

THE CITIZEN

'ANC wants no reconciliation'**Blacks want
orderly reform**

THE vast majority of Blacks would opt for orderly reform in a free enterprise economic system tomorrow if they believed there were any prospects of their gaining complete equality, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Pretoria yesterday.

He told a meeting of top German and South African executives of the motor firm BMW that an enormous amount of goodwill still existed among the country's Black people.

That was why more than 80 000 had flocked to South Africa's by far the biggest May Day meeting to roar their opposition to disinvestment at the launching of the Inkatha-backed UWUSA trade union body.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said that apartheid was no longer viable

because Blacks had succeeded in generating the kind of power which challenged it from within.

Here he was not speaking of the "so-called" armed struggle — Whites could continue to win against this struggle for at least another generation.

In fact, apartheid could not be applied to Black South Africans for very much longer even if the ANC mission in exile were wiped off the face of the earth. "From now on they can only ride on the back of what we do here in this country," he said. "The struggle does not depend on them."

Western advocates of sanctions were blissfully

unaware of this and of the extent to which economic development in South Africa had generated the Black forces which were the real challenges to apartheid.

The Whites' total dependence on Blacks had vastly increased their bargaining power and it was therefore Western investment which was thus participating in the generation of the forces of change.

The complete economic interdependence of Blacks and Whites had now to be translated into political interdependence.

Chief Buthelezi said that it was this Black bar-

gaining power which the ANC mission in exile regarded as most threatening. The organisation did not want the negotiation and reconciliation that this brought.

As evidence, he quoted an official broadcast it had made from Addis Ababa as recently as May 10, in which it denied media reports claiming that there was a possibility of the ANC renouncing the armed struggle unilaterally if the organisation were unbanned and its leaders released.

By its own words the ANC mission in exile was committed to the destruction of the South African economy. Cosatu was committed to the same

destiny... to the country ungovernable. "And they know that they cannot do this by playing marbles," Chief Buthelezi said.

He told the executives he was pleased that BMW was committed to remaining in this country. Nothing could persuade him that capitalism and the free enterprise system were inherently evil.

Capitalism had been exploitive of Black workers in the past because they had no trade unions or political rights. Now that workers could be

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Full statement on latest army raids

The full text of the statement by the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General A J Liebenberg, on the SADF raids in Botswana and Zimbabwe read:

"The Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General A J Liebenberg, has announced in Pretoria that small elements of the army attacked ANC targets in Zimbabwe and Botswana early this morning. The operations were successfully completed. Information from the SA Police played a vital role in this connection.

"The SA forces acted with the utmost caution to prevent citizens of our neighbouring states being injured or suffering damage.

"The following targets were attacked:

"A. The ANC operational centre at 16 Angwa Street in the centre of Harare.

"B. A terrorist transit facility at 19 Eve's Crescent, Ashdown Park, Harare.

"C. A terrorist transit facility situated at Mogaditsane, outside Gaborone.

"The terrorist organisation's declared policy of violence against the RSA is well known to all.

"This terrorist organisation not only commits its acts of violence against all the citizens of the RSA but is arrogant enough to accept responsibility for its deeds in the media.

"Responsible South African leaders have repeatedly stated this country's determination to combat terrorism and leaders of various Western countries have recently done so as well. The Min-

ister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, also referred to this on May 14, 1986.

"The organisation nevertheless chose to continue with its violence, the most recent examples being the mine-planting incident on May 14 near Hectorspruit when two terrorists blew themselves up, and the discovery of a large arms cache on the West Rand.

"Neighbouring countries cannot plead ignorance regarding the presence of terrorists in their countries. During the recent trial in Rustenburg of a Botswana citizen, it yet again became obvious from evidence led that Botswana territory is being used by ANC terrorists.

"It is obvious that Russian mines and weaponry can be brought into South Africa by one route only, namely through our neighbouring states. These states have repeatedly been requested not to provide assistance to terrorists.

"Urgent appeals were made to them to cooperate in this regard.

"The action taken against the terrorists should be interpreted as indicative of the firm resolve of the RSA to use all the means at its disposal against terrorists wherever they may be.

"It is our duty and right to protect our people against this type of terror and we will carry out our duty diligently.

"This action was carried out with the utmost responsibility and only after thorough consideration.

"Further details will be made available later."

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Stalin is still a presence

Reviewed by Guy Halverson of
The Christian Science Monitor

More than three decades after his death, Joseph Stalin's mythic shadow still falls across the Soviet landscape.

