

Moscow exposé

THE STAR 5/10/88

From Rupert Cornwell
in Moscow

Leaders of Komsomol, the communist youth league, are faced with the choice of a complete change in their ways, or seeing their organisation lose what remains of its claim to guide the country's young, according to a devastating exposé published in Moscow this week.

The article in the *Sovetskaya Rossiya* newspaper provides what must rank among the most detailed critiques to appear in Russia of Komsomol, which, with some 40 million members, is a vital rung of the Soviet ladder of power.

Its shortcomings are no secret. The proliferation of non-official groups and complaints from party ideology officials, as well as from ordinary young people, all testify to its gradual loss of authority. This time, though, the attack comes from within its own ranks, from Vitaly Abramov, a journalist on a Komsomol newspaper.

Not only does he identify the main failings of the organisation, its deference to the Communist Party and the habit of senior functionaries to see it as a mere stepping-stone to

higher things. He also tells of how incompetence goes unpunished, how ostensibly democratic appointments and promotions are decided on high and how Komsomol officials pull strings for the offspring of their counterparts in the party itself, in the hope of reward later.

Above all, the article suggests that despite the strictures of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev at the organisation's congress last year, the upper reaches of Komsomol remain closed to genuine debate.

As such, it is another unmistakable pointer to the sort of "democratisation" which the Soviet leader will, at next month's vital national conference, try to impose upon the party and, by implication, on Komsomol, the structure of which mirrors it.

Mr Abramov's remedy is basically that advocated in vain by Mr Gorbachev a year ago, but now more urgent: "We must hurry, and we must argue among ourselves." Only with discussion and internal democracy "can we save our huge organisation from complete takeover by the bureaucrats". — *The Independent News Service, London.*

It will be a holocaust

By S'BU MNGADI

US SENATOR Edward Kennedy wanted to gain political mileage from his support for further sanctions against South Africa, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Addressing a 25 000-strong rally at Umlazi's Glebelands Stadium, Buthelezi said it was tragic that Kennedy wanted to make political mileage at the expense of black South African workers.

The rally - which focused on the issue of economic sanctions - was timed to co-incide with sweeping new proposed US sanctions legislation - the Anti-Apartheid Act Amendment Bill of 1988.

"All that matters to him is that it is a political gain for him," Buthelezi said.

When it came to black SA spokesmen calling for disinvestment against the wishes of the black workers of SA, it was another matter, Buthelezi said.

At one point during the rally, which was well attended by the foreign media, Buthelezi asked the crowd - with reference to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Allan Boesak:

"My brothers and sisters, do they speak on your behalf? Do they represent you when they speak? Please tell the whole world what the answers to these questions are."

The crowd roared in response, "Yes!"

Buthelezi condemns plans for large-scale sanctions

Realising the confusion his address in English had created among his predominantly rural audience, Buthelezi paraphrased his question, and received a loud "no" from his audience.

Earlier this week, Buthelezi addressed a group of leading US industrialists, when he indicated that he had changed from his earlier campaign against sanctions. He told the businessmen that only large-scale sanctions by united international action could bring South Africa to its knees.

He said, however, it was unthinkable that sane people - who knew the facts of South Africa's mass poverty - could support actions which would succeed only if mounted on a scale large enough to destroy the country's potential growth.

"To make white SA really feel the bite of sanctions, the scale at which they are

mounted would have to be devastatingly large," he said.

At the weekend rally he told supporters such large-scale sanctions could create a holocaust in SA because violence would erupt on a scale that would destroy everything. The rally was the second mass anti-disinvestment rally Buthelezi had addressed since the 1986 launch of the United Workers' Union of SA.

He assured his followers apartheid could not survive for ever.

"Black South Africans will not let it survive."

He pleaded: "We have to force apartheid to retreat in every walk of life. The black struggle for liberation has been going on since 1912 and no year has passed, no month passed, no week passed, no day passed, in which black opposition to apartheid was

not pushing forward relentlessly.

"My brothers and sisters, you and I know that apartheid is doomed. However much we are suffering now, we know our suffering will end. It will end because we resist oppression."

"You as workers are involved in the black struggle for liberation every day of your lives. As workers you have already won vitally important battles against apartheid."

"The one overall battle you have won, which will ensure final victory, is your battle as the black worker to have the right to be employed where you want and to be employed in the job of your choice."

"Apartheid tried to keep black workers out of skilled jobs. Black workers triumphed over apartheid and learnt skills, whether

the law said they could or not.

"Black workers kept penetrating into parts of South Africa whites call their own."

"Whites tried to keep you out of the cities. For decades hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of black South Africans were arrested under pass laws and influx control regulations. Those arrested showed workers would not be intimidated and continued to march on the cities of South Africa because they were right to be there and they kept claiming this right whatever apartheid said."

"I tell the world the battles we have thus far won are now forever. I tell the world there is now a total white reliance on blacks in the economic sphere."

"This gives blacks bargaining power. It particularly gives workers bargaining power."

"The granting of trade union rights to black workers was not something the white South African government granted because it

felt sorry for workers and wanted to help them.

"It was black worker resistance to oppression and the sacrifices black workers had made as they claimed their right to work in the cities."

"Trade union rights had to be granted because black workers had already become powerful and employers need to negotiate with black power."

