

THE STAR 17/8/87 Wealthy 'traitors to the revolution'

**Robin Drew reports
from Harare**

It was a judge who warned some years ago that swindling had become almost a national pastime in Zimbabwe and it was a magistrate who said that if someone did not steal from his employer, people might wonder what was wrong with him.

These remarks from authorities best placed to observe the growth in the industry of dishonesty point to the regrettable fact that since independence corruption at all levels of society has flourished.

The latest scandal to hit the headlines concerns the payment of salaries to non-existent teachers which has apparently been going on for years.

The hard-pressed taxpayer has once again had to face the reality that his money is being squandered by crooks who have been able to get away with millions because of the failure of the administration to keep a proper check on spending.

There have been many other in-

stances of government money going astray.

Shady deals over the transport of drought relief food some years ago and in the award of tenders for moving grain to and from the State depots cost the country millions of rands.

A commission of inquiry into parastatals has referred to abuse of funds and property by senior officials of the steelworks, the airways and the railways.

Recently the Minister of Rural Development, Mr Enos Chikowore, accused chiefs, kraalheads and members of village development committees of taking bribes to allocate land.

And the Minister of Labour, Mr Frederick Shava, accused labour officers of taking illegal payments from employers to settle disputes in their favour.

Zimbabwe's first black police commissioner was sacked for alleged theft and corruption and is currently before the courts and the executive of the National Football Association was suspended while police investigated alleged misappropriation of funds.

Periodically the Government issues stern warnings against corruption and has introduced new laws to try to control dishonesty among public servants.

Reports of the Auditor-General have regularly slammed increasing incidents of dishonesty in ministries, though the Public Service Minister, Mr Chris Andersen maintains that the situation is improving and that the war against corruption is being won.

"We are definitely not a corrupt civil service," Mr Andersen said earlier this year.

'UTTERLY IMMORAL'

Last week the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, hit out at people in leadership positions who were amassing wealth and described them as "socialist deviants who are traitors to the revolution".

"It is downright selfish and utterly immoral that we leaders should take advantage of our position to acquire wealth we would never have been able to acquire had we not held leadership positions," he said.

Selfish and immoral it may be, but the fact is that in Zimbabwe a new elite of wealthy men has been created since the events of the last decade were supposed to usher in the socialist era of equality.

Many people seem to feel the capitalist road is the one they intend following even it means taking a few wrong turns to get on to it. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Alusezubabikho ukhetho lukaHulumeni ngo-1989

ECAPE TOWN.— UMongameli wezwe, uMnuz. P.W. Botha, ngolwesiNe umemezele ukuthi ngeke lusabakhona ukhetho lukaHulumeni ngo-1989 wathi uzoqinisa amabhawodi kulabo abafuna ukuxoxa ne-African National Congress (ANC) esikhathini esizayo.

Enkulumweni yakhe enezihloko ezahlukene uMongameli Botha:

- Uxwayise ngokuthi uHulumeni uzoshaya imithetho eqinile ngokunikizwa kwamaphasiphothi kanye nokungena kulelizwe kwezimali ezivela ngaphandle, imisebenzi eyenziwa ngamxusa akwamanye amazwe kanye nokunye okwenziwa yizinhlangano ezingekho ephalamente.

- Ubeke imibandela ngokudedelwa kweziboshwa zamacala ombusazwe kodwa wawususa othi kufanele zizehlukanise nobudlova ngaphambi kokuba zidedelwe.

- Usikaze ngokuthi uGovan Mbeki (76) we-ANC angase adedelwe ejele masishane.

- Umemezele ukuthi umbiko ngeKhomishani kaMargo eyayiphenya ngentela uzodedelwa ngolwesiNe oluzayo.

- Uthe uyethemba ukuthi umthetho oqondene noMkhandlu kaZwelonke uzophothulwa nonyaka.

- Uthe umthetho wesimo esibucayi uzohlala ukhona njalo uma kusekhona labo abayizidlamlilo.

- Umemezele ukuthi kuzobakhona imbizo ngo-October 22 ePitoli ezokhuluma ngezomnotho.

