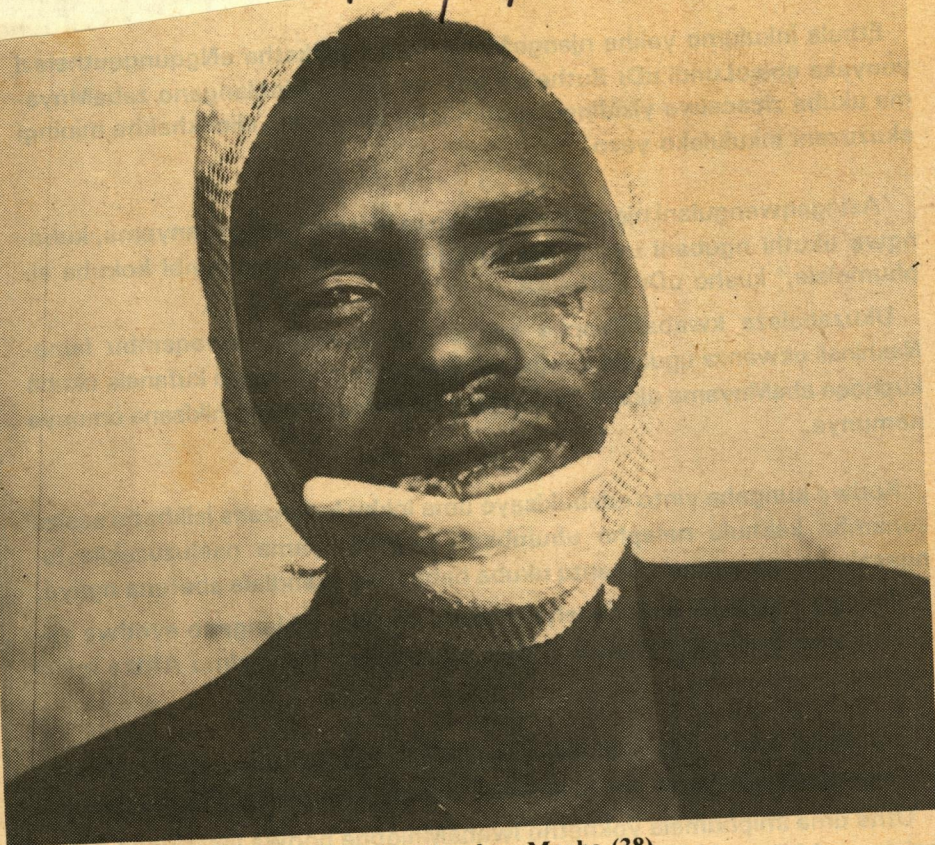


16/7/1



UMnuz Makhwelase Mzobe (38)

Isithombe: Bongani Shoba

# Ulunywe zigebengu zimbamba inkunzi

UMAFRIKA 18/07/87

Ngu: Bongani Shoba

UMLISA oneminyaka engama-38 ubudala waseMvumvini KwaDumisa ulunywe udebe lwangenzansi zigebengu ebezizama ukumbamba inkunzi NgoLwesihlanu olwedlule.

UMnuz Makhwelase Mzobe, uthi kakholwa namanje uma ezibuka esibukweni ukuthi nguye lona osehlephuke udebe, nokho ubonga khona ukuthi usaphila.

Lomshophi uthi umvelele esendleleni elibhekise ekhaya kade evakashele umngane wakhe lapho kade sekuthanda ukwahlala wavukelwa ngabantu abathathu ababe sebemfuna imali bemkhombe ngommese kanti omunye ubelokhu em-

gqula ngobhushu ngemuva.

Uthi ubatshele ukuthi kanamali njengoba engumuntu ongasebenzi base besondela kakhulu kuye besho nokusho ukuthi ulibuka okokugcina.

“Yingalenkathike lapho ngizame ukuphulindlela ngibaleke kodwa bangithela phansi, omunye wabe esephezu kwami. Ngizamile nami njengendoda ngambamba kambana lapho ngizwe ngamazinyo ebusweni kanti usengilumile.

“Kuqhamuke imoto ngalesosikhathi, babe sebebaleka, okube ngukusinda kwami,” usho njalo.

Welashwe amanxeba okulunywa odebeni olungezansi esibhedlela saseRenishaw wadedelwa. Indawo yaKwaDumisa isidumile ngobugebengu obunjengalobu.

# Kuza amanye

UMAFRIKA 18/07/87

## amaxoxo ne-ANC

16/1/11

EDAKAR: Amanxusa aseNingizimu Afrika aphezu kwamaxoxo ne-ANC lapha asho agomela ukuthi azophinda futhi abe namanye amaxoxo nenhlango eseyavalwa kuleli, naphezu kokuba asolwa ngokuthi angabakhapheli.

Amanxusa lawa abenokushaqeka ngenhlela lamaxoxo athathwe ngayo kwelaseNingizimu Afrika.

Amanye aswele ukukhipha izingane zawo ezikoleni ngenxa yezinsongo ezivele ezinhlanganweni eziphambene nalamaxoxo okuthi zona lamaxoxo ziwathatha njengento engencane neze.

Amalunga angama-59 alamanxusa kanye namalunga ayi-17 e-ANC akhiphe isitatimende esihlanganyelwe ngeSonto leli layizolo ngesikhathi kuphethwa amaxoxo athathe izinsuku ezine uDr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert awabize ngokuthi "ngumhlango ongakwayelekele wemibono ngezindaba eziningana ezisemqoka."