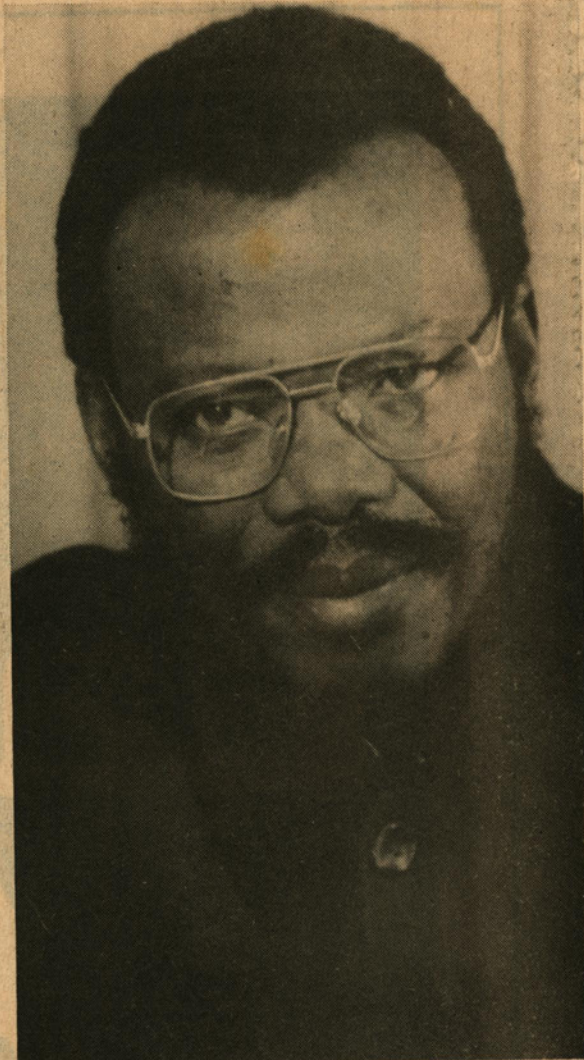
"Am I right in rejecting disinvestment on your behalf?"

"Am I right in telling the world that those who call for disinvestment do not call for it because they want to avoid violence? They call for it because they are violent. Do you agree with me? Tell the world what you think."

He lashed out at Catholic Archbishop Dennis Hurley, Archbishop Tutu, Rev Boesak, Frank Chikane and Cosatu's Elijah Barayi, whom he said told the world on behalf of the masses to withdraw from South Africa.

CITY PRESS, June 5, 1988

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Chief Buthelezi ... apartheid is doomed.

Natal townships tense as protest approaches

CITY PRESS 5/6/88

By S'BU MNGADI

NATAL'S townships are tensing in anticipation of next week's three-day worker protest, as warring factions take opposing positions on whether or not to participate.

A meeting between Cosatu and Nactu this week resolved that the protest – against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill and restrictions on Cosatu and 18 other anti-apartheid organisations – would take place on June 6, 7 and 8 instead of over five days as suggested earlier by Nactu.

Meanwhile, in an unprecedented move, traditionally conservative elements in the Natal community have given their support to the protest, called by Cosatu and endorsed by Nactu.

Natal Indian Congress secretary, Farouk Meer, said, the organisation had initiated talks between Cosatu and Indian businesspeople and predominantly-Indian trade unions about the protest.

The NIC would also place advertisements in newspapers and issue pamphlets calling on the Indian sector to join the protest.

Two former member un-

ions of the conservative Trade Union Congress of SA – the Durban Integrated Municipal Employees' Association and the Federation of Leather, Textile and Garment Workers' Union – have supported the protest.

Natal Indian communities have been criticised for being politically passive while Indian leaders featured prominently in many anti-apartheid organisations.

Slamming the protest, the Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally at Umlazi last weekend that whenever a particular course of action had to be enforced by intimidation, it was destructive to black unity.

"I have again and again appealed to UDF and Cosatu leaders not to undertake any mass action until they have consulted the people and their organisations.

"Organisations such as the UDF and Cosatu which campaign for disinvestment are divisive and are robbing the struggle for liberation of the strength. Even though we may differ with them on the sanctions issue, this cannot be an excuse for us killing and maiming each other."

When *City Press* asked Buthelezi to elaborate on his speech, he replied: "Am I and my followers not even worth consulting?"

"How can we participate in something we know nothing about? Is it because we do not exist as far as the organisers (of the protest) are concerned?"

He was concerned whether arrangements had been made for those workers who could lose their

jobs if they participated in the protest.

Some Natal townships have been simmering during the past weeks following the distribution of pamphlets on the protest in their areas.

The Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of SA has echoed Buthelezi's position on the issue.

Uwusa spokesman, MP Gumede, told *City Press* his union was telling workers not to heed the Cosatu-Nactu call. Gumede said Uwusa members were most affected by the proposed labour legislation as they did not believe in strike action.

Gumede said he feared there would be conflict because many factories had two rival unions. "It will be difficult for Uwusa to urge workers to go to work when others are not."

If Uwusa members stayed at home they would not be supporting the protest action, but fearing for their safety, he said.

"I call other unions to reduce violence during this mass protest. Let it be peaceful," he said.

Natal employers have not been vocal on the planned protest.

Executive director of the Natal Chamber of Industries, John Pohl, said he had no comment at this stage.

Maritzburg Chamber of Industries President Pamela Reid told *City Press* her organisation was due to have met to discuss the protest and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

"There has been a misunderstanding about the Bill. I don't think it has been read properly," she said.

Birthrate causes explosive situation for next generation

IN South Africa a baby is born every 25 seconds – this represents nearly 3 000 babies every 24 hours.

Should this birthrate be maintained, the following may happen in the country:

● It will have a population of 47-million in the year 2000.

● A population of 85-million by 2020.

● 140-million by 2050.

● 800-million a century later – the year 2100.

The last figure represents a population exactly 10 times more than South Africa can feed and house. Such vast numbers will lead to a total collapse of standards of living, social collapse, poverty and unemployment. Presently, South Africa's population doubles every 34 years, while the prosperous countries, representing only a quarter of the world's population, double their populations every 118 years. Our special correspondent reports.

CITY PRESS... 09/06/88

SHOULD the present birthrate in South Africa be maintained, the country's population will increase within 35 years from 28,5-million to more than 138-million – 60-million more than can be effectively housed and fed in this country.

The majority of the present generation of South Africans will be witnesses to this catastrophe, if urgent counter measures are not introduced immediately.

The Department of National Health and Population Development and the Population Development Council have been busy for some time with a dynamic population development program in an effort to counter this impending crisis.

Seminars have been arranged throughout the country to inform South Africans about the problem.

The PDP's approach is that a balance between the population growth, the natural resources and the socio-economic ability of the country can only be brought about by improving the standard of living of all people.

It has been proved throughout the world that an improvement in the quality of life directly leads to a decline in the birthrate. Where the level of education, income and occupational status improve, people are inclined to spread the birth of their children and to limit their children to the number they can afford to rear.

Every inhabitant of South Africa – from the businessman to the housewife – can make a contribution to improve the quality of life of fellow citizens and to ensure that the South African population will stabilise at 80-million people by the end of the next century.

Experts say farmers can make the biggest contribution.