Unele wamemezela ukuthi umthetho-sisekelo uzoshintshwa ukuze lungabibikho ukhetho lwabaMhlophe ngo-1989 amaqembu ezombusazwe amsola ngokuthi lokhu akwenzayo akuhambisani nendlela yokubusa ngentando yeningi.

Maqondana nezithunywa zabaMhlophe baseSouth Africa, iningi lazo okwakungamaBhunu, ezabonana nezithunywa ze-ANC eDakar, eSenegal, ngenyanga edlule uMnuz. Botha uthe uHulumeni wayesazi ngaloluhambo kodwa waqoma ukungathathi zinyathelo ngo-1989 efuna ukuba izithunywa zaseSouth Africa zizifundele zona nge-ANC.

UMnuz. Botha uthe uHulumeni wazi konke okwenzeka ezingxoxweni phakathi kwe-ANC nezithunywa zaseSouth Africa wathi abantu bangamangala uma bengase bazi ukuthi ngubani ngempela owatshelela uHulumeni ngalokhu.



LAPHA kungesikhathi uNdunankulu waKwaZulu Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi evula ngokomthetho inkantolo yesizwe sakwaThoyana eMbumbulu. Kwesobunxele nguNdunankulu waKwaZulu Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkosi C.B. Hlengwa wesizwe sakwaThoyana, ngumNtwana wakwaMinya umNtwana uGideon Zulu, nguNgqongqoshe wezoLimo namaHlathi kuHulumeni waKwaZulu Inkosi L.B. Dlamini kanye noMnuz. R.R. Mbongwa oyilungu lesiShayamthetho saKwaZulu elimele isiyingi saseMbumbulu.

MINES LOSE

Sowetan 17/8/87

R90-m

AT LEAST R90-million has been lost by Anglo America, Gencor and JCI in revenue and profits since the countrywide strike by mineworkers last Sunday, according to the Labour Monitoring Group.

The group said in a statement yesterday that the three mining houses worst hit by the strike had averaged a loss of R17-million a working day at the present level of the gold price.

Worst hit was Anglo American, whose foregone profits amounted to just under R60-million to date, while the Gencor group lost about 80 percent of its potential profit for the week — an amount of over R16-million.

offer of 17 to 23 percent. The difference between the union's demand and management's offer thus represents nine days of lost profits," the statement said.

"These calculations

● To Page 5

Strike

"Rand Mines' foregone profit cannot be calculated because cost figures have not been released by the Harmony Mine, the only strike-hit mine in the group," LMG said.

"It is also estimated that for the three worst hit groups to meet the union's demand for 30 percent across-the-board wage increases it would cost them approximately R150-million for the year 1987-88, over and above the cost of their current

ASSOCIATION
SA PRESS

The conspiracy facing black arts

THE SOWETAN

THE conspiracy from the dominant culture invariably co-opts the best, the most talented from those oppressed, and in various subtle, shrewd ways renders that talent ineffective.

It is happening in the country today. It happened to the Civil Rights movement in America when the more radical voices from people like Malcolm X were silenced, emasculated, disgraced or simply killed off. The dominant

American culture also took over the struggle of the 60s when whites all of a sudden became part of the revolutionary movement. I do not wish to press the point but that history affects some of us deeply when we view the situation in South Africa of the 80s.

The 1970s were another remarkable period for writers and artists. After the Sharpeville incident of 1960, the banning of the ANC and the PAC brought a halt to political activism for 10 years or so.

The 70s descended on us like a sombre cloud with writers turning serious and getting committed. They declared themselves black first before they called themselves craftsmen. This upset the old school of journalists no end. I know men like Casey Motsisi, and I would suggest even Can Themba fought this almost racist heightening of ideology among black youth. The emergence of Black Consciousness was viewed with alarm by such writers even then.

Surprise

I suspect that they were frightened by the new phase of seriousness that seemed to be moving the centre of gravity away from multiraciality to a black exclusivity that was passionate, and in a way totally commanding.

The black consciousness ideology sprang from the so-called tribal universities. Other black university students, at non-racial colleges, which were slowly



CASEY Motsisi . . . died in anger.



CAN THEMBA . . . died in anger.



JOHNNY CLEGG . . . on to a good thing.