Isitatimende siqhubeke sathi: "Abebekulomhlango akukho olunye ngaphandle kokuthi bacacelwe yikuthi labo ababambelele obandlululweni ukubakhona kwaleliqembu emaxoxweni bakuthatha ngokuthi kuyisenzo soku-khaphela, hhayi njekuphela umbuso wobandlululo, kodwa ngisho noku-khaphela umphakathi wamaBhunu. Lokhu kuyaphikwa kakhulu yileliqembu."

### Abagquniwe

Akungangokuthi kukhona isidingo sokuba kubekhona futhi okunye ukuxhumana, kodwa nangokunjalo futhi kukhona isidingo sokuba abaningana baseNingizimu Afrika bangene shi kulamaxoxo. "Okuyikhona okubekhona ukuzihlupha ngakho kakhulu kuvele ekuzimiseleni kwe-ANC ukuqhubeka nokugxilisa kakhulu umzabalazo wezikhali," kusho kanjena isitatimende.

"Iqembu leli lilamukele iqiniso lomlando womzabalazo wezikhali futhi naphezu kokuba bengakusekelanga bonke lokhu, bonke abebekhona bazwakalise

ukuthinteka kakhulu mayelana nokudlona kodlame.

"Futhi-ke, bonke abebekhona bakhanyelwe yikuthi umthombo wodlame kwelaseNingizimu Afrika uvela eqinisweni lokuthi ukusebenzisa impoqo yisona sisekelo sempilo nokusebenza kokucindezelwa kwesinye isizwe ngesinye."

Sibuye sengeza nangokuthi bonke abebekhona bazwakalise ukukhetha ukuba kutholwe ikhambi ngokuba kuxoxiswane kwelaseNingizimu Afrika.

Okuyikhona kusemqoka nokusisekelo salokhu kuxoxisana yikuba kukhululwe ngaphandle kwemibandela iziboshwa zezepolitiki, abagquniwe nokuba kuvunyelwe izinhlangano zezepolitiki ezivaliwe.

UDr Slabbert uthe ayikho into entsha "ekwakheleni ugazi olubi" lamaxoxo.

"Okunye okwenze ukuba ngiphokophelele ukuba kubekhona lamaxoxo yikuba ngikhombise abaseNingizimu Afrika ukuba bangamaninje bemukele lokho okushiwoyo kodwa bahambe bayozitholela bona amaqiniso.

"Ukungaqondi okuningi kuxazululiwe. Ezweni lapho kugcwele khona ukungaziswa njengoba kufanele, lokhu kuyinto edingeka kakhulu."

UDr Slabbert ngokubika kwephephandaba lesilungu iNatal Mercury, utshele abomsakazo waseBrithani ngeSonto leli layizolo ukuthi ukwethembeka kwe-ANC akuzukwakhiwa yiqembu labaMhlophe baseNingizimu Afrika elixoxo nayo.

"Banezikhungo emazweni angama-33, bakhuluma namakhanda emibuso. Ngokunjalo ukuthi thina singabenza bethembeke ngaphezu kukaShultz (ongu-Nobhala woMbuso waseMelika) kumbe uLynda Chalker (weHhovisi lezangaPhandle kwelaseBrithani) kubukeka kuwukucabanga okusahlaya."

Lokhu ubekusho ephendula umbuzo wokuthi leliqembu lizokuphendula kanjani ukubekwa icala lokuthi lenza yethembeke inhlangano yamaphekula.

# Fourth man detained in kidnap plot

W/MERCURY  
18/07/87

LONDON—A fourth man has been arrested and is being questioned in connection with a conspiracy to kidnap members of the ANC, Scotland Yard said yesterday.

A Scotland Yard spokesman said the man was arrested by police in North Wales on Thursday and had been brought to London for questioning.

'The man is being detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. At this stage no charges have been made against him,' said the spokesman.

He said he could give no further details.

Three white men appeared before a London magistrates court on Thursday to be charged with conspiracy to kidnap ANC members.

They were named as Frank Lynge Larsen, 53, John Terence Larsen, 27, and Jonathan Richard Wheatley, 28.

The nationalities of the trio were not disclosed in court, but BBC Television said one of them was under-

stood to be British.

Police said yesterday they were still checking the men's personal documentation.

The charges laid against the men related to alleged conspiracy to carry out kidnappings in London between October last year and last Friday.

And in Pretoria Sapa reports that a spokesman for South Africa's National Intelligence Service has denied allegations that South African security services were involved.

The allegation was made in yesterday's issue of the London Daily News.

The newspaper said agents employed by the South African Bureau for State Security planned to use Britain as a base for attacks against the ANC.

The Bureau for State Security's (Boss) name was changed to the Department of National Security (Dons) several years ago, and later to the National Intelligence Service (NIS). — (Sapa-Reuter)

16/1/11

THE INDEPENDENT

HUGH ROBERTON



# ANC must face 'new capitalism'

*1/4c STAR*  
*18/7/87*

PERHAPS the most important message to the ANC this week came not from the 54 white South Africans who have been talking to it for the past few days — useful as their endeavour undoubtedly has been — but from a bespectacled businessman in Johannesburg.

The message was that the socialist (some would say Marxist) ideological outlook of the ANC is either going to have to change to accommodate capitalism, or the organisation is going to run the risk of being outmanoeuvred and eclipsed inside South Africa.

The idea is startling, even revolutionary, though not conveyed in such terms by Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American, when he explained why the country's largest company had decided to give shares to its workers — more than 250 000 of whom are black.

"In South Africa," he said, "the wealth-creating processes of the First World must arrive at a durable synthesis with the needs and aspirations of the Third."