Among not a few Soviet citizens, for example, there is a nostalgic yearning for the "good old days" when the global community stood in awe at the enormous power wielded by the Soviet dictator.

Soviet officials, as underscored by Mikhail Gorbachev's muted calls for reform at the 27th party congress, grapple with the need to modernise the nation's cumbersome political and economic system.

This apparatus was given its final shape more by Stalin than by any other of his fellow revolutionaries.

Alex de Jonge's engrossing biography vividly plumbs the character of Stalin, a man of enormous personal contradictions.

Stalin could be pitiless, ruthless. He could also demonstrate genuine interest in the arts, seeing one play 17 times, for example.

MISTAKES

He could make incredible mistakes, from the serious to the trivial — destroying many of his top generals just before World War 2, for instance, and initiating the "great rabbit campaign" during which millions of bunnies were turned loose throughout Russia as a substitute for dwindling meat supplies.

Most of all, he is remembered as a man who possessed unique organisational talents, creating political machinery that survives to this day.

De Jonge's account, coming in a period when books exploring the impact of organisational structure on the individual are pouring out of publishing houses and universities, is a vivid reminder of just the opposite: the impact of the individual on organisation — and history.

De Jonge, unfortunately, has built his analysis of the Soviet bureaucracy on a dubious comparison with a modern corporation.

Stalin, the ultimate collectivist, would no doubt find such a linkage amusing. But not all corporations are pyramidal in structure, as was Stalin's Russia.

Moreover, many corporate chiefs have to account to shareholders. What shareholder would have dared challenge Stalin?

MODERNISE

Still, De Jonge's book is a good read and raises genuine questions — the type, in fact, now raised by Mr Gorbachev.

How can Soviet leaders modernise a society that is based, in part, on its innate inability to modernise in the most fundamental way — that is, provide a greater sense of participatory democracy for its millions of citizens?

Could the system survive if party privilege and elitism were curbed and greater production incentives allowed?

De Jonge's account draws important lessons for nations attempting to coexist with the USSR. In terms of the economic betterment and the day-to-day lives of its people, the Soviet Union has advanced far beyond the Stalin era.

But Soviet dissenters would argue that the Gulags remain and that individualism is no more honoured today than in the Stalinist past.

What does seem clear is that the popularity of the Soviet system runs far deeper into the hearts and souls of the Soviet and Russian past than many Westerners might prefer to recognise.

The system, as was true of Stalin himself, continues to outlast its detractors. In short, then, nations dealing with the Soviet Union must never underestimate its leadership — or its potential.

● "Stalin and the Shaping of the Soviet Union" by Alex de Jonge (William Morrow \$19.95).

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300 whites defy police to pray in Alexandra

By Glenda Spiro

More than 300 whites who responded to an invitation to visit Alexandra township yesterday defied a police threat of arrest if they entered the area. But only two people were arrested.

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), an affiliate of the UDF, called on the public to visit the township to pay respects to people who had "died in the struggle".

The group were stopped by police in Kew, which borders Alexandra.

Police vehicles formed a roadblock on the corner of 2nd and 12th avenues and Jodac representatives were told that no one could enter the area as this was "undesirable", in terms of section 9 of the Black Consolidation Act of 1945.

Lieutenant L J Cole of the Security Police said that in view of "public safety and security" a ban had been issued. He asked the group to leave the area.

Lieutenant Cole said they would be liable to a R500 fine or six months' jail or both.

Written notices were served on two of the representatives, Mr Neil Morrison and Mr Morris Smither's, prohibiting them from entering for three months.

One of the Jodac members, Mr Steve Sadie, was arrested when he raised his hand in front of a camera belonging to the police video unit.

Mr Morrison was later arrested at the township cemetery.

The group defied the ban after negotiating with police for nearly an hour.

As the convoy entered the cemetery, thousands of residents ran singing to the gravesite to welcome the guests. They sang and prayed together.

A teargas canister was fired at the crowd as the group was leaving the graves.

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Fuss over black teachers in Aussie

The Star's Foreign News Service
reports from Sydney

Things have hotted up since Goodooga was named Australia's most boring town last year.

It is now a prominent spot on the map and an embarrassment to the Australian Government because five white families have collectively withdrawn 15 children from the local primary school following the appointment of two black teachers.

A married couple, Christopher and Patricia Tyson, are the first Aboriginal teachers hired at the 125-pupil school in the flat saltbush country of north-western New South Wales.