The following figures illustrate the problem:

● Eleven-million South Africans live in rural areas.
● Between five and six-million people – breadwinners and their families – live on farms owned by whites and they portray a typical Third World way of life.

They maintain a high birthrate and are completely dependent upon the farmer.

● Eight out of every 10 farmworkers cannot read or write.

● The status of black women is very low.

● Facilities like schools

and clinics are not readily available.

● The average birth rate among black people is calculated at 5,1 children per woman.

This figure clearly proves the effects that living standards, literacy and the acceptance of modern living patterns have upon the population growth.

It has been calculated that even at a growth rate of three percent, as many as eight-million people will be unemployed by the year 2000.

The problem can be countered through education and training, say the experts.

If an individual has a low level of literacy, his standard of living will be comparably low and the birthrate in his family will be comparably high.

In South Africa, 56 out of every 100 people are still illiterate.

In Japan, for example, only one person out of 100 is illiterate and the country lowered its birthrate three-fold, from 3,4 percent to only 1,4 percent.

Illiteracy among South African women is a source for great concern. About three-million women in South Africa cannot read or write. Research has proved that the level of education and the income and status of employment of women played the most important roles in family planning.

A huge population growth would place an unbearable burden upon education in this country.

It was expected that by the year 2000, South Africa would have about 1 652 000 more children of school going age than any other developing country with a similar population. The commitment to education would represent an astronomical sum of R1 700 000 000.

Formal education alone would therefore not suffice. Informal education and training would have an important role to play.

Everybody can make a contribution to prevent chaos in South Africa.

If collective endeavours failed to curtail the population growth, South African children and their descendants will be confronted with conditions similar to those presently found in Ethiopia, the Sudan and in some other countries in Africa.

Famine, poverty, unemployment and a complete collapse socially will be inherited by our children, a brochure of the Population Development Program warns.

Churches to protest against apartheid

By KERRY CULLINAN

CHURCHES are to embark on an anti-apartheid campaign called "Standing for the Truth" and will support a trade unions call for a three-day protest on June 6, 7 and 8 against the banning of organisations and the Labour Bill.

This was announced by SA Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane this week after a two-day convocation of some 250 church leaders to discuss non-violent ways to end apartheid.

"We cannot bow down to the government any longer. We are determined to serve God, not the government," NG Sendingskerk moderator Rev Allan Boesak told the 3 000-strong crowd. "The church is ready to stand with the people, struggle with the people and die with the people," he added.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu noted that Tuesday was celebrated by some as Republic Day and that this year marked the 40th year of National Party rule.

"Can you imagine meeting a coloured person dancing in the streets because he was removed from the voters' role 40 years ago?" asked Tutu.

"Can you conceive of a black South African saying: 'I am celebrating that over three-million of my people have been forcibly uprooted and dumped like rubbish in arid homelands; that I am happy because my children have been detained, jailed, exiled and brutalised by the violence of apartheid?'"

Tutu added that 40 was a biblically significant number.

"Christ spent 40 days in the wilderness before returning to his people," he said.

The children of Israel had wandered for 40 years before finding the Promised Land.

"There is no doubt that we, too, are going to cross the Jordan into the Promised Land," added Tutu.

Other figures at the meeting included Methodist Church president Dr KE Mgojo, Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, Rev Peter Storey; Council for African Independent Churches general secretary Rev Paul Makhuba, Bishop Manas Buthelezi and Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa.

International church bodies also showed their solidarity. British Labour MP Paul Boateng had a stern warning for State President PW Botha.

"I have a message for PW Botha on the birthday of his government," he said. "Although racism is a gaping wound in the body of Christ, it is no match for Jesus Christ."

IHATE to sound like a prophet of doom, but this week alone so many things happened that one begins to wonder whether there will ever be any light at the end of the tunnel.

It is clear that we are a polarised nation. On Tuesday, the 27th anniversary of Republic Day, people were talking about *their* holiday and not *ours*, *their* government against *our* people, *their* events and not *ours*, and so on.

While some people were celebrating the 27th birthday of the Republic of SA, others were looking for ways of ending the apartheid regime.

Even the world's super powers, the Soviet Union and the United States – who under normal circumstances differ strongly about their involvement in this country – made strong hints about a possible joint venture in working towards a political settlement in the Southern African region.

Pretoria should take the US-USSR talks seriously – these super powers have determined the course of events in many African states. Whatever they say or do will finally have a bearing on this country as well.

On the home front, black people viewed Republic Day as a day to solidify their fight against

apartheid.

We are witnessing an important trend of events in this country – a strong marriage between church leaders and trade unions. Last week a call was made by Cosatu and later Nactu to the nation to observe three days of peaceful protest against the government's Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

On Tuesday, at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto, church leaders, including Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak and Rev Frank Chikane, declared their support for the action.

When people like Arch-

bishop Tutu speak, people sit up and listen. It doesn't matter how much some people try to ignore him. He speaks the language of the oppressed and it sounds like music to their ears.

When Archbishop Tutu said: "We are on the march, we are going to cross the Jordan into new South Africa, a just South Africa where black and white will be able to live together..." – how did this sound to those who make the laws in this country.

The three days of peaceful protest called by the unions coincide with the third anniversary of the

state of emergency, and the following week the nation will be observing the 12th anniversary of June 16 Soweto uprisings.

This vicious circle will be with us for years to come – *their* holidays and *our* holidays, *their* events and *ours*.

How do you see the future of this country, at least in the next few years? This question has been asked several times, especially by foreigners. In an interview with *Africa Report*, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, tried to answer it this way:

"I think there are two options. One is that if the international community still has some tinge of morality to respond to our appeal, then in the next few years we might find ourselves at a conference table where the problem of South Africa would be solved.

