the withholding of co-operation in many different ways. The success of these strategies is evidenced by the fact that the emergency regulations seek to prohibit non-violent campaigns of all kinds."

Mrs Duncan reviews some of the anti-apartheid actions taken by the church in recent years. These include:

- Resistance to forced population removals, where ministers have sat in vigil with communities to prevent their removal.
- Church delegations visiting Namibia to witness the horror of war and to reinforce the call for the withdrawal of the South African Defence Force from the territory.
- The institution of alternative birth registers for people who do not wish to submit their children for racial birth registration.
- Plans for paid community service within church structures in southern Africa for young men who are unable to face the harsh penalties applicable to conscientious objection and who do not want to "disappear" to Europe or America.

Censorship provisions

- Refusal by the SACC to submit copies of its publication, *Ecunews*, to the Minister of Home Affairs as required under emergency censorship provisions.

The SACC working document for the convocation also makes it clear that the concept of non-violent action is wider than that of civil disobedience. There are, it says, areas of action to be considered by the convocation which would not involve any statutory defiance such as campaigns of non-collaboration with the State.

But under emergency rule many normal campaign strategies have been made illegal. The advocacy of civil disobedience is itself unlawful in terms of the emergency.

The convocation ends tomorrow.

P W warned on severity of sanctions threat to S A

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The American Chamber of Commerce has, in a recent private meeting with President Botha, impressed on him the seriousness of the situation facing South Africa if the new sanctions Bill currently before the United States's House of Representatives became law.

Amcham president Ian Leach said Amcham members had also met five South African Cabinet ministers since a five-man team from the chamber visited Washington last month to lobby United States MPs against the imposition of further mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Amcham, which warned of the gravity of the sanctions threat, said the enrichment of local business by some disinvestment so far had led to South Africans becoming apathetic about sanctions.

Mr Leach warned that any action by the South African Government which further inflamed American public opinion on South Africa could result in the new Bill, known as

the Dellums Bill, being forced through.

It was more likely to remain in its present form if this happened, he said.

Even if the Bill was not dealt with before the United States's presidential election, it was likely it would be put before a Democratic president who would not veto it.

The proposed Bill contains the severest measures ever imposed by the United States on South Africa including the prohibition of all United States investment, an almost total trade embargo and a provision mandating United States action against countries and individual foreign companies which took commercial advantage of the Bill, Mr Leach said.

The United States market was such that any company or country faced with the threat to its US operations due to its direct trade with South Africa would undoubtedly have no option but to sacrifice its SA trading relations.

The chamber calls on the South African business community, the South African Government and indeed South Africans of all races to appreciate the gravity of the situation and to realise the means of stopping further punitive measures against the country lies in our hands,' an Amcham statement said.

● See Editorial Opinion

NATAL MERCURY MAY 30, 1988

70,000 was estimated by other media

The Natal Mercury, Monday, May 30, 1988

5

30 000 reject call for curbs on SA

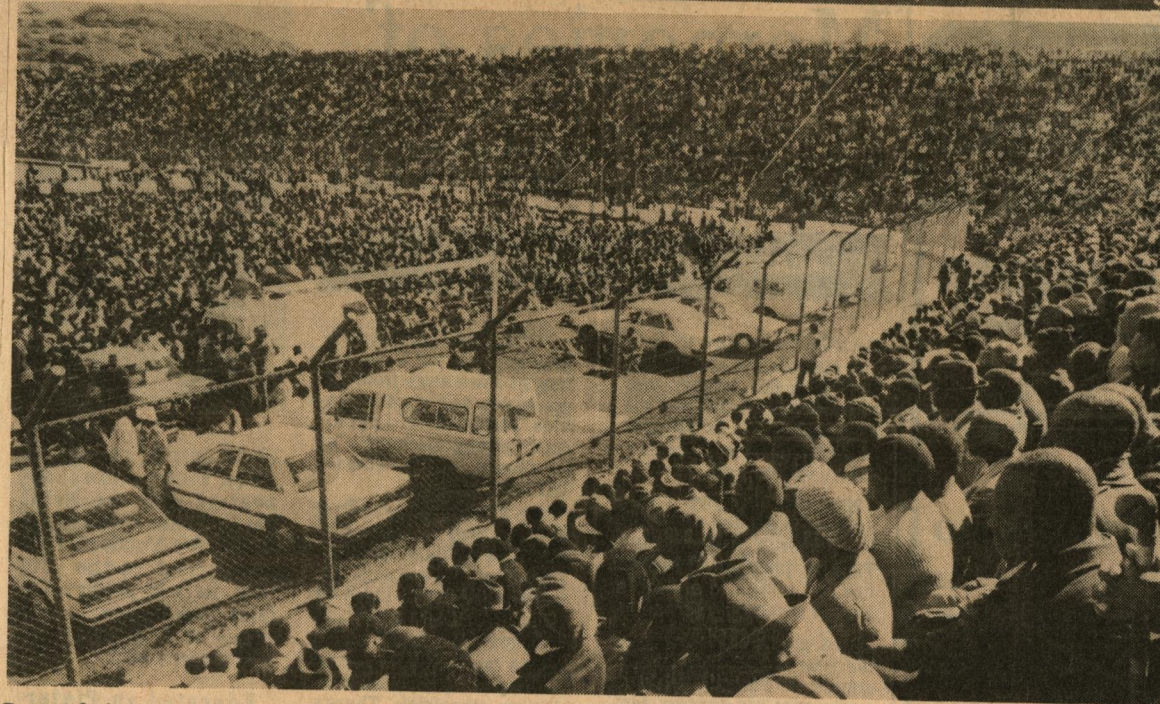
Mercury Reporters

MORE than 30 000 Inkatha members yesterday endorsed KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stand against economic sanctions, rejecting the campaign for world economic isolation of South Africa by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other church leaders.