GIBSON KENTE . . . play banned.

THIS is the second part of an edited version of a speech by the Sowetan's Acting Editor, Aggrey Klaaste, at the cultural festival organised by the University of Durban-Westville last week.

disappearing, were bitten by the bug. Some or perhaps most of these students were reading stuff from Civil Rights movement in America. Others were reading writers like James Baldwin and even the ancient Langston Hughes.

Homelands

This was a new phase, a totally unexpected development that caught our old political organisations, like the ANC and PAC, totally by surprise. Other things

were happening in the politics of the subcontinent. The most pertinent being independence in Mozambique and the heady days of the triumph of Frelimo.

I have a notion that black South Africans and other political activities were in a way shamed by the fact that what they believed to be the less sophisticated neighbour were getting the freedom before them.

There was also feeling of exhilaration that if THEY could do

FOCUS

nothing could stop us. This reflected in the work done by the BC followers at colleges and in the community. They went into a revolutionary phase of organisation.

Even critics became politically active.

The events following the independence of Mozambique in 1974 in a strange way assumed a historical dialectic wherein one event inevitably led to another specific, almost historically planned scenario.

The events tumbled forth in an unbelievable cascade of historical landmarking. There was the banning of all black organisations and the closing of newspapers. The system was fighting with what seemed like its back to the wall against these momentous events. The black journalists and critics were caught in the spiral of these events. Most young writers came of age.

You must not forget another pertinent if serious element in this dramatic process.

There has always been an attempt by Third World critics to get the hell out of mainstream criticism. This was tried in the arts as well. If I may mention a young university lecturer, Jonathan Clegg, who suddenly hit on the idea of going traditional by forming a group of Zulu musicians called Juluka, maybe I can give you a sense of this ambivalence in the minds of opinion

makers in South Africa.

I don't know if Clegg simply thought he was onto a good thing or if he loved what he was doing. I have a feeling it was both. Some of us looked somewhat askance at this particular phenomenon. Juluka was different, no doubt about that.

Mournful

You might have to trace the new Paul Simon phenomenon to Johnny Clegg. This close-harmony mixture of vernacular and pidgin English has a mournful attractiveness about it. If you look closer you will not see the lips of the black Mambazo singers, as they are called when they sing. It is almost as if they were bringing out this wonderful sound of sealed lips. I do not wish to exaggerate.

But you have to remember that these chaps are and have been degraded in their lives as domestic workers. They had to be seen in white homes, never heard. They are also curiously Zulu, regal men from a noble culture. They can also be gentle and impressively regal in their bearing. But underneath I fear there is a fire that burns steadily at the intolerable situation they find themselves in.

Their close harmony songs are sometime deliberately pidgin, deliberately mocking their untenable situation and what the country is

doing to them. You would generally expect so-called warlike Zulus to chant warlike lyrics. No. There is a lyrical whimsicality about their lyrics coming almost magically from closed lips that is quite disconcerting.

The Verwoerdian thesis on black education had taken its toll. Started in 1955, we were getting the first products of Bantu Education who ironically turned out, not to be subservient and house niggerish, but the most passionate of revolutionaries. It was a moment filled with poignancy and paradox.

For these children of the 70s who could hardly articulate their experience in their own township language were angry first at themselves for being unable to express their experience. They were dismayed by their parents who would sneak to work in the middle of the night during a stay-at-home. They were disgusted by their teachers who were unqualified and were totally unable to deal with the formidable forces at play at school, in the community and in life generally.

I am no psychologist but I think that was part of the reason for the fiery convincer so feared and scorned by others — the "necklace". It grew out of anger, in a silent furious way as these children who were questioning their exis-

tence, could not get the answers. Were not given specific avenues to release what was after all a youthful questing spirit to know and understand what was happening.

I have deliberately not said anything about the various traditions or conventions in criticism. Part of the reason is that I am not too well read to give them a proper airing. But my instincts, my gut feelings, give me an understanding of what is happening.

Famous

I know the politics surrounding *Graceland* is rather heated. Some feel Paul Simon is exploiting this cultural movement. I say good luck to him for putting this cultural artefact, for what it is worth, on the map.