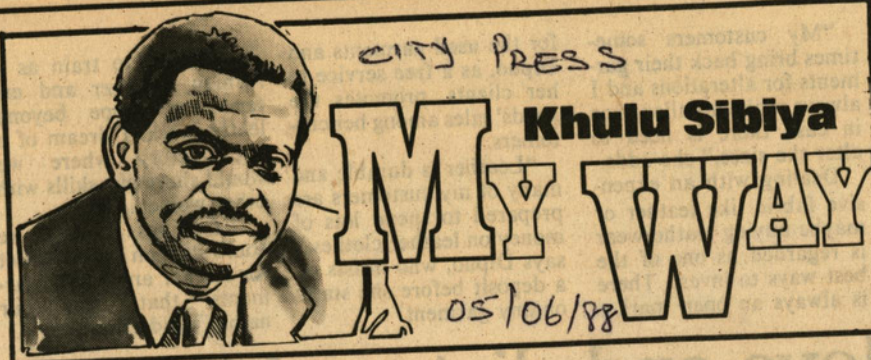
"It may take more than five years, but it will happen in the end. It will mean that there would be bloody war in South Africa, which might engulf the very people (Thatcher and Reagan) who did not want to be involved and assist in the resolution of the problem. And at that stage, it might not be easy to intervene."

In conclusion, Rev Chikane said: "There are some people in the West who say South Africa is still very strong and will continue so for a very long time.

"And I'm saying the fact that they are strong is an indication that there is going to be a bloody confrontation, because for the people to develop enough power to fight that system will mean that we are going to have a very violent war.

"We need to avoid that option and I hope that people can see some light to assist us in avoiding it."

We are still hoping and praying for that flickering light at the end of the tunnel.



Looking for light at the end of the tunnel

City Press **COMMENT**

Sowetans should save their 'Rock'

IT is indeed a sad and sorry state of affairs to see what was once the pride of black education, Orlando High School in Soweto lying in ruins.

No amount of words can describe what remains of this once beautiful and respected school, which at one stage was the Eton of black education.

Name most educationalists, politicians, mathematicians, doctors, or for that matter any notable person who comes from Soweto, you will find he or she is probably a product of the "Rock," as the school was affectionately called.

We are told that vandals are responsible for the destruction of the school. They removed just about everything they could lay their hands on. Bricks, roof tops, doors and window frames.

The pride of the black nation, has been turned into a den of iniquity. A home for rapists, boozers and gamblers. A photograph in this publication bares testimony to this.

We do not for one moment condone this type of vandalism. Surely if residents in the neighbourhood of Orlando East wanted material to build their shacks, they should have looked somewhere else.

We maintain that the school could have been saved if the authorities cared. We know that Orlando High, like most schools during the upheavals of June 16, 1976, was a thorn in the flesh of the government.

They claimed such schools were breeding grounds for pupils who wanted to topple the State. Yes, Orlando High encouraged their pupils to be independent thinkers. That is why some of their pupils participated in the PAC anti-pass campaign in 1960.

Their pupils did not stand by when the rest of the schools were protesting against compulsory Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in 1976. The then headmaster, Mr Tamsanqa Khambule, undoubtedly the best mathematics teacher among blacks, was one of the many teachers who was forced to resign following the unrest.

Sowetans cannot let their pride crumble just like that. If the local authority cannot do anything to save the school from the final curtain, then all those self-respecting people should come together and form a "Save The Rock" committee.

White people are proud of their King Edward VII School and many others. When are we going to start preserving things that we could one day be proud of?

Soweto Mayor, Nelson Botile, whose constituency is Orlando East, could have made a name for himself had he done something to save the school instead of evicting people who are behind with their rent, by removing their doors and roofs.

Is this not setting an example of vandalism?

Sunday Times 5/06/88

AFRIKANERS who tend to be on the left of the National Party still like to keep their options open.

They want to see which way the wind blows before they become openly involved in a new movement in the form of a united front to the left of the NP.

What inhibits them?

Firstly, there is an inherent loyalty to NP philosophy. Many people have already renounced their loyalty towards the NP as an institution. The party has lost its almost mystical grip as a national movement. But there is still the philosophy that the solution can be found in the entrenchment of the racial group idea.

Self-determination, control over own affairs and a structure of individuality constitute the most reliable matrix. So they have been taught for generations — and it is this philosophy which deters them.

New group formation by means of free association and regardless of race is a Rubicon they will cross with trepidation. They are still hoping that the NP federation of races will make a breakthrough, although they have in reality lost faith in it.

A second inhibiting factor is the power of ethnic roots. Leftwing opposition groups have a predominantly English-South African element. Too few high-profile Afrikaners — or at least many of them — are still uncomfortable in the other camp.

The same goes for English-speaking NP supporters. The anonymous voices or discussions in living rooms are one thing, but to participate openly and in an organised manner in NP activities is quite another.

The "flock" consciousness of the leftist Afrikaners causes a certain reluctance, even though the same political values are shared. This applies in particular to the generation above the age of 45.

Although the ethnic aspect of politics has taken on a wider



Willem de Klerk

Five factors inhibiting Afrikaners

meaning, it still remains a force. Being white and a South African has certainly not rendered the present generation's ethnicism secondary; and this must surely also apply to the black people.

The third obstacle is lack of faith in coalitions. Afrikaners have not yet been exposed to these to any significant extent. To them, the "united front" offers a more secure bond, hence the scepticism in these circles towards a new leftwing opposition.

They must be convinced that coalitions will be common phenomenon in South Africa in future.

The fourth problem is the lack of open and public participation in leftwing circles by Afrikaner leaders. Large numbers of Afrikaners followed when leaders on all levels openly started to

move away from apartheid.

At the moment, there are few recognised religious, or political, or cultural Afrikaner leaders who are out front in the movement to the left. A few swallows do not make a summer. In Afrikaner circles it is essential that a stronger leader corps associates with such a movement.

The fifth factor is the vagueness attached to the alternative proposed by leftwing circles. The fact that no definite model has come to the fore, apart from the old PFP model — with certain changes — causes leftist Afrikaners to hesitate. The KwaNatal model is also too vague to accept.

If the new opposition on the left of the NP wants to make an impact on the more radical reformers in Afrikaner circles, these five inhibiting factors must receive serious attention.

The new left-wing opposition movement will only be able to increase its power of recruitment, if it can design alternative constitutional proposals and promote them unceasingly among the white voters.

This will also help black groups to understand what the new opposition is focusing at. More grinding and compromise can take place during the negotiating process (which cannot, as yet, be envisaged).

The coming and going of models creates reservations in all circles. It is reasonable to say that the negotiating process must not be anticipated. However, if a group wants to establish a powerful front, it would have to put its cards on the table.

I am not talking about blueprints that are smothered in detail. The vagueness of the rhetoric of broad principles, such as a non-racial dispensation and free association, is not sufficiently outlined to convince people to take the plunge.