"This is surely consistent with the world trend away from centralist socialism on the one hand and rigorous capitalism on the other, to something in-between, founded not on ideology, but on pragmatism and deriving strength from the fact that it seems to work."

As Mikhail Gorbachev has shown in the Soviet Union (and his counterparts in China), there is a fundamental move away from the sort of socialist and Marxist dogma of the 1950s, which was the ideological midwife of the modern ANC and in which the movement (and so many other liberation movements) remain mired.

And as the United States, Western Europe and Japan have shown, the trend towards giving workers a major (sometimes even a majority) stake in the enterprises they work for, has created a new economic phenomenon, loosely termed "participatory capitalism". The shop stewards of yesteryear have been replaced by workers in the boardrooms.

No doubt some would argue that simply giving 230 000 people out of 27 million a few shares in Anglo is not going to deflect the ANC (and PAC) from sticking inflexibly to the doctrines which seemed eternal truths when the Freedom Charter was drawn up.

Anglo was far from being the first South African company to move in this direction. Pick 'n Pay and several others did so a while ago. Many more are thinking along these lines. Anglo's lead will make the same sort of move unavoidable for many others.

## BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Several multi-nationals, like Ford, that pulled out because of sanctions pressure, made the sale of shares to black workers a feature of their withdrawal.

So, we are looking at a potential black middle class of many millions who would be shareholders, home owners, car owners, company directors and managers — many millions who would not look benignly upon an ideology which everywhere else in the world has failed.

But will it ever be possible for the "haves" of the black community to outweigh the "have-nots"; will the "have-nots" not always be more likely to support the 1950s socialism still purveyed by the ANC?

Probably, but assuming an ANC government came to power on the wings of just such a "have-not" majority, could it afford to risk a showdown with the "haves", who would have the wealth, expertise and power to make or break their rule?

Would it not make a lot more sense to recognise the dynamic changes taking place within socialism and capitalism and seek an alliance with the "haves" — including, perhaps, a far greater number of influential white "haves" who might then feel less threatened by the concept of black majority government?

Knowing a number of the ANC's decision-makers, I would hazard a guess that their response to the "new capitalism" will be flexible, more especially when the "new capitalism" itself comes into conflict — as inevitably it must — with apartheid.

Apartheid, in fact, is the grand loser in the economic strategy outlined by Mr Relly because, ironically, it is rooted in an economy with many of the embellishments of old-style Marxism, such as centralised and official price fixing and production controls, state ownership of key industries, state control over industrial development and planning, a bureaucracy which is comically obese and inefficient, and many other features which Mikhail Gorbachev is trying so hard to eliminate.

What seems most likely to evolve as blacks climb the "new capitalism" ladder of wealth (and, therefore, power), is a society whose unity is found on levels never previously explored in South Africa; a society where race will not be a deciding factor in drawing people together, and a society where other shared interests will predominate.

# Spotlight on Dakar: readers favour talks with ANC

Most of the respondents to The Saturday Star's "Speak Out!" last night favour negotiations with the African National Congress and many said that, if they had been part of the recent delegation to Dakar, they would have questioned the organisation on violence.

Two readers, however, were vehemently opposed to the Dakar visit. One called it a "lot of hogwash". Another thought the South African Government had had plenty of opportunity to negotiate, but that it "blew its chances and opted for violence" itself.

A third called for "positive information" on the ANC. A selection of the responses were:

**Mr Salim Essop, Lenasia:** I would have told the ANC to carry on as they are doing at the moment because, when this Government had the chance to negotiate peacefully, they blew their chances and instead opted for violent suppression and they jailed people indiscriminately. Now that the boot is on the other foot, we are all trying to negotiate with the ANC. Oppressive governments only fall with violence and that goes back

## SPEAK OUT!

to time immemorial.

**Mr Israel Sithole, Sebokeng:** I would tell the ANC to send an open invitation to the South African Government to hold negotiations with no strings attached. It should also make a statement regarding the violence which is taking place among the black organisations. This would make it clear to the masses whether it is the ANC which is obstinate or whether it is the South African Government.

**Mr Julian Tweedie, Port Elizabeth:** If I was in Dakar with the ANC leaders I would say "Leave good South Africans alone". This Dakar business, to me, is a lot of hogwash. The ANC is just a political group, a terrorist group. The delegates should rather have paid more attention to the plight of the elderly in their own country. I'm talking about the elderly Europeans, who are battling, let's face it.

**Mr Ebenezer Maxhwane, Kagiso:** The decision to hold a summit meeting with the ANC was correct. Violence cannot solve our problems. We need negotiation with the ANC because it plays a very important part in South Africa. We need to persuade them that they are on the wrong track.

**Mr Ronnie Mathabathe, Ratanda:** I would have asked the ANC to stop for a short period and wait for our honourable President Botha to release all the political prisoners and allow all the exiles to return.

**Mr Derek Weinberg, Bramley:** I would have asked them why, if they are so much into democracy, they are killing the black community who are opposed to them. You cannot blame white people in this country for being afraid of black rule because the record of African democracy and government throughout Africa leaves a lot to be desired.

**Miss Barbara Joubert, Rosettenville:** The biggest problem facing the ANC is the lack of adequate positive

publicity, giving accurate information about their aims. There are quite a lot of white people who do support them but when bombs go off affecting soft targets, they get a bad name.

**Mr Raseek Ebrahim, Actonville:** I would demand the following of the ANC: The complete eradication of communism, disinvestment, necklacing and any form of violence. Multiracial government with rights of minorities would have to be guaranteed. The Afrikaner bullies should be handled with kid-gloves because they are confused and, at the moment, very, very scared. I would say talk with Van Zyl Slabbert, Chris Ball and Yusuf Surtee but not with Amichand Rajbansi.

