

ANOTHER VOICE |

ELSON
MANDELA
in jail is likeâ\200\231

a stone in the stom-
ach of the South
African body poli-
tic â\200\224 if we donâ\200\231t cut
it out, we will go
â\200\230through trouble-
some waters, and
may even drown.

But to make that in-
cision so that the body
politic does not get in-
amed â\200\224 therein lies
the rub.

Let us go back and see
where the â\200\234Free Man-
delaâ\200\235 idea comes from. It
has been mooted by
various organisations for
some time. One personal-
ity who has been pressing
for it is Chief Buthelezi.
But donâ\200\231t forget Kaiser
Matanzima did the same.

It was the State Presi-
dent, however, who made
it a central theme when,
at the opening of Parlia-
ment last year, he said
that Mandela could be re-
leased if only he would re-
nounce violence.

In the meantime, the
EPG have said it, so has
Sir Geoffrey Howe on be-
half of the EEC â\200\224 and
still nothing happens.

Why should he be re-
leased, though?

In the first place he is an
old man, so there are hu-
manitarian reasons. But
also his being in jail has
blocked every attempt by
the Government to get
black leaders to come for-
ward and discuss a new
dispensation.

And with the National
Council up in the air after
this weekâ\200\231s NP Natal con-
gress, it is time to again
think seriously about the
issue.

The Government is aware of the conundrum. Why, then, does it not call the ANC's bluff and release Mandela unconditionally? It is a question of face it has to be saved and also, how can he be released without it appearing as though Pretoria is giving in to pressure? But there are other questions.

Surely, the argument

We have a play

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Vuwstog Gt el

waiting to

open. But

while Mandela

is in jail, we can't even get

R
the curtain up

runs, if Mandela is released he will hold a mass rally, there will be disorder, maybe a terrible escalation of violence, a further harsh clampdown, and matters will be worse than before.

And Mandela would be back in jail this time under the emergency regulations and not because a judge sent him there.

Or Mandela could leave the country and form a

overnment-in-exile.
t would be a further
unacceptable develop-
ment.

Or, probably worse, his
safety could not be guar-
anteed. In the present vio-
lent situation, somebody
might assassinate him
and the Government
would be blamed.

That is the Govern-
ment's position. If, howev-
er, one accepts that it is
serious about releasing
Mandela and getting the
National Council off the
ground and staving off the
worsening sanctions
drive, one should perhaps
stand back a little from
the problem and kick

some ideas around with
other involved parties.

The other scenarios
could look like this: :

In the first place, it is a
miscalculation that Man-
dela is the most senior
ANC man in jail, or that
pressure is only about get-
ting him out or that his
release would somehow
divide the ANC, because
there would immediately
be a power struggle be-
tween him and Oliver
Tambo.

Although the lines of
command are not all that
clear, Mr Tambo was
elected deputy to the late
Albert Luthuli and is,
therefore, the most senior
elected ANC leader. And
still is.

Also, that Nelson Man-
dela's most senior posi-
tion was that of Transvaal
chairman thus one of
four vice-chairmen. His

. seniors are certainly Wal-
ter Sisulu, who was
national chairman at the
last legal ANC congress in

1959, and Govan Mbeki,
;vlho was secretary-gener-

And these last two are

in jail with Mr Mandela â\200\224
whose name has been up
front because of his com-
mand at the time of his
trial of the military wing
of the ANC. And because
the ANC focused its cam-
paign on him, because his
name was better known.

The campaign, then, is
for the release of all poli-
tical prisoners, Mandela
being only one of them.

It is not impossible that
the release could be fin-
essed, if handled in this
manner: his release, and
that of his compatriots, is

_not done simply by Pre-

toria opening the gates of
Pollsmoor.

The matter has first to
be discussed thro a
third party â\200\224 with Oliver
Tambo? â\200\224 so that ar-
rangements can be made
to contain possible vio-
lence, that is assuming
the ANC can control al
the violence, or most of it.

It requires a third party
trusted by both parties,
can be done behind the

| HARALD PAKENDORF

scenes, need not become
public, and a timetable of
sorts should be agreed to.

The Government can .

et around its condition
or Mandelaâ\200\231s release b
saying that prisoners wi
be released into a peace-
ful atmosphere (or some
similar wording), the ANC
gets agreement for the
prisoners to hold some
public meetings in the
major centres, and the
prisoners then leave the
country.

One would then expect |
them to travel the world
to make their points â\200\224
which would not be differ-
ent from what the ANC is
already doing. -

Then the former prison-

ers could be recalled to Lusaka for consultation with the external ANC and come back into South Africa to operate here much in the manner in which Mrs Mandela does.

Make no mistake, all of this means that the Government will have spoken to the ANC. But also that the ANC will have had dealings with the Government. :

And also that the ANC will, in fact, have an internal wing which, while not legalised in form, will be so in practice. And it will mean that a whole new political game will have started.

A risky one, true, but running the risk of not doing it has so far meant an increase in lawlessness, in - sanctions and a deepening of the South African crisis. -

Not only that, but the Mandela issue has bedevilled any chance of a consultative process being launched. '

e need to engage the ANC in that & , not because it is the only other political actor in the play, but because it is one of the actors. And the others wonâ\200\231t come forward without the ANC.