I have to stop somewhere. But let me mention a few things briefly in ending this effort. I have recently read Nadine Gordimer's latest book, *A Sport of Nature*. I do not care much for her writing but she has control over drifting phrases, mistlike ideas, disappearing sentences and concepts, which remind me in a curious way of the music of the *ngomabusuku* singers made famous by Paul Simon.

Nadine Gordimer is no doubt the consummate

● To Page 11

top Nats

THE DAILY NEWS
17/08/87

Bruce Cameron
Political
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The Natal/KwaZulu Indaba publicity campaign has come under fire again in the growing attack from Natal Nationalist public representatives.

This time they are annoyed because a survey conducted by the Indaba showed the overwhelming majority of Natal whites supported the Indaba.

But Mr Renier Schoeman MP, National Party Natal director of information, today denied the NP was conducting a campaign to discredit the Indaba.

The survey, conducted by the respected Markinor company, showed 59 percent of whites felt implementation of the proposals would lead to greater peace and stability.

Following on concerted attack in Parliament on the Indaba proposals last week, Mr Schoeman dismissed the survey as being part of a campaign to create false impressions.

Propaganda

He however did not challenge any particular findings of the survey.

He said the commissioning of the survey and its presentation was "merely a further extension of the massive Indaba publicity and propaganda campaign..."

"It represents a dubious attempt at influencing the public and creating a bandwagon atmosphere in respect of the current set of proposals..."

"It is clear that there is a deliberate attempt on the part of the Indaba office to present these findings... in such a way that they create the impression that support exists among Natal Nationalists for the Indaba proposals per se."

From its own feedback the NP knew the impression created by the Indaba office was false and did not stand up to critical examination.

Beginning

Mr Schoeman repeated a statement made by his provincial leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, during the white elections that the Indaba was not the final word and end stage of constitutional change but only the beginning of a dynamic and continuous process.

The central Government, other governmental institutions and political parties should "in the final analysis be the negotiating parties on constitutional matters at regional or central level."

"The Indaba office would serve the cause of real negotiation if it were immediately to stop trying to confuse the issue with red herrings and smokescreens which serve no useful purpose."

In an interview Mr Schoeman said the party had not avoided dealing in specifics in criticising the survey.

"It is very easy to deal with specifics."

"The shortcomings are self-evident as far as we are concerned."

"The framing and construction of the survey is so wide open you could turn an ox-wagon around in them, which makes it meaningless."

Restructure SA's economy — Cosatu

Business Day
17/8/82

ALAN FINE

A 90-page booklet, Political Economy — SA in Crisis, published by Cosatu last week, criticises solutions put forward by SA's big business establishment as being unable to solve the country's deep-seated economic problems.

It calls for the economy to be restructured, but warns that to merely talk of socialism as if it were a "magic formula" also fails to answer key questions.

The booklet, produced by Cosatu's Durban-based education division, is aimed at union membership.

It argues privatisation will mean a hand over of parastatals to large monopolies. This process, it says, will not constitute new investment or create jobs.

A more likely outcome will be higher levels of retrenchment as the new owners rationalise the corporations

to make them more profitable.

And profits from these new private ventures are unlikely to be invested in the creation of new jobs, because of a lack of business confidence and shrinking local markets.

It further argues privatisation of areas of "social consumption" like housing, health care and education will be counterproductive, in that these products and services cannot be made available to the mass black market at affordable prices.

The final chapter of the booklet raises a number of issues which Cosatu believes need to be addressed. These include the nature of political structures for a future democracy and protection of individual rights.

South Africa

The NATAL WITNESS
 17/8/87
 Demanding no dialogue

PRESIDENT Botha has made his intentions plain. The advocates of a negotiated compromise with the ANC will be driven out of public life if they persist in their efforts at reconciliation. Speaking on his vote in the House of Assembly last week, the State President indicated that those who carry on talking to the ANC and disregard his warnings can expect their passports to be seized.