**Mr "K S" Mathivha, Sebokeng:** The Dakar meeting is a call to the Botha regime and the international community to make conditions bearable for negotiated settlement in South Africa. We regard you, the ANC, as the legitimate representative of the black majority in South Africa. We want the people to govern and run the country democratically.

# Slabbert is adamant

## Idasa group says it won't be put off after African tour

18/1/82

THE SATURDAY STAR'S  
AFRICA  
NEWS SERVICE  
AND SAPA-REUTER

ACCRA — White South African liberals and black nationalist members of the African National Congress (ANC) left Ghana yesterday for Burkina Faso on their way to their respective homes after a controversial tour of West Africa.

The South Africans could face reprisals on their return to South Africa, where the whites have been accused of treason by extreme right-wing organisations.

The South African Government has indicated its disapproval of last week's talks on the future of South Africa between the group and the ANC, which Pretoria regards as a terrorist organisation.

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, the leader of the white South African group, said in an interview that the visits to Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana have been "a mind-blowing experience for all of us, just to find out how much we identify with Africa. These have been the most hectic 10 days of my life."

### MORE COMFORTABLE

Dr Slabbert, who is now head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), said he felt more comfortable in West Africa than in Europe. "This is the continent on which I was born and grew up," he added.

He said he did not believe South Africa would become communist under black majority rule led by the ANC because Africa did not lend itself to dogmatic ideologies.

"Africa would borrow from this or that, and maybe make some mistakes, but Africa has her own identity," Dr Slabbert said.

Members of the anti-apartheid movement inside South Africa would not allow the state of emergency to intimidate them into inaction, he said.

"The meeting with the ANC has taken place in spite of the emergency. Regardless of the consequences, we are going back home," he added.

Talks between the Idasa group and the ANC culminated last week in the Senegalese capital Dakar with a declaration denouncing apartheid and calling for the release of political prisoners in South Africa, and recognition of the ANC.

Some members of the group, which comprises politicians, businessmen, academics, and artists live in exile and will not be returning to South Africa.

The group, which spent two days in Ghana, met Ghanaian leader Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings and other government officials.

On their arrival in Accra they declared themselves unafraid of confrontation with the South African authorities and of the possible consequences of their defiant West African tour.

"That confrontation has been there all along and some of us have been in jail several times for our stand against apartheid.

"There are some serious radicals among us and, if we are afraid of confrontation, we will not take any initiative at all," Dr Slabbert said.

The main aim of the tour was to gain experience of other African countries, go back home and adopt "multiple strategies" aimed at dislodging the apartheid system and bringing about a non-racial democratic society.

Dr Slabbert was quoted as saying the dismantling of apartheid would be the most painful act of decolonisation yet to be achieved in Africa.

According to local reports, he told a public meeting that there must be no illusions about the "strength of the enemy" as it was growing tougher each day.

He reportedly said that Pretoria was, however, vulnerable because the Government had already lost the support of the people as well as the moral and ideological battle.

He called for "a meeting of minds of those opposed to apartheid to find alternatives to the system".

He reportedly also emphasised the need for continuous contact between South Africans in exile and those in the country to abolish apartheid.

### BANNED

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's information director who is leading the ANC group on the tour, also addressed the forum but cannot be quoted as he is banned in South Africa.

● The Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging announced yesterday that it will "get" Dr Slabbert at Jan Smuts Airport when he returns.

The organisation said in a statement it had sent a telegram to Dr Slabbert which read: "We will get you Monday morning at 10h00 at Jan Smuts Airport's international arrivals hall — AWB."

Asked what the AWB meant by the message, AWB sources said: "Watch us."

# Life less taxing in ANC kraal

*The STAR 18/1/87*

**T**HE Van Zyl Slabbert trek by Afrikaners to Dakar for talks with the ANC didn't surprise Oom Schalk Lourens: the Boer Volk have always moved on when circumstances around them have become too uncomfortable, he maintains.

Paying taxes to the English in the Cape was enough for Andries Potgieter and Sarel Cilliers to inspan and trek north, even though it meant such hardships as dismantling their wagons and getting the Hottentots to carry them over the mountains, although Fanie Kruger says paying taxes anywhere is a good reason to trek.

Of course, he says, there are always people who make snide remarks about the way the Volk evade needless interference by authority, like the time before there were tarred roads in the Transvaal and he pointed out to a group of English tourists the route Louis Trichardt's trekkers took when hauling their dismantled wagons over the Soutpansberg, and one of them couldn't resist saying: "I don't blame them for not wanting to travel on these dusty roads."

But, as we all know, there was no need for Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and his trekkers to have gone all the way to Senegal, even if they did so by jet instead of oxwagon, because there are plenty of blacks here who need a good talking to.

It is in our nature, however, to find a way of escaping unpleasantness by suddenly remembering when we see the tax inspector coming in the distance that the borehole pump on the bottom land needs fixing, or it is time to look for stray cattle on the far side of Abjaterskop. The fact that "'n Boer sal altyd 'n maak plan maak" proves an ability to improvise.

The reason we spend so much time in the shade on the stoep deep in thought drinking coffee, leaving the menial work of making the coffee to the womenfolk or the blacks, is because we are always wrestling with some problem or another and don't rest until we find a solution.

Look at the clever way the rugby selectors came up

## CABBAGES & KINGS

Joe Openshaw



with a way of sparing the Loftus Versveld crowd on Saturday from another boring provincial game by selecting two teams and calling them North and South.