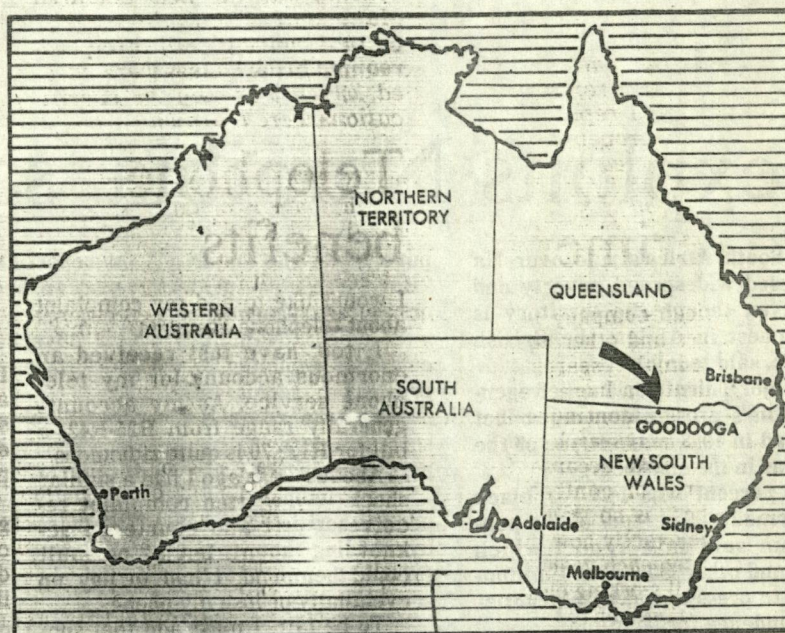
Protesting

About 500 people live in the small settlement and 70 percent are Aborigines. But some members of the white minority are protesting that the school's principal, Mr Peter Wright, has taken racial integration too far.

"We try hard to provide a rich educational, bicultural environment for our students," Mr Wright said. "But some people don't like it."

"Other white families are keeping their children at the school and are upset at the attitude of the five families involved in the boycott."

Mrs Kay Britt, an Aboriginal married to a white man, condemned those who had withdrawn their



children from the school.

"We don't want apartheid in Goodooga. Since Mr Wright became headmaster a year ago he has steadily tried to break down such attitudes. White kids don't get all the prizes any more and some people don't like that."

Mrs Britt said some white families in the town had assumed a superior attitude.

"They are happy being nice to Aborigines so long as it is clearly seen who is boss. It is when there is equality that the trouble starts."

One of the mothers involved in the boycott, Mrs Glenys Edgar, said: "My reasons are personal ones. I like some of the Aboriginal people in the town, so it hurts to be called a racist."

Mrs Edgar, who is a former teacher, wants to educate her three children at home.

But she and the others involved in the boycott have been given no sympathy by the New South Wales Education Department, which says Mr and Mrs Tyson can stay in their jobs.

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SA exploits Namibia, says Oxfam

LONDON — South Africa's rule over Namibia has caused widespread poverty and deprivation even though the territory is among the richest in Africa, the British charity, Oxfam, said today.

Oxfam, a major Third World relief agency, said Namibia's gross national product of R2 518 a head in 1983 made it one of the wealthiest areas in the continent.

But only 22 percent was left for black people who formed 94,5 percent of the population, Oxfam said in a report which urged Britain and other European Community countries to press ahead with negotiations on independence for Namibia.

The South African Government's rule in the territory was declared illegal by the United Nations in 1966.

"There is an urgent need to transform the structures which cause and perpetuate

poverty for the majority," the report said. "But these structural changes can begin only after independence."

It added: "Namibia's people have been endlessly exploited in the interests of the prosperous colonial economy."

"The comprehensive nature of colonial social engineering has affected every important aspect of daily life for blacks."

The principal way in which South African authorities had controlled blacks was by dividing them into "ethnic groups" and forcing them off their land into labour reserves, the report said.

"When we lost our land, we lost our rights, our family way of life, our independence and our culture," was how a black woman farmer described her family's dispossession.

In northern Namibia, 99 percent of black

wage-earners lived below a subsistence level calculated by independent experts, the report said.

It added that, while the mortality rate for white infants was comparable to the world's most developed nations, a black baby was more than seven times more likely to die in infancy than a white one.

In the black and coloured townships around the capital, Windhoek, 50 percent of adults were alcoholics, the report said.