Keeping political prisoners in jail has stopped the play from opening at all. Another look at the whole issue is seriously needed if any real negotiations about a viable future constitution are to get off the ground.

SUNDAY TIMES, August 17 1988

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Yes, but is this.

f

all were getting?

RESIDENT BOTHA this week

repeated his celebrated statement that South Africa had outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid and then did nothing to prove it.

His address to the National Party congress raised serious questions about his will, or ability, to take the reform programme to its logical conclusion. Where it did not actually contain backsliding overtones, it sent disquieting signals that he has no plans to move much beyond the point reached in June. :

For example, the Group Areas Act, although it is to be more flexibly applied, will stay. (When will politicians learn not to use the word never?)

This odious law is the very fundament of entrenched apartheid. Any government that wishes to be taken seriously when it claims that the concept is outdated simply dare not flinch from its total abolition.

Scrapping it will not lead to overnight, mass migration of people between suburbs. Among all groups there is a tendency to gravitate to residential areas of like cultural interests and economic class. So why keep an insupportable statute which codifies in law what other societies leave to human nature and economics?

There was, too, a stubborn commitment in Mr Botha's speech to the concept of group, as opposed to

individual, rights. Power, he insist-

ed, must remain divided as well as shared.

No-one can take away from the President the credit he' deserves for initiating a bold U-turn out of the cul de sac of apartheid. It would, therefore, be sad and hugely damaging to his place in history if he now funks the final steps to escape from it altogether.

Is this merely a tactical pause, or an excessively cautious response to the old, inevitable story

of the De Tocqueville dictum, that.

the most dangerous moment for a previously repressive government comes when it embarks on reform? 5

The truth is that the Govern-

ment cannot forever keep the lid on dissent and black aspirations by

declaring a never-ending state of | emergency. If the suspension of | civil liberty has any utility at all, it | is a means of buying time for com- |

pletion of the reform programme.
Mr Botha's unwillingness even

to hint at his vision of the ultimate

future Is it federal? If so, how federal? And why unearth daft and discredited notions of city states leaves one wondering whether such a vision exists at all. Does he have any viable plans beyond the tricameral Parliament, local government of byzantine, Heunissian complexity, and a National Statutory Council which no credible black leader will join?

If not, we should be told. Or have we been told?

g

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BY congressâ\200\231s end, thÃ©â\200\230Â» -

National Party organ-*
-~ isers would have been
better advised to take!

. down the keynote â\200\234For|

freedom and stabilityâ\200\235

'SUNDAY TIMES, August 17 1986

â\200\230posters from Durbanâ\200\231si . . o

ones. S
They should have read â\200\234So
what did you expect?â\200\235 -

The fourth federal congress of &
the National Party this week was"
the second in a two-part drama. :
for Southern Africa.

The first part :
Sunday, May 18, this veer when'
.South- African security forces
struck symbolically at the ANC in-
Lusaka, Harare and Gaborone. |

South African Defence Force: :
commandos then told the world to; -
take a running jump; mortars and - -

rockets. are local vernacular and
best understand.

This weekâ\200\231s National Party con- -
gress was Part 2.

" It dealt, however, in signals and /reform he could
ot believing

symbols, not for the world but for
ourselves, and was couched in the

same idiom of resistance and, yes, =
truculence. It is not by chance |

nl

that President Botha made no ef-
fort to convey the most importan

parts of his message in English. Â¢
A little history gives the back- !
ground to what happened (or, if *

you are less initiated, what did
not happen) when 1 800 delegates

from the ruling party got togeth- !

er.

Here two concepts are useful: !
one is the idea of adaptive re-
form and the other is the concept i

of fundamental reform.

Adaptive reform is what Presi- â\200\224

dent Botha is all about. It entails
changes to the basic apartheid
dogma so as to clean up some of
its grubbier elements, admit al-

lies of other races and create a ! 1
; rejected, macho

climate for further change.

ADAPTIVE

= ecsmen 6 HOW painful it |
~must have been
for him to live
withinflated

Pretoria, rightly or wrongly, be- L B
believes it is the one our neighbours ;

was scripted onâ\200\231

â\200\234 fl;brxh whereby the Government
eâ\202¬gan genuinely negotj

. about power distriby i
sis of the free

but not radical, opposition. :
It has not worked thus far, and
for many reasons. Only two are
really important,
. First, the National Party, hay-
Ing once discovered â\200\230â\200\234reformâ\200\235
showed itself to be the adolescent
on the first date. It did not know
what to do. When the suitor was
responded. .

The was then un-

â\200\234Forceâ\200\235

. leashed and, much in the manner

of a bull-terrier with a firecracker-

But two things remain invie- -.tied to its tail, rushed around sa-

late: political rights must be exer-
cised through race groups, and
white (read National Party) domi-
nation must not be allowed to slip.
The dilemma is how to share

power without losing it; in pursuit

of its solution Constitution Minis-

ter Chris Heunis has burnt much

midnight oil.