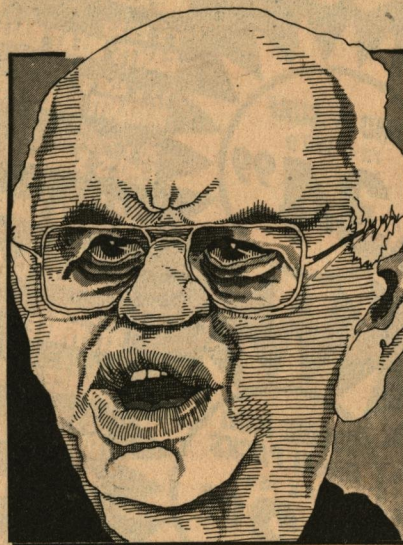
Then there is also to be a select committee of Parliament to investigate extra-Parliamentary organisations and their sources of funding. This exercise promises to outdo the Schlebusch Commission of unhappy memory in unleashing a McCarthyite witch-hunt against advocates of dialogue wherever they are found. There will be legislation, inevitably, which could cripple the activities of organisations such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and for a wide range of bridge-building institutions such as the Black Sash and the SA Institute of Race Relations, perhaps, and even the Christian Church and Church-related bodies.

President Botha said in the plainest possible language that he had no time at all for extra-Parliamentary movements seeking to change things in this country. As far as he was concerned, Parliament was the place for bringing about change. The trouble is that he has introduced a constitution which makes evolutionary change virtually impossible and in fact produces the ideal conditions for the white right-wing to gain con-

trol. By separating races in three racially-defined Chambers of Parliament, and entrenching ultimate control in the hands of the white chamber, President Botha has spurned the electoral support which would be forthcoming for orderly reform from middle-class elements in the so-called coloured, Indian and African communities. A further shift to the right in the white electorate could bring Dr Treurnicht and his assortment of friends into power.

So President Botha has opted to duck the 1989 election for the House of Assembly, opening himself to charges from the left and the right that he is no democrat. The rightward trend in the white electorate is indeed disturbing. And the irony is that President Botha himself is the principal promoter of that trend. Consider his performance in the assembly last week, presenting the ANC in simplistic terms as a compliant tool of the Communist Party and its Moscow mentors, asserting that the ANC is in business to seize power in a bloody revolution and will only "negotiate" as a means to that end.

Displaying a communist phobia reminiscent of the United States in the 1950s, President Botha sneered at the Dakar expedition in Leninist parlance as a bunch of "useful idiots" who had been misled, manipulated and exploited by wily ANC/communist propagandists. Being somewhat xenophobic at the best of times and tending to see international relations in the 1980s in stark



Mr P.W. Botha

1950s-cold war terms, President Botha is thoroughly in tune with a white electorate which has been angered by car bombs and land mines and stampeded into a thoroughly reactionary frame of mind.

It was by reverting to the old red-bashing politics in the last fortnight of the election campaign and whipping the country into an anti-ANC/communist frenzy that President Botha did so well at the polls in May. In the process he gave the rightward trend an enormous impetus which is still in train. Playing the same game in Parliament with telling effect, President Botha is in danger of

witch-hunting himself out of business, driving the white electorate into the arms of Dr Treurnicht.

Consider his performance on Dakar, in which he earned a few cheap laughs by reading out the information contained in the departure forms filled in by the Dakar party at Jan Smuts Airport, in which a variety of destinations short of Dakar were given and in which the stated purpose of travelling likewise varied considerably. This information is supplied for statistical purposes and is generally regarded as private. Citizens completing official forms for statistical purposes may be warned that their privacy is not respected in President Botha's South Africa. That kind of official decency has long since gone by the board.

Is President Botha proud of the fact that leading South Africans in business and academic life need to resort to subterfuge to ensure that their freedom of movement is not restricted by an authoritarian regime? The fact that some decent people chose to name their intermediate rather than their final destination on an official document of record shows just how far this country has travelled on the authoritarian road.

What was the truth about the Dakar consultation? Were Dr Slabbert and his party indeed a group of innocents abroad who were duped and misled? In matters of this sort I would rate a considered statement by Dr Franklin Sonn, a disinterested, level-headed and prudent educationist, as enjoying rather

greater credibility than Mr Botha's oratorical extravaganza last week. Mr Sonn is nobody's fool; he is a nobody's dupe. He was in Dakar with Dr Slabbert, Mr Botha was not and Mr Sonn said last week that the plain message of the ANC to the Dakar delegates was that they wanted to bring the Nationalist government to the negotiating table to talk about the future of South Africa.