Frans Saaiman, who spends his life sitting on the stoep, except when the tax inspector is in the district, says if you are really looking for strays it is much better to find a place under a shady thorn tree and send the herdboy over Abjaterskop because, in this way, you can think of where else he can look if he doesn't find your cattle on the far side.

On the other hand, he says, anyone in Groot Marico will tell you it is not always a good idea to tax your mind too hard because you could start remembering things you want to forget, like your account at the Indian store at Ramoutsa or the trekseil Basjan Bekker borrowed from you last year and never returned, or worse still, the planting machine you borrowed from him which he asked about only the other day.

Thoughts like these can cloud your mind and prevent you from enjoying the restful midday stillness of the veld, or make you worry about what you'd do if you came face to face with the leopard seen at that very spot last week.

I agree thinking too hard is what leads people to forget there are many obedient blacks still left in this country who don't answer back when you talk to them, or to ignore advice from politicians who say the best way of negotiating with blacks is through the barrel of a rifle.

There are people, too, who say it was unseemly for the Dakar Trekkers to go with their hats in the hands and find the ANC sitting grandly on the stoep drinking coffee and waiting for them.

It must have been pleasant, though, planning a rosy future for this country with the ANC, which is exactly like lying under a suitable tree when there are no tax inspectors in sight, stray cattle to look for, lazy herdboys to reprimand or leopards to worry about.

# Homelands' priorities are home ownership, urbanisation

By TONY STERLING

A MASSIVE campaign for private ownership of homes — seen as a key element in promoting stability — is taking place in the self-governing states (homelands which have not opted for independence).

Because of the scarcity of land for township development in these homelands, much of the development is taking place in townships on trust land provided, serviced and planned by the Department of Development Aid in consultation with homeland governments.

In homeland towns considerable development is also taking place which the Department plans and services after similar consultations.

At the same time, houses which were erected by the government or its agents and rented out for occupation are being sold to the tenants.

And most of these purchases make improvements and additions to these houses, most of which are block-type houses seen in many earlier developments in urban townships.

This, together with the development of dense strips of housing on non-proclaimed land under leasehold or deed of grant, and similar housing in agricultural villages, has made building by far the biggest industry in the homelands, providing thousands of job opportunities.

Urbanisation in and around these territories is taking place extremely rapidly with many towns doubling their populations every few years, causing cities of significance, such as Botshabelo — which is expected to be incorporated into QwaQwa — to arise, which has a population of about 400 000.

Because of the pressing demands to free as much agricultural land as possible in the homelands to produce crops — hampered by the dense population scattered over big areas in typical Third World style — urbanisation is viewed as desirable in accommodating populations.

Through the development of high density housing in towns and cities, planned and laid out in accordance with First World requirements, greater populations can be housed in far smaller areas.

After it became clear that the government could not finance the huge housing requirements in the homelands, private enterprise was encouraged to finance housing in these areas.

An important development was the establishment of companies providing loans for a variety of projects, including housing schemes, in which homeland development corporations have entered into a partnership with private enterprise.

An example of such a corporation is the Gazankulu Finance Company, which is a partnership between the Gazakulu Development Corporation, Trust Bank and Senbank.

It provides loans for housing as well as industrial, commercial and agricultural projects.

Until recently building societies and financial institutions were reluctant to invest in the homelands because of the high political risk factors involved, but this has now been overcome the announcement by the Minister of Development Aid and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, that the government was prepared to guarantee the investments of the societies.

Self-help building schemes for lower income groups, financed by the various homeland governments provide low interest loans of R5 000 to would be home-owners who submit their own plans to the company as a first step.

"We have to admit it was a serious mistake in the past to erect block-type housing of our own design for the people.

"That is not what they want but they are anxious to have homes which they design themselves," said Mr Tommy Gunther, manager of the GFC.

In terms of the self-help schemes, people with basic building skills, hire labour to build houses under expert supervision to ensure quality and standards.

The home owner is free to buy his material from any source, but quality is checked, while homeland governments have numerous building material centres where bricks are manufactured by local labour, and other materials are brought in bulk to make them as cheap as possible, and which are sold at cost.

Stands in townships

planned and serviced by Development Aid are provided at extremely reasonable prices.

Owners obtain full title to their properties in these proclaimed townships.

Considerable building activity was evident at a number of proclaimed townships visited by The Citizen this week as well as improvements to government houses taken over by former tenants.

There are also a large number of housing developments on proclaimed ground for the more affluent.

# Commentary

To Be Equal

18 July 87

## Stop apartheid

John E. Jacob

CHICAGO DEFENDER

(Mr. Jacob is the executive director of the National Urban League, 500 E. 62nd St., New York, N.Y. 10021.)

The movement of American corporations out of South Africa is fast becoming a mass exodus. The latest pullouts, Ford Motor Company and Citibank, are among the world's largest corporations. Their withdrawal suggests that if South Africa insists on maintaining its apartheid policies, it is doomed to economic depression.

Whether the companies that leave do so for moral purposes or for economic reasons, the result is the same — increased isolation of South Africa and its economy.

And the withdrawals will get a further impetus from Rev. Leon Sullivan's recent statement urging total withdrawal of U.S. firms from South Africa and for breaking diplomatic relations with the outlaw state. He also wants a total economic embargo on South Africa until it ends apartheid.

Rev. Sullivan's statement is significant because of his authorship of the Sullivan Code — the code of conduct for corporations in which signers pledge themselves to integrate their operations, help South Africa's Black majority raise its living standards, and implement fair employment and compensation policies.