The process of adaptive reform
could conceivably have once -

lurched over into fundamental re-

vaging almost everybody. All the |

opposition had to do was keep

- tossing in an occasional match.

Second, the radical leftwing op-

position groups in this country |

believed, incredibly, that a little
international huff and domestic
puif would topple the Govern-
ment. They pushed it to uncon-
scionable lengths and the Govern-

_expectations of = |

3

unwisely.

MYOPIA

The UDF and its cohorts still -

owe the nation for that unpardon- ;
able act of tactical myopia. :

But this is all by way of history. |

- The point is that when Presi-
dent Botha came to address the
fourth federal congress of the
National Party this week it was a
vastly different congress to the
third, the one in Bloemfontein
four years ago when it launched
its new constitutional plans.

Purified of its doubting Tho-
mases and fifth columnists, â\200\230the
party could four years ago believe
in a future; a complacent Chris

. Heunis could then quaff a beer in

the .Pressroom knowing he had
taken the party. H

The delegates at this weekâ\200\231s
conference still have faith, a
touching kind, and probably more
than their leadership deserves,

but little vision. In recent years _

ment inevitably retaliatÃ©d sav- -
- agely and, the future may prove,

r their: leaders have been saying
! and, instead, have trjed. to- feel..

â\200\230what is going on.. . , - i
The process of adaptivi =~

has, under the exigencies of preg-Â»j
sure and circumstance, speeded.:

up and the old verities have tauen;.i:
toibe E%gâ\200\230?md by semantic flatn-
lence. ormâ\200\235, through the min-~
istrations of the party techno--
crats, now means whatever one:'

- hopes or fears to make of it.. .-,
- REACTIONARY
- Where the progressives would%j,
once have sought toâ\200\231 ease their;
party ttl;lrough adaptive. into fun-
damental relorm, they now:find]

S m i
the difference between â\200\234the tu
still achingly t;nde. The pr:cg'so?g
stubbed toes on- thev

Â¢ . crash-barriersâ\200\231 er mbyo:nmt,h;i
â\200\230confused supporters: orvi g too?
much, where to â\200\224. - agvery:
weary leader, -'-r{

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by being nice to foreign AT
g;ent; one alio has notl;'il;zgg: fgsne
! Ing nasty i â\200\231 i
~ \xjelatio nÂ\$ y in oneâ\200\231s domestic â\200\230
The main elements 3
sketch: rehabilitation

tired old ideas of race-based Â¢j

d - cit;
States, . Co-operativeâ\200\235 structurez
af:?x!;i gzitsmall{h ghetto-ised politics
ways :
e Â¥S the heavy hand of se.
The upsides were left to Minis-
ters: a possible â\200\234Bill of R?&â\200\234tâ\200\231ssï~\201

S . ~â\200\224

(whatever that may mean) and

- elections to establish black representation (watch the UDF fluff this one {oo}. %

Listening to President Bothaâ\200\231s laboured delivery oneâ\200\231s sympathy lay deeper than simply for a sore throat. How painful it must have been -over the past two years to live with the inflated rhetoric and expectations of a reform in which he could never believe and had, in all truth, never sought to propagate. :

In party quarters it has long been said, sometimes maliciously by Transvalers, that President Bothaâ\200\231s interests were always parochial: get the coloureds back into politics and leave the rest to a successor.

President Botha, I believe, this week ;})oke straight from the heart. He has deliberately halted his cavalry short of the gully; will not take them across to voluntary association_in pelitics and to fundamental reform.

When his adaptive reform policy fell apart, his Tuesday speech (some wags-call it the best speech of 1978) was the inevitable consequence. It has been a long time in the waiting. -

-SECURITY

He had seen the future through the Eminent Persons Group and in the heightened expectations flowing from his own colleaguesâ\200\231 persistent and casual abuse of the word â\200\234reformâ\200\231â\200\235. And he has walked away.

Constitutional change will continue through the National Statutory Council with or without the main players; it is the Namibian internal settlement option and will, in all probability, fail.

If he was thus unable to offer his party a vision, what could he give?.. He sold it security, primor-

ially presented by his Ministers of Police and Defence. If he could not show his followers a blueprint of the future, he could at least assure they would not be killed in their beds.

Most delegates â\200\224 indeed most whites â\200\224 would settle for that after the obfuscatory politics and mounting violence of the past. The paradoxes between reform and repression no-longer discomfort.

resident Botha used the word â\200\234freedomâ\200\235 36 times in the first five pages of his speech while police outside the pavilion took action in connection with peaceful demonstrators that could not initially be reported because of the emergency.

But what did you expect?

Does SA

SUNRDY

THE plaza is Yale University's focal point. It used to be called Beinecke Plaza, but that was before Winnie Mandela City was erected. Winnie Mandela City, strategically placed in the centre of the plaza, is a shantytown inhabited and run by a very determined, very active group of Yale students who are demanding their university's divestment from companies who do business in South Africa.

The shantytown, meant to deface the erisp, shimmering beauty of the plaza and thus bring to the attention of the Yale community the true horror of South Africa's real squatter camps, is, in fact, not aesthetically unpleasing.