"People turn to drink because they are anxious and there's nothing for them to hope for," Oxfam quoted a social worker in the black township of Katutura as saying.

"Tombo houses (bars) are open from dawn until late at night serving strong, home-brewed beer. It costs only 10 c for a half litre, so it is one of the few things the poor can afford." — Sapa-Reuter.

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EPG returns after secret talks with Tambo

LUSAKA. — The Eminent Persons Group, which is seeking a solution to South Africa's internal problems, returned to South Africa yesterday after holding secret talks in Lusaka with the African National Congress (ANC), diplomatic sources said.

An ANC spokesman gave no details of Saturday's talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo. "We do not know what they discussed and we do not know the contents of the package they brought," he said.

Mr Tambo gave interviews with visiting television journalists earlier yesterday, but declined to answer questions on the meeting with the Eminent Persons Group which is led by former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian Head of State Mr Olusegun Obasanjo.

The group arrived in Lusaka on Friday after newspapers had reported their peace mission was on the verge of collapse.

Diplomatic sources said the seven-member team might return to Lusaka on Thursday, possibly with proposals for the ANC from South African State President P W Botha.

Soften stance

Mr Botha has said frequently that he regarded the banned ANC as a communist-backed organisation, but his government has indicated recently that it might be prepared to soften its

stance of no-negotiations with the ANC.

The mediator's group — a panel of seven "eminent persons" was established as a compromise move at a summit meeting in the Bahamas last year when other Commonwealth nations failed to persuade Britain to join in concerted economic sanctions against South Africa's apartheid system.

They are now on their second round of visits to Southern Africa.

A spokesman of the mediators said that the talks began early on Saturday and ended at around lunch-time in the Mulungushi hall. He said that no more talks would be held with the ANC, which was represented by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and several of his top aides.

Kaunda

The EPG also met Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka.

President Kaunda told the group their effort toward finding a peaceful solution to South African problems was a commendable mission and wished them good luck.

In South Africa, informed sources said they had not met the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Diplomats there say the team seems to have pro-

posed that Pretoria should lift the ban on the ANC and scrap apartheid if the ANC renounces violence and agrees to negotiate.

The team left amid unabated protest violence in which over 1 500 people have died in 27 months — most of them Blacks killed in clashes with security forces.

Diplomats say the Commonwealth team faces an immense task in trying to ring together the ANC, which demands one man, one vote and Pretoria, which rejects Black majority rule.

Rand slide

Senior bank economist Miss Lauretta Gell said in a financial newsletter in South Africa that pessimism over the Commonwealth mission had helped to weaken the South African rand.

The rand, protected by exchange controls introduced after anti-government riots fuelled a run on the currency last year, has slipped this week to 46 US cents from just under 48.

Miss Gell said that a speech by Mr Botha on Thursday, in which he showed no sign of changing his stance, had done little to reassure dealers that the mediators were making progress.

The "eminent persons"

are expected to recommend next month that the 49-nation Commonwealth should impose sanctions on Pretoria unless they can report some success in their mission. — Sapa-Reuters.

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Call for people to set up a new political party

Every sport, every business, every undertaking, thrives on competition. Without it progressive deterioration, complacency, wastage and corruption will set in.

Politics is no exception.

Any Government without threatening and effective opposition is bound to become self-indulgent, thickskinned and no longer serves the people.

On the contrary, it manipulates the people into serving the Government, despite some good intentions.

Here in South Africa the Government laughs at the opposition, calling one side a bunch of constipated

Extend the scope

A draft Bill for Municipal Treasurers and Accountants (*The Star*, May 6) is to be welcomed by all.

But should this Bill not also be widened to include other municipal officials who may be engaged in professional activities — for example, engineers, town planners, architects and quantity surveyors?

A Rosen
Former City Councillor
Johannesburg

READERS' VIEWS

faith healers and the other side wooden-headed fanatics, and the majority of the people are reduced to fence-sitters with a "wait and see" attitude.

The time has come for all thinking, fearless and positive people to form a new party.

It must be a party for all the frustrated and powerless members of existing parties, for all the "wait and see" people and for everyone who is prepared to uphold the pledge: "Fair play and common-sense".

Colour, religion and social standing will become unimportant for people joined together in the logical desire that "may the best man win".

Only a new party can find him.