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wide spectrum of convictions is characteristic of the Afrikaner — as it is of every other ethnic group all over the world.

Can, and may, one then still love the Afrikaner people? I believe the answer is an easy yes, but not a traditional yes. Love for one's own people is only dignified if it is realistic.

To simply echo the opinion of the majority and make flattering noises under the duress of political leaders or for the sake of unity is downright undignified.

There comes a time in every nation's history when you, as a member of that nation, must love it for its own sake — like you would a naughty child. It becomes more so when self-importance and self-righteousness have become the dominant feature of that people.

Love for one's own people only makes sense when it becomes recognisable as love for people outside the fold. This love can be measured by the degree in which service is rendered to other communities.

In the final analysis, true love for one's people requires deeds: In our case, actions of political and social regeneration and liberation to break down that which has been botched, to clear the rubbish and to build a more just alternative in its place.

This requires a magnanimity that cannot easily be acquired from one's own power and insight.

Admonitions from complacent politicians that the Afrikaner does not have to take the blame for the mistakes of the past may have a soothing effect at the polls but should be rejected with contempt for the sake of reality. Such perverse accommodation towards one's own people is not love but rather fear of revenge.

● *Tien Perspektiewe (Tafelberg)* is to be released shortly.

Is it possible to love an Afrikaner?

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IT is putting it mildly to say Afrikaners' self-confidence has suffered a severe blow.

It is closer to the truth to say that they are experiencing a growing crisis of disillusionment — a crisis that is directly related to the worsening situation in the country.

Actually, the writing has been on the wall for some time.

Since the Second World War South Africa has become the polecat of the world — to a large degree because of the actions of an Afrikaner government that took over the reins at a time when the Afrikaners' new-found freedom from British colonialism was still full of storm and stress.

The way in which the new rulers changed things at the expense of the majority of the population foreshadowed what happened in other liberated African states in the '60s and beyond.

There was, however, one major difference: The "free world" was and is much less inclined to tolerate South Africa's "African capers" because it measures white South Africans according to western standards and western guilt consciences.

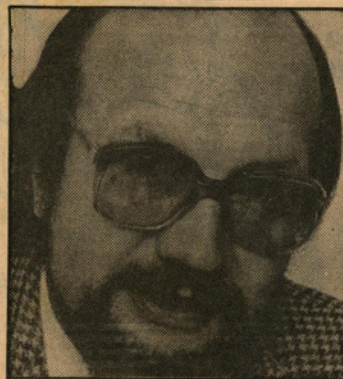
The racially discriminatory system of government that the National Party so zealously built severely damaged the image of the Afrikaner. It also taught him to rely on indefensible values and pipe-dreams.

The Afrikaner, with the trowel of political power in hand, started building a new South Africa with himself as the sole guardian of what he saw as the uncivilised indigenous peoples.

Naturally, this led to resistance, even before 1948. In the '50s, '60s and early '70s, however, this was quelled with the increasing use of force.

Primarily this was done to benefit the guardians but, in a paternalistic way, the Government tried to show that it also benefited its subjects.

The country-wide resistance of 1976 affected Afrikaners in a special way. The fact that this was a protest against the compulsory



use of Afrikaans in black schools was disturbing to them.

With incredulity they discovered that those, whom they believed they were leading towards civilisation, not only despised them, but actually hated them — with a hatred so strong that youths were prepared to put their lives on the line.

To this day, this remains the position — even more so than in 1976.

Cheating

With the disdain of their subjects still fresh in their memory and the smoke of a smouldering South Africa on the political horizon, the Info Scandal erupted. Most Afrikaners trusted the Government relatively unconditionally to handle the unrest and to "restore the country's image abroad".

Muldergate showed that those politicians, in particular, who pontificated about the morality of the total onslaught, were in the forefront of an assault on each and every norm of political decency that still existed in spite of apartheid.

Confusion broke loose in the ranks of Afrikaners, with one salient factor emerging: Gullible supporters were waking from the sleep of blind trust in "our leaders".

The Info Scandal was the emancipation of many Afrikaners — if only because they learnt that their Government was not above cheating. They also realised that you

by Lourens du Plessis

Dr du Plessis is professor of public law at the University of Stellenbosch. This is the first of two extracts from his book, *Tien Perspektiewe*

cannot fight without rules for the preservation of your people.

In the era of political shell-shocks, the Afrikaner's beliefs in certain political truths were further eroded. The last bastions of white colonialism around South Africa fell one after the other.

And now, at the end of the '80s, Afrikaners and their Government are standing naked in their disillusionment. Those peculiar Third World vices that they smirked about so often are becoming part and parcel of life in their own country.

Violence which has to prop up an unjust system gives rise to revolutionary counter-violence and it, in turn, to more violence, transforming the country into a banana republic.

Plans for "reform" sound hollow in this depressing, visionless atmosphere. Political reform is offered — but without the disappearance of the racial basis of the present system or the continuing adherence to "own" and "general" affairs.

The talk is about a new South Africa — but then it is only with those whom the race-aristocrats of the Government want.

What is this other than (at the most) half-way reform?

The irony is that for the first time since the NP took over, the majority of Afrikaners and whites now support peaceful but fundamental socio-political changes — a violent clinging to power.

The Government's reaction to outside pressure is becoming more timorous and more grotesque. It is as if the Government and its media fear that white people may be liberated from their political isolation and environmental handicaps. The hysterical reaction to Dakar proved this once again. One of the first delusions that should be exorcised is

that the Afrikaner governs South Africa and has the right to remain doing so. We especially need to get rid of the notion that it is the "ware Afrikaner" who knows what is best for everybody else in the country.

Actions

A number of people have already disavowed this notion with their mouths — now they should also do it in their hearts and through their actions.

The discovery of the "ware Afrikaner" was one of the biggest calamities that befell this country and the Afrikaner people. It robbed them of their dynamism. And it led to some Afrikaners believing themselves to be God's gift to Africa.

This group, elevated to the status of "our folk", shrouded itself in a protective cocoon against all evil influences — and warded off all evil thoughts of possible shortcomings and imperfections.

Efforts to make the Afrikaner's ethnic identity sacrosanct actually led to its depreciation and the wrong emphasis being placed on the real elements of Afrikanerskap.