To the divestment campaigners' credit, rather than discouraging potential supporters with a holier-than-thou morality and ascetism, the movement has attracted widespread support by offering a vision that is a combination of outraged '60s activ-

ism and swirling day-glo '60s fun.

This is not, however, to belittle the campaign of the students. They are, for the most part, motivated by a strong, sincere belief that apartheid and the present South African regime are morally reprehensible and should not be supported in any way by their university (a bastion of liberalism) or by their country (which is, after all, the land of the free).

Their devotion to the cause, however (a devotion which has eclipsed, for many of them, the importance of their studies - a rarity at Yale) has another motivation as well, one that is slightly

more questionable.

At a rally following the administration's entirely unnecessary and insensitive destruction of Winnie Mandela City (due to the unauthorised addition of 2 monument com-

reall

â\200\230L â\200\230 S
memdraling South Africaâ\200\231s
dead), David Montgomery, a
member of the Yale faculty
and one of Americaâ\200\231s fore-
most labour historians,
shouted across Beinecke/
Boesak Plaza to hundreds of
strangely pensive students:
â\200\234This has been a bad year for
dictators!

â\200\234We toppled one in Haiti,
another in the Philippines
and by the end of the year
will have toppled a third in
South Africaâ\200\235 â\200\224 this from a
sworn enemy of the imperial-
ist Reagan!

Even those Americans who
decry, even today, Vietnam;
even those Americans who
are offended to the core by
Reaganâ\200\231s Central American
policy, those Americans who
have bumper-stickers saying
â\200\234Boycott South Africa, not
Nicaragua!â\200\235, have the same
â\200\234foreign policyâ\200\235 as their des-
pised President â\200\224 the policy
that they â\200\224 simply because
the Americans, because they

are the founders and the per-

petuators of the worldâ\200\231s
greatest democracy â\200\224 have

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the right and the power to
free the world, to change
things according to their
own, American, sets of val-
ues.

Those hundreds of students
standing at the rally (the big-
gest one I have seen at Yale)
had a lot to be pensive about.

The rally was a far cry
from those I have witnessed
on South Africa campuses,

and the reason was obvious .

â\200\224 try as hard as they could to
make the divestment issue
emotionally charged, they
could not remove it from the
very intellectual, very dis-
tant plane it occupies in the

average Yale studentâ\200\231s mind.

The gap between the theat-

(ABL

By MARK GEVISSER | Clty?

a South African student at Yale]

nie Mandela

ricality and the reality of
South Africa was made most
obvious to me in the speech
of one of the students at the

same rally: â\200\234The Yaleâ\200\230

administrationâ\200\235, she shouted, :
â\200\234is just like the South African !
police! They removed us"
forcefully from our shanty,!

Does it matter how theat-
rical their campaign is, or if
they are, raising the con-
sciousness of their fellow stu-
dents?

. These questions were put
to me a year or so ago by
Brooke Baldwin, a graduate
student who was, for the
most part, largely responsi-
ble for getting the divest-
ment campaign off the
ground.

I was speaking to her at a

24-hour vigil Against Apartheid

from Winnie Mandela City! 224

' They destroyed our home! 235 |

I could not take her self-
righteous appropriation of
other people's pain very seriously. 2

She, unlike the squatters at
KTC or Crossroads, has a
warm bed in one of Yale's
fortress-like colleges to go
home to, protected by a
locked gate from the real-

Sixties of New Haven, America-
| ca's seventh-poorest city, and
from Dixwell, the depressed
'black neighbourhood only
three blocks away,
And yet, one of the most, '

! prized possessions of the di-

' vestment campaign is a tele- |
.-gram from Bishop Tutu, '

. which was blown up and pos-
tered all over the campus,
As saying!: 234Keep up 230the good

- work!

* . The question to be raised
: here 'is, therefore, does it -
. matter whether the Yale stu-
dents are laying their lives on .
the line or not?, . . |

held 235 outside Woodbridge
Hall, the administrative of-
fices of the university.

That spectacle there horri-
fied me 224 some students
were dancing to songs like

234Special AKA's 235, 234Free Nelson '

sqh Mandela 235 and Peter Ga-
briel 231s 234Biko 235, while others
were dotted around candles
burnt into the concrete pav-
ing of the plaza like camp-
fires, snuggled under sleep-
ing-bags, drinking wine and
" smoking pot,
- L a South African, was
deeply offended 224 nobody
- seemed to be giving a thought
to the injustices and horrors
of my country, and I voiced
- my reservations to Baldwin,
{ a woman I have always re-

! spected for her knowledge
and sincerity. She told me that she too
i was disappointed with the be-
haviour of most of the stu-

- dents, but explained the tac-
tical _ importance of

sensationalism in any politi-
cal mass movement.

Another activist made it
clear to me that what was
important was that the Eeft
in"America had finally found
something around which to
coalesce, something that was
so distant, so clear-cut, so
black and white, that peo-
ple who usually disagreed on
things closer to home could
find common ground. South
Africa, its people and prob-
lems, did not really matter at
all. 3

If campaigns like that at
Yale do exert pressure on
South Africa to speed up the
collapse of apartheid, then I
must support such cam-
paigns. :

I cannot, however, sub-
scribe to a morality that
strikes me as a second wave
of imperialism, the imperial-
ism of Yale students, armed
with lapel buttons saying
"Divest NOW!", who, in their
quest for political correct-
ness and moral ascendancy,
are re-colonising my land
and my people.