**But despite the Code, apartheid is meaner and uglier than ever, even with the cosmetic "reforms" implemented by the government. Its failure to secure listing changes in the system has led Rev. Sullivan to move to advocate total withdrawal.**

The Sullivan Code was effective in softening some of the hard edges of apartheid. It led to a sharp increase in Black managerial jobs and to positive improvements in the living standards of some Blacks. As a challenge to the system's segregation mandates, the Code was always a thorn in the side of the apartheid forces.

But despite the Code, apartheid is meaner and uglier than ever, even with the cosmetic "reforms" implemented by the government. Its failure to secure listing changes in the system has led Rev. Sullivan to move to advocate total withdrawal.

The withdrawals and international condemnation are opening wide rifts within South Africa's minority white community. Top business leaders there advocate negotiating with the African National Congress, the outlawed opposition group. And in the recent whites-only elections, some prominent past defenders of apartheid split away from the ruling party to run on more moderate platforms.

And *The Wall Street Journal* recently reported that South Africa's biggest corporation is urging whites to share power with the Black majority, saying that the only choice before them is to negotiate or be doomed.

Those voices of reason may be few, but their numbers are growing. Will they make a dent in the solid wall of apartheid? I hope they will, but their chances depend on continued outside pressures to tumble the walls of apartheid.

The U.S. can certainly help make a difference, by keeping up the direct pressure on South Africa's government, by coordinating anti-apartheid moves with other nations, and by aiding the internal opposition. Increased aid to South Africa's neighbors, who bear the brunt of the struggle, is also necessary.

But while focusing on toppling apartheid, we also need policies that aid the Black majority to govern a modern economy. For apartheid has led to economic, educational, and housing deficiencies among the Black majority that could wind up doing as much harm as apartheid. We need to look further into the future than today's headlines.



## From Africa to Chicago

The Department of Human Services recently hosted a group of public administrators from Africa. Their visit was a part of the "Local Government in the U.S.A." program coordinated by Operation Crossroads Africa Inc. The visitors were briefed on the programs and objectives of DHS and its funding sources, organization and services. Pictured from left are William Todhunter, first deputy commissioner, DHS; Alhaji Bashari Aminu, Zaria, Nigeria; Jefferson Haskins, director of Fiscal Operations, DHS; Elizabeth Hershey, director of Planning and Development, DHS; Steven Mgwadira, Zomba, Malawi; Harold Reid, deputy commissioner, DHS; and Major Emmanuel Osea Bampoh, Asamankese, Ghana. (Photo Courtesy of Javet M. Kimble, DHS)

# Commentary

**Chicago Sun-Times**  
An Independent Newspaper

Robert E. Page, President & Publisher  
Kenneth D. Towers, Executive Editor & Vice President  
K. K. Gaur, Editor of the Editorial Pages

18/07/87

## Act of courage by S. African whites

The recent journey of some 60 South African whites—Dutch-descended Afrikaners—to Senegal represents an act of courage and conciliation. They went to meet with African National Congress people operating a guerrilla struggle from exile against the white minority South African government.

The government denounced the trip, of course, and it is quite possible members of the white delegation will be prosecuted once they return home. Their families have already been subjected to harassment and will probably continue to be harassed and intimidated.

This reaction from other whites, even though hardly unexpected, is unfortunate.

Until just a few months ago, the government of President Pieter W. Botha had been making cautious but significant moves to dismantle apartheid, the combination of law and custom that keeps the races segregated, the majority blacks denied civil and political rights in their own country, and the minority whites in firm control of power. But then Mr. Botha, apparently responding to pressure from the right, started backsliding. With that, whatever hopes for a non-violent evolution that had been generated vanished.

Obviously, the government, adamantly opposed to any dealing with ANC unless the latter renounces violence, still wants to reach some kind of accommodation with people who can be identified as black leaders. The problem with this strategy is that, no matter how individual South African blacks might feel about ANC, any agreement to which ANC is not a party would not be acceptable to them and would lack credibility.

Some South African whites, realizing that the alternative to reform and negotiation was chaos and continued bloodshed, are unwilling to give up the process. It was in this context that they sought, against government warnings, to confer with ANC leaders. The idea was to have at least a meeting, even if it did not at first lead to a meeting of minds.

The whites who went to Senegal are a minority within a minority, a liberal and moderate group in a country where a very large number of whites equate moderation with treason.

This meeting may not have much of an immediate influence on South Africa's political scene or race relations, but it is bound to mark the beginning of a new process that can help enable whites and blacks to look at and deal with each other in a different and, one hopes, productive way.

# Gumede denies a split in ranks of UDF

CAPE TOWN — Mr Archie Gumede, one of the two presidents of the United Democratic Front, yesterday reaffirmed his commitment to the "current non-participation policy" of his movement, lashed out at the "mentally dead who do not question their options" and rejected rumours of a split in UDF ranks.

On July 3 Mr Gumede was reported as saying the UDF ought to give serious consideration to participating in the 1989 parliamentary elections. This led to a flurry of speculation and rumours of rifts within the Front.

"And so? Is thinking and doing the same thing?" asked Mr Gumede, asserting that what he had said had not been a UDF policy statement but his right as "any human to take an objective look at an abstract situation and weigh the options".

"What I said was not policy but clearly my own opin-

## POLITICAL STAFF

ion."

UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia said that the "hysteria" about a split within the UDF was totally misplaced and reflected either "mischief making by those who would like to see the organisation split" or a "total misunderstanding of the dynamics of the UDF".

The body was not an inflexible one and encouraged its members — including Mr Gumede — to put their views to UDF forums, he said.

He was sure that the participation issue would be discussed at some stage but said it seemed unlikely there would be a major departure from policy.

"The situation now is even less conducive to participa-

tion politics than it was in 1983 when we decided after careful debate to boycott the elections."