The dynamics of ethnicity cannot be explained rationally — and this was not taken into account.

These dynamics are exemplified by the fact that Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert is as much an Afrikaner as P W Botha, and Beyers Naudé as much one as A P Treurnicht. The fact that Afrikanerskap can encompass such a

Feeling the pinch in the middle ground

Sunday Times 5/6/88

IF truth is the first casualty of any conflict, surely moderates should rank a close second.

Searching for the elusive "middle ground" in South African politics has become a favourite pastime of observers, and it may yet prove to be a futile exercise — that piece of political real estate is slowly but inexorably being eroded from all sides.

This stark reality was brought home this week in an interview with Cape Town educationist Franklin Sonn in the latest edition of *Die Suid-Afrikaan*.

Mr Sonn makes out an eloquent plea for his Cape Professional Teachers' Union's decision to align itself with the "progressive movement" and the Freedom Charter.

Tightrope

Not many moons ago Mr Sonn was regarded as the "eminent moderate" — the man who might just be able to bridge the gap between opposing factions in the country.

"In a highly polarised and highly politicised situation it is impossible to continue walking the tightrope," he explains.

Like beauty, moderation is in the eye of the beholder. For the Government it is what President Botha likes to call "decent-minded blacks" — those who are prepared to play the game on the Government's field and according to the Government's rules.

All others are "radicals" or, at best, "useful idiots" whose insistence on basic political and human rights are but preparing the way for the revolutionary onslaught.

For the ANC, those who do not identify with the strategy of violence are reactionary impedi-

Dries van Heerden

looks at the threat facing the moderates



ments who are only prolonging the day of liberation.

Meanwhile, the ascending spiral of violence is forcing people to make stark choices. Those who are not for us are against us — leaving the moderates to look like weak-kneed do-gooders, unable to decide which side they are supporting and doomed to be squashed between the forces of extremism.

When the history of the past 20 years is written, the way in which credible black leadership was spurned and destroyed in favour of a complete class of opportunistic and self-serving shadies will be one of the biggest indictments against the National Party Government.

At the same time, the ANC did not display the degree of statesmanship that was expected of it.

It may yet one day rue the opportunities it squandered two years ago when it had the Government on the defensive and the winds of local and international support at its back.

In 1894 the then French Governor of Algeria, Jules Cambon, lamented his government's policy of breaking up the rising petit bourgeois class in Algiers "because we found them to be forces of resistance. The result is that we are today confronted by a sort of human dust on which we have no influence and in which movements take place which are unknown to us".

In his excellent book on the Algerian war, *A Savage War of Peace*, Allistair Horne refers to these prophetic words: "When France was to cast around for moderate nationalist representatives with whom compromise solutions might be negotiated among this 'human dust', she was to find virtually none."

The history of the last decade of French rule in Algeria was dominated by the politicians' search for the moderates — the interlocuteurs valables.

But they could not find them because they had been wiped out jointly, as if acting in concert, by the torture and atrocities committed by both the French military and the revolutionary FLN.

Tenuous

It is worthwhile remembering that General Magnus Malan picked up the rudiments of his "total strategy" philosophy while serving with General André Beaufre's Second Mechanised Infantry Division in Algeria at the same time as Nelson Mandela received part of his training from Belkacem Krim and the FLN.

As in Algeria, the centrifugal pressure of events is driving the moderates in South Africa from their already tenuous middle position.

In South Africa the Government tried to establish a "tartan middle-ground" — an artificial political position — through its efforts

to create a large black middle class. Give them a stake in the system, give them "something to defend", was the conventional wisdom, "and thus you will prevent them from becoming radicalised".

The shallowness of this approach and the collapse of the economy put paid to these expectations. A rise in the standard of living raised political expectations, and the Government's reform strategy could not keep pace.

Results

Now the black middle class is also forced to take sides. It should have been no surprise that among those people making the pilgrimage to Lusaka recently was the black Chamber of Commerce, Nafcoc, and the black Dutch Reformed Church in Africa — both formerly regarded to be bastions of moderation in the black community.

The Franklin Sonns, the Sam Motsuenyanes and the Sam Butis of this country are the results — not the cause — of the growing polarisation.

Eventually the Government will find that the middle ground is not where it prefers it to be.

It is obviously not in the vicinity of co-optation or coercion. It cannot be enlarged by dishing out jobs or creating consultative structures with high-falutin' names.

But neither is it where bombs are going off or landmines are exploding.

The middle ground can be enlarged, but then only through the broadening of the political power base in the country.

Unless this is done, moderates are doomed to become an endangered species.

JOIN FIGHT TUTU TELLS US BLACKS

SOWETAN 5/06/88

'Form powerful lobby'

NEW YORK — Archbishop Desmond Tutu called on Afro-Americans to form a powerful lobby in the United States to prevent the US government from "collaborating with apartheid."

He was addressing a congregation of several thousand in the Anglican Cathedral of St John the Divine during a welcome to him from the people of Harlem, New York, according to a church statement received by Sapa.

He told the crowd: "You uphold us, you support us and you fire us with zeal so that we are able to tell the perpetrators of injustice and oppression: 'Hey, you have had it. You have lost . . . you can't imprison people's ideas. Others before have tried and they have bitten the dust. You will bite the dust as well'."

Protests

He said black Americans had played an important role in 1984 when they began protests against apartheid.

Referring to the pro-Israeli lobby in the US, he said: "I want to



ARCHBISHOP Tutu.

suggest that it is high time you began a lobby as powerful as that other lobby . . . (if you did) no administration would ever dare to collaborate with apartheid.

"You would be able to determine the agenda of your country . . . you have a crucial role to play to end this scourge which is as evil, as immoral, as unbiblical as Nazism ever was."

Freedoms

Archbishop Tutu said white South Africans spent so much time trying to protect their "sectional freedoms" that they had no time to enjoy them.

"We want freedom for everybody in South Africa. We don't believe in sectional freedom . . ."

He received a standing ovation after concluding: "The only way we can be free is together, black and white. The only way in which we can survive is together, black and white. The only way in which we can be human is together, black and white." — Sapa.

Wanted Chief Matanzima's estate due for sequestration

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5/06/88

By FRED KOCKOTT



George Matanzima

THE estate of Transkei's former Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, who went to Austria a fortnight ago, is expected to be sequestered finally this week to settle debts amounting to nearly R4-million.