E J Geiger

Benmore

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The Star

Give the economy room to breathe

SOUTH AFRICA badly needs to boost business confidence. But to do this it needs to boost the confidence of the people, the people who buy the goods, invest in property and plan to send their children to school or university in the year 2000. The most high-powered committee in the land, the State President's Economic Advisory Council (EAC) met last week. One can only hope that its firm recommendation was that the Government should reduce the heavy burden of personal tax and look for ways of reducing the huge public-sector infringement into the private sector.

The Government has been cutting back on capital projects, normally the engine of recovery, while continuing to spend on current expenditure. Public servants, control boards, farmers, defence, constitutional development, homeland subsidies, ideology, "own affairs" administration... the list of millstones is practically endless.

It is obvious to all in business that day-to-day State spending has got out of hand. If

all those powerful businessmen on the Advisory Council can make no impact on Government thinking, then they should resign. Their companies should desist from mentioning in their glossy annual reports that their MD or chairman is such an important personage that he actually sits on the EAC. Business, and above all the ordinary taxpayer, must be given room to breathe.

We are over-taxed, over-governed and now over-theorised. There are just too many areas where people with political clout, and departments with supposed strategic necessity or plain greed, have too much say in the growth, development and future strategy of our economic future.

In a few days' time the Minister of Finance intends appointing a group of private-sector "watchdogs" to monitor State spending. We trust this will prove more than a cosmetic gesture. Its members must make it a watchdog with real teeth. If they do not, they will lend a spurious air of respectability to State spending.

Another little step

FIRST THE Government put forward a plan for three separate racial Parliaments. Then it opted under coloured pressure for three chambers of one Parliament. Now it is considering joint debates of the three Houses on general affairs matters.

If this is a sign of pragmatism and political evolution, then there is reason to hope joint debates will be just another step in a longer journey.

The need for concessions to coloured and Indian demands, just to make the cumbersome constitution work at all, accounts for some of the trend. The triplication of effort in

holding debates on the same legislation over and over again has probably added impetus. After all, hard-worked Ministers are themselves the main victims of the repetition the present system requires.

Joint debates could lead in time to joint voting on general affairs. Joint debates and voting could be extended to allow blacks to join the debates, and the voting. Blacks could join the Cabinet, and could even be eligible to become State President (even though Mr Pik Botha got rapped for acknowledging the possibility). Yesterday's taboos may not last forever. But the changes come so slowly...

Brighter TV

WITH unusual grace the Government and the SABC have agreed to allow M-Net, the new pay TV channel, to broadcast unscrambled programmes for two hours a day so that it can build an audience. M-Net is controlled by the major newspaper houses and its profits will go to

help a troubled newspaper industry. But there is more to the gesture than that. The move is in the public interest in another way too. More competition will inevitably mean brighter entertainment for all. Dare we hope that the dog-in-the-manger attitude to Bop-TV might change too?

Swazis hold 17 ANC members after police raids

MBABANE — Informed police sources in Manzini said this weekend that 17 illegal immigrants to Swaziland, all said to be members of the African National Congress (ANC), were being held at Matsapha Central Prison pending their deportation.

The 17 were in addition to 17 members of the African National Congress who had been flown out of the country to Zambia last week, according to Swaziland's Commissioner of Police, Mr Sandile Mndiniso.

CORONATION

They were among scores of people arrested by security forces during a number of raids on townships in various areas in the country last month, prior to the coronation.

Residents living in the sprawling housing estate Matsapha Flats, near Manzini, said truckloads of heavily

armed police carried out a raid on the flats on Friday afternoon.

An eyewitness said police were "obviously acting on a tip-off". He said a man appeared with his hands in the air and was driven off in a police vehicle. Police also took away two South African-registered cars.

The Matsapha Flats estate has been the scene of a number of violent incidents, many of them involving the ANC, over the past two years.

Among the worst was the triple murder there three years ago of a Swazi pilot and two Swazi women by an intruder said to be a member of the ANC.

Another incident was the car-bombing which killed a leading member of the ANC and his wife at Matsapha about eight years ago as they were driving away from their flat. — Sapa.

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National union for post office workers launched in Soweto

democratically.

They had also told the Postmaster-General they wanted to have the union registered.

At yesterday's meeting at the Funda Centre, Soweto, the union resolved that:

- The entire membership would take a stand on their members or leaders being victimised or intimidated for their association with the union.
- The union would act if members were victimised for involvement in work stayaways.
- Union members would refuse

to work if accompanied by South African Defence Force or police escorts in the townships.

The union also pledged to align itself with other unions working towards the liberation of blacks in the country.