This is the key question. What is the purpose of the ANC's so called "armed struggle"? Is it to seize power in a revolution, with negotiation merely a means to that end? Or is it a fight to get the government to the table? It would be unrealistic not to accept that the ANC like the National Party, has a left wing, a centre and a right wing. There are certainly ideologues in the ranks of the ANC as there are in the NP. Which wing will prevail?

On balance, I am inclined to accept Mr Sonn's assessment. He says the majority of ANC delegates dislike violence and would abandon it tomorrow if they could. Presumably they see no other way of getting the government to the table. Mr Sonn is right, furthermore, when he says the ANC is a reality. Once an idea is in the heart of a people, he says, it cannot be blown away with a gun.

What is the future for South African leaders like Franklin Sonn who favour talking to the ANC? On the short term it is going to be a rough ride. On the longer run, who can say?

• *Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.*

South Africa, KwaZulu celebrate first year of Ngotshe agreement

THE South African Government, KwaZulu and Inkatha came closer — in public — than they had ever been before this weekend.

Louwsburg, close to the Natal-Swaziland border, was where Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen and two Deputy Ministers met King Goodwill and KwaZulu's Health Minister and Inkatha council chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, to celebrate the "first birthday" of the Ngotshe co-operation agreement.

People told of how evictions of workers from farms had been averted, and how four chieftains who had been moved from their

lands, had been re-instated.

The two groups praised the get-together of white farmers, black labourers and squatters who have combined since August 8 last year under the chairmanship of a local farmer, Mr Tjaart van Rensburg, and his deputy, Mr David Masaka.

Ngotshe is a territory that houses about 1 000 white farmers and 40 000 Zulus who are mostly farm labourers or squatters.

Mr van Rensburg and Mr Masaka and their fellow committee members regard black education, security of tenure and guarantee of

housing for the aged as among the Ngotshe Agreement's top priorities. Already they have managed to turn over 180 evictions, with another five cases still pending.

The Louwsburg area is almost entirely an Afrikaans one. Its members say quite openly that it has been shunned by the white right-wing.

Dr Viljoen said he saw Ngotshe as "part of the whole constitutional and political future of South Africa".

He praised this "voluntary getting-together of blacks and whites as peaceful negotiation.

"The spirit and attitude of people have been changed in a positive way," Dr Viljoen said.

Dr Mdlalose said there was a lot of scepticism initially from both sides on the seriousness and genuineness of the association.

Some blacks, he said, did not not believe those whites who were involved were serious.

There were other whites who did not believe there were whites "who could be meaning what they said on the question of being prepared to share ideas and action with blacks", he said. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

7/2/87

False applause

THAT President Reagan praised the Dakar talks doesn't surprise us.

The Americans are up to their necks in intrigue concerning South Africa. Not only do they apply sanctions themselves, but they are forcing Israel, a friend of South Africa's, to apply sanctions as well.

Not only did they put out the red carpet in Washington for Oliver Tambo, the ANC leader, but they are giving the ANC a status they are not prepared to give any other terrorist organisation.

Not only are they pushing for majority rule, but they are pouring millions of rands into South Africa in pursuit of this objective and to buy influence with those they mistakenly believe will run this country in the post-apartheid era.

Yes, the Americans are trying to collapse this country just as they did Iran, Nicaragua, the Philippines and other targets of US interference.

But the backslapping of the ANC is particularly galling.

President Reagan, in a message to Senegalese President Abdou Diouf, has congratulated President Diouf's "statesmanship qualities" for organising the Dakar talks.

The meeting was a serious move aimed at ending apartheid and bringing about "racial justice, peace and stability in South Africa", he said.

Well, someone should tell President Reagan that the Slabbert delegation to the Dakar talks, arranged partly with American money, is completely discredited here.

It is not representative of the Afrikaners, as it is claimed to be; Dr Slabbert, having quit Parliament and the leadership of the Opposition and of the Progressive Federal Party in order to engage in extra-parliamentary politics, has no political credibility whatsoever.