Chief Matanzima is wanted by the Transkei Police after the alleged misappropriation of vast amounts of money, including nearly R1-million allocated for a housing project in Umtata.

Sources in Umtata said Chief Matanzima is not expected to return to Transkei and the final order for the sequestration of his estate is likely to be granted by default in the Umtata Supreme Court on Thursday.

Aside from the misappropriation allegations, Chief Matanzima is alleged to have failed to repay millions of rands borrowed from government departments, the Bank of Transkei, the Transkei Agricultural Corporation (TRACOR) and the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC).

Earlier this year the TDC applied for Chief Matanzima's estate to be sequestered to meet a claim of R14 000. TRACOR and several other creditors joined the application as petitioning creditors, bringing the total claims against the former Prime Minister's estate to almost R4-mil-

lion.

Although a provisional sequestration order was granted, TDC's claim was recently paid by a friend of Chief Matanzima and the application was withdrawn on Tuesday.

The remaining creditors and TDC, which is claiming a further R108 000, launched a fresh application. Counsel for Chief Matanzima did not put in an appearance to defend and a new order was granted by default. It is expected a final order will be granted this week.

Meanwhile, it is not known whether Chief Matanzima is still in Austria or what the purpose of his entering that country was. It is widely believed that he has undisclosed assets, including foreign investments.

The Austrian government does not recognise the South African "independent states" and is also very strict on visiting South Africans. Reasons for entering have to be stated, and South Africa citizens are questioned extensively.

However, Mr Matanzima, who was travelling on a Transkeian diplomatic passport, was issued a visa at the Austrian border.

It is not known for how long the visa was valid or what reasons Chief Matanzima gave for entering the Austria.

ECONOMIC, political and military power usually go together. In Japan they do not. In their single-minded pursuit of prosperity and market share, the Japanese have left politics largely to others. Military strength has been limited voluntarily. Now Japan is being drawn into the world outside by its economic success. Some now see change in the air. They see Japanese ambitions as beginning to match its economic strength.

There can be no doubt about this strength. Japan's gross national product is second only to that of the United States in the non-communist trading community, and it is growing faster. Tokyo is a major supplier of capital to the world, not least to New York. The Japanese trade surplus in 1986 was the highest recorded by a single country and in 1987 it was almost as high. The yen has doubled in value against the US dollar since September 1985, but Japanese industry has managed to adjust to this and the economy is booming once more.

Defence, however, shows a different picture. Japan is commonly thought to do little about it. Its policy is based on a treaty with the United States, signed in 1951 but revised in 1960, which makes Americans responsible for Japan's external (and nuclear) security but puts no reciprocal load on Japanese. There is a constitution which says that there should be no Japanese armed forces or war potential. In fact there are self-defence forces (SDF), to which Japan considers itself entitled as is any other member of the United Nations — provided they are for defence only.

Despite a self-imposed limit on defence expenditure of one percent of GNP, Japan is now a medium-sized military power, though a non-nuclear one. It has about the same number of ground forces as Britain, for example. After all, one percent of the GNP is a very large sum: expressed in US dollars, Japanese defence spending is now the sixth-highest in the world.

It grows annually by 4 to 5 percent in real terms and is now almost as big as that of West Germany — but its defence burden is far lighter. The armed forces, at 246 000,

are only half the size of West Germany's, drawn from a population twice as large; the Japanese manpower burden is therefore one quarter. Also, the financial load is little more than half, since the Japanese GNP is moving towards double that of West Germany.

More to the point, however, Japan spends only about 8 percent of the American figure (or about 16 percent *per capita*). It is from Washington that the complaints come, notably from Congress, which alleges that by saving on defence, Japan gains economic advantage over the United States while benefiting from American protection and from a system of international order that it does little to sustain.

Obviously, Japan could do more. Last year it lifted the one-percent barrier, to take effect from 1990 (though some other less arbitrary limit may take its place). The constraints, though, are not on resources, they are political.

The United States would certainly like

Japan to spend more, particularly as its own defence spending is shrinking. It would also like it to take on military tasks that would ease the pressure on the extended US forces, such as patrolling the ocean sea lanes; a readiness to close the exits of the Sea of Japan in emergency; and sending minesweepers to the Gulf. It asks Japan to accelerate a major equipment programme that is about four years behind.

Tokyo understands these requests. It is willing to spend more and has steadily

By
Brigadier
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SUNDAY TRIBUNE
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5/06/88
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Japan's Prime Minister
YASUHIRO NAKASONE

done so, but not too much (not unlike the European allies of the United States); enough to keep Washington from getting too restive but stopping short of straining the domestic consensus on defence and of endangering a conservative economic policy designed to cut the budgetary deficit (contrast the US).

Although there is greater public awareness of the need for defence now, due much to the efforts of Yasuhiro Nakasone during his five years as prime minister but also to Soviet military activity in East Asia, there is still hostility to it within the media and academia and on the political left. There are no votes in it, while there are for the competing claims for funds, as for better housing, roads and the like.

There is another important consideration. Put shortly, Japanese efforts are concerned with the direct defence of Japan, not with the common defence. No wider role is to be undertaken, no troops sent overseas, even in a United Nations role. Japan provides bases and facilities for the United States under the security treaty, but its responsibilities go no further. It is not an ally in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation sense of the word.

A further political factor has to do with the attitudes of its neighbours. When the one-percent spending barrier was lifted, the United States naturally welcomed the step.

China did not and there were concerns voiced elsewhere in Asia. The Soviet Union was of course hostile. China chose to see

the decision as a sign of returning militarism.

Some of the Asian views may rather have reflected a worry that if Japan did more, this would enable the United States to do less, an exchange of roles that would be most unwelcome. Nonetheless, regional apprehensions do carry some weight in Tokyo. There is still a historical legacy from the past.

For Japan, the US-Japan Security Treaty is the centrepiece of its foreign and security policy, as it is of US strategic policy in the Pacific. It provides a comforting framework not only for security but also for making increases in defence efforts without causing much alarm at home and abroad — provided that the steps taken are measured in pace and run no risk of any wider involvement.