At a mass rally held in Umlazi to focus on the issue, Inkatha rejected the call to Britain and Western Europe to implement sanctions by the delegation of top South African Church leaders currently touring Europe.

Inkatha called on Archbishop Tutu and every other member of the clergy advocating sanctions to consult 'the black masses in South Africa (who) reject disinvestment' to ensure that their actions were not divisive.

Inkatha said Western governments should help blacks promote economic development to boost employment opportunities as disinvestment was a policy rejected by its



Part of the massive crowd of Inkatha supporters who gathered at Umlazi yesterday to endorse the organisation's opposition to economic sanctions against South Africa.

main victims — the black majority in South Africa.

Addressing the rally, attended by Inkatha members bussed in from as far afield as the Northern Transvaal, Inkatha President Dr Buthelezi said the world was losing faith in peaceful change in South Africa because it saw the reform process as having ground to a halt.

The exponents of sanctions — who sought a violent solution to South Africa's problems — had a field day telling the world that disinvestment was the only non-violent means left of achieving

change in the country.

It was a tragedy, he said, that the West accepted and believed the argument by Archbishop Tutu and other clergymen that all other means of achieving the end of apartheid had failed, as sanctions created untold suffering for blacks.

Other sanctioners such as US Senator Edward Kennedy dismissed and ignored black rejection of sanctions to make political gains at the expense of blacks.

Black workers themselves had rejected the support for sanctions and disinvestment

by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and had formed the United Workers' Union of South Africa to represent the aspirations and opinions of workers wanting to retain the free enterprise system.

Dr Buthelezi, on the other hand, called for increased Western economic involvement in South Africa and constantly told the world that more employment increased black bargaining power thus strengthening black opposition to apartheid.

'I say to foreign Governments: drop this disinvest-

ment issue; stop dragging the suffering of blacks in South Africa into West European and North American party politics,' he said.

'They must let black workers fight for one South Africa with one Parliament resting on universal adult franchise without dividing them one from the other by feting celebrity spokesmen who have no constituencies.'

Dr Buthelezi's address was punctuated by roars of approval from the hordes of chanting, stick-wielding supporters.

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Soweto Council has refused to allow religious leaders to use Jabulani amphitheatre for a prayer service marking the end of an emergency meeting of 250 church representatives, a South African Council of Churches (SACC) staff member said at the weekend.

The Star was unable to obtain comment from the Soweto Coun-

Council puts bar on SACC prayer service

THE STAR 30/05/88

cil at the time of going to press.

The prayer service, scheduled to take place at 1 am tomorrow, will now be held at Regina Mundi church, Rockville, Soweto.

The SACC source said the reason given for refusing them use of the

venue was that the SACC had failed to seek magisterial permission to hold an outdoor gathering.

Outdoor meetings have been outlawed for the past 12 years, but bona fide church services are exempt from the ban.

Invitations to tomorrow's gathering describe it as a "service of witness and solidarity ... where we as people of God will pledge solidarity with church leaders in their deliberations and action in the present crisis and our commitment to fulfilling the task of the confessing and prophetic church in South Africa".

The convocation of church leaders preceeding the service begins today in Johannesburg.

OAU celebrations hide many problems

THE STAR
30/05/88

The streets of Addis Ababa are illuminated with coloured lights, like Christmas decorations, for the 25th anniversary summit of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

But the celebratory cutting of cakes and planting of trees are in sharp contrast to the vicious battles taking place 600 km to the north, as the Ethiopian Army attempts to reverse the recent successes of the Eritrean and Tigrean secessionist movements.

One in five of the OAU's 50 member states are involved in civil wars or border disputes, and its objectives of peace, prosperity and unity appear no closer than they were in the heady days of 1963. The issue of South Africa and Namibia is probably the only thing that keeps the grouping together.

Thirty heads of state have arrived for the summit. Many are reluctant to be away from their capitals. Of the 32 "founding fathers", two-thirds were ousted in coups.

Some of Africa's leaders are known to have little time for the OAU's feeble resolutions, dictated by the rivalries and political differences between most of the members. Several are expected to leave early. As President Babangida of Nigeria said: "There is only one thing on which we are all agreed — the total liberation of Africa."

Although the final resolutions are not expected until the weekend, most of them can be safely predicted. They are almost the same every year, and little action results.

In the lead will be calls for comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and increased support for the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and Swapo, although members are currently R26 million in arrears to the liberation fund.

There will also be a renewed appeal for an international conference, first proposed in 1985, on Africa's R400 billion debt. Many African countries have shrinking economies and are unable to service their debts.

The call will be associated with proposals for increasing trade between the African states, although this currently accounts for only four percent of total external debt.

The real figure is probably higher, due to the smuggling which is a feature of nearly every African border, but the goal of an African economic community is still far away.

There may be progress in some of the continent's civil wars and border disputes. The *ad hoc* committee on Chad, which helped to arrange a ceasefire between Libya and Chad last year, may make further gains. — The Times News Service.

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