The academics who journeyed forth with him have no constituency and have no chance of determining the country's future, and the rest of the trekkers, including some Progs and ex-Progs, are just as powerless.

The South African group can talk to the ANC until the cows come home, but it is not able to negotiate with, or promise anything to, that terroristic organisation.

As for the ANC, whatever it told Dr Slabbert does not matter either, since its policies and objectives are well enough known, and the false veneer which the ANC gave to its policies will not bluff anyone but Slabbert and Co.

If the Dakar talks don't amount to a load of codswallop, why the intense feeling here against them?

The answer is simple. By going to Dakar, Slabbert and Co have offended all South Africans who believe in peaceful reform, for the ANC is committed to violence, it commits acts of terrorism that kill or maim innocent people, it refuses to condemn necklacings carried out by "comrades", it refuses to abandon violence in order to negotiate the future, and it insists on a handover of power to the masses.

In fact, the ANC brazenly told Slabbert and Co that it intends to escalate the "armed struggle", meaning its terrorist attacks.

Which country is prepared to see its citizens talking to a terrorist organisation? The US, the British, the French, the West Germans, the Israelis? No, all countries are against such negotiations, so why should South Africa be the exception?

We say that Slabbert and Co not only betrayed all law-abiding citizens of this country by their mad desire to talk to the terrorists, but they betrayed the moderate Blacks in particular.

For the more the ANC is elevated to the position of being the great liberating force, the alternative government, the organisation that will take over the country, the harder it is for the moderates to rally support for peaceful negotiation.

But despite this, we say South Africa will find its solutions to its problems from within the country — and to hell with those who think that being palsy walsy with the ANC provides the answer.

Monday 17 August 1987

LETTERS**Tambo should change and come home**

IT is an opportune time for Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the ANC's external mission, to change strategy in his attempt to liberate us by means of an "armed struggle".

He should abandon violence and come home. He will not succeed this way. Victory is neither imminent nor in sight.

He should bring with him his entire executive and others, and encourage Eucild Mabiletsa, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and others to come back as well.

Some leading local people say he will not leave the luxurious life he is leading over there.

It is also reported that some of his colleagues, such as Joe Modise and Thomas Sekobe, are living comfortably in Lusaka.

I had the pleasure of being at a gathering of pupils addressed by Mr Tambo and Father (now bishop) Huddleston, at the then St Peter's Secondary School, Rosettenville, Johannesburg, 1953. I was then a Form III boy.

What I recall, is that Mr Tambo wanted from us engineers, mechanics, lawyers, dentists, and so forth, so that when an African government took over this country, there would be suitably qualified Africans to take over jobs and positions abandoned by Whites who would leave.

Now there are many former members of the ANC residing in the so-called national states. Many of them are members of the Legislative Assemblies; and some are holding ministerial positions.

They use these institutions to articulate the aspirations of the African people.

This was the policy of the ANC in the 1950s when it encouraged its members to participate in Advisory Board elections on the Rand and elsewhere.

Mr Tambo and Dr Nelson Mandela monitored these elections at Dukathole (Germiston), Katlehong, and Ethwathwa (Benoni). Many of these men are members of the Local Authorities throughout South Africa.

Mr Tambo should realise South Africa has an efficient police force and the strongest defence force in Africa south of the equator.

His guerrillas will not be able to force an encounter with the police, let alone the defence.

It is almost 26 years since Umkonto We Sizwe was formed, but no meaningful success has been shown.

Instead, what we see more and more is children and youths who know very little or nothing about politics (the so-called shock troops of the revolution) being killed in disturbing numbers.

Many of them die as a result of the Black-on-Black violence and in confrontation with the security forces.

Sanctions and disinvestment have only created high levels of unemployment (over one million people) and increased poverty.

Mr Tambo should wind up his activities, and be here to celebrate Christmas with his people. Instead of celebrating the 26th anniversary of Umkonto We Sizwe on December 16, he should make that the day of the disbanding of that unit.

TSEPO ETIENNE PHOOFOLO
(Qwaqwa Legislative Assembly)

Katlehong