Lee F5

17 August 1986 - No. 1239

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B . ppt gald a dâ\200\230 n\:%ï¬\201
ge SbuthAfrica being ?ï¬\201%m 'mtg"fw

states, each roughly equal in geographical
extent.

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. domestic product,
The partition plan has been discussed
both in the Federal Republic _of Ger-

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*aiany, WherÂ® lt has been mentioned more

than once in the Hamburg weekly Die
Zeis, and in countries ranging from Aug-
tralig and Holland to Mgggand France,

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{an and the Washington Post have dealt

withthe, prapas &Pt hury | g
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printed in South Africa and the proposal
taken yp Dy OUPEr EXPET s, il il
., -Ablack South African.newspapel, the
City Press, wrate last autymn thet expeiis
tracked by tha South, African goverument
had drawn up & plan for. ia, thresfold
carve-up of tha eewmary., L i |
_y Rightwing extramist(St groups.
presumably; with scent.. influencÃ®, have
called fora;"white homelandâ\200\231, jn the heart
of South Africa. Â¢ iyl
oA ngther, somewhat, mysterious South
* African group, the, Organisation, for,the
Independence ,of l South-West, JAfrica,

calls ~fori an! â\200\234independentâ\200\231y Cape .pro-,

> VNG, s i Tapp] putidl â\200\234ain T L (R La R e |
;l South Africeâ\200\231s leading businiess gxecu-
tive, Gavin Reilly of the Anglo-American
mining. and, ndystrlal; .corporation, te
pentlxx.described.partition a4 the â\200\234final
golution. e aptit l uiy J4L0 Al aibe]
Count Lambsdarff, agrees.., View ed
irom outside, he writes,.partitipn would
appear lo, be an Â\$Raurd: solution. By if
soasosiattonal demogracy. falied ta WOk
inSouth Afriga, which seamed likely, l he
whites must be offered a.yefuge. i/
The consociational approach, a3 pror

posed. for Houth Afrigp in the Federal Re-
public by, B group of researchers headed
by Theodor Hanf. in Freeburg envisages
cultural; and - Jinguistia (aYlonONL) . far
white and blacks, assured minority
rights; and, & quest for, consensus on all
fundamental decisions, while the M

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i Lembedprti, .
EE9. cad â\200\230.:5%;Â¢ BORC
the 1984 South African â\200\234constitutive
incorporates individual features taken
from this debate, but amounts to no more
than what has been termed â\200\234sham consoci-
ationalism.â\204¢ " > 7 :

The partition proposal, Count
Lambson says, differs fundamentally
from ' the South- Africansâ\200\231 â\200\234homelandâ\200\235
concept, which from the outset has, kept
the apartheid policy, been unacceptable.

The aim must be - to ensure, in power
policy 'terms, the' right of white and Afri-
can South Africans to survive and so
to prevent 'a civil war he sees as an in-
creasingly distinct possibility. -
. "The outcome â\200\230of a civil war would be
far from clear; the Afrikaners hadâ\200\231 suc-
ceeded â\200\230at the turn of the century in keep-
ing the British Empire at bay for four
years in the Boer War, "â\200\231 i
+ They were still not prepared to aban-
don power voluntarily. So an approach
needed to be taken that went further than
conventional ideas T

Partition would not result in a divided
nation. as in Germany or Korea, because
no such nation exists. but finally

Count Lambson referred to an "Afri-
kaner Israeliâ\200\235 probably in the western
Cape province, adding that Palestinian
claims to have had their land stolen from
them' and' not to have been granted state-
hood of their own did not exactly apply
by â\200\230and logic inâ\200\231 this - 'Â¢ade! â\200\230Yet -partition

Continued on page 5 * /""

?ho!â\200\230\ Syon Simo
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- SOUTH Africa for the last

*ten years ~â\200\224-since â\200\234the sg-called Soweto riots â\200\224 has been. in a state of violent

equilibrium in terms of which black resistance is unable to-overthrow the Government, but at the same time the Government is unable to eliminate violent revolt.

If foreign media coverage is to be believed, this basical-

ly stable equilibrinm has

_been upset, and the overthrow of the Government is but a matter of time.

Last year, and during the first half of this one, the balance certainly swung against the Government.

Emergency Mark II is now succeeding from the Governmentâ\200\231s point of view. Violence is diminishing and the balance of power â\200\224 never fundamentally upset anyway â\200\224 has swung back in the Governmentâ\200\231s favour. .

Serewing-down the lid on resistance is oaly part of the reason, however. Sheer weariness among township dwellers â\200\230is aaother, compounded by a backlash

- against the disruption caused to the man, woman and child in the street by demands for consumer boycotts, stay-away and the like. ;

If security forces had displayed more sympathy and sensitivity to ordinary black people, such a backlash would have materialised much sooner than it did.