Japan has no disposition at all to seek any other defensive arrangement and, given the large American presence in the region, no concern to have larger force itself. Within this protective American co-

coon, Japan does not feel threatened. It sees the strategic position as a satisfactory one.

Of course, the treaty makes relations with Washington all-important and the last year or so has seen these under strain, due largely to trading frictions. If the United States puts strong pressure on Japan to do more about defence, this cannot be brushed aside. Although the extra defence spending is helping with the necessary modernisation of the SDF, it is also a response to American views. Japan has also given economic aid to a number of countries in which the United States has a strategic interest, such as Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey, complementing US military aid. This does not appear in the defence budget but is viewed in Tokyo as strategic aid. It should not be overlooked in all this that the United States is not only Japan's protector, it is also its principal trading partner. The relationship is very close.

This will remain so; it suits both countries. However, there is bound to be some change in its nature over time: Japan is now a major economic competitor to the United States and its equal in so many ways, though Americans may have some difficulty in adjusting to this. As an economic superpower, Japan is now being brought firmly on to the economic stage. The Japanese are still not used to this; they have been reluctant to become involved in the political problems of others, which seem to have brought them only trouble in the past. So the readiness in Japan to meet the responsibilities that an international role demands is slowly being tested.

The reactions from Tokyo are bound to be cautious, even reluctant; moving the consensus will make this so. In the absence of any regional upheaval or change in American policy, Japan is most unlikely to take bold initiatives — or to embark on a defence policy that goes beyond the incremental improvement of its defence forces within the general confines of its present roles.

Tokyo is not unhappy with things much as they are.

Bomb capital

now

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5/6/88

Witwatersrand

By David Capel

THE Witwatersrand has become the "bomb capital of the country", with seven explosions rocking the area in just more than a week.

The blasts may be connected to an increased struggle for supremacy between South Africa's two largest liberation movements, the banned African National Congress (ANC) and its rival, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), according to observers.

It was pointed out this week that the ANC has not claimed responsibility for the recent blasts.

Prof Mervyn Frost, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Natal, said yesterday the ANC had "everything going for it at present", in terms of a proposed ultra-tough US sanctions package, increased international recognition and highly publicised talks with liberal white leaders.

Another expert, however, believes the ANC may have altered its strategy and is now "increasingly selecting civilian targets".

Prof Willie Breytenbach, of the Africa Studies Department at Stellenbosch University, says it appears a "concerted effort" is being made to single out the PWV area for violent attacks.

"Two years ago the bomb capital of the country was Durban, but since the Mozambique route has been effectively closed (to ANC insurgents) other routes, possibly from Botswana and Zimbabwe, are being used," he said.

Prof Frost, meanwhile, pointed to recent reports which indicated the competition between the ANC and the PAC had "hotted up" recently.

The PAC also recently stated it wanted to revive its military wing.

"I'm sceptical about a policy shift in the ANC," Prof Frost said. "The ANC has very recently said it would aim at non-civilian targets, including military installations," he added.

He said it was possible renegade ANC members were responsible. "The military wing is not as highly disciplined as it could be".

Reports this week said the PAC wanted to resuscitate its military wing, which has been dormant for a decade.

The PAC was founded in 1959 after a split the previous year in the ranks of the ANC.

It is recognised by the United Nations and the Organisation for African

unity (OAU) as a liberation movement.

It was reported this week that of a total of 531 insurgents and collaborators killed or captured by security forces last year, 85 were either PAC members or were allied to the organisation.

It was also stated that three insurgents shot dead by police in a shootout in Johannesburg last August were PAC members.

Friday's three blasts brought to seven the number of explosions to rock the PWV in eight days.

The worst blast, outside the Standard Bank in Roodepoort at 1.10pm, claimed four lives and injured 19.

Then, on Friday night, an explosion ripped through the Lascon Lighting factory near Baragwanath Hospital on the road to Soweto. No one was injured.

In another blast on Friday night, a 310gm mini limpet mine exploded on the steps outside the South African Irish Regiment in Anderson Street, central Johannesburg. Police said slight damage was caused and no one was hurt.

The blasts follow closely on two explosions in central Pretoria on Thursday, May 26, in which four women were injured.

Last Friday a bomb exploded in a refuse truck in Johannesburg, injuring the driver. The following day three people were injured in a blast at Johannesburg Station.

The Roodepoort bomb went off in a refuse bin at a time when the city's streets were packed with shoppers and office workers.

Injured passersby described the nightmare to the Sunday Tribune from their beds at the Lera-tong Hospital near Krugersdorp shortly after the blast.

They told how a peaceful afternoon lunch-hour turned into a bloodbath as people were blown apart and shards of glass flew through the air.

Citizenship red tape blocks Xhosa lawyer's ambitions

CITY PRESS
05/06/88
CP Correspondent

A MAN who passed his law exams at South African institutions has been refused permission to practice in the country because he was born a Xhosa.

After passing the Natal Law Society's admission exam, Lawrence Nomvete's ambitions were halted by bureaucracy last week when the Maritzburg Supreme Court ruled that as a Xhosa by birth, he must prove his South African citizenship before being allowed to work in the country.

Nomvete's problem started when the Transkei government came into being in 1976. At that time, those born on land that became part of the new country forfeited their South African citizenship and automatically became subjects of Transkei.

For Nomvete - who was born 29-years-ago in Bizana - the matter has now become desperate as he prepares to challenge the judge's verdict. He will argue that he studied and resided in this country. This, however, opens him to more serious scrutiny by the court which may decide he is an illegal resident.

All attorneys in South Africa are

obliged to make an application to the Supreme Court for formal legal acceptance as practising lawyers.

The court has to satisfy itself that the applicant is a "fit and proper" person and has never been convicted of crime.

It is mostly left to the law societies to lodge objections against such applications.

In Nomvete's case, the society did not have any objection.

It was only when his counsel told the judges he was awaiting the outcome of an application for an identity document under the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act that the judges ruled unless he showed proof of his identity, he could not work in SA.

The other option for him is to wait until the Department of Home Affairs has processed his ID application, but that could take about eight months to process.

His mother's ambition was for her son to become a carpenter. She sent him to live in Umlazi, Durban, to study at a vocational college after his father died in 1970.

There, he passed matric and was sponsored to attend Fort Hare University. - Concord

Bomb capital now

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 5/26/88

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By David Capel

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