An interim national executive committee was elected. It consists of 15 members from South-Eastern Transvaal, the Northern Transvaal, Natal, the Free State, the Western Cape, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape. — Sapa.

Pace (2)

Face to face with Oliver Tambo



Enos Mabuza ... I speak to the youth.

over how will you argue against this when you demand a unitary state.

"Here we have temporary offices," he points out. "Our Legislative Assembly meets in a local hall, the Kanyamazane Community Hall. If we have to enlarge the Assembly we are going to build another hall which can also be used by the community. If we build posh offices and houses for the Legislative Assembly then that gives the structure (of separate development) permanence."

He believes in co-operation with other opponents of apartheid and says they have a duty to educate the people in the homelands about the political realities of this country.

"The fact of the matter is that these people are in KaNgwane, in Gazankulu, in Lebowa ... and to leave them there won't help. I think these organisations should get into these areas and help educate the people so that they are politically aware and know their position, so that they can strive for their rights and their country," says Mr Mabuza.

He has not only made it clear by deed but also by word right from the start that he is different. Even the South African Government has been crystal clear about his position. He recalls a statement made by the former Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr Piet Koomhof at a Nationalist rally that

when all the other homelands are independent, only KaNgwane and KwaZulu will remain not independent, but other means would be devised for the two.

"That is why they were trying to sell us to Swaziland because in that way we would get indirect independence," says Mr Mabuza.

Has he met the ANC previously, and if he hasn't why did he confer with them only after others had done so?

Much as he obliges and answers all other questions, this is one he answers with a pregnant: "I wouldn't like to comment on that."

However, he gladly shares with us his personal impressions of the meeting.

"Particularly impressive ... an impression I've not shared with anyone, is that there is this atmosphere of being with a head of state (when with Mr Oliver Tambo) ... the degree of respect he enjoys from his own delegation, the degree of respect he enjoys in Lusaka, in the streets ...

"Having said that there are no luxuries. You know we are given the impression in this country that they are globe-trotting people who live in posh hotels and own posh houses ... You meet them they are simple people, absolute simplicity — and it was not emphasised for our sake, it was genuine, absolute simplicity; the way they dress, their very deportment ... absolute simplicity. That really impressed me.

Then the next aspect that impressed me. They are labelled communists, terrorists. You have to meet them to believe this. I believe at times that that is why the Government does not want people to meet the ANC, because they will get the truth.

"I can't say there are no communists among them but in our discussions with them we were not nauseated with revolutionary language. We discussed political issues, the current situation in our country and other issues. Yes those are the impressions I can share with you, and plenty more."

Sinister motives have been attached to his trip to Lusaka but according to him there is nothing sinister. The fact is that the ANC commands tremendous support in this country, and for the logjam and the spiral of violence to be broken the ANC has to be consulted. He considered them as their compatriot and shared views with them as compatriots.

He has received covert threats from a National Intelligence Security man who told him he was digging his grave, but he has been surprised to find that many Afrikaners have hailed his trip.

We switch the conversation away from the ANC and politics and to his pet project, nature conservation, and to his life before he entered politics. But still he does not change his stance. In desperation we have to ask if he ever throws away the mask and lets loose. Just that whiff of a smile.

Oh, certainly, when at home he does get out of his suit and tie and shoes and wears some faded khakis and walks around the house barefooted. He is human after all. He also loves walks and meeting friends over ... well not a beer, but a cup of tea and just talk and talk.

Well, as for his interest in nature conservation — he was a special guest at the Wildlife conference in Australia in 1981 — it started way back in his boyhood days when he used to hunt with his father in the wilds of the Eastern Transvaal. He has been dismayed to see the destruction of wildlife and wants future generations to enjoy this heritage.

He cannot say when the urbane and articulate Mabuza emerged from the country bumpkin of those days. It may have to do with the disciplined upbringing or from the influence his teachers had on him.

Neither can Enos John Ngweni Mabuza (47), say exactly when his political awareness began. But somewhere in his life at the conservative teachers college where he trained, the politician worked side by side in the formation of this man. He can remember nearly getting expelled after innocently ordering some communist books by the late Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev.

He can also remember arousing the anger of the white teaching staff with a silent protest. He and his colleagues wrote "ONS LEWE SWAAR HIER" on small placards which they pinned around their necks and went about with their studies.

This father of six whose main regret in entering politics is that he cannot be with his family as much as he would like, can probably remember much, much more, but it needs more time to extract it from deep down in the recesses of his memory — and more time is something Enos Mabuza hasn't got. Another day, perhaps.