Obviously, however, screwing down the lid is a short-term expedieant. It was screwed down in 1960 after Sharpeville, only to be blown off in Soweto 16 years later.

A combination of security clampdowns and reform action held the lid down after 1976, but it has been blown off again with even greater

~violence barely eight years later.

Grudging

On this model, the Government has no more than three

to four years to get to grips with the basic causes of poli-

tical violence in South Africa -

â\200\224 unemployment, and the continued exclusion of blacks from political rights.

Will it seize the opportunity now presented or will it squander it?

Seizing it requires a much more decisive and wholehearted approach to reform than the grudging and dilatory attitude that has been so much in evidence until now.

It is astonishing how decisively the Government can act when it really wants to: witness how it sledgehammered the recent amend-

" ments to the Public Safety and Internal Security Acts on to the statute book, or how swiftly the State President overturned the courts last month when they tampered with some of the emergency regulations.

An even more telling ex-

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By JOHN |
KANE-BERMAN

Director of the South
African Institute .
of Race Relations .

ampie is how, in the short
space of eight years since the
UN arms embargo was im-
posed in November 1977, the
Government built up Arms-
cor and the huge South Afri-
can arms industry.

How strikingly this con-
trasts with its abject. failure
to get to grips with the black
â\200\230housing crisis. When the Gov-
ernment wants to make guns,
it goes ahead and speedily
does so. But when it comes to
black housing there seems to
be an utter failure of wiil.

When the Group Areas Act was pat on the statute book nobody gave a fig for local option, but now, when pressures are mounting for its repeal, the Government goes all coy and develops a sudden interest in the wishes of local authorities.

If the dilatory approach to reform could be abandoned, there is a great opportunity to give the ordinary black person in this country some hope and some material benefits.

There is now probably little that the Government can do which would satisfy those who are now dictating Western policy towards South Africa.

But there is a great deal it still can do to meet the de-

mands of black South Africa, which is a different constituency â\200\224 and one which, unlike the outside world, has a powerful moral claim.

Part of the package is that Group Areas, the Land Acts, - Separate Amenities, the odious citizenship laws and the Tricameral Parliament will have to go.

That is the opportunity. Will the Government seize it? Â» The State President, as the conservative leader of a conservative party, is ideally placed to do the job â\200\224 to cast himself in the mould of a Benjamin Disraeli.

Beacon

I am not a total pessimist on this issue. After a couple of footfaults, the Wiehahn reforms went through and were implemented.

One might have said the same about the comprehensive repeal of the pass laws â\200\224 but we now have to reserve judgment until the Department of Home Affairs resolves its identity crisis and decides that it does not want to be the Department of Bantu Administration and

Development after all.

- On the question of political and constitutional reform, there is a beacon of light

.

beckoning across the desolate landscape: the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, which I am privileged to serve as deputy chairman.

Two points can be made

about; this spectrum of opinion: at the indaba the first is that it is little short of a miracle that in the midst of the polarisation and the violence that has been taking place in South Africa, organisations representing so diverse a range of viewpoints can meet for constitutional discussions at all. %

- The second is that impressively wide as the spectrum of viewpoints is, it is not as wide as it might be.

On the one hand, the National Party is present in an observer capacity only although with full speaking rights, which it exercises

on the other the words African National Congress are not among those adorning the desks of the various delegations. - g
3 This is obviously a disadvantage, but it is not what one might call a fatal flaw.

I have no doubt that the formula for a second-tier government that the Indaba will eventually come up with will find broad, and even enthusiastic acceptance by the great majority of people in Natal. Ultimately this is what counts.

The Bill of Rights recently agreed upon by the Indaba is its first major breakthrough. For South Africa it is a watershed, because there is no other constitutional document in the country's history adopted by so wide a spectrum of interest groups.

Some of the key provisions

of the Bill of Rights are:
Â® Equality of everyone before the law without any di

* tinction on the grounds o

race, colour, language, se

religion, ethnic or social ori
gin, property, birth, politica
other opinion, or economic

â\200\234or other status. â\200\231

Â® Entitlement of everyone
to own and occupy prope:
anywhere in the province and
to freedom of movement and|
residence within its borders.

-+ @ Entitlement to freedom

of opinion, expression and as
sociation. :

@ Access to due processe:
of law, including the bringing
of a writ of habeas corpus.

Of course, the Indaba i
cerned only with the pro-
vince of Natal, and this Bill
of Rights will be binding only
on organs of government in
Natal. 2

Ultimately what the f:oun-
try needs is a natiooal Bill of
Rights which is enforceable
against the legislative and
executive arms of govern-

. ment at central level.

Such a Bill of Rights, along
with a democratic coastitu-
tion for South Africa as a
whole, would need to be
adopted by a national indaba
at which representatives of
the full range of South Afri-
can political opinion would
be represented, including
leaders and organisations.
now in prison, or in
exile. . ;

Incidentally, it is a pity
that the Western powers let
slip an opportunity to facili-
tate this at the Tokyo summit.
in May. : :

Crunch

South Africa had sought an
assurance that if it released
Nelson Mandela, as the West
demands, and if this precipi-

tated an upsurge in violence, as Pretoria fears, and it then took steps to curb the violence, it would not be punished by the West. The proposal got nowhere, however.