Mr Gumede did not wish to comment on why Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, had released a statement after the "flurry" which reasserted UDF non-participation policy.

Mr Gumede said, though, that because so much had

been read into his suggestion, a re-assertion of current UDF non-participation policy had been timely.

"What I said originally was: 'Let's have a look at this thing'. I did not say it had been discussed by the UDF either formally or informally. I reject the rigidity of rigor mortis. Flexibility is of the essence and only the mentally dead do not weigh their options."

This, however, did not imply criticism of the Western Cape region of the UDF.

The latest edition of *Leadership* quotes Mr Gumede in a manner which might suggest this: "His (Mr Gumede's) comment on the immediate rejection of participation by the UDF's Western Cape executive was that the region's political antecedents were the Non-European Unity Movement 'which boycotts everything on principle.'"

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

18/7/87

### French farce

RELATIONS with France have predictably deteriorated.

The involvement of Mrs Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand, in the Dakar talks between a South African group and the African National Congress was clearly an intrusion into South Africa's internal affairs.

The decision of President Mitterrand not to accept the credentials of the South African ambassador-designate to France while a French citizen, Pierre-Andre Albertini, is imprisoned in the Ciskei was another affront. Albertini is serving a four-year sentence for refusing to give evidence in a terrorism trial after signing an admission that he was involved in terrorist activities.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha rightly points out that if a South African citizen was sentenced in a former French territory not recognised by South Africa, it would be patently ridiculous to take diplomatic retaliatory steps against France.

President Mitterrand was behaving in "a spiteful and inappropriate manner" for "domestic political gain."

Pretoria has recalled its ambassador-designate, Mr Hendrik Albertus Geldenhuys, Mr Botha saying: "Until the matter takes a different turn, I do not foresee that Mr Geldenhuys will return to France."

South Africa has rightly decided it will not allow him to kick his heels in Paris because President Mitterrand wants to use him as a diplomatic pawn to get Albertini released.

President Mitterrand is saying, in effect: Release Albertini and I'll accept your ambassador's credentials.

It is a laughable proposition, since no country can allow itself to be blackmailed in this fashion.

Furthermore, Ciskei, despite being called by French and other journalists a South African homeland, is independent.

If it wants to release Albertini, that is its own decision.

South Africa cannot and must not interfere. Meanwhile, if France wants its relationship with this country to be soured by the Albertini affair, so be it. Nobody here will have sleepless nights because of this typically French farce.

A prisoner of a different kind is causing renewed friction between South Africa and a foreign country.

He is Klaus de Jonge, who has been a virtual prisoner in the Nedbank Building, Pretoria, for two years after finding refuge in offices formerly occupied by the Netherlands embassy.

To cut down on the number of policemen needed to prevent De Jonge's escape, there has been talk of barring the office windows from the outside.

Nothing has been decided, but the Dutch Foreign Ministry has already protested that tampering with an embassy building would break diplomatic convention.

On the other hand, since the Dutch have moved to a new embassy, keeping the offices as part of the embassy was merely a blatant way of blocking any attempt to arrest De Jonge.

De Jonge's self-incarceration is costing South Africa about R1-million and the Dutch Government half that amount.

South Africa is determined that De Jonge should face charges in a South Africa court relating to his activities on behalf of the ANC (his former wife, Helen Passtoors, is serving a 10-year sentence for treason and the arms network with which they were connected is believed to have been responsible for sending the car bomb that killed 19 people in Church Square, Pretoria).

But having him guarded in his "cells" in the Nedbank Building is far too costly to continue indefinitely.

If barring the windows is possible, well and good.

Better still, the police should let him escape and then catch him.

That way, he would have to stand trial — and the Dutch Government would not be able to continue its deplorable efforts to keep him out of the hands of the police.

# Slabbert says tour was mind blowing

By SAPA and KEITH ABENDROTH

ACCRA. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the South African group which had talks with the ANC, says their West African tour was a "mind-blowing experience."

The White South African liberals and members of the African National Congress left Ghana yesterday for Burkina Faso on their way home.

Dr Slabbert said in an interview that the visits to Senegal, Burkina Faso and Ghana have been "a mind-blowing experience for all of us, just to find out how much we do identify with Africa."

"These have been the most hectic 10 days of my life," the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party said.

Dr Slabbert, who is now head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), said he felt more comfortable in West Afri-

ca than in Europe. "This is the continent on which I was born and grew up."

He did not believe South Africa would become Communist under Black majority rule led by the Left-wing ANC because Africa did not lend itself to dogmatic ideologies.

"Africa would borrow from this or that, and maybe make some mistakes, but Africa has her own identity."

Members of the anti-apartheid movement inside South Africa would not allow the state of emergency to intimidate them into inaction, he said.

"The meeting with the ANC has taken place in spite of the emergency. Regardless of the consequences, we are going back home."

The Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging an-

nounced yesterday it would "get" Slabbert at Jan Smuts airport when he returns.

The organisation said it had sent a telegram to Dr Slabbert which read: "We will get you Monday morning at 10h00 at Jan Smuts Airport's international arrivals hall — AWB."

Asked what the AWB meant by the message, AWB sources said: "Watch us".

Asked whether the AWB would organise one of its demonstrations, the sources said it would not reveal its strategy.

"This man (Dr Slabbert) has problems. He

must take what's coming to him."

The message was sent in Afrikaans, and contains the verb "kry u," which could also be translated as "meet you."

There is however a more appropriate Afrikaans word for "meet", namely "ontmoet".

Police said they would watch the situation, but would probably assume a low profile.

The AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, yesterday condemned Dr Slabbert for his reported statement that he wanted to talk to the AWB. "Our attitude to the ANC is clear — we don't speak to the ANC or its fellow travellers. We fight."

The AWB found it strange that Dr Slabbert had negotiated first with the ANC — becoming a messenger of Communism — and now wanted to speak to the AWB about it.

The AWB found the attitude of the Government equally strange, particularly after every member of the Cabinet had promised during the general election campaign to eradicate the ANC.

Now it appeared that the team of businessmen which saw the ANC in Lusaka had been briefed before going there — and the question had to be asked whether the Dakar team of 65 liberals had also possibly been briefed.

"The fact that the Dakar delegation was permitted to go there to negotiate with the ANC makes us ask if they, too, were not schooled by the Government," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

Whatever the case, the fact was that the Government approved of 65 liberals who had become sacrifices of ANC propa-

ganda returning to the Republic to "reorientate" an innocent people on the "moderation" of the ANC.

A member of the delegation, the Rev Eloff, was already on record as being of the opinion that the "murderers" were "moderate".

Mr Terre'Blanche asked: "And now only he can answer if the ANC plants moderate bombs, and whether or not a moderate murderer is less responsible for his horrible crime than an ordinary murderer."

The AWB had not forgotten the women and children who were killed in Pretoria's Church Street explosion four years ago. And very fresh in memory was the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court blast in which policemen were killed.

"Apparently these things are of no importance to these 65 in their dealings with gangs of murderers," said Mr Terre'Blanche.

"The AWB does not forget atrocities. Dominee Eloff and his people

must tell the relatives of the ANC victims that their loved ones were mutilated and murdered by 'moderates'.

"Is it possible for intelligent people to be so naive?" asked Mr Terre'Blanche.

The question must now

be asked, when the utterances of the ANC's banned Govan Mbeki were being given headline treatment by the 65, whether the government was not now making a complete mockery of its intentions to fight and eradicate the ANC.

Black youth is shown the way back

# Out of unrest — leadership

*like STAR*  
*18/7/87*

## WINNIE GRAHAM

South Africa's black youth, many of whom took a leading role during unrest, are being offered youth leadership training by the South African Association of Youth Clubs (SAAYC).

The programme hopes to provide young people, who have missed the chance of an education because of unrest, an opportunity of developing physically, mentally, spiritually and culturally.

SAAYC has received strong support from the country's top non-racial youth groups as well as from the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO), Azapo and the UDF, all of whom agree that, in addition to their role of protest, the youth should become involved in community reconstruction.

The Anglo American and De Beers chairman's fund has provided the capital enabling SAAYC to launch the initiative, and a fund-raising drive has now been started to collect sponsorship of R736 500 over the next 2½ years.

Mr Dave Jackson, the director of community projects and a member of SAAYC's board, said this week there was little doubt that positive youth leadership training was one of the "most urgently needed initiatives" in South Africa.

Up to the present, the thrust of black youth's leadership had been mainly towards protest, boycott, disruption and anarchic unrest.

"This is understandable given the injustices of the current situation and the high level of unemployment, but in the long run this dynamic must assume a more positive and constructive expression or else a generation will grow up unprepared to assume real responsibility in a more just and free South Africa," he said.

Youth, he added, recognised this necessity but lacked the skills, knowledge and the clear sense of direction to enable them to take effective action.

One of South Africa's biggest problems is not reform, the ANC, unrest, crime, water, housing or terrorism. It is what to do with the many thousands of youngsters who became swept up in the urban violence of the last couple of years, who missed out on an education because of it, and who now need to be absorbed into society and become responsible, contributing citizens. If they are not shown how to live meaningful lives, South Africa's already mounting problems will be intensified by a mass of discontented people venting their frustrations through continuing civil disruptions. Fortunately, a group of concerned citizens has found a solution ... and the Comrades are pitching in and helping.



**REACHING OUT:** Three men are behind the plan to help black youngsters develop their leadership skills. From left: the Rev Joe Tshawane, Mr Alroy Trout and Mr Dave Jackson.

such as anger and disappointment, civic and community affairs such as service projects and world issues, and would be encouraged to develop a strong awareness of environmental issues.

They will be helped in the choice of a career and be taught job-seeking skills. Consumerism, hire purchase agreements, budgeting, time management, relationships, recreational pursuits were among the subjects they would study.

SAAYC believed that the project it had developed "with a great deal of grassroots consultation and carrying the whole-hearted endorsement of black youth leadership" could do much to resolve the problem.

Mr Jackson said the concept of youth leadership training had been initiated at a workshop at the Alpha Centre at Broedersroom in March when delegates were asked to consider the resources needed to make youth programmes effective.

He added: "In short, the delegates said they wanted programmes which would develop the talents and potential of young people, would help them work through the challenges of the teenage years, prepare them for adulthood and would equip them to play a positive and meaningful role in bringing about a just, democratic and non-racial society in South Africa."

The programme would cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from nutrition and language usage through to spiritual values and cultural appreciation.

Young people would be taught how to handle strong emotions

SAAYC plans to run a pilot youth leaders' training workshop. It will also recruit and train a team of five youth field workers to establish and maintain contact with the youth groups in the Johannesburg/Witwatersrand area.

It will develop a number of "model" youth groups in each area to serve as the nuclei for networks of youth groups and as training bases for youth leadership.

SAAYC estimates the continuing cost of the project beyond the initial period will be about R290 000 a year and is asking the private sector and church groups to sponsor the training of selected individuals.

Mr Jackson said SAAYC had no wish to dominate other youth organisations or to create a centralised administration.

"This is probably the secret of the association's acceptability," he said.