The Indaba was not put together by a group of outsiders, eminent or otherwise. It did not come about because Western governments held a pistol to anybody's head; it is a wholly home-grown South African initiative. L 1

I suppose that one of the things we also need in South Africa is a latter-day Galileo to explain to Mr Heunis that in the real world the earth revolves around the sun and not round the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning.

If the Government treats the Indaba in the disdainful fashion in which it treated the Buthelezi commission, then it will snuff out this beacon of light.

One can only hope that it is capable of learning by its previous mistakes. y

Excerpts from an address during a panel discussion organised by the Young Presidents' Organisation at Mala Mala yesterday.

Sy

f} EMERGENCY,

CP Correspondent
THE cracks discovered in the
government's emergency. regu-

Workers'
were forced even wider this
week by the Natal Supreme
Court's ruling that the regula-
tions allowing for arrest and
detention were invalid.

Since this judgment - which
secured the release of UDF offi-
cial Lechasa Tsenoli - many
releases have taken place and
many more individual applica-
tions for release are coming to
court,

The State has already lodged
an appeal against the judgment
and the matter could be heard
in the Bioemfontein Appeal
Court soon. -

But before the appeal court
could examine the ruling, Law

and. Order Minister Louis le

Grange made his displeasure
clear - saying the government
did not accept it and would

ers Union,

have been arrested.

STATE TRIE) |
HE EMERGEN(

. hinted at new regulations. to..

lations by the Metal and Allied |
Union last 'month

â\200\230to the â\200\230Maritzburg
- Court.

fight every application. He also *

Mayekisoâ\200\231s last words: Goi
fo SA will mean going bac

METAL and Allied Workers' Union gener-
al secretaryâ\200\231 Moses Mayckiso ~ presently
detained under Section 29 of the Internal
Security Act â\200\224 recently visited Sweden at
the invitation of the Swedish Metal Work-

While there, he was interviewed by the
union's magazine, Merallarbefaren, on the
state of emergency and its effects on union
activities - and, in particular, on what would
happen when he returned to SA. Two days
after the interview was published, Mayekiso
arrived at Jan Smuts ~ and was detained
under the emergency regulations. The inter-
view is probably his last before he was held.

Iis children dre hiding with relatives
und his wife (above, right) has gone .
underground. Many of his unionâ\200\231s organisers

Moses Maycekiso left South Africa the
day beforeâ\200\231 the emergency was declared -
and feels it's not safe to go back.

. â\200\234My life is in danger in SA,â\200\235 he says. *â\200\234To
go back would be going straight to jail.

. Despite his fears, he says he will return as
soon as possible. He is needed in SA.

When in South Alrica, he lives under

close the gaps - â\200\230possibly .10
effectively - bar any ' further
court-ordered releases, Â¢

Natal, after the Congress of SA
Trade Unions and seven other
unions brought an application
upreme

Cosatu asked for the release

of all 22 because the Tsenoli ~

ruling had set a precedent in
Natal. The unions also asked
for a number of documents and

â\200\230records to be returned to them,
Union officials claimed the |

police in northern Natal were
not arresting members because

they were a threat to the public |

safety or security, but because
the police wanted to get rid of
the unions, The officials said

their work was totally ham-

pered by the police who had
arrested so many of their mem-
bers, and who walked in and out
of the offices as if they owned

the same bed,
Apart from his union

mittee ~ a fact which

State's interest. in him,

He is working in a -practical way to
reorganize Alex people
their own problems - social

people took over:

apartheid system.

ES

*" Among those freed (his work
were 22 unionists in northern -

. .
severe stress and doesn't sleep too

is also chairman of Alexandra Action Com-

l,
ministrative and political, It is
learning democracy and preparing
South Africa. he points out. And

The structures are similar to those of the
union ~ 95% of the people in Alex are
workers, Mayekiso says. be

During the unrest last winter.
community councils. were chased

Residents in each street handled their
own garbage collection and administrative
vices. They learned they were able to handle
their own matters, he says. @ 3

In Alex, people's courts are held at
different levels. We believe every crime has:
a ground in the capitalist system and the

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o them. 200\235,
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lenge Uwusaâ\200\235â\204ç, -

" Cosatu asked the the

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court to

- order the policÃ© to return union

~ documents â\200\230atid records confis-
cated during raids Tast month,
It also asked the court to stop
police harassing them:â\200\231

Cosatth Jawyers: were

be releasÃ©d;

court hearing that the 22 would
The State alÃ©o agreed 6 r

once the police had caopied: the
papers !hwwÃ©ded-â\200\230 Pwi fad
Among unionists released

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originally challenged the emer-

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5 ~and unity.

- Aaccess toâ\200\235 detainees,
â\200\234 â\200\230the challenge for his release.

. of ithem had becn served with: &
~_restriction notices: valid until
i pe : _+the end of the emergency. Hows
.satu ir\lordm_â\200\230tdâ\200\234limil its ability '

Al R bt + details of the restrictions.

â\200\234es were flocking to court; a full

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during an adjournment of the .. languigs: fpÃ@rs..josay

i the â\200\234unioh's documentsâ\200\231 ~ulations . restricting the

togÃ@ther with Mawy ~ &
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people to education? .
â\200\234NccklacIngâ\200\230 has nothi

s courts. :

s0f . people take revenge.
W *We comjci~\201fn necklacing, but BAisina
state of war = and then it's difficult to say -

50 theysr hm:}f what is right and
a.way of "â\200\230gcnglqg â\200\234their
&&f free. i ayekiso.

S8 L SNT s

piganda that blacks kill blacks is -

fiot {rue: Today there arc only:0ppressors.
â\200\234dnd oppressed ~ the battle is between them.

There are blacks and â\200\230whites on both .
Colourâ\200\231 doesn't â\200\230make a bigâ\200\231 differ-

* Alex is now governed by its inhabitants, .
says Mayckiso - even though attempts are
often made lo brÃ©ak the strong organisation

. â\200\234vigilantes start fights. Big meetings are
â\200\234anned. But people know. what democratic & \Wapgier
â\200\234trnctures hoy waris in â\202¬ Tuiure SA,â\200\235 " bt

he concludes. 50 G

the m.ht: for Iai¬\201yei¬\201"l@ have
they last

Lawyers for the 22 said some "

ever, they could not give any
' And while lawyers for detain-
Natal Supreme Court bench

was hearing a new application -
by newspapers challenging the

validity of government e
strictions; st A
Most of the major SA Eng- 5

rought the' application in - Vor
which they argued that the reg: Gering looks on.

Press went beyond w- inefie
er ol the \$me}|â\200\231m g mm;ï¬\201el faced byâ\200\230 (hg
rgument â\200\234has been ad: Â© Several editors involved

plication said in

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that their pub-

uraed until Monday. .~
Sydricy Kentridge, argu-~ â\200\234court pa|

or the newspapers, said _ lications would lose heavily
the seizure of copies of the _if an cdision should be con-
iSowetan last weghend was * Tiscated. . a8

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Qic({rh'ii must bÃ© educated so they | By \$IBUSISO MNGADI
used by the system. We only s &) | EGED ANC guerrilla

Gordon Webster, sprung
from ~ Maritzburg's Eden-
daleâ\200\231 Hospital after bein

to do with peo-
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Rt::icq. was trajned by a
icemin on how lo use.
arms and explosives.. |
* 7Fhis cldini â\200\230was made
Port Natal Security Branch,
divisional. commissioner

â\200\230wrong. These people are
deadâ\200\230 s children,â\200\235 says |

an affidavit in'the Durban
Supreme A(â\200\230ourâ\200\230}yâ\200\231lhis _woÃ@kÃ« X

ply 16 An urgent application
made by Lucille Webster

rom detention of her ador-
ney husband, George Web-

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Brig Johan van Niekerk in.

Lechasa Tsenoli

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tin examplÃ© of the kind of

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2 I T 3 ik . 5
shaking hands with laywer Malcolm Wallis - while Leonard

{ In other ; de"v)clopmcnu pellate Division's decision.

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@ Johannesburg lawyers
were told to let aboutâ\200\231 25
applications basÃ©d on emer-
gency regulations 3(1) and
3(3) - invalidated in Natal

Tise o â\200\230 = stand down nplil the Ap-
Sprung ANC suspect 'was

trained by SA policemanâ\200\231

ANC member when he'

trained Webster, nccorqing

Â® The application declar-'
ing the detention of teacher
Dehran Swart invalid was
gnstponed to August 22.
wart was detained on June
26 for allegedly possessing
subversive stickers.

He denied 4 statementâ\200\231
by l.uci_llle Webster that her
Rl S was detad

-10 the brigadier, recogni

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â\200\234wounded in a shootout with

The affidavit was in re- i

against the Law and Order.
Minister ' for the relcase Â°

stÃ©r â\200\224 brother of Gordon .

/' The {?oï¬\201ccn;lun yjâ\200\224"an',

him in a photograph given

â\200\230lo him by security poiice

after the shootout,

A photograph of Gor-
don Webster was sent lo a

â\200\230member of the SAP who
Jidentified him as an ANC

terrorist he had trained in
the use of arms, explosives

and other general terrorist
acts at the Pango Base in

Angola, Van Nickerk said.
he brigadier added that
he did not want to identify
the policeman as it would

endanger his life, in
between

The policeman who
gave me this information is
experienced and reliable
and in my opinion one can

rely on his information. he .

said,

So in order to
flush out his brother,
Gordon.

Maritzburg Security
Branch policeman Capt Jacobus Vorster said investigations revealed George Webster was involved in, guerrilla activities,

He said that after a series of
arrests, interrogation of
those arrested led to the
arrest of Robert McBride
on July 17, {

McBride is alleged to be
the head of an ANC cell.

During interrogation be-

July 17 and 520,

McBride allegedly told the
captain of George Webster's
involvement and activities,
Vorster said. -

Sudgc Page isima

SuaEc
the application with costs.ig

